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**FEASIBILITY OF A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON FAMILY FARMS
ADJUSTMENT PROCESSES. POLAND - TURKEY PILOT STUDIES, 1991.**

I. GENERAL REMARKS

Comparing is an isomorphic function of cognition. The compared elements should not be too different, so the problem of determining feasibility involves an attempt to evaluate the degree to which the compared elements differ. As stated in the title, the focus of this pilot study was the comparison of a process the adjustment to the situation born by stabilization programmes. The adjusting unit is the family farm, or more specifically the peasant family, which is not the same. To be a peasant is more a way of life than a profession or business. The peasant family lives usually in a primary face-to-face contact.

It is also involved in social group relations and in village life as a whole. The farm, the family and the village are immersed in a socio-economic environment, one of the elements of which is the market. Summarizing, the authors had to consider three segments of reality: 1) the family and the farm, 2) its socio-economic environment, 3) the process of adaptation of (1) to a changing element of (2).

II. COMPARABILITY OF STUDIED ELEMENTS

A) RESEARCH LOCATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

As the target of our field research we have chosen three villages in Central Poland (Płock environment) and three villages in Central Anatolia in Turkey. On the basis of the information obtained in introducing research we established that three Polish and Turkish locations possess to a large extent suitable features for a representative case study.

The criteria of choice was the level of agricultural advancement and the functions of holdings (high or low engagement in agriculture). The first Polish village of Uniejewo represents high level of agriculture with farms up to 30 ha of cultivated land. The second village, Brudzeń Mały, and the third one, Kłobukowo-Zdziemborz, are less developed, particularly in the third village the greater

importance of non-agriculture activities was observed. The Turkish village No. 1 (Akarca) in an extent of land use can be related to Uniejewo. Next two villages (Altıpinar and Cavusin) can be more or less related to Brudzeń Mały and Kłobukowo though Cavusin is mostly oriented into non-agriculture income generation. The pilot samples included total 27 households in Polish villages and 25 households in Turkish ones. In the Polish case the sample covered about 30-60% of total number of households in particular villages. The sampled farms represent in Poland mostly better developed rural sector in Polish terms (relatively large area, equipment). Turkish villages are much more populated and the sample was more differentiated.

B) DATA COLLECTING STRATEGY

Data collecting consisted of 3 phases. First came interviews in province or district agricultural offices. The second phase were talks with heads of villages and other invited farmers. The last one was individual enquiring of chosen holdings. The enquiry form included information about the family, labour use and labour potential, land use, yields and plant and animal production in the last season, level of inputs, extent of marketing. It was supplemented with additional explanatory question sets: A— attitude of farmer to insurance system, cooperative movements and possible association with EEC; B— recent changes of inputs and structure of production; C— living conditions and women issues.

C) THE FAMILY AND THE FARM

The family is in both cases monogamous (with very few exceptions in Turkish villages), mostly nuclear and not differing substantially in the number of members. There has been growing migration from villages to the cities and in the Turkish case abroad with different results to both countries. In Turkey rural households depend upon income from male migration far more than in Poland. The marriage age is very early, mostly between 13-18 years in Turkey compared to 18-23 years in Poland. Polish women are more engaged in decision making for farm management. The position of the wife and mother is stronger in Poland.

The role of the adults in providing manpower and administrating the farm is similar in both cases. More developed type of mixed farming with dairying in Poland makes the Polish woman's contribution more important.

There is a considerable difference in climates of both studied provinces of Poland and Turkey, and as a consequence in the cropping patterns. The Płock region has about 180 days of vegetation period while it is substantially shorter in Nevşehir Province of Turkey. It means that a Polish family has three harvests a year: hay harvest, cereals harvest and root crops harvest, whereas the Turkish one has only to harvest cereals and chickpeas. In Turkey there are only extensive pastures which are common properties of the villagers ("*mezra*" property). Considering a higher level of mechanization, the smaller size of farm, more extensive cropping pattern (fallow) and the use of hired labour in those Turkish operations,

there is a dramatic difference in the amount of manpower required from and furnished by the Turkish family to the plant production sector of the farm. The gap can only be partially filled by the work on vineyards on the farms which have them. Nevertheless, the existence of a family unit having the characteristic features of a peasant family can be observed in both cases.

D) THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT

From the methodological point of view there were no big differences between Poland and Turkey except for the involvement of the central administration in the investment in infrastructure, which is substantially higher in Turkey. For instance, the Polish village Kłobukowo-Zdzięmborz created by land reform in the mid 1940s has yet only one unstabilized road, which in the Polish climate puts a heavy burden on the daily life of peasants and marketing of their products. The other meaningful difference is the strong migration from Turkish villages, especially to Germany. The migrants' remittances and the psychological impact of people returning *en masse* to their villages and creating new non-agricultural enterprises are very important in the activation of socio-economic life in Turkish villages of the studied region. In effect, the Turkish villages have a higher percentage of families living exclusively from agriculture. The marketing opportunities for agricultural products seem to be qualitatively similar since in both countries there is a state, private and cooperative sector, but the present situation on the market is very special in Poland. It creates an economic environment which probably was unknown to Turkish farmers even at the beginning of the process inspired in both countries by the World Bank (in Turkey in 1980). Studying the Polish farms in the Płock region, it is easy to conclude that the farmers engaged in the classical pattern of mixed farming are in a state of shock. The high credit interest above 30% (that is, however, much reduced below inflation rate), coupled with the virtual collapse of the internal market (provoked by a 30%-decrease of real consumer income as well as by collapse of the market in the Soviet Union) and thirdly the import of animal products from Western Europe at dumping prices, created a situation in which many Polish farmers finally concluded that milk, cereals, beef, pork, wool, potatoes, sugar beets and rape-seed production are all unremunerative. On the other hand, the interest rate of rural credit in Turkey is similar (35-42%) as well as inflation rate (60-80%) but the significant rate of cash crops and the neighbourhood of Arabic consumers (perhaps Soviet ones soon, too) never discouraged Turkish farmers.

III. CONCLUSIONS

The Polish farmer is at present in a stage of adjustment (for the details see the paper "Adjustment of agriculture to the requirements of market economy"). Turkey has been experiencing a fast rural transformation under the dynamics of

market economy, particularly in the last two decades. Some elements of the Turkish way to the market-oriented agriculture should be carefully observed to be applied in Polish conditions.

The suggestions which could be derived from these very interesting preliminary comparative studies are the following:

1. The studied climatic zones could be more similar. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find symmetric villages in a zone more adequate to Polish conditions (especially in length of vegetation).

2. The measurements of the process of adjustment should be revised taking into consideration Poland's lag with respect to Turkey upon introduction of the classic measures suggested by the World Bank (1980 and 1990 respectively).

3. Probably many interesting methods can be applied for measuring this process but it would be rather difficult to apply them confidently unless conditions mentioned under (1) and (2) above are fulfilled.