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Factors of Social Capital in Rural Settlements: Case of Hilvan

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19-23 August 2010, Jönköping, Sweden

**Sustainable Regional Growth and Development
in the Creative Knowledge Economy**

**Factors of Social Capital in Rural Settlements:
Case of Hilvan**

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Abstract

The concept of social capital, comprising social networks, norms of reciprocity and trust, has been gaining wide interest among researchers and policy makers. So it became a common concept to use social capital as a way to both describe and understand economical, political and social wellbeing of community. While the importance of social capital is highlighted in regional and rural development strategies, Turkey has gone into a fundamental restructuring process in rural and regional development policies in terms of European Union (EU) membership process. Social capital factors in rural settlements within the context of rural development in Rural area of Hilvan, has been put forth as the main theme of this paper.

The paper aims to provide an overview of the concept of social capital for rural development and discusses social capital in terms of participation, trust, openness to diversity, and social-institutional networks. Potential items to measure these elements were developed in an empirical study conducted in rural area of Hilvan. Statistical analysis has been used to define factors of social capital and relation between factors and other independent variables like characteristics of rural settlements, socio-cultural structure of rural households and agricultural property and production types.

I. Introduction

Literature is rich in studies that highlight the importance of formal and informal institutions in regional and rural development. Accordingly, institutional local/regional development theories explain development process by relying upon social factors such as common values, common vision, participation in collective activities, supporting decision making focused on trust and cooperation. According to these theories, a given region's social capital includes actor networks of the region, common values that underlie those actor networks, norms and understanding as well as institutional structures and relations. These factors, in turn, facilitate the behavior and activities aiming collaboration.

In the context of local/regional development, individuals and actors that are highly active in development act as catalyzing agents in support of collective activities. These points to horizontal social capital at local level where positive relations take place between local government and community groups. In addition, rural and regional development theory and applications highlight that such horizontal network forms must be present among local communities as well as individual groups. It is essential that this type of horizontal relationships is complemented with local/regional vertical relationships. Social organizations and structures that form in this context emerge as a precondition to benefit from social capital potential (Cetin, 2006).

Institutional approach and social capital play an important role in regional and rural development strategies of the European Union, to which Turkey is implementing restructuring activities in the context of supporting local networks and organizations. Although the expectation in rural development strategies based on development of local projects in rural areas is that rural actors would organize and create projects based on such organization, it is observed that rural development programs that were implemented have failed to achieve their designated targets. It is evident that project development has been a problem in less-favoured regions, and implementation of projects that were accepted have failed, and that public benefit that was allocated have been transformed to personal benefits. This situation reveals the requirement for questioning and assessing the structure of social capital in terms of the role of organization and project creation skills for rural development.

At this point, assessing the role of social capital in rural development of an less-favoured region is the aim of this paper. Accordingly, the objectives of the study were determined to be to identify the indicators that define social capital in the rural part of a less-favoured region and to exhibit whether they have any relationship with the settlement structure and social structure of rural households. Hilvan District, located in Urfa NUTS II Region in south-east Anatolia, was chosen as the research area. Paper consists of conveying research results, research area and research method as well as rural social capital literature.

II. Rural Social Capital

In addition to assessing the impact of social capital to economic growth by means of empirical and theoretical studies, role of social capital in regional and rural development has been an important issue in the literature. Giorgas (2007) states that trust and volunteer organizations would create consensus and collective movement environment that would ensure economic wealth and that, in this context, social capital would create sustainable communities. While Giorgas defined horizontal networks, norms and trust as the preconditions of the effective management and economic growth, he addressed the importance of social capital for purposes of rural settlements and communities (Giorgas, 2007).

Coleman (1988) has stated that social capital -in the context of its relationship with rural development- would facilitate certain activities of the actors in the structure, help the

achievement of purposes that would otherwise be impossible to reach, and thereby produce results similar to those of physical capital. As in the case of a farmer helping another in bundling hay or jointly use common agricultural tools and machinery in an agricultural community, social capital would ensure that each farmer will be able to do his job using less physical capital for acquiring tools and equipment necessary (Coleman, 1988:98).

Another example that highlights the importance of social capital in terms of rural development is based on the likelihood of certain behavior, which is not coordinated by the economic units or which investigate opportunist attempts, resulting in market deficiencies. For example, it is asserted by some that this type of behavior is the primary reason for failure of irrigation projects. It is evident that, in such case certain farmers might use excessive water, disrespecting others needs, and that arrangement and formal and informal instruments that would ensure a fair sharing in this type of projects are often lacking. It is stated that an efficient social capital would contribute to overcome this type of problems (Serageldin and Grootaert, 2000: 48; Narayan ve Pritchett, 1997: 4).

On the other hand, Onyx et al (2007) researched the development of bonding, bridging and linking social capital in three rural settlements and assessed their correlations with power and collective movements. Among the findings of the research, where adverse effects of grouping and polarization on social capital were discussed, the concluding remarks states that economic and politic external factors are influential in social relations in rural settlements (Onyx et al, 2007).

Boxelaar et al (2007) addressed the role of social capital in rural development depending on the end of agriculture's hegemony in rural area and productivity-based rural development strategies being abandoned in favor of specialization in rural settlement. In this process, while difficulties caused by existing diversity and differences in rural settlement are in the axis of the study, importance of ensuring that farmers act collectively for purposes of a sustainable land management was also mentioned (Boxelaar et al, 2007).

In another study researching the role of social capital in reducing deprivation and sustainable development, unbalanced distribution of land is designated to be one of the obstacles for sustainable growth. Asadi et al (2008), who see poor farmers both as the victim and the responsible party in environmental deterioration, have associated poor farmers' initiatives to make short-term profit and rich farmers' failure in operating resources in a sustainable manner with the inefficiency of the institutions.

III. Research Area and Methodology

Hilvan District, located in Urfa NUTS II Region, was selected as the research area. Hilvan has 63 village settlements, and 82 fields (*Mezras*) under those villages. Having total of 145 rural settlements, district has a population of 40,690 people, namely 22,181 people in the district center and 18,509 in rural areas such as villages and fields (*Mezras*) according to Address-Based Population Census of 2007.

Field study was carried out in rural settlements of Hilvan District -Çağılı (Hatunlu), Ustahasan and Göktepe villages and 4 fields (*Mezras*) of those villages- that shows the general characteristics of the region in August and September 2007. Settlements that had diversity in terms of ethnical structure and property have been the criteria for the selection of the settlements and each village settlement was assessed together with its *mezras*. This way, 3 villages and 7 rural settlements which include Turks, Kurds, and Zazas were chosen as the research area. Households in the settlement having positive attitude towards the survey study has also been a factor in our choice of rural settlement. Accordingly, total of 101 households were interviewed in 7 rural settlements, Çağılı Village, with 35 households and a population

of 238, being the largest and Karpuzlu with 7 households and a population of 42, being the smallest.

With the surveys to be applied in rural settlements of the district, the target was to explain the indicators of social capital, factors of social capital and differences of rural settlements in case of social capital. Surveys that included social capital variables have been applied to all rural households in rural settlements. In general interviews conducted with village governors and village folks of rural settlements prior to surveys, identification cards were prepared and a general assessment was made in relation to villages. In this scope, rural settlements' physical and social conditions were revealed as well as their agricultural structures (Figure 2).

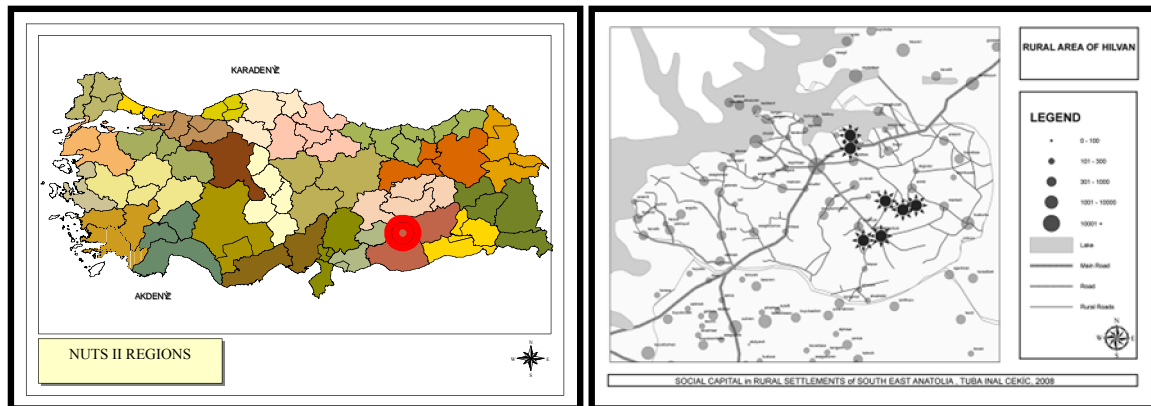


Figure 2: Location of Hilvan in Turkey and Rural Settlements in Hilvan

Characteristics of the rural settlements, with details given in Table 1, are as follows:

- They are of fairly small population, as is the case with many other settlements in the region, and dominated by the large agricultural enterprises mainly;
- 55% of heads of households are elementary school graduates in settlements, where education level is fairly low;
- Mother language in great majority of the large rural families with 5 to 8 members is Kurdish and Zaza and great majority of those people do not speak or even understand Turkish;
- Dry farming is the main activity in the region that consist of family-villages mostly and wheat and barley are the leading products;
- Hilvan District, which is one of the settlements in a region with very low level of organized agriculture, does not have any agricultural organizations.
- Any member to any organization such as farmers' union or cooperatives was found in rural settlements where the study was carried out;
- While lack of organization and dry farming cause unproductiveness, enterprises throughout the region are evidently fatalist;
- Excessive number of shareholders is evident in enterprises that were divided in to many pieces as a result of inheritance law;
- As little as 50% of rural enterprise owners, who cannot afford to have a separate property certificate, can have the opportunity to process their own land;

Table 1: Summary Profiles of Case Study Settlements

	<i>Cagilli</i>	<i>Karpuzlu</i>	<i>Camurlu</i>	<i>Ustahasan</i>	<i>Cekoren</i>	<i>Goktepe</i>	<i>Kulapli</i>
<i>Population</i>	200	42	65	80	43	60	110
<i>Ethnic Structure</i>	Zaza	Circassian-Kurd	Zaza	Kurd	Zaza	Turk	Kurd
<i>Number of households</i>	35	7	9	14	8	9	19
<i>Total area (x1000 m2)</i>	5500	5500	6000	3000	6000	5000	4200
<i>Ruling production type*</i>	Own Land	Sharecropping-Tenancy	Own Land	Own Land	Own Land-Worker	Own Land-Tenancy	Own Land
<i>Population last three years</i>	Increased	Increased	Increased	Increased	Remain Unchanged	Increased	Remain Unchanged
<i>Life quality last three years</i>	Increased	Decreased	Decreased	Increased	Remain Unchanged	Increased	Decreased
<i>Economic welfare (1-5...Good-So Poor)</i>	3	5	4	3	2	3	3

* Share cropping is a form of enterprise that dictates the product to be shared between the land owner and its partners (sharecroppers, workers) at a predefined ratio in kind. All inputs of production other than soil (which is supposed to be provided by the land owner) and labor (which is supposed to be provided by sharecropper), is contributed as per the traditions or as per mutual understanding between the parties. Tenancy on the other hand, is a form of enterprise where a lump sum rent is paid to land owner, who does not contribute to production costs, irrespective of the amount of products (Bakirci, 2007).

Survey prepared as per a Likert type behavior scale includes 48 potential social capital items. Upon moderation of data, 28 significant elements were used. In selection of elements to be included in factor analysis, criteria have been the conformance of factors to conceptual framework, ability to use them in other rural settlements, and their eigenvalue to be greater than or equal to 1. While 10 out of 48 potential items were excluded due to zero variance, 10 elements were excluded due to low announcement rates. In the final analysis, 6 specific factors that do not have correlation were defined. The six factors explained 66% of total variance, with the first factor accounting for 19.4%, the second factor 11.8% and the remaining four factors accounting for between 6.7% and 4.5% of variance (Table 2). The factor structure is described below:

Factor 1, the strongest factor, accounting for the greatest proportion of variance, was described as “Trust And Intercommunity Relations”. It comprises questions relating to trust, generalized trust, unity within the settlement and helpfulness. Factor 2 is described as “Institutional and External Relations” outside the community. It comprises questions relating to relations with other settlements and institutions.

Factor 3 is described as “Participation and Agency” and comprises questions of entrepreneurship capability and participation in local issues. Factor 4 is described as “Information” access and comprises questions of following up information. Factor 5 is described as “Openness to Diversity” and comprises the questions of importance of differences between people in dividing the community. The last factor 6 is described as “Tolerance and Division” comprising the questions of importance of differences between people’s socio-economic status in dividing the community.

Table 2: Factor Groups and Questions

Factor	Item	Factor loadings	
1. Trust and Intercommunity Relations	Trust people in the community	,811	
	Trust people in the community more compared with other	,796	
	People around here willing to help eachother	,754	
	Can get money when needed	,697	
	Favor for people in the community	,667	
	Join with people to resolve a local problem	,657	
	Most People can be trusted	,628	
	Can get help from people when sick	,615	
2. External and Institutional Relations	Number of meeting times among villagers	,595	
	Get information about agricultural production when needed	,771	
	Number of contacts with agriculture board of government in the past six months	,758	
	Meet people from other settlements	,708	
	Can work actively in an organization for local community as a volunteer	,682	
3. Agency and Participation	Number of calls with friends from other settlements	,601	
	Attended a public meeting about rural production	,826	
	Can contact an official for government support with friends from other settlements	,771	
	Taken spiritual or material steps to organize a new service in local community	,584	
4. Information	Well informed about rural donation programs	,522	
	Television	,746	
	Following the governing politicians of local community	-,718	
<i>Following the local/regional/national affairs</i>	Newspaper	,478	
5. Openness to Diversity	Younger and older generations	,882	
	Political party affiliations	,822	
	<i>Importance of differences between people in dividing the community</i>	Religious beliefs	,501
	Ethnic background	,461	
6. Tolerance and Division	Income	,761	
	Education	,749	
	<i>Importance of status between people in dividing the community</i>	Land property	,469

In order to define the relation between rural household characteristics (age, education level, and use of language), indicators that define settlement characteristic (settlement type, population and quality of living) and variables that define production structure (property ownership, type and scale of enterprise) with the social capital, factors that were identified by means of a factor analysis were then reevaluated by means of a variance analysis. For the purposes of evaluation, ANOVA, which is a kind of variant analysis that determine whether the variance between the subject group averages is statistically significant, was used and analysis was supported by Bonferoni analysis using SPSS analysis program to identify the data that caused the variance.

IV. Relation Between Factors of Social Capital and Rural Features

Significant factors to variance at 0.05 confidence is evident in the charts below that contain analysis results.

Age distribution for determining the correlation between age structure and social capital was defined in four categories, namely under 35, 35 to 42, 43 to 54, and over 55 age. No factors

were detected with “p” value lower than 0.05 at 0.05 confidence level. Accordingly, it was seen that there isn’t any significant variation in terms of social capital factors between young heads of households of age under 35, middle aged heads of households, and senior heads of households of age over 55.

Education level of the heads of households were asked to assess the relation of education level with social capital factors; results were assessed, and three categories were determined, namely elementary school dropouts, elementary and middle school (junior high school) graduates, and graduates of senior high schools. In review of education level, it is evident that education level has significant relevance to 3rd (Entrepreneurship and Participation) and 6th (Tolerance and Division) factors of social capital. While “p” value is 0.000 for Entrepreneurship and Participation factor, it was measured to be 0.047 for Tolerance and Division factor (Table 3).

Table 3: Relation Between Factors of Social Capital and Education

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1	Between Groups	1,291	2	0,646	0,641	0,529
	Within Groups	98,709	98	1,007		
	Total	100,000	100			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1	Between Groups	4,345	2	2,172	2,226	0,113
	Within Groups	95,655	98	0,976		
	Total	100,000	100			
REGR factor score 3 for analysis 1	Between Groups	40,165	2	20,082	32,892	0,000
	Within Groups	59,835	98	0,611		
	Total	100,000	100			
REGR factor score 4 for analysis 1	Between Groups	0,015	2	0,007	0,007	0,993
	Within Groups	99,985	98	1,020		
	Total	100,000	100			
REGR factor score 5 for analysis 1	Between Groups	5,266	2	2,633	2,724	0,071
	Within Groups	94,734	98	0,967		
	Total	100,000	100			
REGR factor score 6 for analysis 1	Between Groups	6,035	2	3,018	3,147	0,047
	Within Groups	93,965	98	0,959		
	Total	100,000	100			

In our review of the origin of variation; it is clear that there isn’t any variance between elementary school dropouts and elementary and middle school graduates, while senior high school graduates had significant variance than the other two categories.

Spoken languages in the house were asked to heads of households in order to determine the relation of language use, which is the basis of communication and social relationships, with the factors of social capital. According to the answers to this question, 3 categories were determined, namely those who do not understand/speak Turkish (1), those who understand/speak Turkish (2) and those who have Turkish as the mother language (3). Further to ANOVAs analysis, it is understood that language use is relevant to External and Institutional Relations (P:0.002) and Agency and Participation (P:0.000) factors. There is a significant difference between those who speak Turkish and those who do not in External and Institutional Relations factor. For Agency and Participation factor, significant difference was

found only in those who had Turkish as mother language. At this point, relevance of ethnic structure becomes evident in terms of Agency and Participation factors (Table 4).

Property ownership, enterprise scale and structure, which are the variables that define the structure of agricultural production, with the factors of social capital, were also assessed by means of anova analysis and it was seen that the variances between property ownership and enterprise scale had no significant relevance to social capital factors at 0.05 confidence level. However, relation of property structure with social capital factors was examined at 0.10 confidence level because it is one of the main highlights of this study. And significant variance was found between owners of property with title deed and shareholders, and owners of property with title deed and agricultural workers without land in terms of Trust and Intercommunity Relations factor (P:0.053) (Table 5).

Table 4 : Relation Between Factos of Social Capital and Language

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1	Between Groups	1,587	2	0,794	0,79	0,457
	Within Groups	98,413	98	1,004		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1	Between Groups	11,781	2	5,891	6,544	0,002
	Within Groups	88,219	98	0,9		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 3 for analysis 1	Between Groups	36,158	2	18,079	27,752	0,000
	Within Groups	63,842	98	0,651		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 4 for analysis 1	Between Groups	3,465	2	1,732	1,759	0,178
	Within Groups	96,535	98	0,985		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 5 for analysis 1	Between Groups	3,46	2	1,73	1,756	0,178
	Within Groups	96,54	98	0,985		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 6 for analysis 1	Between Groups	5,352	2	2,676	2,771	0,068
	Within Groups	94,648	98	0,966		
	Total	100	100			

However, it was also found that differences in enterprise forms made difference in Trust and Intercommunity Relations (P:0.0041), External and Institutional Relations (P:0.000) and Information (P: 0.017) factors of social capital depending on the resulting p value. As per the ANOVAs analysis carried out, significant variances exist between households that cultivate their own land and households that cultivate family land in the context of Trust and Intercommunity Relations factor and between sharecroppers and operators of other kind, and between those who cultivate their own land and tenants in the context of External and Institutional Relations factor. (Table 6).

Table 5 : Relation Between Factors of Social Capital and Property

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1	Between Groups	5,819	2	2,909	3,027	0,053
	Within Groups	94,181	98	0,961		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1	Between Groups	2,273	2	1,137	1,140	0,324
	Within Groups	97,727	98	0,997		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 3 for analysis 1	Between Groups	3,244	2	1,622	1,643	0,199
	Within Groups	96,756	98	0,987		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 4 for analysis 1	Between Groups	1,575	2	0,787	0,784	0,459
	Within Groups	98,425	98	1,004		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 5 for analysis 1	Between Groups	4,327	2	2,164	2,216	0,114
	Within Groups	95,673	98	0,976		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 6 for analysis 1	Between Groups	0,162	2	0,081	0,080	0,924
	Within Groups	99,838	98	1,019		
	Total	100	100			

Table 6: Relation Between Factors of Social Capital and Production

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1	Between Groups	9,768	4	2,442	2,598	0,041
	Within Groups	90,232	96	0,940		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1	Between Groups	36,018	4	9,004	13,510	0,000
	Within Groups	63,982	96	0,666		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 3 for analysis 1	Between Groups	4,521	4	1,13	1,137	0,344
	Within Groups	95,479	96	0,995		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 4 for analysis 1	Between Groups	11,635	4	2,909	3,16	0,017
	Within Groups	88,365	96	0,920		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 5 for analysis 1	Between Groups	2,822	4	0,706	0,697	0,596
	Within Groups	97,178	96	1,012		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 6 for analysis 1	Between Groups	2,994	4	0,749	0,741	0,566
	Within Groups	97,006	96	1,010		
	Total	100	100			

Population sizes of rural settlements were classified as those with population less than 50, population between 50-100 people, population between 100-200 people and population greater than 200 people, and the relation of settlement population with social capital factors were examined. P value was determined as 0.432 for 5th factor (Openness to Diversity) but remained lower than 0.05 for all other factors. Accordingly, ANOVAs analysis revealed that population size had significant variances for all factors except openness to diversity (Table 7).

Table 7: Relation Between Factors of Social Capital and Population

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1	Between Groups	24,214	3	8,071	10,331	0,000
	Within Groups	75,786	97	0,781		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1	Between Groups	27,05	3	9,017	11,989	0,000
	Within Groups	72,95	97	0,752		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 3 for analysis 1	Between Groups	19,239	3	6,413	7,703	0,000
	Within Groups	80,761	97	0,833		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 4 for analysis 1	Between Groups	35,894	3	11,965	18,104	0,000
	Within Groups	64,106	97	0,661		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 5 for analysis 1	Between Groups	2,781	3	0,927	0,925	0,432
	Within Groups	97,219	97	1,002		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 6 for analysis 1	Between Groups	10,729	3	3,576	3,886	0,011
	Within Groups	89,271	97	0,92		
	Total	100	100			

Further to analysis that was carried out to determine the relation between quality of living, which is one of the variables that define the settlement character, with social capital; it was found that variances in quality of living had effect only in the context of External and Institutional Relations (P:0.000). In review of the origin of variance, it is seen that settlements with average and higher quality of living were more advantageous in terms of External and Institutional Relations factor (Table 8).

Table 8: Relation Between Factors of Social Capital and Life Quality

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
REGR factor score 1 for analysis 1	Between Groups	1,185	3	0,395	0,388	0,762
	Within Groups	98,815	97	1,019		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 2 for analysis 1	Between Groups	19,775	3	6,592	7,97	0,000
	Within Groups	80,225	97	0,827		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 3 for analysis 1	Between Groups	6,531	3	2,177	2,259	0,086
	Within Groups	93,469	97	0,964		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 4 for analysis 1	Between Groups	5,755	3	1,918	1,974	0,123
	Within Groups	94,245	97	0,972		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 5 for analysis 1	Between Groups	3,426	3	1,142	1,147	0,334
	Within Groups	96,574	97	0,996		
	Total	100	100			
REGR factor score 6 for analysis 1	Between Groups	6,231	3	2,077	2,149	0,099
	Within Groups	93,769	97	0,967		
	Total	100	100			

VI. Discussion

Explanatory analysis carried out to define the factors of social capital in the rural area and relations of those factors with independent variables that define the characteristics of households explain the social capital structure in rural settlements.

Variables pertaining to social networks and norms, which are defined to be the indicators of social capital, were gathered under certain headings by means of factor analysis. Consequently, structure and quality of social relationships were identified for rural settlements subject to this study. Accordingly, factors of social capital have been found to be trust and intercommunity relations, external and institutional relations, agency and participation, information, openness to diversity, tolerance and division in order of significance. It is understood that relationships that form the social capital occur in form of relationships in villages, relationships between villages, and institutional relations; and that these relationships are defined by trust, mutuality, tolerance, and receipt of information.

Relation between above factors of social capital with independent variables was explained by means of ANOVAs analysis. Accordingly:

Although it was predicted that property ownership and enterprise scale, which determine the structure of agricultural production, would make a difference in elements of social capital, It was found that there weren't any significant differences between title deed owners and share holders or between large enterprise owners and small enterprise owners further to analysis in terms of the factors of social capital. As for 0.010 confidence level, it was found that there was a significant difference between title deed owners and share holders in terms of trust and intercommunity relations. In this case, it is evident that trust increases among the households that have title deeds where property ownership is certified in terms of intra-village relations. On the other hand, enterprise structure was predicted to be significant in terms of the factors of social capital, and it was found that it was important in terms of trust and intercommunity relations, and external and institutional relations. It is evident that households that operate their own property are more confident in intra-village relationships while sharecroppers that do not own property have weaker external and institutional relations.

It was also predicted that age, education and ethnic identity of households would be effective on the factors of social capital, and it was found that age structure did not make any difference. However, it was found that increase in education level and use of Turkish language helped households to be more entrepreneurial and participant and also reinforced institutional relations.

Because there were no use of newspaper or radio in any of the rural settlements, no variance were identified in information factor, however, it was found that language usage was effective in terms of external and institutional relations, and agency and participation factors.

As it was also pointed out by Stone (2001), settlement structure was found in this study to be one of the determining factors of the social capital and it was understood that population of the settlement were effective on both the structure and quality of social relations.

In addition to the thought that was proposed in social capital theory that participation to social networks made great contribution to economic growth, economic structure was also predicted to be effective in development of social networks. And it was assumed that poverty could be a significant obstacle in rural settlements' external relations. Further to the analysis, it was observed that settlement's economic structure made difference in terms of external and institutional relations factor.

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