

CRIMINALITY IN A SMALL COMMUNITY OF RAPID URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALIZATION (The Ereğli Project)

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS (*):

1. — It is generally known that the criminality changes both in quantity and nature in industrialized and urbanized communities: Criminality as a whole will increase in such an industrialized community; the differentiation between the urban and rural criminality will diminish in time, the percentage of violent crimes among the general criminality will decrease, the proportion of crimes against property and fraudulent crimes will rise, female criminality and delinquency of children will increase.

It has to be examined whether the changes that occurred while the western societies were industrializing and urbanizing are universal or not and whether these observations are bound to be the same or not whatever the cultural background of the societies in the process of urbanization might be. For instance it must be studied whether the industrialization and urbanization process functions the same way as in the eastern societies, which do not have the cultural background similar to those of the west.

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1) Sulhi Dönmezer, İktisadî bir olay sıfatıyla, suç, iktisadî kalkınma ve suçluluk, (iktisadî kalkınmanın sosyal meseleleri, İstanbul, 1963, p. 78 ve son.). The English version of the same study (Social Aspects of Economic Development).

In one of our articles², making the use of the statistics published by Interpol we have had noted that during the period between 1955-1966, when Turkey, industrialized, urbanized and changed quickly, a slight trend of increase in general criminality occurred, the development in violent crimes still continued and the proportion of fraudulent crimes remained the same and we had concluded that the social values, islamic customs, very strong family structures that have been established for centuries are still functioning as the means of social control and therefore the said social changes do not have much effects on criminality. We had expressed the same ideas at the meeting of Criminology organised by the Council of Europe among the Directors of the Institutes of Criminology of Europe between November 28 - December 1, 1972. The main topic of discussion being "Violence in Society". As we had tried to assert at this assembly, economical development in Turkey has caused an increase in general criminality. But in Turkey the crimes of profit and gain by violence, have not been more than the behavioral crimes of violence. In this sense it is clear that Turkey does not follow the developments seen in this respect in western societies. There is no doubt that this development is the result of the socio-cultural difference, between Turkey and the West³.

2. — During the 1960's, in a small coast district of the Blacksea, the largest Iron-Steel Industry enterprise was founded. For the mentioned small town this meant urbanization, population mobility, change, culture conflict and the weakening of the local moreses and customs and nonformal social control mechanisms, in a word a new way of life.

To be able to determine the effects of the said process on criminality and to find out how the phenomenon of rapid industrialization would effect this small town community, we decided to follow the development of delinquency step by step, in this region,

2) **Sulhi Dönmezer** : Criminality and Economic Deve'opments (Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute, Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, vol. 3, No. 1, and 2, p. 65).

3) The study mentioned in the second footnote. Ref.: Tenth Conference of Directors of Criminological Reserach Ins'titute, Council of Europe (DPC/CDIRC/73).

for a period of five years, between 1964-1968. Our real goal was to determine the effects of the events that would occur on criminality when passing from a traditional community life into an industrialized one.

3. — It would be a mistake to think that Eregli is just the suitable place for the purpose mentioned above; even if urbanization had been very simple and meagre, Eregli had been in the process of industrialization since the 1840's. At that time coal was discovered in the vicinity which brought about the construction of a small harbour and the appearance of some urban characteristics, therefore the small town could not maintain all its traditional characteristics, so the Iron & Steel industry did not find Eregli as a closed isolated self sufficient agricultural community⁴. But the fact that the newly established Iron & Steel industry goes beyond the scope of industrialization, prevalent in Turkey may justify us here in the choice of Eregli for this purpose. In fact the construction of the plant began on the 16th June, 1961 and was completed on May 15th, 1965. About 15,500 workers had laboured at the construction and workers from outside of Eregli constituted 70% of this number. In February 1969, 3,879 were employed at the factory of whom 35% were natives of the small town.

Theoretically, these figures indicate clearly that since 1961. The foundation of the iron and steel establishment has brought several elements that may have criminogenic impact on the life of Eregli. Workers more than half of the town's own population came, they stayed temporarily and this situation caused a process that may eventually produce a large amount of crime.

4. — A very pleasing factor concerning the Eregli project is undoubtedly the urban community research that Mübeccel Kıray had achieved in Eregli in 1962⁵. This most valuable research work determines the functional integration created by the social institutions, interactions and the value system operating in Eregli in 1962. Thus a great contribution is obtained for our purpose of

4) **Mübeccel Belik Kıray** : Eregli, ağır sanayiden önce bir sahil kasabası, Ankara, 1964.

5) The work mentioned in footnote no. 4.

studying delinquency. Mübecceel Kiray's study would certainly furnish us with great advantages. When the final results of our endeavours are ready for submitting to the public many references will be made to Kiray's work.

5. — We must now touch briefly on the main phenomenon we consider most important for our research purpose:

It is already known that the phenomenon of large scale urbanization and industrialization is taking place in Turkey. The size of urbanization is obvious when one looks at the results of the 1973 census. Eregli is at the top of the regions where this phenomenon of urbanization has occurred in utmost density.

As Kiray mentioned in her work, the population of Eregli in 1840 was approximately 2,000, in 1910 it passed over the 6,000 mark, so in 70 years an increase of 300% was realised. The population was 7,878 in 1955 and 8,815 in 1960. If 1935 is taken as 100, the population growth in 25 years is at a rate of approximately 30%.

After 1960, this increase gained a great velocity. According to the census of 1965 the town's population was 18,978, the census of 1970 found the town's population to be 28,904. So within the period of 1960-1970 the population had increased three times. Certainly this increase is related to the effects of the newly established Iron & Steel industry namely, because the population increase in the small villages of the region never approaches this proportion. The rural population of the region was 77,769 in 1965 and 82,394 in 1970. The population increase in the villages is also much above the general increase of population in Turkey; but it is very low in comparison to the town itself. We think that the rate of population increase in Eregli to be the largest in Turkey.

This observation clearly indicates a large population flow to Eregli, the source of this migration was not the villages of Eregli. It came from outside and over the last ten years this migration toward Eregli continued. Undoubtedly the main cause is industrialization.

So a Criminology research covering the years 1964-1968 should be considered valuable enough to reflect the principal elements

of the development of delinquency in a very quickly industrializing and urbanizing community.

METHOD :

6. — The method we used in our research in short was : An inquiry was made into the crimes that were committed in the town and its affiliated villages that came to the attention of public prosecutor together with their authors. It might be thought that a research on the crimes committed only in town itself would be more suitable for the purpose. But in this region the town and the villages live very much integrated and intermingled. Particularly on the market days the villagers pass their day in town. The villagers are strongly integrated with the town. For this reason it seemed more profitable to take the small towns as a whole.

Undoubtedly, the figures of criminality that we have obtained and we are working on, do not reflect the real situation. Since the criminals sent to the public prosecutor may be acquitted later and there might be a certain amount of criminality which is not reported to the public prosecutor and remain as black numbers. Concerning the smuggling crimes, for instance, this figure may be quite large. The numbers given by the courts are insufficient from the point of view of our purpose because, as it is known, criminal trials in Turkey go on for years and thus the criminality for a certain period cannot be calculated from the number of convictions. Our principal aim, on the other hand, is not to obtain the definite crime figures but to determine the trends in the development of crime, so the method we used might be considered as sufficient.

7. — It is self evident that there is no possibility of reporting all the data of this inquiry in a short time. All the data and its interpretation will be published later. Concerning our subject, here, some results of the inquiry and their interpretation correlated with the socio-cultural characteristics of the Turkish society, might be sufficient. We will only report some results indicating that urbanization and industrialization does not give the results same

as those of the Western societies. In short we will be inquiring our hypothesis on this subject.

Our hypothesis is this : All the societies that go through urbanization and industrialization do not necessarily face the same problems caused by industrialization and urbanization, especially on the problem of criminality. The Normative order of the societies and the socio-economical conditions may lessen the negative effects of the said development or at least may diminish their density and the social structure may create new integrations overcoming the crises and problems caused by the period of transition in industrialization. The people's perceptions related to crime do not change as quickly and immediately as it seems.

GENERAL CRIMINALITY IN EREGLI :

8. — During the five year period 40 different kinds of crime have been committed. They vary, largely from the violation of forestry law, to crimes of assault and battery, homicide and to crimes at the misdemeanour level. The table below indicates the number of criminals. There is a close relationship between the number of crimes and the number of criminals. Certainly the number of crimes is less.

Year	Woman	Men	Total amount
1964	89	794	883
1965	202	1005	1207
1966	164	1101	1265
1967	124	645	769
1968	80	577	657

As it might be noticed from the above table, if the year 1964 is taken as a basis, the criminality has increased 30 percent approximately, in 1965 and 1966 and in 1967 and 1968 the rate as below that of 1964. This fact must call attention.

During 1961/5 there was a great flow of workers to Eregli. After the construction activities were completed, approximately

12,000 construction workers must have left Eregli. Because, since 1965 the factory has been in production. There should have existed a large amount of criminality in relation to urbanization and mobility in 1964 and this figure should have the inclination of decreasing in 1965 and 1966. But it did not happen this way and on the contrary criminality increased during these years. This increase does not concern any kind of special crimes but there is an increase for all kinds of crime. For instance, crimes mostly committed in Eregli are violations of the Forestry law which are indicators of an agricultural traditionalist community. Violations of the forestry law are rural crimes in character. People in Turkey commit this crime widely and even in the village public opinion does not consider it as crime, the situation of the said crimes for five year period is as follows.

Year	Violations of the Forest Law	General Criminality
1964	411	883
1965	519	1097
1966	675	1265
1967	294	769
1968	270	657

9. — It might be understood from the above table that in the five year period, considering the big population increase, physical mobility and rapid industrialization there is no evidence to explain the increase of crime in 1965 and 1966 as it occurred in fact.

We are inclined to think that it is possible to connect this increase to the characteristics and nature of the industrial workers who came to this region after 1965. The new comer industrial workers were not rooted deep enough in the Eregli community. These people without organization, home and in permanent worries of residence caused a certain amount of increase in criminality. But in the period of the next two years they were integrated with the community in which they lived and thus a large crime potential has disappeared. The progress in the forestry crimes and thus in general criminality can be related to the temporary social disorganisation that the industrialization and mobility caused in the community.

In this period of confusion, worries of residence, blackmarket and high cost of living and their result as social disorganization, effected even the criminality of the region as a whole which means rural criminality. But in time, the community pulled itself together with the contributions of long established moreses and customs and the viable normative order, neutralized the said disorganization by integrating the coming workers and removing this way the occurring culture conflicts. Therefore after 1967, criminality returned to its normal level. This is we think a sound hypothesis.

Natives and Strangers committing Crimes :

10. — A study made according to the differentiations of criminals as natives and stranger will probably confirm the hypothesis we stated above. In the following table the numbers of the criminals that the inquiry was made on, are given according to the statement given by the accused whether they are natives or strangers.

Year	Native	Stranger
1964	788	88
1965	967	110
1966	1139	126
1967	692	77
1968	579	78

Most of the crimes committed by strangers are, assault and battery and theft. Those are characteristic crimes of workers coming to cities.

11. — The result that we evaluate very significant and might be obtained from the above table is that in this region of rapid industrialization, there has not been a large increase in criminality. On the contrary after a certain period of industrialization normal community life reestablished, the traditional mechanisms of social control of the community started to operate again, and criminality tended even to decrease. This is a very significant fact and is a development contrary to the results of the researches made in the

West. Before examining this fact in relation to different kinds of crimes, we would like to touch upon the subject of organized crime in Eregli.

ORGANIZED CRIME :

12. — Organized crime does not exist within the known scope of crime in Eregli. It is said that some crimes of smuggling directed towards different parts of Turkey are committed. Smuggling is in Turkey among the best organized criminal activities. But we have not discovered any reference to organized crime among the violations of Law we have dealt with. However the crimes committed in complicity constitute a large proportion in Eregli's criminality. As we will state below, the rate of complicity in female criminality is especially high. For this respect we are giving the following table:

COMPLICITY

Year	Total Number of Criminals	Woman	Man
1964	883	29	173
1965	1097	120	468
1966	1265	93	301
1967	769	87	224
1968	657	40	177

CRIMES OF VIOLENCE :

13. — As we asserted above that in urbanizing and industrializing, societies in general, crimes of violence diminish and on the other hand the amount of crimes against property and especially fraudulent crimes increase. To be more, precise, we submit that the findings of researches made in the West confirm these results. Also the Western researches declare that the crimes of violence are nowadays directed towards obtaining profit rather than to be behavioral crimes and, that there is a tendency to commit crimes of violence for the obtainment of gain and profit.

This development is not seen in the rapidly industrializing region that we studied. To give an evidence of this finding we would like to submit separate tables indicating crimes concurrent with violence, then crimes of theft and finally crimes of fraud and forgery that were committed in Eregli between 1964-1968.

CRIMES OF VIOLENCE

Crimes	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Average of 5 years
Homicide	6	14	22	9	7	11.6
Robbery	4	—	—	—	—	0.20
Assault and battery	159	235	198	230	116	187.6
Rape, detainment, abduction of girls	31	64	33	18	14	32
Resistance to the public authority	2	—	2	5	6	3

According to the figures taken by the police and the gendarmary between 1960-1970, the numbers of the above crimes we calculated for per one hundred thousand people in Turkey are shown in the following table:

Crimes	1960	1965	1970
Homicide	6.9	8	9
Robbery	1.2	1.5	1.1
Assault and battery	94.7	116	100
Sexual crimes committed by violence	4.8	4.9	3.9

As we compare the contents of two tables for Eregli and the one on general criminality, it is clearly seen that the crimes of violence in Eregli is quite above the average of Turkey. Therefore the statement that crimes of violence regress with respect to the crimes of profit is valid neither for Turkey nor for Eregli.

14. — The Sexual crimes of violence in Turkey keep stationary, there has been no noticeable changes in years. They manifest the same characteristics in Eregli and even tend to lessen. In fact concerning their characteristics, these violations are rural crimes. It is all evident, that in a community in the process of urbanization and transformation toward urban culture, the amount of such crimes diminish. As we already declared, these crimes show a slight tendency to regress in Turkey.

The crimes of violence on property also tend to lessen in Turkey. In Eregli these crimes are certainly reducing.

Another fact that must call attention is the increase in homicides and the high ratio of battery and assaults in Turkey. As it can be seen in the above table we notice also the same tendency in Eregli. In this respect, the figures for 1968 are most significant. But like the homicides, the assault and batteries in Eregli are above the average of Turkey. These two kinds of crimes are especially among the characteristics of rural areas in Turkey and they should be less in industrializing regions. The number of these two crimes in Eregli, is higher than the average of Turkey.

15. — We would like to go over crimes against property: namely theft, embezzlement, fraud and forgery separately:

THEFTS

1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Average of 5 years
54	75	78	45	49	60.2

As it can be seen from the above figures, urbanization and industrialization did not cause a certain increase in the thefts. The increase in 1965 and 1966 is related to the construction workers. When the construction ended and the disorganization it caused disappeared, the figures of thefts came back to their normal level.

EMBEZZLEMENT

1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Average of 5 years
7	14	7	3	4	7

FORGERY

1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Average of 5 years
—	5	1	12	1	3.8

As it might be seen, the figures show that instead of an increase of the crimes of profit which depend on fraud, there is a tendency to decrease. These Crimes show all the characteristics of the rural areas.

MALE AND FEMALE DELINQUENCY :

16. — In a region of rapid industrialization, the ratio of the male delinquency in comparison to female criminality should be carefully examined. In fact, as it seems natural that the female delinquency is bound to be increased in a industrializing and urbanizing region.

In an industrial society where the traditional values will wear away, in time it will be difficult for the social control mechanisms to effect women and the new values that come into existence will result in the increase in woman delinquency and the criminogenic factors will start to be active. Therefore it is important to examine separately the women delinquency in Eregli in order to be able to determine the effects of rapid industrialization on delinquency.

In the Anatolian town like Eregli, since women generally work within homes and the public opinion is not in favor of the women working outside, there must be a significant difference between male and female delinquency. In fact, there is such a difference between men and women delinquency in Turkey in general

The amount of crimes committed by men and women in Eregli are indicated below:

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Average of 5 years
woman	89	202	164	124	80	131.8
man	794	1005	1101	645	577	824.4

One might notice from the above table that when the 5 year average of the male and female delinquency are compared, woman delinquency is 16 percent of the man delinquency. This proportion seems, quite above the general proportion in Turkey. In fact, according to the (no. 601 Justice Statistics of 1962) 239, 582 men and 12 664 women were convicted for the crimes they had committed, the proportion being 3.5 percent⁶. We know that comparing the number of the convicted, with the figures collected by the police is not suitable for reaching true results. But, such a comparison, at least makes it possible to have a certain idea. Therefore the number of the female delinquents in Eregli, which is much above the average of Turkey is significant.

In Eregli, like other parts of Turkey women are employed largely in agricultural works. Apart from this, women in Eregli also are employed as workers in two canning factories and at the strawberry, vegetable and fish seasons. *Kıray* in her research noted that 40 women were working as attendants. Whereas, in Eregli, the traditional values on woman's working outside her home still exists and the majority is against the woman's labour outside her house. In her research, *Kıray* points out that those who are for the woman's outside work use 16.5 percent. Since we do not have a ratio for Turkey, it is difficult to evaluate the said proportion. But we think that this proportion is quite significant for an Anatolian town.

Another fact particularly worth mentioning on the subject of female delinquency is the abundance of crimes committed by complicity. The proportion in 1964 is 200 men to 29 women. We already tried to submit necessary explanations on complicity.

The crimes committed by women are mostly defamation, then violation of Forestry Law, assault and battery, damage to property

6) **Sulhi Dönmezer** : *Kriminoloji*, 4th. ed., Istanbul, 1971, p. 124

Assault and battery and violation of Forestry Law are generally committed in complicity with men. The ratio of woman delinquency in comparison to the whole criminality has not changed more or less in the period of five years.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY :

17. — Unlike the western societies there is no serious problem of juvenile delinquency in Turkey. Among different factors the main one is the subsistence of the traditional family structure, in spite of deep social changes. The large family is transforming into nucleus family but the basis on which the large family rests on is mentained.

In Turkey, the child violating criminal code is considered delinquent. The social inclination is towards the repression of this child, since the juvenile delinquent is an exception. In countries where the juvenile delinquency is widespread, in countries where the probability of a child committing crime is high the child is not considered a criminal but a child who has problems.

In the following table the number of criminals in Eregli between the ages 11-15 and 16-18 are shown:

Age groups	1964		1965		1966		1967		1968	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
11 - 15	1	9	1	30	3	21	9	12	4	17
16 - 18	2	33	13	68	9	85	12	38	4	27
Total	3	42	14	98	12	106	21	50	8	44
Total amount in general	45		112		118		71		52	

If we take the average of the sum total of 5 years, the crimes that the girls committ constitute approximately 17 percent of that of the boys. So the similar proportion of female criminality to male delinquency in Eregli occurs here too.

As it might be noticed in the above table, the abundance in 1965 and 1966 is also seen for the child delinquency. During these years the number becomes twice as much.

The 5 year average of the child delinquency is 79.5. We had noted that the total average of criminality was 956. Therefore the crimes that the people between 11-18 committ are 8.3 percent of the total criminality of the region.

On the other hand, in Turkey, the 4 year average of convictions during the period of 1959-1962, for those between the ages 11-17 are 12 percent in proportion to general amount of convictions. So the figure for Eregli might be considered as below the general number. Unfortunately there is no possibility of stating the definitiveness and correctness of the figures. We can only say that the rate of the juvenile delinquency in Eregli is lower than Turkey's average. This fact noticed in an area of urbanization and industrialization has to be considered most significant.

CONCLUSIONS :

18. — When a human society as the result of industrial development and other reasons starts to be urbanized and begins to become an industrial society, the characteristics of traditional community gradually disappears and a new form of social system based on new features and contents of structural elements, arises: "complex industrial society".

The fundamental medium of organization at this kind of society is no more kinship but stratification. Specialized economical, political, religious and educational organizations constitute the main medium of societal organization. Large physical mobility and the process of urbanization continually creates new institutions. The developing technology oblige the formation of new institutions and the new institutions require new norms and eliminate the old ones. The interest groups that develop in an industrial society strive to make norms and rules on the side of their profits. This produces the disagreement (dissensus) on existing social norms and values.

Therefore a large scale of deviance from the norms and rules occur. This decreases the rate of integration of the society⁷ and as a result the general criminality increases in a noticeable way and changes its nature.

The hypothesis that we had the courage to put forward is that these developments must not be considered inevitable for all industrializing human societies. The normative order of the societies, the socio-economical conditions, the strenght of the people's perceptions may lessen the density of this development and without causing too much harm on the social structure new integrations might be developped in a short time and passing into an industrialized society might be realized without too many problems.

In our opinion, Turkey, in at least some regions of industrialization indicates an appearance that justifies this hypothesis. The Eregli project that we tried to summarize above, also confirms this hypothesis, in the field of criminality.

As for the futurology we make this guess: in the coming years the conflicts produced by industrialization and urbanization will increase in Turkey; Police work and preoccupations of the Administration of Justice will increase and more crimes will be committed in the coming years. Eregli will have its share within this development. But Turkish social structure and valid medium of social control will lessen the problems, and they will not be as violent as those that occurred when the same development took place in the west. In the Turkish society which is based mainly on village structure and which contains all the integrative elements of that structure, the social norms and values are so deeply rooted and so well internalized by the people that in spite of the very rapid passing to industrialization, they keep their strength and the perceptions do not change easily.

Certainly nobody can estimate how long this situation may endure and last. But if we, as a society, know the value of this moral

7) For the present differences between the traditional and industrial societies Ref.: **Sulhi Dönmezer**: *Sosyoloji*, İstanbul, 1972, v. 165 in the end.

capital of our's and do what is required for its maintenance and protection we can save ourselves at least partially, from the effects of the problems that the Western societies faced when they industrialized. It does not, by no means, prove that we are not going to pay any price of industrialization at all.

THE PROBLEMS
ECONOMIQUE AU MOYEN AGE



THE PROBLEMS

Introduction & Summary

THE PROBLEMS

THE PROBLEMS

The economic problems of the Middle Ages were not the same as those of the modern world. The medieval economy was based on agriculture and the exchange of goods. The problems of the Middle Ages were the result of the slow growth of the economy and the lack of a market economy. The problems of the Middle Ages were the result of the slow growth of the economy and the lack of a market economy.

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