

AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT WASHINGTON, D. C. 20523 BIBLIOGRAPHIC INPUT SHEET	FOR AID USE ONLY <i>Batch 40</i>
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1. SUBJECT CLASSIFICATION	A. PRIMARY Agriculture	AE50-0000-G831
	B. SECONDARY Rural sociology--Turkey	

2. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
Age as a factor in Turkey's rural development

3. AUTHOR(S)
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4. DOCUMENT DATE 1967	5. NUMBER OF PAGES 18p.	6. ARC NUMBER ARC TU301.43.F893
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7. REFERENCE ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
MIT

8. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES (*Sponsoring Organization, Publisher, Availability*)
(In Rural Development Research Project, rpt.no.5)

9. ABSTRACT

10. CONTROL NUMBER PN-AAC-556	11. PRICE OF DOCUMENT
12. DESCRIPTORS Age Group dynamics Social change Turkey	13. PROJECT NUMBER Values
	14. CONTRACT NUMBER CSD-811 Res.
	15. TYPE OF DOCUMENT

CPK 311 112
PMAAC-550
TU 2 142 F.

AGE AS A FACTOR IN TURKEY'S RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Report No. 5

Rural Development Research Project

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**Center for International Studies
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts
19 October 1967**

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INTRODUCTION

In any society, the young people differ from their elders in many respects. The community accords a different status to a young person; he is frequently absolved from responsibility of many of his actions. In turn, his voice is often likely to carry less weight when the community is debating serious questions. An older person, mainly because he has been around a longer time, has often had many more experiences than a younger person. Certain contacts and certain travels are more likely to be taken at a particular stage of one's life, and these too may affect the differing outlooks of generations. Finally, in many societies, aging is thought to make many people more conservative, to make them less open to new ideas and new ways of doing things. Old people are said to become "set in their ways," while the young may be willing to accept different and unsanctioned practices and customs.

Changing Opportunity Structure Available To Different Age Groups

In Turkish villages, the factor of age is important for another reason. The younger people have had very different opportunities available to them than did older villagers. Over the past decades, there has been a very rapid expansion of the Turkish educational system, and it is the young who have benefitted from this program. In Table 2 the differing educational levels of the age groups can be readily observed. The rapid rise in literacy of Turkish males over the decades is quite striking. While less than one-fourth of the oldest group claimed the ability to read and write, more than three-fourths of the youngest males professed the skills of literacy. Although females in Turkish villages have not acquired literacy as rapidly, fully one-third of the youngest girls are literate, compared with only one per cent of the oldest group. This rapid rise in literacy is directly related to the growth of Turkish education over the past three decades. As Table 1 shows, not only are more people going to school, they are also staying in school longer. This is true of both the males and females, although the overall school attendance of girls is much lower than that of boys.

The expansion of the educational system has not only increased the opportunities for villagers to acquire literacy, it has also changed the place in which such skills are acquired. Less than half of the oldest group of literate males

learned their reading and writing skills in school. Twenty-six per cent of them taught themselves, 15 per cent of them learned in the military, and 12 per cent learned from the religious leader. In contrast, fully 91 per cent of the youngest group of literate males learned to read and write in school. Six per cent report that they taught themselves, and only one per cent learned during their army tour of duty. Females, regardless of age, have apparently always depended upon the village teacher for the transmission of literacy skills. Thus, the expansion of village education may, over the long run, be more important for reaching females. They apparently have fewer outside opportunities and incentives to acquire an education than do village males.

Table 1
Variations Across Age Groups in Literacy and Educational Levels

	<u>Age</u>			
	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50 and Over</u>
<u>Males</u>				
Per Cent Literate	19%	25%	55%	23%
Level of Schooling				
Higher than elementary school	12%	4%	2%	2%
Graduate of 5 year elementary school	46	37	12	3
More than 3 years but didn't graduate	9	11	8	3
Less than 3 years	1	16	19	8
Never Attended School	25	32	59	85
"N"	268	538	996	656
<u>Females</u>				
Per Cent Literate	32%	20%	8%	1%
Level of Schooling				
Higher than elementary school	2%	0%	0%	0%
Graduate of 5 year elementary school	19	9	2	0
More than 3 years but didn't graduate	6	6	2	0
Less than 3 years	14	16	14	5
Never Attended School	58	68	81	94
"N"	267	713	977	638

So widespread has education for village males become, that the illiterate village youth is somewhat atypical. This leads one to inquire why these young men have missed the educational opportunities which were apparently available to 80 per cent of their cohort group? One might expect to find the young male illiterates in only the most backward and isolated villages. Although the data give some important support to this proposition, it is also true that young male illiterates are found in areas where they probably had the opportunity to acquire an education, but simply did not take advantage of it. One good measure of the available structural opportunities open to young men is the Village Development Index. This measures the overall level of economic and social development of the village by considering its access to the mass media, its relative isolation, its richness in terms of village establishments, and the number of social services available in the village. It does not, of course, take into account family finances, personal motivation and ability and so on. In the following table, one can see the distribution of young male literates and illiterates according to the different development levels of the villages in which they live

Table 2
Literacy Levels of Males Aged 16-19 in Villages of
Various Degrees of Development

	<u>Level of Village Development</u>		
	<u>Low</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>High</u>
Literate	69%	78%	85%
Illiterate	31	22	15
"N"	74	81	81

Thus, while it is true that villages at a low level of development have a higher proportion of illiterate young males than do villages which are more developed, even in the most developed villages, an important group has escaped the educational process.¹ One might expect to find that these illiterate young

¹In fact, analysis of the relative importance of village development in predicting the levels of literacy and schooling of its inhabitants, suggests that it is of only moderate importance. This analytical technique called "reduction of uncertainty analysis," has been more fully described in the Regional Report no. 4. By using this method, we can determine which factor in our data best predicts

people from more developed villages are particularly lacking in motivation, or in personal situations which would make them difficult to reach by regular educational programs.

The illiterates in the youngest age group deserve further consideration for another reason. If one examines a number of cognitive measures, young illiterate males are set off sharply from the older illiterates, while the young literate males resemble their older counterparts in every respect. Table 3 presents the percentages of males in each age group who scored low on the cognitive indices, indicating that they were unable to imagine themselves in new situations, unwilling to tolerate deviant behavior, and unable to express opinions on questions pertaining to their own personal ideas and orientations. The data suggests that older illiterates, who grew up during a period of limited educational opportunity, have a somewhat constricted cognitive structure than their literate cohorts. However, the 16 to 19 year olds who have had the opportunity to obtain an education and not taken advantage of it, or who have grown up in the least developed villages, appear to be a hard-core problem. Their extreme reluctance to stretch their imaginations, or to consider themselves in different situations suggests that they are not yet fully integrated into the community life. On the other hand, since these young male illiterates do not show similarly atypical scores on the Propensity to Innovate or on the External Mistrust indices, it may be that they are not so much hostile to change, as they are unable to imagine it.

whether a person is literate or not. Thus, as one might expect, the best way of predicting that a person is literate is to know whether or not he has attended school. The results of this analysis suggest that knowing the level of development of the village in which one is living is not very important in predicting one's literacy. (From a selection of 21 possible predictors of literacy, the Village Development Index ranked 16th.) Although this index is more important in predicting whether or not one has attended school (here village development index ranked 10th out of 21) in both cases, knowing the age of a person proves a better predictor of his literacy or schooling than does knowing the type of village in which he was living. (Age was the 8th best predictor of literacy and the 4th best predictor of schooling.)

The Atypical Cognitive Structure of the Young Illiterate Male Villager

Percentage in Most Constricted Category:	Illiterates				Literates			
	16-19	20-29	30-49	50+	16-19	20-29	30-49	50+
Political Empathy	40%	28%	25%	26%	14%	14%	14%	16%
Tolerance of Deviance	46%	36%	38%	37%	27%	22%	32%	25%
Personal Don't Knows*	30%	8%	9%	14%	7%	7%	5%	9%
Community Don't Knows*	28%	10%	10%	10%	5%	4%	3%	5%
Cognitive Flexibility**	44%	19%	20%	23%	9%	8%	10%	11%
General Knowledge**	49%	25%	25%	25%	8%	8%	5%	9%
Approximate "N"	57	137	460	508	217	414	551	152

* For these two indices a high score was taken, rather than a low score, since this was the best indicator of cognitive inflexibility.

** As the brief descriptions at the end of this report explain, these are composite indices--formed from other indices rather than from independent items.

The Relationship between Age and Status in the Village

The importance of age in determining one's status in the village social structure is usually accepted without further questioning. Our data generally support this proposition, but also show that age means different things to different groups. Although both older male literates and illiterates are more confident of influencing the village power structure than are their younger counterparts, the youngest group of literates expresses as much, if not more, confidence than does the oldest group of illiterates. Villagers were asked the following question: "Suppose that the village headman (nuhtar) and the council of elders were considering doing something you considered harmful or unjust; what do you think you could do about it?" They were also asked: "Is it easy or difficult, in general, for you to talk about your problems with village leaders?" The responses of the different groups were as follows:

Table 4
The Importance of Age for Influencing the Village Power Structure

Items	<u>Literate Males</u>				<u>Illiterate Males</u>			
	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
Ability to Influence Village Headmen								
Could Personally contact him	44%	47%	50%	55%	23%	39%	42%	40%
Could Do Nothing	23%	18	12	12	46	32	26	22
Finds it Easy to								
Contact Village Leaders	71%	81%	84%	85%	60%	62%	75%	77%
"N"	211	405	545	151	57	133	451	505

On the first question, a similar relationship between perceived ability to influence and age was found among female literates (ranging from 37 to 41% on personal contact and 46% to 22% on could do nothing) although data on the female illiterates did not fit this pattern. The association between increased age and ease of contacting village leaders also holds for both female groups. Thus, both age and literacy appear to be associated with one's acquiring status and influence in the village power structure.

The younger villagers who feel themselves to be somewhat ineffectual and outside the village decisionmaking process tend to differ from older villagers in the perception of "important others." Younger members of the community (particularly the males) see the village headman as playing a more important role than do older members, just as younger villagers (in all groups) are more likely to feel that important village decisions are influenced by people outside the village.

Age is associated not only with one's status in village affairs, but also with the likelihood of having contact with outsiders coming into the village. Males who were engaged in farming were asked if they had ever consulted with a government agricultural agent, if they had ever used government credit, and if they had ever received agricultural supplies (such as seed and fertilizer) from the government. Although other analysis of these contact questions has shown that they are not closely related to one another (that is, more "modern" peasants are more likely to consult with the agricultural extension agent, but less likely to use government credit or supplies), in every case, older males are more likely to have taken the particular action than are younger males.

Table 5
The Relationship of Age to Use of Various Agricultural Services

<u>Items</u>	<u>Literate Males</u>				<u>Illiterate Males</u>			
	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
Consulted Agricultural Agent	13%	23%	39%	42%	12%	11%	21%	23%
Used Government Credit	12%	34%	60%	68%	16%	37%	50%	56%
Received Agricultural Supplies from Govt.	25%	30%	38%	42%	16%	20%	33%	34%
"N"	211	405	545	151	57	133	451	505

Although this relationship might be expected, assuming that as one becomes older one takes on more and more responsibilities for farming decisions, further study of how agricultural innovations spread from old to young or vice-versa would be useful in helping to interpret these findings.

Variations with Age in the Evaluation of Change in the Village Environment

One point of major interest to the policy maker should be the receptivity of different age groups to modifications of the existing village environment. Novelistic accounts would frequently lead one to expect older villagers to be more suspicious of any intrusions from the outside into their village life, while young people are more likely to be open and receptive. Our data suggest that the relationship between age and receptivity to new ideas varies from subject area to subject area, and that sweeping generalizations are difficult to make. For example, our best measure of distrust of outsiders (the External Mistrust Index formed from interviewer ratings of the apparent suspicion, sincerity, and cooperativeness of the respondent), suggests that there was little or no relationship between level of mistrust and the age of the person being interviewed. Both old and young people were equally likely to be suspicious of the motives of people coming into their village from the outside world. On the other hand, young people definitely do seem to be more willing to adopt new

types of working practices as measured by our Propensity to Innovate Index.²

Young people are also much more likely to say that they side with those who promote "new" ways when there is innovational conflict in the village, rather than with the old-fashioned group.

Another indication that young people are more receptive to new ideas is their perception of people returning to the village from the city. Although young people generally view the city in no more favorable terms than do older villagers (as measured by the Favorable Urban Image Index), they are much more likely to think that people who leave the village for the cities and then return bring back new ideas that help to improve village life.³

If one turns to actual subject areas where young people appear to have more interest in the "new" as opposed to the "old" ways, age seems to have the closest relationships with attitudes toward birth control and family size, and with attitudes toward education. However, the relationships are not clear-cut. Although there is a strong positive relationship between age and size of family wanted, the relationship between age and interest in receiving a free drug to limit the number of one's children was much less clear. In every sex-literacy group, young people were much less likely to say that they and their spouse would ideally like to have five or more children, than were older people. While 50 per cent of the male literates in the 50 years or older age group said that they would like to have five or more children, only 17 per cent of the male literates in the 16 to 19 year old age group wanted such a large number.⁴

2

For three of the four sex-literacy groups, the relationship between propensity to innovate and youthfulness was significant at better than the .01 level. The relationship for the fourth group was significant at between the .10 and .05 level.

3

In each of the sex-literacy groups except the male illiterates (where a high proportion of don't knows in the youngest group probably obscures the results), there is a smooth increase in the percentage saying "yes" as one moves from older to younger age groups. For male literates the range is from 46% to 62%, for female literates the range is from 30% to 41%.

4

The range for the other groups was: male illiterates-40% to 21%; female literates-18% to 8% and female illiterates-32% to 15%. Note that exactly the same pattern was found in response to the next question, "how many children would your spouse ideally like to have?" In every sex-literacy group, older respondents thought their spouse wanted more children than did younger respondents.

However, when offered the opportunity to limit their family size by use of a drug, the same pattern of interest was not expressed. Although younger male literates expressed more interest in such a drug than did their older counterparts, there was no consistent relationship between age and interest among the male illiterates. Also, among the females of both groups, if anything, the younger people expressed less interest in the drug than did the older.

There is no indication that this lack of interest in birth-control is due to religious compunctions felt by the young. When asked directly if using a drug to keep from having children conflicts with their religious beliefs, in each of the sex-literacy groups the younger villagers were less likely to think it conflicted. (In each case there is approximately a 10 percentage point range between responses of the older and the younger.) It may be that young people have few compunctions about taking something to limit their family size, but that they do not yet appreciate the need for such a drug. This is another area in which additional exploration would prove fruitful.

It is encouraging that the relationship between age and the desire for more education is less complex. Over a whole series of questions, the younger the person, the more likely he is to be interested in more education, and to feel that he would have the support of others in doing so.

Table 6
The Relationship of Age to Furthering One's Education

	<u>Male Literates</u>				<u>Male Illiterates</u>				<u>Female Literates</u> [*]			<u>Female Illiterates</u>			
	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>16-19</u>	<u>20-29</u>	<u>30-49</u>	<u>50+</u>
Would Attend Vocational Training Course	97%	97%	92%	86%	95%	95%	85%	70%	97%	80%	87%	84%	77%	63%	39%
Family Would Approve	90%	88%	86%	81%	74%	84%	74%	67%	86%	74%	74%	57%	55%	48%	32%
Want to Learn to Read and Write	-	-	-	-	83%	88%	70%	47%	-	-	-	64%	54%	39%	18%
Have Been to a Library	28%	27%	23%	11%	2%	4%	5%	3%	14%	7%	5%	6%	3%	2%	2%
"N"	211	405	545	151	57	133	451	505	86	121	76	181	592	901	629

* Since there were only 9 female literates in the 50 years or older age category, they were all excluded from all calculations.

The relationship between age and interest in furthering one's education is so strong that it would suggest there is a village norm which establishes the time when it is appropriate for one to engage in more formalized training. This is important for anyone hoping to introduce training programs into the village outside of the regular educational structure. In addition, the preceding table again points out the possibility that reaching the young males who have not already acquired literacy may be a difficult process. Their responses to each of the four questions are somewhat atypical of the pattern established by the previous three age groups. While not pronounced, there is some indication that this youngest group of male illiterates may be less interested, and have less incentive towards improving their present condition, than one would hope.

Age and One's Attitude Towards Religion

Another area which our data permit us to explore is whether attitudes towards religion are related to the age of the villager. Does one find that the younger members of the village attach less importance to religion than do the older members, or is the opposite true? From the various items on the questionnaire, four indices have been constructed to measure different dimensions of the villagers' religious attitudes. The Religious Strictness Index is a measure of the number of practices (such as hanging pictures on the walls of his house, translating the Kozan into Turkish, etc.) he feels are against his religion. The Religious Salience Index measures how frequently the villagers gave a religious response to a number of questions such as what things they would try hardest to teach their children, and whom they admire most in life. Any type of answer could be given to such questions; a religious response would seem to indicate that religious values were especially salient to the villager. A high score on the Religious Knowledge Index indicated that the respondent was familiar with several of the basic principles of Islam, and a high score on the Religious Ritualism Index indicates that the respondent prayed frequently and observed the religious fasts. The percentage of villagers scoring high on each of the indices is reported in the following table.

Table 7

The Relationship of Age to One's Religious Attitudes

Index	Male Literates				Male Illiterates				Female Literates*			Female Illiterates			
	16-	20-	30-		16-	20-	30-		16-	20-	30-	16-	20-	30-	
	19	29	49	50+	19	29	49	50+	19	29	49	19	29	49	50+
Religious Strictness	35%	35%	38%	52%	38%	37%	38%	32%	31%	30%	27%	31%	26%	34%	27%
Religious Saliency	25%	30%	30%	29%	25%	27%	29%	28%	11%	16%	18%	22%	21%	20%	25%
Religious Knowledge	73%	70%	72%	77%	54%	54%	55%	66%	72%	67%	63%	41%	47%	48%	53%
Religious Ritualism	46%	53%	65%	74%	42%	50%	53%	73%	54%	63%	55%	53%	55%	60%	78%
Item															
Friends not very pious	31%	28%	24%	19%	42%	31%	21%	20%	33%	34%	24%	39%	30%	24%	18%
"N"	211	405	545	151	57	133	451	505	86	121	76	181	592	901	629

* Since there were only 9 female literates in the 50 years or older age category, they were excluded from all calculations.

The only index for which there appears to be a consistent relationship with age is that for religious ritualism. In every sex-literacy group (except for the female literates) the older the person, the more likely he is to say that he consistently carries out the rituals of his religion. For the other indices, there is either no relationship to age, or age seems to play a different role, depending upon which sex-literacy group one is examining. For example, among female literates, the younger people score higher on religious knowledge; but among female illiterates, older women appear to have remembered more religious principles.

If people associate piety with outward conformity to religious practices, the responses to the item on whether or not one's friends were pious correspond with the pattern we noted for religious ritualism. Young people in each of the sex-literacy groups were less likely to say that they have very pious friends, just as they were less likely to say that they themselves conscientiously follow the religious rituals.

Thus, although young people seem to pay less attention to religious practices, there is no indication that they are less strict in their interpretation of what conforms and conflicts with their religion; nor, do they seem less likely to give religion an impor-

tant place in their day to day thoughts and activities. Whether these younger people will pay more and more attention to religious rituals as they grow older, or whether a secularizing tendency will persist over time can only be determined by future studies.

The Relationship between Age and Political Attitudes

As might be expected, the older an individual, the more likely he is to have voted in at least one election. Although this relationship follows from the legal age requirements, there are other important relationships between age and political interest which do not. All respondents were asked to give the names of the main political parties in Turkey. The number of parties named by villagers ranged from zero to five. It is interesting to note that in three of the four sex-literacy groups, the middle two age groups (people from 20 to 49 years old) could name many more political parties than could people who were younger (16 to 19 years) or older (50 years or older). Among female literates, there was some tendency for party knowledge to decrease with age.

The one other index useful for measuring political attitudes was that concerning the villagers' desire for political participation. People were asked whether good government (at the national and local level) should give more emphasis to strength or to consultation with the people. According to our data, one's age is not associated with the type of government one desires.

An Overview of the Relationship between Age and Various Indices

Although in the above discussion, most of the important relationships with age have been presented, one might want an overall view to make general comparisons of the relative strengths of those relationships. In Table 8, the gamma coefficient is used to give the correlation between age in each of the sex-literacy groups and the forty one indices. A positive gamma score indicates that older members of the groupings scored higher on the given index. This table helps to underline some of the areas where age appears to be important, and those where it appears to have little relationship to the index groups. Thus, it points out the relationship between age and personal political efficacy, especially among males, and the relationship between age and headman orientation. The tendency of older people to utilize economic and social services more highly is apparent, as is the tendency for older people to more

The Relationship Between Age and Various Indices

<u>Index Groups</u>	<u>Indices</u>	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
		<u>Literate</u>	<u>Illiterate</u>	<u>Literate</u>	<u>Illiterate</u>
Community Orientation:	Parochialism	-.11	-.09	-.07	.08
	Communal Responsibility	.02	.12	-.12	.01
	Communal Cooperativeness	-.09	.02	.03	-.15
	Communal Efficacy	-.09	.12	-.13	-.03
Personal Efficacy:	Personal Political Efficacy	.16	.20	.07	.01
	Community Don't Knows (-)	-.10	-.02	.20	.04
Cognitive Dimensions:	Personal Don't Knows (-)	.01	.01	.03	.04
	General Knowledge	.08	.06	-.24	-.04
	Political Empathy	-.03	.01	.07	-.12
	Tolerance of Deviance	-.06	.03	-.15	.06
	External Mistrust (-)	.01	-.03	.03	-.01
	Propensity to Innovate	-.13	-.10	-.10	-.10
	Cognitive Flexibility	-.04	-.01	-.09	-.11
	Aspirations and Expectations:	Educ. & Occup. Aspiration	-.01	.01	.06
	Govt. Services Wanted	-.12	-.04	-.04	-.03
	Favorable Urban Image	-.04	.01	.09	.01
	Optimism	-.06	.14	-.01	-.04
Village Perspectives:	Perc'd Village Initiative	.06	-.06	.08	-.01
	Conc. of Power and Wealth	-.08	0	0	-.01
	Headman Orientation (-)	-.16	-.11	-.15	.02
Use of Economic and Social Services:	Use of Agric. Services	.43	.24	-	-
	Use of Social Services	.24	.11	.24	.18
Religious Outlook:	Religious Knowledge	.04	.18	-.10	.10
	Religious Saliency	.04	.01	.16	.08
	Religious Ritualism	.27	.35	.06	.33
	Religious Strictness	.10	-.05	-.01	.07
Political Posture:	Desire for Pol. Participation	-.02	.04	.06	-.07
	Voting Participation	.77	.42	.81	.40
	Pol. Party Knowledge	.06	-.04	-.13	-.15
Mobility and Inter-personal Communication:	Geographical Mobility	.13	-.03	.27	.12
	Interpersonal Communication	-.04	.07	.09	.02
	Media Exposure	-.02	-.07	-.14	-.03
	Exposure to Change	.02	.01	-.02	.09
Economic and Environmental Factors:	Subjective Poverty	-.02	.09	-.13	-.07
	Economic Status	.04	.09	-.06	.04
	Village Development	-.03	.17	-.08	.09
	Village Centrality	-.01	.08	-.07	.03
	Village Establishments	-.02	.15	-.07	.08
	Village Govt. Contact	-.06	.09	-.05	.08
	Village Social Services	0	.11	.12	.09
	Village Mass Media Access	-.02	.13	-.02	.11

closely observe religious rituals. Finally, the strong relationship between age and voting participation is recorded, as is the lack of relationship between age and economic environmental factors. On the whole, however, age does not seem to be as important a determiner of peasant attitudes and behaviors as other factors such as sex and literacy.

Summary

I. Introduction

This report examines selected attitudinal, behavioral and social structural concomitants of age groupings among Turkish peasants. For purposes of analysis, the village population has been broken down into four age groups: those 16 to 19 years old, those 20 to 29 years old, those 30 to 49 years old, and those 50 years old or older. These breakdowns were designed to enable us to analyze more closely the attitudes and behaviors of the youngest groups in the population, and thus they do not attempt to divide the population into four equal groups. The percentage of the population in each age group was 16-19 years--11%; 20-29 years--25%; 30-49 years--39%; and 50 or older--26%.

II. Age and Available Opportunities

One of the most important ways in which younger villagers differ from older villagers is in the different opportunities for acquiring education, which has been made available to them. Young people are much more likely, than are older villagers, to have attended school and to have acquired skills of literacy. So widespread has literacy become among the youngest group of males, that those who do not have this skill are rather atypical of their sex and age group. Among other things, they appear to have a more constricted cognitive structure, although they are not necessarily hostile towards all kinds of change.

III. Age and Status

An examination of responses to several survey questions points out the important relationship of sex, literacy and age to status relationships in the village. Power and prestige are positively associated with age, but literacy seems significantly to expedite the assumption of a decision-making role by the young. Age is also associated with one's perception of "important others". Younger people tend to feel that the village headman and outsiders have more influence on village affairs than do older people. Finally,

age is associated with the contacts one has with non-village people. Older villagers are more likely to have consulted with the agricultural agent, to have used government credit, and to have received supplies from the government.

IV. Age and the Evaluation of Change

We did not find that older villagers are more likely to distrust outsiders than are younger people. However, the data do indicate that young villagers are much more willing to adopt new practices, and, if there is innovational conflict in the village, to say that they would side with the proponents of "new" ways. Young people claim they would also be more receptive to ideas which people, who had been to the city, might bring back to the village.

There are a number of specific issue areas in which one's age appears to be especially important. Young people are much more likely, than older people, to want a small family and to say that their spouse wants a small family. However, since age is not associated with interest in receiving a drug for birth-control purposes, an educational program explicitly relating, in an ends-means fashion, small families to practicing birth control may be essential. Young people's receptivity to such a program would probably be high, since they are much less likely than older people to say that using a drug for purposes of birth-control would conflict with their religious beliefs.

One's youth is also apparently the time when one is most interested in any type of education, or feels it appropriate. Younger people are more likely to want to attend a vocational training course, and young illiterates are more likely to say they would like to learn to read and write than are older members of these groups. Finally, young people are more likely than older people to feel they would have family support for such actions.

V. Age and Religion

Age is usually not strongly related to one's religious attitudes and beliefs, except as indicated above. However, young villagers appear to pay less attention to religious

rituals and to regard their friends as being less pious than are older villagers. On questions related to religious saliency, religious knowledge, and religious strictness, there were no consistent differences between people of different age groups.

VI. Age and Political Attitudes

Age is not so much related to one's political attitudes as it is to one's political knowledge and his political behaviors. Not surprisingly, older people vote more frequently than do younger people, and villagers in the middle two age groups display more familiarity with the various political parties than do the very young or the very old.