

however, is predominantly utilized in non-productive (consumer) forms that tend to undermine traditional peasant society.

In the third set of conditions, the external capitalist intrusion diverts both natural resources and labour from the subsistence sector. Peasant household production is drastically undermined and peasants are transformed into rural proletarians - either 'disguised' (as household producers in 'appearance' only), or in the actual form of wage labourers.

Most agrarian studies which have investigated rural change in the concrete would concur that the above schema is far from unilinear or pervasive, not only for the third world but in the current re-interpretations of the 'classical road' to capitalist agriculture (cf. Djurfeldt, 1982). In many cases, the increasing commoditization of the agrarian economy has had a selective impact in undermining some features of traditional economies but not others. In Egypt, for example, land reform measures introduced in the 1950s had the anticipated result of destroying semi-feudal relations in the countryside, and the division of large estates into medium and smaller holdings. But subsequent waves of peasant migrations (both internal and external) in the mid-1970s, unexpectedly re-absorbed the massive surplus of landless labourers primarily into the Arab (oil-rich) labour market and reversed the predicted proletarianization of rural Egypt. Thus, in one decade, the country witnessed strong counter trends in the direction of both intensified capitalist farming, and the reinforcement of peasant household production (Taylor, 1983:5-6). Again, in Turkey, as the cases discussed in Chapter 1 signify, we witness a wide spectrum of agrarian relations of production - but it is suggested that 'kulak-type' villages, relying on the capitalized resources of rich peasants, exhibited the best chances of survival (Keydar, 1980:13-21). Both 'petty commodity production' and capitalist farming are seen here as moving towards disintegration.