A WORK ON THE ROOT CAUSES OF RURAL MIGRATION: THE CASE OF TURKEY

KIRSAL GÖÇÜN TEMEL NEDENLERİ ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA: TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

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Abstract

Rural migration is a common phenomenon observed in the population all across the world and especially the developing countries. Rural migration has historically been an important part of the urbanization process and continues to be significant in scale, even though migration rates appear to have slowed down in some countries. Agriculture and rural development are key to addressing the root causes of migration. By 2050, over half of the population in the least developed countries wills still live-in rural areas. Turkey is also a developing country, a result of industrialization and urbanization after 1950, has become a country where rural migration. To conduct scientific studies concerning rural migration in developing countries as Turkey is quite important. Because, this kind of studies, to a certain extent, put forward a country's socio-economic development and change. The lack of data and its acquisition is one of the major problems in rural migration studies. Based on this point, the data of rural migration in Turkey were associated with the populations of towns and villages, which have negative net migration velocities (NMV), that is which are migration-sending, according to Turkish Statistical Institution (TSI) data, and accordingly, new and tangible data acquirement method was used in this study. In this study, it was concluded that there is an inverse correlation between the number of cattle (head), that of small cattle (head) and cultivated agricultural land (ha), moreover, there is a correlation in the shape of inverse N, between agricultural production value per capita (TL) and rural migration.

Keywords: Rural migration, TSI, NMV, migration, Turkey

Özet

Kırsal göç, tüm dünyada ve özellikle gelişmekte olan ülkelerde görülen yaygın bir olgudur. Kırsal göç, tarihsel olarak kentleşme sürecinin önemli bir parçası olmuş ve bazı ülkelerde göç oranı yavaşlamış gibi görünse de, ölçek olarak önemli olmaya devam etmektedir. Tarım ve kırsal kalkınma konusları kırsal göçün temel nedenlerinin tespit edilmesinde önemli kavramlar arasında yer almaktdaır. 2050 yılına kadar, az gelişmiş ülkelerdeki nüfusun yarısından fazlası hala kırsal alanlarda yaşayacağı bir gerçektir. Türkiye de gelişmekte olan bir ülke olup, 1950 yılından sonra sanayileşme ve kentleşme sonucunda kırsal göçün yaşandığı bir ülke konumunda olup bu süreci devam etmektedir. Türkiye gibi gelişmekte olan ülkelerde de kırsal göçle ilgili bilimsel çalışmaların yapılması oldukça önemlidir. Çünkü bu tür çalışmalar, bir ölçüde bir ülkenin sosyo-ekonomik gelişimini ve değişimini de ortaya koymaktadır. Veri eksikliği ve elde edilmesi kırsal göç verileri Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) verilerine göre

negatif net göç hızlarına (NGH) yani göç veren belde ve köylerin nüfusları ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Buna bağlı olarak bu çalışmada yeni ve somut veri toplama yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bu çalışmada sığır sayısı (baş), küçükbaş hayvan sayısı (baş) ve ekili tarım arazisi (ha) ile kırsal göç arasında ters bir korelasyon olduğu, ayrıca N şeklinde ters bir korelasyon olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, kırsal göç, NGH, TÜİK, Türkiye

INTRODUCTION

Migration is a growing global phenomenon and most countries are simultaneously countries of origin, transit and destination for migrants. Migration is often a deliberate decision and an important component of household livelihood strategies. The root causes of people deciding to move out of rural areas are rural poverty and food, lack of employment and income generating, opportunities, climate change, and so on. Migration has a very important role in the history of humanity. Human has abandoned their living places or had to be obliged to do that throughout history. In the past, mass migrations due to the reasons such as especially drought, floods, epidemic diseases, wars, have caused many civilizations to exist, as well as to destroy (Castless*et al.*, 2014: 84-100; Ekici and Tuncel, 2015; Harzinget *al.* 2009; Mol and Valk, 2016).It can be said that there is a close correlation between such migrations and Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions, two revolutionary events in the history of humanity. Especially Industrial Revolution has not only changed social life essentially but also caused a sustainable socio-economic development process to exist (Donoghue, 2014; Triphati and Rani, 2017).

The industrialization process has caused economic and social life, based on agriculture especially in rural societies, to be disintegrated. Because, the vicious circle between population and poverty causes a *poverty circle* to occur in rural societies, and it is provided to get out of this circle to some degree with industrialization (Ayyıldız, 1992;Jenicek, 2010; Lucas 2007; Nurmoja and Bachmann, 2014). When looked at from this perspective, migration from rural areas to urban areas is described as rural migration, and the typical and accepted reason for those migrations is acknowledged as industrialization in theory. How is the correlation between industrialization and rural migration? What is the size of this correlation? The answer to this kind of question points out an economic-scaled correlation, developing in favor of industry when industry and agriculture are compared. Indeed, it is drawn attention to the economic differences of rural-urban areas. In respect to salary differences, and explained the reasons for migration from rural areas to urban in the *Harris-Todaro Migration Model* which has an important role in migration studies (Cox and Geisen, 2014; Espindola*et al.* 2006; Harris and Todarro 1970; Stauffer and Penna, 1998).

The presence of the real correlation between industrialization and rural migration has revealed itself in many ways in many industrializing or late industrializing countries (Colosio*et al.* 1978; Roberts 1989; Tacoli*et al.*2015). Migrations from rural areas to cities couldn't be harmony with the industrialization period completely especially in many developing countries, and such migrations caused serious problems to arise especially in rural areas, resulting from that lack of harmony. One of the countries experiencing that is Turkey, and the industrialization process it experienced in the 1950s. After that, westernization and urbanization events have caused the disintegration of rural society. Industrialization not only made cities an attraction

centers for rural areas wherein heavy population was living in Turkey in those years, but also caused the formation of unproductive labor, and accordingly a compelling force for rural areas to immigrate to urban. That's why, as it was stated in many rural migration-related scientific studies; unattractiveness of rural and attractiveness of urban have caused many reasons to exist, compelling for rural migration (Güreşci,2011;İçduygu and Aksel, 2014;Özdemir, 2003).

The rural migration, with its reasons and consequences, is regarded as one of the major events expressing economic and social life (Docui and Dunarintu, 2012; Güreşci, 2018; Malik, 2015). Indeed, as well as the reasons for rural migration express agriculture-based economic and social life in rural areas, the consequences of that express urban life, based on industry and services. Various academicals studies concerning rural migration have been done both in the world and Turkey. Although the correlation between migration event and population has been discussed in such studies, from income aspect, referring to the theories of migration; a rural migration theory directly couldn't be put forward in these studies. Because of rural migration comprises not only an economic event but also a social thematic and all-purpose event. On the other hand, it is seen that some academicals studies concerning rural migration have been done in the countries, such as China and Asia, the wherein heavily rural population is available, to which certain macro scaled programs are applied. Similarly, it can be said that rural migration is analyzed in some fieldwork, performed in respect to poverty and lack of food in some African countries (Kleinwecher, 2012; Qstby, 2016; Zhan 2018).

It is possible to say that the first studies regarding rural migrations, the most decisive factor of internal migrations, have begun to be performed as of the 1950s. In this study, the wage gap in changing and developing Turkey began to be clear; rural-urban discrimination was analyzed, and rural was tried to be comprehended to some degree. Such studies are typically included in the village monographers, included in the scope of *Village Sociology*, examining the socio-economic structures of villages (Ayyıldız, 1973; Güreşci, 2012; Güreşçi, 2018; Plank, 2019). But, the scientific studies concerning rural migration in Turkey have mostly been concentrated in urban regions, at which rural migration has caused serious sociological and economic problems. Moreover, in this study, migration is discussed from the citizen's point of view, especially from the aspect of urban problems, and in brief, these studies are those in which rural areas are ignored, and rural migrations were tried to mention (Akşit, 1985; Pine, 1952).

In rural migration studies, it is quite important to make field works that analyze the reasons for such migrations. But, this kind of study has mostly been conducted in the provinces such as İstanbul, İzmir, Bursa, Ankara, Adana, where rural migration is heavily seen in Turkey. These studies can be said to be from those that are conducted in backward districts and moreover, a bit dramatizes such migrations, and see those people as the center of the problem (Öztürk and Altuntepe, 2012). But, it is a fact that there is a very limited number of studies that discuss the reasons for rural migration and also people living in the rural region together, and that is based on face to face interviews and surveys (Özdemir and Polat, 2016).

The most important problems concerning rural migration studies are the lack of information regarding rural migration and having difficulty in getting current data (Agasty and Patra, 2014; Tripathi and Kaur, 2017). Some of the reasons negatively affecting the acquisition and reliability of the data that will be used in these studies can be listed as follows: timid

behaviors of people in rural settlements to answer questions of migration; having difficulty in accessing to dispersed settlements; people who are decisive on migration decision are daylong on the land because of their agricultural works. As well as it is challenging to overcome these problems, studies were done based on the findings using general, inclusive data and especially ones from legal statistical institutions would be more reliable.

It is absolutely important to conduct academicals studies of rural migration in a developing country like Turkey. Because of these studies can criticize not only rural migration but also the country's economic and social policies, and cause new suggestions to be offered for these policies. But, the problem of data, one of the most important elements for scientific studies, can adversely affect scientific studies that have been done or to be done on rural migration (Pazarlıoğlu 2007; Yalçın and Kara, 2016). This deficiency can be said resulting from not only the lack of legal data but also the lack of definition of rural settlements. Not rural migration data, only migration statistics of TSI are available in Turkey, and on yearly basis, statistically calculated values of provinces, such as Net Migration (NI) and Net Migration Statistics (NIS), created according to Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS), are included in them. Based on such a lack of statistical knowledge and data, the primary goal of the study will be to seek an answer to the question that where can likely be rural settlements in Turkey? This problem is tried to be solved with the determination of citizens registered to districts and villages, defined as the smallest settlement in TSI data, and their change over the years. Because, districts and villages are small settlements in Turkey, and the fact that they're general economic and social structures are based on agriculture makes them settlements with rural characteristics. With defining of rural settlements constituting the most important data source, and of population change in these settlements, the problem of the lack of data of rural migration could be overcome to some degree through this study (TSI, 2019a; TSI, 2019b).

Rural population refers to people living in rural areas as defined by national statistical offices. It is calculated as the difference between total population and urban population. Aggregation of urban and rural population may not add up to total population because of different country cover ages. After the 1950s, Turkey's share of rural population in the total population is known to gradually decrease. Rural migration is one of the most important reasons for this (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Change of the rural population in Turkey

The provinces with NMV are regarded as migration-sending provinces in the migration statistics of TSI. Because of migration that these provinces receive is less migration that they send. But, the basic approach on which of these provinces with negative NMV experience rural migration would be put forward with the examination of the change in the population of towns and villages in these provinces. In the study, it was observed that although the population of towns and villages in all provinces with negative NMV decreased, the population of city centers increased. For example, it was determined in the study period that the total population of Bayburt, one of the most migration-sending countries in Turkey, Increased from 75 675 in 2008 to 80 417 in 2017 with an increase of 5,8%. It was determined that the population of towns and villages in Bayburt, in the same period, decreased approximately 20,5 %0, from 38 763 to 30 814, the population of centers of districts and provinces increased approximately 34,3%, from 36 912 to 49 603 (TSI, 2019b). In short, while the population of centers of districts and provinces of cities with NMV increase, a serious decrease is observed in the population of towns and villages, which are rural populations. This shows that the most important reason for the decrease in the population of provinces with negative NMV is rural migration. Thus, it can be regarded as a correct approach that the provinces with negative NMV are those where rural migration is seen. But, provinces with negative NMV but having metropolitan statues have been excluded. Because, all these towns and villages gained the statue of the neighborhood with the law issued in 2009, and administratively and theoretically lost their characteristics of being a rural settlement. Briefly, this study not only gained a different theatrical approach to rural migration literature but also gained a new perspective for the acquirement of data of rural migration scientifically and logically in countries like Turkey where lack of data of rural migration is seen.

MATERIAL AND METHOD

In the study, the date, such as population of towns and villages with negative NMV apart from metropolitan, number of cattle (capita), number of small cattle(capita), agricultural

production value per total capita(TL), and total cultivated agricultural land amount(ha) were used (TSI, 2009b). Besides, to establish the infrastructure of the study, domestic and foreign scientific studies concerning rural migration were also used as data (Barcus, 2004; Cabraset *al.*, 2012; Cassarino, 2004; Farrelet *al.* 2014; Lawal and Okeowo, 2014; Mann and Erdin, 2005).

Method

In the study, dependent and independent variables were defined, data set and model were created, and the statistical analysis of the data was made through the model created. *Determination of dependent and independent variables*

A total of 32 provinces apart from metropolitan, with negative NMV, that is, migrationsending were determined as dependent variables in the study, and the population data of the towns and villages of these provinces, pertain to 2008-2017 periods, were selected. Four essential agricultural data of TSI of these provinces with negative NMV were selected as independent variables. These are the number of cattle (capita), number of small cattle(capita), agricultural production value per total capita(TL), and total cultivated agricultural land amount(ha) (TSI, 2009a). These data were selected because of that they are related to rural migration, and they are elements that can affect migration in rural settlements directly or indirectly. But, since agricultural production value in rural areas per capita is directly an income element, and assuming that the correlation between rural income and rural migration is cubic, it was Included in the model in this way. Because, while the insufficiency of in rural income keeps the rural society on its place for a certain time, with continuing of the increase in income, it requires to occupy in an urban area so that this income could be spent. For this reason, an increase or decrease in income can affect rural migration only to some extent (Grigg, 1977; Lee, 1966).

Data set and Model

The model of the study was determined as

 $P0Pit = \beta 0i + \beta 1iAPVPCit + \beta^2 i(APVPC)^2 it + \beta 2i(APVPC)^3 it + \beta 4iNCit + \beta^5 iNCit + \beta^6 iALit + \epsilon it$

In order to investigate the correlation between the population of towns and villages of the provinces with negative NMV and agricultural production value per capita, three basic models were determined. These models are referred as follows:

 $E_{i,t} = a1 + a^{2}logY + e_{i,t}(1)$ $E_{i,t} = a1 + a^{2}logY + a^{3}logY_{2} + e_{i,t}(2)$ $E_{i,t} = a1 + a^{2}logY + a^{3}logY_{2} + a^{4}logY_{3} + e_{i,t}(3)$

In the models; E variable refers to rural migration, Y variable refers to agricultural production value per capita. Model (1) estimates linear correlation (log-linear) between rural migration and agricultural production value per capita, model (2) estimates quadric correlation, model (3) estimates cubic correlation. In the quadric model;

If a^2 is positive and a^3 negative, then an inverse U shaped correlation is obtained between rural migration and agricultural production value per capita. In the cubic model; a^2 is positive,

 a^3 negative and a^4 is zero, then an inverse N shaped correlation is obtained between rural migration and agricultural production value per capita. In the scope of that, if a quadric model is estimated, then a^2 and a^3 coefficients, if a cubic model is estimated, then a^2 , a^3 , and a^4 coefficients should be taken into account in the evaluations (Başar and Temurlenk, 2007).

Analysis of Data

In the scope of the model wherein data were created, *the panel was analyzed with Least Squares Estimator*. In the analysis, the correlation between change in the populations of towns and villages in the immigrate-sending provinces, that is provinces with negative NMV, and number of cattle(head), number of small cattle(head), agricultural production value per capita (TL), and total cultivated agricultural land(ha) was analyzed statistically.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

In the study, the panel was analyzed with *Least Squares Estimator*, and the below results were obtained.

Variable	Coefficient	Std.Error	t-Statistic
(NBA)	0.394902	0.029363	13.44887
(NSG)	0.042885	0.009656	4.441295
(VTAP)	-56.95632	7.655205	-7.440209
$(VTAP)^2$	0.005276	0.001098	4.805994
$(VTAP)^3$	-1,68E-07	4.44E-08	-3.778326
(TAAL)	0.040185	0.017123	2.346927
С	211337.3	149560.25	14.13036

 Table 1. Analysis of Consequences

The number of bovine animals (head) - (NBA); Number of sheep and goat (head)-(NSG); Value of total agricultural production (thousand TL)-(VTAP); Total agriculture arable land (hectare)-(TAAL). R-squared: 0, 564288; Adjusted R-Squared: 0,555936.

In the study, a correlation was determined between the dependent variable in the model, that is, the change in the population of towns and villages in the provinces with negative NMV, and independent variables, that is, number of cattle(head), number of small cattle(head), agricultural production value per capita (TL), and total cultivated agricultural land(ha). A correlation with the inverse direction was born between the population of towns and villages in the provinces with negative NMV and the number of cattle(capita), many small cattle(capita), agricultural production value per capita (TL), and total cultivated agricultural land(ha). In short, a correlation with the inverse direction was established between the population of towns and villages in the provinces with negative NMV and the number of cattle(capita), number of small cattle(capita), agricultural production value per capita (TL), and total cultivated agricultural land(ha). In short, a correlation with the inverse direction was established between the population of towns and villages in the provinces with negative NMV and the number of cattle(capita), number of small cattle(capita), agricultural production value per capita (TL), and total cultivated agricultural land(ha). While the increase in the number of these variables has a decreasing effect on rural migration, the decrease in those has an increasing effect on that. Besides, a correlation was determined between agricultural production value per capita, the independent variable in the model, and the population of towns and villages. Namely, model (1) estimates the linear correlation between rural migration and agricultural production value

per capita (log-linear), model (2) estimates the quadratic correlation and model (3) estimates the cubic correlation. In the quadratic model, the state of a^2 is positive and a^3 id negative shows that there is an inverse U shaped correlation between rural migration and agricultural production value per capita. In the cubic model, the state of a^2 is positive, a^3 is negative and a^4 is zero shows that there is an inverse N-shaped correlation between rural migration and agricultural addition and agricultural production value per capita.

RESULT AND CONSEQUENCE

The industrialization process started at the end of the 1700s has brought along the social movement. In parallel to economic and social development, rural societies begun to immigrate towards industry that is urban. Experience of such a population movement in Turkey dates back to the 1950s, in other words, falls into the term of westernization, industrialization in the economy, and liberalization period. This situation leads the rural movement in Turkey to be evaluated along with urbanization and industrialization period, exactly like in Western Europe. But, the fact that Turkey industrialized late, and urbanization was unprepared for such economic and social development, caused rural migration to be perceived as a problem in rural areas.

To explain rural migration, first of all, it can mean to explain the development process of the country. The unique key to economic development is industrialization. That agriculture produces raw material and auxiliary product supporting industry and that industry uses the machine in agriculture, are explained such economic development. Experiencing rural migration in Turkey also means to experience industrialization and development process.

Every kind of scientific study concerning rural migration actually can direct economic and social policies. It is quite important to understand the reasons for rural migration and thereby for it to be reasonably associated with reasons. The theatrical and unique reason for rural immigration is expressed as the absolute superiority of industry when compared with agriculture. In other words, when two sectors were compared, the industry is seen more advantageous in terms of criteria such as economic structure, income level, and income expectation.

With supplementation of the increasing population to the agricultural-based structure of rural section, and accordingly promoting poverty, causes' migration process to start, expected and accelerated rural immigration. The reasons for rural migration are generally investigated considering attractive and unattractive factors of rural section. The reasons for rural migration concerning rural areas also allow the agricultural reasons that constitute unattractive reasons to be understood. Therefore, unattractive reasons, generalized and proved in Turkey, were associated with agriculture in this study. But, the lack of rural migration-related legal statistics in Turkey restricted the study and caused new searches to be done. At this point, the method proving numerically the fact that the decrease in the population of migration-sending provinces is due to a decrease in the population of the towns and villages in these provinces was selected. Thus, the creation of the data source of rural migration, required for the study, was provided. This situation has started the process of getting new rural migration-related data, with the utilization of NMV data for the first time in Turkey. It was concluded with the panel data set analysis used in the study that factors that have a direct effect on rural income also affect rural

migration. In other words, the factors affecting agricultural works, directly and indirectly, are related to the number of cattle (head), the number of small cattle (head), and agricultural production value per capita (TL), and total cultivated agricultural land (ha). It was found in the study that rural migration change inversely proportionally with other agricultural values apart from agricultural production value per capita, and that there is a statistical relation in the shape of inverse N between agricultural production value per capita, that is, factors directly affection income, and rural migration. This study, from this respect, has made an important contribution to the establishment of an agricultural causal relationship between rural migration data generation, reasons for rural migration and rural migration in Turkey.

Migration brings both opportunities and challenges to rural areas in the countries of origin, transit and destination. Policies and programmers play an important role in shaping the outcome of migration in terms of agriculture and rural development and, ultimately, as regards poverty reduction and food security in rural areas. Assessment of the rural migration in Turkey is obliged to take this opportunity and problems in bilateral between white. Thus, rural migration will be more clearly understood in Turkey.

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