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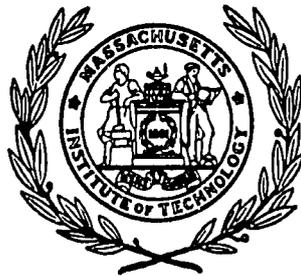
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REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN RURAL TURKEY

Report No. 4

Rural Development Research Project

Frederick W. Frey



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Cambridge, Massachusetts
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INTRODUCTION

One does not have to travel far in Anatolia or eastern Thrace to realize that, from many perspectives, there are several Turkeys. Of course, numerous cultural, political and other features are nationwide -- are everywhere virtually the same. But, as in most countries of appreciable physical size, there are also senses in which each region of Turkey is conspicuously different from any other. In some respects, one is in rather divergent worlds in Diyarbakır and Balıkesir, in Finike and Divriği, in Kırşehir, Söke, Bartın and Hopa, and even in İstanbul and Ankara. İstanbul is Turkey's financial and commercial center, while Ankara is her political capital. The nation's coal and steel complex is rather highly concentrated in the Zonguldak-Ereğli sector; Mersin has become strongly oriented to its new oil shipping role; İzmir looks seaward as a leading port; Nevşehir is a trucking center; Kütahya features ceramics; and the economy of Rize is strongly influenced by that province's place as the tea-producing area of Turkey. Similarly, citrus fruits are extensively raised along the Mediterranean coast; cotton shapes much of the atmosphere of the Çukurova and certain Aegean areas, wheat and other cereals are paramount in central Anatolia; tobacco production occupies the farmers of parts of the Black Sea region, Bolu and the Aegean; animal husbandry is a way of life in portions of the eastern provinces; and sericulture, truck farming, raising hazel nuts or non-citrus fruits, fishing, and handicrafts, such as rug weaving, are all especially emphasized in some areas of the country and not at all in others. Comparable distinctions in terms of climate, urbanization, or more generalized levels of development are equally apparent.

Turkey is a land of unmistakable variety.

The immediate significance of these observations is that the policy-maker must perforce plan for several Turkeys. Presumably, he will plan more effectively if he is fully aware of regional differences than if he deliberately or casually ignores them. A policy that works well in one region may be utterly inappropriate in another. Careless or rigid insistence on its unaltered use may be wasteful or counterproductive. In some instances, but not in all, the policy-maker is called upon to suggest different strategies to achieve basically similar goals in various parts of the country. He must first decide when regional variations are so small that the economies of a unified strategy for the entire nation can be obtained. If regional variations loom large, he must decide which particular strategy will prove most effective in which regions -- that is, what adaptations or substitutions must be made in his plans to allow for regional differences. The Turkish Government has long since recognized these facts by establishing a regional planning structure within the overall planning apparatus. Indeed, one of the basic aims of planning itself, as enunciated in Turkey, is to mitigate or eliminate flagrant discrepancies in development between regions of the nation.

To confront this difficult assignment with any realistic hope of success, the policy-maker plainly needs information about the relevant characteristics of each major planning region. Actually, he requires such information even to decide what the most fruitful planning areas or regions are likely to be. Up to now, he has been armed primarily with information about physical and economic conditions in the regions of his nation. However, attitudinal and behavioral information is no less essential for

effective planning. The ways in which people in one region differ from those in another region with regard to their interest in education, their felt needs, their religiosity, the confidence they place in their local leaders, their communication practices, and so on, seem to be no less significant for the policy-maker than inter-regional differences in rainfall, market prices, or paved roads. It is the purpose of this report to provide such information about inter-regional differences in many basic attitudes and behaviors among the peasants of rural Turkey.

The psychological and sociological portrait of Turkish villagers from the various regions is based on information obtained in 1962 from interviews with more than six thousand peasants constituting a national sample of all villagers aged sixteen or over.¹ The report will be fundamentally descriptive, since region is a concept that in some ways has more interest for the policy-maker than it does for the social scientist. We shall present inter-regional similarities and differences in terms of a number of analytic indices formed from groups of questions in the original instruments of the Rural Development Research Project. This will be followed by inspection, again at the gross inter-regional level, of specific items (individual questions) that were not merged into indices. Finally, we shall explore the source of observed inter-regional differences through the use of a "reduction of uncertainty" technique which will be explained later.

¹ For a description of the Rural Development Research Project, see Report No. 1 of this series or Frederick W. Frey, "Surveying Peasant Attitudes in Turkey," Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXVII (1963), pp. 335-355. An abbreviated description of the data gathering techniques employed is provided in Appendix A of this report.

The regions employed in this analysis are the nine agricultural regions long used by the Turkish census in reporting its data. This is the reason for their selection. We realize that the State Planning Organization and other agencies of the Turkish Government have from time to time developed and used other regional breakdowns, perhaps superior to those we have employed. Nevertheless, it seemed the best possible compromise to employ the scheme that was most familiar within the Turkish administration, so long as the regions delineated seemed basically meaningful.

It is theoretically feasible and rewarding to conceive of attitudinal regions (and behavioral regions) for planning purposes as well as the more common agricultural, industrial, linguistic, and other regions. One of the probably unfortunate biases of planning is that such a tool has not been fully developed before this. It is an intriguing question whether attitudinal regions, defined as areas for which the within-region similarity of attitudes is markedly greater than the between-region similarity, would be virtually coterminous with the more standard economic, geographical and demographic regions. If the two types of planning regions do not strongly coincide in important instances, then it seems highly probable that there would be situations in which planning could be better accomplished if attitudinal regions received prime consideration and economic and physical boundaries were less heeded. Unhappily, the technical problems in delineating attitudinal and behavioral regions on the basis of survey data are presently quite formidable. Hence, we have not attempted such a mapping for rural Turkey in this report. We may, if possible, return to this matter in a later report, however.

The nine agricultural regions contrasted in the remainder of this discussion are outlined on the accompanying map and include the following provinces.



FIGURE 1 THE MAIN AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF TURKEY

Region I (North Central): Ankara, Bilecik, Bolu, Çankırı, Çorum, Eskişehir, Kırşehir, Kütahya, Nevşehir, Uşak, and Yozgat.

Region II (Aegean): Aydın, Balıkesir, Burdur, Çanakkale, Denizli, Isparta, İzmir, Manisa, and Muğla.

Region III (Marmara): Sakarya, Bursa, Edirne, İstanbul, Kırklareli, Kocaeli, and Tekirdağ.

Region IV (Mediterranean): Adana, Antalya, Gaziantep, Hatay, İçel, and Maraş.

Region V (Northeastern): Ağrı, Artvin, Erzincan, Erzurum, and Kars.

Region VI (Southeastern): Bingöl, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Hakkâri, Mardin, Muş, Siirt, Urfa, and Van.

Region VII (Black Sea): Giresun, Gümüşhane, Kastamonu, Ordu, Rize, Samsun, Sinop, Trabzon, and Zonguldak.

Region VIII (East Central): Adıyaman, Amasya, Elazığ, Malatya, Sivas, Tokat, and Tunceli.

Region IX (South Central): Afyon, Kayseri, Konya, and Niğde.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS AS REVEALED THROUGH SELECTED INDICES

In this section of the report we shall explore gross regional disparities or similarities in terms of several sets of indices formed from the items of the survey. A succinct description of each of these indices is provided in Appendix B. We have also attempted to make the index labels as descriptive as possible so that the data presented can be readily interpreted. Another report in this series provides a full statement on the construction and validation of all the indices used.

We shall start with data in the most readily interpretable form possible. The distribution for each index of all respondents in the total sample was examined. Cutting points were picked for each index that divided the total group of respondents into persons scoring high, medium and low on the index. These cutting points were chosen so as to come as close as the actual distribution of responses permitted to having roughly one third of all respondents in each of the three categories -- high, medium and low. In most cases the indices were constructed so as to produce an approximately normal distribution of scores, and the high, medium and low categories came reasonably close to containing one third of the sample in each. However, in a few cases which will be identified, the overall distribution was skewed in such a fashion that the total sample had to be divided into two categories (dichotomized) rather than into three (trichotomized). In those cases we merely have high and low index score categories. We have preferred trichotomization wherever possible so as to obtain greater elaboration of the variables, especially in order to uncover cases of curvilinearity that are totally undetectable if only two categories are employed.

We shall display our data in tables which show how the index scores vary from region to region. Even presenting high, medium and low percentages for several dozen indices and nine agricultural regions, however, results in a welter of statistics not easily digested by the reader. Hence, in this initial demonstration of our findings, we have made one further compromise. We shall furnish for each region only the percentage of peasants from that region who scored high on any given index. We shall also include the percentage from the total national sample who scored high, and we caution that the absolute magnitude of these percentages is uninformative. It is their relative magnitudes -- how the percentage in one region

compares with that in another -- that is significant. The indices will be presented in blocs that seem to have logical unity.

Regional Variations in Village Characteristics

The first bloc of indices has to do with independently ascertained characteristics of the villages of the region. In each of the more than four hundred villages visited by our interviewing teams, the team leader completed a Village Information Schedule, garnering data on the village as a whole not from the regular respondents being interviewed by his associates, but from special questioning of the headman, the school teacher, the Council of Elders, and any other presumably reliable source, and from direct observation of village conditions and village records (where they existed). This information has been checked against official government statistics wherever possible and seems to be highly accurate for nearly all items. (A discussion of the validity of such findings is contained in the first report of this series.)

Data from these Village Information Schedules have been combined into several basic indices reflective of the development, isolation and living conditions in Turkey's rural communities. However, these data are not reported in terms of the percentage of villages, regardless of their size, having a given characteristic. They are instead reported in terms of the percentage of peasants who live in a village having a given characteristic. In other words, we present data about the villages of rural Turkey according to the proportion of the peasant population resident in those villages, not merely in terms of the total number of villages without regard to how many or few people live in them. Thus, we say that

thirty per cent of the peasants lived in a village that was scored high in general development, not that thirty per cent of Turkey's villages scored high in general development. This type of presentation seems much more appropriate for nearly all analytic and planning purposes.

In Table 1 we can inspect the differences between regions in the kinds of communities in which the peasants from that area live. We see what percentage of the villagers from each region lived in a village that was scored relatively high in its Centrality (lack of isolation), Village Establishments (coffee-house, fountains, etc.), Village Social Services (telephone, doctor, teacher, etc.), Village Mass Media Access, Village Governmental Contact, general Village Development, and Village Literacy. For the last index, a village received a high rating if forty per cent or more of its inhabitants were estimated to be literate (28% of the national sample of peasants were literate).²

Table 1

Percentage of Peasants from Each Region Living in Villages Rated High
in Terms of Selected Characteristics

<u>Indices</u>	<u>Regions</u>									<u>Nation</u>
	<u>I N.C.</u>	<u>II Aeg.</u>	<u>III Mar.</u>	<u>IV Med.</u>	<u>V N.E.</u>	<u>VI S.E.</u>	<u>VII B.S.</u>	<u>VIII E.C.</u>	<u>IX S.C.</u>	
Village Centrality	17%	37%	31%	35%	29%	15%	35%	30%	31%	29%
Village Establishments	19	60	48	16	13	--	5	4	38	22
Village Social Services	21	39	51	19	21	6	36	14	3	25
Village Mass Media Access	33	60	61	31	15	4	34	24	34	34
Village Governmental Contact	27	70	50	45	34	38	21	24	57	39
Village Development	29	58	56	33	11	4	22	17	34	30
Village Literacy	35%	46%	46%	15%	38%	5%	17%	19%	29%	27%
"N"	932	927	534	659	484	618	1130	623	529	6436

² This estimate was based upon our sample of 15-16 persons from each village.

Several features of this table stand out. First of all, we discover that there are rather sharp variations in village characteristics between regions. For example, none of the peasants from the Southeastern Region lived in a village that ranked high in terms of Village Establishments -- the existence of coffee-houses, fountains, stores, etc., in the village. On the other hand, three fifths of the peasants from the Aegean Region lived in a community that was ranked high in this respect. Nearly half of the villagers from the Marmara Region resided in a community where forty per cent or more of the inhabitants were estimated to be literate, while merely one twentieth of the peasants from the Southeastern Region lived in a community with that degree of literacy.

Second, one perceives a general ordering of the regions that basically persists across all seven of the village indices presented in the table. Usually the Aegean and Marmara Regions display the greatest degrees of village development or modernity, followed by the South Central, Mediterranean, North Central and Black Sea Regions in an intermediate position, with the Northeastern, East Central and Southeastern Regions generally being in the least developed or least modern position. This pattern is best reflected on the table in the overall Village Development Index, which is a composite of four village indices (Village Establishments, Village Social Services, Village Mass Media Access, and Village Centrality). It is also reflected in the fact that the Aegean Region has the highest percentage or is tied for the highest percentage in five of the seven cases, ranking second two other times, and in the fact that the Southeastern Region has the lowest percentage in five of seven instances. It can be statistically still better expressed in terms of a Coefficient of Concordance which runs from zero,

when there is only random association among the rank orderings of the regional percentages for all seven indices, to one, when the rank orderings of the regional percentages are exactly the same for all seven indices. The Coefficient of Concordance for Table 1 is .64, reflecting quite a high degree of similarity in the regional rankings across these seven village indices.³

As we have indicated, the nine regions seem to rank as follows in terms of the general development of their villages: 1) Aegean, 2) Marmara, 3) South Central, 4) Mediterranean, 5) North Central, 6) Black Sea, 7) East Central, 8) Northeastern, and 9) Southeastern. If one plots these rankings in geographic terms (incorporates them into a map, as is done in Figure 2), the overall result hints strongly at a fundamentally communications oriented theory of development. The relation between geography -- relative isolation -- and rural community development is quite manifest. Two basic factors seem to stand out above the rest: proximity to the west and coastal location. Rural modernization seems to be suffusing over Turkey from west to east and from the littoral areas to the interior areas. Thus, the most developed rural areas are found in the western coastal regions of the Aegean and the Marmara. As one moves eastward and toward the interior, relative rural development declines, until one finds the least developed areas in the east and in the interior. The general relationship between ease of communication and development thus revealed is impressive.

A few other points are worth noting. One is that at least superficially, in partial contradiction to the preceding point, the least regional variation seems to occur with regard to the Village Centrality Index

³ Cf., M. J. Monroney, Facts from Figures (London: Pelican Books, 1956), pp. 336-338.

(lack of isolation). This index measures the village's remoteness from the nearest regularly travelled road, the nearest kaza (prefectorial) center, the nearest railway station, and the nearest city over fifty thousand, plus the length of time the village is closed in by weather conditions. Even here, however, prominent variations occur that conform to the general pattern. The variations in location seem simply to be presently less extreme than the developmental variations. One also marks the fact that the index of Village Governmental Contact is slightly anomalous in its results. It produces the one case of an intermediate rather than a low percentage for the Southeastern Region. But we should contend that this is perhaps the index which is least closely related to any measure of "development," particularly since there are some important variations in the content of this governmental contact. In the more modern regions there seems to be relatively more contact with developmental officials such as extension agents, whereas in the Southeast it is almost entirely contact with gendarmes and tax collectors.

Regional Variations in Peasant Characteristics

Although the villages housing the rural population of Turkey have been shown to vary quite distinctly in their basic characteristics, a more crucial question is whether the people resident in those villages also vary to an appreciable degree. One would anticipate that these community variations would be associated with salient interpersonal variations. But such regional differences in personal characteristics may well be great along some dimensions, modest along other dimensions, and non-existent in certain cases. Therefore, we shall continue our exploration by examining

a number of indices reflective of individual peasant characteristics. The technique of comparison will be the same as that used in Table 1.

Variations in Community Orientations

We have examined a number of relatively objective measures of village characteristics. Let us now inspect regional variations in how Turkish peasants perceive their communities and what sort of role they envision themselves as playing in those communities. We furnish data in Table 2 on the percentage of peasants ranking high in the amount of initiative they perceive in their village, in the degree of concentration of power and wealth they feel exists there, and in their tendency to look to the village headman (muhtar) for leadership. These are the first three indices displayed. Below them in the table is a group of four indices disclosing the peasant's willingness to have his community accept responsibility for dealing with problems such as village roads, drinking water, house improvements, etc., his sense of efficacy regarding his village's ability to handle its problems, his expressed willingness personally to participate in community improvement efforts, and the level of his knowledge about his community.

From Table 2 we note, first of all, that the range of inter-regional variations in community orientations and perceptions is generally less than the range of variations in objective village characteristics. True, the dimensions measured are not exactly the same. But we find this a plausible result in the sense that the familiarity of most peasants with communities in other regions, or even in other parts of their own region, is meager. In other words, most peasants are not apprised of the full range of variation in Turkey's villages. Their eyes seem to be focused primarily

on their own villages, where the variation is significantly less. This can be a helpful situation insofar as it acts to minimize dissatisfactions, but it can also be unfortunate in that it may reduce knowledge of improvements that are possible and weaken developmental incentives that might be present with better awareness of what other villagers have achieved.

Table 2

Percentage of Peasants from Each Region Ranking High on Selected Indices of Community Orientation

<u>Indices</u>	<u>Regions</u>									<u>Nation</u>
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>	<u>IX</u>	
	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>Aeg.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>N.E.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>	<u>B.S.</u>	<u>E.C.</u>	<u>S.C.</u>	
Perceived Village Initiative	34%	40%	27%	39%	45%	19%	35%	46%	43%	36%
Perc'd Conc. Power & Wealth	42	52	45	53	34	28	40	31	55	43
Headman Orientation	28	17	37	29	28	24	42	23	25	28

Communal Responsibility	43%	49%	49%	37%	29%	11%	38%	37%	42%	38%
Communal Efficacy	29	19	16	19	19	16	19	27	24	21
Communal Cooperativeness ^a	74	84	78	75	78	56	70	71	66	73
Community Don't Knows ^a	51	44	45	47	34	64	45	56	44	48

^a Dichotomized indices.

Second, we see from the table that the overall ranking pattern of regions that was clearly evident for objective village characteristics is now much more blurred. The peasants resident in more developed regions do not perceive their villages very differently from the peasants who live in less

developed regions, despite the fact that their villages are different. We should again caution, however, that the objective village measures relate to development while these measures relate more to perceived village structure, role and activity plus personal involvement in the community. The latter dimensions may actually differ less from region to region than developmental characteristics.

The anomalous position of the Southeastern Region, which is particularly underdeveloped, emerges again from these data. This region ranks lowest among the nine in perceived village initiative, willingness to accept communal responsibility for solving typical village problems, and willingness personally to cooperate in village improvement efforts. Though it is clearly the poorest of the regions, we shall see as we proceed that its position is not solely attributable to its greater poverty and isolation. For example, the Northeastern and East Central Regions are not overwhelmingly different from the Southeastern Region in poverty and isolation, but they display attitudinal profiles that are usually more consonant with those evident in the rest of the country. On the other hand, we repeatedly find that the peasants in the Southeastern Region are no more dissatisfied than others and even seem to be more content in certain ways. Witness, for example, their low tendency to see power and wealth within their villages as concentrated. Though poor and more fatalistic, they seem to feel all in the same boat. In some respects they seem to be more at ease with the prevailing poverty and social structure than peasants elsewhere. Of course, one can argue that this is precisely why they are less developed.

Turning to the specific indices, we wish to call attention to the conspicuous lack of regional variation in the "sense of communal efficacy."

Peasants from all parts of Turkey, better developed or more poorly developed, seem to have a rather uniformly poor sense of their village's ability to deal with its major problems. They seem to be agreed, regardless of sharp actual differences in village development, that they are relatively helpless in determining their own communal destinies, and that any basic amelioration of their communal lot must come from outside sources. Even if one discounts some of these responses as being motivated by a desire to exert subtle pressure on the government to provide help (by proclaiming their inability to help themselves), the feelings are so pervasive, both in terms of region and in terms of type of respondent or means of expression, that they appear genuine and important. Most Turkish peasants regardless of region do not seem to feel that they can, as a community, do much about even their main community problems. This lack of communal efficacy is perhaps one of the foremost attitudinal obstacles to rural development in Turkey. The present point is that the degree of development that has already occurred in some regions does not seem to have strongly affected this feeling.

Variations in Mass Media Exposure, Travel and Interpersonal Communication

Three of the leading ways in which a peasant is exposed to change are through mass media, through travel and through interpersonal communication with diverse sorts of individuals. It would seem that the more the peasant is exposed to the newspaper, radio and cinema, and the more he visits places outside his village (especially cities), and the more he directly exchanges ideas with persons unlike himself, then the broader the peasant's horizons are likely to be and the richer his fund of experience for innovation. Our survey data are replete with evidence generally

supporting this conclusion, although it appears that the influence of the mass media on peasant modernization is much more pronounced than the influence of either geographical mobility (travel) or diverse interpersonal communication.⁴

Indices were developed to measure these three peasant characteristics: a Mass Media Exposure Index, an index of Geographical Mobility, and an index of diverse Interpersonal Communication (that is, an index of apparent communication with persons unlike the respondent, not an index of all interpersonal communication). Regional variations along these dimensions are displayed in Table 3.

Table 3

Regional Variations in Mass Media Exposure, Geographical Mobility and Interpersonal Communication (Percentage of Respondents Ranking High)

<u>Indices</u>	Region									
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>	<u>Nation</u>
Mass Media Exposure	35%	48%	41%	30%	21%	10%	32%	21%	44%	32%
Geographical Mobility	34	38	55	51	27	28	36	36	39	38
Interpersonal Comm'cation	44	43	46	28	34	14	32	37	39	36

There appears to be considerable regional variation in all three characteristics, with the greatest differences emerging for mass media exposure, followed by interpersonal communication and geographical mobility,

⁴ See, Mass Media and Rural Development in Turkey, Report Number 3, Rural Development Research Project, pp. 118-130.

in that order. We also observe the same general ranking of regions along the modernity or development dimension that we noticed when looking into village characteristics, again especially for mass media exposure (the Coefficient of Concordance for the three indices is .70).

Regional Variations in Religiosity

Turkey is overwhelmingly (99%) a Muslim country. Available evidence indicates that religion is a more potent factor in the lives of Turkish peasants than in the lives of non-rural Turks -- at least, this is what many commentators have written and what existing surveys show. At the same time, one wonders whether the inter-regional differences in rural environments, attitudes and behaviors that we have so far been finding have their counterpart in the religious realm. Is the picture of the pious peasant a uniformly valid one, or are there appreciable variations in the religious postures of peasants resident in different parts of the country?

Four basic indices were developed from our survey data in order to describe the peasant's religiosity. These indices attempted to portray the villager's knowledge of religious dogma (whether he could name the five basic principles of Islam), his religious ritualism (the assiduity of his praying and fasting as enjoined by his religion), the saliency of religion for him (how frequently he tended to refer to religion when answering broad, open questions about his values), and his religious strictness (his tendency to regard such things as human pictures, the consumption of alcoholic beverages, lending money at interest, etc., as being forbidden by his religion). Table 4 presents the percentage of respondents from each region who ranked high on each of these four indices.

Table 4

Regional Variations in Religiosity (Per Cent Ranking High on Selected Indices)

<u>Indices</u>	<u>Regions</u>									
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>	<u>Nation</u>
Religious Knowledge	64%	47%	56%	57%	59%	58%	59%	58%	65%	58%
Religious Ritualism	17	11	15	13	22	18	15	13	20	16
Religious Saliency	26	24	24	28	34	50	24	24	26	28
Religious Strictness	39	24	34	34	25	54	40	28	41	35

The data from Table 4 are quite revealing and important. First of all, we find relatively little variation between peasants living in different regions in terms of their religious knowledge, although the differences that can be discerned, such as the reduced knowledge of the most modern region -- the Aegean -- are in a patterned direction. Also, the differences in religious ritualism are rather exiguous, and these, too, conform to the same pattern. On the other hand, the regional variations in religious saliency and strictness are more outstanding. They also generally uphold the pattern of an inverse relationship between religiosity and development (i.e., the more developed western and coastal regions being less religious and the eastern and interior regions more religious). A fairly strong Coefficient of Concordance (.61) is obtained for the four indices as a group, indicating consistency in the rankings of the regions across all four religiosity indices.

Peasants in the relatively modern regions are religiously more different from peasants in less developed regions in terms of the attention they pay to religious values and the strictness with which they construe their religion than they are in terms of religious knowledge or performance of religious rituals such as prayer and fasting. The level of development thus far attained in rural Turkey does not seem to involve blanket rejection of religion or abandonment of religious observances, but rather a tendency to interpret more situations from a non-religious perspective and to ease some of the very specific behavioral restraints formerly associated with the religion.

Particularly striking on the table are the high degrees of religious saliency and strictness manifested in the Southeastern Region. It is also interesting to note the relatively high religiosity that seems to prevail in the South Central Region which is one of the more modern areas. The reader familiar with Turkey will immediately recall many impressionistic observations pointing to the supposedly greater religious conservatism of this region focused around Konya and Kayseri. The data of Table 4 suggest that these impressions can be supported with quantitative empirical evidence. Finally, we should take cognizance of a weaker but similar tendency for the Black Sea Region to evince a fairly high degree of religious strictness. This prompts the comment that one or another manifestation of relatively heightened religiosity, along with having more eastern and/or interior locations, seems to distinguish the "intermediate" group of regions from the two most developed regions. In other words, the Aegean and the Marmara Regions do not display a relatively high ranking on any of these four religious indices, while it is characteristic of at least three of

the four regions we have labelled "intermediate" in development that they score not intermediately but relatively high on several of these religious indices. If religiosity is an impediment to development, something that has often been suggested but by no means established, then the intermediate position of these regions may be explained not alone in terms of the geographical factors previously cited, but also in terms of their perhaps rather surprisingly widespread religiosity.

Regional Variations in Political Perspectives

The democratic policy-maker hopes that his actions will result in a greater sense of political efficacy (ability to influence politics and government) among citizens, greater knowledge about politics, and increased participation in such activities as voting. Indices were formed from our survey data to measure peasant attitudes and behaviors in several of these domains. The respondent's sense of political efficacy was tapped by two questions on how he would react if local authorities and if national authorities were about to do something he thought harmful or unjust. He was also queried to see how many of Turkey's major political parties he could name, how often and how recently he had voted in national elections, and how much apparent desire he felt to be consulted by government. Regional distributions of those who ranked high in their responses to these four indices are furnished in Table 5.

There is generally less variation across regions in these political characteristics than in most other peasant attributes. Of the four indices exhibited in the table, two have very little range (efficacy and voting participation) and two have moderate range (party knowledge and

desire for political participation). Peasants in all regions seem to have a very robust sense of local political efficacy and a very weak sense of national political efficacy. Peasants in all regions seem to go to the polls in national elections with about the same frequency. Peasants in the eastern and interior regions have manifestly less knowledge of political parties than other peasants and they also assert less desire for political participation.

Table 5

Regional Variations in Selected Political Indices (Per Cent Ranking High)

<u>Indices</u>	<u>Region</u>									
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>	<u>Nation</u>
Sense of Political Efficacy	52%	57%	49%	52%	62%	67%	61%	52%	48%	57%
Political Party Knowledge	32	38	36	33	29	17	35	21	44	32
Voting Participation	36	41	33	33	47	47	40	31	45	39
Desire for Political Participation	44	44	38	43	25	24	53	35	36	40

Particular scrutiny of villagers from the Northeastern and Southeastern regions is rewarding in this connection. These respondents, from perhaps the most underdeveloped parts of the country, rank highest of all in their sense of political efficacy (almost entirely local efficacy) and in their voting participation.

Finally, it is intriguing to note that the Spearman rank order correlation between regional rankings for political efficacy and voting participation is +.90, and the correlation between party knowledge and

desire for political participation is +.58. But the comparable correlation between party knowledge and voting participation is -.07, between desire for political participation and voting participation is -.33, between political efficacy and party knowledge is -.25, and between political efficacy and desire for political participation is -.32.⁵ The backward regions seem to rank highest in sense of political efficacy and voting participation while the more developed regions rank highest in party knowledge and desire for political participation. A relatively strong sense of political efficacy and greater voting participation seem to go together as regional characteristics, as do knowledge of political parties and desire for political participation. But these seem to be somewhat repugnant pairs of regional characteristics. Being high on one pair is associated with being relatively low on another, whereas we had originally expected to find a clear positive association among all four indices. It may be one of the basic stresses of political development that, at least for regions, increased party knowledge and desire for participation in the more rapidly modernizing areas appear to be associated with a decline in felt political efficacy.

Variations in Economic Status, Expectations and Aspirations

Indices were constructed that purportedly measured the subjective poverty, generalized optimism, tendency to view the life of rural migrants to the city quite favorably, desire for government services to the village, and the amount of educational and occupational aspiration displayed for children. The percentage of respondents from each region who ranked high

⁵ With an "N" of 9, a rank order correlation coefficient of at least .683 is necessary for significance at the 5% level.

on each of these five indices is given in Table 6.

Table 6

Regional Variations in Subjective Poverty, Expectations and Aspirations

<u>Indices</u>	<u>Region</u>									<u>Nation</u>
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>	
Subjective Poverty	28%	13%	14%	23%	53%	23%	32%	43%	28%	28%
Optimism	35	31	34	34	43	29	35	40	33	33
Favorable Urban Image	28	32	19	29	29	22	34	25	26	28
Government Services Wanted	49	62	57	61	63	40	56	42	52	54
Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	31	40	27	44	59	41	40	30	46	39

The profile of feelings of subjective poverty varies, with one exception, almost exactly in accordance with the variations in objective measures of village development. The range of this variation is less than that of the objective measures, but such is probably to be expected for reasons already discussed -- namely, that peasants have very limited opportunities to compare their lots with those of peasants from other regions. Within their villages the actual discrepancies seem to be quite moderate in most cases. We believe that this relative equality in adversity takes much of the sting out of difficult conditions, or at least helps to prevent adversity from giving rise to sharp social and political resentments. The one exception to the parallel pattern is, typically, the Southeastern Region, one of the poorest in the Republic, but where the sense of subjective poverty jibes less well with measures of actual conditions.

On the whole, the feelings of optimism and of subjective poverty displayed across regions seem to coincide. The rank order correlation for the two indices is +.73. This means that the greater the sense of subjective poverty in the region, the greater the expressed optimism regarding the future. Such a finding may be contrary to many persons' expectations that feelings of poverty should lead to pessimism. We formed the opposite expectation, however, and prefer to style this phenomenon "defensive optimism. For many of these villagers it is perhaps psychologically unacceptable to think that conditions will not improve in the future. Nevertheless, we should once again observe that the range of variation is quite small, though clearly patterned.⁶

Peasants living in the nine regions seem to be basically similar in the image they have of the lives of rural people who migrate to cities. This image is extremely favorable. Only in the Marmara Region, which includes İstanbul, does it seem to be moderately rather than strongly favorable. The pull of urban life seems to be uniformly powerful over virtually all of rural Turkey, and there is no simple, readily discernible pattern to the meager regional variations in this urban attraction.

When we inspect the regional distribution of villagers who scored high in Government Services Wanted for their villages, we again run across a pattern that is grossly reminiscent of the overall ordering in terms of village development, with the exception of the anomalous placement of the Northeastern Region. But, the pattern displayed with regard to the index of Educational and Occupational Aspiration is quite mixed.

⁶ As in several other tables, presenting only the percentages of respondents scoring "high" makes the table easier to read, but it sometimes blurs variations that are more clearly visible when all responses are examined. Throughout, we have reconciled ties in rankings produced by reference only to the incidence of high index scores by referring to the distributions of medium and low scores.

Taken as a bloc, these measures of expectations and aspirations would seem to betray the operation of several factors in what is probably a complex causal pattern. Economic status, as measured by the Subjective Poverty Index, is not strongly and simply related to any of the expectational and aspirational measures, with the exception of Optimism. There we found evidence of a "defensive optimism," in which the inhabitants of the poorer regions seem to be more optimistic than others, perhaps because it is too discouraging for them to believe that the future will not be an improvement over the present. Among the remaining relationships, however, psychological adjustments to poverty seem to be counterbalanced by cognitive limitations, particular regional characteristics, and other factors to produce a murky general picture lacking in obvious associations. For example, the discrepancy between the two most developed regions, the Aegean and the Marmara, in terms of urban image and educational and occupational aspiration defies any easy explanation. Similarly, the fact that the underdeveloped Northeastern Region ranked first on four of the five indices and third on the other makes one suspect that more than coincidence is involved, although no ready explanation comes to mind. We should simply observe that there are numerous other signs which indicate that, of the three relatively backward eastern regions (Northeastern, Southeastern, and East Central), the one with the attitudinal climate most favorable to development is the Northeastern, and the one with the least favorable climate is the Southeastern.

Regional Variations Along Cognitive Dimensions

The largest single bloc of indices developed for the analysis of our data measures various cognitive characteristics of the Turkish villager. These indices were as follows: Political Empathy, Parochialism, Personal

Don't Knows, Propensity to Innovate, Cognitive Flexibility, Tolerance of Deviance, External Mistrust and General Knowledge. The percentage of respondents from each region who scored high on these indices is supplied in Table 7.

Table 7

Regional Variations in Terms of Selected Cognitive Indices

<u>Indices</u>	<u>Region</u>									
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>	<u>IX</u>	<u>Nation</u>
	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>Aeg.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>F. E.</u>	<u>S.E.</u>	<u>B.S.</u>	<u>E.C.</u>	<u>S.C.</u>	
Political Empathy	30%	19%	24%	18%	30%	15%	23%	20%	20%	22%
Parochialism	29	20	21	25	7	29	20	37	19	23
Personal Don't Knows	17	8	10	11	6	29	8	17	11	13
Propensity to Innovate	11	13	10	13	21	6	11	16	14	12
Cognitive Flexibility*	34	35	30	30	54	18	36	28	36	33
Tolerance of Deviance	27	34	40	27	17	20	27	20	24	27
External Mistrust	26	23	22	24	23	34	25	47	22	27
General Knowledge*	23	30	28	17	26	10	26	14	24	23

* As the brief descriptions in Appendix B explain, these are composite indices -- formed from other indices rather than from independent items.

The regional variations along most of these cognitive dimensions are significant but moderate. No glaring pattern emerges. Three of the indices are essentially "negative" from a developmental viewpoint -- Parochialism, Personal Don't Knows, and External Mistrust. It is interesting that regional rankings in terms of these three indices correlate most strongly. Parochialism rankings correlate +.83 with Personal Don't Knows and with External

Mistrust, while Personal Don't Knows and External Mistrust rankings correlate +.60. This negative syndrome of parochialism, unimaginativeness and mistrust is most evident in the Southeastern, East Central and North Central Regions. It is least evident in the Northeastern, Aegean and South Central Regions. The main surprise here is, again, the relative attitudinal modernity of the Northeastern Region, which is underdeveloped in many respects. Nor is the cognitive modernity of the inhabitants of this region manifested solely in our "negative" indices. The Northeastern villagers rank at or near the top of the regional scale on four of the five "positive" indices. However, the one deviant rating for this region is disturbing. Peasants from that area ranked lowest of all in terms of their tolerance of deviant behavior. In fact, ranking last in Tolerance of Deviance and first in Propensity to Innovate seems quite contradictory, and it alerts one to look either for some flaw in our data gathering from that area or else for some special complexity in perspectives in that region.

The two most developed regions, Aegean and Marmara, rank first and second in Tolerance of Deviance and General Knowledge, but they achieve only intermediate positions in Political Empathy, Propensity to Innovate and Cognitive Flexibility. And, we should again call attention to the consistently unfavorable features of the Southeastern Region, which ranks either worst or next to worst from a developmental viewpoint on every one of the eight measures. All in all, this cognitive panorama of the nine regions exposes several plausible basic patterns, but it also contains a sufficient number of anomalies to warrant more refined analysis.

Overview of Regional Variations in Indices

We have presented our data thus far in terms of the percentage of villagers from each region who scored high on various indices. As we have explained, this procedure simplifies the initial presentation of our data, but it also sacrifices information by making use of only a portion of the replies received. Now that the reader is familiar with most of the indices and the agricultural regions, other statistics can be used to conclude this panorama of regional variations in rural Turkey.

One valuable approach is to employ a measure describing the central tendency of each index in each region. For example, we have computed the mean and median scores for each index over the total sample and for the sample from each region. We use this information in simplified form in Table 8. We have let the median score for each index in the total sample be 100, and we have then expressed the median score for each region in terms of that base, in standard "index number" procedure. Put another way, we express each region's median score for an index as a percentage of the total sample's median score for that index. Thus, if the number entered for a region is over 100 it signifies that the region's rating was higher than the national rating obtained for all rural Turkey; if the region's score is below 100, the region's rating was below the national median for rural Turkey on that index.

When our data are arrayed in this fashion, they seem to tell a clear and interesting story. Obviously, many of the comments previously made are reinforced, and we shall not repeat them. We have presented the data in terms of eight groups of indices: objective village characteristics, community orientation, political perspectives, religious outlook, personal background

Table 8

Regional Variations in Selected Indices (Regional Medians Divided by Median For Total Sample)

<u>Indices</u>	<u>Regions</u>								
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>
Village Development (+)	101	155	138	107	85	32	97	78	106
Village Establishments (+)	114	171	155	93	76	41	74	54	137
Village Mass Media Access (+)	102	145	156	105	74	41	100	73	105
Village Centrality (+)	84	120	103	117	86	67	98	111	103
Village Social Services (+)	86	126	156	119	92	43	114	95	77
Village Governmental Contact (+)	93	142	121	107	78	94	51	87	130
Perceived Village Initiative (+)	99	107	97	100	107	74	98	110	108
Perc'd Conc. of Power and Wealth	99	123	105	126	83	56	95	76	129
Headman Orientation	102	80	117	101	92	87	124	94	95
Communal Responsibility (+)*	109	118	118	99	84	38	99	92	109
Communal Cooperativeness (+)*	100	101	101	100	101	97	100	100	99
Communal Efficacy (+)*	116	105	97	97	91	76	96	114	105
Communal Don't Knows (-)*	117	87	88	97	56	192	89	158	84
Educ. and Occup. Aspiration (+)*	92	102	87	105	118	101	100	94	106
Optimism	102	100	97	101	108	97	93	108	97
Government Services Wanted	99	101	101	101	102	94	100	95	100
Favorable Urban Image	99	101	96	100	101	98	102	100	100
Desire for Pol. Participa'n (+)*	106	109	99	108	71	75	124	85	92
Political Efficacy (+)*	93	100	89	94	107	113	106	94	101
Political Party Knowledge (+)*	89	134	112	118	130	43	120	29	159
Voting Participation (+)	94	101	94	96	111	111	101	88	107
Religious Knowledge	102	90	99	100	100	100	100	100	102
Religious Ritualism (-)	101	96	95	99	101	103	102	95	102
Religious Saliency (-)*	89	90	85	111	117	179	82	91	85
Religious Strictness (-)*	102	95	99	100	93	111	102	96	104
Mass Media Exposure (+)	115	167	126	105	85	25	97	59	140
Geographical Mobility (+)	92	104	136	126	78	73	99	91	105
Interpersonal Communication (+)	109	109	112	85	99	76	98	104	100
Subjective Poverty (lack of) (+)	94	152	154	126	25	93	82	45	94
Personal Don't Knows (-)*	127	90	86	102	50	256	76	122	78
Political Empathy (+)*	109	99	93	97	118	92	100	98	93
Tolerance of Deviance (+)*	101	150	169	102	86	67	89	84	103
Propensity to Innovate (+)*	101	105	96	99	108	71	103	101	100
General Knowledge (+)*	98	114	105	99	109	80	105	80	101
Cognitive Flexibility (+)*	100	103	96	101	119	77	103	92	101
External Mistrust (-)*	94	81	75	84	81	136	90	240	77
Parochialism (-)*	110	92	99	100	77	111	99	129	86
Use of Agricultural Services (+)	107	84	71	86	133	77	102	97	178
Use of Social Services (+)	97	123	101	114	96	70	102	82	106

factors, cognitive characteristics, aspirations and expectations, and use of specific services. These index groups were formed on theoretical grounds long before we had inspected any of the present regional patterns within these theoretical index groups.

The measures of objective village characteristics plainly show that the Aegean and Marmara Regions are the most developed; that the South Central, Mediterranean, Black Sea, and North Central Regions follow thereafter, in roughly that order, and form a group of intermediate development; and that the Northeastern, East Central and Southeastern Regions constitute a group of the least developed regions, with the Southeastern Region being so low as to perhaps fall into a fourth level of its own. The only index for which it is not markedly lowest of all is Village Governmental Contact, and this is the index least related to "development."

We see that Turkish villagers' perceptions of the developmental initiative of their villages, the concentration of power and wealth therein, and the role of the headman vary much less than objective village characteristics. Patterns here are more blurred than in other groups, but we wish to call attention to merely two or three points. It seems that the tendency to perceive power and wealth in the village as relatively concentrated is stronger in the objectively more developed regions. This is probably a realistic interpretation on the part of the villagers resident there, but we should also heed the fact that this feeling may pose a fairly awkward developmental problem. Secondly, we direct attention to the low perceived village initiative in the Southeastern Region -- a low point in an index pattern that otherwise features little regional variation. Thirdly, we should also point out the lesser apparent role of the village headman (muhtar) in the Aegean and Southeastern Regions.

The regional variation in the index of Communal Responsibility is noteworthy. As we shall indicate statistically a little later, it clearly coincides with variations in village development. Villagers in the more developed areas are conspicuously distinguished from their brethren in other areas by a greater acceptance of village responsibility for dealing with important village problems. One of the government's main problems in the more backward regions is to induce the villagers to accept at least partial responsibility for improving their lots.

The sense of communal efficacy -- that the village can somehow make a dent in its outstanding problems -- is similarly low all over rural Turkey. This is probably one basis for the reluctance to accept developmental responsibility as a community. However, in this instance the regional variations are slightly reduced and, more particularly, of less clear pattern.

Within this framework, communal cooperativeness -- the stated willingness to participate in village improvement projects -- is almost perfectly uniform across all regions. Part of this may simply be due to an acquiescence-set among our respondents, who may have felt that such was the reply the government wanted to hear. Although it can be rather convincingly established that an acquiescence-set was not visible in the responses to most of our items, this index and possibly the one entitled Government Services Wanted may well have been subject to such a bias. Against this interpretation we should simply indicate that significant variation in response to these items was obtained for different types of villagers. Females, for example, were less cooperative than males, and older peasants less than younger ones. Hence, our belief is that although some of the regional uniformity may be due to an acquiescence-set that is highly stable across

regions (an interesting fact in itself), some of it is genuine uniformity of attitudes. Most rural Turks, in other words, sincerely, though perhaps lightly, say that they would be willing to cooperate with other villagers on communal improvement projects.

Lastly, we observe that the apparent level of basic knowledge about their communities varies remarkably from region to region. The backward East Central and Southeastern Regions are flagrantly deficient in this respect.

Even less regional variation is uncovered when we come to the bloc of indices assessing expectations and aspirations. These are extremely high and, as the table shows, essentially uniform in all regions of the nation. Patently, the basic wants and expectations are there. The real questions seem to be 1) how they can be harnessed to realistic goals rather than remaining merely wishes for "pie in the sky," and (2) how great is the danger of counterproductive instability if some progress toward satisfying such aspirations is not perceived by the rural populace. Strong and uniform, though sometimes unrealistic, aspirations are one of the constants in our picture of village Turkey.

Two of the four political indices likewise change relatively little from region to region. These are Personal Political Efficacy and Voting Participation. The sense of local political efficacy is generally high and the sense of national political efficacy generally extremely low throughout village Turkey. Differential rural modernization seems to have had scant impact on these feelings. Similarly, Turkish peasants troop to the polls in approximately the same proportions in all parts of the country -- in backward areas certainly no less than in modern areas, though the personal significance of the act of voting may be quite different in the two areas.

The political characteristics that do seem to vary clearly between regions are the Desire for Political Participation and Political Party Knowledge. On the whole, one finds that both indices are positively associated with the overall degree of development in a region. Both in the expressed desire for political participation and in the possession of knowledge about political parties (which is to some extent a manifestation of that desire), relative modernity and increased politicization appear basically to go together. In particular, one should take cognizance of the egregiously low level of political party knowledge displayed in the two most backward areas of all -- the East Central and Southeastern Regions.

It is not necessary to comment much further about the plain relationship between our measures of the individual's exposure to change through the mass media, travel, and divergent interpersonal communications, on the one hand, and the level of regional development, on the other. The relationship is most conspicuous in the case of mass media exposure and least visible in the case of divergent interpersonal communication. Moreover, this pattern is repeated, perhaps even exaggerated, in the association between relative economic well-being (lack of subjective poverty) and the objective measures of village development.

Finally, we come to the bloc of cognitive indices. For several of these there is surprisingly little regional variation even though the index seems to discriminate adequately on the individual level. (We should re-emphasize the fact that we are discussing regional variations only, and that the absence of such variations does not necessarily imply lack of important variations between different types of individual peasants along the dimension in question.) For example, Political Empathy, Propensity to Innovate and Cognitive Flexibility, all quite revealing measures

on the individual level, seem to display only small and apparently haphazard differences between regions, except for the Northeast and Southeast. However, the remaining five cognitive indices do show a consistent pattern of regional variation. The relative incidences of Personal Don't Knows, External Mistrust and Parochialism are all less in the more developed regions and greater in the underdeveloped regions. The East Central Region seems to be particularly beset by mistrust and the Southeastern Region by personal stolidity, both of which would be obstacles to development. Maintaining the same pattern, Tolerance of Deviance and General Knowledge are high in the more objectively modern areas and low in the more backward regions, with Tolerance of Deviance distinguishing particularly well between the more and less developed areas. All in all, it seems quite apparent that when one moves from some parts of Turkey to other parts, one moves not only to a different topography, different climate, and different level of economic development, but also, often, into a different psychological atmosphere whose consideration would seem to be no less critical for the policy-maker than other basic regional characteristics.⁷

Two interesting structural questions are prompted by the data arrayed in Table 8. One question inquires what regions seem most to resemble on another in pattern across the entire group of more than forty indices, and what regions seem to be most divergent. In this fashion, one can indicate to the policy-maker regions where similar approaches

⁷ We shall not discuss the Use of Agricultural Services Index further because of its multi-dimensional features. The association between the Use of Social Services Index and objective village development across regions is patent and not very meaningful because the use of social services is so strongly tied with the availability of such services as measured by the Village Social Services Index already examined.

might be effective and regions where it is doubtful if regionally unadapted programs will succeed. To provide insight into such relations we have taken the median index numbers furnished in Table 8 and correlated each region's profile of index numbers against every other region's profile. The resulting matrix of product-moment correlations is presented in Table 9. A correlation coefficient of approximately $\pm .200$ is needed for statistical significance at the .10 level or better, with 43 comparisons, a one-tailed test, and an assumption of random sampling. Approximately $\pm .260$ is needed for significance at the .05 level.

Table 9

Matrix of Inter-Regional Correlations Across Indices (Median Index Numbers)

<u>Regions</u>	<u>Regions</u>								
	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>	<u>IX</u>
	<u>N.C.</u>	<u>Aeg.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Med.</u>	<u>N.E</u>	<u>S.E.</u>	<u>B.S.</u>	<u>E.C.</u>	<u>S.C.</u>
I. North Central	XX	-.073	-.075	-.494	-.283	.243	-.156	.130	-.017
II. Aegean	-.073	XX	.765	.387	-.325	-.607	-.292	-.606	.383
III. Marmara	-.075	.765	XX	.332	-.423	-.539	-.110	-.507	.049
IV. Mediterranean	-.494	.387	.332	XX	-.298	-.192	-.005	-.438	.042
V. Northeastern	-.283	-.325	-.423	-.298	XX	-.196	.409	-.098	.339
VI. Southeastern	.243	-.607	-.539	-.192	-.196	XX	-.330	-.513	-.485
VII. Black Sea	-.156	-.292	-.110	-.005	.409	-.330	XX	-.119	-.031
VIII. East Central	.130	-.606	-.507	-.438	-.098	.513	-.119	XX	-.507
IX. South Central	-.017	.383	.049	.042	.339	-.485	-.031	-.507	XX

One word about this procedure is required. Use of the median index score for each region divided by the median index score for the total sample as the basis for these correlations acts to exaggerate regional contrasts.

This is because the median index numbers are not really independent of each other. For example, all regional median index numbers cannot be above the total sample median index number (100). If one regional figure is above 100 this means roughly that some other regional figure will tend to be below 100. In this fashion regional differences are heightened by this procedure. But since we want to emphasize regional similarities and differences, such an exaggeration suits our purpose, as long as we are aware of what we have done.

We see from this matrix basically that the two regions with the most similar scores across the forty three indices were the Aegean and the Marmara Regions. These are unmistakably the two most modern areas of rural Turkey. Note also the very clear difference between these regions and the two most backward regions, the Southeast and East Central Regions, as reflected in the strong negative correlations in those matrix cells. In general, if we restrict ourselves to positive associations over .200 in strength, the pattern of relative regional similarities can be represented by the diagram of Figure 3.

As this diagram shows, the Aegean and Marmara Regions are most similar to each other, and both of these regions are also similar, at a lower level, to the Mediterranean Region. The Aegean Region is moderately similar to the South Central Region, but the Marmara Region is not particularly similar to that region. Again, the South Central Region is similar to the Northeastern Region, and the Northeastern Region is similar to the Black Sea Region, though, obviously, the Black Sea Region is not significantly similar to the South Central or any other region. Then, at the bottom of the diagram, we have one intermediate and two very backward regions that are connected by similarities. The Southeastern and East Central

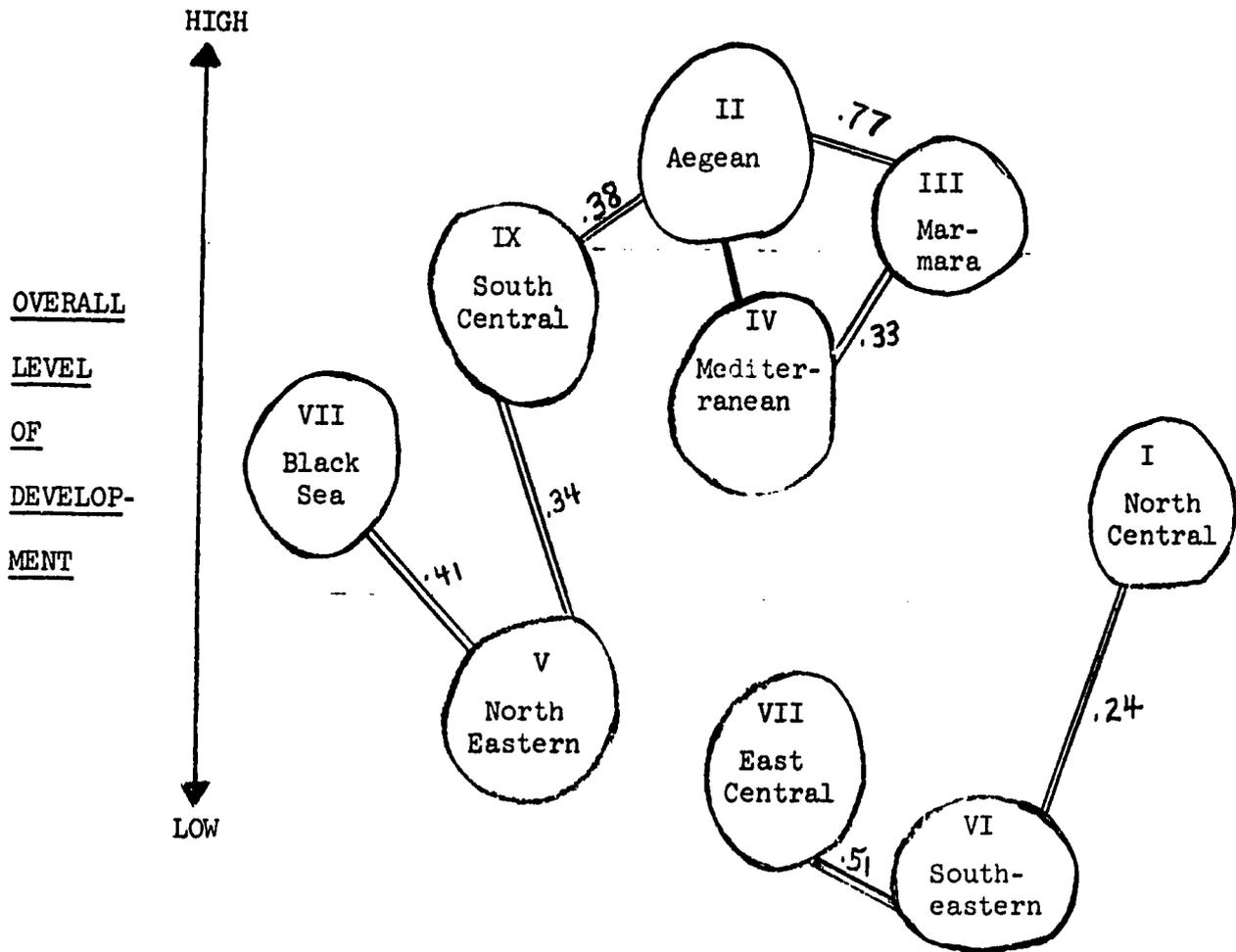


Figure 3. Schematic Representation of Regional Similarities in Rural Turkey

Regions, the least developed areas of the nation, have a rather strong degree of resemblance to each other, and the Southeastern Region, quite surprisingly as far as we were concerned, bears a weak but still significant similarity to the North Central Region. Naturally, when we talk about similarity here we refer to similarity across our forty three indices descriptive of the characteristics of the peasants and villages in each region.

The reader will have noted positive and negative signs placed in parentheses after the indices listed on Table 8. These signs represent our arbitrary judgment whether a higher score on the index would seem to be positively

or negatively related to "development." If one accepts the gross validity of these signs, then another crude but illuminating analytic avenue is opened to us. One can inspect the median index numbers furnished on the table for their positive or negative deviation from the national median (100).⁸ We can then calculate the sum of negative or anti-developmental scores for each region and the sum of positive or pro-developmental scores. This in turn produces a net developmental rating for each region in terms of the direction and amount of its relative deviation from the national standard. We have made such calculations for the total set of indices, for the six objective indices of village characteristics, and for a group of eighteen purely psychological or attitudinal indices distinguished by an asterisk on Table 8. Exclusions from these three groups of indices were made because of the obvious inappropriateness of an index and also in cases where we felt uncertain about either the developmental thrust or the proper village or attitudinal classification of the index. The numerical results of this process are supplied in Table 10. A graphic representation of the rankings of regions, obtained from the data of Table 10, is provided in Figure 4, which contrasts relative regional positions in objective village development with the relative "attitudinal modernity" or pro-developmental orientation of the inhabitants of the region.

In short, what we have done in these calculations is to look at each index median for each region, compute what per cent over or under the national median it was and whether the difference seemed to favor or retard development, and then summarize these calculations. The most

⁸ The national median was computed from the 6,000 or more individual scores. It was not computed from the regional data.

Table 10

Deviations from National Index Medians, by Developmental Direction and Region

	Region								
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>
A. <u>All Indices (32):</u>									
Pro-dev. deviations (sum)	100	632	535	180	271	25	142	58	322
Anti-dev. deviations (sum)	<u>-146</u>	<u>-1</u>	<u>-52</u>	<u>-54</u>	<u>-312</u>	<u>-1129</u>	<u>-126</u>	<u>-649</u>	<u>-51</u>
Net developmental deviation	-46	631	383	126	-41	-1104	16	-591	271
Av. net dev. dev. per index	-1.4	19.7	12.0	3.9	-1.3	-35.2	0.5	-18.5	8.5
B. <u>Objective Vill. Indices (6):</u>									
Pro-dev. deviations (sum)	17	259	259	55	0	0	14	11	81
Anti-dev. deviations (sum)	<u>-38</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-7</u>	<u>-109</u>	<u>-282</u>	<u>-80</u>	<u>-113</u>	<u>-23</u>
Net developmental deviation	-21	259	259	48	-109	-282	-66	-102	58
Av. net dev. dev. per index	-3.5	43.2	43.2	8.0	-18.2	-47.0	-11.0	-17.0	9.7
C. <u>Attitudinal Indices (18):</u>									
Pro-dev. deviations (sum)	59	201	133	53	233	14	125	28	175
Anti-dev. deviations (sum)	<u>-84</u>	<u>-1</u>	<u>-83</u>	<u>-28</u>	<u>-85</u>	<u>-669</u>	<u>-18</u>	<u>-401</u>	<u>-20</u>
Net developmental deviation	-25	200	50	25	148	-655	107	-373	155
Av. net dev. dev. per index	-1.4	11.1	2.8	1.4	8.2	-36.4	5.9	-20.7	8.6

important revelation from this procedure is probably contained in parts B and C of the table. The objective village indices show that the Black Sea, East Central, Northeastern, and Southeastern Region contain villages with the poorest levels of community development. However, these four regions are by no means alike. The apparent attitudinal obstacles to development are significantly greater in the Southeastern and East Central Regions than in the Northeastern and Black Sea Regions. Presumably, the policy-maker will find it

most rewarding initially to promote regional development in those areas where the psychological climate for development seems favorable and where the major problems seem to be capital shortage, isolation, climate, etc. Rural Turkey appears to contain two such regions according to our data; these are the Northeastern and Black Sea areas, low in community development and physically poor, but with relatively great potential attitudinal responsiveness to development. These relations are adumbrated in Figure 4, which uses the average net developmental deviation per index statistic

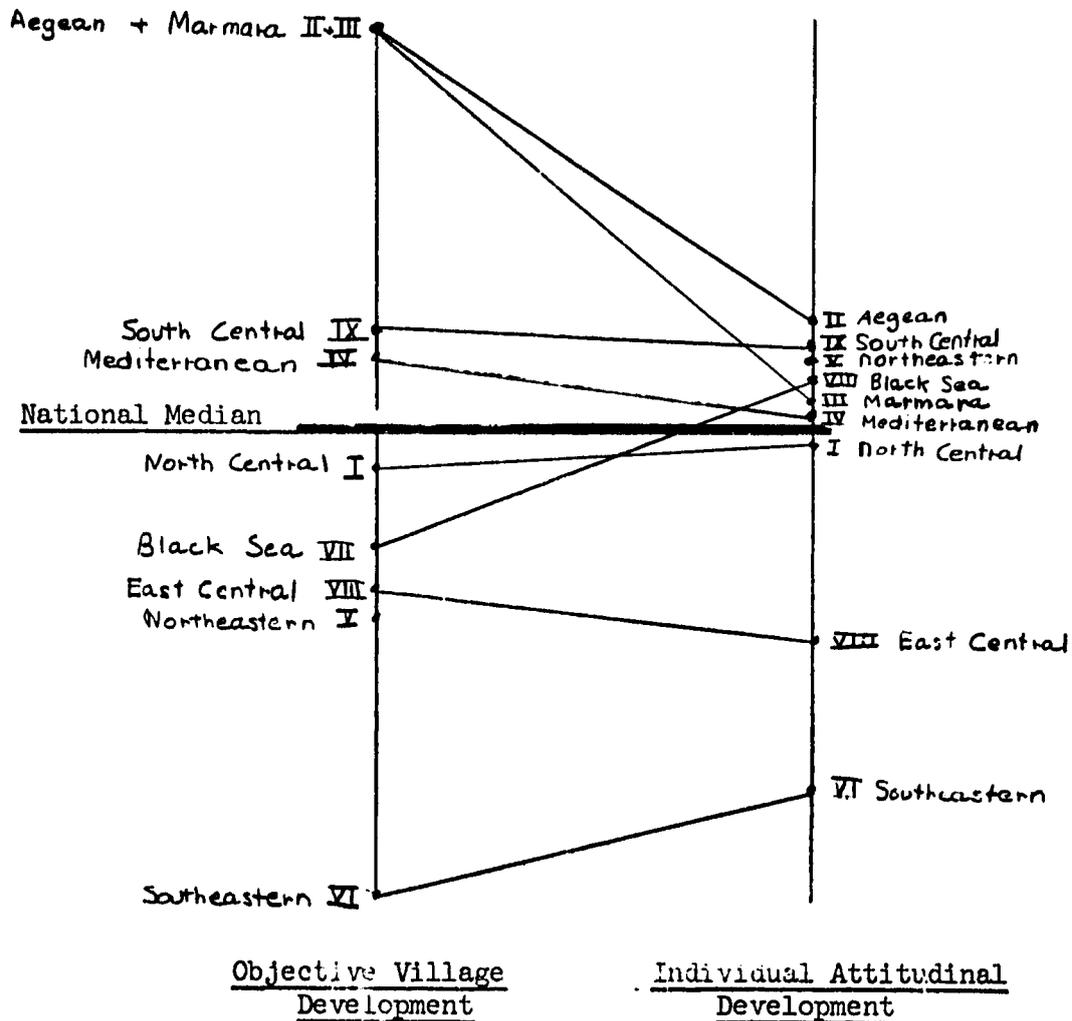


Figure 4. Comparison of Regional Rankings in Objective Village Development and Individual Attitudinal Modernity

from Table 10 to rank the nine regions in terms of their village development and attitudinal modernity. The distinctly higher relative attitudinal ratings of the Northeastern and Black Sea Regions is quite obvious. In fact, from a slightly different perspective, the figure also suggests how much must be done in order to bring the Southeastern and East Central Regions up to developmental levels, attitudinal as well as economic, achieved in the rest of rural Turkey. Finally, the figure roughly indicates the fact that regional differences in objective measures of village development seem to be greater than regional differences in attitudinal modernity.

If the first question prompted by the data of Table 8 was "what regions seem most to resemble one another in pattern across the entire group of more than forty indices?"; the second question to which we then referred is "What indices seem most to resemble one another in their distribution of response across the nine regions?" This second question is answered by the data of Table 11. There we list all the indices employed in our analysis, and we enumerate all other indices whose profile of regional variation is correlated with that of any given index at $\pm .722$ or better ($p < .01$) or at $\pm .555$ or better but less than $\pm .722$ ($.01 < p < .05$).⁹ In short, the table tells us what indices had significantly similar or significantly different distributions across the nine agricultural regions.

To save space, the index titles are abbreviated. All correlations are positive unless a minus sign is employed. The first entry, for example, means that the regional profile obtained for the Village Development

⁹ The correlational measure used was Kendall's Tau, and the regions were ranked for each index according to the index numbers of their median scores.

Table 11

Significant Correlations of Indices' Regional Profiles^a

Village Development (VD)	7 (VMA PCFW VE MME TD GM USS) (--)
Village Establishments (VE)	11 (MME TD CR VMA VD) (VGC PCFW USS GM IC -EM)
Village Mass Media Access (VMA)	10 (VE MME TD CR VD GM USS) (VSS PCFW -EM)
Village Centrality (VC)	2 (--) (VSS USS)
Village Social Services (VSS)	7 (--) (VMA CC GM CR VC -RK -RR)
Village Governmental Contact (VGC)	2 (--) (MME VE)
Perceived Village Initiative (PVI)	0 (--) (--)
Perc'd Conc of Power & Wealth (PCFW)	9 (MME TD VD USS) (VMA GM CR SP VE)
Headman Orientation (HO)	1 (--) (-RSL)
Communal Responsibility (CR)	10 (TD MME VE VMA VD) (IC VSS PCFW GM -PPE)
Communal Cooperativeness (CC)	4 (-RST) (GK VSS GSW)
Communal Efficacy (CE)	2 (--) (-PPE -VP)
Community Don't Knows (CDK)	8 (P PDK -PPK) (EM -CF -SP -GSW -GK)
Educ. & Occup. Aspiration (EOA)	1 (--) (PPE)
Optimism (O)	0 (--) (--)
Governmental Services Wanted (GSW)	8 (--) (CC GK CF SP -EM -P -CDK -RST)
Favorable Urban Image (FUI)	2 (--) (PI CF)
Desire for Pol. Participation (DPP)	1 (--) (USS)
Personal Political Efficacy (PPE)	6 (VP) (EOA RR -CR -IC -CE)
Political Party Knowledge (PPK)	8 (SP GK -P -CDK) (CF USS -PDK -EM)
Voting Participation (VP)	4 (PPE) (RR -P -CE)
Religious Knowledge (RK)	2 (UAS) (-VSS)
Religious Ritualism (RR)	4 (--) (PPE VP -IC -VSS)
Religious Saliency (RSL)	1 (--) (-HO)
Religious Strictness (RST)	3 (-CC) (-PI -GSW)
Mass Media Exposure (MME)	8 (CR VE PCFW VMA VD USS) (VGC GM)
Geographical Mobility (GM)	10 (VD VMA TD) (CR MME VE VSS PCFW USS -EM)
Interpersonal Communication (IC)	4 (--) (VE CR -RR -PPE)
Subjective Poverty (lack of) (SP)	9 (PPK -P) (PCFW GSW USS GK CF -EM -CDK)
Personal Don't Knows (PDK)	5 (P CDK -CF) (-PPK -GK)
Political Empathy (PEM)	2 (PI) (CF)
Tolerance of Deviance (TD)	9 (CR PI VE PCFW VMA VD GM) (USS -EM)
Propensity to Innovate (PI)	5 (TD PEM) (CF FUI -RST)
General Knowledge (GK)	9 (PPK -P) (CF SP CC GSW -EM -CDK -PDK)
Cognitive Flexibility (CF)	10 (-PDK) (PEM FUI SP PI GK GSW PPK -P -CDK)
External Mistrust (EM)	10 (--) (P CDK -VMA -PPK -GK -GM -TD -SP -VE -GS)
Parochialism (P)	9 (PDK CDK -PPK -SP -GK) (EM -CF -GSW -VP)
Use of Agricultural Services (UAS)	1 (RK) (--)
Use of Social Services (USS)	11 (VD VMA PCFW MME) (PPK GM TD SP VC VE DPP)

^a Correlations of .722 or better are listed inside the first parentheses, and correlations of .555 or better but less than .722 are listed inside the second parentheses. (--) signifies no correlations at the indicated level. The number between the index name and the list of correlations is the sum of the other indices whose regional profiles correlate significantly with the given index. A minus sign before the index abbreviation indicates that the correlation was negative.

Index was correlated at +.722 or better with the regional profiles for the indices of Village Mass Media Access, Perceived Concentration of Power and Wealth, Village Establishments, Mass Media Exposure, Tolerance of Deviance, Use of Social Services and Geographical Mobility. It was not correlated at the \pm .555 to .721 level with any other index.

We have included this table largely for the policy-maker's convenience. If he is interested in a particular phenomenon represented by one of our indices and wishes to know what other rural phenomena are distributed across the nine regions in basically the same fashion, he can refer to this table. Thus, we see that the Propensity to Innovate was relatively distributed across the regions in more or less the same way as Tolerance of Deviance, Political Empathy, Cognitive Flexibility (which includes the Propensity to Innovate Index), and Favorable Urban Image. It was distributed in roughly opposite fashion from Religious Strictness. Regions relatively high in Religious Strictness tend to rank relatively low in Propensity to Innovate. Similarly, we see that the Government Services Wanted Index was relatively high in regions that were high in Communal Cooperativeness, General Knowledge, Cognitive Flexibility, and lack of Subjective Poverty. But regions that were relatively high in External Mistrust, Parochialism, Community Don't Knows and Religious Strictness tended to be comparatively low in the importance they attached to the assorted government services.

Although these relative regional variations in indices are suggestive of the direct correlations one finds between indices at the individual level, they must not be mistaken for such correlations. Such an error is often called the "ecological fallacy," and the unwary or too eager researcher can be badly fooled sometimes by such an inference. The data

on the table merely inform the policy-maker of the other indices that are relatively distributed across the nine regions in the same fashion as the index he is examining -- that is, the other indices whose distribution ranks the regions in fundamentally the same order. Why the similarity of regional rankings is found, whether it is because of correlations at the individual level or for other reasons, is something which then must be decided by further investigation in each case.

In conclusion, we should simply call attention to the interesting fact that the indices which seem to have the greatest number of similarities and dissimilarities with other indices in their regional distribution are Village Establishments, Use of Social Services, Village Mass Media Access, Communal Responsibility, Geographical Mobility, Cognitive Flexibility (composite index), and External Mistrust. If he is willing to scrutinize the table carefully, the reader will probably locate many other plausible and meaningful relationships relevant to his particular concerns.

Regional Variations in Selected Items

A basic portrait of rural Turkey has been sketched using the medium of several dozen analytic indices formed from many of the questions in the Rural Development Research Project survey. However, there were many survey items that were not included in indices, and there are occasional component items from indices that have special interest. It therefore seems useful to spend a moment examining a few individual survey items that seem to add telling touches of depth or detail to the rough portrait we have already drawn. We shall be very selective, merely putting in highlights. The first group of data concerns additional village differences between regions. It is presented in Table 12, whose entries refer to the percentage of villagers from each region living in a community with the designated characteristic.

Table 12

<u>Village Items</u>	<u>Region</u>									<u>Nation</u>
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>	
Village Size: 1 - 399	40%	24%	39%	19%	25%	55%	25%	33%	18%	29%
Village Size: 1,000 - 1,999	15	34	30	29	25	7	23	21	45	24
More than 20 km from highway	31	8	6	9	28	37	14	27	24	20
More than 4 hrs. to <u>kaza</u> center	27	15	38	30	23	47	33	38	29	30
Only one population nucleus	78	76	82	62	62	45	49	60	92	66
All houses have glass windows	41	76	76	22	15	2	31	39	48	40
No houses with more than 3 rooms	9	19	13	19	31	32	17	24	9	19
No one works another's land as an agricultural laborer	26	9	13	16	29	35	36	14	24	23
Main crop wheat	81	50	77	67	54	92	37	84	79	66
Market or bazaar near village	56	68	72	47	12	5	54	45	55	48
Kaymakam "never" comes	40	22	18	37	13	48	58	26	17	34
Agric. officials "never" come	53	16	28	38	47	57	57	49	27	42
Gendarmes come at least weekly	44	82	80	57	50	39	34	62	90	58
No Ağa in village	92	84	78	87	84	77	94	87	97	87
No Hacı in village	34	53	65	65	80	33	66	74	25	55
No influential sheikh in area	96	97	100	91	100	71	96	87	95	93
Party unit in village in 1960	74	73	72	77	53	34	66	63	82	67
More than one party unit in 1960	65	61	64	68	41	26	62	50	76	58

The data of the table speak for themselves. For example, there are pronounced regional differences in typical community size, with the Southeastern Region having particularly small villages and the South Central Region (Konya-Kayseri) having especially large villages. The less developed regions (Southeast, Northeast, and East Central), along with the North Central Region, are studded with villages well removed from the nearest regularly travelled highway. The Southeastern and Black Sea Regions are also conspicuous for having an inordinate number of peasants resident in

villages with more than one population nucleus. Actually, in Hakkâri our interviewers found one village with twenty seven separate population nuclei or distinct settlements. The Black Sea situation, however, is perhaps unique, since this is the one area in which there are many scattered farms instead of the usual clustered-village type of settlement.

The pattern of regional variations in level of community development and subjective poverty that we uncovered using our indices is again revealed through the item having to do with the percentage of peasants living in villages where all the houses have glass windows -- another measure of economic status. With the exception of the Mediterranean Region, where climate may intrude on the meaning of our measure, the regions display a familiar rank order: Aegean and Marmara, South Central, and so on until we find the Southeastern Region once again at the very bottom of the developmental ladder. A roughly comparable pattern, though less clear, emerges from the data on the number of peasants living in villages where no house has more than three rooms. On the other hand, we see that the likelihood of some peasants' in the village being agricultural laborers, as contrasted to farm owners or tenants, is greatest in the most modern regions plus the East Central Region. We also observe the quite important fact that more of the peasants from the less developed Southeastern and Northeastern Regions live in communities with poor access to a market or bazaar. And the same pattern basically emerges from the information regarding village contact with the Kaymakam (county prefect), with agricultural officials, and with gendarmes.

The great majority of Turkey's villagers from all regions resides in a community without Ağas (a term of several meanings, most importantly referring to a dominant large landowner or tribal leader). At the same time, one must observe that relatively more of the villagers from the

Southeastern Region and (for some unknown reason, probably terminological) the Marmara Region did have one or more "Ağas" in their village. However, in general, the so-called "Ağa problem" of which Turkish newsmagazines sometimes make so much would seem to be quite limited in scope.

It is interesting to see the relatively large number of villages with hacıs (persons who have made the rather difficult and expensive pilgrimage to Mecca) in the Southeastern and South Central Regions. These regions, so different from each other in most ways, appear to be the most religious areas of Turkey. We also see the greater incidence of influential sheikhs in the Southeastern Region.

Lastly, although most of rural Turkey was covered by village level political party organizations prior to their abolition in 1960, it appears that the Southeastern and Northeastern Regions were markedly less well covered than most other sections. When one party secured a foothold in a village it was usually the case that it had one or more local competitors; the villagers thus probably had some direct local opportunity to experience political party conflict of a sort. In a later report we shall investigate whether the experience of local party organization and/or competition has any strong associations with other aspects of community life.

In Table 13, we turn to regional variations in selected individual characteristics. The first two items pertain to literacy and to having received some formal education. In both cases it is obvious that we obtain the basic modernization rank ordering of the regions that we have witnessed so many times before: Aegean and Marmara, South Central, North Central, North Central, Black Sea and Mediterranean, and finally the Northeastern, East Central and Southeastern Regions, although in this particular

Table 13

<u>Items</u>	<u>Region</u>									
	<u>I</u> <u>N.C.</u>	<u>II</u> <u>Aeg.</u>	<u>III</u> <u>Mar.</u>	<u>IV</u> <u>Med.</u>	<u>V</u> <u>N.E.</u>	<u>VI</u> <u>S.E.</u>	<u>VII</u> <u>B.S.</u>	<u>VIII</u> <u>E.C.</u>	<u>IX</u> <u>S.C.</u>	<u>Nation</u>
Literate	31%	37%	34%	26%	26%	12%	27%	24%	31%	28%
Attended school	34	40	36	24	25	9	24	24	32	28
Nine or more in household	21	12	19	20	37	31	30	22	18	23
One room house	8	17	6	22	33	37	18	27	16	19
Most important village problem:										
Water	27	37	20	35	29	29	26	27	28	29
Roads	13	21	15	12	15	13	16	10	12	15
Land	10	6	10	9	16	19	8	6	13	10
Poverty	12	4	7	8	17	8	23	12	17	12
Village project recognized	71	85	75	59	55	37	60	60	73	65
Agric. credit "very important"	72	82	83	88	83	67	79	63	82	77
Desire five or more children	22	18	17	50	41	58	34	33	38	33
Everyone seen as having a voice in village affairs	43	39	40	33	51	62	43	54	30	44
Headman most influential	75	75	84	73	69	56	76	66	76	73
Person most admired:										
Ataturk	26	34	31	28	19	10	20	27	30	25
Religious figure	9	7	11	6	15	32	8	9	10	11
Problems often unbearable	42	33	36	37	55	29	51	47	41	41
Future decided mainly by self	33	31	42	31	29	11	30	41	25	30
Would invest 1,000 T.L. windfall	39	46	48	40	27	21	32	24	45	36

instance, the Northeastern and East Central Regions are somewhat closer to the national figure than is usually the case. The very low position of the Sixth (Southeastern) Region is once more conspicuous.

The next two items of Table 13, having to do with the size of the villager's household and house, tell a roughly similar story. Across the

nation as a whole, many peasant households are quite large. Nearly one fourth of all villagers are members of households consisting of nine or more persons. By "household" in this case we mean persons resident in the same dwelling. In general, one sees that the incidence of such large households is greater in the regions we have consistently found to be less developed along other dimensions. Moreover, not only do these regions tend to display more large households, but they also tend to have a greater proportion of one room dwelling units. Though we shall in the future attempt to develop a person-room ratio, the present data grossly suggest that the degree of residential "crowding" is significantly greater in the less developed regions of rural Turkey. The association between such "crowding" and peasant attitudes and behaviors will be examined in a later report.

On the other hand, when we examine regional variations in the kinds of village problems regarded as most important by the villagers, very few distinct differences appear. Water is regarded as the major problem by the largest number of villagers in every region. There is also rather great uniformity across regions in the percentage of peasants picking roads as the most important problem. Slightly more variation, however, is found with regard to the perception of land matters as the paramount problem. Such a concern seems to be more salient in the Northeastern and Southeastern Regions than elsewhere, although most of the percentages are rather low. Finally, we see that a generalized, rather crude designation of "poverty" as the main village problem was more likely in the Black Sea, Northeastern, and South Central Regions than elsewhere. On the whole, our main impression from these data is that of surprisingly small regional variations in perceived village problems. If

such is the case, then the policy-maker's task is probably easier than if glaring regional differences in perceived village problems existed.

Our respondents were asked if in the past few years the people of their village had ever all worked together on some project such as road building or fountain construction. As Table 13 indicates, villagers in the more developed western and coastal regions were more likely to answer in the affirmative, and peasants from the Southeastern Region were much more likely to state that no such project had occurred. Similarly, although most villagers stated that they considered the provision by the government of more agricultural credit to be "very important," and although we have reasons to believe that this question was subject to strong "response set," nevertheless the generally more developed regions evinced more stated interest in credit than did the less developed regions.

In Turkey, as in most developing nations, the problem of population control is critical. Obviously, this is a multi-faceted problem that will probably require a rather diverse and complex program for its solution. No less obvious, however, is the fact that a reduction in the number of children desired by peasant families may be a vital component of any long term solution to rampant population growth. Table 13 reveals the notable differences that exist between peasants in various regions in terms of the number of children they should ideally like to have. On the whole, the peasants from more developed regions are clearly less likely to want large families (five or more children) while the more backward regions are those where more villagers want many children. From one perspective, these data may be rather encouraging. They might suggest that a reduction in desired family size is part of the basic process of rural modernization, and that hastening the development process may help to

reduce population expansion just as it hopefully acts to increase agricultural productivity. Put negatively, the price of underdevelopment may not only be reduced agricultural productivity but heightened population pressure -- consequences that are worse in combination than when considered separately, for they imply relatively more people and less food in backward areas.

The next item in the table points to one of the apparent stresses of development. Our respondents were asked whether, in general, their village was run by one man, by just a few men, or whether nearly everyone had a voice in running things. Peasants in the more developed regions were significantly more likely to see power as concentrated, while those in the less developed regions were more likely to feel that nearly everyone had a voice in village affairs. In short, there seems to be a loss in local political efficacy that is associated with modernization. How serious this loss is, what its behavioral and attitudinal concomitants are likely to be, is something we shall look into in a later report on the politicization of the Turkish peasant. Incidentally, we should also note that there is a tendency, apparent in the next item from the table, for the village headman (muhtar) to be more widely regarded as the most influential villager in the more developed regions and to be perceived as most influential slightly less frequently in the more backward regions.

When we inspect the persons most admired by peasants living in the nine different regions we find that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a key symbol of nationalism, was appreciably more frequently mentioned in the more developed regions while religious figures were more often mentioned in the less developed regions, especially the Southeast. We also found a general tendency for the less developed regions to contain relatively more villagers

who indicated that they frequently found their problems unbearable, with the notable exception of the peasants of the Southeastern Region. These Southeastern villagers, who appear to be poorly off by most objective standards, consistently seem to be less disturbed by their relatively disadvantaged state than most other villagers in a similar position. Many reasons for this anomalous reaction can be suggested: greater religiosity, lack of knowledge of conditions elsewhere, differences in social structure, greater fatalism (as indicated in the subsequent item), etc. We shall not attempt in this report any profound search for the causes of their seemingly greater tolerance for discomfort. But we do wish to draw critical attention to this important and characteristic deviation of the Southeastern Region from the other less developed regions of rural Turkey.

Lastly, in our brief perusal of these selected items, we note that the regional variations in expressed inclination to invest a windfall of 1,000 T.L., instead of spending it in some fashion, conform rather closely to the previously observed variations in levels of regional development. The peasants in the more developed regions are more likely to say they would invest such a windfall while the villagers in the more backward areas tend disproportionately to devote it to consumption. This we regard as but another piece of evidence in an already extensive demonstration of significant regional variations in attitudes and behaviors -- variations that usually seem to correlate quite closely with objective measures of regional modernization. As we indicated earlier, when the policy-maker moves from one agricultural region to another, he encounters not only differences in physical and economic conditions which he must take into account, but he also encounters different social patterns and attitudinal climates whose recognition would seem to be no less critical for planning purposes.

The Relative Importance of Regional Variations

The final question on which the data from the Rural Development Research Project can shed some light has to do with the relative importance of regional differences in rural Turkey compared with other kinds of differences. For example, one can ask if inter-regional differences seem more conspicuous than differences between literates and illiterates, differences between peasants resident in isolated or centrally located villages, differences between peasants who are relatively well-off or poor, or differences between peasants who have relatively high mass media exposure and those who are less well exposed to the mass media. In short, the critical question would be whether the differences among peasants when they are grouped into regions are greater than the differences among peasants when they are grouped according to other criteria such as literacy, education, media exposure, poverty, village isolation, village development, and travel (geographic mobility)

We have performed a special analysis to gain some insight into this matter. The kind of analytic technique employed is called "reduction of uncertainty analysis." Essentially, this technique is an analogue of correlational analysis without the assumptions of interval data and normal distribution that correlational analysis involves. Put most simply, reduction of uncertainty analysis involves quantifying the amount of predictive uncertainty regarding some dependent variable and ascertaining how much that uncertainty is reduced by knowledge of designated independent variables. For example, if one knew that seventy per cent of our sample answered a given item "yes" and the other thirty per cent answered it "no," and if one had to guess how each individual member of our sample

answered that question without any knowledge about the individual, he could work out a strategy for minimizing errors and could calculate, with appropriate mathematical models, how many predictive errors (i.e., how much uncertainty) would be likely under such circumstances. Now suppose, for example, that in addition to the gross distribution of responses to this item one could also be told for each respondent whether he was literate or not. Then, if literacy were closely correlated with the response to the item in question, one's ability to predict individual responses correctly would markedly increase. If literacy were perfectly correlated with the item, errors (predictive uncertainty) would drop to zero. On the other hand, if there were no correlation between literacy and the item, errors (predictive uncertainty) would not be reduced at all.

The statistic on which our analysis is based measures the percentage reduction in predictive uncertainty for a dependent variable associated with knowledge of arbitrarily designated independent variables. For instance, when the dependent variable is a peasant's score on our Communal Responsibility Index and the presumed independent variable is agricultural region, a reduction of uncertainty statistic of 3.57% means that if one were provided with information about which region the peasant was from, in addition to gross knowledge about the distribution of scores on the Communal Responsibility Index for our total sample, one would improve his best possible performance in predicting the Communal Responsibility scores of individual peasants from our sample by about four per cent. For those familiar with product-moment correlational techniques, this percentage reduction in uncertainty is roughly similar to r^2 , that is, the percentage of the variation in one variable that can be "explained" solely in terms of variation in another variable.

In Table 14 we present, for most of the indices we have employed, summarized data concerning the comparative reduction in uncertainty that is associated with each of a limited set of eight arbitrarily designated independent variables. These independent variables are region, literacy, schooling, Mass Media Exposure, Subjective Poverty, Village Physical Centrality, Village Development, and Geographical Mobility (the last five being scores on indices with those names). The table presents the rank ordering of the best three predictors of the given dependent variable from the eight independent variables being considered. Beside each first ranking independent variable (best predictor), in parenthesis is the percentage reduction in uncertainty associated with that independent variable. For example, the first line of the table says that, of these eight independent variables, the best predictor of how a peasant respondent stands on our index of willingness to accept Communal Responsibility is region, the second best predictor is Subjective Poverty, and the third best predictor is Village Development (the level of development of his community of residence). The best predictor in this case, region, reduces the gross predictive uncertainty regarding the respondents' Communal Responsibility by 3.57%.

The only other explication of the table necessary is the observation that the rankings are in a sense cumulative -- i.e, analogous to partial correlations. In other words, the best predictor is first selected. Once chosen, its influence is eliminated (partialled out) and the next best predictor is selected from among those remaining. Sometimes the results obtained from this cumulative procedure are rather different from the apparent relationships observed if each independent variable is run in isolation against the dependent variable without regard to possible inter-relationships among the independent variables.

Table 14. RANKED PERCENTAGE REDUCTION IN UNCERTAINTY (TOTAL SAMPLE)

<u>Dependent Variable</u>	<u>Independent Variables</u>							
	<u>Region</u>	<u>Literacy</u>	<u>Formal Schooling</u>	<u>Mass Media Exposure</u>	<u>Subjective Poverty</u>	<u>Vill. Phys'1 Centr'ty</u>	<u>Vill. Dev't</u>	<u>Geo. Mobil- ity</u>
481 Communal Responsibility	1 (3.57%)				2		3	
483 Political Empathy	2			1 (4.48%)		3		
484 Tolerance of Deviance	1 (1.68%)			3			2	
485 Religious Strictness	1 (1.77%)						3	2
486 Favorable Urban Image	2			3	1 (0.61%)			
488 Mass Media Exposure	3	1 (13.06%)						2
489 Interpersonal Communication	2			1 (9.03%)				3
490 Economic Status	1 (2.49%)				2	3		
491 Subjective Poverty	1 (4.23%)	2				3		
493 Vill. Physical Centrality	2 (2.34%)						1*	3
494 Village Establishments	1 (20.28%)					3	2	
495 Village Gov't Contact	1 (8.89%)					3	2	
496 Village Social Services	2 (7.02%)					3	1*	
498 Propensity to Innovate	1 (1.47%)			2			3	
499 Fer'd Concen. Wealth & Power	1 (2.19%)				3		2	
500 Optimism	2			1 (1.16%)			3	
501 Government Services Wanted	1 (1.61%)			2	3			
502 Headman Orientation	1 (1.85%)			3			2	
503 Personal Don't Knows	1 (2.62%)				2	3		
514 Village Mass Media Access	2 (10.31%)					3	1*	

(Table 14., cont.)

	<u>Region</u>	<u>Literacy</u>	<u>Formal Schooling</u>	<u>Mass Media Access</u>	<u>Subjective Poverty</u>	<u>Vill. Phys'l Centr'ty</u>	<u>Vill. Dev't</u>	<u>Geo. Mobil- ity</u>
518 Village Development	2 (10.50%)		3			1*		
522 Desire for Pol. Participation	1 (2.74%)	2			3			
523 Perceived Village Initiative	1 (3.29%)			2			3	
524 Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	2			1 (2.02%)			3	
525 Communal Cooperativeness	2			1 (4.55%)		3		
526 External Mistrust	2			1 (2.60%)	3			
527 Use of Social Services	3			1 (15.62%)				2
528 Voting Participation	2		1 (1.15%)					3
529 Religious Ritualism	1 (2.05%)	2	3					
530 Religious Saliency	1 (1.68%)				2			3
531 Political Party Knowledge	3	2		1 (13.06%)				
532 Parochialism	2			1 (8.55%)				3
533 Religious Knowledge	2	1 (2.34%)					3	
534 Communal Efficacy	2			1 (1.20%)			3	
535 General Knowledge	3	2		1 (11.79%)				
536 Personal Political Efficacy	2			1 (2.56%)		3		
537 Geographic Mobility	2			1 (9.82%)		3		
538 Communal Don't Knows	2			1 (4.83%)			3	
539 Cognitive Flexibility	2			1 (5.96%)		3		
540 Village Literacy	1 (7.94%)					2	3	

* Not independent from dependent variable.

In any event, the major significance of Table 14 is quite clear. The data sharply reveal the strength of associations between regional differences and peasant or village characteristics compared with the strength of associations with most of the remaining independent variables. Region was most strongly associated with the dependent variable in twenty one out of forty cases. The only other independent variable of comparable potency was Mass Media Exposure, which ranked first in fifteen of the forty cases. To give these data their most elementary interpretation, they say that if one wishes to predict peasant responses and village characteristics along the forty designated dimensions, he is aided most by knowledge of which agricultural region houses the peasant and his village and with knowledge of how well the peasant is exposed to the mass media. Inter-regional differences in objective village characteristics, such as Village Governmental Contact, Village Establishments, or overall Village Development, seem to be most strongly associated with regional differences while many individual cognitive characteristics such as knowledge, mistrust, aspiration and parochialism, seem most strongly associated with mass media exposure. Although some of the reductions in uncertainty are small, the comparative importance of regional differences in rural Turkey is manifestly suggested by these data.

Summary

I. Introduction.

Official censuses, special economic statistics and direct impressionistic observation all suggest that there are significant regional differences in Turkey. Policy-making for social and economic development will generally be more effective if it is undertaken with explicit knowledge of regional variations. This fact has been recognized by the Turkish government in its formal provision of a regional planning mechanism within the overall planning structure.

For development policy-making, information regarding the main relevant attitudinal characteristics of the target population is required as well as information about climate, economic performance and demographic characteristics. Indeed, it seems fruitful to conceive of attitudinal regions as basic planning units in addition to the more common agricultural, industrial, linguistic, hydraulic, and other regional breakdowns.

The purpose of the present report is to provide previously unavailable information about regional variations in the attitudinal characteristics of Turkish villagers and about regional variations in more objective characteristics of village communities. The data on which the report is based were collected in 1962 through interviews with a national sample of more than 6,000 Turkish peasants resident in 458 villages scattered across all provinces of Turkey. The report focuses sequentially on: 1) regional differences in village characteristics; 2) regional variations in the characteristics of villagers; and 3) an investigation of regional differences compared to other kinds of differences among Turkish peasants.

The regional classification employed to search for inter-regional variations in village and peasant characteristics is the division of rural Turkey into the nine agricultural regions which has long been used by official Turkish censuses and other government statistics. Its main merit is its familiarity and the existence of a large body of useful data already organized in terms of it.

II. Regional Variations in Village Characteristics.

Rather sharp regional variations in the objective characteristics of Turkish villages were revealed through several indices. The comparative physical isolation, number of village establishments (such as coffee-houses, fountains, etc.), village social services (telephone, doctor, teacher, etc.), village mass media access, village contact with representatives of the national government, village literacy, and general development of the village (a composite of several of the above measures), all exhibited conspicuous variations across agricultural regions. For example, 60% of the peasants from the Aegean Region lived in a village which scored "high" on an index of the number of village establishments (coffee-houses, fountains, etc.) available in the community, whereas none of the peasants from the Southeastern region lived in such a community. Some 61% of the peasants from the Marmara Region lived in a village with "high" access to newspapers, radios and the cinema, whereas only 4% of the peasants from the Southeastern Region lived in such a village. Similarly egregious differences can be found for most other objective village characteristics.

Secondly, the data on community characteristics reveal a persistent general ordering or ranking of the nine regions in terms of the level of development or modernity of the villages they contain. This ordering

essentially groups the regions into three classes: 1) the Aegean and Marmara Regions, which display the greatest degree of community development or modernity; 2) the South Central, Mediterranean, North Central, and Black Sea Regions, which display an intermediate level of development, and 3) the Northeastern, East Central and Southeastern Regions, which reflect the lowest level of objective community development. This gross ordering persists, in statistically significant fashion, across all seven indices which have been employed to describe village characteristics.

III. Regional Variations in Peasant Characteristics.

1. Community Orientations. Data were collected on how Turkish villagers perceive their communities and what sort of role they envision themselves playing in those communities.

The range of inter-regional variation in community orientations and perceptions is generally less than the range of variation in objective village characteristics. The ranking of the regions that appeared in terms of their objective characteristics is much less prominent when peasant community orientations are examined.

Throughout rural Turkey, villagers seem rather uniformly to have a weak sense of "communal efficacy" -- that is, of the ability of their village, as a community, to deal with its perceived major problems. The degree of objective development that exists in some regions does not so far seem to be significantly related to this feeling of communal inefficacy.

2. Media Exposure, Travel and Interpersonal Communication. Considerable regional variation along all three of these dimensions was found. The greatest differences across regions emerged for mass media exposure, followed by interpersonal communication and then by travel (geographical mobility).

The general regional ranking that appeared when objective village development was being considered was again evident for these three indices, especially for mass media exposure.

3. Religiosity. Four indices were developed to assess the peasant's religiosity: an index of religious ritualism (assiduity of praying and fasting), religious knowledge (ability to name the five basic principles of Islam), religious saliency (frequency of reference to religion in answering open-ended value questions), and religious strictness (relatively strong insistence on religious prohibition of certain specified behaviors).

Little regional variation was found in religious knowledge and religious ritualism although the differences that do exist conform to the pattern of regional rankings in terms of objective village characteristics. Regional variations in religious saliency and strictness were more outstanding and they, too, ordered the regions in a way which suggests an inverse or negative relationship between religiosity and objective village development. Religious saliency and strictness were particularly high in the Southeastern Region.

4. Political and Civic Perspectives. Very little regional variation was found in the peasants' sense of political efficacy and voting participation. Moderate variation was found in their expressed desire for political participation and their political party knowledge. Local political efficacy seems rather strong throughout rural Turkey and national political efficacy (i.e., a felt ability to have some impact on the national political system) is everywhere very weak.

Regional rankings for political efficacy and voting participation correlate quite highly with each other, as do regional rankings for party knowledge and desire for political participation. But all other correlations

between efficacy and knowledge, efficacy and desire for political participation, voting and knowledge, and voting and desire for political participation are negative, though not at a statistically significant level. In short, these four political indices do not hang together as we had expected. Being high on one pair (efficacy-voting, or knowledge-desire for participation) is not associated with being high on the other pair.

5. Economic Status, Expectations and Aspirations. Indices were constructed to assess the feelings of poverty, of optimism, the tendency to view the life of rural-urban migrants favorably, the desire for government services to the village, and the level of educational and occupational aspiration for children. The feelings of subjective poverty and of general optimism regarding the future both varied across the regions in a pattern similar to that revealed by the objective village characteristics. Regional rankings for subjective poverty and general optimism were positively correlated (i.e., the greater the subjective poverty, the greater the general optimism), suggesting that this may be "defensive optimism" or, in other words, a feeling based upon the psychological unacceptability of thinking that things will not improve in the future. Through clearly patterned, the range of regional variation in these two indices is not large.

Very little regional variation was found in the extremely favorable image, which Turkish peasants express, of the relative advantages of the life of the rural-urban migrant.

Regional variations in the incidence of government services wanted are only moderate, but they, too, exhibit the same general developmental profile revealed by the objective village characteristics. However, no

clear regional patterns emerge for the index of educational and occupational aspiration.

6. Cognitive Dimensions. Indices were developed to tap the following cognitive aspects of the peasant's psychology: ability to empathize to selected political roles (Village Headman, County Prefect, Prime Minister), parochialism, inability to answer basic personal questions which involve some use of the imagination, propensity to innovate in the occupational realm, tolerance of mildly deviant behavior on the part of other villagers, mistrust of extra-village actors and agencies, general knowledge, and overall cognitive flexibility. The last two indices were composite indices formed from other indices rather than from particular individual questions.

Regional variations were significant but moderate along most of these cognitive dimensions. No single pattern of regional rankings emerged across all eight indices. It is noteworthy that the Northeastern Region, relatively poorly developed by most objective village characteristics, appeared to rank rather well in terms of these cognitive indices, assuming that empathy, propensity to innovate, tolerance of deviance, general knowledge, and cognitive flexibility are "modern," development-enhancing orientations, and that parochialism, lack of personal imagination, and external mistrust are development-inhibiting orientations. The Southeastern Region ranked lowest or next to lowest, given the above developmental evaluation of the indices, on every one of the eight measures.

Using standardized "index numbers" instead of the percentage from each region scoring "high" on an index, an overview of the regional variations in all the indices employed is presented on pages of this report.

IV. Similarities of Regional Patterns.

A seemingly important question for policy-making asks which regions most resemble one another in the attitudinal and the objective characteristics of their villagers and villages. The "index numbers" for all indices of each region were correlated with the "index numbers" for all indices of every other region, yielding a matrix of inter-regional correlations that is presented in Table 9 and graphically schematized in Figure 3. Such a procedure once again suggests the strong similarity between the two most developed regions, Aegean and Marmara, the existence of an intermediate group of four regions, some of which are quite different from one another (e.g., Mediterranean and North Central), but which are grossly similar in overall level of development, and the existence of a final group of three relatively poorly developed regions in eastern Turkey. This picture is based upon individual attitudinal characteristics as well as upon community characteristics or aggregated regional economic data.

Secondly, an attempt was made to express the comparative developmental position of each region by evaluating most of the indices employed, assigning them positive or negative weights according to an arbitrary, impressionistic assessment of their developmental significance, calculating each region's sum total of deviation from the national median for each index, and then presenting the results as a "net developmental deviation" and "average net developmental deviation per index" with a positive or negative sign indicating whether the position was above or below the national developmental norm. A graphic comparison of the same procedure broken down for the objective village indices and selected attitudinal indices is presented in Figure 4. Altogether, though very crude, these

procedures seem to offer useful insight into regional variations in rural Turkey.

The "net developmental deviations" reflected in Table 10 again reveal a rank ordering of regions similar to that we have obtained through other procedures. That ranking, for all indices, is, in descending order of development: Aegean, Marmara, South Central, Mediterranean, and Black Sea, all above the national median, followed by the Northeastern, North Central, East Central and Southeastern Regions, all below the national median.

Comparison of the objective village characteristics with the attitudinal measures indicates that objective village conditions seem to vary more widely across rural Turkey than do attitudes, though this may be an artifact of measurement problems, and that the main anomalies are the Northeastern Region and the Black Sea Region, which are attitudinally more modern than they are objectively developed, while the Marmara Region seems to have objectively more developed villages than is commensurate with the level of attitudinal modernity displayed in our data.

V. Cross-Regional Similarities of Indices.

The report provides, in Table 11, a chart which indicates how the various indices employed clustered together over the regions. In other words, the chart indicates, at two levels of statistical significance, the indices which had regional profiles that were highly correlated with the regional profiles of specified other indices. One can, for example, inspect the chart to ascertain what other peasant or village characteristics were distributed across the nine regions in a fashion similar to that of village centrality, or individual mass media exposure, or attitudes of willingness to accept communal responsibility.

VI. Regional Variations in Selected Items.

Not all the questions of the survey were utilized in index construction. This section of the report presents data on selected questions of interest that were not included in indices, or that were of particular individual concern. For example, information is displayed on regional variations in village size, number of population nuclei in the village, literacy, what is perceived as the most important problem confronting the village, what person is most admired, and so on (see Tables 12 and 13).

VII. Regional Differences Compared to Other Differences Among Turkish Peasants.

Region of residence is only one basis for differentiating among Turkish peasants. The rural population of Turkey can also be categorized according to literacy, formal educational levels, mass media exposure, travel experience, the level of development of their villages, and various attitudinal characteristics. In the final section of this report, the significance of the regional breakdown is contrasted with the other types of analytic breakdowns or categorizations of peasants indicated above. Through a statistical technique called "reduction of uncertainty analysis," the data were examined to see if knowing the agricultural region a peasant was from enabled one to make a better prediction of his behavior, as revealed by the survey interview, than was permitted by knowledge of any other independent factor among those mentioned above. In short, the clear answer was that region predicted peasant behavior more effectively than any other indicator employed except for peasant mass media exposure, which was nearly equal to region in predictive power. No other factor came near these two.

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).

Appendix B

Summary Description of Indices

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 his 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 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 Establishments. Expresses the existence in the village of certain common establishments or facilities: a coffee-house, fountain, guest room, store, and artisan's establishment. The index ranges from 0-5, and the higher the score, the greater the number of establishments.

Village Governmental Contact. Portrays the frequency of visits to the village by selected government officials: the county prefect or district director, military personnel, police or gendarmes, tax collector, educational officials, agricultural agents, health officials, and postal workers. The index ranges from 0-4, and the higher the score the greater the contact. Note that this is an index of the village's contact, not necessarily the individual villager's.

Village Social Services. Displays the presence or absence in the village of twenty-four different social services such as: telephone, postal service, cinema, doctor, midwife, teacher, veterinarian, priest, agricultural agent, clinic, school, evening courses, etc. The index ranges from 0-6, and the higher the score the greater the number of social services present in the village (or within 15 km.).

Village Physical Centrality. A summary measure of the physical centrality/isolation of the village in terms of its distance from the nearest regularly traveled road, railroad station, county center, and city over 50,000. The last three distances were measured in terms of travel time by the most common means of transportation for making the trip. Also included in the index was the number of months the village was closed in by the weather. The index ranges from 0-4, and is expressed so that the greater the score, the greater the village's centrality (i.e., the less its presumed isolation).

Village Mass Media Access Portrays the availability in the village of the three main mass media -- newspaper, radio and cinema. Note that this is not the same as individual exposure to these mass media, expressed through Index #8. The index ranges from 0-8, and the greater the score the greater the village's access to the three major media.

Village Development Composite ecological index formed from the 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 inclination 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 this: whether there has 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 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 as minimal a factor as possible and which reflect his willingness or ability 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 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 $\pm .200$ level or better, except Empathy and 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 schools, provide more agricultural credit, provide more seed and fertilizer, improve village mosques, improve village roads, 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 questions 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: 0-8. 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 score equals greater saliency.

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.