# THE PROCESS OF DEPEASANTISATION
# A CASE STUDY: KIZILCAHAMAM-ÇELTİKÇİ REGİON

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ALPER ÖZKAN



IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

DECEMBER 2000

Approval of the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

Prof. Dr. Tayfur Öztürk
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science

Asst. Prof. Dr. Baykan Günay
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis and for the degree of Master of Science

Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli

Prof. Dr. Duran Taraklı

Prof. Dr. Ayda Eraydın

Prof. Dr. Bahattin Akşit

Asst. Prof. Dr. Melih Pınarcıoğlu

## ABSTRACT

THE PROCESS OF DEPEASANTISATION
CASE STUDY: KIZILCAHAMAM-ÇELTİKÇİ REGION

Özkan, Alper

M.S. in Regional Planning
In the Department of City and Regional Planning
Supervisor: Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli

December 2000, 198 pages

After Second World War, Turkey has started to experience structural transformation in rural areas. One of the most important dimensions of this transformation has been the process of depeasantisation in rural areas. Yet the process of depeasantisation and concomitant process of urbanisation has come to their last phases.

In this context, this thesis aims to analyse the impacts and consequences of depeasantisation process on rural structure of Turkey. It is obvious that depeasantisation has brought about important challenges to rural areas due to depopulation.

In this respect thesis concentrates on the problem of idle and derelict use of agricultural lands. Because, due to intensive depopulation, rural settlements started to disappear and be incapable of realising agricultural activities. Depending on this, considerable amount of agricultural land has been out of production as being derelict. So, reallocation of the agricultural potential in

Turkey has been one of the main problems of the Turkish rural areas and constitutes one of the questions of this thesis.

Hence, purpose of the thesis is to examine transformation process of the rural structure and to put forward present situation of the rural settlements emphasizing on their existing problems, challenges and also potentials in Turkey.

The intend of the thesis is to bring the recent circumstances and problems of rural areas that have taken place under the impacts of depeasantisation process, to the academic and scientific discussions. This analysis has been made by fieldwork study on the villages of Çeltikçi Sub-district, in Kızılcahamam region. At the end, thesis has aimed to develop strategies and policies about the important problems and challenges of rural settlements of Turkey.

Key Words: Depeasantisation, Migration, Depopulation, Structural Transformation, Derelict Land

# ÖZ


KÖYLÜLÜĞÜN ÇÖZÜLME SÜRECİ
ÖRNEK ALAN: KIZILCAHAMAM-ÇELTİKÇİ BÖLGESİ

Özkan, Alper

Yüksek Lisans, Bölge Planlama
Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü
Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli

Aralık 2000, 198 sayfa

İkinci dünya savaşından sonra Türkiye kırsal alanlarında yapısal bir dönüşüm süreciyle karşılaşmaya başlamıştır. Bu dönüşüm sürecinin en önemi boyutlarından biri köylülüğün çözülmesi olmuştur. Artık kırsal alandaki çözülme ve buna bağımlı olan kentleşme hareketi nihayi aşamasına gelmiştir.

Bu bağlamda, tez köylülüğün çözülme sürecinin Türkiye kırsal yapısına olan etki ve sonuçlarını incelemeyi hedeflemektedir. Köylülüğün çözülme sürecinin kırsal alanlarda önemli problemler yarattığı ortadadır.

Bu açıdan, tez kullanılmayan ve atıl durumdaki tarımsal alanlar problemi üzerinde yoğunlaşmaktadır. Çünkü, yoğun nüfus azalalması dolayısıyla, kırsal yerleşmeler ortadan kalkmaya veya tarımsal aktiviteleri yerine getirememeye başlamışlardır. Buna bağlı olarak, dikkate değer ölçüde tarım alanı üretim dışı, boş alanlar olarak kalmaya başlamıştır. Böylelikle, tarımsal potansiyellerin yeniden dağıtımı Türkiye kırsal alanlarının en önemli problemlerinden biri olmuş ve tezin sorunsallarından birini oluşturmaktadır.

Bu nedenle, tezin amacı Türkiye'de kırsal yapıdaki dönüşüm sürecini inceleyerek kırsal yerleşimlerin bugün ulaştığı noktadaki sorunlarını, problemlerini ve potansiyellerini dile getirmektir.

Tezin gayesi köylülüğün çözülmesinin etkileriyle bitlikte kırda olup biteni akademik ve bilimsel tartışmalara aktarmaktır. Bu çalışma Kızılcahamam-Çeltikçi alt bölgesinde yapılacak alan araştırmasının sonuçlarına dayandırılmıştır. Sonuçta tez, Türkiye'deki kırsal yerleşimlerin problemleri ve potansiyelleri hakkında ülkesel staratejiler ve politikalar üretmeyi hedeflemiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Köylülüğün Çözülmesi, Göç, Nüfus Azalması, Yapısal Dönüşüm, Kullanımdışı Topraklar

To My Parents

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has been conducted under the supervision of Prof. Dr. İlhan Tekeli. I would like to express sincere appreciation to my supervisor.

Also I wish to express appreciation to Prof. Dr. Duran Taraklı for his guidance and insight through out the research.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to the villagers who have hosted me and answered my questions gently and to the staff of Çeltikçi Municipality, District Agriculture Directorate and District Forest Directorate of Kızılcahamam, for their supports while the study was being carried out.

Thanks go to my close friends especially to Özge, Volkan, Ugur, Müge and M. Ali for their help and moral supports in all stages of this research.

Finally, a very special thanks is due to my mother Şükran and father Hamit Özkan who have encouraged and supported me throughout my education.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

## LIST OF TABLES

## LIST OF FIGURES

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, depeasantisation process has started to be experienced in rural areas after Second World War. Along with this process there has been high rate of migration from rural areas to urban areas and so concomitant acceleration of urbanisation. These processes have brought about many problems and challenges related to both urban and rural areas in Turkey. However, problem of migration has generally been perceived from the point of view of its effects on urban areas such as rising unemployment, squatters, scanty housing, inadequate water and electricity supply, poor sanitation, shortage of transport and other services, and overall decline in quality of urban life.

In fact social scientists and urban-regional planners have dwelt on rural out migration phenomenon in the past periods. They have produced many studies and researches on the subjects of paths of rural transformation, types of migration and its underlying causes or etc.

However, yet the processes of depeasantisation and urbanisation have come to their last phases. In this respect, Turkey has started to be faced with the problems and challenges that it hadn't met before. So many new problems emerged in rural settlements. First of all, villages started to be incapable of protecting their existence due to high rates of out migration. Especially the ones in young age groups have not been willing to relate with agricultural activities from which they can get very limited income. Aged population of the villages started to have difficulties in overcoming agricultural activities. Therefore considerable

amount of agricultural land, which had been cultivated before, started to become derelict and idle. This derelict, idle use of lands should be considered in terms refreshing them in order to provide their contributions to the economy. In this respect, it should be stated that reallocation of the agricultural potential in Turkey is one of the main problems of the Turkish rural areas and constitutes one of the questions of this thesis.

Besides, economical activities for rural sector are still very limited. Thus, in a rapidly changing economic environment they couldn't have adapted themselves to the economical challenges. Also most of the villages have transformed from relatively viable units to small ones, to which provision of social services has become uneconomic. So disparity between urban life and rural life quality has been increasing.

Therefore, rural areas of Turkey have been facing many problems, which can be characterised by rural out migration, aged population, derelict lands, poverty, insufficient supplies and many newly emerging problems. All of these problems and challenges should be considered in the frame of national policies and perspectives. Since, they have become very important challenges of not only rural areas but also of Turkey from the point of view of socio-economic development. So adequate importance should necessarily be given on this field as well as urban field for achieving sustainable development in Turkey.

Furthermore, rural problems and challenges constitute one of the main subjects of world agenda too. Since rural and agricultural developments have been seen as one of the most important steps of sustainable socio-economical development even in the industrialised countries. As it has been decelerated in Habitat Agenda at paragraph 163:

> "At the turn of the century, a substantial proportion of the world's population will continue to live in rural settlements, particularly in

> developing countries. In order to achieve a more sustainable future for the Earth, these rural settlements need to be valued and supported. Insufficient infrastructure and services, lack of environmentally sound technology, and pollution resulting from the adverse impacts of unsustainable urbanisation contribute significantly to the degradation of the rural environment. Additionally, the lack of employment opportunities in rural areas increases rural-to-urban migration and results in a loss of human capacity in rural communities. Policies and programmes for the sustainable development of rural areas that integrate rural regions into the national economy require strong local and national institutions for the planning and management of human settlements that place emphasis on rural-urban linkages and treat villages and cities as two ends of a human settlements continuum."

Hence, there has been a consensus that a lot of attention should be paid to rural related subjects and problems in the world. Unfortunately, this important field has not been subject to studies in Turkey recently. Sufficient number of case studies and fieldwork considering the problems and transformations in rural areas haven't been made. Circumstances and developments, which have been taking place in rural areas, couldn't have been carried to scientific and academic discussions. However, as long as these challenges of rural areas are not included in those studies and discussions, policies and planning approaches related to those problems can't receive success. "Most of developing countries' policies have had limited success so far, largely because they have often been formulated without an adequate knowledge of the causes and consequences of migration." (Oberai,1987:2)

Therefore, without perceiving the underlying causes and consequences of problems of rural settlements, it is very difficult to develop policies and programs. This thesis intends to carry recent circumstances and problems of rural settlements to the scientific and academic discussions. In this respect, the aim of this thesis appears in the frame of examining transformation process of rural structures under

the impacts of depeasantisation, and finding out ongoing problems, challenges and potentials. So emphasis throughout the thesis will be on putting forward impacts and consequences of depeasantisation process on rural structure in Turkey. At the end, thesis purposes to develop strategies and policies about the important problems and challenges of rural settlements.

After a brief introduction in this section second chapter considers historical transformation processes of rural structures in developed countries. Besides, conceptual issues and explanations about definitions of depeasantisation which is one of the most important aspect of the rural transformation process of early industrialised countries by stressing on underlying causes and consequences will be discussed in the chapter. While analysing the past experiences of developed countries in terms of their rural transformations, aim is to acknowledge about different developments in different socio-economic and political environments of industrialised countries. Since governments' perceptions about urbanisation and the extent to which historical pattern of population movements, which prevailed in the now developed countries when they were urbanising, is relevant to current situation in developing countries such as Turkey.

Third chapter can be regarded as the main chapter of the thesis with respect to constructing theoretical framework of the rural development and transformation processes referencing to different periods of Turkish historical socio-economic development. In this chapter, starting from the post Second World War years structural transformation process in rural areas will be discussed in the frame of changing socio-economic environments until now. While making this analysis different studies and theories about rural transformation and rural development processes of Turkey will be mentioned. However, those studies generally cover the periods before 1980s and there is no sufficient number of studies searching and discussing about present situation and ongoing problems of rural areas. Besides, assumptions and discussions about existing rural structure

and ongoing tendencies of rural transformation are still dependent on those past studies. In this respect, the necessity of analysing existing rural structure and observing new tendencies of rural transformation appears for both testing past theories and observing present situations of rural areas and in order to bring about new discussions from the perspectives of rural settlements present problems, challenges and also potentials.

In the chapter fourth, lacking aspects of the discussions of chapter three, which is about present socio-economic structures of rural settlements that have been passing through structural transformations, will be examined by the help of field study. So theoretical discussions and assumptions, which still depend on past case studies will be analysed by fieldwork study in Kızılcahamam-Çeltikçi region. Therefore concentration of this chapter will be on the analysis of existing rural structures of the Kızılcahamam-Çeltikçi region that have formed under the impacts of depeasantisation and urbanisation processes. Indeed, the way of formulating our thesis on fieldwork analysis of some selected villages stems from necessities of finding out existing structure and problems of rural areas and new transformation tendencies mentioned in previous paragraph.

Lastly, in the conclusion of the thesis it will be tried to evaluate the survey results relating with the theoretical discussions and studies that have been made before. At the end, the point that the thesis aims to achieve is to develop policies and to give recommendations under the consideration of general problems and potentials of present rural structures in Turkey. Consequently this thesis might give some initial proposals and recommendations about the rational development strategies about rural sphere of Turkey.

# CHAPTER 2

# RURAL TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES

## 2.1. Introduction

> "The nineteenth century witnessed the greatest and the most rapid transformation of living and working conditions in history.... This was the consequence of the shift from handicraft to machine production. Beginning in Great Britain, the **'industrial revolution'** spread across the continent of Europe from west to east as the century progressed. The same development occurred...in Japan by the end of the century."
>
> (Clough B. S., et al., 1975: 1085)

As it has been stated above there has been a structural transformation movement in the world since the 18th Century. Especially world-advanced countries' socio-economic structures have been affected from this movement significantly in the 19th century. Then, after a century this transformation have started to take place in the now developing countries

In this part of the thesis, rural development experiences of industrialised countries will be discussed since the industrial revolution years; following the modernising period in the world. Aim of this chapter is to inform about part experiences of different countries in order to perceive their rural transformation process while they have been modernising. Shortly transformation of rural structures of different world countries from the point of view of process of depeasantisation[1] will be analysed historically turn in order.

[1] Concept of depeasantisation will be mentioned later in the chapter.

In the chapter analysis will be started from the British case which is one of the earliest industrialised country and than Western European Countries as general (WEC), which have followed the developments immediately after the Britain in late 19th Century. Lastly Japan, which has faced industrialisation and modernisation process mostly after the end of 19th Century will be analysed in terms of depeasantisation and rural transformation, processes. This analysis of the experiences of different countries at certain critical periods of their past developments may make it easier to understand their different adaptation policies, programs and may throw light on the ways in which Turkish policies on rural structure can benefit.

## 2.2. Britain

In fact the start of the industrial revolution which initially occurred in the Britain goes back to the late 18th Century. However its revolutionary impacts on the on the socio-economical transformation have been seen since the early 19th Century. Especially after the middle of 19th century, significant transformations have been seen in the socio-economical structure of the Britain, which started to face the second stage of industrialisation after these years. Therefore in the analysis of the British experience, process of depeasantisation and its impact on the socio-economical structure of England will be put forward since the early 19th Century.

### 2.2.1. Rural Developments in Britain since the late 18th Century to the late 19th Century

As it has been stated Britain was the earliest industrialised country so that it had faced profound changes in terms of its socio-economic structure initially.

Generally accepted date for the beginnings of **industrial revolution** that emerged in England, is 1760's. In fact until these years some developments had already been in progress; such as developments in iron industry. However the turning point for the industrial revolution is accepted as the introduction of steam power. As Lilley states early stages of industrial revolution were based largely on using medieval techniques and on extending these to their limits. According to him "the development of steam engine came as it were, hesitantly and reluctantly as and when it proved no longer possible to cope with expanding needs by traditional means"(Lilley, 1976: 203)

Great changes were simultaneously underway in agriculture starting from the late 18th Century. As in industry the development of new techniques has led to a rise in productivity, new forms of ownership and marketing and the transformation of social relationships. Advances in metallurgy and manufacture soon affected the technology in farming. Iron plows came into use in the 1840's and same decade saw the invention of mechanical reaping. (Clough B. S. 1975: 1096) By the invention of steam power, steam tractors has started to be used by the big landowners. Other inventions speeded the labour of threshing and winnowing. The construction of railways and improved roads eased the problem of transport from farm to market.

As farming become more profitable new lands were brought under cultivation in the early 19th Century. Wastelands were reclaimed through improved drainage, irrigation and terracing. Then use of fertilisers started to be used intensively in order to increase the productivity. (Clough B. S. 1975: 1096) Therefore agriculture tended to be reorganised on a capitalist basis. Farmers started to produce for the market as they started to produce large amount of crops.

Another development, which facilitated the transformation of small farms to capitalist ones, was the enclosure movements. In fact enclosure movements had

been supported by the large landlords before the 19th century. With the acceptance of General Act of Enclosure in the year 1801, this movement started to affect the farming structure of England intensively. According to this law common agricultural land and open fields would be enclosed and some arable lands would be converted to pastures. With this law large pastures and fields has started to be hedged and use of these areas were generally belonging to powerful landlords.

According to Ernle this act has not brought about the necessary reduction in the number of small holdings, but rather increase. Since "the first effect of enclosure was to increase in the number of free holders since the rights of open arable field occupation and pasture common were often replaced by allotments of land in separate ownership." (Ernle, 1961: 292) However while coming to middle of 19th century governments of UK were trying to consolidate the farms either by purchase from small owners or by throwing tenancies together. Small holders become landless labourers. Depeasantisation of villages started to be lived in these years. (Ernle, 1961: 290) Then for preserving the unemployment, which caused by the land consolidation UK governments aimed to build local industries, which may provide considerable employment in the middle of nineteenth century. (Ernle, 1961: 298)

According to many writers enclosure movement had constituted one of the important factors for industrial revolution and population movements. As Friedlaender and Oser state "By 1870's enclosure movement was spent. English agriculture has been converted from a system of small scale, in efficient tenancies to modern, large scale, capitalist farms with most of the work being done by hired agricultural labourers." (Friedlaender H. E., and Oser J., 1953: 29) Hence it can be stated that there has been transformation from peasant mode of production to capitalist mode of production in those years. .

Polanyi was another writer stating the importance of enclosure movement in terms of its affects on rural structure. As he points out "...to enclosures of open fields and conversions of arable land to pasture during the earlier Tudor period in England, when fields and commons were hedged by lords, and whole counties were threatened by depeasantisation. (Polanyi K, 1957: 35 Boston)

Therefore big farming was replacing small-scale farming. Scientific progress was evident everywhere and the industrial revolution was supplying the implements that made large-scale farming efficient and profitable. By the help of enclosures this transformation has been accelerating while it has been come to middle of 19th century.

So in the 19th century the industrial revolution, which in agriculture was expressed by the new methods and structure of farming, influenced rural life in two opposite directions. The capitalist manufacturer displaced the small master-workman and domestic craftsman, so in agriculture land was thrown together in large holdings at the expense of small occupiers. According to Tracy in Britain it was mainly the agricultural labourers who moved to the towns; in countries where a peasant predominated the move was much more difficult, for the farm was a home as well as a place of work most of those concerned. (Tracy, 1964: 25)

In these years there appeared another social class, that of the landless labourers, many of whom were forced off the land into growing towns. This move from the land was stimulated by the industrial revolution, in which Britain had a long lead over all other countries and as a result the population living from agriculture formed a smaller proportion of the whole in Britain, than in any other country.(Tracy,1964: 19-20)

Furthermore, overall economic progress was reflected in agriculture. The structure of agriculture with large farms and a class of wealthy landowners ready

to invest in their estates, made British farming particularly receptive to technological progress, and in the middle of the nineteenth century it was the most advanced in the world. Meanwhile the advances were taking place in technology, economy in the organisation of industry has steadily demanded an increase in the number of city dwellers in England. And the cities have thus been able to absorb the migrants from the rural districts.

Therefore workers have started to move and settle in towns. As Weber states the natural incerease in town and country is almost precisely the same in the middle of 19th century in England. Hence the more rapid growth in towns was due to migration. (Weber, 243) Although most people still lived in rural areas, many migrated to cities in search of work. In 1801 40,5 percent of population of England and Wales live in towns of 2000 or more, in 1851 this percentage has risen to 51.3, while during same period percentage of those living in cities over 20000 rose from 27.1 to 38.3. (Clough B. S., et al 1975: 1099)

The changes in the demographic structure were another important factor affecting the population movements. Since the start of 19th Century urban population has been growing faster and faster while the rural growth falls off due to migration tendencies. (Weber, 238) Rate of urbanisation has started to accelerate in these years. The reason why the stream of emigration did not make the cities grow so rapidly before 19th century can be dependent on two basic reasons. First one was the direction of the migrants through the colonies of Britain. As an empire Britain was directing the migrants to its colonies. Second was the excessively high death rate prevalent. Since, due to poor sanitation and other health facilities death rates were very high in these years. (Weber, 233)

As Weber states "it is noticeable that the increase in of the rural

reason for this population increase of the early 19th Century was directly related to improvements in sanitary conditions, medical progresses and the industrial developments. Between the 1800 and 1850 the population of England and Wales expanded from 8,893,000 to 17,928,000.

Therefore parallel to its initial industrialisation, Britain has entered into the transition period in terms of its demographic structure. In fact according to many social researcher and writers this transition period had already started in the 18th century. Due to steadily decrease in death rates and stagnant birth rates allowed rise in population growth. According to them the initial stage of this transition has been continued until the late 19th Century. After these years rate of births has started to decrease so population growth rate have been slower than the previous period." (Tilly 1986, Rios, 1991, Wrigley 1987, Andorka 1986, Levine 1986, Gillis 1986)

Especially in the first half of the 19th century British population increased enormously. The real obstacles upon the growth of population in previous centuries were war, famine, pestilence and unsanitary cities involving particularly high infantile mortality. As Weber states, as soon as the progress of medical and sanitary science, transportation methods, industrialism and the other factors of modern civilisation had mitigated the scourges of mankind there followed a period of unprecedented increase of population in England and all Western Countries. (Weber A., F.: 155)

In fact there were some arguments which claims that industrialisation has led to the population increase by improving the living conditions. On the other hand some argues that increase in the population has led to the industrial progress. Without paying much attention on these discussions, it can be claimed that both processes have affected themselves correspondingly and positively. Moreover it should be stated that increase in the population of England has been one of the

important factor contributing the process of dissolution of rural areas in these years.

Under effects of the developments that have taken place since the industrial revolution years, it is apparent that rural structure of England has altered both socially and economically. In fact as it has been already stated changes in agriculture might have started long before the industrial revolution. Since first enclosure movements, which started to effect agricultural production go back to 17th century. In fact there is still discussions about whether changes in the agriculture in the form of production increase or the industrial revolution has started to overall socio-economic transformations

Without entering into such discussions it can be claimed that industrial developments, enclosure movements and demographic transition have been main factors that have all contributed to the migration tendencies from rural areas. In fact the period until the second industrial revolution can be regarded as the years in which the process of depeasantisation process started to take place in England. As Dobb states; Industrial revolution can be regarded as the originator of the capitalism. According to him;

> "Industrial revolution had extensive and crucial results for the structure of production and for the pattern of social life, as the name itself implies, is undoubtedly true: its concentration of production into relatively large scale units and population into the new industrial towns, its direct confrontation of capital and labour in the form of captain of industry or the industrial company and the permanent wage earner uprooted from the land and selling his labour as a commodity"
>
> (Dobb, 1967: 18)

As Araghi states, the term depeasantisation expresses experience of increasing number of people who were involved in agriculture with direct access

to the production of their means of subsistence became rapidly and massively concentrated in urban locations. (Araghi, 1995)

Moreover the transformation of the rural structure cannot be only explained by the migration from the rural areas. Since in the middle of 19th century peasants have been reflecting the general characteristics of the European society. At this point it should be added that being a peasant was also representation of a social class in these years. According to Tepicht, peasant agriculture signifies a definite type of production forces, a specific structure of production and a particular form of productive relations. (Tepicht 1966: 44 cited in Franklin S. H., 1969: 15) Shanin also emphasis on the characteristics of peasantry in terms its social and cultural aspects. As he states "Peasant society and culture has something generic about it. It is a kind of arrangement of humanity with some similarities all over the world. (Shanin T, 1985: 82) He also stresses on the fact that peasantry is a complex phenomenon and concept of peasantry involves the agriculture as main occupation, specific social and cultural relationships and life of small rural communities. (Shanin T, 1985: 82)

In fact it is very difficult to explain the concept of peasantry. And in this thesis it is not aimed to discuss the meaning of peasants or peasantry. Besides it might be necessary to remind that the concept of depeasantisation do includes more than the population movements. It also represents the social transformation process of the traditional peasantry by the depopulation tendencies. So transformation of the peasantry should be also looked as a social phenomenon referring the social tendencies.

Since peasants were different from the farm labourers in terms of not only their production styles but also their mentalities. In this respect it can be claimed that they were making production depending on the place. They were subsistence farmers and local producers. Besides they had the mentality which has

directed to short time span and space. That is to say they were behaving in the frame of present time and fatalistic perspectives.

As Franklin states "peasantry is a prejudicial word meaning people tend to have very fixed ideas which they hold uncritically about what constitutes a peasant." (Franklin, 1969: 1) According to him peasantry can be dealt mostly within the context of peasant system of production. However it should also be stated that, peasantry also covers some social aspects. Therefore depeasantisation process is not only represents the dissolution of the rural structure due to transforming from peasantry type of production to capitalist mode of production. It also covers the changes in the minds of the peasant class.

Throughout all aspects peasantry represents a way of life, different social values and different relationships. "Kinship order, family, status marriage and death, social establishments, occupation inheritance are very different were very different in the traditional peasant society". (Franklin, 1969: 2) As capitalist system of production has come to dominance, in addition to economical production changes social aspects also has changed. So while it mentioned about the dissolution of the peasantry in rural areas it is aimed to refer the socio-economic transformation process in the rural structure that came as an inevitable result of the industrialisation. On this subject Engels points out that "The small peasant like every other survival of the past mode of production, is hopelessly doomed. He is a future proletarian " (Engels 1894,1977: 460)

Lenin also emphasises on the complexity of this transformation and explains that;

> "old peasantry was not only differentiating, it was also being completely dissolved. It was ceasing to exist, it was being outsed by absolutely new types of rural inhabitants; a class of commodity

producers in agriculture and a class of agricultural wage workers."
(Lenin 1899, 1960:174)

As it can be seen, the question of peasantry has been subject to many debates since past time. Many writers and social researchers have tried to discuss the ongoing trends on social phenomena. As Araghi states there are two main theories about the transformation of the peasantry. First one is the disappearance thesis. This thesis argues that capitalism will lead to the disappearance of the peasantry from the countryside. Thus sooner or later, rapidly or slowly, directly or indirectly peasants will be transformed into wageworkers and capitalist farmers in the countryside. According to this thesis dissolution of the peasantry is necessary as a logical consequence of the advancing process of class differentiation in the rural areas of European regions. This is so-called disappearance thesis.

On the other hand again as Araghi states, "...there is permanence thesis which argues peasant economies have a development logic of that results in the survival of the peasantry and its conditions of reproduction in the countryside." This thesis argues that economic laws that govern peasant societies are theoretically distinct from those that govern capitalist societies. "Peasant societies persist because they operate according to logic that enables them to resist the expansionary forces of capitalism." (Araghi, 1995)

In fact main aim of this thesis is not to discuss about the peasantry theories. However starting from the industrial revolution years it is evident that traditional peasantry has altered. So it might be helpful to touch on the social transformations of the English and European society. Besides it might be stated that the disappearance thesis, which has been mentioned before, seems to be more accurate for explaining the process of depeasantisation and transformation in rural

structure. As Araghi states depeasantisation can be expressed by deruralisation, which means depopulation and decline of rural areas and over urbanisation, which means massive concentration of peoples and activities in growing urban centres. As he explains "in fact all these explanations are the way of referring the development of capitalism in the world."(Araghi 1995) Therefore it can be claimed that industrialism drew a sharp distinction between traditional and modern societies. Traditional societies were generally undifferentiated, rural based while modern societies differentiated industrial and urban based.

To conclude the period since the start of industrialisation to late 19th century has witnessed the important transformations in the rural structure of Britain. As it has been mentioned this transformation involves not only the changes in socio-economic structure of the peasantry but also the depeasantisation process which have spread over the other European countries after the late 19th century.

### 2.2.2. Rural Developments in Britain since the late 19th Century to the First World War

In the late 19th Century industrialism movements have been accelerated in the England. In fact the year 1870 is generally accepted as the start of second stage of industrialisation. The second industrial revolution has come with the technological developments in electrical and chemical industries. As it has been already stated the early industrial revolution had already brought important changes, which fundamentally affected the situation of agriculture in Britain. The second phase of the industrial revolution which is accepted as the period starting from 1870's to the First War, can be considered as a period in which structural changes has continued in rural sphere. However it should be stated that this period

especially acceleration of the industrialisation movements has intensively facilitated the transformation process which has been taking place in rural structure of the England.

Different from the first industrialisation, second phase of industrial revolution have additionally gave way to the improvements in the chemical industry that have brought about emergence of new fertilisers and the agricultural struggle pesticides. Depending on these developments, agricultural research organisations have also expanded. Thus productivity and amount of agricultural production started to rise.

Furthermore improvements in mechanisation have still been one of the important factors of the production increase. Since in the second industrialisation period new agricultural machines were also being invented, improved and widely used, enabling production to expand in spite of labour shortages. In addition to decreasing labour necessities in agricultural sector, growing labour needs in industry promoted the movement off the land, so that already by the nineteenth century only a small proportion of the population earned their living from agriculture. Also the growth in the demand for food was such that it could not be fully satisfied by British agriculture. Then level of import has increased in Britain in 1900's.

In Britain the population occupied in agriculture even though it was already relatively small by the 1880's, fell substantially between 1881 and 1900. In other countries of Western Europe like West Germany and France population movement from rural areas did not appear nearly as large as in Britain. To some extend in Britain a reduction in the farm population was already well under way as a result of the early Industrial Revolution and were greater opportunities in non-farm employment than was the case in other countries. As Grigg states

between the 1850's and the First World War agricultural labour decline has been about % 10. (Grigg, 1992: 22)

At this point it should be stated depression of 1875's had affected British agriculture while coming to 1900's. Between 1881-1901 the population occupied in agriculture in Great Britain was reduced from about 1,500,000 to about 1,325,000 (See table 1) This fall was being accounted for almost entirely by departure of hired workers. The active population in agriculture had been reduced to 8 % of the total.

As the landlords sought to substitute a few large tenants for several occupiers, the number of holdings fell and their size increased. (Tracy, 1964: 41) The mass of the former peasantry formed a new class of landless labourers. Moreover much of the arable land that was enclosed was converted into grass and used for grazing sheep, and as labour requirements were thus reduced, many agricultural workers were forced to the growing towns in the late nineteenth century. (See the table 1) Thus in Britain the enclosure and consolidation of agricultural holdings over a long period led to the creation of comparatively large, unified farms.

British agriculture came to be characterised by large unified farms, many of them in the possession of wealthy landlords who were prepared to invest heavily in improvements to their estates. (Tracy, 1964: 42) Therefore British agriculture could take full advantage of technological changes, which came with the industrial revolution. However, it should be added that the size of the farming units have been relatively larger when compared to other European Countries'. In fact the British farming units can be seen as medium sized holdings when we take into consider the American farming units. Besides, when the changes in the cultivated land size changes in the period has been examined it can be seen that, Britain cultivable land has also reached its limit until 1900's. So it can be claimed

that after that years UK government had to search other policies for achieving adequate income level for rural sector.

Table 1. Population Occupied in Agriculture in Great Britain in Relation to Total Occupied Population and to Total Population

| Years | Employment (1000) | | | Total Population of great Britain (1000) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Agriculture | All Sectors | Agriculture as % of Total | |
| 1861 | 1913 | 10463 | 18 | 23128 |
| 1871 | 1690 | 11646 | 15 | 26072 |
| 1881 | 1500 | 12795 | 12 | 29710 |
| 1891 | 1402 | 14676 | 10 | 33029 |
| 1901 | 1325 | 16312 | 8 | 37000 |
| 1911 | 1381 | 18351 | 8 | 40831 |

Source: Tracy, 1964:50

Table 2. Cultivated Land Size in Great Britain

| | 1870 | 1880 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Cultivated Land Size (million acres) | 30.4 | 32.1 | 32.8 | 32.4 | 32.1 |

Source: Tracy, 1964: 50

Moreover if we consider the demographic developments of the period we can say that this period should be regarded as the second stage of the demographic transition. In this period England being the first industrialised country has started to face decline in fertility rates after the late 19$^{th}$ century. As Rios states death rates fell substantially from 1850 to 1890, while birth rates remained virtually

unchanged. But as death rates continued to decline fertility also fell; from 1890 to about 1930 fertility plunged surpassing the mortality decline and reducing family size. (Rios, R.J. 1991)

Therefore declining fertility rates especially after the 1890's can be considered the slowing of the population boom in England. So after these years rate of population in England has started to decrease. In fact this decline in population increase was in contradiction with the increasing population needs while the industrialism was accelerating. If the table 1 examined the results of this developments can be seen. Since the increasing labour needs in industry has resulted in the population movements from the rural areas so that the proportion of agriculture in the economy has continued to decrease continuously. In other words the rural structure of England has continued to depopulate. So process of depeasantisation has occurred more intensively in this period than the previous one in England. In fact this development can be considered as positive development for the England governments for their policy of increasing farming units.

### 2.2.3. Rural Developments in Britain During the Interwar Period

During the immediate post war years England agriculture has lived its recession period. The supply of all fertilisers and the farm machinery was drastically declined and so the agricultural production was disrupted. Therefore after 1920's as it was in all Western Europe there was increasing tendency for protecting agriculture in Britain. As Tracy states restricting imports meant that protection for agriculture had to take form of marketing schemes designed to strengthen producers' bargaining power and subsidies. (Tracy, 1964: 125)

Moreover when farmers were drawn more and more into production of goods for sale, there were a number of consequences. Farmers became increasingly influenced by the agricultural product prices. They were also encouraged to specialisation on certain products.

All these mechanisms were protecting utilities of rural population in Britain. However although agricultural wages were fairly well maintained even during the crisis number of agricultural workers in Great Britain fell from 857.000 in 1930 to 697000 in 1938. (Tracy, 1964: 168) Parallel Tracy's thoughts, Williams also claims that effects of the big crisis of 1930's have been serious on agricultural sector and numbers of farmers in Britain has fell down significantly during this crisis. (Williams, 1960: 112)

In Britain the idea of the government in 1930 was going round that a large scale programme for settling workers in small holdings could do much relieve unemployment, and in 1930 the Labour Government introduced a Land Utilisation Bill with this in mind. The old argument about keeping work at home was also much in evidence. If food were produced at home instead of being imported it was thought that there would be more work for farmers and at the same time a larger market for home industry.

Table 3 Arable Land Size in Britain in 1930's

| **Years** | **1929** | **1932** | **1935** | **1938** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Arable Land Size (million acres) | 14.3 | 13.6 | 13.5 | 13.0 |

Source: Tracy, 1964: 168

If we analyse total cultivated land in 1930's it can be seen that under the effects of protective policies there took place only slight decrease in total cultivated land. It was 14.3 millions acres in 1929 and decreased to 13.0 millions acres in 1938. As it has been already mentioned in 1900's cultivable land potential were all under the cultivation in Britain and protective policies have prevented significant declines in total cultivated land.

Moreover it should be stated that in Britain mostly due to early industrialisation, mechanisation of agriculture has progressed than the other counties of Europe. In fact relatively larger farming units also contributed to this process. In 1900's each worker in agriculture was supported by 1 horsepower of energy from horses mostly. In 1939 this has risen to 3 horsepower energy from tractors and continued to increase. (Grigg, 1992: 50) Therefore it can be claimed that in the period between two war English agriculture started to be technologically improved. These improvements can be seen as the factors decreasing the labour necessitates in farms.

Another important factor; population dynamics of this period is again accepted as the continuity of the previous period from the point of view of its effects on population movements. In this period again fertility rate has continued to decrease. In spite of the War effects on population dynamics, if the period is overall examined it is seen that death rates has decreased further while birth rates has also decreasing. (Tilly C. 1986, Minchinton W, 1976: 54)

Therefore if the developments of this period is searched in terms of the dissolution of the England rural structure it can be said that migration movements has been slower than the previous periods. Since due to agricultural crop requirements, which came under the War effects, increasing supportive policies of the England has brought about the continuity of small farmers. Decreasing population growth rates can also be regarded as factor preventing pressures on the

farmers to leave from rural areas. However it should also be mentioned that increasing mechanisation and the difficulties of supporting the rural sphere by the governments were the adverse factors which have increased the migration tendencies. Since in this period, although the governments of England have aimed to hold the rural population for achieving sufficient product supply a certain level of rural population has migrated to cities in search of other jobs.

### 2.2.4. Rural Developments in Britain since Second World War

In Britain Agriculture Act of 1947 was of great importance. Since this act was aiming to increase total agricultural output and so provided so much financial assistance to agricultural sector. However, after 1953 emphasize of Britain governments' shifted from aim of increasing output to aim of increasing productivity. (Davey, 1973: 99) According to Tracy British agriculture as a whole has achieved high standard of technical efficiency and has gained a large number of prosperity that was dependent on subsidies after the Second World War.(Tracy, 1974: 256) However it can be said that this subsidies couldn't provide sufficient supports on small farmers. As I have already mentioned Williams states, according to statistics total agricultural population declined what it was hundred years ago in 1925's and continued to decrease slightly since now.

Moreover depopulation of the rural structure has brought about the mechanisation of agriculture. In this respect it can be said that mechanisation and depopulation are very close dependent issues in terms of their corresponding effects. So by the help of the subsidies given by the governments and depopulation, UK agriculture has reached the relatively high technological efficiency then other European Countries. In 1939 each worker in agriculture was supported by 3 hp and in 1960's it was started to be supported by 50 hp in Britain. By the 1980's the numbers of tractors on British farms exceeded the number of

workers. (Grigg, 1992: 50) Therefore one of the most important characteristics of the period can be considered as accelerating mechanisation which have contributed to migration tendencies.

As in the whole Western Europe UK governments have aimed to direct farmers to have additional incomes in 1950's. As Grigg states part time farming especially in peri urban areas has become dominant in England after 1950's. In 1955 there were 370000 holdings of agricultural land. On 49 % of these less than 275 man-days were worked in a year. As this means that they failed to occupy one person for a year, they could be defined as part time farms. In England, Ontario 20 percent of all farmers is part-time farmer and 13 % of them are hobby-farmers in 1960's. (Grigg, 1995: 132)

At this point again population dynamics of the England should be mentioned. According to a research by England population growth dynamics reached its stagnancy after the 1930's. As he states already decreased death and birth rates made population stagnant after these years. However again it should be added that rural population continued to loose its proportion in total population.

A study of Drudy and Wallace (1973) on different selected rural areas can give us ideas about general population tendencies and structural changes in rural areas of UK. Even though the migration tendencies has not as much as the previous periods decreasing tendencies of rural population can clearly be seen from the table 4

According to Wallace and Drudy since UK agriculture has been under strong economic pressures due to fact that productivity and production increase has been rising rapidly than increase in prices. (Wallace and Drudy, 1973: 132) They also mention about the effects of mechanisation, which hired labour force by more than % 40 in different rural areas of Britain. In addition as a result of

Britain's early start in industrialisation the decline in the relative importance of agriculture began early and the movement of labour into other sectors has continued since present time. Agriculture in Britain now provides a smaller share of national income and occupies smaller part of population than is the case in any country in 1970's. (Tracy, 1974: 270) In the 1980, agricultural labour force of United Kingdom has been half of what it was in 1950's. However there is no strong change in agricultural area since 1950's. (Grigg, 1995: 135)

Table 4 Rural Population Changes in Selected Regions of Britain 1951-1971

| **Area** | **Rural Population in 1951** | **Rural Population in 1961** | **Rural Population in 1971** | **Percentage Change 1951-71** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Highlands and Islands | 285.786 | 277.948 | 282.901 | -1.0 |
| Mid-Wales | 185.729 | 178.546 | 174.189 | -6.3 |
| North Norfolk | 35.518 | 32.141 | 29.385 | -17.3 |
| North Mayo | 40.030 | 35.126 | 31.638 | -20.9 |

Source: Drudy and Wallace, 1973: 131

Table 5 Total Number of Rural Workers Changes in Some Regions of Britain

| **Region** | **Total Regular Workers in 1958** | **Total Regular Workers in 1971** | **Percentage Change 1951-71** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Highlands and Islands | 3285 | 1980 | -40 |
| Mid-Wales | 9189 | 4826 | -47 |
| North Norfolk | 8494 | 4924 | -42 |

Source: Drudy and Wallace, 1973: 131

These developments can also be supported by the changes in the land uses of Britain. Agriculture has been giving yearly average of 40000 acres land to other land uses after 1940's. (Peters 1970, 176) On the other hand a fairly big fall in the numbers of farms has been realized in 1950's. (See table 6) Mainly in the smaller size of groups this decrease rates has been more sharply.

Table 6 Number of Agricultural Holdings in Britain, 1958 and 1968

| | North Norfolk | | | Highlands and Islands | | | Mid Wales | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Size in acres** | **1958** | **1968** | **% Change** | **1958** | **1968** | **% Chan.** | **1958** | **1968** | **% Ch.** |
| **1-29** | 436 | 264 | -39 | 22055 | 17495 | -21 | 7171 | 4184 | -42 |
| **30-99** | 204 | 144 | -29 | 3470 | 3206 | -8 | 6119 | 5293 | -14 |
| **100-299** | 155 | 138 | -17 | 1025 | 1102 | 8 | 2808 | 3009 | 7 |
| **300+** | 142 | 141 | - | 192 | 230 | 20 | 129 | 216 | 67 |
| **Total** | 937 | 687 | -27 | 26742 | 22033 | -18 | 16227 | 12702 | -22 |

Source: Drudy and Wallace, 1973: 134

Therefore in the transformation of Britain rural structure the most affected group was smaller farms after 1950's. In other words small farms have been main subjects to dissolution process. According to Drudy this population decline has had a number of serious effects in rural areas. Since migrants tend to consist mainly of young people of working age, a community of very young and aged members remains behind. (Drudy and Wallace, 1973: 138)

To conclude in 1950's common characteristics of rural structure was the declining tendencies in total population and migration of small farmers outside rural areas. This depopulation tendencies has been in the frame of UK

governments policies of increasing rural incomes by holding only certain level of population who could have continued their subsistence. Of course subsidies have played important role on increasing income level of rural population. Also some governments tried to increase rural incomes by directing through additional incomes. Thus, part time farming have been encouraged and this policy has contributed to continuity of remained farmers after 1960's.

Under the effects of these increasing protection necessities European Countries have agreed on the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). In fact this agreement will be discussed in detail, in the analysis of European Countries as general in the following part. However we should state that because one of the aim of this policy was to increase government interventions for supporting farm incomes, England has also increased the intervention and subsidy levels after 1960's. However as we will see in the following part, when it has come to 1970's, with the Manshold Plan decisions this policy has been replaced with another one. Since Manshold Plan was aiming to increase farm incomes by transforming to viable and technologically improved more productive farming units. In this sense we can claim that England has advantageous characteristics in terms of transforming to viable farming units. Since according to a study of European Community, average farm size in England between the years 1960 and 1986, 65 ha while Community's average is only 9 ha. (Europe Community, Periodical, 1992) Therefore it can be concluded that England might have more easily realised the Manshold Plan aims in terms achieving viable farms.

However depeasantisation tendencies still continued in the Britain. Another important factor affecting process of dissolution of UK rural structure was highly increasing incomes in non-agricultural sector acting as pull factor.(Drudy and Wallace, 1973: 144) In contrast, high level of technology which was one of the aim of Manshold Plan, did help remaining part of peasants to continue agricultural production after 1970's. Especially rise in the use of tractors

have been an important factor bringing about only the steadily decrease in rural population through migration. Moreover it can be said that most writers and social researchers still think of the necessity of removing subsidies and providing high living standards for remaining part of peasants by not preventing the decrease in rural population.

## 2.3. Western Europian Countries

In this part history of rural developments and transformation process of Western European Countries as general will be analysed starting from the late 19th Century. Analysis will be through three specific periods in which different socio-economic developments took place affecting rural structures of those countries.

As it has already been mentioned the spread of industrialisation over the European countries has been realised several decades later than the Britain. So the transformation of the rural structure depending on the industrial development have mostly occurred in the late 19th century in most of Western European Countries.

### 2.3.1. Rural Developments in Western European Countries from the late 19th Century to the First World War

Industrial Revolution was the most important development of the 19th Century in terms of not only leading to economical transformations but also social transformations. When it has been come late 18th Century, all of the countries in the Europe have faced structural transformations in their economy due to industrialisation movements. Industrialisation brought profound changes to the agriculture like other sectors in Europe. The most rapid change in farming has come as agriculture declined both as a proportion of the labour force and in its contribution to the value of output.

Similar to British experience European rural structure has been using the facilities of industrial development. In fact iron plows had been already used in European agriculture before the 1850's. However, with the improvements in iron industry and the invention of steam power new agricultural machines were invented after 1870's. Thus new agricultural machines and steam tractors has started to be used in farming. This mechanisation in agriculture has brought about two important results. First one was the agricultural production rise, and the second one was the decreasing necessities for the agricultural labour force.

Besides, improvements in chemical industry had brought about discovery of artificial fertilisers and pesticides, which have also contributed to productivity increase in agriculture. Indeed productivity increase can be considered as factor, which might have prevented the migration tendencies. However, depeasantisation process has continued increasingly after 1870's.

Therefore with the industrialisation the proportion in agriculture in the economy has started to decline. As Grigg states everywhere that industrialisation occurred in Western Europe the total population increased. According to him initially the agricultural population also increased but not so rapidly as the numbers employed in manufacturing, mining and services so that the percentage engaged in agriculture declined. Many activities started to be carried by farm families such as transporting goods to market, repairing buildings, wagons and implements and even making furniture or clothes. (Grigg, 1992: 22)

When the general population dynamics of the period is considered it can be said that the population explosion was already under way in Europe since the 18$^{th}$ century. (Bairoch, 1976: 481) According to many social scientists and researchers Europe has started to face a decline in terms of fertility since the 19$^{th}$ Century. As Tilly states, "what has stimulated the population growth was due to improvements in health conditions." (Tilly C, 1986) An increase in the birth rate

due to earlier marriages had help to encourage the trend. In later decades the birth rate also started to decrease steadily due to the practise of birth control and other socio economical preferences. (Weber A, 233)

After the 1870's there was no place in the traditional structure of European rural life for this great population growth, especially since the proportion of people needed to produce food was decreasing all the time. Most of the surplus went into cities, swelling the industrial labour force and turning Western Europe into an urban society. However at this point it should also be stated that due to emigration tendencies of the European society over other continents urbanisation rate has been less than expected.

As Grigg states at the initial phases while industrialising was accelerating agricultural population were also increasing. Accordingly to this increase farming holdings were becoming smaller mostly through the heritage mechanism. Then WEC started to be faced the problem of small farming units in these years. Consolidation of holdings was carried in order to get sufficiently large amount of farms in Western Europe. However it made little progress in the last periods of $19^{th}$ Century. Fragmentation has still been a problem in Western Europe when it has been come to middle of $20^{th}$ Century. By the beginning of the twentieth century both the cultivated area and the arable area of Western Europe had reached their maximum. There was little land and left to bring into cultivation.(Grigg,1992: 17)

So it can be claimed that different from the British experience, "in the late nineteenth century the growth of agricultural population caused the subdivision and fragmentation of farms, increased landlessness, and retarded the adoption of labour saving implements and machines in European Countries. In 1900's, agricultural underemployment was spread in West European Countries.

That is to say there were far more people living on farms than were needed to carry out farming tasks.

Difference between the English and the European agricultural farming in terms of land fragmentation might be depended on several factors that were related to historical socio-economic developments. By the 1870's English farming has already started to face depeasantisation, which brought about rural depopulation. According to Friedlaender and Oser, intensive enclosure movements, powerful landlords and early industrialisation might be seen some of the factors leading less fragmentation in English farming. (Friedlaender and Oser, 1957: 28) However European industrialisation, which have brought about depopulation tendencies in rural areas, came after several decades later when the initial phases of demographic transition had already under way. Besides, there were no intensive enclosure movements in the other European Countries as in the case of Britain. Hence, European rural areas were more populated leading the more fragmentation in farming units.

Moreover, in contrary to past developments, there came a major change when it has been come to 1900's. The continued outflow from the rural areas began to equal or exceed the natural increase and the agricultural labour force entered a long period of stagnation and also began a long decline.

After industrialisation, some other structural changes have been lived in European Agriculture. One of the most important changes was the commercialisation of European Agriculture. The commercial farmer is a businessman and his main aim is to maximise profits. All his inputs are paid for, labour by wage, land by rent and such inputs as fertilisers, seed and energy are all bought from suppliers off the farm. (Grigg, 1992: 58)

Traditional agriculture, which was dominant before the industrialisation, had a number of characteristics. In most of Europe where it was pursued % 70 or more of the population were engaged in agriculture and a few lived in towns. Consequently most of the product was consumed on the farms themselves and the size of the market was limited. With the industrialisation the numbers of employed in manufacturing, mining, transport and later in services steadily increased and increased more rapidly than the numbers of working on farms. (Grigg,1992: 9)

As Grigg states in traditional agriculture farmers were consuming much of their own output and most of their inputs were produced on the farm. However with the industrialisation most inputs started to be produced in industries. Also while the proportion of population living in towns increasing, the need for food marketing increased. This was supported by the improvements in transportation facilities. (Grigg, 1992: 102) Moreover in most of farming areas in Europe, farmers have purchased machines to get rid of labourers. (Ernle, 1961: 349) However the major factors in accounting for the decline of agricultural labour force were the employment opportunities in the towns and the higher wages to be found there.

Therefore with increasing depopulation tendencies and changing the agricultural production system European rural structure has entered into a transformation process. Dissolution in the rural areas of European Countries has started in the late 19$^{th}$ Century. Thus, the dissolution process has not been related to only economical circumstances but also social circumstances, which were affecting rural structure. As it has been mentioned in the British case, this dissolution process in the rural areas can be expressed by the term **depeasantisation**.

As long as the industrial and service sector has become more developed the agricultural sector started to loose its importance in the economy In the Western Europe the loss of agricultural labour force has started intensively after middle of 19th century. As a one of the firstly industrialised country, Britain is the initial example faced dissolution in its rural areas. This deruralisation process has been extended through all European Countries while the industrialisation trend has spread over the Europe after 1870's (Araghi, 1995)

As it has been already mentioned after the acceleration of industrialisation not only the economical tendencies but also the social structures have crucially altered in Europe. Since, until the industrial revolution years, farming was the occupation of over 70 percent of the population in every country in Europe. (Grigg,1992: 8) This means that most of the population was living in rural areas in Europe. So it is very clear that European society was mostly being constituted by the peasants and traditional farmers in the 19th Century.

Traditional farmers were very different from the commercial ones. They were subsistence farmers and they tries to provide all their own food. Modern writers distinguish between the commercial farmer who sells over 50 percent of output, and semi-subsistence farmer who sells less than half, who aims first at subsistence (Grigg, 1992: 59) Over the last century the meaning of farming has altered in the Western Europe. "Farmers who once produced mainly for home consumption now sell nearly all their produce and inputs were once produced on the farm started to be purchase from industry." (Grigg, 1995: 85)

Therefore agricultural production structure has also changed parallel to depopulation of rural structures as in the case of England. Then it can be stated that while the population of European Countries has been moving to urban areas where capitalist mode of production become dominant, rural areas has also started

to be capitalised. "The whole Europe has reached the stage where the peasant economy and ideology is either no longer predominant..." (Franklin, 1969: 3)

However after the acceleration of industrialisation there appeared huge need for labour. In addition to new and high value added job opportunities appeared by the industrialisation, increasing population in agricultural sector brought about population movements from the rural areas. The ratio of the population engaged in agriculture declined. Depending on the migration tendencies the European countries started to be more urbanised in addition to being more industrialised.

### 2.3.2. Rural Developments in Western European Countries during the Interwar Period

After First World War due to shortage of food supplies Western Agriculture has started to live its recovery period. In the immediate postwar period there was no need to protect agriculture so that tariffs were generally been suspended. However when it has been come to 1920's increase in the supplies and general economic depression caused a sharp fall in prices. As depression deepened and financial crisis became more acute need to protection of agriculture came into picture. (Tracy, 1964: 117) So after 1920's protective policies have appeared on agriculture by different measures. Tariffs were gradually reintroduced at levels generally not exceeding those of prewar period. Subsidies started to be given in considerable amounts. In fact all of the measures adopted to deal with crisis of the 1930's which had the most significance and greatest influence on subsequent development of agriculture.

In addition to general economic bottlenecks some sectoral characteristics also brought about government intervention as in favour to agriculture. According to Tracy there was a growing awareness that agriculture was not like other industries that it was particularly subject to fluctuations in supplies and prices, and that a large number of producers acting individually were helpless in the face of market disequilibrium (Tracy, 1964: 131)

Moreover there is another aspect of European Agriculture that necessitates the government intervention. Especially in the 1900's population growth and inheritance have led to reduce of farm sizes in Western Europe. In fact in after 1900's European Countries has faced another stage of the demographic transition in which rate of population growth has steadily decreased. According to Tilly, the decline in fertility so distinctly evident at the end of the nineteenth century and continued in the following decades (Tilly, 1991: 326) According to Rios, this since the 1890's fertility rates started to decrease while death rates also decreasing. (Rios R. J., 1991) However in spite of the fact that there were decreasing population growth tendencies in European Countries, rural structure have not been able to absorb any more population

Therefore farm size has been seen one of the most important considerations of Western European Governments for number of reasons. Since it was even important in subsistence societies for adequate amount of food supply. "High proportion of all Western European farms has been very small. This smallness can be seen an important factor causing rural poverty in the WEC." (Grigg, 1992: 92)

In commercial farming size among other things determines the net income of the family. Thus attention has been paid to enlarge farms for the minimum size of farm that can provide the farmer with an income comparable with that of an industrial worker. However small farms were predominant in

Europe in late 19th century and early 20th century. As Grigg states by 1930's it can be claimed that this small farms dominance was still continuing. (Grigg, 1992: 98)

Table 7 Farm structure in Western Europe in 1930

| | 0-10 ha | | 10-50 ha | | Over 50 ha | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Countries** | **Number of Holdings in Size Class as % of All Holdings** | **Area of Holdings in Size Class as % of All Agricultural Land** | **Number of Holdings in Size Class as % of All Holdings** | **Area of Holdings in Size Class as % of All Agricultural Land** | **Number of Holdings in Size Class as % of All Holdings** | **Area of Holdings in Size Class as % of All Agricultural Land** |
| **Switzerland** | 80.0 | 50.0 | 19.5 | 43.0 | 0.5 | 7.0 |
| **Belgium** | 81.0 | 45.0 | 18.0 | 43.0 | 1.0 | 9.0 |
| **Netherlands** | 66.5 | 31.5 | 32.0 | 60.0 | 1.5 | 8.5 |
| **France** | 62.0 | 20.0 | 34.0 | 50.0 | 4.0 | 30 |
| **Germany** | 62.0 | 22.0 | 33.0 | 46.0 | 5.0 | 32.0 |
| **Denmark** | 52.0 | 16.5 | 46.0 | 68.0 | 2.0 | 15.5 |
| **England and Wales** | 35.0 | 6.7 | 41.7 | 28.1 | 23.3 | 65.2 |

Source: P. Lamartine Yates, Food Production in Western Europe, London 1940 cited in Grigg, 1992: 92)

Therefore reorganisation of agricultural structure involves two basic measures. First was consolidation of fragmented farms, and regrouping of small farms into larger units and improving farming methods by the help of technology. Second was on the inevitable movement of labour from farms into other occupations or retirement. In some WEC decentralisation of industry have been seen as a means of assisting farm labour to find new work as well as providing additional source of employment and income for families, which hold to farming as their main activity. However it should be stated all these measures related to

rising of the income level and living standards could not get success until the Second World War years.

### 2.3.3. Rural Developments in Western European Countries since the Second World War

Second World War did also bring huge need for large amount of food supply like previous War. Then all WEC started to try to raise agricultural production as rapidly as possible. Thus protective policies have continued for providing supply increase in agricultural production. According to Michael Tracy recovery period was rapid. (Tracy, 1964: 225) In fact it can be said that this rapid recovery period has took place under the effects of Marshall Aid. Machinery of all kinds has multiplied on the farms. According to OECD Reports from 1947 to 1960, the number of tractors in OECD countries rose from half a million to three million. Also from 1947 to 1960, consumption of all fertilisers of all kinds was more than doubled. So it can be claimed that WEC have experienced mechanisation process together with increase in other agricultural inputs like fertilisers. So labour productivity has risen faster in agriculture than in other sectors. (Tracy, 1964: 227) Ojala also claims that the major challenge to traditional structures in post war years has been impact of technology. According to him rate of increase in productivity, mechanisation and volume of output suddenly accelerated in 1950's and 1960's. (Ojala, 1973: 15)

However, in spite of these positive developments in 1950's and 1960's, number of active population in agriculture has decreased dramatically in most of WEC. Nevertheless growth in production has taken place in spite of a large and steady fall in numbers employed in agriculture in WEC. (Tracy, 1964: 246) At this point effects of the mechanisation should be considered in terms of contributing the depopulation of rural structures. Since the Marshall Aid has

provided the huge increase in the number of tractors in most of European Countries. Moreover this mechanisation had brought about slight fall (when compared to previous periods) in number of agricultural labour in WEC. According to Tracy the progress accomplished by Western European Agriculture has not been matched by comparable advance in farm incomes.

One of the reasons for not being able to provide rise in farm incomes was related to the population density that was higher than desired in most of European Countries. When the population dynamics of the period is searched similar tendencies with the England demographic structure can be seen. In Western European Countries period after the Second World War is the period in which fertility and death rates has reached a certain level and has been continuing to decrease steadily. (Rios R. J., 1991) However although the population growth rates has reached a certain level, there is still need to decrease rural population. Since the rural incomes could not been reached to required levels in most of European Countries.

So although there has been an increase in production amount and productivity there were not advantageous developments for increasing rural income. Since all supportive mechanisms gave way huge amount of increase in production. This increase in production level has brought difficulties to holding prices at a certain level. In addition, another factor was making difficult to increase rural income level. Smallness of many farms was still one of the most important problems of villagers. Especially after Second World War, WEC's governments have shifted their policies on the problem of land fragmentation. These new considerations have brought about changing trends one of which was the decline in active agricultural population. Table 8 shows the decrease rates in WEC in sense of active population in agriculture.

Table 8 Percentage Changes in Number of Holding of Various Sizes in Some Western European Countries

| Countries | Percentage Changes in Number of Holding of Various Sizes | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1-5 hectares | 5-10 hectares | 10-20 hectares | 20-50 hectares | Over 50 hectares | All Holdings |
| W Germany (1949-60) | -26 | -15 | 12 | 8 | -3 | -17 |
| Belgium (1950-59) | -34 | -10 | 9 | 8 | 4 | -21 |
| Netherlands (1950-59) | -40 | -6 | 10 | -1 | -4 | -12 |
| Sweden (1951-59) | -11 | -10 | -1 | -4 | -7 | -7 |

Source: Tracy, 1964: 249

Therefore it has been realised that low level of income is due to deficiencies in the structure of agriculture itself. Smallness of the farms, their fragmentation into numerous separate plots were the main obstacles among increasing farm incomes. (Tracy, 1964: 243) Then in all of the WEC there appeared a thought that reduction in active agricultural population was essential to improve farm incomes and living standards. There is thus tendency for Western European Agriculture to consist increasingly of medium sized farms. In fact this is a contradiction of past policies mentioned before. Since as it can be remembered past policies were on providing small holding for landless labourers.

Family farms large enough to provide adequate income appears as the most desirable objective in WEC policies. Then another thought came into picture related to increasing small sized farms' incomes. In most of European Countries additional part time occupations have been supported to increase the level of incomes of small sized farms. The rapid growth of industrial expansion has come

since 1945. The rapid growth of industrial employment with its comparatively high wages combined with the difficulty of living on small farms led many small holders to find part time jobs in their spare times. In WEC, number of landowners that make agriculture, as a hobby is very large.

Table 9 Economically Active Population in Some Western European Countries

| **Country** | **Years** | **Agriculture** | | **Other Sectors** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | **Number** | **%** | **Number** | **%** |
| Sweden | 1950 | 632000 | 20 | 2473000 | 80 |
| W. Germany | 1962 | 3587000 | 13 | 23234000 | 87 |
| Norway | 1960 | 274000 | 19 | 1132000 | 81 |
| France | 1962 | 3907000 | 20 | 15805000 | 80 |

Source: Adapted from Schulte, L., Naiken L., Bruni A., 1972 cited in FAO Studies in Agricultural Economics and Statistics, 1978: 220

Table 10 Active Agricultural Population of Some Western Countries in 1960 as a Percentage of 1950

| **Countries** | **Active Agricultural Population in 1960 as a Percentage of 1950** |
|---|---|
| Sweden | 64 |
| Belgium | 70 |
| W. Germany | 72 |
| Norway | 76 |
| Netherlands | 81 |
| Denmark | 83 |
| United Kingdom | 84 |

Source: OECD Statistics cited in Tracy, 1964: 168

According to Grigg improvements in transport have also allowed an increasing number of city workers to live in villages and small towns. As city physically expends, the zone on the edge of city becomes more urban in its nature. (Grigg, 1995: 128) He stresses on the fact that on the edge of cities in Europe decline in agricultural labour force is strong and it may become insufficient for some labour intensive crops. Further there are many part time farmers near cities and they are unlikely to farm intensively. According to him after 1950's part time farming become widespread. One of the causes of this tendency can be said as continuing fragmentation of farmland. As he states this tendencies has brought peri urban agriculture type in the middle of the 20th Century.

According to Grigg improvements in transport have also allowed an increasing number of city workers to live in villages and small towns. As city physically expends, the zone on the edge of city becomes more urban in its nature. (Grigg, 1995: 128) He stresses on the fact that on the edge of cities in Europe decline in agricultural labour force is strong and it may become insufficient for some labour intensive crops. Further there are many part time farmers near cities and they are unlikely to farm intensively. According to him after 1950's part time farming become widespread. One of the causes of this tendency can be said as continuing fragmentation of farmland. As he states this tendencies has brought peri urban agriculture type in the middle of the 20th Century.

Therefore as it can be seen from tables in WEC with changing policies of governments on land accumulation and economic difficulties brought about the changing agricultural patterns and more importantly the tendency of depopulation. This population movement of labour out of agriculture has been lived after 1950's intensively. Until the 1950's the decline in the numbers in agriculture was due to the emigration of farm workers. But since the Second World War, farmers as well as workers have left land, especially farmers with small holdings have given up the agricultural activities. There has been also particular tendency for the young

men, to leave agriculture so that the modern agricultural labour force is older than the non-agricultural labour force.

According to Grigg until 1945's mechanisation had made only small progress in Western Europe. The size of farms had little changed since nineteenth century. As Grigg stresses on the fact that profound changes have realised after 1945's. The economic revival of industry and higher wages attracted not only agricultural workers but many small farmers, increasingly sons ad daughters refused to carry on working on small farms when their parents retired or died. (Grigg, 1992: 101)

So it can be claimed that although attempts of governments in terms of providing supports to agriculture, policies for increasing income for peasants has resulted in out migration in rural areas of WEC. According to Tracy after 1950's policy of WEC governments was in a sense that population movement was essential factor in maintaining incomes of those who remain in farming. (Tracy, 1964: 251) So parallel to these policies increase in the mechanisation and usage of other agricultural inputs has also resulted in productivity increase after 1950's. As Ojala states European agriculture has acquired the capacity to expand production at a speed never before possible. According to him this upsurge in productivity has hastened relative decline in size of agricultural sector.(Ojala, 1973: 15) It can be said that in Western Europe this decline has took the form of an absolute decline in size of agricultural sector. According to a Report of FAO (1972) after 1960's there has been a net outflow agricultural labour of 3 to 6 percent a year in European Countries. However as Ojala states this rate of labour outflow after 1965's has not been as fast as 1950's due to increasing rural incomes.

Therefore the process of migration has been continued in WEC in 1950's. In fact it can be claimed that policies of that countries generally did not

on achieving viable farms for improving income standards of peasants remaining in agricultural sector. According to Ojala, decrease in the total numbers of farms and increase in the rate of large holdings has been realised due to those policies. (Ojala, 1973: 16) So it can be made a comment that, depeasantisation process had realised in small farming units in developed countries. Besides after achieving only necessary number of rural population with large holdings depopulation tendency has started to be slow down in those countries. A small number of large, efficient, highly mechanised farms could have got chance to continue their survivals in rural areas.

Moreover as it has already been mentioned, European Countries have seen that another important aspect of adaptation of their rural structures, was to shift from full-time farming to part-time farming. They thought that "...holdings now giving an inadequate income on a full time basis could in many cases run profitably if a full time the farmer had another occupation". (Williams, 1960: 144) So in European Countries number of farmers making part time farming has increased. So it can be claimed that high level of urban and industrial developments also did help the absorption of labour surplus from agriculture by part time jobs, which provided to continue to live in rural areas. At his point it should be stated that generally small farms which could not get sufficient level of income have been subject to process of migration in Western European Countries.

#### 2.3.3.1. CAP and the Manshold Plan

Another important development contributing agricultural protective policies was the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) which was incorporated in the Treaty of Rome, which came into force in 1958 and laid the foundation for European Community. (EC) (Rosenblatt, 1988: 1) In 1950's prospective member states had increased the degree of government intervention in agriculture in order

to support farm incomes. Common Agricultural Policy had aimed to hold agricultural prices in very high levels by subsidies. However this supportive policies of European Community have brought heavy tasks on economies of member states. In 1972 with the Mansholt Plan decisions level of government interventions and subsidies started to be decreased. Plan was aiming to increase farm incomes by achieving productivity increase and viable farms. (Tekeli-İlkin, 1993:74)

By 1967 agricultural structure in the Community had showed little improvement. The smallness of the farms still has constituted one of the major problems for the European Countries. In 1968 the European Commission examined the existing situation and noted the problems facing agriculture under the name of Manshold Plan. According to this plan structural improvement could not take place until a large proportion of the 12 million people still working in agriculture and left the industry. Plan was proposing two main measures: to help people to take up alternative occupations or to retire and to help people who remained to modernise their farms. (Milward, 1981: 41)

The Plan was arguing that larger modernised farms could play a more responsible role in marketing their output. However until 1972 there were no positive action in the European Countries. In 1972 the Countries in the European Commission were concerned with:

1-farm modernisation

2-encouregement to specific farmers to leave farming and to allocate their land for the improvement of remaining holdings,

3-measures for training and advice to farmers (Milward, 1981: 41)

The modernisation of farms was aiming to improve living standards of the agricultural population. According to this directive, holdings should be able to

employ one man full time providing high income. As Henry states "this directive was including the assists investments in agricultural farms and guarantee within 6 years more or less equal to the average regional standard wage." (Henry, 42)

The cessation of farming and the reallocation of the utilised agricultural area for structural improvement was aiming to encourage farmers whose holdings are incapable of providing an adequate income to give up farming and release their land for reallocation. (Milward, 1981: 42-43)

This directive is very important since it was related to reallocation of the agricultural potentials for getting efficiency and providing adequate income for new farmers. So it has proposed to direction of the land, which has been used inefficiently to new farmers most of who would be relatively young. According to this directive, the agricultural assets of the farmers who couldn't satisfy themselves will pass through the new ones by renting or selling. Off course this reallocation have been containing simultaneously increase of the farming units.

## 2.4. Japan

It is a known fact that after Second World War Japan has undergone a dramatic economic transformation in a very short time period. It has developed its economy from relatively poor and backward economy to world's most powerful economy outside USA. According to Falcus in the transformation of Japan economy, role of agriculture was very important. He states that despite agriculture's present minor position in Japan's, it remains disproportionately strong in its political influence. (ed Falcus, 1988: xii) Therefore this part aims to analyse transformation experience of rural structure of Japan under the effects of certain policies, which have been giving strong importance on agriculture.

While analysing Japan rural development it may be better to concentrate on the developments of 20th century in which they started to face many transformations in their economy. Since as it has been mentioned before, industrial explosion that had brought about structural transformations in rural sphere of the Western European Countries, has started to be lived after the start of 20th century in Japan. Moreover acceleration of the industrial development has been materialised after the Second World War years. In this respect Japan can be regarded as late follower of the industrial development after European Countries. Thus after partially mentioning about the developments, policies and tendencies about rural structure in Japan, it will be concentrated on the transformation characteristics of Japanese rural structure in post Second World War years.

### 2.4.1. Rural Developments in Japan after 1890's to the First World War

As it in the case of early-industrialised countries, industrialisation and modernisation have significant consequences in terms of rural structure of Japan. However differently, since Japan industrial development has been realised several decades later than the European Countries, transformation process has not been in a wide time span. Transformation experience of Japan has been in relatively shorter time span. In this respect, when it has been come to 1890's still more than 70 % of the labour force in Japan was engaged a s a primary occupation. (Tussing A. R., 1969: 198)

As Ming states, "Up to the First World War a feudal landlord ownership had been dominant and most peasants owned little or no land and were either tenants or wage labourers, although there were also owner peasants. Farm work had to be done by hand with simple tools." (Zhou Jian Ming, 1997: 1)

In addition to Ming's explanation Dovring also emphasises that when it has been come to late 19th century, Japan was as predominantly agricultural as the European Countries were in the early 19th century. Therefore we can state that until the start of the 20th century Japanese rural structure has not faced strong transformation yet. At this point by looking at the population proportion of agricultural sector, it can be claimed that the process of depeasantisation has started to be lived intensively after the start of 20th century.

However it should also be stated that especially after 1890's industrialisation movement has also affected the Japanese socio-economic structure. As Tussing states, when it has been started to use of the steam power in 1894, Japan agriculture has started to face depeasantisation in rural areas. According to Tussing, after 1895's, labour requirement has reduced and agricultural labour force started to be decline steadily due to technological improvements. (Tussing A. R., 1967: 202) However it should be stated that technological improvements in Japan agriculture has not been so effective in the period of 1890-1914.

Parallel to very slow technological improvements, agricultural inputs (such as fertilisers, new seeds or etc) usage have also very limited in Japanese agriculture. (Ohkawa, 1957: 18) As Ohkawa states, until 1919 there has been increase in the total cultivated lands in order to supply increasing agricultural production needs in Japan. As he states marginal lands have been used for increasing agricultural production level. Therefore we can say that from 1890's to the First World War there was no productivity increase in Japan. Agricultural production increase, which slowly progressing industry necessitates has been provided by newly opening land in Japan.

Table 11 Share of Agriculture, as Labour Force from 1885 to 1910 in Japanese Economy

| Years | % |
|---|---|
| 1885 | 73 |
| 1890 | 71 |
| 1900 | 68 |
| 1910 | 65 |

Source: Adapted from Hayami, 1988: 20

At this point differentiation of the rural population changes of Japan can be mentioned. Since as it can be remembered at the early stages of development European Countries' rural population had increased just before it had started to decline. This tendency was mostly due to effects of the improvements in sanitary conditions and so on. However rural population of Japan has steadily declined also during the first stages of economic and industrial development.

In fact demographic transition, in which increase in population growth rates is seen at the initial stages, has started in Japan in the late 19$^{th}$ century. After the middle of 19$^{th}$ century Japan population growth rates started to increase. However there has been no increase in Japan rural population even in the initial phases of the transition.

As Umemura M., states, "limited supply of virgin land, little progress in livestock production, and creation of job opportunities for the growing rural population by the rapid expansion of traditional small scale manufacturing and commerce in the rural districts were the most important in checking a possible increase in the Japanese agricultural work force in 1890's." (Umemura, M, 1967: 186)

Therefore although industrialisation and economic development has not been achieved until 1900's, agricultural population has been steadily declining. t can be claimed that, like the experiences of each advanced country shift of population from agriculture and replacement of family enterprise and employment relationships by capitalist enterprises and wage labourers has inevitably started in Japan after the industrialisation movement started to spread over the world.

To conclude depeasantisation process has started slightly after 1890's in Japanese rural structure. In fact Japan rural areas were involving high amount of rural population that would contribute to the rapid expansion of the industrial sector in 1900's.

### 2.4.2. Rural Developments in Japan during the Interwar Period

After the end of First World War Japan started to experience rapidly increase in its industrial sector. However agricultural sector could not followed the industrial sector developments and started to loose its importance in the economy. Therefore, while analysing Japanese rural policies, it can be claimed that "protectionism policies" has been important approach on Japan Agriculture in 20th Century. "Agricultural Policies during the period between the two world wars were called the agricultural-cum-social policies" As Tsotomu explains "...those interwar policies were motivated towards protecting poor peasants so that they would remain as an anchor to social stability as well as a reverse of cheap labour for the urban sector."(Tsotomu, 1960: p85). Thus protective policies on agricultural sector was indicating the general rural policy of Japanese in this period.

Therefore in the period of inter-war, protective policies were for the sake of poor peasants or small-holding landowners. However because industry sector

had been newly developing level of protection has kept under a certain limit. This policy can be depended on cheap labour necessities of newly developing industries. If we look labour dynamics of the period it can be said that there was slow decline in labour force share. In 1920's agricultural labour force was % 54 of total labour force and it decreased to % 47 in 1935's. In fact this decline was not so high. So there can be mentioned about the effects of protectionism on this tendency.

When we have analysed the demographic developments in Japan we can achieve similar tendencies with European Countries. Similar to industrialisation experience, Japan demographic structure has shown similarities in terms of demographic transition process. In this sense, Japanese population has continued to increase more rapidly in the second phase of demographic transition after the First World War. (Umemura, 1957: 183) However according to Umemura this increase in the population growth rates started to decline after 1925's. As it is remembered in the European case demographic transition has been in the long period.[2] Thus rapidly increasing population and the industrial explosion has also led to fragmentation of farms and also income deficiencies in terms of rural sector in Japan

Table: 12. Share of Agriculture, as Labour Force from 1920 to 1955 in Japanese Economy

| Years | % |
|---|---|
| 1920 | 54 |
| 1930 | 50 |
| 1935 | 47 |
| 1955 | 39 |

Source: Adapted from Hayami, 1988: 20

Therefore, especially after 1935's the process of depeasantisation has accelerated. According to Hayami this tendency has been stemming from progressive developments of non-agricultural sectors. Share of agriculture in economy decrease to 39 % in the economy of Japan. As Hayami states decline in the agriculture-industry productivity ratio has resulted in decline in the ratio of average per capita income of agriculture to non-agriculture causing certain level of labour movements. (Hayami, 1988: 22)

To conclude Japan rural structure has entered into a period in which transformation process has started to affect its socio-economic structure immediate after the First World War. As in the European Countries one of the important consequences of this transformation was the process of depeasantisation in rural areas due to improvements in non-agricultural sector.

### 2.4.3. Rural Developments in Japan since the Second World War

After Second World War Japan economy has entered into very rapid transformation process in terms of industrialising. In the period protectionism again has constituted the main policy of the governments with increasing number of measures. Besides, there was a need for increasing agricultural outputs due to effects of war. So agricultural protective policies of the period can be defined as policies, which were aiming to increase both agricultural output and income level of farmers through government interventions.

In fact increasing tendency of Japanese governments for protecting agricultural sector policies can be depended on rapid increase in industrial sector. As Hayami states high rate of economic growth in Japan that lasted from mid

[2] Demographic transition in Europe had started in the early 18th century.

1950's to the first Oil Crisis in 1973 was led by extremely growth in industrial productivity caused decline in comparative advantage of in agriculture. (See the table 13)

Table 13 Labour Productivity Growth Rates of Agriculture and Industry 1960-80

| **Countries** | **Labour Productivity Growth Rate in Agriculture 1960-1980 (1)** | **Labour Productivity Growth Rate in Industry 1960-1980 (2)** | **1-2** |
|---|---|---|---|
| US | 6.3 | 3.2 | 3.1 |
| UK | 5.5 | 2.6 | 2.9 |
| France | 6.4 | 4.2 | 2.2 |
| Germany | 7.7 | 4.1 | 3.6 |
| Japan | 5.3 | 6.7 | -1.4 |

Source: Adapted from OECD, 1994: 140

From the table 13, increasing gap between two sectors in terms of productivity can be seen. Japan being the most rapid industrialising country has had extremely increasing productivity rates in industry. Due to these unbalanced developments increasing need for protecting rural sector has appeared. At this point a comment of Hayami should be mentioned to understand basics of their policies. He claims that;

> "If adjustments in intersectoral resource allocation corresponding to rapid shift in comparative advantage from agriculture to industry had been left to market mechanisms, the cost of adjustment that rural people would have had to shoulder in such forms as rural-urban income disparity and depopulation in rural communications would have risen to a socially intolerable level." (Hayami, 1988: 12)

Therefore protecting agriculture policies has been due to increasing disparities between agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. However it can be claimed that in spite of the subsidies given, income of rural sector has been under non-agricultural sector's in the following years of Second World War.

In Japan as rural-urban income gap has progressively widened out migration of agricultural labour also widened. Difficulties on rural sphere led to enactment of the Agricultural Basic Law in 1961. (Nishimura and Sasaki 1993: 77) Therefore from 1961 on as first major afford toward large-scale farming, farmers' purchase of land was subsidized by the government. In 1962 the land holding ceiling was relaxed. (Zhou, 1997: 2) This law can be thought as being enacted for giving responsibility of increasing agricultural productivity and so income levels to governments. However when table 13 examined there can be seen that this aim hasn't been realised since non-agricultural sector productivity increase has been so rapid.

In fact as difficulty of increasing agricultural productivity was closely related with operational sizes of farms. In fact as Dovring states the rate of population growth was almost stagnant after the Second World War. So it can be stated that Japan has entered into last phases of demographic transition after the Second World War. However "due to physical thresholds Japan was already densely populated". (Dovrig, 1959: 192)

Depending on this population density, farm holdings in Japan were very small in size. As Hayami (1988: 76) states average operational farm size is only 1 hectare and more than % 95 of farms are less than 3 hectares. According to him due to small farming characteristic of Japan rural structure, efficient use of large-scale machinery hasn't been applied in Japan.

Another measure of the government to increase productivity was mechanisation. However, although there was inefficiency in technology usage due to small farming units, number of tractors has been increased sharply after 1950's. As Hayami states number of tractors (less than 10 hp) increased from 89000 in 1955 to 514000 in 1960 and to 3448000 in 1970.[3] In labour saving terms this development has resulted in decrease in labour input and so reduced the agricultural labour force without affecting output. (Oshima, 1987: 115) However this rapid increase in number of tractors has not caused rapid dissolution process in Japan. Since part-time farming became dominant. Many farmers commuted to off-farm employment. Besides part time farming didn't give way to land sells. For part time farmers income was high and a rural place for their retirement was preserved. Also distance between towns and villages was short, transportation convenient so that part time farmers had no need to pay rents for city dwellings and enjoyed less pollution. Moreover while industrialisation proceeding the expectation of farmers to achieve more profits by selling their land in the future appeared. Therefore Japanese peasants generally have preferred to stay in rural areas doing part time, non-agricultural jobs at the same time. (Zhou, 1997: 3)

At this point it should be added that, in addition to smallness of the farmers, this tendencies of Japan villagers, has also decreased the effects of the mechanisation on migration tendencies. Therefore, different from the Western European Countries, effects of mechanisation in rural dissolution process have not been so intensive in Japan. Mechanisation has facilitated the transformation rural structure of Japan in terms of passing from full time agriculture to part time agriculture.

[3] Farm mechanisation in Japan progressed in three stages. The first stage before Second World War was the diffusion of static machines such as threshers and water lifting pumps. The second stage was mechanisation with small scale tractors or power tiller during 1960's. The third stage was after 1970's with large scale tractors. These figures represent less than 10 hp tractors or power tillers in 1960's.

According to Hayami "Agricultural Basic Law modeled after similar charters in Western Europe, was specifying gap between farm and non farm income should be achieved by structural adjustments, above all expansion in operational farm size". (Hayami, 1988: 77) So concept of viable farm units came into picture. Hayami describes viable farms as "farms that earn income per farm household member equal to or above that non-farm employees who are living in rural areas are viable units" (Hayami, 1988: 77)

According to Agricultural Basic law about one quarter of a total 6 million farms should be closed in ten years their land passing to viable units. However this target has never been achieved. From table 14 it can be seen that although total number of farms has been decreasing, number of viable farms has been decreasing also possibly due to loosing competing power with non agricultural sector.

Hayami mentions about low rates of decrease in number of farms and states that even though many farmers and their family members were able to obtain more profitable employment opportunities outside the agriculture they did not migrate to urban areas but remained in rural residence and continued farming in their spare time. (Hayami, 1988: 81)

Table 14 Changes in number of Farm Units in Japan

| | **Years** | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Number of Farms (000)** | **1960** | **1970** | **1980** | **1985** |
| **Total** | 6057 | 5342 | 4661 | 4376 |
| **Viable** | 521 | 353 | 242 | 232 |

Source: Hayami, 1988: 81

From this claim it can be concluded that structural transformation in Japanese Rural sphere has been lived in sense of increasing part time farming tendencies. So although government aim, which was similar to Western European Country's, was to decrease rural population to achieve viable farms, dissolution process hasn't been realised in rural areas of Japan.

Therefore when population dynamics is analysed under the effects of those developments it can be claimed that level of out migration has not been so high. Some adaptation processes such as part time farming has prevented the process of dissolution in rural areas of Japan. Besides in spite of the fact that there has been increasing protective policies of Japan government there has been certain movement in terms of rural labour until 1970's. However when industrialising rate of Japan is thought level of this movement seems to be realised lower than expected. In fact transforming to part time agriculture instead of moving to urban areas has preserved the stability of rural areas. At this point it should be remembered that although protection policies could not decrease income gap between two sectors they possibly could support peasants who were willing to stay in rural areas.

Table 15 Changes in Agricultural Labour Force and Cultivation Land in Japan

| **Years** | **1960** | **1970** | **1980** | **1985** | **% Increase Between 1960-1985** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Workers Engaged in Agriculture (10000) | 1766 | 1547 | 1254 | 1163 | -34 |
| Total Cultivation Land (10000 ha) | 607 | 580 | 546 | 538 | 0.11 |

Source: Hayami, 1988: 82

From the table 15 level of dissolution process can be seen when compared to other industrial countries. Also steadily decrease in total cultivation land can be depended on migration of peasants who didn't want stay in rural areas due to attraction of non-agricultural sector incomes.

It can be claimed that being one of most industrialised countries, Japanese Governments have been trying to find ways to achieve sustainable agriculture and rural development believing the necessity of balancing non-agricultural and agricultural sector development. Similar to Western European Countries Japan rural policy has been aiming to decrease income disparities between two sectors. They also have believe that providing high-income level and life standards can be realised if there can been transformation in rural structure by way of passing to viable farms. However because of appearance of part time agriculture peasants didn't leave from their land being obstacle to transforming to viable farming structure.

In fact transformation to part time farming can be thought as a mechanism preventing migration process in such an industrialised country. Since peasants could have gain important level of incomes from highly growing non-agricultural sector to continuing to live in rural areas.

Therefore, in the frame of these developments it can be claimed that general rural policy of Japan has been achieving viable farms by land accumulation. However it can be said that for the past several decades the development of viable farms has been blocked partly since part time farming has been supported by prolongation of the life span of the rural population. According to Hayami there are others factors preventing to transform viable farms. As he states most peasants haven't been willing to sell their lands due to their future expectations of increase in land prices. Also other elderly peasants who engage in farming after coming back from urban occupations have strong preference for

holding land. So there are many obstacles for transforming viable farms to increase comparative advantages of full time farming. However Japanese rural policy hasn't been changed and trying to find ways to achieve powerful and stable rural structure.

To conclude it can be said that depopulation tendencies in Japan has not been as much as the case in the European Countries. However it should also be added that high rates of industrialisation has caused the transformation of rural structure of Japan in the ways, which has been mentioned above. It should also be stated that although the depopulation has not been lived so much, traditional structure of rural areas has changed significantly in Japan.

## 2.5. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter the transformation of the socio-economic structure of the industrialised countries has been discussed. Analysis has been concentrated on the impacts of the industrial revolution and afterward developments. Since industrial revolution denoting the late 18$^{th}$ century onwards, of gradual transition from traditional agricultural societies to a new type of economy in which industry is predominant. This socio-economic transformation process has started initially in England in early 19$^{th}$ century, and spread over the other European Countries a several decades later in similar tendencies. And after that in the late 19$^{th}$ century this trend has affected the newly modernising countries such as Japan. Lastly, with the start of 20$^{th}$ century similar transformation tendencies has extended through now developing countries.

Until the first industrial revolution years some preconditions had been already occurred in the developed countries. Without mentioning the occurrences before the industrial revolution years, socio-economic transformations, which

started to accelerate after the industrial revolution years have been discussed in this chapter. While doing this analysis there has been followed evolutionary and historical sequence in terms of expansion of modernisation. In this respect experiences and developments, which industrialised countries faced, might be considered as hypothesis for testing in the analysis of Turkish case, which has been subject to this transformations after the Second World War years. At this point some important developments of the transformation experiences of early industrial countries have to be mentioned.

When the overall transformations of the world socio-economic structure examined it is seen that some important changes have played important roles on this process. These important changes have formed new structures in the social and economical spheres. Increasing industrialisation and the concomitant population growths due to improvements in sanitation have changed the geographical distribution of labour. Since faster productivity increase of industrial sector have brought about the need for the movements of population from rural areas, which had been constituted by peasants. In addition to high-income job opportunities in industrial sector, increasing population densities in rural areas also have contributed the process of dissolution in rural areas.

Therefore there has been an occupational change in terms of transferring from agriculture to industrial sector. In addition to increasing demands of industrial sector, improvements in the agricultural mechanisation have also caused the production increase and transforming to the capitalist mode of production. One of the most important consequences of this transformation was the replacement of the manpower by the mechanical power. This replacement has also caused depopulation of rural areas. Since this capitalist-based and highly mechanised farming started to require larger amount of agricultural land instead of large quantity of labour force.

Another aspect of the occupational change from agricultural sector to industrial sector has been growing urbanisation. Surplus population of rural areas started to move urban settlements where industry has been located. Besides, while urban space has been developing and serving more services and job opportunities, urbanisation has also caused the migration tendencies from rural areas. Thus proportion of the agricultural sector has declined enormously since the industrialisation movements have accelerated in the early industrialising countries.

Therefore while the industrialisation and the modernisation process has been taking place, rural structures has faced the process of depeasantisation. And this modernisation process with its effects on rural structure has been spreading through newly developing third world countries.

As it has already been mentioned, one of the main aims of this chapter is to put forward the historical experiences of the early-industrialised countries and to be able to test the arguments that now developing countries would experience similar developments. According to Dobb,

> "In the coming decade or decades a growing number of previously underdeveloped countries are likely to take the road of independent industrial development, and in doing so to adopt both new social and economic forms and rates that patterns of economic growth quite different from the traditional ones. That their development path will be a simple imitation of that followed in the industrial revolutions of a century to a century-and-a-half ago is highly unlikely."
> (Dobb, 1957: 47)

In the chapter another important aspect of industrialised countries' experiences has also been analysed. The policies of industrialised countries while the transformation processes have been taking place are another important point

that has been focused on in the chapter. Since these different policies have had important impacts on the transformations of rural structures.

If it is paid attention it can be seen that agricultural sector has been subject to increasing protective policies since the industrial sector started to progress more rapidly. Besides, after War times need for huge amount of agricultural production has increased the level of protection in the countries.

Especially in rapidly industrialised countries agricultural sector has declined in size as economic development and modernisation proceeds. Common result of this development was farming structures tend to be out of date and farm incomes tend to behind incomes in other sectors. This explains the prevalence of governmental intervention, which has been aiming to protect this sector. Since even in industrialised countries it has been accepted that development role of agricultural sector can not be avoided. As Ojala states,

> "... the development role of agriculture as a sector of economy is to supply the quantity, quality and variety of agricultural products needed to match the evolution of demand, with steadily rising productivity so as to raise farmers' incomes and release resources for the expansion of non-agricultural sectors."
> (Ojala, 1973: 15)

Therefore contribution of the agricultural sector in the economy has been seriously considered in the industrialised countries. So protectionism has been general tendency of most industrialised countries as their general agricultural policies. Especially after the economic crisis of 1930's level of protectionism has risen in the industrialised countries.

In addition it should also be stated that with the change of the meaning of state in the frame of nationalism movements, has affected the protective policies. After 1930's level of government interventions for protecting the agricultural

sector has increased. Protective policies were including indirect government interventions such as tariff or etc before the 1930's. However after 1930's direct government interventions such as subsidies started to be used in the frame of protective policies. So protective policies were including many measures like increasing tariffs on farm products, high level of subsidies etc. after 1930's.

Moreover self-sufficiency became a conscious goal of agricultural policy in many countries to save foreign exchange as well as to support on keeping people in farming for social, political and even military reasons. In conclusion agriculture sector is in need of protective and supportive policies. Most countries have been supporting this sector loading important tasks for their economy.

However this protectionist policies has come under increasing criticism in recent years. (Rosenblatt, 1988: 1) Since these policies have started to imposed a heavy burdens on countries in terms of both overall allocation of resources and financial costs to the common budget. So most countries have started to search for the ways of more balanced supportive policies.

Therefore it should be remembered that level of government interventions and supportive policies on agriculture should be in a sense that would not disrupt the economical balances. Either there should be found other ways for the continuity of rural sector. As it can be seen from experienced countries' experiences technological improvement and the additional incomes may be used for this purpose.

# CHAPTER 3

## RURAL TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN TURKEY

### 3.1. Introduction

As it can be remembered from the discussions of the second chapter, what the early-industrialised countries have experienced a century before, started to be faced by the third world developing countries from the point of view of socio-economic transformations. In this respect this chapter aims to analyse the rural transformation and depeasantisation process in Turkey, which constitutes one of the examples which has started to faced this evolution in the mid 20$^{th}$ century. Related to this subject, Araghi states that, "after the Second World War there was a renewed interest in extending the late nineteenth century debate on the peasant question to the Third World." (Araghi 1995) According to him especially after 1945's there were simultaneous processes of peasantisation and depeasantisation. As he states these simultaneous processes have led to relative decline of the Third World peasantries.

In this respect chapter 3 will be concentrated on the transformation process of the rural structure in Turkey. While analysing the dissolution process, which has formed the structural transformation process of the rural areas in Turkey, the term depeasantisation will be used.

As it will be discussed in the chapter, after the Second World War, there has been high level of migration from rural areas of Turkey. This high level of migration has brought about the process of dissolution in rural areas. However this dissolution includes more than spatial characteristics of population redistribution. As Hobsbawn states;

> "At the second half of the nineteenth century the most important and dramatic social transformation is the death of peasantry. In Europe and Middle East Anatolia Region there remained only one peasantry castle: Turkey. Peasantry has also been weakened there, too. However up to middle 1980's, peasantry has been continuing to constitute the majority."
>
> (Hobsbawn, 1996 cited in Köymen, 1999: 1)

Therefore as Hobsbawn states, peasantry has been reflecting the general characteristics of Turkey's social structure. Even in 1980's rural population was more than 40 % of total population of Turkey. So while analyzing the transformation process of Turkey, term of depeasantisation will be used to describe the dissolution in rural areas under the effects of migration. Since, dissolution in the rural areas of Turkey should not be perceived as only population movements from rural areas as it in the case of early-industrialised countries' experiences. It includes not only the changes the mode and location of the production but also the changes in life styles of peasants.

With respect to all discussions, it is evident that, after Second World War, Turkey has been faced with a structural transformation from the point of view of rural dissolution. Parallel to this transformation there has been important acceleration in migration to the cities and also concomitant process of urbanization due to **depeasantisation** in rural areas.

In the appearance of two depended processes namely migration and urbanisation, two independent events have been accepted as crucial contributors. They are rapid mechanisation and increasing population growth rate. According to Tekeli "rapid mechanisation and high level of population growth rate are two independent variables and by increasing each other's effects they have caused the disruption of the prevailing stability of rural areas and brought about a structural change"(Tekeli, 1978: 301)

Therefore in this chapter depeasantisation in the rural areas will be analysed through transformation of the rural structure and the demographic structure historically. Since, starting from 1945's agricultural and demographic developments under effects of state policies have been the most important elements in a way of constituting depeasantisation process in rural areas.

So transformation of rural structure will be analysed within the frame of socio-economic developments and state policies, within three specific periods. Nevertheless for well capturing the underlying causes and consequences of depeasantisation process in rural structure, analysis of the farm level changes will be made through the periods of 1946-1963, 1963-1980 and after 1980 which are accepted as three different periods in terms of socio-economic policies and developments.

## 3.2. Transformation of the Rural Structure in the Period of 1946-1963

The year 1946 has constituted one of the most important turning points in the sense of political and economical developments in Turkey. Transition from one party regime to multi-party regime has been realized in 1946. One of the main important consequences of this transition can be stated as leaving from internal trade based policies to free trade policies after 1950's. So this period can be

described as a first step for opening boundaries to foreign trade. According to Kepenek transition to multi-party regime, opening economy to foreign capital and **aid** have provided new consumption patterns and private capital accumulation. He states that, this capital accumulation has directed social and economical developments taking political administration support. (Kepenek, 1996: 80)

Thus it can be claimed that opening to abroad brought important changes in terms of economic and political developments during the period of 1946-1963. Moreover it can also be pointed out developments of this period and state policies have generally been advantageous to agricultural sector. Keyder summarizes the important characteristics of the period that were supporting agriculture as:

> "Increase in the cultivated land, advantageous developments of foreign and internal terms of trade,(Korea War has increased prices of raw materials), policy of giving high prices to agricultural products, increasing agricultural credits and improving economical conditions for national economic integration are main factors supporting agricultural development in 1950's." (Keyder, 1988)

In this context national economical integration should be seen as very important development that we should pay attention. As Keyder states national economical integration was very complex process. According to him there were two elements of this integration. First was integration of the peasants into labor force market. And the second one was building of physical conditions providing goods and people to move easily. (Keyder, 1988: 163-164)

Within the frame of Keyder explanations, it should also be stressed that important transformation has been lived in agricultural production structure of Turkey. By the impacts of national market integration which stemmed from improvements in transportation and communication networks farmers started to produce for the national market as well as local markets. So owing to this

development patterns of agricultural production types has changed bringing about the transformation of farming structures.

Kepenek also deals about positive rural policy approach of the period. According to Kepenek, increase in the number of tractors and increase in the amount of credits has been supported by the policy of holding prices of agricultural products at certain level. (Kepenek, 1996: 80) Moreover a parallel view of Boratav depending on his study about developments of internal terms of trade can be mentioned. According to him until 1957's internal terms of trade rates have been advantageous to agriculture sector. (Boratav, 1981: 91)

As Keyder states, increasing amount of cultivated land, which was one of the most important characteristics of the period, has taken place by the impacts of another important turning point under the name of **Marshall Aid** in 1948. (Keyder, 1988) The fourth point of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan Aid resulted in the mass importation of tractors in a very short time. The number of tractors increased from 1756 in 1948 to 16585 in 1950 and it reached 44144 in 1957 leading transformation process in agricultural production structure.

Therefore after 1948 technology has entered into agriculture suddenly. This rapid mechanisation has caused two important tendencies in agriculture as in the case of industrialised countries' experiences. The first one was the increasing necessity of land for cultivation and the other one was the decreasing necessity for labour. As it can be remembered, technological improvements in agriculture had brought about similar tendencies in the early-industrialised countries.

Table 16. Main Agricultural Input Developments in Turkey (1945-1962)

| Years | Total Cultivated Land (10000 dönüms) | Rate of Inc. | Number of Tractors | R. of Inc. | Agricul. Credits (Billion TL- 1963=Fix.) | R. of Inc. | Total Agricultural Credits per Total Cultivated Land MillionTL/Dön 1963=Fixed) | R. of Inc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1945 | 12664 | - | 1156 | - | 332 | - | 2.6 | - |
| 1946 | 13093 | 3.4 | 1356 | 17.3 | 518 | 55.8 | 4.0 | 50.6 |
| 1947 | 13575 | 3.7 | 1556 | 14.7 | 715 | 38.1 | 5.3 | 33.2 |
| 1948 | 13900 | 2.4 | 1756 | 12.9 | 694 | -2.9 | 5.0 | -5.2 |
| 1949 | 13264 | 4.6 | 9170 | 422.2 | 991 | 42.8 | 7.5 | 49.6 |
| 1950 | 14542 | 9.6 | 16585 | 80.9 | 1212 | 22.3 | 8.3 | 11.5 |
| 1951 | 15272 | 5.0 | 24000 | 44.7 | 1794 | 48.1 | 11.7 | 41.0 |
| 1952 | 17361 | 13.7 | 31415 | 30.9 | 2964 | 65.2 | 17.1 | 45.3 |
| 1953 | 18812 | 8.4 | 35600 | 13.3 | 3278 | 10.6 | 17.4 | 2.1 |
| 1954 | 19616 | 4.3 | 37743 | 6.0 | 3651 | 11.4 | 18.6 | 6.8 |
| 1955 | 20998 | 7.0 | 40282 | 6.7 | 3541 | -3.0 | 16.9 | -9.4 |
| 1956 | 22453 | 6.9 | 43727 | 8.6 | 3702 | 4.5 | 16.5 | -2.2 |
| 1957 | 22161 | 1.3 | 44144 | 1.0 | 3456 | -6.7 | 15.6 | -5.4 |
| 1958 | 22765 | 2.7 | 42525 | -3.7 | 3087 | -10.7 | 13.6 | -13.0 |
| 1959 | 22940 | 1.0 | 41896 | -1.5 | 2754 | -10.8 | 12.0 | -11.5 |
| 1960 | 23264 | 1.4 | 42136 | 0.6 | 2718 | -1.3 | 11.7 | -2.7 |
| 1961 | 23076 | -1.0 | 42505 | 0.9 | 1848 | -32.0 | 8.0 | -31.4 |
| 1962 | 23215 | 1.0 | 43747 | 2.9 | 2034 | 10.1 | 8.8 | 9.4 |

Source: Adapted from Yearly Statistical Books of Turkey and Kepenek, 1996: 97[1]

average of different studies' results) 250000 - 300000 peasants should have left their land. And if other family members have been taken into consideration the importance of the impacts of merchanisation on urbanization process wouldn't have been denied. (Keleş, 1990: 31) However Tekeli claims that these discussions were true but were not enough to explain the complex process of transformation of the rural structure. According to him, if amount of migration from rural to urban could be calculated by multiplying the number of tractors entered into villages with a constant number there should have observed much more migration to cities. (Tekeli, 1982: S: 86-87)

Second tendency; increasing necessity for land can be looked as contradicting tendency with the first one in sense of its impacts on labour necessity. On this subject Kıray claims that;

> "... in spite of the increase in farmland, labour requirements remained the same since new land was opened up and worked with machinery. The increase in production achieved by using new technology and bringing larger areas under cultivation did not much benefit the surplus labour in rural areas because of the unchanged distributive mechanism benefit." (Kıray, 1972: 171)

Tekeli also mentions about effects of mechanisation on labour demand. According to him it is possible to say that mechanisation of agriculture didn't decrease total demand for labour. He explains his argument with the increase in the number of draught animals and amount of cultivated land size by animals. So he points out that possibly increasing necessity of labour with the effects of land opening greater than the decreasing necessity for the labour with the effects of mechanisation. (Tekeli, 1982: 91)

---

[1] Agricultural Credits has been given as fixed prices according to wholesale price indices of DİE

Therefore although there were other factors like population dynamics, which will be mentioned in the following pages, two tendencies which are mentioned above seem to be main factors affected the rate of migration. In this respect it can be claimed that due to their contradicting effects on labour demand, amount of migration to cities has been realized less than expected.

Tekeli and İlkin stress on the necessity of land opening for the cultivation of more land by the help of tractors in those years. They claim that, in 1940's the scarcity was in labour not in land. And the way of increasing agricultural production with minimum investment was opening new land for cultivation and making extensive agriculture in following years. (Tekeli and İlkin, 1988: 79)

Certainly, until 1950's there had been an accumulation in organizational preparations for development of agriculture, however acceleration of the agricultural development has been realized in the process of land opening for cultivation in the first years of 1950's. During those years land, which hadn't cultivated before, land which had been got out of production and land which large landowners couldn't cultivate due to lack of labour, started to be cultivated by the help of tractors and prepared for agricultural production.

By the help of the cultivation capacity of tractors, plenty of land including marginal areas has opened and started to be cultivated. After a short time there remained no land for transforming arable fields. Cultivated land size increased from 140 million dönüms[2] in 1948 to 220 million dönüms in 1956. Then, it continued to increase more steadily until 1960's. So as it is apparent according to the table 16 that, there was increasing tendency for enlarging cultivating land in the period of 1946-1963. Figures of this table can be looked as reflecting extensive agricultural characteristics of the period.

[2] 1dönüm=1 decare=0.1hectare=1000$m^2$=0.247acres

Therefore, in a very short time period starting from 1950's there has been realized a transformation from abundant land to scarcity of land. Besides most of newly opened land was either forestland or pastures belonged to Treasury and they were generally marginal lands. This way of increasing agricultural production was not unlimited. When it has been approached to 1960's there appeared necessity of other ways for increasing agricultural production. According to Keyder the way of increasing agricultural production was transforming from extensive agriculture to intensive agriculture due to reaching limits of cultivable land. (Keyder, 1983: 36)

Under the lights of these discussions another interesting characteristic of the period of 1946-1963 can be stated as low level of production increase in agriculture. Besides opening of marginal lands, this low level of productivity increase can also be depended on low level agricultural inputs such as fertilizers, seeds etc. Since amount of used chemical fertilizers was 13823 tons in 1948. This amount has slightly risen to 82032 tons in 1956 and to 295321 tons in 1962. (Demirliçakmak, 1970: 14 cited in Tekeli, 1982) However if increase rate of cultivated land size is considered, it can be said that rate of increase in amount of chemical fertilizers used was so low. Therefore similar to Japan experience, at the initial stages of transformation, increasing needs for agricultural production have been provided by opening of marginal lands rather than providing productivity increase by using agricultural inputs. As it can be remembered technological development and the agricultural input developments have been simultaneously in the European Countries experiences.

With respect to low level of input usage, productivity increase per hectare was only 9 % from 1950 to 1960. (Kazgan, 1966: 168) This low level of productivity increase was also related to the other agricultural inputs, which were also not increased. It is possible to say that especially after 1956 due to achieving limits of cultivable land and bottlenecks in foreign payments both number of

entering tractors and amount of credits given per amount of cultivated land size decreased relatively. (See the table 16)

When the table 16 is examined low level of increasing rates in the amount agricultural credits can bee seen after 1956's. If it is considered that there was possibly strong relationship between amount of agricultural credits and use of other agricultural inputs such as tractors, fertilizers etc. one of the underlying reasons of low level of productivity can be understood.

According to Kepenek surplus created in expanding agriculture has been started to transfer to non-agricultural sectors after 1955's. (Kepenek, 1996: 97-98) Boratav stresses on this break down mentioning about decreasing trends in internal terms of trade after 1957's.(Boratav, 1981: 91) So it can be claimed that after 1955's positive developments for agriculture started to be slow down.

However it can also be stated that negative developments of the period has not been so much negatively affected agricultural incomes in the period. Since agricultural sector's income level has nearly followed the non-agricultural ones. "Rate of per capita income of agriculture to per capita income of non-agriculture was about 25 % (as fixed prices) and did not change in the period of 1950-1960." (Kazgan, 1988 264)

In addition share of agricultural sector was 45.8 % in national income and did slightly decrease to 37.9 % in 1960's. So although there has been accelerating urbanisation process agriculture could keep its importance in national income. (Kepenek, 1996: 106)

At the same time number of landowners has increased. This increase can be explained with the application of the Land Reform Law in 1945. Because; with this law 320000 households have given lands. According to 1950 Agricultural

Census there were 337000 landless family. Of course the proximity of these two numbers did not mean that all landless families became landowner but it can be said that 10-15 % of all rural families have been given land. (Keyder, 1988: 150) So it can be said that although this law didn't provide perfect land distribution, it constituted the basis of increasing numbers of landowners in Turkey.

Again according to Agricultural Census of 1950, number of landowner families was 2.3 million. In 13 years it reached 3.1 millions by 35 % increase. In fact increasing number of landownership can be seen as a mechanism, which was preventing migration to cities for landless peasants.

In previous pages it has been mentioned that population dynamics is another factor affecting the process of depopulation in rural areas. Besides all of the developments changing population dynamics is another important factor affecting the process of depeasantisation in rural areas. Therefore changing tendencies in the demographic dynamics has to be mentioned while analysing the depopulation of rural areas. Since as Tekeli states, in the appearance of migration and urbanisation process two independent variables have been accepted as important contributors. Rapid mechanisation and high level of population increase rate. (Tekeli, 1978: 301)

Before mentioning population policy of Turkey an important point that social researchers claim, should be remembered. Population policies couldn't so much contribute on changing population dynamics in Turkey. Generally socio-economic developments and requirements have formed population tendencies. In this respect high fertility rates of population of Turkey after Second World War should be depended on individual preferences. Considering 80 % of population was living in rural areas, labour force requirements for agricultural activities can be thought as main factor in high fertility rates of population. Due to labour intensive characteristics of agricultural production mode, fertility rate was very

high after 1950's. Besides state policies can also be looked as facilitating factor or tool in formation of population dynamics. Despite there was no specific population strategy, governments were willing to increase Turkey's population after declaration of Republic

As Kepenek states after Second World War, Governments of Turkey Republic have aimed to increase the national population. And according to this policy certain laws that were restricting foreign trade of means of birth control preventing pregnancy has been made. Also governments have made some encouraging legal regulations for especially rural families to achieve larger population. For instance rural families having five childs have been excluded from road taxes until 1950's.(Kepenek, 1996: 364)

Therefore it can be claimed that even though all of the simple regulations has not been so effective they might have contributed to population increase tendencies. Because; rural population has been constituting 80 % of all population and so the fertility rates of the country have been determined by the rural fertility rates, which has been supported by some government regulations in those years. (Behar C., Güvenç M., Işık O., 1999)

Moreover it can be said that, other developments under effects of liberal policies of the period have also contributed to population increase especially in the previous years of our analysis. Those were application of the DDT, which was invented in 1939, improving health conditions, struggling with malaria after the war years or etc... (Görsel 20. Yüzyıl Ansiklopedisi: 141) In this respect it should be stated that Turkey demographic transition has been started after the Second World War with decreasing death rates due to improvements in medical science. At this point it should be also stated that increase in the population growth rates have been faster in Turkey when compared to European Countries. Since death rates have decreased very rapidly with introduce of medicines like DDT.

Kepenek mentions about the contributing effect of medical achievements on decreasing mortality rate and so increasing population growth rate as well as other positive conditions after Second World War. (Kepenek, 1996: 364) Following years of the Second World War, Turkey population reached its maximum growth rate under the effects of socio-economic developments. (See table 17) Also from the table it can be seen that population growth rate as another factor contributing migration and so urbanisation process, has been influential after 1950's.

Table 17. Urban and Rural Population Growth in Turkey 1945-1960

| | | Annual Population Increase (per thousand) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Years** | **Population (million)** | **Total** | **Urban** | **Rural** |
| 1945 | 18.8 | 10.59 | 15.10 | 9.12 |
| 1950 | 20.9 | 21.73 | 22.47 | 21.49 |
| 1955 | 24.1 | 27.75 | 55.67 | 17.48 |
| 1960 | 27.8 | 28.53 | 49.21 | 19.53 |

Source T. C. DİE, Population Censuses of Turkey

Indeed as it has been already stated all of the changes in demographic dynamics that comes from decreasing mortality rates and stable fertility rates should be regarded as characteristics of initial phase of demographic transition process, which started after Second World War in turkey. In the following parts changing dynamics of this transition that continue in the following periods will be mentioned.

Therefore starting from 1950's, Turkey has passed through important processes that have affected themselves correspondingly. Increasing tendencies of

population and mechanisation of agriculture have played important roles on constitution of depeasantisation process. Once rapid mechanisation has been introduced and population growth rate has started to increase sharply process of depeasantisation has been accelerated. Then migration to cities contributed urbanisation process. While urbanisation process has been intensifying, non-agricultural sectors have also been developing. Development in non-agricultural sectors caused rises on per capita income. Then demand for agricultural production has risen and need for agricultural production increase has emerged. These processes can be considered from the point of view of two aspects. Firstly urbanisation increased the urban pull factors like industrial development, level of services etc. So urbanization process was affecting depeasantisation tendencies correspondingly. On this subject Tekeli stresses on the fact that depeasantisation in the rural areas couldn't be depended only one independent variable. It should be a function of urban formation. (Tekeli, 1982: 114) However due to insufficiency of the urban services or pull factors urban space has not been able to absorb peasants and forced them to move marginal areas. As Kıray states, lack of parallel developments in urban and industrial investments pushes the problem of rural unemployment into acute disguised or open unemployment. (Kıray, 1972: 169) So observing less migration than expected can be depended on insufficiency of urban areas also.

From second aspect urbanisation process also brought increasing demand for agricultural products and so it supported continuity of rural production. On this subject Tekeli states that " ... from one aspect mechanisation and capitalism brought about landlessness and leaving from rural areas, but from other aspect they also constituted mechanisams that provided survival of a kind of marginal part in rural areas. (Tekeli, 1982: 113)

Therefore it can be claimed that two important developments; mechanisation and high growth rates of population have been main factors in the

process of depeasantisation. Transformation in agriculture as well as population dynamics resulted in rural population movements in this period. However as Tekeli states the process of depeasantisation can only be understood if changes at farm level can be known. So in following part analysis of transformation in farming structure of rural areas will be made.

## 3.3 Farm Level Changes Leading To Rural Structural Transformation in the period of 1946-1963

According to many researchers small farms were reflecting general characteristic of the period's farming structure. And so agricultural production type. For example Boran claims that when it has been reached to 1948's, common production type in Turkish Villages was being constituted by small agricultural producers working for local markets (Boran, 1945)

When the table18is examined, it can be seen that dominant mode of production in 1950's was constituted by small production units in villages. As Tekeli points out in those villages land polarization hasn't been realized in 1950's. Small farmers were either producing for local market or for their own subsistence by using wooden ploughs. (Tekeli, 1982: 93)

In most of his articles Keyder mentions about the settled widespread petty commodity production type and its characteristics in Turkey. (See Keyder, 1983 for detailed discussions) Akşit is another writer agreeing about the dominance of small farming. Akşit goes one-step forward by combining continuity of petty commodity production with the process of migration. For him, the level of migration from 1950 to 1980 was so high. And although this migration process meant that release of peasants from their land, it also provided

the continuity of petty commodity production for the farmers who remained in rural areas. (Akşit, 1985)

Table 18. Distribution of Farms According to Their Size in Turkey 1950-1963

| | 1950 | | | 1963 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Size (Dönüms)** | **Percentage of Farms** | **Percentage of Cultivating Land Size** | **Average Farm Size in Dönüms** | **Per. of Farms** | **Percentage of Cultivating Land Size** | **Av. Farm Size in Dön.** |
| 1-50 | 61.7 | 18.9 | 25 | 68.7 | 24.3 | 19 |
| 51-100 | 21.8 | 18.8 | 71 | 18.1 | 23.9 | 71 |
| 101-200 | 10.5 | 19.1 | 150 | 9.4 | 23.7 | 136 |
| 201-500 | 4.4 | 16.9 | 317 | 3.2 | 17.0 | 286.1 |
| 501- | 1.6 | 26.3 | 1357 | 0.6 | 11.1 | 1041.7 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | - | 100 | 100 | - |
| Size | 2512800 | 20750591 | - | 3100850 | 16734335 | - |

Source: Adapted from T. C. DİE, Agricultural Censuses of Turkey 1950-1963

According to table18 rate of farms having less than 100 dönüms in total number of farms was 83.5 % in 1950 and 86.8 % in 1963. Same groups of farms were cultivating only 37 % of total cultivated land size in 1950 and 48.1 % in 1963. So it can be said that small landownership has continued till end of the period.

At this point it should mentioned about important difference of Turkish experience from the English case. Since as it can be remembered one of the important factor contributing the depeasantisation process was the transformation to large, capitalist farming units in English rural areas. It should be paid attention that, Turkish rural areas has lived depeasantisation without transforming to large farming units which might have contributed the depeasantisation process by

forcing surplus population in order to achieve larger farming units. (See the table 18 for changes in the proportion of different farming unit sizes)

However Tekeli claims that there were also some other types of agricultural production farms of large holdings in 1948's. According to him even though there were a few in numbers, these large holdings can be categorized in two types of farms. These were semi feudal large farms and capitalist farms. He states that "semi feudal farms were cultivated by labour and bound to land as sharecropper and having relatively small parts of their products sold in market. Capitalist farms on the other hand were producing all for the market. (Tekeli, 1982)

According to him after 1948 by the effects of two important factors; mechanisation and the rapid integration to national market, those different types of farms have passed through different processes. As it has been already mentioned in the previous pages national market integration was one of the most important factor providing transformation in agricultural production types. Although there were a few number of capitalist farms, national market integration that came about immediately after the implementation of highway program in post war years, provided to produce for national market as well as local market.

In this respect it can be claimed that mechanisation and national market integration have caused transformation in farming structure. This transformation played an important role on rural destabilization and depeasantisation process. Off course transformation has been materialized in different ways depending on existing farm structures.

Generally large farms could have tractor and other small farmers tried to find other ways to survive. To use tractor efficiently powerful farmers tried to enlarge their land. As Kıray states there were 3 ways of achieving land by large

landowners. One was turning sharecroppers into agricultural labourers employed by large landowners for the unmechanised aspects of cash cropping. Second way was buying land of small farmers who fail to adjust new conditions. In 20 years 25 % of the total farmers lost their land to others, becoming part of the surplus population. A third and rather widespread method of enlarging farmland was by annexing government land and occupying government owned pastures. (Kıray and Hinderink, 1968)

So those large landowners could produce for the market by enlarging their land and using accessibility opportunities for serving whole national market. According to Tekeli those large landowners that had productive land generally transformed to capitalist farms forcing their shareholders to move other land or cities. However large landowners that have marginal land and could not use tractors transformed to half mechanised half share cropping farms. By using national economic integration they could also produce for the market specialising on certain agricultural products. (Tekeli, 1982: 95)

Small landowners on the other hand did adapt themselves into other ways while rapid mechanisation has been taking place. Most of small landowners have been obligated to leave from their land as being one of most important contributors of depeasantisation process. However some small landowners have applied some other ways for continuing their rural lives.

As Tekeli claims some of small landowners moved to marginal lands, some have been agricultural labour for large landowner or started to gain money from other sectors not leaving from their villages. Also little of them got tractor and tried to enlarge their farm size by taking huge amount of risk. (Tekeli, 1982)

In this respect it can be claimed that depeasantisation is very complex process which is affected by different mechanisms as well as mechanisation. In

addition it can be pointed out that supporting policies of the period of 1946-1963 couldn't provide necessary opportunities to small landowners which then become main actors of migration. These agricultural support policies have generally served for large landowners. Therefore in the farm level different transformation processes have been lived. These different transformations had different characteristics in sense of labour demand. As a summary we can say that generally large landowners labour requirement has increased while small landowners' requirement decreased respectively. And if there has been no adaptations of small landowners like moving marginal lands, being labour for large landowners, migration process would be much more intensive.

To conclude it can be concluded that period of 1946-1963 has contained important developments, which were generally advantageous to agricultural sector. The most important phenomenon was introducing tractors to Turkish farmers. From the points of view of rural destabilisation and depeasantisation, mechanisation was the most important contributor. Growth rates of population also provided the necessary media for such dissolution. Also supportive state policies were other aspect supporting agricultural production increase and development. So affecting themselves correspondingly all of the developments mentioned caused the disruption of rural structure in the form of depeasantisation. Increasing tendencies in terms of migration from rural areas can be regarded as the most clear significant result of this process.

## 3.4. Transformation of the Rural Structure in the Period of 1963-1980

After 1962 development policies has been formed within the frame of development plans. However in this thesis analysis will be made through the period of 1963-1980 which can be seen as a whole period from the point of views of state policies and developments for agricultural sector.

Internal market oriented export policies describes general characteristics of economic policies of the period. This development strategy was permitting to populism in economic spheres. Populist policies have been important factor in shaping agricultural developments and rural transformation in the period. (Boratav, 1981: 95) The reason that why government was maintaining populist policies can be depended on high proportion of rural population in total population. In this context it should be added that generally decisions given in different planned periods couldn't have affected populist considerations supporting rural utilities in the period of 1963-1980.

Indeed populist protective policies of this period can also be related to changing polices of the world countries in terms of description of the meaning of state after 1930's. As we have already stated, after 1930's policy of increasing the role of government had brought about direct interventions such as high level of subsidies. In this respect it can be mentione about the effects of the increasing protectiove policies of world countries on the Turkish policies, which have formed by populist considerations. Therefore especially after 1960's populist policies have aimed to increase the level of protectionism on agriculture by the subsidies.

The importance of the populist policies related to our analysis lies in their impacts on depeasantisation process. In fact populist policies can be regarded as tools from the point of view of keeping population in rural areas. In other words these policies did help peasants to continue to survive in rural areas. At this point it should be considered that one of the reasons for the application of populist policies in order to hold rural population in rural areas was related to urban characteristics. Since rapid migration from rural to urban areas would have led to some problems if rural population were not kept in rural areas. As it will be mentioned in the following paragraphs, urban areas were often unprepared to cope

on such a big scale of population increase, which would be caused by rural migration.

Similar to the previous period, only large landowners did benefit from these policies to become powerful in this period. On the other hand small landowners could use such policies only for their subsistence in rural areas. That is to say populist state policies can be regarded as contributing mechanism for preserving process of depeasantisation in the rural areas.

In the period of 1963-1980, policies of the government like subsidy to fertilizers price, import of expensive technology for agriculture, petrol price regulation under the world price have provided serious developments in agriculture. As Boratav states, especially in the period of 1962-1976, populist policies supporting agriculture have been so influential. (Boratav, 1981: 112) In this period supporting policies on agricultural product prices have been so advantageous to agriculture. Internal terms of trade has been increased from (if accepted)100 in 1960-61 to 122 in 1975-76. (Varlıer 1978)

When we analyse the mechanisation process in the period we can see that there has been an increase not only in number of tractors but also amount of agricultural credits. As it is remembered, according to Tekeli there is strong relationship between agricultural credits and mechanisation in Turkish agriculture. So mechanisation process has continued through this period as well. However it can be claimed that acceleration of developments in agricultural inputs and their impacts on agricultural production has been realised after 1970's in which populist policies were very influential. (See the table 19)

Table 19. Main Agricultural Input Developments in Turkey (1963-1980)

| Years | Total Cultivated Land (10000 dönüms) | Rate of Inc. | Number of Tractors | R. of Inc. | Agricul. Credits (Billion TL-1963=Fixed) | R. of Inc. | Total Agricultural Credits per Total Cultivated Land MillionTL/Dön 1963=Fixed) | R. of Inc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1963 | 26048 | - | 51000 | - | 2,3 | - | 8,83 | - |
| 1967 | 26272 | 1 | 75000 | 47 | 4,2 | 82,6 | 15,99 | 81,1 |
| 1972 | 28226 | 7 | 136000 | 81 | 4,9 | 16,7 | 17,36 | 8,6 |
| 1977 | 27930 | -1 | 370000 | 172 | 13,0 | 165,3 | 46,54 | 168,1 |
| 1980 | 28175 | 1 | 458000 | 24 | 10,4 | -20.0 | 36,92 | -20,7 |

Source: T. C. DİE, Yearly Statistical Books of Turkey[3]

When the table 19 is analysed, different characteristics of the period can be seen. Firstly, it can be seen that increase in cultivated land size was so limited showing scarcity of land for opening cultivation that was one of the most interesting characteristics of the period. In previous period amount of cultivated land size had increased by more than 80% from 1945 to 1960's. However in the second period of our analysis this increase has been less than 10% from 1963 to 1980's. This characteristic of the period can be combined the Keyder statement that "after 1960's cultivable land reached its limit and after that year it was time to transform to intensive agriculture." (Keyder, 1988: 168) Therefore, similar Japan experience, after reaching the limits of cultivable land, increase of production level has been started to provide by agricultural inputs such as fertilisers, irrigation facilities etc.

Irrigation is another important aspect of the agriculture in terms of its

agricultural land size has increased to 2,7 million hectares in 1980 by % 143 increase when compared to 1960's.[4]

With respect to these developments, productivity increase in Turkish agriculture has showed parallel tendencies. As Kazgan states productivity increase was 17 % per hectare from 1960's to 1970's. According to Kazgan this productivity increase has been realized more sharply after 1970's. Since according to her 1960's should be seen as preparation period for transition to intensive agriculture. (Kazgan, 1988: 284)

In fact Keyder statement of transforming to intensive agriculture has been realised after 1970's. Since 1970's were the boom years for technological developments in agriculture. Fertilizers have started to be used intensively. Amount of fertilizers used has risen from 426000 tons in 1963 to 7474000 tons in 1977 by increasing more than 10 times. According to Kazgan use of fertilizers increased from rate of less than 1 % of total cultivated land to 47% from 1970's to 1980's. In addition some other agricultural inputs and new seeds, which diffused to be used in Less Developed Countries with Green Revolution, started to be used in Turkey also. (Kazgan, 1988: 254) Therefore introduce of new technology of agricultural inputs and new seeds should be considered as one of the important factor that facilitated the productivity increase in Turkey as well as increase in fertilizers usage in the period of 1960-1980. As it can be remembered, these developments had been lived by Western European Countries in the late 19$^{th}$ century.

In this respect it might be claimed that agricultural production increase has all been provided by the increasing productivity. Kazgan stresses on the

[3] Agricultural Credits has been given as fixed prices according to wholesale price indices of DİE
[4] This data shows total irrigated land (by private or by DSİ) and has been achieved from the web page of DİE; www.die.gov.tr

changes in per capita income of agriculture toward non-agricultural sector to explain labour productivity. As she states increase in labour productivity in terms of value adding has followed the non-agricultural sector. Rate of income per capita in agriculture to non-agriculture was 18.7 % in 1970 and 17.7 % in 1980. (Kazgan, 1988: 285)

Therefore agricultural productivity and production increase was very high in this period. In contrast to these positive developments share of agriculture has decreased from about 36 % of national income in 1963 and to 24% in 1973. (DİE; Yearly Statistical Books) This fact can be related to the more rapid growth rate of non-agricultural sector than agricultural one.

Therefore this period can be seen as a period in which productivity increase was very high due to investments on technology and agricultural inputs. Agricultural product support policy and agricultural input subsidies have all worked for the sake of agriculture.

If we search for the impacts of developments that are mentioned in previous paragraphs, on the population dynamics, we can achieve different tendencies different from the first period. In this period there were more than one tendency in sense of labour demand in rural areas. The increase in mechanisation was still leading to decrease the need for agricultural labour. Different from previous period reaching limits of suitable land for opening cultivation again should be looked as a factor, which did not increase demand for labour. So it can be said that effects of mechanisation has been more influential during the period of 1963-1980. Another point that Tekeli emphasizes that decreasing tendency of using plough animals, which can be considered as application of more mechanisation that resulted in decreasing labour demand in rural areas.

Thus again mechanisation was the most important factor causing decrease in labour demand. However other important characteristic of the period which can be said as high rate of increase in amount of agricultural inputs usage has caused increase in labour demand. In other words increasing amount of agricultural inputs were bringing results of increasing necessity for labour due to provision of increase in agricultural production.

Tekeli evaluates the contradicting tendencies and points out that; "there would be a tendency of decreasing demand for labour and amount of migration would be sum of population increase and the labour demand decrease in those years." (Tekeli, 1982: 92)

So during the period of 1963-1979, there have been advantageous developments in favor of Turkish Agriculture. First of all agricultural production has positively affected by the increasing use of technology and fertilizers. These developments, which were supported by the populist state policies through the period, have provided the continuity for the marginal group who didn't left their land. Therefore it can be concluded that in the period of 1963-1979 populist policies did affect depeasantisation process adversely by providing survival of marginal groups in rural areas. Again it should be recalled that undeveloped characteristics of the urban spaces in Turkey was one of the important factor in the policy of keeping the rural population in rural areas.

As it has been already mentioned; other important factor affecting depeasantisation process was population dynamics. In this period fertility rate was not as much as in the period of 1945-1963. In fact this population tendency again can not be depended on population policies of Turkey in the period of 1963-1980. Like in the previous period socio-economic developments and requirements have formed population tendencies. Parallel to this some writers also claims that

between 1965 and 1980 the decreasing rate of fertility has been realized due to economic, social and cultural developments. (Behar C., Güvenç M., Işık O., 1999)

However it should be mentioned that with the First Development Plan the rapid increase of the population growth started to be seen as a problem. Population Planning Law issued in 1965 was bringing widespread use of means of birth control. (Behar C., Güvenç M., Işık O., 1999) And this law might have contributed decreasing fertility rates. However as we mentioned before population dynamics in Turkey should have been on depended social preferences. At this point we can make an evaluation that increasing effects of mechanisation in sense of labour requirements might have played a role in fertility rates.

So being similar to other countries' experiences in terms of demographic transition, decreasing characteristics of population growth rates can be seen as second phase of demographic transition of Turkey. In this respect it should be stated that again population dynamics have been again one of the most important factors slowing urbanisation process in those years. From the table 20 urbanisation rates of this period, which have been less than the previous one can be seen.

Table 20. Urban and Rural Population Growth in Turkey 1965-1980

| | | Annual Population Increase (per thousand) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Years** | **Population (million)** | **Total** | **Urban** | **Rural** |
| 1965 | 31.4 | 24.62 | 39.71 | 17.14 |
| 1970 | 35.6 | 25.19 | 47.33 | 12.51 |
| 1975 | 40.3 | 25.00 | 41.75 | 13.79 |
| 1980 | 44.7 | 20.65 | 30.47 | 13.29 |

Source T. C. DİE, Population Censuses of Turkey

Therefore during the period of 1963-1980 populist policies did protect agricultural sector so developments have generally been advantageous to this sector. Although there has been no increase in total amount of agricultural land increase in amount of agricultural inputs has led to increase in labour requirements in rural areas. This increase in labour demand has adversely affected the decreasing tendencies of demand for labour, which stemmed from the effects of mechanisation. So again level of migration in rural areas hasn't been so high in the period of 1963-1980.

## 3.5. Farm Level Changes Leading To Rural Structural Transformation in the period of 1963-1980

In the period of 1963-1980 dominance of small farming units has still been continued. This stability in the pattern of farming structure can be explained by supportive populist policies of the period. As we have already mentioned populist policies has contributed to holding of population in rural areas. So depeasantisation process has not been lived intensively in the period also. Small landowners could find different adaptation ways, which it will be stated, in the following paragraphs. Therefore dominance of small farms has continued during the period of 1963-1980. In this respect as we have already stated, in contrast to British experience, transformation of the rural structure has been materialized without transforming to larger, capitalist farming units in Turkey. This fact again can be seen as one of the factors decreasing the depeasantisation tendencies in rural areas.

Table 21. Distribution of Farms According to Their Size in Turkey, 1963-1980

| | 1963 | | | 1980 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Size (Dönüms** | **Percentage of Farms** | **Percentage of Cultivating Land Size** | **Average Farm Size in Dönüms** | **Per. of Farms** | **Percentage of Cultivating Land Size** | **Av. Farm Size in Dönüms** |
| 1-50 | 68.7 | 24.3 | 19 | 62.1 | 20 | 20 |
| 51-100 | 18.1 | 23.9 | 71 | 20.2 | 21.2 | 65.5 |
| 101-200 | 9.4 | 23.7 | 136.1 | 11.6 | 23.8 | 128 |
| 201-500 | 3.2 | 17.0 | 286.1 | 5.3 | 22.9 | 268 |
| 501- | 0.6 | 11.1 | 1041.7 | 0.8 | 12.1 | 945 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | - | 100 | 100 | - |
| Size | 3100850 | 16734335 | - | 3650910 | 227640289 | - |

Source: Adapted from DİE Agricultural Censuses of Turkey 19630-1980, and Akşit, 1988

However it should be added that although there was continuity of dominance of small farms, different types of farms have passed through different transformation processes within this period. Keyder categorizes these transformations of farming structures referring to types of villages. According to him until 1980's there appeared four types of villages according to their production patterns. First type of villages has been constituted by farms were producing for their own needs and having tendency to migrate other outside. Second village type having farms that could diverse their economical activities and had small land. Third type of villages having farms that could use technology and family labour for capital accumulation. Last group of villages was capitalist villages have been constituted by capitalist farms. (Keyder 1983 a: 36,37-38)

As it is seen in from the table 21, small farm units, which constitute 70 % of all farms, were cultivating 25% of total agricultural land in 1963. In 1980 small farms were still dominating mode of production having rate of 62.1 % in all

farms. However when the is analysed it can be said that even though there is no strong change in land ownership pattern some slight changes can be observed. In fact these observations can be combined with different transformation processes faced by different farming structures depending on their landownership pattern. For example number of farms more than 200 dönüms increased sharply from 1963 to 1980. This can be depended on the land accumulation and transforming to capitalist type of production in some villages. However number of farms having 101-200 land size remained almost stable in the same period giving the conclusion that dominance of petty commodity production type of farms have continued till 1980's in Turkey agriculture. (Akşit, 1988: 180)

However at this point it should be remembered that in spite of the fact that petty commodity production type of farms continued their survival through period depeasantisation process has generally been observed in these small farms.

Akşit mentions about effects of population increase on transformation of different holdings. According to him land division caused by population increase affected mostly the lower segments of land distribution and did not affect upper segments. This caused more polarisation of land distribution and forced peasants within lower segments to leave from their land and migrate to cities. (Akşit, 1988: 180) The table 21 supports this claim. As it can be seen from the table only decreasing rate in total numbers of farms can be only be observed in number of farms with less than 100 dönüms land which Akşit mentions as the main actors of migration.

At this point the study of Tekeli on transformation of different types of farms should be reminded. According to him there were three types farms which can be described as small farms, semi feudal large holders and rural oriented money landing merchants in 1948's. These three types of farming structures have transformed to different farming structures. In this thesis there will be generally

mentioned about the small farms, which were main subjects to depeasantisation process. Other two types of farms could transform to capitalist type of production easily getting necessary power by the help of mechanisation and national market integration that we have already mentioned. According to him small farms tried to adapt themselves in changing socio-economic developments. Some of them migrated to cities selling their land, some rented their lands being ready to migrate to cities. Some small farmers have been labours for large holders and some did apply to sharecropping or renting mechanisms. And lastly some of them moved to marginal lands belong to Treasury.

So all these transformations can be seen as choices of small landowners either to move cities or continue to live in rural areas. According to table 20 low level of migration rates verify the fact that generally peasants choices have been on staying in rural areas. Of course some factors were playing role on these preferences. Firstly it can be said that policies of the period of 1963-1969 have all supported those types of peasants who were trying to survive especially in marginal lands. These small holders could continue to survive under the effects of populist policies during the period. Secondly we should mention about undeveloped characteristics of urban space that has not reached the level for absorbing migrants. That is to say urban pull factors were not improved so much that would contribute to the process of depeasantisation.

Therefore undeveloped characteristics of urban areas and supportive state policies have played important role on small farmers' choices. Depending on these developments, it can be stated that depeasantisation and migration processes haven't been lived intensively in this period.

## 3.6. Transformation of the Rural Structure after 1980's

When it has been come 1980's face of state policies has changed strongly. Years after 1980 can be described as passing period for liberal economies in Turkish economical development. In this period Turkey has been started to have an open economy in terms of foreign trade. Kepenek describes this period as "growth of opening to abroad economy" (Kepenek 1996) One of the most important outcomes of this opening abroad strategy can be indicated as facilitating policies on export.

In this period some discourses came in to picture like **open market economy, free enterprising etc**. In fact these concepts can be helpful to understand the changing characteristics of the Turkish economy of the period. According new strategy of policies, solutions have to be look for in market economy with minimum government intervention. In fact this policy can be related to the European Countries policies after the Manshold Plan decisions. As it can be remembered, with the Manshold Plan, government subsidies on agriculture, which had brought about heavy task to their economies, has aimed to decrease in European Community Countries. Similar to these policies, Turkish less government intervention and decreasing subsidies have played very important roles in Turkish agricultural development. Since, as it has been already mentioned policies of the previous period have constituted supportive mechanisms for agriculture. However since 1980's, due to tendency of minimum government intervention we can say that agriculture has been left alone in market economy being subject to all economical difficulties.

It can be claimed that decisions of **24 January 1980,** which was belong to stability program of the government, has been constituted main frame of the economic developments after 1980's. 24 January decisions have been prepared for overcoming economic depression of the period. So after 1980's Turkey

agriculture entered into a downward trend as whole economy. This trend mostly came with the effects of bottlenecks in the world. Enormously increasing oil prices in the world has affected the national economical plans and programs after 1974. The year 1978 was initial year in which agriculture has started to face with many difficulties parallel to whole economy in Turkey. From 1977 price of row materials in all over the world started to fall down suddenly. However dropping agricultural product prices in Turkey was much more related with the disappearance of protective populist policies. Because before the liberalization, agricultural product prices were very high compared to same prices in the World.

If we analyse the period from the point of view of mechanisation we can say that rate of increase in the number of tractor was below the previous ones. It can be said that starting from 1980's there was no important increase in number of tractor. This fact can be depended on cultivated land size changes. As it can be seen from table 22 after 1980's there has been no rise in amount of cultivated land size. Even slight decrease in amount of cultivated land size can be observed from the table. In fact as it has been mentioned in the analysis of other periods previously, there remained no more suitable land for opening cultivation in Turkey after 1970's. So it can be claimed that achieving limits of cultivable land has affected increase rates of the number of tractors negatively. Besides, by looking at the slight decrease in the amount of total cultivated land, it can also be claimed that after the 1970's especially marginal lands have started to be abandoned by the peasants.

Table 22. Main Agricultural Input Developments in Turkey after 1980's

| Years | Total Cultivated Land (10000 dönüms) | Rate of Inc. | Number of Tractors | R. of Inc. | Agricul. Credits (Billion TL-1963=Fixed | R. of Inc. | Total Agricultural Credits per Total Cultivated Land MillionTL/Dön 1963=Fixed) | R. of Inc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **1980** | 28175 | - | 458000 | - | 10,4 | - | 36,9 | - |
| **1985** | 27530 | -2 | 583000 | 27 | 7,2 | -45 | 26,2 | -29.1 |
| **1990** | 27677 | -1 | 692000 | 19 | 3,9 | -84 | 14,1 | -46.1 |
| **1995** | 26845 | -1 | 776000 | 12 | 4,2 | 7 | 15,6 | 11.0 |

Source T. C. DİE, Yearly Statistical Books of Turkey [5]

Therefore there has been stagnation in mechanisation process. In contrast to other periods, impacts of mechanisation on the process of migration process have been relatively slight. Moreover it can be stated that political developments of the period have been more influential on migration process rather than mechanisation. This characteristic can be looked as one of most important distinctive characteristics of the period after 1980's.

Amount of agricultural credits has showed similar developments. Although during 1970's increase rates of agricultural credits were high, after 1980's amount of credits, as fixed prices has been decreasing.

In addition; when we examine change in the total size of irrigated agricultural land we can see that increase rates after 1980's have been slower than the ones in the period of 1960-1980. However in this period rise in the total irrigated land size has still continued. In 1980's total irrigated agricultural land size was 2,7 million hectares, in 1985 it reached to3,3 million hectares by % 22 increase. Then it has become 3,9 million hectares in 1990 and increased to 4,3

million hectares in 1995 by 20% increase. So in 20 years total increase has been realised by % 60 increase.[6]

Therefore it can be said that there have been no important developments in terms of mechanisation, amount of cultivated land size and amount of agricultural credits which might have effects on dissolution process. Then increasing rates of migration should be combined with other socio economic developments and policies. After 1980's subsidies on the agricultural inputs has been disappeared affecting agricultural productivity negatively. As Kazgan states during the following years after 24th January 1980 decisions, all supportive policies have been disappeared. Only subsidy on the chemical fertilizers has been continued. Annual increase of the agricultural productivity decreased to 2.5%. (Kazgan, 1988: 256)

In addition to these negative developments, technological development or in other words use of technology contributing productivity increase in agriculture couldn't progress due to stability program requirements in the period. Starting from the end of 1970's downward trend in use of technology has affected agricultural productivity negatively.

Therefore reduction in the prices of agricultural products in the world, leaving agriculture to act in free market economy and loosing advantages in rate of input/output prices of agricultural products have brought many problems to agricultural sector after 1980. Also internal terms of trade which has been agriculture's favor has turned to become disadvantageous to agriculture. Internal terms of trade has been decreased from (if accepted)100 in 1969 to 75.6 in 1994. (DİE, Internal Terms of Trade in Turkish Economy 1973-1986)

---

[5] Agricultural Credits has been given as fixed prices according to wholesale price indices of DİE

[6] This date shows total irrigated land (by private or State Hydraulic Works-DSİ) and has been achieved from the web page of State Statistical Institution DİE; www.die.gov.tr

As Kazgan states the rate of income per capita in agriculture to non-agriculture decreased from 19.2 % in 1975 to 14% in 1985. According to her this figure was one of the lowest rates in sense of income distribution between sectors. This inequality has not been caused by the decrease in the productivity of labour in agriculture. Agricultural production (as fixed prices) was 17.7 % of non-agriculture in 1980 and it increased to 18.1 % in 1985. So this unequal developments can be explained by the negative changes of internal terms of trade in the period. (Kazgan 1988: 266)

Parallel to Kazgan statements Kepenek also figures out that , in this period share of the agriculture sector in national income was % 24 in 1973 and decreased to % 17 in 1987 and eventually % 15 in 1992. Besides rate of decrease in the amount of rural population was not as much as decreasing rate of agriculture share in national income. (Kepenek, 1996: 295). So agricultural sector has been loosing supporting mechanisms of government.

Therefore it can be said that after 1980's agricultural sector has started to loose its advantageous position in the economy due to acting alone without government supports in free market economy. In that period mostly under the effects of world economic bottlenecks and liberal policies agriculture couldn't show the necessary developments. Even it has continuously been in a recession period. However non-agricultural sector has progressed more efficiently than agriculture during the same period. Because compared to agricultural sector non-agricultural sector can adapt itself to challenging market conditions more easily.

This disadvantageous trend to agriculture has accelerated the process of migration from rural areas. Because after 1980's mechanisms of populist policies which has been providing to hold population in rural areas has disappeared. So especially small holding farmers couldn't have continued to survive in rural areas anymore and they have become main subjects to process of migration.

Therefore after 1980's it can be said that process of migration has been lived intensively due to very disadvantageous developments under the effects of liberal policies. So increasing migration tendencies have been occurring owing to effects coming from out of own dynamics of agriculture after 1980's.

Urbanisation process can be looked as another important factor affecting and affected by population dynamics of rural sector. From table 23 it can be seen that after1980's population growth rate in urban areas reached one of its greatest amount in whole period. Even urban population growth rate of period 1980-1985 has been greater than period of 1950-1955 in which mechanisation had showed its push effects intensively. In this frame it can be said that disappearance of populist policies has been one of most effectual contributors of migration in the period of after 1980's.

Table 23 Urban and Rural Population Growth in Turkey 1940-1997

| | | Annual Population Increase (per thousand) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Years** | **Population (million)** | **Total** | **Urban** | **Rural** |
| 1945 | 18.8 | 10.59 | 15.10 | 9.12 |
| 1950 | 20.9 | 21.73 | 22.47 | 21.49 |
| 1955 | 24.1 | 27.75 | 55.67 | 17.48 |
| 1960 | 27.8 | 28.53 | 49.21 | 19.53 |
| 1965 | 31.4 | 24.62 | 39.71 | 17.14 |
| 1970 | 35.6 | 25.19 | 47.33 | 12.51 |
| 1975 | 40.3 | 25.00 | 41.75 | 13.79 |
| 1980 | 44.7 | 20.65 | 30.47 | 13.29 |
| 1985 | 50.7 | 24.88 | 62.61 | -10.58 |
| 1990 | 56.5 | 21.71 | 43.10 | -5.56 |
| 1997 | 62.8 | 15.3 | 28.70 | -6.70 |

Source T. C. DİE, Population Censuses of Turkey

It can also be claimed that by the effects of liberalization policies and opening economy to abroad in terms of free capital movement, communication and transportation networks has been improved more than the previous periods after 1980's. Also non-agricultural sector has been developed more rapidly than agriculture. This resulted in relative improvement in urban services and infrastructure constituting pull factors for rural population. So improvements in urban areas can be thought as pull factor that have had impacts on acceleration of migration process after 1980's.

On the other hand if we analyse population dynamics of the period we can say that population growth rate has been under the level of previous periods. This decreasing tendency is related with fertility rate that started to decrease after 1970's and continued to decrease in 1980's. At this point it should be added that 1980's were the years in which demographic transition process which had started after Second World War has come its last phase. Therefore, similar to early-industrialised countries' experiences Turkish population growth rates have reached a low and stagnant level after 1990's.

Moreover it should again be remembered that this tendencies should be depended on economic, social and cultural developments in the period. (Behar C., Güvenç M., Işık O., 1999: 45) It can be claimed that although population increase has been seen as a problem by governments, policies couldn't have been effective in formation of population tendencies. However population programming has been progressed after 1984 by the methods of family planning which could have partially been contributing effects on decreasing population tendencies. (Behar C., Güvenç M., Işık O., 1999: 43)

On the contrary it can be claimed that decreasing characteristics of population growth rate hasn't been as much effectual as increasing tendency of migration process in the period. Since urbansiation rates of the period has been

very high compared to other periods. (See the table 23) After 1980's growth rate of rural population has been realised as minus for the first time in whole period.

To conclude years after 1980's have brought disadvantageous developments for the sector of agriculture. Policies based on liberal and free market economy have all been disadvantageous to agriculture. All of these developments have affected peasants' capabilities of surviving in rural areas. Then migration process has started to be lived intensively. So it can be said that after 1980's due to negative developments peasants couldn't continue to live in rural areas and migrated to cities where urban pull factors improved relatively. However after 1990's urban spaces started to be incapable of absorbing migrants anymore due to lack of corresponding improvements in urban space supplies. So there must be other ways to survive in rural areas since rate of urbanisation started to be decrease recently.

Consequently under the effects of policies and developments mentioned above Turkey agriculture has passed through structural transformation. In the following part we will try to analyse changes in farm level leading transformation in rural structure to find out new tendencies and adaptations where urbanisation process has come to its end.

## 3.7 Farm Level Changes Leading To Rural Structural Transformation after 1980's

In the previous parts of the chapter we have discussed about economic and political developments and their effects on rural structure. As we have mentioned earlier, these economic and political developments have resulted in the transformation of agricultural production and so farming structure of rural areas. Analysis of transformation of farming structure after 1980's constitutes one of the

main considerations of my thesis. However due to lack of sufficient number of studies about changing farming structure after 1980's, we have been in difficulty of forming general characteristics of the period in terms of farming structure. In fact our fieldwork study, which we will discuss in chapter 4, will be concentrated on finding out existing farm structure and population dynamics in certain number of villages. Thus in this part it will be tried to give some observations and thoughts of researchers about transformation of farm structure in 1980's. Then it will be made discussion about these thoughts and observations within the frame of our survey results that we get from field research in chapter 4.

As it has already been discussed in the previous parts there is consensus of many researchers that small holdings has constituted general characteristics of farm structure in continuing periods after Second World War. Besides it has also been discussed that after 1980's both changes in government policies in terms of leaving protective mechanisms and other negative economical developments have affected rural part of population so strongly. It can be claimed that leaving from populist policies that were protecting agriculture against market difficulties has made difficult to survive in rural areas especially for peasants of small holdings. Yet when we analyse table 24 it is seen that number of small farmers less than 50 dönüms has increased from the rate of 62.1 % of total numbers of farms in 1980 to % 67 in 1991. Thus it can be claimed that even though there were negative developments in terms of state policies dominance of small holdings has still been continuing after 1980's. (See the table 24)

However it should be added that proportion of the small holdings in total holdings has slightly decreased until 1980's. Moreover if the level migration take into consideration it can be expected a decrease in the proportion of the small holdings. This situation can be explained by two claims. Firstly it should be remembered that due to disadvantageous policies some large holdings also have been got out of agricultural production. Second dominance of small holdings

should not be meant that there took place no change in the agricultural production mode. As it will be mentioned in the following paragraphs there have been transformations from large holdings to small ones.

Table 24 Distribution of Farms According to Their Size in Turkey, after 1980's

| | 1980 | | | 1991 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Size (Dönüms** | **Percentage of Farms** | **Percentage of Cultivating Land Size in Dönüms** | **Average Farm Size** | **Percen. of Farms** | **Percentage of Cultivating Land Size** | **Average Farm Size in Dönüms** |
| 1-50 | 62.1 | 20 | 20 | 67.0 | 22.1 | 19.5 |
| 51-100 | 20.2 | 21.2 | 65.5 | 18.0 | 19.9 | 65.5 |
| 101-200 | 11.6 | 23.8 | 128 | 9.7 | 21.0 | 128 |
| 201-500 | 5.3 | 22.9 | 268 | 4.4 | 19.8 | 267.5 |
| 501- | 0.8 | 12.1 | 945 | 0.9 | 17.2 | 913 |
| Total | 100 | 100 | - | 100 | 100 | - |
| Size | 3650910 | 227640289 | - | 3966822 | 234510993 | - |

Source: Adapted from Akşit, 1999: 183 and Agricultural Censuses of 1980 and 1990

However if we necessarily mention about the study of Tekeli which was related with transformation in the farm structure in 1970's, we can remember that there were many transformation ways of different farming structure under the effects of socio-economic developments. As he points out in 1970's there appeared different types of farming structures depending on their amount of land and capital. There was not only transformation to capitalist farms, which either based on large land ownership or tractor ownership but also were different transformations of which small farms have faced with. As we have previously discussed our focus will be on those small farms, which have been main subject to dissolution process. Peasants with small holdings did either migrate to cities or

tried to continue to live in rural areas as being a labour for large landowner or moving to marginal areas etc.

These adaptations have already been discussed in previous parts. However what tried to be discussed is continuing characteristics of small farms which resist against depeasantisation process. Since, as it has been discussed those small farms could have continued their survivals in rural areas mostly by the help of government supports in previous periods. At this point a question can be appeared: **How can these small farms continue to live in such a disadvantageous economical and political environment after 1980's?**

Akşit brings a different view on continuing dominance of small farms. He states that petty commodity production type of farms, which settled after 1950's, were not same as the ones in 1980's. And unless there have been many structural transformations, dominance of petty commodity couldn't continue. For him large landowners might have fragmented and transformed to petty commodity production type of farms. When the table 24 is analysed steadily decrease in the rate of farms with 100-500 dönüms land in total farms from 16.9 % to 14.1 % can support this claim, however it should be noted that there has been no decrease in the rate of farms of more than 500 dönüms. According to Akşit other developments have affected farming structures. Seasonal employment opportunities and changes in division of labour in the farm family necessitated integration to non-agricultural incomes causing population movements. So small farms have faced important changes in their structures due to salaried employment and vicious cycle migration. And as it has been discussed before Akşit again mentions about the necessity of continuous migration and urban industrial developments for continuing dominance of petty commodity production. (Akşit, 1999)

Therefore as Akşit focuses on dominance of petty commodity production depending on small landownership that has still been continuing after 1980's. According to him from this dominance it shouldn't be understood that there has been no transformation in those small farms. Also other large landowners might have transformed to petty commodity production. Akşit claims that mechanisation, commercializing and government policies have demolished the homogeneity in rural areas and caused many type of transformation in farming structures. (Akşit, 1999: 184) Since due to worsening economic developments have pushed farmers to apply new methods or farming techniques to increase their incomes. As it can be recalled in the industrialised countries when the protectionism has lost its importance farmers have either tried to diversify their income sources by part time jobs or tried to use technology in farming.

In this context recently emerging way of cultivation, which have been caused transformation in farming structure should be mentioned. It has already been mentioned about the continuity of total irrigated land size after 1980's. In this respect as Kartal states since 1985 **hot-house cultivation** has become widespread in south and west coastal zones of Turkey due to season-out agricultural products requirements and increasing irrigation facilities.[7] The importance of this transformation from the point of view of our analysis lies in its effects on farming structure. Since as Kartal states hot house cultivation type of farming differs from traditional farming in terms of land and labour requirements. As she states scale of hot-house production units is rather small (generally 0-5 ha) and it is very labour intensive way of farming which provides employment opportunities for underemployed rural population.[8] (Kartal, 1995: 8)

[7] See for more information Unpublished Thesis of Filiz Kartal on Spatial Impacts of Hot-House Cultivation in Kumluca; June 1995)
[8] According to Kartal 0.1 ha hot-house employs 1.2 labourer.

Therefore it can be claimed that although there have been seen in only coastal regions of Turkey, hot-house cultivation has adverse effects on population movements due to its labour intensive characteristics. This way of transformation can be thought as supporting Akşit claims on transformation of large landowners to different type of petty commodity production. Thus irrigation facilities and hot-house cultivation may be seen as the ways for the continuity of small farming in Turkey.

Consequently it can be claimed that Tekeli's study on transformation in farm structure from 1948 to 1970, Akşit observations and Kartal's study on hot-house cultivation mentioned above have brought the thought that there have been a continuous transformation in farm structure. As Tekeli and Akşit state due to this transformation process many adaptations have emerged in sense of farming structure.[9] Akşit says "ways of transformation of 40000 number of villages and 3-4 millions villagers should have been realised as incredible amount of diversity".(Akşit, 1999: 186) It can also be claimed that changing socio-economic developments and policies did play an important role on these different types of adaptations.

Kepenek is another writer mentioning about the rural structure in sense of farm level. He again claims the dominance of petty commodity production in Turkish agriculture. However he takes the cares on decrease in rate of cultivating land belong to small holders. From the table 24 it can be seen that there has been increase in the rate of 1-50 dönüms farms to total farms and there has been also decrease in the rate of their cultivation land to total cultivation land. So he claims that there has been continuing dominance in petty commodity production and also tendency of decreasing amount of cultivating land size.(Kepenek, 1996: 297)

[9] One of these transformation is hot-house cultivation

From this claim some conclusions can be drawn. Firstly small landowners might not have cultivated their land owing to not getting sufficient income. In other words they might have been cultivating their land for their subsistence only; because they do not expect important contribution from agriculture on their incomes. In contrast to this claim, decreasing amount of land size of small holdings can be depended on the new cultivation ways such as hot-house cultivation as it has been mentioned in previous paragraphs. Especially land, which can be irrigated, transformation to small farming units and techniques might have been realised. Another conclusion can be said, as there might have been more fragmentation on land ownership due to heritage mechanism.

Kepenek makes other comments on transformation of farm structure after 1980's. He claims that when the total number of agriculture labour has been searched, it can be seen that there has been no change in the number of agricultural labour that is about 9 million. This means the rate of agricultural labour in total number of labour has been decreasing. Since non-agricultural labour force has been increasing continuously. As he states that this rate was 75 % in 1960's and then it decreased to % 45 in 1990's. Kepenek combines this finding with an important result. To him, agriculture has been giving its growing part of population to non-agricultural sector. In other words he claims that young and relatively educated labour force has been moving to other sectors. If Kepenek claims is accepted there remains no doubt that transformation in the farm level has not taken place only in farming structure (such as hot-house cultivation) it has also been realised in population structure in rural areas. (Kepenek, 1996: 297)

If these discussions are thought from the point of view of dissolution process of rural areas, it can be claimed that peasants with small holdings can be still regarded as main factor contributing migration. In other words the small holding farmers especially cultivating marginal areas have been again main subject to migration because of disadvantageous developments in economy and

governments policies after 1980's. At this point it should be added that other type of transformations such as seasonal employment, part time farming could have taken place. These tendencies might have adversely affected the process of migration in the villages. Because it is a fact that transportation network has been improved a lot after 1980's.

When we reached to 1990's migration tendencies have not been as intensive as 1980's. (See table 23) However it should be stated that yet the labour scarcity in rural areas has started after these years. In fact as we have already mentioned some transformations in the mode of production in agriculture might bring about adverse tendency in terms of depopulation. One of underlying cause of this tendency can be stated as transforming to hot-house cultivation type of agricultural production which is very labour intensive activity. However, although there can be mentioned about adverse effects of this transformation on migration process it should be remembered that this transformation take place generally at the coastal regions of Turkey. So there should be other mechanisms, which have effects on the process of dissolution in rural areas. In this frame one of the thesis' aim appears in sense of analysing different adaptation ways in rural areas that cause structural transformation in rural structure of Turkey recently. Besides it should be stated that problems, which have emerged to due to labour scarcity constitutes the main of this thesis.

To conclude it should be recalled that under the lights of these discussions all of the claims and observations are going to be searched and discussed in chapter 4. It can be said that all these transformations, adaptations and problems that appeared due to labour scarcity after 1980's are the main focus points of the thesis. In the fieldwork analysis transformation in farming structure will be tried to analyse through household surveys to put forward existing structures and problems of rural areas within the frame of rural tranformation and dissolution processes.

# CHAPTER 4

# ANALYSIS OF IMPACTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF DEPEASANTISATION PROCESS ON RURAL STRUCTURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KIZILCAHAM-ÇELTIKÇI REGION

## 4.1 Methodology and Framework of the Study

This chapter will be a complementary chapter of the previous chapter and the thesis in which an analysis of fieldwork on rural structure of Kızılcahamam region will be made. It is evident that theoretical discussions, which we have mentioned in previous chapters, are not enough to explain existing situation of the rural structures. So this fieldwork study can be thought a way of concretizing theoretical discussion by the method of surveying.

Therefore intend of this chapter is to put forward existing structures and the problems of the rural areas, which have faced with many socio-economic developments under the effects of different government policies, by fieldwork research.

Fieldwork research will be based on surveys, which is going to be made in some selected villages. Survey study will be realized through formal and informal interview and participant observation techniques.

### 4.1.1 Background Information about the Study Area

Kızılcahamam region, which is conspicuous with its rural characteristics, has been selected as study area for fieldwork analysis. The region having rural settlements generally in marginal and forest areas has been thought as suitable to our analysis. Since as we have already mentioned rural settlements in the marginal areas have been mostly affected villages from the process of migration. In this respect the villages of the study area might be considered as representing general characteristics of the marginal rural settlements of the north sides of Inner Anatolia Region where the forest areas start to be seen.

Obviously some other characteristics of the Kızılcahamam region are very convenient for our analysis. One of the important factors is the proximity of Kızılcahamam to Ankara. Since, Kızılcahamam region is so close to Ankara that fieldwork analysis would be easier.

Table 25 Population Distribution of Kızılcahamam District in 1997

| | **Urban Population** | **%** | **Rural Population** | **%** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Kızılcahamam** | 16641 | 45 | 21024 | 55 | 37665 |

Source: T.C. DİE, 1997 Turkey Population Census

Kızılcahamam District is one of districts of Ankara including four sub-districts namely Central, Çeltikçi, Güvem and Pazar districts. It is located in north-west side of Ankara, which is about 80 km away.

In addition to being so close to Ankara, Kızılcahamam region has some important characteristics that fit on our analysis and discussions. Within the border of Kızılcahamam district there are 107 villages of which were generally located in marginal areas.[1] From figure 1 it can be seen that agricultural land of Kızılcahamam region is constituted generally by 3rd class important agricultural land which is generally suitable for moderate cultivation.[2] In fact I can state that most of agricultural land has been achieved by transforming forest areas to agricultural use.[3]

In this respect if it is remembered location of the villages (distances to urban areas) and the their agricultural potential in terms of productivity and quantity of their land asset have been important factors which have had effects on the process of depeasantisation. As it has been stated generally villages in the marginal areas have been main subject to depeasantisation process starting from 1950's. This claim can be supported by the figures of population change of villages in the study area. As it would be seen from the table that there has been continuous migration from these rural settlements. (See table 26)

So it can be claimed that the villages of the rural areas of Kızılcahamam District have been faced with depeasantisation process since 1950's. Moreover it should also be mentioned that population movement tendencies of these villages show parallel characteristics of which have been discussed in the chapter 3 in the frame of different socio-economic developments. Thus villages of the Kızılcahamam are suitable to understand the transformation process and recently emerging problems of rural areas under the effects of depeasantisation process. (See the tables below)

---

[1] According to Turkey Population Census of 1997
[2] Third class important agricultural land generally includes pasture and shrubbery areas
[3] This information has been achieved from District Agricultural Directorate of Kızılcahamam

Table 26. Population Dynamics of Kızılcahamam District

| Years | Time Period | Urban Population | Annual Population Change | Rural Population | Annual Population Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 1950-55 | 2053 | 11,7 | 59869 | -5,8 |
| 1955 | 1955-60 | 3254 | 5,3 | 42438 | 0,3 |
| 1960 | 1960-65 | 4124 | 5,2 | 43104 | -2,6 |
| 1965 | 1965-70 | 5202 | 3,1 | 37447 | -3,6 |
| 1970 | 1970-75 | 6017 | 3,4 | 30628 | -0,6 |
| 1975 | 1975-80 | 7050 | 4,5 | 29636 | -1,9 |
| 1980 | 1980-85 | 8620 | 5,0 | 26893 | -4,1 |
| 1985 | 1985-90 | 10796 | 3,8 | 21366 | 0,2 |
| 1990 | 1990-97 | 12856 | 4,2 | 21600 | -0,5 |
| 1997 | 1950-97 | 16641 | 15,1 | 21024 | -1,7 |

Source: This table and all the following tables related to population dynamics have been adapted from Population Census Data of Turkey (T.C. DİE)

Table 27. Population Dynamics of Central Sub-district

| Years | Time Period | Urban Population | Annual Population Change | Rural Population | Annual Population Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 1950-55 | 2053 | 11,7 | 11155 | -0,9 |
| 1955 | 1955-60 | 3254 | 5,3 | 10680 | 0,8 |
| 1960 | 1960-65 | 4124 | 5,2 | 11115 | 1,2 |
| 1965 | 1965-70 | 5202 | 3,1 | 11808 | -3,9 |
| 1970 | 1970-75 | 6017 | 3,4 | 9499 | -1,8 |
| 1975 | 1975-80 | 7050 | 4,5 | 8662 | -1,5 |
| 1980 | 1980-85 | 8620 | 5,0 | 8013 | -3,9 |
| 1985 | 1985-90 | 10796 | 3,8 | 6432 | -0,7 |
| 1990 | 1990-97 | 12856 | 4,2 | 6194 | -3,5 |
| 1997 | 1950-97 | 16641 | 15,1 | 4671 | -1,2 |

Table 28. Population Dynamics of Çeltikçi Sub-district

| Years | Time Period | Urban Population | Annual Population Change | Rural Population | Annual Population Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 1950-55 | 620 | 4,4 | 11155 | -0,9 |
| 1955 | 1955-60 | 755 | -1,3 | 10680 | 0,8 |
| 1960 | 1960-65 | 706 | -1,0 | 11115 | 1,2 |
| 1965 | 1965-70 | 672 | 0,0 | 11808 | -3,9 |
| 1970 | 1970-75 | 673 | 41,9 | 9499 | -1,8 |
| 1975 | 1975-80 | 2084 | -13,9 | 8662 | -1,5 |
| 1980 | 1980-85 | 637 | -0,3 | 8013 | -3,9 |
| 1985 | 1985-90 | 627 | 46,2 | 6432 | -0,7 |
| 1990 | 1990-97 | 2074 | 3,7 | 6194 | -3,5 |
| 1997 | 1950-97 | 2616 | 6,8 | 4671 | -1,2 |

Table 29. Population Dynamics of Güvem Sub-district

| Years | Time Period | Urban Population | Annual Population Change | Rural Population | Annual Population Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 464 | 0,7 | 11,6 | 11746 | 2,3 |
| 1955 | 481 | -2,3 | 5,3 | 13080 | 0,0 |
| 1960 | 425 | 2,1 | 5,2 | 13103 | -7,8 |
| 1965 | 470 | -4,0 | 3,1 | 7992 | -3,7 |
| 1970 | 376 | -0,7 | 3,4 | 6530 | 0,9 |
| 1975 | 363 | 9,8 | 4,5 | 6833 | -0,6 |
| 1980 | 540 | -8,5 | 5,0 | 6642 | -4,7 |
| 1985 | 310 | -3,3 | 3,8 | 5066 | 0,4 |
| 1990 | 259 | -4,1 | 4,2 | 5158 | 3,6 |
| 1997 | 185 | -1,3 | 15,1 | 6469 | -1,0 |

Table 30. Population Dynamics of Pazar Sub-district

| Years | Time Period | Urban Population | Annual Population Change | Rural Population | Annual Population Change |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 1950-55 | 720 | 0,7 | 8919 | -1,3 |
| 1955 | 1955-60 | 745 | -0,2 | 8333 | 0,5 |
| 1960 | 1960-65 | 739 | 0,6 | 8552 | -1,7 |
| 1965 | 1965-70 | 761 | -3,8 | 7815 | -3,6 |
| 1970 | 1970-75 | 615 | 0,7 | 6391 | -1,5 |
| 1975 | 1975-80 | 635 | -3,7 | 5903 | -3,0 |
| 1980 | 1980-85 | 519 | -3,9 | 5029 | -3,9 |
| 1985 | 1985-90 | 419 | 1,4 | 4037 | -0,4 |
| 1990 | 1990-97 | 448 | 42,9 | 3951 | 0,4 |
| 1997 | 1950-97 | 1793 | 3,2 | 4063 | -1,2 |

### 4.1.2. Pre-searching and the Statistical Study about the Villages of the Different Sub-districts of Kızılcahamam Region

#### 4.1.2.1 Grouping the Villages According to Their Population Dynamics

Kızılcahamam district has 107 villages according to 1997 population census. Therefore to be able to select the villages to be surveyed some statistical studies has been realised for dividing this the villages into some specific groups. Aim of this grouping is to achieve some different village groups reflecting different characteristics, which may useful for understanding the overall characteristics of the region. Therefore before starting to survey, villages have been grouped according to data collected from public institutions of Ankara and Kızılcahamam.

The first criterion is taken as population data of the villages. Since one of the most important characteristics of the villages from the point of view of our

analysis is population dynamics. Therefore villages has been divided into two groups according to their population sizes in 1997. While determining the class interval to group villages a statistical method has been used.[4] So it has been prepared a table containing two village groups according to their population size in 1997 in each sub-districts of Kızılcahamam.

Table 31. Village Clusters According to Their Population in 1997 in Kızılcahamam

| 1997 Population | Center | Çeltikçi | Güvem | Pazar | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-115 | 27 | 22 | 3 | 6 | 58 |
| 116+ | 16 | 11 | 15 | 7 | 49 |
| Total | 43 | 33 | 18 | 13 | 107 |

**Source:** This table have been adapted from, Population Census Data of Turkey (T.C. DİE)

After this study, another important data achieved by the calculating of annual population change values of the villages in different time periods starting from 1950. Then using same statistical method villages have been grouped

[4] K=1+3,3 log n
K: number of groups
N: number of villages
W: Difference between the largest population and the smallest population
K=1+3,3 log 100 K= 7,6
Class Interval = W / K
CI= 861 / 7,6=113~115
(Some villages have been excluded from our calculations. Göl-Çeltikçi, Semer-Güvem (maximum and minimum values) and other 5 villages (either due to administrative changes or not achieving data) have been excluded from our analysis

according to their population change values in the time period of 1950-1997.[5] After that two of these tables have been combined. (See the table 32)

Therefore villages of the district of Kızılcahamam have been classified according to their both population size in 1997 and annual population change between the years 1950 and 1997.[6] So a kind of differentiation between villages have been realised.

[5] Interval has been calculated by the same formula as follows:
K=1+3,3 log 100 K= 7,6
CI=W / K Where W is difference between maximum and minimum values of population change of villages
CI= -5.8 / 7,6 CI=0.76 ~0.75 (In the table it is taken as 1.5 because of achieving meaningful groups)
(Some villages have been excluded from our calculations. Şahinler and Bersinyayalar-Central District (maximum and minimum values) and other 5 villages (either due to administrative changes or not achieving data) have been excluded from our analysis.

[6] When village population data of 1950 is not found the time interval has been taken as 1975-1997.

Table 32. Village Clusters in Districts of Kızılcahamam According to Their Population Size in 1997 and Annual Population Change From 1950 to 1997

| **Sub-districts** | **Number of Villages** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Center** | **Population Size Interval of ≤115** | **Population Interval of >115** | **Total** |
| Annual Population Change Interval of ≥-1,5 | 14 | 15 | 29 |
| Annual Population Change Interval of <-1,5 | 12 | 1 | 13 |
| **Total** | **26** | **16** | **42** |
| **Çeltikçi** | | | |
| Annual Population Change Interval of ≥-1,5 | 9 | 9 | 18 |
| Annual Population Change Interval of <-1,5 | 14 | 0 | 14 |
| **Total** | **23** | **9** | **32** |
| **Güvem** | | | |
| Annual Population Change Interval of ≥-1,5 | 1 | 14 | 15 |
| Annual Population Change Interval of <-1,5 | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| **Total** | **3** | **15** | **18** |
| **Pazar** | | | |
| Annual Population Change Interval of ≥-1,5 | 3 | 6 | 9 |
| Annual Population Change Interval of <-1,5 | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| **Total** | **6** | **7** | **13** |
| **General Total** | **58** | **47** | **105** |

When we examine the tables it can be seen that high number of villages have been faced with the intensive depeasantisation process since 1950's and they become very less populated villages recently. When population size of the villages is examined, it can be seen that most of the villages have their population size less than 115. So they have been classified by two groups of one of which with population less than 116 and the other with population more than 115.

Generally all the sub-districts of Kızılcahamam reflect similar characteristics from the point of view of villages' population changes also. Population change values of the villages are very close to each others except a few number of villages, showing most of villages have continuously loosing population since 1950.

### 4.1.2.2 Grouping the Villages According to Their Amount of Unit Dry Land and Number Unit Local Race Milked Cow per Households of the Villages

As it is remembered it has been discussed that agricultural potential of the rural settlements is another factor which have effects on population tendencies. So the second criterion has been taken as agricultural potential of the villages. Therefore in this part villages are going to be differentiated according to their land and animal husbandry potential.

While making this analysis data belong to 1991 Agriculture Census has been adapted to our analysis.[7] Firstly amount of unit dry agricultural land per household for all villages have been calculated. While doing this calculation unit irrigated land amount has been transformed to unit dry land amount.[8] Then again using same statistical method, which was given in population analysis part, class intervals have been determined for grouping the villages.[9]

---

[7] This data have been achieved from Agriculture District Directorate of Kızılcahamam.

[8] 1 unit amount of irrigated land has been accepted as 3,1 unit amount dry land (This proportion has been taken from the land distribution proportion of 1973 Land and Agriculture Reform Law, Page 73,75)

[9] Intervals have been determined by the statistical way, which was also applied in population analysis of the villages in page 73. According to same formula class intervals have been calculated as follows.
K=1+3,3 log 100 K= 7,6
CI=W / K Where W is difference between maximum and minimum values of amount of unit dry land per household.
CI= (514,2-4,3) / 7,6 CI=66,9 ~70

Secondly, unit local race milked cow per household has been calculated in each village.[10] Then again using same statistical method class intervals have been determined to group the villages according to their livestock potential also.

After making all these calculations and analysis it has been prepared a table which contains village groups according to their unit dry agricultural land and unit local race milked cow per household.

The table 33 shows distribution of village clusters according to agricultural potential of villages. From table it can be seen that most of the villages have very limited agricultural land. (Amount of unit agricultural dry land per household is generally less than 70 dönüms) In addition to this it can also be claimed that animal husbandry activities is not so developed in the villages of all sub-districts.

---

CI=W / K Where W is difference between maximum and minimum values of number of unit local race milked cow per household land per household.
CI= (27.5-0) / 7,6 CI= 3.6 ~4 (In the table it was taken as 8 because of achieving meaningful groups)
(Some villages have been excluded from our calculations. Tekke-Çeltilçi and Gökbel-Central District (maximum and minimum values) and other 5 villages (either due to administrative changes or not achieving data) have been excluded from our analysis.

[10] While calculating number of livestock per household number of different race cows and sheep has been taken as unit local race milked cows depending on their milk capacities. 1 unit of half-bred cow has been taken as 2.5, culture cow 5 and sheep and goats 0.1 unit local race milked cow.

Table 33 Village Clusters According to Their Agricultural Potential

| **Sub-districts** | **Number of Villages** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Central** | **Amount of Unit Dry Land Per Household Interval of ≤70 (dönüms)** | **Amount of Unit Dry Land Per Household Interval of >70 (dönüms)** | **Total** |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of ≤ **8** | 23 | 1 | 24 |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of More Than **>8** | 14 | 4 | 18 |
| **Total** | **37** | **5** | **42** |
| **Çeltikçi** | | | |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of ≤ **8** | 15 | 4 | 19 |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of **>8** | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| **Total** | **20** | **12** | **32** |
| **Güvem** | | | |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of ≤ **8** | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of **>8** | 10 | 1 | 11 |
| **Total** | **17** | **1** | **18** |
| **Pazar** | | | |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of ≤ **8** | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Unit Local Race Milked Cow Per Household Interval of **>8** | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| **Total** | **7** | **5** | **12** |
| **General Total** | **58** | **47** | **105** |

All of the analysis made on population dynamics and agricultural potential of the villages in all sub-districts give the conclusion that most of the villages have similar characteristics. So there is no distinct differentiation in distribution of villages according to their population tendencies and agricultural potential. If there have been observed such a differentiation the frame of the study would be different.

Therefore it has been decided to concentrate the study on Çeltikçi Sub-district region, which have relatively more differentiated village clusters. Other reason for selecting the Çeltikçi region lies on the observation that although this region has relatively more agricultural land, it has been faced relatively more intensive depeasantisation process than other regions.

### 4.1.3 Selection of the Villages for Fieldwork in Çeltikçi Region

For selecting the villages to be surveyed again grouping method have been used. In order to achieve different groups of villages, their population dynamics and agricultural potentials have been considered. Since aim of the fieldwork analysis is to find out differentiating structures and problems of the rural settlements. So by using the figures of population size, annual population increase, amount of agricultural land and number of cattle per household, 4 criteria have been determined for differentiating villages:

Table 34. Criteria for grouping the villages and their values

| Criteria for Grouping the Villages | Value |
|---|---|
| population size criteria | 115 |
| for annual population growth criteria | –1.5 |
| for unit dry land per household criteria | 70 |
| and for unit local race milked cow per household criteria | 8 |

These values have been used for determining the relatively characteristics of the villages. Having values above or below the values of the 4 criteria has been considered as determinant factor for grouping the villages. Therefore villages have been grouped according to their data which are relatively differentiating in terms of these criteria. According to these criteria villages have been divided into 3

groups which have relatively advantageous characteristics in turn in order. Table 35 shows these relatively differentiating groups of villages.[11]

Table 35. Different Groups of Villages According to Their Population dynamics and Agricultural Potential

| | **Groups** | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **I** | **II** | **III** |
| **Number of Villages** | 14 | 12 | 7 |

To conclude it has been achieved 14 villages in the first group, 12 villages in the second group and lastly 7 villages in the third group. Then by % 25 sampling 3 villages from the first and the second group and 2 villages from the third group have been selected to be subject to my fieldwork study and surveys. These villages have been determined by random selection method. Consequently Bağlıca, Bağören and Çavuşlar from the first group, Bezcikuzören, Değirmenönü and Gümele from the second group and Örencik and Çalta villages from the third group of villages have been selected randomly to be surveyed.

[11] Group I is assumed as constituted by relatively poor villages whose number of advantageous criteria is less than 2
Group II is assumed as constituted by relatively rich villages whose number of advantageous criteria is 2
Group III is assumed as constituted by relatively rich villages whose number of advantageous criteria is more than 2

## 4.2 Fieldwork Study and Discussion on the Survey Results

In this part of the thesis it will be tried to draw a general picture of the existing structure of rural settlements in Çeltikçi Region. By using outcomes of surveys our concentration will be on farm level changes to find out new rural structures appeared under the effects of depeasantisation process. While analyzing this transformation process it will be underlined cause-effect relationships related to depeasantisation process to understand the basis of the new structures which have formed since 1980's.

In fact this chapter can be considered as complementary part of the chapter 3. So far the rural transformation processes in Turkey, starting from 1950's were discussed in chapter 3. However the missing point in those discussions is the answer of questions; **"What type of farming structures and what type of villages appeared by impacts of depeasantisation process after 1980's?"** As it can be recalled Akşit was claiming that although there may dominance of petty commodity production so many adaptations or transformations should have been realised in rural structure in recent years.(Akşit, 1999: 184) For this reason in this chapter it will be tried to perceive processes of structural transformation in rural settlements, which are generally located in marginal areas and constituted by small holdings.

In the previous part of the chapter method for selecting the villages to be surveyed was explained. As it was pointed out before, villages had been selected after classifying them in three groups which were constituted by comparing their agricultural potential and population size and growth figures. So discussions about different processes of transformation will be made in the frame of three village groups.

However, before discussing of survey results some important remarks should be presented. Firstly we should state that almost all the villages in the study area have very similar characteristics. They all have been constituted by small holdings, which produce for their own survival in general. In the chapter 3 situations of this type of villages has been discussed within the context of depeasantisation process. Farmers with small holdings had been main subject to depeasantisation process since the end of Second World War. If population growth figures of these villages are searched in detail, the reflection of the effects of socio-economic developments and state policies on population dynamics can clearly be seen.[12]

Another point that should be mentioned is related to the characteristics of village groups that were made before. The more it is get involved into fieldwork survey study the more distinctive observations have been derived. Although the pre-assumed characteristics of village groups fit the survey results in general, there are some differentiating characteristics of the villages in the same groups.

Nevertheless, it is very difficult to speak about characteristics of the villages in general. As it has been mentioned before Akşit stresses that after1980's villages have faced many different transformations changing with their socio-economic characteristics. According to him they adapted themselves into different structures. With the help of the fieldwork study we had a chance of examining this claim. According to the survey results we should state my agreement on Akşit's claim that emphasizes the existence of many differentiating structures in rural areas. It should also be stated that in spite of their differentiating characteristics, rural settlements have many common characteristics in general.

[12] See the tables of population changes

However, it will be evaluated the survey results in reference to the general frame of discussions of these three basic groups; those were specified according to their differentiating and overlapping characteristics. At the same time differentiating characteristics of the villages that have seemed to be in same groups, will be emphasized. Hence it is going to be discussed the survey results of 8 villages in three main groups to emphasize general differentiating characteristics of villages separately.

Moreover, it should be paid attention that some information may give way misunderstandings unless whole characteristics of the villages taken into consideration. So in my discussions it is going to be followed a way of interrelating whole information about characteristics of the villages.

### 4.2.1 Background Information about Çeltikçi Region and Selected Villages

#### 4.2.1.1 Çeltikçi Region

Çeltikçi sub-district is one of the Kızılcahamam sub-districts that show similar characteristics with the other ones in terms of its natural assets. It is located 25-km southwest of Kızılcahamam.[13] As a region Çeltikçi can be described with its damaged natural assets. It has damaged forestland and mostly third and fourth-class agricultural land, which most probably has been transformed from forestland. Also small amount of agricultural land ownership can be seen as another disadvantageous characteristics of the region, which has affected agricultural activities adversely.

[13] See the figures in following pages

In contrast, the most advantageous characteristic of the region stems from the stream Kirmir, which arises from Gerede and reaches to Sakarya River passing through the District. So although some agricultural products such as rice, which needs high amount of water could have been cultivated in the region. However rice, which has given its name to the District has started to be not cultivated due to problems that we will mention in following parts. At this point it should also be stated that amount of irrigated land in villages is so small and so it shouldn't be understood that region has very advantageous characteristics in terms of cultivation.

Mostly cultivated agricultural products of the region can be said as wheat, barley, potatoes, dry-onion, marrow and other vegetables.[14]

#### 4.2.1.2 Selected Villages

In this part some background information about the villages, which has been achieved from informal interviews with the aged villagers will be given Map information can be seen at the and of this section.

##### 4.2.1.2.1 Bağlıca

Village Bağlıca is one of the close villages of the Çeltikçi district at south. It is 5 km away from the Çeltikçi Sub-district Center, 30 km from Kızılcahamam and 80 km from Ankara.

[14] This information has been achieved from Mehmet Kuzdere; Director of Agriculture District Directorate

It can be claimed that village where there are 31 households live, has not sufficient social and physical infrastructure. They is no social establishment and school but have a mosque. All the houses in the villages have electricity and most of them have electric machines. (Except washing machine) Besides they provide drinking water from natural source.

Because, the Village is located at the nearby Kirmir Stream, irrigation facilities are relatively high. So agricultural product pattern is different from the other villages because vegetable products, which need high amount of water, can be cultivated. However due to having small amount of agricultural land, irrigated land size is not so much. Mostly cultivated agricultural products are onion, marrow, bean and other agricultural products.

According to aged villagers agricultural product pattern has changed through years. Because products like rice which requires intensive man power could not have been cultivated due to out migration of young age groups to urban areas. Also because they have small amount of agricultural land they haven't had a chance for using tractors efficiently. So according to them migration to urban areas has been taken place mostly due to insufficient amount of agricultural land and so low-income level. They state that also low level of agricultural prices especially after 1985's has contributed to migration tendencies. Therefore most of the villagers migrated from the village to have high non-agricultural incomes in cities.[15]

According to them other peasants stayed in the village have tried to increase their incomes by animal husbandry. However recently animal husbandry activities also don't provide sufficient income. Also because it is a labour

[15] In this respect it can be claimed that proximity of village to Çeltikçi and Kızılcahamam might have had effects on this depesantisation.

intensive work aged peasants (almost all farmers are aged) can not be able to overcome difficulties of animal husbandry activities.

#### 4.2.1.2.2 Bağören

Village Bağören shows similar characteristics with Bağlıca in terms of both its location and land characteristics. Bağören is 8-km northwest of Çeltikçi Sub-district Center. It is 25 km away from Kızılcahamam and 76 km from Ankara.

There are 25 households in the village, which has a school (closed), a mosque and a village room.[16] Physical infrastructure is relatively developed compared to Bağlıca. They have a water store for drinking water. All houses have electricity and most of them have electrical machines (even washing machines) ,

Villagers in the Bağören can irrigate some of their agricultural land by the help of water storage to which they brought water from stream. Although the settlement is not so close to the Kirmir Stream, their agricultural land is close to the stream. So again they have been cultivating vegetables and fruits by the help of irrigation. However it should be remembered that amount of cultivated land is not so much again. The mostly cultivated products are cherry, barley, apple and wheat.

In this village because of viniculture production type the migrants have been continuing to relate agricultural activities in their orchards as a hobby.

Similar to village Bağlıca, in Bağören agricultural product pattern had been changed through time. Especially rice fields is not under cultivation due to both lack of young population and irrigation problems. According to peasants, agricultural activities are not being continued in real terms. Only small numbers of farmers do continue agricultural activities as main income source, others just relate agricultural activities for their own needs.

As aged peasants state, especially after introduce of tractor migration process has gained acceleration. In fact, because they have small agricultural land potential a few numbers of tractors could have done all of the village works. So in the past only a few numbers of farmers could have had tractors. These powerful farmers had started to either rent or other families' land or lease their tractors to other landowners. However as peasants state because of small landownership a few farmers could have used tractors. Therefore it can be claimed that mechanisation has not so much contributed to migration tendency in this village.

Consequently, according to them recently, turning to village tendencies has started. Especially retired people have started to come back to their village to relate with agricultural activities as hobby.

#### 4.2.1.2.3 Çavuşlar

Çavuşlar village is 7 km east of Çeltikçi Sub-district Center. It is about 20 km away from Kızılcahamam and 80 km from Ankara.

There are 28 households living in the village. As a social establishment they have only a village room. There is also a school and mosque. Drinking water has been provided from natural source. All the houses have electricity but only half of them use electric machines such as television and refrigerator.

The village is nearby the Kirmir Stream however there is a topographic threshold between the valley and the settlement. Besides they have their land close to stream so that they also could have been cultivating vegetables. However recently there remained no farmer cultivating rice in the village.

According to villagers when agricultural product prices started to decrease in 1980's the migration has accelerated. Also due to heritage mechanism amount of land per household has been less and less and some peasants have been obligated to migrate to cities. As they state at the first phases of migration by the help of tractors generally powerful peasants have rented the land belonging to either migrants or peasants who could have not cultivated their land. However recently large amount of land has not been cultivated due to lack of young farmers.

On the other hand they state that migrants who have become rich in cities has started to build villa type houses in their land. So according to them rural life has been seen as alternative life styles to migrants who are willing to spent their spare time in their villages.

#### 4.2.1.2.4. Bezcikuzören

Bezcikuzören is 15 km southeast of Çeltikçi Sub-district Center. The distance between the village and Kızılcahamam District Center is 28 km. It is 70 km away from Ankara.

In the village there are only 6 households. There is only a mosque in the village. All the houses have electricity and electrical machines except washing machine. There is no drinking water source in the village. They provide it from forest area close to their village.

Village Bezcikuzören have different characteristics from the other villages in terms of natural characteristics. Both agricultural land and micro climatic characteristics differ from other rural settlements' in terms of productivity. It can be said that Village Bezcikuzören has relatively less productive agricultural land. Since it is located on a mountainous land and surrounded by degraded forest area. Besides village also has a grazing land, which is about 1000 dönüms.

Mostly cultivated agricultural crops are wheat, barley, chickpea and lentil. According to them there has been no change in the agricultural product pattern. As they state after some peasants got tractors, relatively higher amount of agricultural land started to be cultivated by the help of tractors. However because agricultural products prices has been so low, they started to be relate with animal husbandry activities.

So most peasants have specialized on animal husbandry activities since 1980's. However 2000-3000 goats have been sold due to restrictions of forest land. Then only a few numbers of peasants had started to breed cattle by using credits. However others had been obligated to migrate cities due to unproductive characteristics of agricultural land. Also as peasants state migrants have relatively less relations with their villages. They come to villages only once a year or not.

#### 4.2.1.2.5. Değirmenönü

Değirmenönü village is 6 km east of Çeltikçi District center. It is 24 km away from Kızılcahamam and about 76 km away from Ankara.

Village has two quarters namely Değirmenönü and Peyikler. There are 8 households in Değirmenönü and 7 houselds in Petikler quarter. In the village there

is a mosque and vilallge house. All the houses in the village have electricity and most of them have electric machines. (Except washing machine) They provide drinking water from natural source.

Değirmenönü village is located near Kirmir Stream. Mostly cultivated agricultural products are bean, barley, watermelon, melon and wheat. However it can be claimed that this village could not have used its relatively advantageous characteristics. Since although there is relatively more irrigated agricultural land than villages number of households remained in the village are relatively small.

According to headman[17] only little of land which can be irrigated is under cultivation. Since most peasants have preferred to live in urban areas for getting high incomes. He explains this preference with the non-productive characteristics of the agricultural land and also decreasing agricultural product prices. So only 15 number of households could have survived their lives in the village by using limited amount of irrigated land.

He also emphasizes that especially after 1980's there has been transformation from land cultivation activities to animal husbandry activities however recently due to lack of labour power only a few number of households are continuing these activities.

In addition as he states migrants do not come often to the village. They only come to village in holidays and so most of their land is vacant.

[17] We have found no one to make interview except the headman of the village.

#### 4.2.1.2.6. Gümele

Gümele is 3 km east of Çeltikçi District Center. It is 25 km away from Kızılcahamam and 70 km away from Ankara.

There are 27 households living in the village. Because the village is so close to Çeltikçi villagers generally make use of social establishments located in the Çeltikçi. They have electricity in all houses. Although there are refrigerators in each house only half of them have television. They have a school (closed), mosque and a village room. Drinking water has been provided from natural source.

In Gümele farmers also can irrigate some of their agricultural land. Mostly cultivated agricultural products are onion and marrow. However as in the other villages amount of irrigated land is very small in size. So they have applied other production types like chick production. Six households have been gaining income from this activity since a couple of year. However due to high amount of risk they are willing to leave from this production type.

Village is located nearby the road between Kızılcahamam and Çeltikçi. It can be claimed that village could have used its location advantages in terms of accessibility to urban centers. Since, as elderly peasants state some of them have had non-agricultural works in Kızılcahamam and Çeltikçi and could have continued to relate agriculture at the same time. According to them tractors have played important role on this transformation because by the help of tractors they started to have spare time for other works.

However, as they state, yet young peasants have started to prefer living in urban areas. So recently village has become a settlement in which elderly peasants continue to live.

#### 4.2.1.2.7. Çalta

Çalta is 15 km south east of Çeltikçi District Center. It is about 44 km away from Kızılcahamam and 40 km away from Kazan, which is another district of Ankara.

There are 28 households living in the village. All houses have electricity and almost all of them have electrical machines. They provide their drinking water from natural source.

Although village Çalta is far away from the Kirmir Stream they can irrigate their land from the irrigation pond, which have been made by General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works. Mostly produced agricultural products are barley, wheat, oats and some vegetables. According to villagers there has been no transformation in agricultural production pattern in time. However they emphasize the transformation from ploughs to tractors. As elderly peasants state after 1970's more than half of households had got tractors. They explain this with the high amount of agricultural land of the village. According to them they have sufficient amount of land for efficient use of tractors.

As they state almost all of the agricultural land is under cultivation. By the help of tractors all land belonging to peasants living in the village or s to migrants have been cultivated. Besides migrants have relations with their land; they generally rent their land to other peasants living in the village. Also some of them started to come back to their villages after retirement to cultivate their land.

So it can be said that in Çalta, agricultural activities could have been continued and so most of cultivable land is under cultivation.

However, due to income disparities still young age groups are willing to live in urban areas where they can get relatively higher incomes. So in Çalta also agricultural activities seem to be not realised in the future.

#### 4.2.1.2.8. Örencik

Örencik is 35 km south of the district Çeltikçi. It is 40 km away from Kazan and 70 km from Ankara.

There are 96 households living in the village. So it is one of the biggest village in terms of its population size. (See the table 38)

It can be stated that village Örencik is more developed in terms of social and physical infrastructure. It has a school, mosque and village room. There is also a grosser in the village. All the houses have electricity and most of them electrical machines like television, refrigerator and even washing machine. They get their drinking water from a natural source.

Village Örencik is very different from the other villages in terms of many characteristics. In this village although there is no irrigation possibilities agricultural activities could have been continued. In fact population size is one of the important indicators of this tendency. (See the table 38) Mostly cultivated agricultural products are wheat, barley and chickpea.

As peasants state there are about 40 tractors in the village. According to them since along time tractors have been used for cultivation in the village. So it can be claimed that in this village mechanisation has not contributed to migration tendencies. As they state by the help of tractors larger agricultural land could have been cultivated.

Another important characteristic of the village is its location. Since, as peasants state they can sell their products in both in Çeltikçi and Kazan districts. So we can say that different from other villages, farmers of Örencik are producing for the market as well as for their own needs.

In the village Örencik, due to agricultural land potential tractors could have used for continuity of agricultural activities. Besides some young peasants could have preferred to continue to live in their villages because of relatively high incomes.

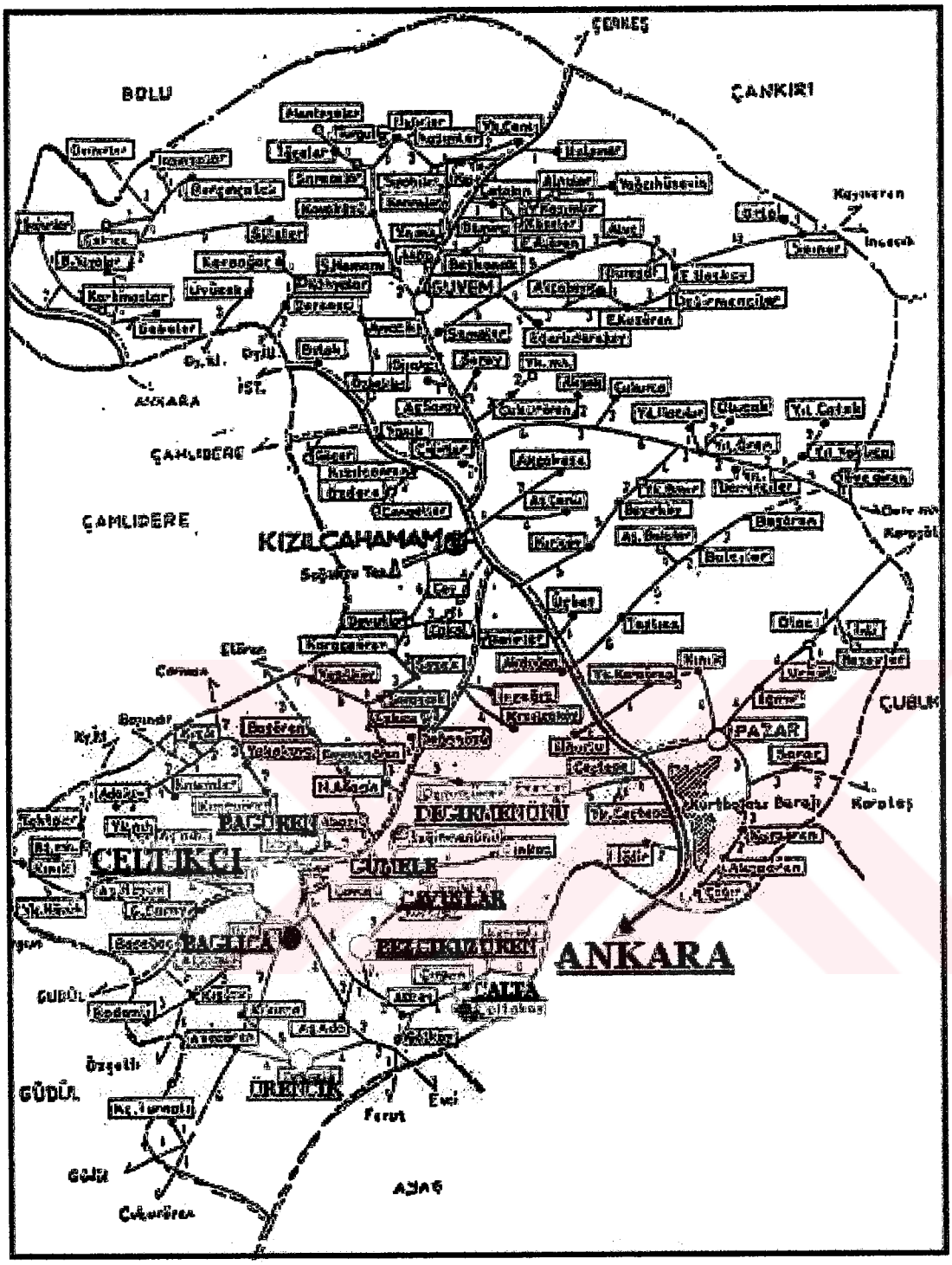


Figure 1: Selected Villages of Çeltikçi Sub-district in Kızılcahamam Region, 1997 (Source: Çeltikçi Municipality)

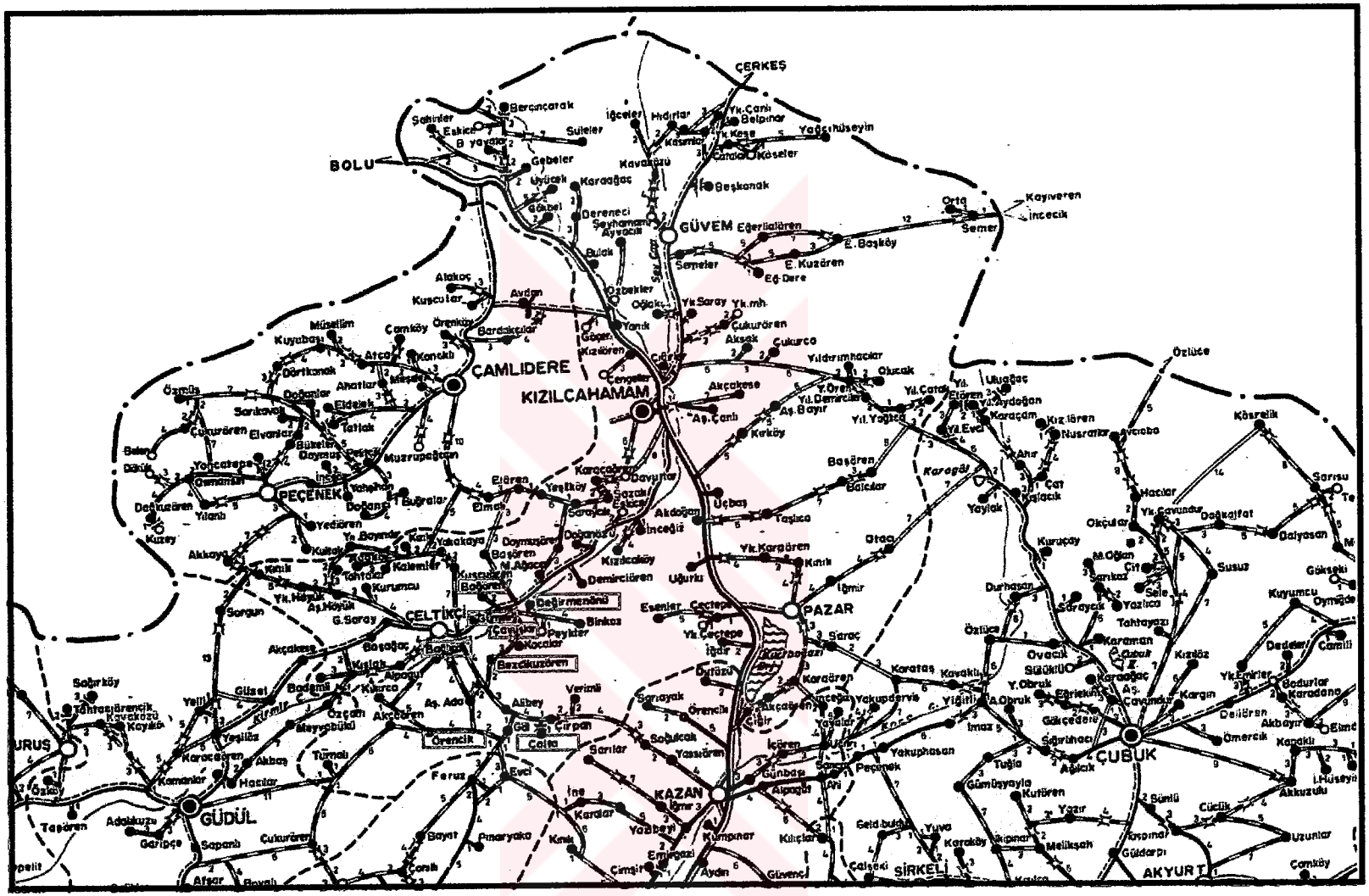


Figure 2: Transportation Network in Kızılcahamam Region, 1984 (Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Village Affairs)

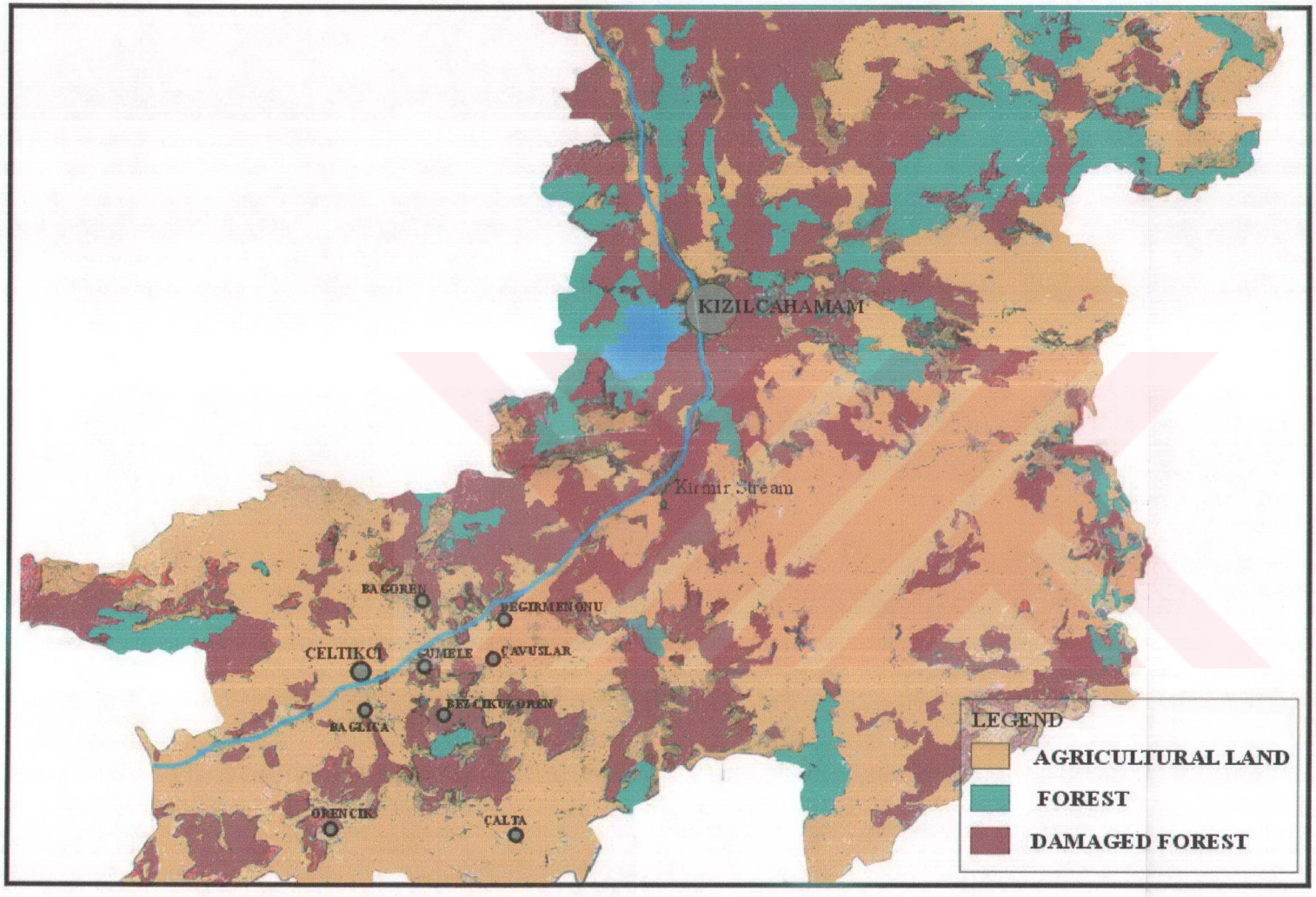


Figure 3: Forests and Agricultural Lands in Kızılcahamam Region, 1:200000, 1999 (Source: Ministry of Forestry)

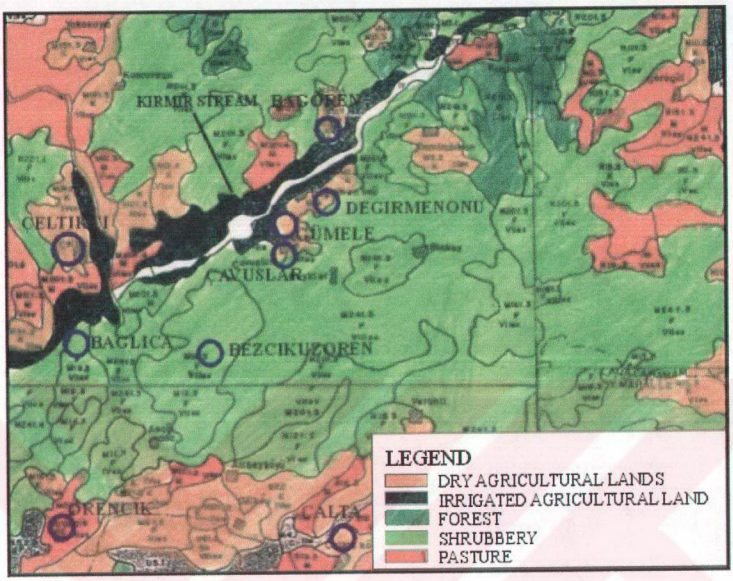


Figure 4: Landuse Map of Çeltikçi Region, 1:100000 (Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Village Affairs)

### 4.2.2 Survey Results

#### 4.2.2.1 First Group of Villages

First group of villages can be described as villages, those are poor, having relatively less amount of agricultural land and livestock per households in reference to pre-survey results. Relatively high migration rates are another important characteristic of those villages. Bağlıca, Çavuşlar, Bağören, villages are the selected villages for analysis of first group of village's characteristics in terms of rural structure. Village Gümele has also been included into the first group of villages due to its similar characteristics, which were derived from the fieldwork study.

If we want to search for population dynamics table 36 can give us necessary information. According to table, these villages have faced depeasantisation process relatively more intensive than other village groups. As we look the population growth rates of the villages it can be seen that depeasantisation process started in 1950's. In the second chapter, underlying causes the process of depeasantisation has been already discussed in the frame of socio-economic developments, state policies and so on. If it is recalled, mechanisation was one of the most important factors contributing depeasantisation process in 1950's. However, it should also be stated that agricultural land asset of the first group of villages is not suitable for efficient tractor use. Since efficient use of tractors can only be achieved by cultivation of large agricultural land which is very scarce in the first group of villages.

In all of the villages of the first group, peasants stated that level of tractor usage had not been so much due to limited amount of agricultural land. According to them only small numbers of tractors could had been used. Average number of tractor is 6 per village in the first group now. Also average percentage of

households having tractors in the total number of tractors for the first group of villages is 23 % only. Besides average cultivated land size per tractor is an average also less than the other groups with 98 dönüms. As it has been mentioned in this group of villages average size of cultivable land is rather less in amount. (See the tables 39 and 41)

Table 36 Population Growths of First Group of Villages

| | Bağlıca | | | Bağören | | Çavuşlar | | Gümele | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Years | Pop. | Time Period | Annual Population Change | Pop. | Annual Pop. Change | Pop. | Annual Pop. Change | Pop. | Annual Pop. Change |
| 1950 | 450 | 1950-55 | -1.8 | 333 | -0,8 | 277 | -2,5 | 349 | 2,2 |
| 1955 | 410 | 1955-60 | -2.2 | 320 | -0,5 | 242 | 0,7 | 388 | -0,2 |
| 1960 | 364 | 1960-65 | 0.1 | 312 | -1,3 | 251 | -4,7 | 385 | -1,4 |
| 1965 | 365 | 1965-70 | -2.8 | 292 | 0,8 | 192 | -3,6 | 359 | -3,4 |
| 1970 | 314 | 1970-75 | -5.6 | 303 | -5,1 | 157 | -6,1 | 298 | -0,9 |
| 1975 | 226 | 1975-80 | 12.6 | 226 | -1,0 | 109 | 14,9 | 284 | -0,6 |
| 1980 | 368 | 1980-85 | -5.5 | 215 | -4,9 | 190 | -9,1 | 276 | -4,6 |
| 1985 | 267 | 1985-90 | -4.3 | 162 | -6,5 | 104 | -1,7 | 213 | -5,1 |
| 1990 | 210 | 1990-97 | -6.5 | 109 | -0,3 | 95 | -2,6 | 159 | -1,6 |
| 1997 | 114 | 1950-97 | -1.6 | 107 | -1,4 | 78 | -1,5 | 141 | -1,3 |

Source: Adapted from Data of Population Censuses of Turkey

From the figures of table 36, it can also be seen that level of depeasantisation has not been so high in 1950's. This can be depended on mechanisms preventing migration.[18] When we analyse the table we can see that migration rates have reached their maximum levels in the period of 1980-1985. In this period level of annual population decrease was an average of 6.5 % for the first group of villages. So it can be claimed that acceleration of depeasantisation process has been realised after 1980's. This might be directly related to the negative socio-economic developments and changing state policies of the period

[18] See the discussions in the chapter 2

from the point of view of rural population utilities. Consequently, from 1950 to 1997, average annual population decrease has been %1.5.

Thus, it can be claimed that peasants who could have continued to live in rural areas in spite of mechanisation, started to be not able to continue to live in rural areas after 1980's. Since economic conditions of the farmers started to worsen after 1980's. They generally migrated to cities or stayed in rural areas passing through different processes to overcome these difficulties.[19] In the table 36 increasing tendencies of migration can be seen.

**Farming Structure**

As it has been already mentioned, these villages have been put into a group, which is constituted by relatively poor villages according to the amount of cultivable land and the number of cattle per household. In fact agricultural production potential of the rural settlements can be regarded as one of the most important factors affecting population dynamics and by the way causing depeasantisation process. Since these villages have been constituted by small holdings, their survival capabilities couldn't overcome economic difficulties after protective populist policies disappear. They couldn't continue to live in rural areas with low agricultural incomes after 1980's. Therefore both disappearance of populist policies and insufficiency of agricultural potential of the villages have led to the process of depeasantisation. Many landless and small holding farmers moved to other rural areas or cities.

From the table 43 it can be seen that rate of households having 1-50 dönüms land in total households varies between 63% to 100%. Villages in first

[19] See Tekeli study mentioned in Chapter 2

group having an average of %86 of all holdings less than 1-50 dönüms are reflecting typical characteristics of which previously assumed according to pre-survey results. Average size of landownership per households in these villages is about 27 dönüms, which is the minimum amount in all groups. So villages in first group are one of the poorest villages in sense of agricultural land potential. Despite insufficiency in agricultural production potentials, there is average of 28 households still living in these villages.

However as peasants in all of villages state that "the youngest farmers in the villages are more than 55-60 years old." Therefore it can be said that almost all farmers in those villages do agricultural activities for only their willing to continue rural activities.[20] In other words continuity of peasants' lives in rural areas is not related with agricultural land potential and so agricultural income potential. According to them they have a strong preference for holding land to provide continuity of their origin life. So some older peasants have preferred to continue living in their villages although there have been a general tendency of migration from rural areas especially after 1980's.

The table 44 supports this situation. From the table it can be seen that distribution of farm sizes shows similar characteristics with distribution of landownership meaning lack of leasing-renting mechanisms. According to table 43, average farm size in this group of villages is about 32 dönüms while the average landownership is 27 dönüms. Also from the table it can be seen that more than average of 80 % of the farmland is belonging to the farmers themselves.

Also the tables 47 and 48 show the lack of renting and leasing mechanisms in the villages. Only an average rate of 14-15 % of total households has been renting land. From these tables it can also be seen that only % 20 of

[20] This information has been given by the villagers in all villages of the first group

cultivated land has been achieved from by the mechanism of renting. So it can be concluded that there is only small number of farmers willing to or capable of enlarging their land to cultivate.

As it has been stated before, villagers in this group do agricultural activities as non-lucrative occupation. In other words they relate agriculture for only getting their consumption needs and to some extent additional income. So it is not surprising that peasants haven't been applied to leasing-renting mechanisms for increasing their cultivation land size. It can be said that although there is tendency of peasants for continuing to relate agriculture they haven't been capable of doing agricultural activities.

From the table 46 we can see that rate of households living in the village and not cultivating their land in all households is an average of 32%. From this figure it can be claimed that because of the fact that farmers are in old ages, they can't insist on continuing to relate with farming activities. However when it is asked to them they say, "as much as they are in capable of doing agriculture they will continue to those activities." This tendency can be seen as another factor, which has impacts on the process of depeasantisation. Because faithfulness of older peasants on rural life meaning conservation of their origin lives has been preventing migration tendencies from villages.

The table 40 gives hints about similar tendencies related to animal husbandry from the point of view of peasants. Since according to the table average percentage of not feeding productive animal is 32 % which is very high. This figure is very important because it means that only average of the less than 70 % of the total households in the first group do relate with farming. Because animal husbandry is a farming activity that can be made by the peasants whose main income source is agricultural activities. Average number of cattle per household is only 3 in the first group of villages. And in the first group of villages,

only the village feeding sheep is the village Bağören. From this derivation it can again be concluded that farmers of the first group of villages do feed animals for their own consumption needs. As it has already been mentioned lack of young population is one of the important factor preventing to feed large number of animals. Since animal husbandry necessitates large amount of labour power.

From all the observations above, it can be derived that, farmers in these villages do not relate with agriculture as their main income source. The table 51 can support this claim by giving different income sources of peasants. When we analyse this table we can see that more than 60 % of all peasants have social retirement insurance incomes showing relatively older characteristics of their population. As it has been derived from the fieldwork survey almost all of social security incomes are retirement insurance or elderly insurance income, which is given people more than 65 years old.

Therefore agricultural income is not main source of income in these villages. Peasants' survivals are not dependent on agriculture. They generally have social security incomes. Only an average of % 26 of all households living in the village does gain money from only agricultural sector as main income source. (See the table 51)

When we analyse the utilization of agricultural land belonging to migrants we can say that those lands are also being used inefficiently. From the table 52 it can be seen that average of % 32 of migrant households do not have relations with their land. % 28 of total agricultural land belonging to migrants have not been leased or cultivated by its owners. Indeed even some of land belonging to peasants living in the village is not being used. So it is not amazing that about 30 % of agricultural land belonging to migrants is derelict

From the table 50 we can see that an average of 38 % of total agricultural land of the villages is not under cultivation. Peasants living in the village and also some the migrants, who do agriculture for additional incomes, are able to cultivate only 62 % of total cultivable land. So again it can be claimed that peasants who didn't migrate and stayed in their villages do relate agriculture for their survival only. Since, if they have done agricultural production for the market they would be willing to enlarge their land by using vacant land of the villages.

In this respect it should be stated that, they are in capable of using all agricultural potential of their villages because they have not necessary labour power to cultivate more land which are especially belonging to migrants. Therefore we can say that although there is vacant land suitable for cultivation, peasants can't use this all agricultural potential owing to lack of labour power. There are no young farmers who can do agricultural activities as their main occupation in these villages.

Under the light of these discussions another aspect of depeasantisation-continuity of agricultural activities relations should be mentioned. As it has already discussed many writers; Tekeli, Keyder Akşit have claimed that migration to cities has provided to continuity of petty commodity production in rural areas. Remaining part of the peasants who preferred to continue their survivals in rural areas could have chance to enlarge their small amount of cultivated land sizes. They either rented lands belonging to migrants or used those lands without any payment.

However, it might be claimed that especially after 1980's this statement might not be valid. Since as it has been derived from the villages subject to our surveys, as peasants become older they can not have power to cultivate more land for getting more income. As we can see from the table that, only average of % 15

of peasants living in village do rent land. And this rented land does constitute only an average of 22 % of total cultivated land.

Most of the tables that are at the end of this part do give similar consequences about the characteristics of the first group of villages. According to the table 39 although average size of landownership per households for this group of villages is 27 dönüms and average amount of cultivated land size is just 24 dönüms. So the peasants living in the village can't use even their whole land potential since they don't posses necessary labour power. Percentage of cultivated land size to farm size is an average of 77 %. Similarly, when the tables 49 and 50 is examined it can be seen that high proportion of lands belonging to migrants is derelict.

Consequently, for the first group of villages it can be claimed that agricultural potential is not being used efficiently. In fact as it has been mentioned before generally agricultural land of these villages are 3rd class agricultural lands. As it can be recalled from the chapter 3, villages which are generally in marginal areas had been subject to migration in the past or ready to be faced with migration in the very near future. First group villages are typical examples of this type of villages, which have been discussed, in the third chapter. So having small amount of agricultural land even in marginal areas, it has been very difficult to continue to survive depending on agricultural income only. Most of the young peasants have migrated to the city of Ankara or other cities. Meanwhile some of the peasants have continued to live in this group of villages by using lands of migrants or having other incomes.

However, recently the remained part of the peasants has been older and older they have continued to do agriculture as long as they can. Since, only very small number of young population has preferred to stay in the villages especially since the 1980's. As it can be remembered economic developments have turned to

become disadvantageous to the rural sector after 1980's. Besides because of the decreasing level of agricultural product prices, most migrants have also started to not cultivate their land.

Lastly it can be said that although migration process in the past has provided continuity of these types of villages until 1980's, yet peasants of these villages can not continue to survive in rural areas. They can't overcome increasing economic difficulties due to lack of sufficient agricultural land and young labour power.

#### 4.2.2.2 Second Group of Villages

Second group of villages is also poor but have relatively greater amount of land and livestock per household than the first group of villages with respect to pre-survey analysis. In fact there are not so important differences between those two groups of villages when we consider the pre-survey results. However after getting fieldwork survey results some different characteristics appeared which did not allow us to generalize two village groups. Village Bezcikuzören and Village Değirmenönü are in the second group of villages in our analysis.[21]

One of the most important factors for analysing these villages by classifying them another distinct group is related to their relatively different population tendencies. When it is looked the table 37, it can be seen that even though these villages has also faced the process of depeasantisation, level of depopulation is not as much as in the first group of villages. From 1950 to 1997 annual decrease rate of population is an average of % 1.2, which is less than the first group of villages'. In fact the reason for analysing this type of villages in another group is to be able to put forward possible differentiating transformation

or adaptation ways of these villages through changing socio-economic developments and state policies after 1980's.

As it has been mentioned before two group villages have many similar characteristics. In spite of small differences it can be claimed that overall population dynamics are also similar in two groups of villages. Like the first group villages second group villages also have faced depeasantisation process mostly after 1980's. In 1950's migration rates were not so high despite introduce of mechanisation.

As peasants of this group of villages stated that there had been no intensive use of tractors since earlier times like the previous group of villages. In fact this low level of mechanisation should be related to the amount of cultivable land. Now the average numbers of tractors is 5 per villages in the second group. Average percentage of households having tractors in total number of households is about 36 %, which is the highest value in the all group of villages. Also in the second group of villages average amount of cultivable land per tractors is greater than the other group of villages. So it can be stated that, different from the first group of villages, there is relatively higher amount of cultivable land in the second group of villages. (See the table 41)

[21] Village Gümele has been included into first group of villages due to its similar characteristics

Table 37.Population Growths of Second Group of Villages

| | Bezcikuzören | | | Değirmenönü | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Years** | **Population** | **Time Period** | **Annual Population change** | **Population** | **Time Period** | **Annual Population Change** |
| 1950 | 115 | 1950-55 | 4,0 | 187 | 1950-55 | 1,2 |
| 1955 | 138 | 1955-60 | -3,8 | 198 | 1955-60 | 1,1 |
| 1960 | 112 | 1960-65 | 3,4 | 209 | 1960-65 | 0,5 |
| 1965 | 131 | 1965-70 | -8,5 | 214 | 1965-70 | -4,6 |
| 1970 | 75 | 1970-75 | -1,3 | 165 | 1970-75 | -1,2 |
| 1975 | 70 | 1975-80 | 2,3 | 155 | 1975-80 | 11,6 |
| 1980 | 78 | 1980-85 | -6,7 | 245 | 1980-85 | -9,7 |
| 1985 | 52 | 1985-90 | -3,8 | 126 | 1985-90 | -2,7 |
| 1990 | 42 | 1990-97 | 0,3 | 109 | 1990-97 | -0,9 |
| 1997 | 43 | 1950-97 | -1,3 | 102 | 1950-97 | -1,0 |

Source: Adapted from Data of Population Censuses of Turkey

At this point it should again be reminded that these villages have possessed similar tendencies in specific periods in which different socio-economic developments and state policies have been lived. These similar tendencies can be seen from the table 37. However again some differences, which it has been derived from fieldwork study should be mentioned in order to be able to perceive different transformations of similar villages through time. [22]

**Farming Structure:**

It can be said that fieldwork survey results have supported the pre assumptions about the second group of villages. These villages have been

[22] See for detailed discussions in chapter 3

considered as relatively rich villages when they are compared to first group of villages in terms of agricultural potentials.

When the table 43 analysed it can be seen that average of 45 % of total numbers of landowners do have 1-50 dönüms land. Although this figure shows dominance of small holdings in the villages like first group of villages, some other characteristics should be taken into consideration for understanding the distinguishing characteristics of these groups. For instance average size of landownership in this group is about 86 dönüms which is larger than the other villages. However it should be paid attention that although average landownership seems to be relatively higher (average owned land size in the Bezcikuzören is 200 dönüms perhousehold) the number of households living in those villages are very small. (See table 43)

Thus, because there remained only very small part of population, average amount of land and other agricultural assets may seem to be in high amounts per households stayed in the villages. In fact Bezcikuzören and Değirmenönü villages can be seen as villages of silence. Average number of households living in two villages is only about 10. In these villages, it has been in difficulty even for finding a couple of households for the survey questionnaires.

If we look this situation from the point of view of depeasantisation it can be claimed that this process had already been lived so intensively that there remained a few numbers of households in these villages. In table 37 consequences of depeasantisation on population structure can be seen.

Another interesting characteristics of the villages can be mentioned under these statements. If we analyse the table 37 we can see that population of these villages were relatively less than the other group of villages in 1950's. Moreover, especially since 1980's, there has been an intensive depeasantisation process in

these villages. When we look at the table 37, we can see that in 1980's one of the highest migration rates were belonging to second group of villages. However after 1990's, migration rates have been lower than first group of villages due to their remaining small population size. In other words these villages which had low population in 1950's, have been faced an intensive migration process in 1980's. Thus there remained no population to migrate cities when it is come to the 1990's. Therefore it can be claimed that process of depeasantisation had already been realised in these villages and only couple of households (average of 10 in the second group of villages) have continued to live in their villages.

Nevertheless, it can be said that tendency of continuing to relate with agricultural activities and their rural lives has not been as much as in the first group of villages. Since when the agricultural land potential is considered it can be seen that these villages have relatively higher amount of agricultural land potential. In this respect it can be claimed that, besides the economical characteristics, social and cultural characteristics of the villages like faithfulness might have had impacts on this tendency. In addition to economic developments, socio-cultural aspects of the process of depeasantisation should also be considered while discussing population dynamics.

These characteristics of villages can be seen from the point of view of two aspects. First it can be thought that depopulated characteristics of those villages might provide continuity of remained farmers in their villages. (See the chapter 3 for related discussions) As it has been already mentioned, almost all the villages in the study area have small, marginal land so depopulation of these villages can be regarded as a tool for continuity of rural activities in such a difficult economic environment. Because peasants can use land belonging to migrants. From other aspect it can be thought that high depopulation might cause collapse of rural activities and rural life. Since if there remains no social relations (like collective works) and other socio-cultural aspects of rural life, agricultural

activities seems to be not carried. Thus due to collapse of rural life and social relations it can be claimed that after some years there might be even no farmer in these villages.

If we analyse land potential of the villages which can be regarded as one of the main factors affecting population tendencies, we again observe similar characteristics with the first group of villages in terms of land utilization. When the table 39 is analysed it can be seen that, even though average farm size is 119 dönüms, average amount of cultivated land size is 85 dönüms in the second group of villages. So only an average of 71 % of the farm size is under cultivation.

From these figures it can be understood that although there is potential for enlarging their cultivation land farmers are again in capable of cultivating larger land. In fact this group of villages with 119 dönüms of average size of landownership per household, do have more agricultural potential than the other group of villages. However they can not use this potential. This fact again can be depended on the population structure of those villages. Similar to the first group of villages, farmers of these villages have all stated that they couldn't have preserved their population structure in which young age groups were existing. As they state "more than half of the farmers are more than 50 years old." However it should be stated that although small in number, there is some relatively younger farmers in the second group of villages different from the first group of villages.

At this point another important factor of the second group of villages should be considered again. As it has been stated, in addition to lack of enough number of young farmers, these villages also don't have enough population for utilizing all of the agricultural land. An average number of households for the second group of villages is only 10. Therefore again because of population structure of the villages some of the agricultural land is derelict although exist relatively more cultivable land than the first group of villages.

Tables 47 and 48 also show inefficient use of agricultural land potential. As it can be understood from the tables, mechanism of leasing and renting has not been carried out in these villages for years. In Bezcikuzören and Değirmenönü villages there is no farmer who rents land. However it should also be stated that in the second group of villages farmers generally cultivate most of their land. According to tables 45 and 46 only average rate of 8 % in all households don't cultivate their land in this group of villages. So it can be claimed that only a few numbers of farmers who remained in the villages have been cultivating most of their land. However they can not use uncultivated land belonging to migrants.

Obviously table 51 also verifies this observation. Because according to the table average rate of farmers who get income only from agricultural sector is % 48 which is more than the first group's. So rate of farmers who do not depend on social security incomes and get income only from agriculture is greater than the rate of those in the first group of villages. (See the table 51)

Thus, it can be claimed that at least half of the farmers who stayed in second group of villages have been trying to continue agricultural activities as main income source different from farmers of the first group of villages. They do are not dependent on social security incomes. These characteristics can be regarded one of the most important distinguishing characteristics between the first and the second village groups.

The table 40 gives information parallel to the statements mentioned in the previous paragraph. When the table is examined it is seen that second group of villages have the highest numbers of cattle per household. As it has been already mentioned the small number of relatively younger farmers try to continue to agriculture and animal husbandry in these villages. According to the table average number of cattle per household in this group of villages is about 9-10. More importantly average percentage of farmers who are not feeding productive

animals is only 8 %. Therefore it can be claimed that although there is very small number of population, relatively younger farmers of this group are trying to make animal husbandry for gaining money. As it has been stated this aspect of this group can be regarded as one of the most important and different aspect from the first group of villages.

However, it should be stated that there is still vacant, derelict agricultural land in these villages. Due to lack of sufficient number of households agricultural land belonging to migrants has not been under cultivation. When we looked at the table 50 it can be seen that average rate of 52 % of total agricultural land which is generally belonging to migrants is vacant. So while land belonging to farmers is mostly under cultivation, land belonging to migrants is not being used due to lack of necessary labour power. This tendency can also be depended on the marginal characteristics of the region in terms of agricultural land.

Therefore, it is possible to mention about differentiating characteristics of these villages. Firstly this group of villages can be looked as abandoned villages. Peasants migrated from these villages have no relations with their land or their other assets. Average rate of migrants who have no relations with their land is 100 % in the second group of villages. (See the table 52) This situation can again be related to the marginal characteristics of the land of villages. Moreover some other socio-cultural (such as faithfulness) characteristics should be considered as other factors leading to this situation.

The villages in the second group of our analysis can be described as villages that were abandoned by peasants. Only a few numbers of households stayed in these villages and have been doing agricultural activities by using relatively high amount of their cultivable land, which is more than the first group of villages'. Because of their population characteristics, which do not have sufficient number of farmers especially in young age groups, they can not

cultivate land belonging to migrants who do not have relations with their land. Amazingly in these villages both amount of cultivated and uncultivated land size per households is greater than first group of villages.

Consequently, some distinguishing characteristics of the second group of villages from pre-survey assumptions have been derived after making field study. Depeasantisation process had affected those villages very deeply that only a few numbers of households could remain in these villages. Although small numbers of peasants could have been using the advantage of achieving more land until now, yet they do not have labour power to make difficult agricultural works. They even started to not cultivate their own land. Therefore it can be claimed that depeasantisation which probably has provided peasants to continue to live in rural areas, has started to cause disturbance of population structure so deeply that agricultural activities would probably collapse in very near future.

#### 4.2.2.3 Third Group of Villages

As it is remembered that it has been many times mentioned about characteristics of rural structure of the study area where villages is constituted by small holdings. Third group of villages can be seen as the one, which differs from the point of views of both agricultural potential and depending on this, migration tendencies. So third group has been assumed as a group, which contains relatively richer villages than other group of villages with reference to pre-survey results. In fact it can not be claimed that these villages are being constituted by large holdings. However this group of villages have many characteristics different from others. Village Örencik and Çalta have been selected to analyse the characteristics of this group.

Villages in the third group of the analysis have relatively less migration tendencies through different periods in which different socio-economic developments and state policies took place. If we analyse the table 38 we can see that different from other groups, villages of this group haven't been faced the process of depeasantisation starting from 1950's. This is very interesting characteristic of third group of villages. Since as it is known by the effects of mechanisation, which has caused decreasing, labour requirements in rural areas, most of the villages in Turkey have loosed their surplus population in 1950's. However when the table 38 is examined, it can be seen that third group of villages of the analysis haven't been affected so much from these developments.

According to peasants in this group of villages, tractors have entered into villages especially after 1960's. As they state there has been widespread usage of tractors in both of villages namely Örencik and Çalta. Now number of tractors is 40 in Örencik and 17 in Çalta. In these villages average of more then 50 % of the all households do have tractors now. This rate is much more than the other groups of villages. Also in spite of the fact that these villages have relatively greater amount of agricultural land, average size of cultivable land per tractor is relatively less in this group of villages. From all these figures it can be claimed that in these villages tractors have been used intensively.

In this respect there may appear a question that **"why mechanisation has not brought about decreasing necessity of labour which would cause depeasantisation in these villages?"** Since as it has been stated villages in the third group have relatively high amount of population. This question can be answered with a study of Gürkan and Kasnakoğlu (1986). Their regression analysis, which is on the basis of 1985 inputs, has pointed out that there was low level of migration from the provinces, which have achieved a high rate of mechanisation.

From this study it can be claimed that mechanisation might provide productivity increase and so income increase. So it can be claimed that in this type of villages peasants have benefited from used tractors for continuity of their lives in rural areas. Because of having relatively high amount of cultivable land they could use tractors efficiently to be able to increase their incomes and overcome income disparities.

Table 38. Population Growths of Second Group of Villages

| | Çalta | | | Örencik | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Years** | **Population** | **Time Period** | **Annual Population change** | **Population** | **Time Period** | **Annual Population change** |
| 1950 | 208 | 1950-55 | 0,9 | 461 | 1950-55 | 2,7 |
| 1955 | 217 | 1955-60 | 1,1 | 523 | 1955-60 | 2,6 |
| 1960 | 229 | 1960-65 | -1,1 | 592 | 1960-65 | 0,1 |
| 1965 | 216 | 1965-70 | -1,4 | 594 | 1965-70 | 0,5 |
| 1970 | 201 | 1970-75 | 2,9 | 610 | 1970-75 | -4,8 |
| 1975 | 230 | 1975-80 | 1,2 | 463 | 1975-80 | 4,7 |
| 1980 | 244 | 1980-85 | -1,6 | 571 | 1980-85 | -2,8 |
| 1985 | 224 | 1985-90 | -3,2 | 492 | 1985-90 | -6,0 |
| 1990 | 188 | 1990-97 | -2,6 | 344 | 1990-97 | -0,1 |
| 1997 | 154 | 1950-97 | -0,6 | 341 | 1950-97 | -0,6 |

Source: T. C. DİE, Population Censuses of Turkey

In addition, level of migration has not been very high even after 1980's in which populist protective policies started to disappear. Average rate of annual population decrease for the period of 1980-1985 is 2.2, which is less than the other group of villages. When we analyse the period of 1950-1997 rate of migration with an average of 0.6 % is still rather less than the other groups of villages' migration rates. So this group of villages are different from other groups,

in terms of adapting themselves into different economic conditions under the influences of different state policies. They could preserve themselves among increasing income deficiencies. In the following part it will be evaluated the fieldwork survey results of this group underlying different characteristics processes that cause different tendencies from the point of views of both agricultural activity continuity and population structure.

**Farming Structure**

As it can be recalled, the third group of villages have been selected by assuming that they are relatively rich villages as opposed to other village groups in terms of amount of cultivable land and number of livestock per households with reference to pre-survey results. In fact when the table 44 is examined it can be seen that there is not strict difference in sense of distribution of farm sizes. More than 60% of all farms is in the group of 1-50 dönüms land holdings according to fieldwork survey results. Average amount of landownership size is about 44 dönüms, which is close to the amounts of the villages in other groups. However this data may cause misunderstandings unless other characteristics of villages are taken into consideration. Since, even though average amount of landownership figures are close to the each other in all groups, the third group of villages differ from others.

According to the table 39 amount of cultivated land per household is an average of 66 dönüms. This means that about 20 dönüms of land (more than 34 % of average total cultivated land size) is being cultivated through the mechanism of renting. This is a very important characteristic of villages in this group and that can be thought as continuity of rural life, by the help of rural mechanisms. It can be claimed that if peasants are applying such mechanisms it means that they have labour power for cultivating larger land to continue living in rural areas.

The table 47 also gives additional information about farming mechanisms of these villages. According to this table, average of 32 % of all households in this group of villages does rent land from migrants. There is no farmer leasing land means all of peasants continue to carry out agricultural activities by themselves in these villages. (See the table 48) Also it can be seen from the table that, peasants of the villages, do rent almost average of 43 %of their total cultivated land. In this respect it can be claimed that in the third group of villages farmers living in the villages have used mechanisms of renting which can be accepted as an adaptation way for difficult economic environment. In the third chapter these mechanisms had been discussed in the frame of transformation of farms in changing economic environments.[23] To remind, some small and also large holding farmers had tried to enlarge their land to get efficiency of tractor usage to be able to continue their survival in rural areas. As it has been mentioned before, in the third group of villages there has been widespread tractor use since 1960's. So it can be claimed that third group of villages have been applying two depended mechanism namely mechanisation and land acquiring by renting land to get sufficient income.

If we analyse the impacts of depeasantisation on farm structure we again get differentiating characteristics of this group of villages. It has been already mentioned that these villages haven't faced intensive depeasantisation process. The most important factor preventing this population dissolution can be thought as quantity and quality of agricultural land. Besides, as it has been discussed in the third chapter, market opportunities could also have contributed the continuity of agricultural activities. Although there is no information about the amount of land per household in the past it can be claimed that these amounts should have been more than the other villages had in the past. So due to larger agricultural land ownership, agricultural activities could have been continued. Peasants could preserve themselves from increasing income deficiencies by using land potential

[23] See Tekeli, 1982 for detailed information

of the their villages. They could apply some mechanisms like renting, sharecropping to cultivate more land. So it can be claimed that cultivable land potential of these villages has provided the continuity of agricultural activities. Although some population has migrated from villages to the cities, the rate of population lost in this type of villages is considerably less when it is compared to other villages. Different from the other village groups, they could continue agricultural activities by conserving their population in the Village. Of course some of the features of these villages have played important roles on this differentiation.

In addition to agricultural land characteristics, market accessibility is another factor affecting paths of rural transformation. (Keyder 1983) Two of the villages in third group are at the advantageous locations that they can serve for both Çeltikçi and Kazan local markets. By using their location advantages they can easily bring their products to Kazan, Çeltikçi and Ankara market. (See the figures)

So, it can be said that although there still exist small farms in these villages, they can be seen as semi capitalized villages. (See for related discussions to the chapter 3) Since as peasants stated they have been selling most of their products in market in this group of villages. So different from the other group of villages, it can be said that agricultural production activities have been carried out for not only serving their survivals but also for markets, in the third group of villages. Thus these villages can preserve their rural life styles by using relatively larger agricultural land potential and market opportunities. When the table 46 is analysed it can be seen that only an average of 7 % of all households do not cultivate their land which is constituted about 6 % of total cultivated land belonging to peasants living in the village. This fact also shows efficient use of agricultural land potential. When the total amount of the cultivable land of villages is searched we can also say that the third group of villages have larger

amount of total cultivated land. Çalta has 2704 dönüms and Örencik has 4763 dönüms land, which is the largest amount of cultivable land in all villages. Moreover according to the table 50 most of these relatively larger agricultural land has been used. When the table is analysed, it can be seen that average of 92 % of all cultivable land of the villages has been under cultivation.

Also from the table 52 it can be seen that 98% of peasants migrated to cities has been leasing their land. There is no one who has no relationship with his land in the third group of villages. So it can be concluded that in the third group of villages almost whole agricultural land either belonging to peasants living in these villages or belonging to migrants is under cultivation.

This efficient use of cultivable land can also be depended on population structures of villages in which generation in the working age groups still exists. So these relatively young farmers can use almost all of the cultivable land of those villages. According to table 51 the rate of peasants who do not receive additional incomes out of agriculture reaches more than 74 % of total households living in the villages. According to this information agricultural activities have been realised in actual terms in the third group of villages. In other words agriculture is main sector of income and peasants do not gain money from other social security incomes. Since they can survive by agricultural activities. Moreover this low rate of social security dependence can be directly related the age distribution structure of the villages' populations in which young age groups still exist. In fact all of the characteristics about continuity of agricultural activities are strongly related to population structures of those villages.

Husbandry is other aspect, which is directly related to the population structure as well as physical characteristics of the villages. As it has already been mentioned, in this type of villages generally population could preserve its structure. That is to say population structure s of the villages still contain

population which are in the active age group so that husbandry activities could have been continued. When the table 40 is examined it can be seen that average number of cattle per household in the third group of villages is about 6. Average percentage of households not feeding productive animals is an average of 13 %. When the population size of the villages is considered this figure can be seen as showing important husbandry potential in the third group of villages. Average total number of cattle in the group is about 200, which is at leas two times greater than the other groups. Moreover in the village Örencik there is about 2000 sheep which means again considerable amount of young labour force in the village.

Therefore, all of these analysis mentioned above give us the result that third group of villages are very different from other groups of villages in many aspects. In this group there is a strong tendency of continuing to live in rural areas by carrying out agricultural activities as main source of income. So there is no considerable amount of vacant land neither belonging to peasants living in the villages nor belonging to migrated ones to cities. Of course the relatively larger amount of agricultural land potential of the villages is one of the most important factors leading this situation. Although there took place many negative economical and political developments especially after 1980's, these villages could have adapted themselves to changing socio-economic environments. Besides, keeping relatively young age group in villages should be considered as corresponding factor, which has been resulted from those characteristics and tendencies mentioned above.

Consequently, it can be said that third group of villages should be considered as the villages that have not faced the depeasantisation process intensively and so that they have been able to continue agricultural activities and their rural lives by the help of mechanisms mentioned above. However yet even these villages are in difficulty of continuing their survivals if some measures are not taken.

Table 39. Farming Structure in the Villages

| Villages | Average Landowner ship Size in Dönüms | Average Farm Size in Dön. | Average Cultivated Land Size in Dön. | % of Cultivated Land Size to the Farm Size | % of Owned Land Size to the Farm Size |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **First Group** | | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 9 | 9 | 7 | 78 | 100 |
| Bağören | 53 | 57 | 40 | 70 | 93 |
| Çavuşlar | 25 | 34 | 25 | 74 | 74 |
| Gümele | 20 | 30 | 23 | 77 | 67 |
| **Average** | **27** | **33** | **24** | **73** | **82** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 201 | 201 | 134 | 67 | 100 |
| Değirmenönü | 37 | 37 | 37 | 100 | 100 |
| **Average** | **119** | **119** | **85** | **71** | **100** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | |
| Çalta | 55 | 87 | 83 | 95 | 63 |
| Örencik | 34 | 51 | 48 | 94 | 67 |
| **Average** | **44** | **69** | **66** | **95** | **65** |
| **Weighted Average**[1] | **64** | **71** | **55** | **52** | **85** |

Table 40. Animal Husbandry Potential of the Villages

| Villages | Percentage of Households Not Feeding Productive Animals | Numbe r of Cattle | Number of Sheep | Number of Cattle per Household | Number of Sheep per Household |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **First Group** | | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 22 | 53 | - | 2 | 5 |
| Bağören | 28 | 183 | 40 | 7 | 0 |
| Çavuşlar | 50 | 132 | - | 2 | 0 |
| Gümele | 30 | 90 | - | 3 | 0 |
| **Average** | **32** | **114** | **10** | **3** | **1** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 16 | 61 | - | 10 | 0 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 170 | 100 | 11 | 9 |
| **Average** | **8** | **115** | **50** | **10** | **4** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | |
| Çalta | 10 | 132 | - | 6 | 0 |
| Örencik | 16 | 273 | 2090 | 3 | 22 |
| **Average** | **13** | **202** | **1045** | **4** | **11** |
| **Weighted Av.** | **19** | **133** | **244** | **5** | **4** |

[1] **Weighted average** has been calculated according to shares of the groups in the total number of villages in Çeltikçi Sub-district

Table 41. Numbers of Tractors in Villages

| Villages | Number of Tractors | Percentage of Households Having Tractor | Average Farm Size (in Dönüms) per Tractor | Average Cultivated Land Size (in Dönüms) per Tractor |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **First Group** | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 3 | 10 | 93 | 72 |
| Bağören | 10 | 40 | 142 | 100 |
| Çavuşlar | 6 | 21 | 159 | 116 |
| Gümele | 6 | 22 | 135 | 103 |
| **Average** | **6** | **23** | **132** | **98** |
| **Second Group** | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 2 | 33 | 603 | 402 |
| Değirmenönü | 6 | 40 | 92 | 92 |
| **Average** | **4** | **36** | **347** | **247** |
| **Third Group** | | | | |
| Çalta | 17 | 61 | 143 | 136 |
| Örencik | 40 | 42 | 122 | 115 |
| **Average** | **28** | **51** | **132** | **125** |
| **Weigh. Average** | **10** | **34** | **208** | **158** |

Table 42. Number of Polity Houses in the Villages

| Villages | Number of Polity Houses | Total Chick Capacities | Percentage of Households Having Polity Houses in Villages |
|---|---|---|---|
| **First Group** | | | |
| Bağlıca | 3 | 26000 | %10 |
| Bağören | - | | - |
| Çavuşlar | 1 | 4000 | %4 |
| Gümele | 6- | 52000 | %22 |
| **Average** | **2** | **20500** | **%9** |
| **Second Group** | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | - | | - |
| Değirmenönü | 1 | 16000 | %7 |
| **Average** | | **8000** | **%3** |
| **Third Group** | | | |
| Çalta | - | | - |
| Örencik | - | | - |
| **Average** | - | **0** | |
| **Weigh Average** | - | **14500** | **%5** |

Table 43 Distribution of Landownership Size in Villages (in Dönüms)

| Villages | Landless | | Size of Landownership in Dönüms | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1-50 | | | | 51+ | | | | Total | |
| | Number | % | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Total Land | | Household | Size |
| **First Group** | | | | | Size | % | | | Size | % | | |
| Bağlıca | 0 | 0 | 31 | 100 | 271 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 271 |
| Bağören | 1 | 0 | 15 | 63 | 453 | 34 | 9 | 37 | 879 | 56 | 25 | 1332 |
| Çavuşlar | 0 | 0 | 25 | 89 | 538 | 76 | 3 | 11 | 167 | 24 | 28 | 704 |
| Gümele | 0 | 0 | 25 | 93 | 428 | 79 | 2 | 7 | 111 | 21 | 27 | 539 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **24** | **86** | **422** | **72** | **3** | **14** | **289** | **25** | **28** | **711** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 83 | 1200 | 100 | 6 | 1206 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 11 | 73 | 201 | 36 | 4 | 27 | 362 | 64 | 15 | 562 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **6** | **45** | **103** | **18** | **4** | **55** | **781** | **82** | **10** | **884** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 0 | 0 | 19 | 68 | 735 | 48 | 9 | 32 | 809 | 52 | 28 | 1544 |
| Örencik | 3 | 0 | 85 | 89 | 2618 | 80 | 8 | 11 | 665 | 20 | 96 | 3283 |
| **Average e** | **1** | **0** | **52** | **78** | **1676** | **64** | **8** | **22** | **737** | **36** | **62** | **2413** |
| **W.Average** | **0** | **0** | **23** | **69** | **571** | **51** | **4** | **31** | **563** | **49** | **29** | **1134** |

Table 44. Distribution of Farm Size in Villages (in Dönüms)

| Villages | No Farming | | Size of Farms in Dönüms | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1-50 | | | | 51+ | | | | Total | |
| | Number | % | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Total Land | | Farm Unit | Size |
| **First Group** | | | | | Size | % | | | Size | % | | |
| Bağlıca | 0 | 0 | 31 | 100 | 271 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 271 |
| Bağören | 1 | 0 | 15 | 60 | 453 | 32 | 9 | 40 | 982 | 68 | 25 | 1435 |
| Çavuşlar | 0 | 0 | 20 | 71 | 340 | 36 | 8 | 29 | 614 | 64 | 28 | 954 |
| Gümele | 0 | 0 | 22 | 81 | 401 | 49 | 5 | 19 | 417 | 51 | 27 | 818 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **22** | **78** | **366** | **54** | **5** | **22** | **503** | **46** | **28** | **869** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | 0 | 1 | 17 | 6 | 0 | 5 | 83 | 1200 | 100 | 6 | 1206 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 11 | 73 | 201 | 36 | 4 | 27 | 362 | 64 | 15 | 562 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **6** | **45** | **103** | **18** | **4** | **55** | **781** | **82** | **10** | **884** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 0 | 0 | 15 | 54 | 553 | 23 | 13 | 46 | 1885 | 77 | 28 | 2437 |
| Örencik | 0 | 0 | 65 | 68 | 1908 | 39 | 31 | 32 | 2997 | 61 | 96 | 4905 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **40** | **61** | **1230** | **31** | **22** | **39** | **2441** | **69** | **62** | **3671** |
| **W.Aver.** | **0** | **0** | **20** | **62** | **453** | **36** | **8** | **38** | **1010** | **64** | **29** | **1468** |

Table 45. Distribution of Farm Size in Villages (in Dönüms)

| Villages | Not Cultivating | | Cultivated Land Size in Dönüms | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1-50 | | | | 51+ | | | | Total | |
| | Number | % | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Total Land | | Farm Unit | Size |
| **First Group** | | | | | Size | % | | | Size | % | | |
| Bağlıca | 2 | 6 | 29 | 94 | 220 | 100 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 31 | 220 |
| Bağören | 9 | 36 | 9 | 36 | 230 | 23 | 7 | 28 | 770 | 77 | 25 | 999 |
| Çavuşlar | 14 | 50 | 8 | 29 | 134 | 19 | 6 | 21 | 572 | 81 | 28 | 706 |
| Gümele | 3 | 11 | 19 | 70 | 215 | 34 | 5 | 19 | 417 | 66 | 27 | 632 |
| **Average** | **7** | **26** | **16** | **57** | **200** | **44** | **4** | **17** | **440** | **56** | **28** | **639** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 1 | 16 | 1 | 17 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 67 | 801 | 99 | 6 | 806 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 11 | 73 | 201 | 36 | 4 | 27 | 362 | 64 | 15 | 562 |
| **Average** | **0** | **8** | **6** | **45** | **103** | **18** | **8** | **47** | **581** | **82** | **10** | **684** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 4 | 14 | 11 | 39 | 431 | 19 | 13 | 47 | 1885 | 81 | 28 | 2315 |
| Örencik | 11 | 11 | 54 | 56 | 1587 | 35 | 31 | 33 | 2997 | 65 | 96 | 4584 |
| **Average** | **7** | **12** | **32** | **47** | **1009** | **27** | **22** | **41** | **2441** | **73** | **62** | **3449** |
| **W. Average** | **4** | **16** | **16** | **51** | **336** | **31** | **9** | **33** | **915** | **69** | **29** | **1251** |

Table 46. Distribution of Farmers who is not Cultivating His Land in Villages

| Villages | Not Cultivated Land Size in Dönüms | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1-50 | | | | 51+ | | | | Total | | | |
| | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Size | % |
| **First Group** | | | Size | % | | | Size | % | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 2 | 3 | 11 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 11 | 5 |
| Bağören | 8 | 32 | 234 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 32 | 234 | 23 |
| Çavuşlar | 14 | 50 | 197 | 28 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 50 | 197 | 28 |
| Gümele | 3 | 11 | 27 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 11 | 27 | 4 |
| **Average** | **7** | **32** | **117** | **15** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **7** | **32** | **117** | **15** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 16 | 240 | 30 | 1 | 16 | 240 | 30 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **8** | **120** | **15** | **0** | **8** | **120** | **15** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 4 | 14 | 122 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 14 | 122 | 5 |
| Örencik | 11 | 1 | 321 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 1 | 320 | 7 |
| **Average** | **7** | **7** | **271** | **6** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **7** | **7** | **271** | **6** |
| **W. Average** | **4** | **15** | **107** | **8** | **0** | **3** | **44** | **5** | **4** | **18** | **151** | **13** |

Table 47. Distribution of Farmers According to Rented Land Size

| Villages | Rented Land Size in Dönüms | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1-50 | | | | 51+ | | | | Total | | | |
| | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Size | % |
| **First Group** | | | Size | % | | | Size | % | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bağören | 5 | 12 | 168 | 17 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 20 | 168 | 17 |
| Çavuşlar | 4 | 14 | 52 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 161 | 23 | 6 | 21 | 212 | 30 |
| Gümele | 5 | 18 | 128 | 20 | 2 | 7 | 136 | 22 | 7 | 26 | 264 | 42 |
| **Average** | **3** | **11** | **87** | **11** | **1** | **3** | **74** | **11** | **4** | **14** | **161** | **22** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 5 | 18 | 218 | 9 | 4 | 14 | 1026 | 44 | 9 | 32 | 1244 | 54 |
| Örencik | 23 | 24 | 717 | 16 | 8 | 8 | 886 | 19 | 31 | 32 | 1603 | 35 |
| **Average** | **14** | **21** | **467** | **12** | **6** | **11** | **956** | **31** | **20** | **32** | **1423** | **43** |
| **W. Average** | **4** | **9** | **136** | **7** | **2** | **4** | **234** | **11** | **6** | **13** | **370** | **18** |

Table 48. Distribution of Farmers According to Leased Land Size

| Villages | Leased Land Size in Dönüms | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1-50 | | | | 51+ | | | | Total | | | |
| | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Total Land | | Number | % | Size | % |
| **First Group** | | | Size | % | | | Size | % | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bağören | 4 | 16 | 112 | 11 | 1 | 4 | 132 | 13 | 5 | 20 | 244 | 24 |
| Çavuşlar | 19 | 68 | 305 | 43 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 | 68 | 305 | 43 |
| Gümele | 17 | 0 | 204 | 32 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 17 | 0 | 204 | 32 |
| **Average** | **10** | **21** | **155** | **21** | **0** | **1** | **33** | **3** | **10** | **22** | **188** | **24** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 4 | 14 | 122 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 14 | 122 | 5 |
| Örencik | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Average** | **2** | **7** | **66** | **2** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **2** | **7** | **66** | **2** |
| **W. Average** | **5** | **18** | **80** | **9** | **0** | **0** | **14** | **1** | **5** | **18** | **94** | **10** |

Table 49. Total Agricultural Land Size (in Dönüms) and Distribution to Different Group of Villagers

| Villages | Living in the Villages | | Migrated | | Total Agricultural Land Size in Dönüms |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Size in Dönüms | % | Size in Dönüms | % | |
| **First Group** | | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 271 | 41 | 369 | 59 | 640 |
| Bağören | 1332 | 81 | 295 | 19 | 1627 |
| Çavuşlar | 704 | 54 | 600 | 46 | 1304 |
| Gümele | 539 | 68 | 255 | 32 | 794 |
| **Average** | **711** | **61** | **380** | **39** | **1091** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 1206 | 36 | 2165 | 64 | 3371 |
| Değirmenönü | 562 | 72 | 223 | 28 | 785 |
| **Average** | **884** | **54** | **1194** | **46** | **2078** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | |
| Çalta | 1544 | 57 | 1160 | 43 | 2704 |
| Örencik | 3283 | 69 | 1480 | 31 | 4763 |
| **Average** | **2413** | **63** | **1320** | **37** | **3733** |
| **W. Average** | **1135** | **59** | **876** | **41** | **2011** |

Table 50. Total Cultivated and Vacant Land Size (in Dönüms) in Villages

| Villages | Total Cultivated Land Size in Dönüms | | | | Total Uncultivated Land Size in Dönüms | | | | Total Agricultural Land of Villages |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | By Farmers Living in the Village | By Migrated Farmers | Total | | Belong to Peasants Living in the Village | Belong to Migrated Peasants | Total | | |
| | | | Size | % | | | Size | % | |
| **First Group** | | | | | | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 220 | 87 | 307 | 48 | 73 | 260 | 333 | 52 | 640 |
| Bağören | 999 | 0 | 999 | 61 | 0 | 628 | 628 | 38 | 1627 |
| Çavuşlar | 706 | 70 | 776 | 59 | 0 | 528 | 528 | 40 | 1304 |
| Gümele | 632 | 0 | 632 | 80 | 0 | 162 | 162 | 20 | 794 |
| **Average** | **639** | **39** | **678** | **62** | **18** | **394** | **413** | **38** | **1091** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 806 | 0 | 806 | 24 | 550 | 2015 | 2565 | 76 | 3371 |
| Değirmenönü | 562 | 0 | 562 | 72 | 0 | 223 | 223 | 28 | 785 |
| **Average** | **684** | **0** | **684** | **48** | **225** | **1119** | **1394** | **52** | **2078** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 2315 | 0 | 2315 | 86 | 0 | 389 | 389 | 14 | 2704 |
| Örencik | 4584 | 80 | 4664 | 98 | 99 | 0 | 99 | 2 | 4763 |
| **Average** | **3449** | **40** | **3489** | **92** | **49** | **194** | **244** | **8** | **3733** |
| **W. Average** | **1251** | **25** | **1276** | **63** | **100** | **615** | **734** | **37** | **2010** |

Table 51. Distribution of Households According to Their Income Sources

| Villages | No Income | | Farming | | Social Security Income | | Both Farming and Social Security Income | | Off-farm Activities | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % |
| **First Group** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 0 | - | 12 | 39 | 2 | 6 | 17 | 55 | 0 | 0 |
| Bağören | 0 | - | 3 | 12 | 6 | 24 | 12 | 48 | 4 | 16 |
| Çavuşlar | 1 | - | 4 | 14 | 13 | 46 | 10 | 36 | 0 | 0 |
| Gümele | 0 | - | 11 | 41 | 3 | 11 | 13 | 48 | 0 | 0 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **7** | **26** | **6** | **22** | **13** | **47** | **1** | **4** |
| **Second Group** | | - | | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | - | 3 | 50 | 1 | 17 | 2 | 33 | 0 | 0 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | - | 7 | 47 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 46 | 0 | 0 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **5** | **48** | **1** | **12** | **4** | **39** | **0** | **0** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 0 | - | 19 | 68 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 29 | 0 | 0 |
| Örencik | 7 | - | 77 | 80 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 1 | 1 |
| **Average** | **3** | **0** | **48** | **74** | **2** | **3** | **8** | **19** | **0** | **0** |
| **W. Average** | **1** | **0** | **15** | **44** | **3** | **14** | **9** | **38** | **0** | **2** |

Table 52. Distribution of Households Who Migrated from Village According to Use of Their Land

| Villages | Cultivating | | Leasing | | No Relation with His Land | | Total Size Belong to Migrants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | % | Number | % | Number | % | |
| **First Group** | | | | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 14 | 47 | 0 | 0 | 16 | 53 | 30 |
| Bağören | 0 | 5 | 2 | 29 | 5 | 71 | 7 |
| Çavuşlar | 3 | 0 | 50 | 90 | 3 | 5 | 56 |
| Gümele | 0 | 0 | 14 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 14 |
| **Average** | **4** | **13** | **17** | **55** | **6** | **32** | **27** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 42 | 100 | 42 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 100 | 7 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **24** | **100** | **24** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 0 | 0 | 18 | 100 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| Örencik | 2 | 3 | 62 | 91 | 0 | 0 | 68 |
| **Average** | **1** | **2** | **40** | **98** | **0** | **0** | **43** |
| **W. Average** | **2** | **6** | **16** | **43** | **11** | **51** | **29** |

Table 53. Distribution of Agricultural Land Size (in Dönüms) belongs to Migrated Farmers According to Their Use

| Villages | Cultivated by Migrants | | Leased by Migrants | | Vacant | | Total Land Size Belonging to Migrants |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Size | % | Size | % | Size | % | |
| **First Group** | | | | | | | |
| Bağlıca | 87 | 23 | 0 | 0 | 260 | 77 | 369 |
| Bağören | 0 | 0 | 200 | 68 | 628 | 32 | 295 |
| Çavuşlar | 70 | 12 | 515 | 85 | 528 | 3 | 600 |
| Gümele | 0 | 0 | 250 | 98 | 162 | 2 | 255 |
| **Average** | **78** | **9** | **241** | **63** | **394** | **28** | **380** |
| **Second Group** | | | | | | | |
| Bezcikuzören | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2015 | 100 | 2165 |
| Değirmenönü | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 223 | 100 | 223 |
| **Average** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **0** | **1119** | **100** | **1194** |
| **Third Group** | | | | | | | |
| Çalta | 0 | 0 | 1060 | 91 | 389 | 9 | 1160 |
| Örencik | 80 | 5 | 1400 | 95 | 0 | 0 | 1480 |
| **Average** | **40** | **2** | **1230** | **93** | **194** | **5** | **1320** |
| **W. Average** | **42** | **4** | **363** | **46** | **615** | **50** | **879** |

# CHAPTER 5

# CONCLUSION

In our thesis, analysis of the rural transformation process has been made on the basis of the concept of depeasantisation, which can be regarded as one of the most important aspects of this process. From the second chapter to the last one, the changing socio-economic tendencies in different world countries have been discussed. Starting from the early-industrialised countries, these tendencies have affected the rural structures in terms of changing mode of production, life styles, and so on. Being called this complex transformation of rural spheres as depeasantisation, it has been focused on the fact that these tendencies have started to spread over the new developing countries after the Second World War.

Being our case, Turkey has faced strong depeasantisation process since the Second World War. In this respect, thesis, which has been focused on the fieldwork study, which has been made on the marginal rural areas of Turkey. Being one of the most important aims of this thesis, we have seen that this complex phenomenon has important impacts on rural structure of Turkey as in the case of early-industrialised countries while industrialisation and urbanisation proceed.

In order to avoid from repetitions the concluding chapter will not discuss the theory and the characteristics of the rural transformations that have already been discussed. Rather, in this part it is going to be mentioned about the general characteristics of our village groups that have been subject to our analysis, in

order to re-acknowledge about existing situation of the rural settlements and to be able to state our recommendations.

Therefore, it might be necessary to recall the general characteristics of rural settlements of the study area. As we have already stated, there is no doubt that the process of depeasantisation has seriously affected the rural settlements of study area according to our survey result analysis. In fact, to be in marginal rural areas generally, has been an important contributor of this process.

After fieldwork survey study, all the analysis made on the three different groups of villages have shown us, there are still some important distinctions between the villages although some general features of them are similar. These distinctions can be regarded as important factors while understanding the general problems and potentials of rural areas in Turkey and for producing rational polices and plans.

According to results of the fieldwork study, it has been derived that especially the first group of villages had been under the strong influence of the process of depeasantisation since 1950s. In these villages the general characteristics of the peasantry have been lost and agricultural activities have not been carried out. These villages in the first group of our analysis can be regarded as villages of retired peasants. Certainly some features of these villages that we mentioned in the analysis of the thesis have facilitated the process of dissolution in these villages. Firstly this group of villages has insufficient agricultural land; so that farming units are very small. In these villages, due to small agricultural land potential, peasants generally have given up to do agricultural activities, since agricultural land potential has not been enough to get sufficient incomes. Besides, mechanisation and efficient usage of tractors couldn't have been realised due to insufficient size of agricultural land.

In fact, less mechanisation may mean that, less migration tendencies in these villages. However, they have still faced depeasantisation intensively. As it has been already stated, although mechanisation might bring about the decreasing necessity of labour, it might also contribute to the continuity of farmers by increasing productivity and income, which prevent migration.

Now there is small number of farmers living in the first group of villages. Moreover, almost all of the farmers are over 50 years old. There is nobody who can afford difficult agricultural tasks in real senses. They generally have social security (insurance) incomes, since most of them can't be able to make agricultural works. They generally stay in the villages due to their strong preferences on conserving their original lives. Therefore, most of agricultural land either belonging to peasants living in the villages or belonging to migrants is **derelict**.

The second group of villages has similar characteristics in some aspects. In this respect it would be repetition to mention about the general characteristics of the second group of villages Rather it may be helpful to mention about the distinguishing characteristics of these villages.

The villages in the second group are also very seriously affected villages in terms of depopulation. Since, there are now only a few households in these villages and so, agricultural land potential per households seems greater in our analysis. Besides, it should also be stated that this group of villages has relatively larger agricultural land than the first group of villages. With respect to this relatively larger agricultural land size, high proportions of the farmers of this group of villages do use tractors. However, according to survey results, due to intensive depopulation of these villages, most of the land belonging to migrants is still **derelict**. Small numbers of farmers stayed in the villages are incapable of using all the agricultural potential of these villages.

In fact, even though these villages are very depopulated, small numbers of relatively younger farmers are continuing to make agricultural activities in these villages. High proportions of the farmers having productive animals can be seen another indicator of this situation.

Thus, different from the first group of villages some relatively younger farmers still try to make agriculture and gain money from this sector. These characteristics can be seen as one of the most important and distinctive characteristics from the first group of villages. Yet, these very small numbers of relatively younger farmers have started to give up these activities causing the collapse of these villages. Therefore similar to first group of villages, in the second group of villages most of agricultural land is **derelict,** too.

On the other hand, third group of villages has differentiating characteristics from other village groups. Firstly, these villages have not faced intensive depeasantisation process. Of course, certain level of depopulation has also taken place in these villages but this level is relatively less when it is compared to other villages. Certainly some of the characteristics have prevented the migration tendencies. In addition to some social factors, agricultural land potential can be regarded as the most important factor affecting the depopulation of those villages. When we analyse characteristics of the third group of villages in terms of land use we can say that they have relatively larger amount of agricultural lands and almost all of the agricultural land is cultivated. So agricultural activities could have been realised as main income source in these villages. Similarly, high rates of productive animal ownership can be regarded as another indicator of the continuity of agricultural activities in real senses.

Therefore peasants in the third group of villages could have adapted themselves among difficult economic conditions by using their relatively higher amount of agricultural potential. They could have continued to survive depending

on agriculture as a main income source. Depending on these tendencies, population structure of those villages has not changed through time. There are still young age groups who can realise agricultural works in the third group of villages.

Besides relatively high amount of agricultural land potential, market opportunities can also be regarded as another factor contributing to the continuity of agricultural activities for the third group of villages. Since they are at the advantageous locations that they can easily serve their products to Kazan, Çeltikçi and Kızılcahamam markets. So that it can be claimed that these villages are more capitalised and producing for the markets. They could have gained more money by selling their products in the markets so they could have continued to survive by agricultural sector.

However, peasants of this group of villages have also become incapable of overcoming income deficiencies. Since, due to the disadvantageous developments of internal terms of trade and disappearance of protective polices, farmers have started to face economic pressures of income deficiencies especially after 1980s'and recently

Consequently, it can be stated that almost all the villages in the study area have been facing socio-economic difficulties and started to leave agricultural activities. In fact rural settlements of Kızılcahamam-Çeltikçi region, which have been subject to our analysis, can be regarded as showing general characteristics of Turkey rural structure of marginal areas under the impacts of depeasantisation. At this point we may limit our description by stating which rural areas' characteristics that our study area is representing in order to generalise our findings. In this respect, we can state that our study area can be regarded as representing the general characteristics of rural settlements which have generally marginal and forest lands in the north sides of Inner Anatolia Region. Especially rural areas in the transition region between the Blacksea and the Inner Anatolia

Region where the forest areas start to appear may be seen as the rural areas that our fieldwork study area represents their characteristics. In this respect our findings and policies about rural settlements of the fieldwork can be seen as related to those specific rural areas of Inner Anotolia Region in Turkey.

As it has been already mentioned, after 1980s especially the villages in marginal areas of Turkey have started to face difficulties and after those years they couldn't have survived with only agricultural incomes. So most of these villages have been depopulated. They have not only loosed their population but also the capabilities of doing agricultural activities due to lack of manpower.

The villages in the study area are reflecting general characteristics of villages that have generally experienced similar history mentioned above. They have transformed into different types of villages, which have tried to adapt themselves in changing and becoming difficult economic environment. Therefore in this thesis, characteristics of some of those types of villages is tried to be put forward in terms of their problems, challenges and potentials. Since most of the rural settlements in marginal rural areas of Turkey are ready to collapse due to worsening economic conditions in very near future. Therefore "agricultural sector has been under the productivity capacity that can be reached by existing agricultural resources. Also sector has been loosing its strong competing power at the international level." (Çakmak, Kasnakoğlu, Akder, 1999: 11) Therefore unless necessary polices and measures is not produced for agricultural sector, which is one of the most important sectors of Turkey, Turkey socio-economic problems would inevitably increase.

Before going into our recommendations we should state that after the analysis of our three village groups, two main groups of villages have found in terms of realisation of our recommendations. In this respect first group of villages differs from the second and the third group of villages. Reasons behind the

reducing of our villages groups into two main groups will be mentioned after giving our recommendations, since two new main groups has been achieved according to realisation of our recommendations.

## Recommendations

In the context of our analysis two important necessities have appeared as the most important challenges of the rural settlements;

1. To gain derelict lands into the economy
2. To provide adequate welfare level for the peasants living in the villages

To begin with our **first recommendation**, we will mention about our policy on the derelict use of agricultural and marginal lands. In this respect, it should be stated that our consideration is about the idle use of land potential. Since, some of these lands might not be suitable for the agricultural land use. What is aimed while paying attention on derelict lands, is to gain these lands into the economy in whatever landuse. These derelict lands should be taken into consideration in order to use them as either agricultural land or transforming them into whatever land use is suitable. Since, from the point of view of national land use policy, suitable land use characteristic (whatever land use is suitable) should be provided. In other words, derelict land should be gained to economy in whatever land use. (Agricultural land, forests land or etc.)

For realisation of our **second recommendation**, on which we will focus intensively, at least three conditions should be considered for the continuity and sustainability of rural sector in which rural population would continue agricultural activities without suffering from socio-economic difficulties:

- sufficient income
- sufficient social, health and education services
- sufficient living standards and quality of life

These conditions might be regarded as prerequisites for achieving sustainable agricultural sector that would contribute to the balanced economic development in the frame of our second recommendation. Since, as it has been discussed in the second chapter, even the most industrialised countries, whose economies are mostly dependent on non-agricultural sector have been in search of the ways of achieving sustainable rural population and rural sector. They consider agricultural sector as important as the other sectors in order to achieve a balanced economy. As in the industrialised countries, agricultural sector should be subject to rational policies and measures in Turkey.

If the prerequisites can not be served to the rural population, it may be very difficult to achieve sustainable and productive agricultural sector. Since, future generations would most probably not continue to suffer income and life quality deficiencies by surviving in this sector. However, some working age group population should be included and be kept within this sector. Sufficient income, services, living standards and other facilities should be served for the sake of rural population and so agricultural sector in Turkey.

At this point we should also mention about the applicability of our recommendations and prerequisites in such a difficult economic environment in Turkey. Since, especially in Turkey, economical balances are so critical that it may be thought that it is very difficult to provide such preconditions for the agricultural sector. However, as we have already discussed in the third chapter, agricultural sector has already been supported by the high level of government subsidies in Turkey. Although after 1980s level of protectionism has been

decreased, there is still important amount of subsidies, which have been bringing about heavy burdens on Turkish economy. Besides, all of these supportive policies and subsidies have not contributed to economical sustainability of the sector because of not considering necessary improvements in the sector.

In this respect, our recommendations and preconditions for these recommendations might be perceived as involving transformation from direct government subsidies on the input-output agricultural prices to the ways of achieving agricultural sector sustainability. That is to say our approach for the agricultural sector aims to direct economical subsidies through step by step achievement of sufficient income, services and quality of life which would keep certain level of active age group of population who would then make agricultural activities more efficiently. At the initial stages these direct subsidies might also be necessitated in order to achieve sufficient income level. Besides, all of these prerequisites would certainly bring about more burdens on Turkish economy at the initial phases. However, in the near future agricultural sector would probably not necessitate government subsidies as much as in the previous periods while the sector's efficiency is increasing.

In order to achieve the preconditions mentioned above, some polices, which industrialised countries have aimed to achieve may be followed. In other words, in order to achieve our prerequisites some ways that early-industrialised countries have been following should be considered:

- optimum farm size- optimum income
- part time farming + non-agricultural incomes + intensive livestock activities

In this respect, as we have already mentioned government direct subsidies on agricultural input-output prices might be directed through achievement of viable farming units and activities through time. Since in Turkey, these subsidies have not been contributing to the productivity increase. Depending on this, agricultural sector could not have achieved necessary productivity and production level that can be reached by the existing agricultural potentials. Thus, our recommendations propose to provide necessary infrastructure investments at the initial phases and, after that, to decrease level of supports as the sector start to sustain without important levels of subsidies.

In the second chapter of the thesis rural policies of industrialised countries have been mentioned. As it can be remembered, all of the industrialised countries have been aiming to achieve viable farming units in order to provide adequate income for the rural population. Since they have been conscious about the fact that without optimum farm size it is very difficult to provide sufficient income in agricultural sector. Therefore these countries have searched the ways for viable farming. Land consolidation is one way that they applied for achieving viable farming units. In this respect, we should also aware of necessity of optimum farming size in order to achieve adequate income level for the rural population. Since, as we have derived from the survey results considerable amount of land is idle, derelict in rural areas. So some measures like land acquisition, taxation on the derelict lands might be used in order to prevent idle use of agricultural land and to achieve viable farming units.

In addition, optimum population size in rural sector should be considered in terms of achieving optimum farming units and optimum income. As in industrialised countries, it should be aimed to keep a certain level of population in rural areas in order to reach viable farming units. In this respect, main aim of the policies should be on improving the living standards of certain level of population in rural areas.

In fact one of the most important reasons of the countries for seeking ways of increasing rural incomes is related to heavy burdens on their economy due to protective policies on agriculture. Therefore recently self-sufficiency (without important subsidies) in agriculture became a conscious goal of agricultural policy in many countries. They aim to provide self-sufficient agricultural sector in order to avoid heavy burdens of supportive polices on their economies. In this respect, it should be remembered that other ways for achieving self-sufficient agricultural sector without disrupting the economic balances should be found.

As we have seen before, industrialised countries have regarded part time farming as another way of increasing income level of rural population in order to achieve self-sufficiency without high level of subsidies. They aim to rise incomes by transforming to part time farming, which would give farmers to chance of having non-agricultural jobs. In this way, additional non-agricultural incomes would support the aim of reaching adequate income without high level of governments subsidies.

Diversification of agricultural activities might also be seen another way of increasing the sufficient income and also adequate living standards for rural population in the sector. In this respect additional agricultural activities such as intensive animal husbandry and/or poultry raising might also contribute to reach this aim. In addition, while diversification of activities is being realised, technology transfer should also be considered in order to achieve productivity which would support to rise of income level of rural population.

In conclusion, it can be seen that all of the recommendations are all dependent on each other. Since, providing economical development of agricultural sector is the basic factor for achieving the self-sufficiency (without subsidies) and sustainability in the sector. However, at this point it should be

stated that in order to reach these goals, firstly necessary young population should be kept in this sector. As it has been already stated, economical and social sufficiency might be prerequisite for this aim or vice versa.

Lastly, we can conclude our thesis by relating our recommendations to the rural settlements, which have been subject to our analysis. Since according to our point of view all of the recommendations can not be suitable for all of the village groups in our analysis. However, it should be stated that some negative characteristics of the villages in terms of realisation of agricultural activities might be regarded as advantageous ones.

In this respect, village groups in our study have some facilitating characteristics from the point of view of our recommendations, such as achieving viable farming units and certain level of population. Since most of them are very depopulated. However, the first group of villages should be seen as another type for which some additional measures is necessary. Since according to survey results in the first group of villages there remained almost no population in active working age group. In this sense it should be stated that firstly some other actors should be included in order to realise our recommendations for the first group of villages. Therefore redistribution of the agricultural land through new actors might be seen as a prerequisite for the realisation of our recommendations for the first group of villages.

However, second and the third group of villages have certain amount of relatively younger populations so that productive, diversified and profitable agricultural activities might be realised in these groups of villages. Therefore, three preconditions for achieving sustainable and self-sufficient agricultural sector might be seen as more easily applicable in the second and the third group of villages according to the their existing socio-economic structure.

In conclusion, it can be stated that two previously mentioned recommendations of gaining derelict agricultural land in our economy and providing adequate socio-economic living standards for the rural population can be considered as one of the most important problems of the agricultural sector. Indeed these two necessities are closely related to each other. Since, without including these derelict lands into our economy (in whatever land use is suitable) it seems that prerequisites for reaching sustainable and self-sufficient agricultural sector can't be realised easily in terms of achieving sufficient income, sufficient social, health, education services and living standards. Moreover, these lands neither contribute to agricultural sector or to whole economy as being derelict. It should not be forgotten that all of the prerequisites for agricultural development might also be seen as significant prerequisites for general economical development in Turkey.

## REFERENCES


Akşit, B. 1999, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Türkiye Köylerindeki Dönüşümler",*75 Yılda Köylerden Şehirlere,* Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul

Akşit, B., 1985. Köy Kasaba ve Kentlerde Toplumsal Değişme, Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara

Akşit. B., 1988, "Kırsal Dönüşüm ve Köy Araştırmaları (1960-1980)", *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000),* ed. Ş. Pamuk and Toprak Z., Yurt Yayınları, No:18, Ankara

Andorka R., 1986, "The Decline of Fertility in Europe: Review Symposium", Population and development Review Vol 12, No:2, 1986

Araghi Farshad A., Spring 1995 Global Depeasantisation: 1945-1990, Sociological Quarterly Vol 36, Issue 2, p:337-359

Armengaud A, 1976, "Population In Europe", *The Industrial Revolution 1700-1914,* Cipolla C. M. (ed), Harvester Press, New York

Bairoch P., 1976, "Agriculture and Industrial Revolution 1700-1914", *The Industrial Revolution 1700-1914,* Cipolla C. M. (ed), Harvester Press, New York

Behar C., Işık O., Güvenç M., Erder S., 1999 Türkiye'nin Fırsat Penceresi TÜSİAD,

Boran B., 1945, Toplumsal Yapı Araştırmaları, Ankar Üniversitesi DTC Fakültesi Ankara

Boratav, K., 1981 Tarımsal Yapılar ve Kapitalizm, Birikim Yayınları, İstanbul

Boratav, K., 1981 Türkiye İktisad Tarihi

Cipolla C. M. (ed) 1976, The Industrial Revolution 1700-1914, Harvester Press, New York

Clough B. S., Brandenburg D. J., Gay P., Pflanze O., Payne G. S., Frykenberg R. E., Johnson G, European History In A World Perspective Volume II, 1975, London

Çakmak E., Kasnakoğlu H., Akder H., 1999, Tarım Politikalarında Yeni Denge Arayışları ve Türkiye, TÜSİAD

Davey B. H., "Supplies, Incomes and structural change in UK Agriculture" ed Rogers S. T. and Davey B. H. The *Common Agricultural Policy and Britain,* Agricultural Adjustment Unit and University of New Castle England

Demirliçakmak A., 1970, Tohumluk Gübre, Türkiye Ziraat Mühendisleri Teknik Kongresi Ankara

Dobb M 1967Capitalism, Development and Planning, International Publishers, New York

Dobb, M., 1963, Studies in Development of Capitalism, London

Dovring F., 1959, "The Share of Agriculture in Growing Population", *FAO Studies in Agricultural Economics and Statistics 1952-1977*, FAO 1978

Drudy P. J., Wallace D. B., "Social Problems of Rural communities ed Rogers S. T. and Davey B. H. The *Common Agricultural Policy and Britain,* Agricultural Adjustment Unit and University of New Castle England

Engels F., 1967, Selected Writings Henderson W. O. (ed), Penguin Hermandsworth

Ernle Lord, 1961, English Farming, Chicago

European Community, 1992, A Common Agricultural Policy for the 1990's, Luxemburg, European Documentation

European Community, 1992, The Agricultural Policy of the European Community, Luxemburg, European Documentation

FAO, 1977, Population and Agricultural Development, Rome

FAO, 1986, Population and the Labour Force in Rural Economies Rome

Feinsten C. H.. (ed), 1969, Socialism, Capitalism and Economic Growth, Cambridge University Press

Friedlaender E. H., Oser J., 1957, Economic History of Modern Europe, USA

Gardner B., 1996 European Agriculture Printed by Redwood Books, London-New York

Gillis J. R., Tilly L. A., Levine D., 1992 The European Experience of Declining Fertility, 1850-1970, Oxford

Görsel 20. Yüzyıl Ansiklopedisi, Görsel Yayınları

Grigg D., 1992, The Transformation of Agriculture in the West, UK Blackwell Inc.

Grigg D., 1995 An Introduction to Agricultural Geography London

Gürkan A., Kasnakoğlu H., 1986. "Tarımın Türk Ekonomisinin Gelişmesine Katkısı: Bugün ve Yarın; Enka Bilim Sanat Ödülleri

Hayami J., Yamada S., 1969, "Agricultural Productivity at the Beginning of Industrialisation" *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience*, ed Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., University of Tokyo Press

Hayami, J., 1988, Japan Agriculture Under Siege, Macmillan Press, London

Henry P., Study of Regional Impact of the Common Agricultural Policy, Studies Collection, European Community Regional Policy Series, No:21, Brussels

Johnston F. B., 1969 "Model of Agricultural Development: Its Relevance to Developing Nations" *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience*, ed Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., University of Tokyo Press

Kartal F., 1995, Spatial Impacts of Hot House Cultivation in Kumluca, Unpublished Thesis, Department of CP, METU

Kazgan G. 1966, Tarım Ekonomisi ve İktisadi Gelişme, Sermet Matbaası İstanbul

Kazgan G., 1988, "2000 Yılında Türk Tarımı: Biyoteknoloji ve GAP Ne Getirebilecek?" *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000)*, ed. Ş. Pamuk and Toprak Z., Yurt Yayınları, No:18, Ankara

Keleş R., 1990. Kenleşme Politikası, İmge Kitabevi,Ankara

Kepenek, Y. 1996, Türkiye Ekonomisi Remzi Kitabevi, Ankara

Keyder Ç, 1983a. "Paths of Rural Transformation in Turkey" *Journal of Peasant Studies* Vol 11, p:34-49

Keyder Ç, 1983b. "The Cycle of Sharecropping and the Consolidation of Small Peasant Ownership in Turkey" *Journal of Peasant Studies* Vol 10, Special Issue No:2-3 p:130-145

Keyder Ç., 1988, "Türk Tarımında Küçük Meta Üretiminin Yerleşmesi 1946-1960", *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000),* ed. Ş. Pamuk and Toprak Z., Yurt Yayınları, No:18, Ankara

Kıray M,. 1968. "Sosyo Ekonomik Hayatın Değişen Düzeni: Dört Köyün Monografik Karşılaştırması" *75 Yılda Köylerde Şehirlere,* Tarih Vakfi Yayınları,İstanbul

Kıray M. B., 1972 "Restructuring of Agricultural Enterprises Affected by Emigration in Turkey", *Emigration and Agriculture,* C.A.O. van Nieuwenhuijze (ed) Mediterranean Social Sciences Research Council And Institute Of Social Studies, Mouton

Kıray M., Hinderink J., 1968, "Interdependies Between Agroeconomic Development and Social Change in Çukurova, Turkey", *Journal of Development Studies,* Issue 4 p:4

Kıray, M., 1964. Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası, DPT Yayınları

Köymen O, 1988, "Tarım, Kapitalist Üretim İlişkileri ve Küçük Köylülük Tartışmaları ve Kuram", *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000),* ed. Ş. Pamuk and Toprak Z., Yurt Yayınları, No:18, Ankara

Köymen O., 1999 "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Tarımsal Yapı ve Politikaları" *75 Yılda Köylerde Şehirlere,* Tarih Vakfi Yayınları İstanbul

Lenin V. I., 1977, The Development of Capitalism in Russia, Moscow

Levine D., 1986, "The Decline of Fertility in Europe: Review Symposium", Population and development Review Vol 12, No:2, 1986

Lilley S., 1976, "Technological Progress and the Industrial Revolution", *The Industrial Revolution 1700-1914,* Cipolla C. M. (ed), Harvester Press, New York

Milward A. S. (ed), 1980, Agriculture And the European Community, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology

Minchinton W., 1976, "Patterns of Demand 1750-1914", *The Industrial Revolution 1700-1914,* Cipolla C. M. (ed), Harvester Press, New York

Misawa T., 1969, "An Analysis of Part Time Farming" *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience,* ed Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., University of Tokyo Press

Naiken, L., 1977, "Estimation of Rural Participation in Non-agricultural Employment" *FAO Studies in Agricultural Economics and Statistics 1952-1977,* FAO 1978

Nakamura, J. I., 1966, Agricultural Production And the Economic Developmet of Japan 1873-1922, New Jersey

Nishimura K. G. and Sasaki S., 1993. "Agricultural Land Reform and the Japanese Farm Market", *Land Policy Problems in East Asia – Toward New Choices,* Koppel Bruce and Kim D. Young (ed), East West Center USA

Oberai, A. S. 1987, Migration, Urbanisation and Development, International Labour Office, Genava

OECD 1998 Agriculture and Environment

OECD, 1994a, National Policies and Agricultural Trade, Paris

OECD, 1994b, Farm Employment and Economic Adjustment in OECD Countries, Paris

Ohkawa, K., 1969, "Phases of Agricultural Development" *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience,* ed Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., University of Tokyo Press

Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., (ed) 1969 Agriculture And Economic Growth: Japan's Experience, University of Tokyo Press

Ojala, E. M., 1973 "Europe and the World Agricultural Economy" ed Rogers S. T. and Davey B. H.The *Common Agricultural Policy and Britain,* Agricultural Adjustment Unit and University of New Castle England

Oshima H. T. 1987 Economic Growth in Moonsoon Asia University of Tokyo Press

Peters G. H. "Landuse studies in Britain", *Journal of Agricultural Economics* vol 21 Issue 2, p176-190

Polanyi K, 1957, The Great Transformation, Boston

Rios, R.J. 1991, "Economic development and family size", American Economist, Vol. 35 Iss.2, p81,

Rosenblatt J, Mayer T., Bartholdy K., Demekas D., Gupta S., Lipschitz L., 1988 The Common Agricultural Policy of the European Community, International Monetary Fund, Washington

Sawada S., 1969, "Technological Change in Japanese Agriculture", *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience*, ed Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., University of Tokyo Press

Schulte W, Naiken L., Bruni A., 1978. "Projections of World Agricultural Population", *FAO Studies in Agricultural Economics and Statistics 1952-1977*, Rome

Shanin T, 1985 Russia as A Developed Society, Yale University Press, Great Britain

Shanin T., 1966, "The Peasantry as a Political Factor" *Sociological Review* vol:14 iss:1, p 5-27.

Sorlin, P. 1998, Historical Journal of Film, Radio & Television, Vol. 18 Issue p183

Stabler M. J., 1975 Agricultural Economics and Rural Land Use, Macmillan Press

Steindly J, 1969, "Capitalism, Science, Technology" *Socialism, Capitalism and Economic Growth*, Feinsten C. H.. (ed), Cambridge University Press

T. C. DİE Census of Agriculture 1950

T. C. DİE Census of Agriculture 1963

T. C. DİE Census of Agriculture 1980

T. C. DİE Census of Agriculture 1991

T. C. DİE Population Censuses of Turkey 1950-1997

T. C. Köy İşleri Bakanlığı,1973, Cumhuriyetin 50. Yılında Köylerimiz Ankara

T.C. Başbakanlık Neşriyat veMüdevvenat Genel Müdürlüğü Toprak ve Tarım Reformu Kanunu

T.C. DİE, Terms of Trade in Turkish Economy 1973-1986

Takekazu O. (ed) 1963 Agricultural Development of Modern Japan Tokyo Fuji Publishing Co.

Taraklı, D. 1982, Mudurnu İlçesi Orman Köyleri ODTÜ, Ankara

Taraklı, D., 1987. Çiftçiyi Topraklandırma Kanunu ve Uygulama Sonuçları ODTÜ Ankara

Tekeli İ, and İlkin S., 1988 "Devletçilik Dönemi Tarım Politikaları: Modernleşme Çabaları", *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000),* ed. Ş. Pamuk and Toprak Z., Yurt Yayınları, No:18, Ankara

Tekeli İ., 1982, Türkiye'de Kentleşme Yazıları, Turhan Kitabevei, Ankara

Tekeli İ., Erder L., 1978, Yerleşme Yapısının Uyum Süreci Olarak İç Göçler, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları Ankara

Tekeli İ., İlkin S., 1993. Türkiye ve Avrupa Topluluğu I, Ulus Devletini Aşma Çabasındaki Avrupa'ya Türkiye'nin Yaklaşımı, Ümit Yayıncılık 1993 Ankara

Tilly C., 1986, "The Decline of Fertility in Europe: Review Symposium", Population and development Review Vol 12, No:2, 1986

Tilly, C., Haimson L., 1989, Strikes, War and Revolution in an International Perspective, Cambridge University Press

Toprak Z., 1988. "Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar ve Gelişmeler (1900-1950)", *Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapılar (1923-2000),* ed. Ş. Pamuk and Toprak Z., Yurt Yayınları, No:18, Ankara

Tracy, M.1964, Agriculture in Western Europe, New York

Tsotomu, O., 1960. History of Agriculture Tokyo

Tussing A. R., 1969, "The Labour Force in Meiji Economic Growth: A Quantative Study of Yamanashi Prefecture" *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience,* ed Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., University of Tokyo Press

Umemura M., 1969, "Agriculture and Labour Supply in the Meiji Era, *Agriculture and Economic Growth: Japan's Experience,* ed Ohkawa, K., Johnston B. F., Kaneda H., University of Tokyo Press

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements 1996, Habitat Agenda

United Nations Centre for Human Settlements 1999, Perspectives on Rural-Urban Synergies Nairobi

Üner S. 1986 "Migration and Labour Transformation in Turkey A, Richards Food States and Peasant, Westview Pres

Varlıer O., 1978. Türkiyede İç Ticaret Hadleri DİE Yayınları

Weber A., F. :44, The Growth of Cities A Study in Statistics

Williams H. T.,1960 Principles for British Agricultural Policy London

Yates P. L., 1940, Food Production in Western Europe, London 1940

Zhou J., 1997, A New Proposal for Land Consolidation and Expansion in Japan and Other Economies European University Institute, Italy