

**SOCIO-SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF URBAN CRIME:  
ANKARA CASE**

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **SOCIO-SPATIAL DIMENSIONS OF URBAN CRIME: ANKARA CASE**

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The main objective of this thesis is to evaluate the question of urban crime and its relationship with the lower income groups in the cities by concentrating in the case study conducted in one of the deprived neighbourhoods of Ankara, namely Hıdırlıktepe.

In the dominant conception on urban crime, there are two main assumptions; urban crime is partly an outcome of urbanization itself and the main actors of urban crime are deprived communities those living in the most deteriorated neighborhoods of the cities. The thesis challenges both assumptions by arguing that urbanization itself could not be accounted for the rising crime rates and it is unwarranted to argue that deprived communities are the main source of urban crime.

Against this bias, in this thesis it is argued that the very same perception is used as a part of wider policy of isolation towards the lower income groups, and this social as well as the economic isolation and exclusion has important contributions to the rising crime rates in the deprived neighborhoods in urban areas. The findings of the

case study conducted in Hıdırlıktepe, one of the neighborhoods where the most deprived communities of Ankara live, support these arguments.

Keywords: Urban Crime, Spatial Segregation, Social Exclusion, Squatter Settlement

## ÖZ

### KENTSEL SUÇUN SOSYO-MEKANSAL BOYUTLARI: ANKARA ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tezin ana amacı, kentsel suç sorununu ve bu sorunun kentlerdeki düşük gelir gruplarıyla ilişkisini Ankara'nın yoksul mahallelerinden biri olan Hıdırlıktepe'de yürütülen araştırma üzerine yoğunlaşarak değerlendirmektir.

Kentsel suça dair egemen anlayış içerisinde iki ana sav bulunmakta olup, bunlara göre kentsel suç kısmen kentleşmenin bir sonucudur ve kentsel suçun başlıca aktörleri kentlerin durumu en kötü mahallelerinde yaşamakta olan yoksul topluluklardır. Tez bu iki varsayıma, kentleşmenin kendisinin artan suç oranlarının sorumlusu olarak görülemeyeceğini, ayrıca yoksul toplulukların kentsel suçun başlıca kaynağı olduğunu öne sürmenin de haksız bir değerlendirme olduğunu savunarak karşı çıkmaktadır.

Tezde ayrıca bu önyargılara karşı, aynı algılamının düşük gelir gruplarına karşı daha geniş bir yalıtım politikasının parçası olarak kullanıldığı, toplumsal, aynı zamanda ekonomik yalıtım ve dışlamanın da kentsel alanların yoksul

mahallelerinde artmakta olan suç oranlarına önemli katkıları olduđu savunulmaktadır. Ankara'nın en yoksul kesimlerinin yaşadığı mahallelerden biri olan Hıdırlıktepe'de yapılan araştırmanın bulguları da bu savları desteklemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Suç, Mekansal Ayrım, Toplumsal Dışlama, Gecekondu

To Victims of Crime



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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Crime, which is any act or behaviour against social norms and values prohibited by law for the protection of the public (Wolfgang et al., 1970), has been one of the enduring social problems of urban areas in all societies across time, especially in recent years. Urban crisis of 1990's was that of urban crime and violence in the world in 2000's (McClain, 2001). In Turkey, crime rates have also been picking up considerably as parallel to the population growth, and crime has become general phenomenon in the cities. Today, Turkey is one of the countries whose prison population is high among countries of the world (DİE, 2000a). It is one of the popular claim that urbanization contributes to the exponential increase in crime, and urban centres are characterized as more open to violence and less safer than rural areas. Therefore, especially strain and cultural deviance theories investigating the relationship between urbanization, crime and deviance, have defended that urbanization process has important contributions to criminal behaviour (Adler et al., 1991; Akers, 1999). This claim has been generally explained by some concepts like high mobility, heterogeneity, impersonality, and anonymity of the cities. Because of these features peculiar to urban space, especially low income and poor communities living in deprived areas of the cities are regarded in touch with the problem of crime and deviance due to being more affected by the transformation in urbanization process. There is a clear socio-spatial segregation against this type of communities which naturally causes rising crime rates in neighborhoods which are already in disadvantageous position in cities, and crime threatens the urban life in an increasing scale today.

### **1.1. Problematic of the Thesis**

Urbanization has been viewed in two main ways in general. The first regards urbanization as a progressive force in technical innovation, socio-political change and economic development. The other sees urbanization as a destructive force with negative impacts on social cohesion. Whilst major cities traditionally have been the arena for economic development and cultural achievements, they are also the places where the problems of society are most acutely felt.

Today, certain aspects of urban environment really promote economic polarization, social exclusion, spatial segregation and individual alienation, and crime, as an important phenomenon for cities is seen as relevant to these problems of urban areas. Therefore, general problematic of this study is to show socio-economic problems which cannot be directly associated with urbanization process lead to deviant social behaviour that could result in urban areas being more dangerous places to live than less urban environments.

### **1.2. Aim of the Thesis**

Main aim in this study is to analyze the changing dimensions of urban crime and the relationship between crime and urbanization process by reviewing the various criminal activities in Turkish cities especially in Ankara from a historical perspective. Other emphasis will be to search what kind of social, economic or cultural problems may affect the level of crime in any place. Because determinant factors on crime cannot be explored in any place itself without the existing problems of them. Nowadays, lower-class people and the people living in lower-class areas have higher official crime rates than other groups. Moreover, even the actual rates of crime do not change, they are regarded as potential danger to urban culture. Therefore, another objective will be to examine possible correlations between crime and the growth of the inequalities and the socio-spatial segregation due to economic and social restructuring in the world especially after 1980's.

Today, cities create social contrasts with the growing spaces of poverty and segmentation, and criminality in spatially segregated poor areas in the cities increases day by day. Therefore, the most important aim in this study is to investigate the robustness and causality of the link between income inequality, segregation and crime rates in the cities.

### **1.3. Hypothesis of the Thesis**

It should be stated that both urbanization and crime are social facts and like any social event, they can only be explored as social issues. Social structures and relations form the city or any space, and the formations inside them. Therefore, city cannot be presented as one of the basic reasons of disobeying to social norms. As the city is a constituting part of social structure, it cannot be used as a variable without referring to economic, social, political and cultural relations in the analysis of crime. Therefore, basic hypothesis of this study is that there is no direct relationship between urbanization and crime without giving references to specific dimensions which define the pattern of urbanization.

Today, geographic concentration of poverty in the cities is an important evidence of polarization and fragmentation between spaces and classes in urban spaces. Physical and socio-economic isolation of urban poors from other segments of urban society is naturally a barrier in front of stability and order in urban areas. Therefore, the problem of urban crime can only be solved by the policies which regard the inclusion of all communities to urban population. In this regard, another hypothesis of the study is that the general claim which evaluates the urban crime as the behaviour of uneducated, lower-class young males who live in urban areas is not acceptable, and such a conception also contributes to the reproduction of economic isolation, social exclusion or residential segregation practices towards some spaces or communities in the cities.

#### **1.4. Methodology of the Thesis**

Regarding the methodology of the thesis, firstly, the main theories of crime, especially urban ones are investigated to provide theoretical framework. Then certain hypothesis are developed to be employed in the analysis of the case study. Before moving to the case study, the crime records of Turkish cities are taken into consideration with special emphasis on Ankara. In other words, crime statistics of Turkey, İstanbul and İzmir are also discussed to compare and contrast the urban crime in the framework of similarities and differences between them. In the study, crimes which are committed in urban areas (urban crimes) are used. Moreover, some demographic indicators related to urban population of Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir are evaluated with crime statistics to reach to reasonable results.

A field research which has been conducted in a neighborhood in Altındağ, namely Hıdırlıktepe is presented in the thesis. Main reason of this selection is that this neighborhood is designated as one of the most deprived neighborhoods in Ankara. Another reason of this choice is that it has an image associated with high crime rates. For these purposes, a series of deep interviews have been conducted with some groups about their perception of crime in Hıdırlıktepe. Interviews took place between December 2003 and February 2004. Those who contributed to study were residents, non-residents, owners and employees of established public or private businesses in and around the neighborhood. In addition, news about Hıdırlıktepe in mass media between January 2004 and July 2004 have been also examined in the study in order to show the image of the area in the mass media.

#### **1.5. Content of the Thesis**

This thesis which focuses on the issues of urban crime is divided into six chapters. The introductory chapter of the thesis exposes the problematic, aim, hypothesis, methodology and content of the thesis.

Second chapter contains literature review on urban crime, urbanization and the underclass, and develops a theoretical framework out of literature review. It also discuss the basic concepts related to the framework of the study.

In the third chapter of the study, first of all, aspects and dimensions of urbanization and socio-spatial and economic structures of Ankara and Turkey, together with İstanbul and İzmir are studied. Although the cities above differ in size, regional location, manufacturing base, population distribution and other dimensions, they comprise the largest metropolitan centers in Turkey and have certain similarities with regard to urban crime. This chapter also analyses urban crime and crime rates in Turkey and reviews the various criminal activities in the country. Crime statistics (despite their limitation coming from including crimes actually recorded by the police) are used to determine certain specificities of each cities under consideration. Moreover, certain types of crime in Turkey, İstanbul, İzmir and especially Ankara is used to understand the problem of crime in a more concrete perspective. Evaluation of these cities together will be functional to explore possible connections between the urban characteristic of one space and created criminal areas there in terms of spatial distribution of crime.

Fourth chapter of the study investigates whether criminal behaviour differs according to certain social, economic and cultural factors like age, gender, education, income inequality, unemployment, segregation, globalization or characteristics of space etc. Because differences between and inside the cities in terms of socio-economic and cultural structure may have considerable effect on rates or types of urban crime.

Fifth chapter examines the case of Hıdırlıktepe with special reference to relationship with crime rates in the area. For this purpose, some interviews that have been conducted to understand the perception of crime in police, other occupational groups, residents and non-residents of Hıdırlıktepe. This chapter also examines the media perception of crime in the area.

Last chapter which includes the final evaluation of the study consists of the presentation of findings of the study and policy proposals.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND BASIC CONCEPTS**

Crime is one of the oldest acknowledged social problems, and one of the very earliest to arouse systematic social science inquiry. Scholars have speculated about the causes of crime and possible solution proposals about it since ancient times when urban life has started to intensify, and criminological theories tried to explain crime and criminal concepts by different perspectives. For example, the book of Ezekiel reported a crime wave in 600 B.C. and regarded crime, even then, as an urban problem- the city is full of violence (Phillips and Votey, 1974). Every approach that will be examined below has studied crime on its own scientific framework. However, there is no consensus on why crime occurs and increases. In this study, before discussing urbanization and crime, it is essential to look at the basic concepts and principles of criminological theories and to evaluate their adequacy as an explanation of criminal and deviant behaviour. Moreover, the theories of urban crime, the theories of ghetto and the underclass will be also examined in the study.

#### **2.1. Liberal Criminology**

The trends within the discipline of criminology have been to search for a methodological and ideological update of liberal thinking. Generally, liberal writings of the various criminologists, sociologists and psychologists are given much attention in criminology which is indicative of the continued fascination with power, control and the models of the mechanical world. Their thinking is that man is the centre of the universe, but that they are the centre of man. They prescribe what is good and acceptable and how the world and life processes should be managed (Quinney, 1977).

In this study, sub-branches of liberal criminology will be discussed under the titles of classical criminology, positivist criminology and formative sociology which have their own sub-branches in their bodies.

### **2.1.1. Classical Criminology**

First philosophical studies on crime began with the enlightenment movement and generally beared liberal characteristics. But, rather than the searching of the causes of crime, these studies mostly supported reformist measures in rehabilitating criminals and better reforms of society as appropriate to the political thought of early liberal thinkers like Bentham, Beccaria and Mill (Reid, 1994). The development of classicism was firstly realized among enlightenment thinkers in 18<sup>th</sup> century against the irrationality, barbarity and inefficiency of the ancient regimes and their criminal justice system (Hughes, 1998).

In ancient times, judges had discretionary power to convict a person for an act not even legally defined as criminal. Foucault said: “The public execution was not just judicial but also a political act, even it was the representation of power” (Foucault, 1977, p.47). It can be said that, Classical School proposed more rational approaches to crime and punishment in 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to Beccaria, crime problem could be traced not to bad people, but to bad laws. (Adler et al., 1991; Hughes, 1998).

Unlike previous religious and superstitious explanations of crime for classicism, human beings were rational and free to choose how to act. The Classical School saw the crime in the context of utilitarianism as a product of rational will (Stark, 1975). For Bentham, criminal act is thus assumed to be something chosen as a result of the calculation of the likely pain and pleasure involved. All individuals choose to obey or violate the law by a rational calculation of the risk of pain versus potential pleasure derived from an act by weighing the consequences of their actions (Holmes and Vito, 1994).



In contemplating a criminal act, they take into account the probable legal penalties and the likelihood that they will be caught. If they believe legal penalty threatens more pain than the probable gain produced by the violation of law, then they will not commit the crime (Akers, 1999).

Classical criminology had an immediate and profound impact on legislation in that time when substitution of the rule of law for human arbitrariness spread rapidly in all over the world. It had an enormous influence and changing attitudes towards punishment and towards the purpose of the law and the legal system (Walklate, 1998). But it was primarily concerned with legal and penal reform rather than with formulating an explanation of criminal behaviour. Therefore, despite it had some impacts on crime and criminal problem, it remained as a reform movement in that time (Picca, 1995).

### **2.1.2. Positivist Criminology**

In 19<sup>th</sup> century, some scholars who began to make a positivist approach to the causes of crime, also began to rely on the scientific method and empirical research (Adler et al., 1991). According to this new understanding, there could be no real knowledge of social phenomena unless it was based in a positivist approach. The most important point about this approach is that it moved the criminology from a philosophical to a scientific perspective (Hagan, 1985).

Positivism which is a paradigm in the social sciences is organized around the domain assumption that social behaviour can be studied by using the same scientific methods as the scientific study of natural phenomenon. According to positivist thinking, people's behaviour is determined by external circumstances or conditions, whether "deviant" or criminal or a "normal" and law-abiding. It thus claims that human behaviour has causes that can be discovered by scientific observation and experimentation (Hughes, 1998).

Before positivism, Classical School of criminology had a preposition about the capacity of human beings to choose their acts in the principle of free will. Thus,

classicists who defended criminals also rationally choose to commit crime, did not care about why people behave as they do. Their attentions were on the act itself (Walklate, 1998). But the positivism defended that people did not choose of their own free will to commit crime, rather factors beyond their control were responsible for criminal behaviours (Adler et al., 1991). Crime was needed to be understood as a non-rational and determinate product of certain causes (Hughes, 1998) and it was possible to measure those biological, psychological and social factors. While some positivists defended the importance of biological, others defended psychological and environmental factors on committing crime. Now, it is essential to look at these basic different tendencies in the positivist criminology.

#### **2.1.2.1. Individual Positivism**

Theories locating the sources of crime primarily within the individual are generally called individual positivism. Biological and psychological theories of crime are two important examples of this kind of positivist understanding. Earliest individualist positivist theories of crime causation centered on biological factors and the biological researches which began after the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Maguire, 1994). According to biological determinism, criminality was biologically determined, individuals had no control over whether they were to become criminal (Muncie, 1999). First biological researches which were based on physiological and anthropological studies attempted to explain crime causation with reference to hereditary disorders.

The most important thinker in the positivist theory was Cesare Lombroso. Because after him, the causes of crime were began to study by investigating in the context of modern science. His theory of born criminals states that criminals are a lower form of life, near to their apelike ancestors than noncriminals in traits and dispositions (Adler et al., 1991). They are distinguishable from non-criminals by various physical features of creatures at an earlier stage of development like primitive or subhuman type before they become fully human (Hester and Eglin, 1992). These criminals cannot adjust to modern civilization. This absence of adjustment to social norms lead them to clash with society, actually to crime (Schafer, 1969).

Biological theories were criticised because of they ignored or gave insufficient attention to social, economic and environmental factors (Akers, 1999). Today, current biological theories composed of approaches coming from advances in genetics, brain functioning, neurology and biochemistry, and as addition to these new tendencies, integration of the factors with the social environment (bio-social approach) is dominant in biological deterministic criminology in recent years (Maguire, 1994).

While biological theories explain crime with one or more genetic, chemical or physiological variables, psychological development in the science shifted the emphasis from defect of criminals' bodies to defects of their minds (Muncie, 1999). Psychological and psychiatric approaches to crime are not clearly distinct from those of a biological orientation, but they seek answers to the crime problem in mental processes regardless of any physical stigmata or disorder (Schafer, 1969).

Within the psychological-psychiatric perspective, it has been psychiatry, and primarily psychoanalysis which was emerged out with the work of Freud during the 20<sup>th</sup> century had the idea that the causes of criminal behaviour originate in the personality. Personality is defined as a complex set of emotional and behavioural attributes that tend to remain relatively constant as the individual moves from situation to situation (Adler et al., 1991).

The idea of personality conflict, abnormal emotional adjustment or deviant personality traits coming from childhood, faulty identification or socialization processes and repressed personality as the courses of crime became quite popular among both scientists and the general public (Schafer, 1969).

As it can be seen, psychological theories are generally based on personality, mental retardation, psychic disturbance or psychological traits. Moreover, as a sub-branch of psychology, social psychological theories account for crime by reference to behaviour, and self or cognitive variables in a group context (Hester and Eglin, 1992).

Another step in the positivist approach is the sociological determinism which explains crime with cultural, structural and socio-demographic variables (Akers, 1999). Before the sociological theories for (Matza, 1964), while Classical School adapted the assumption that people exercise free will in the choice among alternative actions, the positivist school followed the assumption that human actions are determined in a scientifically ascertainable way. But, individual determinism was criticised because of it has given more importance to criminal actor rather than to criminal law as the focus. That is, biological and psychological theories which were central to individual positivism, located the sources of crime primarily within the individual and brought to the questions of individual pathology and abnormality. These theories have been developed claiming to show that crime and other forms of deviance are genetically determined. But these have been largely discredited (Giddens, 1997). Then, new studies which focus on the relations of social factors to crime and try to fill the deficiencies in the positivist understanding have emerged, and they were generally called sociological positivism or sociological determinism

#### **2.1.2.2. Sociological Positivism**

Sociological theories which began to search for the social determinants of criminal behaviours have developed in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, have advanced throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and have continued to dominate the field of criminology today. In the sociological positivism, key causative factors lie in the social context external to the individual (Maguire, 1994).

Dominant understanding in the social positivism has come from Comte's positivism which brought modern scientific methods of natural sciences into social sciences. Sociological approaches assumed that criminal man is a product of their social group rather than individual himself, and the causes of crime can be found in the society (Schafer, 1969).

First thinkers who attempted to repudiate free will doctrine of classicists and studied social determinants of the behaviour were Adolphe Quetelet, Gabriel Tarde

and Andre Michel Guerry (Quinney, 1975). They concluded that society, not the decisions of individuals was responsible for criminal behaviour. Society prepares crime and criminal is an only an instrument on which the society plays (Picca, 1995).

### **2.1.3. Formative Sociology**

Modern sociological theories which seek reasons for differences in crime rates generally in the social environment, focus on lack of opportunities and the breakdown of the conventional value system in urban ghettos, the formation of subcultures whose norms deviate from those of the middle class, and increasing inability of social institutions to exercise control over behaviour (Adler et al., 1991). Most important theories of crime in the umbrella of formative sociology are Strain, Cultural Deviance and Control theories.

#### **2.1.3.1. Strain (Anomie) Theories**

Strain theories of crime and delinquency assume that social inequalities drive persons to commit crimes despite the bonds of conscience. People commit crimes in order to get rewards which they cannot obtain through legitimate means. The image of the delinquent or criminal is a person between guilt and desire, with desire winning out when the person is sufficiently deprived of desired goals (Stark, 1975).

Emile Durkheim who had a structuralist functionalist perspective was the first person who developed theory of anomie, and searched the relation between social change and behaviour (İçli, 1994). For Durkheim crime is a normal part of society as the birth and the death. Theoretically, crime could disappear altogether only if all members of society had the same values, and such a standardization of individuals is neither possible nor desirable. Furthermore, some crimes are in fact necessary if a society is to progress (Lukes, 1973). Emergence of crime in all societies is tied to the facts of collective life and its volume tends to increase as societies evolved from mechanical and punishment perform a useful function for

society, because they maintain social solidarity through establishing moral boundaries and strengthening the shared consensus of a community's beliefs and values. Crime is positive and integrative element in any healthy society where social cohesion exists (Muncie, 1999).

Contributions of Durkheim are many and profound, but the one that has been the most important to contemporary criminology is his concept of anomie- condition of normlessness or deregulation- in his work *The Division of Labor in Society* (1964). According to Durkheim, groups became fragmented, and in the absence of a common set of rules, the actions and expectations of people in one sector may clash with those, in another. As behaviour becomes unpredictable, the system or social order gradually breaks down as a result of a loss of standards and values where norms no longer control the activities of members in society (Lukes, 1973). In a such a society, disintegration and chaos replace social cohesion (Hagan, 1985), and the society is in a state of anomie (Adler et al., 1991).

*Suicide* (1986), Durkheim's best known research, was about the suicide which is an ultimate act of anomie. The assumption that guided this research was that suicide rates vary with two social conditions; social integration and social regulation. Durkheim argued that excessively low or high levels of integration and regulation can bring high rates of suicide (Hagan, 1985).

Robert Merton, who is one of the most important strain theorists, has emphasized the importance of two elements in any society: Cultural aspirations, or goals that people believe are worth striving for; and institutionalized means or accepted ways to attain the desired ends. If a society is to be stable, these two elements must be reasonably well integrated; in other words, means should exist for individuals to reach the goals that are important to them. Disparity between goals and means fosters frustration which leads to strain. From this perspective, strain theory assumes that people are law-abiding, but under great pressure they will resort to crime, disparity between goals and means provides that pressure (Hagan, 1985).

While Durkheim used the term anomie to refer to a state of normlessness or lack of social regulation in modern society, Merton applied this Durkheimian approach to the condition of modern industrial societies. Merton's theory differs somewhat from Durkheim's in that he argued that the real problem is not created by a sudden social change, as Durkheim proposed, but rather by a social structure that holds out the same goals to all its members without giving them equal means to achieve them. It is the lack of integration between what the culture calls for and what the structure permits that causes deviant behaviour. Deviance then is a symptom of the social structure. It can be generally stated that Merton borrowed Durkheim's notion of anomie to describe the breakdown of the normative system (Adler et al., 1991).

Strain theories which have been discussed above, attribute criminal behaviour to the striving of all its citizens to conform with the conventional values of the middle class, primarily financial success. Cultural deviance theories which will be discussed below, on the other hand, attribute crime to a set of values peculiar to the lower class. Conformity with lower class value system which determines behaviour in slum areas causes conflicts with society's laws (Adler et al., 1991). However, the common point of strain and cultural deviance theories is that both of them locate the causes of crime in the disadvantageous position of persons at the lowest stratum in a class-based society (Maguire, 1994).

#### **2.1.3.2. Cultural Deviance Theories**

Scholars who view crime as resulting from cultural values that permit, or even demand behaviour in violation of the law are called Cultural Deviance theories. These theories assume that social class and criminal behaviour are related, but they differ from strain theories as to nature of the relationship. Cultural deviance theorists claim that lower-class people have a different set of values which tends to conflict with the values of the middle class. Consequently, when the lower class persons conform to their own value system, they may violate conventional norms. Major cultural deviance theories are Social Disorganization Theory (Cultural Transmission or Social Ecology), Social Learning Theory (Differential Association) and Sub-culture (Cultural Conflict) theories.

#### **2.1.3.2.1. Social Disorganization Theory**

Social Disorganization Theory is the first among criminological theories in terms of its direct approach to urban crime. Before this theory, most of the studies on crime ignored or gave insufficient attention to spatial factors on crime. Therefore, it is essential to discuss Social Disorganization Theory and Chicago School for both its effects on crime and criminal concepts.

Social Disorganization Theory which is also called Cultural Transmission Theory or Social Ecology was first developed in the studies of urban crime and delinquency by sociologists at the University of Chicago (Hagan, 1985) in the city of Chicago which was a new city and one of the fastest growing centers in the world in 1920's. The problems that Chicago faced in coping with rapid growth, an ethnically diverse population, and the negative outcomes of industrialization led to an interest in the social disorganization and deviance associated with urbanization according to Chicago School (Schwab, 1992).

For Louis Wirth, the distinguishing characteristics of cities were their large size, their great density, and their heterogeneous population. Wirth hypothesized that these characteristics of urban environment led directly to a variety of changes in the social structure of the city and the urban personality. Most important ones of these changes were the growing importance of secondary relationships over primary ones and the changing role of formal social controls in maintaining order within the city. Consequently, the social disorganization that had been a major theme in the early works of the Chicago School was seen as a predictable outcome of the shifts in the three ecological variables; size, density and the heterogeneity (Schwab, 1992).

Park and Burgess advanced the study of social disorganization approach that has been improved before them by introducing an ecological analysis of human society which is an example of sociological positivism inspired from work by bio-ecologists in their construction of what is generally known as social ecological approach (Maguire, 1994). Ecological approach in biology highlighted a process whereby animal and vegetable life adapts to the wider environment by distribution



over an area in an orderly pattern. For Chicago School sociologists, like any ecological system, the development and the organization of the city of Chicago was not random but patterned too. Ecologists mostly examined the distribution and the relations of certain phenomena with their environments, and tried to express crime as a function of social change emerging with the transformation of environment.

First studies which evaluated the human behavior in its natural environment, that is, in its social relations have been made by Thomas and Znaniecki (İçli, 1992). According to them, urban relations become anonymous with urbanization process. Social relations which come from primary institutions like friendship and family ties weakened and this caused social disorganization. Other important names in the Chicago School, Park and Burgess, examined area characteristics instead of criminals for explanations of high crime rates. They also saw a similar process to nature at work in the city in which sections of the population were viewed as competing and struggling for spatial positions that would provide them with the necessary terrain to perform their different functions in the division of labor (Reid, 1994).

The city of Chicago's characteristics, social change and the distribution of people were studied by using of Burgess' concentric zone theory. The city was divided into five areas. Zone 2 – the zone in transition was a particular focus of the study. Park and Burgess hypothesized that it was in Zone 2 that crime and vice would flourish. Moreover, according to Chicago School, data on where delinquents lived in the metropolitan areas of the U.S.A states have shown a concentration in city areas characterized by low rents and physical deterioration (Balamir, 1999). This transitional zone (inner part of the city) was characterized by physical decay, poor housing, incomplete and broken families, high rates of illegitimate births and an unstable, heterogeneous population. The residents were at the bottom end of the socio-economic scale with low income, education and occupation. In addition to high rates of delinquency, this area had high official rates of adult crime, drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution, infant mortality, truancy and illness. Deviance were interpreted as outcome of social disorganization within this urban area.

Chicago sociologists emphasized that residents in this area were not biologically or psychologically abnormal. Rather, their crimes and other deviant activities were simply the normal responses of normal people to abnormal social conditions. Under these conditions, criminal and delinquent traditions developed, and were culturally transmitted from one generation to the next. Industrialization, urbanization and other social changes in modern society were seen by the Chicago sociologists as causing social disorganization by undermining the social control of traditional social order and values. Rapid turnover of the population also led to chronic or pathological social disorganization. As a result of this social pathology, children were ineffectively socialized and passed on (Akers, 1999). In addition to the features of this zone mentioned above, problems coming from the breakdown of primary social relationship, with highly mobile and transitory nature of social life breeding impersonality and fragmentation in this area (Walklate, 1998).

For Chicago School, crime therefore arises from some aspects of urbanization and city life, from diverse people living intensely compacted. Although living intensely, they do not know each other since they are very mobile. These people are not unified by race or ethnicity or common culture. They come from different backgrounds and have moved around a lot (Picca, 1995). Tradition and customs do not bind and restrain them. Contacts among people are mediated by secondary groups and impersonal institutions. These conditions therefore produce crime.

Clifford R. Shaw and Henry McKay conducted a series of studies beginning in the late 1920's in Chicago which tried to identify areas of social disorganization, and the processes which characterize them. They emphasized that social disorganization was one of the characteristics of rapidly growing cities especially in some areas of them. Shaw and McKay began with a premise found in the work of Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess that cities grow outward from the center, in a series of concentric zones, each with specialized activities and distinctive populations (Shoemaker, 1996). According to them, delinquency and the social problems were concentrated in inner deteriorated areas of the city where lower class neighborhoods exist, and that the areas of high delinquency consistently had high rates in spite of population changes. Delinquency decreased outwardly toward

the more affluent areas (Shaw and McKay, 1969). Inner city neighborhoods maintained high rates of delinquency over decades, even though the racial and ethnic makeup of the population in those areas underwent substantial change. The same pattern of declining rates of delinquency as the distance from the inner city neighborhood increased was found within each racial or ethnic group (Quinney, 1975). A principal cause, for Shaw and McKay it seemed, was the social disorganization of these areas (Hagan, 1985).

Chicago School is generally criticised because of being located in particular individual or groups and particular some situations or social structures. Moreover, this school is constrained because of the problem coming from separation between the social disorganization and the results of crime. Additionally, it could not be clear about which social changes cause social disorganization. Another problem is that Chicago theorists defined the crime as lower-class phenomenon. However, in spite of its deficiencies, Social Disorganization or Ecology Theory is still influential in most of the sociological theories of crime today, and it is generally divided into two different attitudes; socio-cultural approach which emphasizes the role of culture and values, and neo-orthodox approach which emphasizes more ecological rather than cultural factors (Schwab, 1992). Generally, ecological theorists of the last two decades have been more interested in macro variables like poverty rate, population growth, characteristics of residential areas, social inequalities etc. (İçli, 1994).

#### **2.1.3.2.2. Social Learning Theory**

Social Learning Theory states that crime or delinquent behaviour are not caused by personality or environment, but is the product of learning through social interaction with other persons in a process of communication like all behaviour (Adler et al., 1991; Akers, 1999), and it is learnt just as any other behaviour is learnt. From association with others, the potential delinquent or criminal learns definitions favourable to deviant behaviour and violations of law. When these definitions exceed the frequently and intensity of definitions favourable to conformity, the changes of criminality are higher (Sutherland and Cressey, 1978).

Sutherland has presented differential association primarily as the theory of how individuals come to commit crimes. His theory also had a structural dimension which included statements proposing that conflict and social disorganization are the underlying causes of crime, because they determine the patterns of differential association (Reid, 1994).

Sutherland's focus was not only on associations among people, but also on the connections of ideas to behaviour. His basic thesis was that people behave as criminal only when they define such behaviour as acceptable. Thus, the hypothesis of differential association is that criminal behaviour is learned in association with those who define such behaviour favorably and in isolation from those who define it unfavorably, and that a person in an appropriate situation engages in such criminal behaviour if, and only if, the weight of the favorable definitions exceeds the weight of the unfavorable definitions (Hagan, 1985).

Today, Social Learning Theory continues to serve as one of the major theoretical perspectives in criminology (Quinney, 1975).

#### **2.1.3.2.3. Sub-culture Theories**

Another approach about the concept of crime which will be discussed next is Sub-culture or Cultural Conflict theories in criminology which see crime and delinquency as a group response to societal expectations which the members of the group cannot fulfill and therefore choose to challenge or as the natural outgrowth of the traditions that accompany underclass life (Hagan, 1985). Sub-culture theories as a sub-branch of Cultural Deviance theories in criminology have developed after the strain theories in the mid 1950's and held criminologists' attention for over two decades.

Sub-culture is a sub-division within the dominant culture that has its own norms, beliefs and values. Sub-cultures typically emerge when people in similar circumstances find themselves isolated from the mainstream society and bond together for mutual support. These may emerge among members of racial and

ethnic minorities, among prisoners, among occupational groups or ghetto dwellers. Moreover, sub-cultures exist within a larger society, not apart from it. Nevertheless, the lifestyles of their members are significantly different from those of the dominant culture (Adler et al., 1991).

Albert Cohen who has developed the notion of status frustration in preference to that of anomie, had a research on delinquent boys and the sub-cultures of gang in Chicago, for example, accounted for their actions and lower class adaptations to a dominant middle class society which discriminates against them (Cohen, 1955).

Cohen followed Merton by emphasizing the structural sources of strain that leads to deviant adaptations by the lower class (Akers, 1999). But, Cohen applied it specifically to the delinquent subculture found among lower class adolescent males. He recognized that the delinquent subculture has an effect and plays a role in influencing individual lower class boys to become involved in delinquent behaviour. But, he denied any interest in the explanation of variations in individual behaviour. Instead, he wanted to explain, not why the delinquent subculture was maintained over a period of time, but why it existed in the first place (Akers, 1999).

According to Cohen, formation of delinquent sub-cultures primarily within deprived inner city areas related with lower class strove to embrace the norms and values of mainstream society but lacked the means to achieve to success. In his work *Delinquent Boys* (1955), he sees American society as characterized by a dominant set of middle class values including ambition, individual responsibility, cultivation and possession of skills, readiness and ability to postpone rationality, personableness, control of the physical aggression or violence, and respect for property (Hagan, 1985). But lower class children, especially boys, cannot always meet these values and standards. They do not have verbal and social skills to measure up to the criterion of middle-class values (Maguire, 1994). Therefore, they feel that the rest of the society looks down upon them and they are denied status. Their response is to adopt their own set of values or sub-culture. This provides them with alternative ways of gaining status but can also lead to delinquency. In result, their status deprivation produces status frustration. According to Cohen, the

delinquent subculture is a reaction formation to this frustration, and it provides alternative means of achieving status (Walklate, 1998).

Another important theory in the body of sub-culture theories which is called as the “*Theory of Differential Opportunity*” belongs to Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin who argued that crime and delinquency are the products of a disparity between the goals that all of us share and the means that only some of us have for goal attainment (Hagan, 1985).

Delinquent sub-cultures, according to Cloward and Ohlin, flourish in lower classes and their neighborhoods where the successful criminal is not only visible to young people, but is willing to associate with them and take particular forms so that the means for illegitimate success no more equally distributed than the means for legitimate success (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960). Moreover, a person cannot simply decide to join a theft-oriented gang or, for that matter, a violence-oriented one. Cloward and Ohlin maintain that the types of sub-cultures and of the juvenile gangs that flourish within them depend on the types of neighborhoods in which they develop (Walklate, 1998). Martin Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti also used Sub-culture Theory to explain criminal behaviour among urban lower class young males, and their theory called “Sub-culture of Violence”.

In summary, all sub-culture theories which have been examined above assume that the existence of sub-cultures made up of people who share a value system that differs from that of the dominant culture, and they defended that each sub-culture had its own rules or conduct norms that dictate how individuals should act under varying circumstances. These theories also agree that these values and norms persist over time because they are learned by successive generations (Adler et al., 1991).

#### **2.1.3.3. Control Theories**

While most of the criminological theories study the question of “Why some people violate norms?”, social control theorists, on the other hand, are interested in

learning “Why people conform to norms?”. The difference of control theory from other theories is that, it asks “why do not we all violate the rules, not why some people deviate from social and legal norms?”. The answer is that we conform because of social controls that prevents us from committing crimes (Akers, 1999). The crucial element in control theory is that the source of morality and the pressures for conformity are in the bond between the individual and society (Stark, 1975).

Social control theory focuses on techniques and strategies that regulate human behaviour and lead to conformity or obedience to society’s rule, the influences of family and school, religious beliefs, moral values, friends, and even beliefs about government (Adler et al., 1991). Generally, these theories assume that crime will occur unless prevented by strong social and personal controls (Hirschi, 1969). While some control theorists like Hirschi defended the importance of social control or bonds, others like Reckless used personal control as determinant in their explanations of crime and delinquency (Adler et al., 1991).

In his social bonding theory, Travis Hirschi argued that individual’s bonds to their society are the matters of degree. The degree to which the bonds are weakened or broken is roughly equivalent to the degree of violation of society’s rules (McCaughy, 1980). He rejected the concept of neutralization as the delinquent’s way of breaking away from strongly held conventional beliefs. Instead, he proposed that endorsement of the techniques of neutralization simply indicate that conventional beliefs are weakly held by delinquents in the first place. In these cases, there are no prior conventional beliefs to be neutralized (Adler et al., 1991).

In 1960’s, David Matza developed a significantly different perspective on social control that explains why some adolescents drift in and out of delinquency. According to Matza, juveniles sense a moral obligation to be bound by the law. A bond between a person and the law, something that creates responsibility and control, remains in place most of the time when it is not in place, the youth may enter into a state of drift (Akers, 1999).

In *Delinquency and Drift* (1964), Matza argued forcefully that delinquency is transient and intermittent. Juvenile delinquents are not that different from other juveniles. This is because, rather than being at polar extremes. Conformist values and non-conformist values often intersect and propagate similar desires, such as for hedonism, fun and excitement. The delinquent is committed neither to the mainstream nor to a delinquent culture, but chooses to drift between one or the another in a limbo between convention and crime responding in turn to the demands of each, flirting now with one, now with the other (Muncie, 1999).

Matza has also developed a theory called “Techniques of Neutralization” with Gresham Sykes. According to this theory, delinquent behaviour is the result of adolescents using techniques of neutralization. Delinquents usually exhibit guilt or shame when they violate the law, that they frequently accord approval to certain conforming figures, and that they often distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate targets for deviance (Hagan, 1985). The delinquent, say Sykes and Matza is an apologetic failure who drifts into a deviant lifestyle through a subtle process of justification; these justifications of deviant behaviour are called techniques of neutralization which are excuses for committing delinquent acts that are essentially inappropriate extensions of commonly accepted rationalizations found in the general culture (Akers, 1999). Techniques of neutralization include denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties (Muncie, 1999).

As it can be seen, according to control theorists, likelihood of individuals engaging in criminal behaviour generally depends upon the strength of these control systems relative to the strength of the pushes and pulls toward criminality.

## **2.2. Radical Criminology**

The term radical criminology, also called critical criminology is used as a convenient umbrella term under which a number of diverse theories which criticise past liberal and positivist theories of crime whose chief characteristic is that they have anti-positivist arguments.



Radical criminology has long since drawn knowledge and inspiration from social movements from the 1960's onwards the struggles of women's movement, black power and civil rights activities, environmental and other movements which have been reflected in criminological concerns over domestic violence, racist policing and so forth.

Radical criminology defends that a stable criminological theory should be based on the concept of conflict, rather than the concept of consensus used by liberal thinking of criminology. Generally, radical criminology tries to falsify the liberalism in terms of philosophy, and falsify the positivism in terms of scientific approach.

For radical thinkers, liberal criminology follows a legalistic definition of crime, and accepts the state's definitions. Definitions of crime are formulated according to the interests of those who have the power to translate their interests into public policy and these definitions of crime in society change as the interests of the dominant class change. For example, Quinney states that contemporary criminological theories are closely tied to the state's interests (Quinney, 1975). In the theories of the liberal criminology, there is a claim that crime is committed disproportionately by young, unmarried, non-educated, lower class males living in large cities. But radical theories of crime are against this type of determinations and search the causes of crime outside the person's himself.

Moreover, positivism was generally criticised and challenged by radical theory of criminology for denying the role of human consciousness and meaning in social activity, presenting an overdetermined view of human action, ignoring the presence and relevance of competing value systems, cultural diversity or structural conflict, equating crime with undersocialization or social disorganization rather than accepting the validity of different forms of social structure.

Radical criminologies were marked by a deep scepticism of any theory which proposed that crime was caused in a simple cause-effect fashion. Although adopting diverse research agendas from analysis of labelling and moral panics to

structural conflict and gender issues, they were more concerned to explore processes of criminalization-, that is how crime was created through the power to define behaviour as illegal rather than biological, personality or social defects (Reid, 1994). Radical criminologists turned away from the theories which explained crime by reference to characteristics of the offender or of the social structure. They set out to demonstrate that people become criminals not because of some internal flaw, but because of what others with power, especially those in the criminal justice system do. Alternative explanations largely reject the consensus model of crime, on which all earlier theories rested, whether of the classical or the positivist school. New theories not only question the traditional explanations of the creation and enforcement of the criminal law, but also blame that law for the making of criminals (Adler et al., 1991).

Radical criminology attempted to combine various Marxist concepts (social structure, means of production, property relations, economic exploitation, alienation and so forth) with a number of interactionist concepts (social reaction, primary and secondary deviation and so forth) in a new theory of crime and deviance. For radical criminology, crime is a clear reflection of basic contradictions of capitalism like production and property relations, and the struggle between the classes. Definitions of crime and criminal also reflect the values of the capitalist society (Quinney, 1977).

In order to understand both criminal and non-criminal behaviour, radical criminologists argued that we have to understand the social framework within which laws are created and applied by and to various groups in society (Maguire, 1994). Laws are not neutral expressions of social relationships, on the contrary, they are created and applied in capitalist societies for two main reasons; to protect certain property rights (laws governing theft, contract rights, etc.) and to maintain a form of social order that is conducive to the continued economic exploitation of the working class by ruling class (various public order offenses, violence, pickpocketing, political activities etc.) (Akers, 1999).

Most important theories of crime under the umbrella of radical criminology are Labelling Theory, Conflict Theories, Classical Marxism, New Criminology and Left Realism.

### **2.2.1. Labelling Theory**

The first important theory which is interested in crime problem in the framework of radical criminology is Labelling Theory (Shaming Theory) also called interactionist perspective or social constructionist perspective. Labelling name coming from Labelling Theory's focus on the informal and formal application of stigmatizing by society on some of its members (Akers, 1999). The formation of the individual's identity is a reflection of other's definition of him or her (Becker, 1963). Generally, Labelling Theory views criminals not as evil persons who engages in wrong acts but as individuals who had a criminal status placed upon them by both the criminal justice system and the community.

In any case, labelling theorists are unconcerned with the characteristics and cultural environment of law violations, instead these theorists concentrate on two issues; the process of defining or labelling individuals as criminal and the effect of such societal reaction on individual's self-concepts and subsequent behaviour (McCaughy, 1980). Labelling School is seen as the first school which concentrated at the societal response to crime.

For labelling theories, the powerful in society decides which behaviour will be banned or discredited as deviant or illegal. Moreover, the designation of an individual as criminal or deviant is not directly determined by whether or not he or she has actually violated the law or committed the deviant act even for the same law-violating behaviour. Individuals from less powerful groups are more likely to be officially labeled and punished than those from more powerful groups. Branding persons with stigmatized labels, therefore, results more from who they are than from what they have done (Reid, 1994).

Laws and the criminal justice system represent the interests of the middle and upper classes and dominant groups in a society over those of the lower class and minority groups. The probability that one will be arrested, convicted, and imprisoned is determined by one's race, sex, age, social class and other social characteristics which define one's status in society and one's membership in powerful or powerless groups. This is exactly the point that conflict theorists are trying to do about criminal justice system (Akers, 1999).

Labelling perspective also stated that social control may exacerbate deviance or crime. Labelling, categorizing and stigmatizing offenders may conform a deviant identity and produce secondary deviance. This provided that social control agents should keep their intervention to a minimum (Lemert, 1967).

First people labeled as criminals or delinquents, they may find that social stigma of the label limits their associations. They may be forced to associate with others who are similarly stigmatized. At this point, labelling theory joins differential association theory to argue that by being with others who are labeled as lawbreaker persons may find themselves in a societal setting that encourages future violations. For example, by being labeled as a law breaker and getting locked up in a jail or prison, a person is often instructed by other prisoners in future criminal activities (Stark, 1975).

### **2.2.2. Conflict Theories**

Conflict Theory which was the critical review of early approaches in crime theory generally did not focus on crime or criminal, rather mostly questioned the existence of the system (Hill, 2002). For this theory, societies are assumed to be shaped by diversity, coercion and change. Moreover, Conflict Theory assumes that society is not held together by agreement and consensus on major values but rather conflict (Akers, 1999). Conflict theorists assume that the making and enforcing of criminal laws to be the results of power struggles, and they consider prohibited behaviours to be of theoretical interest only to the extent that they contribute to understanding the struggles themselves (McCaughy, 1980).

Crime is inevitable by products of a society that are inherently unequal. Poverty and inequality drive people into crime and, indeed, some crimes can be seen as primitive forms of rebellion and revolution. Second, the laws as state's coercive weapon that favor the interests of the ruling class, what is and what is not defined as criminal is thus rooted in social inequalities, and in this sense, those in prison are political prisoners (Taylor et al., 1973).

Power is the principal determinant of the outcome of this conflict for conflict theorists. The most powerful groups control the law, so that their values are adopted as the legal standards for behaviour. The members of less powerful groups, though they suffer legislative and judicial defeats, continue to act in accordance with their internal group norms, which means violating the law. Therefore, conflict theory offers both an explanation of law and criminal justice and an explanation of criminal and deviant behaviour (Quinney, 1975).

The work of Foucault has been very influential in encouraging a more careful and detailed analysis of the concept of power and how power is asserted. Foucault was particularly interested in the ways in which knowledge and power are constituted in each other, and especially interested in the ways in which this mutual interdependence effectively exercised social control (Foucault, 1977).

Conflict theorists began to shift toward a Marxist perspective which have made economic forces the focal point in the understanding of crime in 1970's (Hagan, 1985). The application of Marxist thought to crime developed out of the many criticisms of traditional and functionalist theories which were themselves seen as ideological. A full theory of crime or deviance, it was argued, must explore how crime is defined and controlled and relate to the state power for Marxist thought (Taylor et al., 1973).

### **2.2.3. Classical Marxism**

Marxism has examined crime as an economic phenomenon, and it has generally posited crime to be a relatively normal response to the conditions of market

economies which frequently render large segments of the work force economically redundant. Marx believed that people should produce as much as they could for their state or country and in return the state would provide them with their basic needs. The vast majority of people would provide for the elite, as well as themselves and others. Marx referred to this as surplus labor. Surplus labor causes benefit to some while others deteriorate. This also creates classes among the people (Giddens, 1997). It is clear that this would naturally causes crime among different classes of people. One man's needs may be more than another's, and due to lack of adequate pay, a man who is hungry and poor will try to gain an advantage on another by reverting to theft, robbery, and may even go so far as to homicide another human being. Although Marx never systematically examined crime, he stated the ways in which crime in capitalist countries maintains class relations. He also argued that crime takes of the labour market a portion of the excess population, diminishes competition among workers, and to a certain extent stops wages from falling below the minimum, while the war against the crime absorbs in other part of the same population. The criminal was therefore a counterweight balancing the capitalist structure.

Engels who represented the criminality as a response to the oppression of the working class, stated a link between crime, poverty and social change, and attributing crime to the demoralizing effects of exploitation, and seeing it as a nascent revolt. He, however, accepted an assumption that there are higher rates of crime among the lower class, which critical criminologists rejected (Akers, 1999).

Engels in his study "*Condition of Working Class in England*" published in 1845 spelled out the association between crime and poverty as a political problem. The earliest and least fruitful form of the rebellion against the conditions was that of crime. The working man lived in poverty saw the others were better off than him and he wanted to conquer his inherited respect for the sacredness of property and he stole (Schafer, 1969). Moreover, Engels stated that social order made the workers family life almost impossible and children of the family could be nothing, but unhappy and tend toward crime.

As stated above, Although Marx did not say lots of things about crime, his views on society and social relationships were translated into criminological context by some theorists like Chambliss, Greenberg, Bonger and Quinney to construct a political economy of crime (Adler et al., 1991). These thinkers tried to identify the processes in which ruling class interests come to be reflected in legal and ideological conceptions of crime and social control. For them, this was illustrated by the contrasting treatment of crimes of the powerful and the powerless. Thus, the criminal law was used to control the activities of lower class offenders such as theft or burglary, which damaged the interests of capitalism, whereas some office or commercial activities which were equally harmful but not a threat to the interests of capitalism were not defined as crime (Schafer, 1969).

Quinney in his book *Criminology* (1975), defended that state is organized to serve the interests of dominant economic class and capitalist ruling class. Criminal law is, an instrument that the state and dominant ruling class, used to maintain and perpetuate the social and economic order. Crime control in capitalist society which is accomplished by institutions and agencies established and administrated by a governmental elite, represents dominant ruling class interests to establish domestic order. Contradictions of advanced capitalism –the disjunction between existence and essence- require that the subordinate classes remain oppressed by whatever means necessary, especially by the legal system’s coercion and violence. Finally, Quinney states that only with the collapse of capitalist society and an established system which is based on socialist principles, there will be a solution to the crime problem (Quinney, 1975).

For Marxism, all social phenomena are explainable in terms of each society’s means of production or economic relations. In a capitalist economy, private ownership of the means of production and control over the exchange of wealth create both structural inequality and structural conflict. Laws, popular belief systems and ideologies reflect ruling class power as, to Marx, the ruling ideas of any society where those of the ruling class. The capitalist’s monopoly on the means of production allows them also to control the political state. This political power is used to manipulate the legal and criminal justice system to promote the interests of

the capitalist class and to perpetuate its position of power. Law supports the economic base in which the owners of the means of production extract the surplus value of their employee's labour by paying them a wage and retaining the profit.

Generally, it can be said that, for Marxist perspective, crime is not due to moral or biological defects, but to fundamental conflicts in the social order. Secondly, crime is an inevitable feature of existing capitalist societies because of being an expression of basic social inequalities (Muncie, 1999).

#### **2.2.4. New Criminology**

Another approach in radical criminology is New Criminology, a modified version of Marxism (Neo-Marxism) which incorporates labelling theory while studying crime. This approach places greater emphasis upon the criminals and the actual context of crime. Therefore, instead of just examining the way the law acts in favour of the powerful, the way the law is enforced, motives for crime and patterns of law breaking are also considered. Taylor, Walton and Young who are representatives of this theory had an interactional approach to deviance and focus on its meaning for the individuals involved with a structural approach grounded in the analysis of political economy, class relations and state practices (Taylor et al., 1973).

Underclass and labor forces of the industrial society are controlled through the criminal law and its enforcement, while the owners of labor will be bound only by a civil law which regulates their competition between each other. The economic institution, then, is the source of all conflicts. Crime is one the significant consequences of the exploitation and oppression of the working class under capitalism. Struggles between classes always relate to the distribution of resources and power, and crime will disappear only when capitalism is abolished (Maguire, 1994).

When this version of radical criminology talks about the criminality of the state, and offers a differently nuanced theoretical emphasis from that which was to be



found in Marxist criminology, certainly shares in some of its concerns. In particular, as a result of the emphasis that these theoretical concerns placed on understanding the processes of criminalization, it certainly served to challenge the individualistic correctional stance of earlier criminologies. It also laid the foundation for later theoretical developments, particularly from those wishing to pursue the differing ways in which the power associated with political economy of the state asserts itself (Walklate, 1998).

#### **2.2.5. Left Realism**

Left Realism or Left Idealism emerged in 1980's, has translated radical ideas into realistic social policy. Lea and Young are conflict theorists, but they are committed to gradual reform of society, not revolutionary change (Adler et al., 1991).

According to left realists, crime arises from social structural conditions and therefore that structural intervention such as improving employment opportunities is most likely to be effective. While single causes of crime are rejected by them, they argue that much is brought about by relative deprivation. In anomie theory is that not all have the same expectations and will not therefore experience the same frustrations. Deprivation can, therefore, be relative. People have different expectations which are related to what they feel they deserve. They may compare their situation with others whom they would expect to equal to a reference group. If these expectations are not met, they may feel relatively deprived compared with employed youth and feel frustrated because they feel their unemployment is not their fault. Young members of ethnic minorities may experience deprivation in comparison to white youth if they have experienced discrimination. Members of some occupational groups feel deprived in comparison to others whose jobs they feel are of equal value. The executive may feel relatively deprived if denied the chance of promotion. Not all these feelings will lead to crime. There are legitimate avenues to pursue many grievances. They may lead to crime if legitimate avenues are not open and if the group, such as the young unemployed or members of minority ethnic groups, is socially or politically marginalized (Reid, 1994). However, the views of left realist theorists do not mean that deprivation in itself

produces crime, there is no clear evidence to substantiate this argument and such an argument will also neglect white collar crime (Lea and Young, 1993).

The left realist approach is difficult to evaluate as it is, as Young argues, an evolving approach (Lea and Young, 1993). Like many other approaches, it has some appeal. By recognizing the importance of looking at all points of the square it aims to provide realistic options for policy while at the same time recognizing the socially constructed nature of crime. The concept of relative deprivation brings back a concern with social inequality. These strengths, however, are associated with weaknesses and it has been criticised from the viewpoint of other perspectives.

### **2.3. Recent Theories of Crime**

There are also other important theories which have been developed in the science of criminology in recent years. Postmodern criminology, which is one of them, is more concerned with preventing crime as with charting and theorizing about it. It looks for ways to keep a society with enough order to serve the human need for dependable scheduling of social interaction while maintaining enough disorder to permit change, flexibility, adaptation and creativity. Postmodern crime policy is not oriented so much to control, pain and punishment as to careful, light and strategic adjustments of key variables which affect the kind and number of crimes. Postmodern crime policy is not concerned so much with individuals but with kind and degree of linearity of structural variables like racism, class inequality and gender oppressions. In a word, postmodern criminology is more oriented to social justice than to criminal justice. Lacan, Milovanovic and Foucault are three of the important figures of postmodernist approach (Akers, 1999).

Right Realism or Right Idealism, which is also called Conservative Realism tried to rework of genetic and individualistic theories. According to this approach, crime caused by lack of self-control. Generally, Right Realism rejects the search for causes of crime as an objective reality and views it as the product of discursive practices among offenders, controllers and victims (Hagan, 1985).

Peacemaking Theory, Intelligence Theory, Feminist theories, Integrated Theory, New Defence Action Theory, Displacement Theory, and Middle Class Theory are some of the other important theories of crime which is effective in criminology in recent years and today.

#### **2.4. Theories of Urban Crime**

Crime like all phenomenon occurs over time, and thus has a history, but it also happens in spaces, at particular places, and so it has also a geography (Nagle, 1995). First studies which have analyzed crime relevant to spatial characteristic of an area were ecological studies, and the relations between urban structure and the distribution of crime were documented firstly by Chicago's sociologists (Johnston, 1994). There has been a large body of research that has examined the general relationship between urbanization and crime in the framework of this school.

Before the Chicago School, scholars who are from different approaches like Tönnies, Durkheim, Simmel, Maine, Burkley, and Tarde defended that urbanization had profound effects on criminal behaviour (Hancı, 1999). Other important names who have examined general characteristic of criminality in cities are Barners, Teeters, Sutherland and Cressey. They generally defended that a larger population or a larger city means higher crime rates (Schwab, 1992). Moreover, they stated that lower levels of social control mechanism in cities have been highly linked to urbanization (İçli, 1992).

The study of social effects of the urban arena is, in the broadest sense of the term, the study of urban ecology, or as some refer to it, human ecology. Human ecology may be considered as the study of people-environment relationships. Therefore, the idea that the city, as a physical environment, exerts an effect on human behaviour and relationships is at base, an ecological idea. In this sense, Wirth's analysis of the impact of the size and density and heterogeneity of urban populations is an ecological analysis (Giddens, 1994). However, the term urban ecology can also be understood in a somewhat more restricted sense, having to do with the process and patterns by which the spatial features of urban areas emerge, the ways in which the

various population and functional elements in the city arrange themselves over its limited surface in that sense urban ecology is the study of the distribution and relationships among populations, services or industries in urban arena (Bal, 1999).

According to Chicago School, urban way of life is characterized by rapid social change, individualism, increase in the use of formal rather than informal social controls, heterogeneity, impersonality, anonymity, great diversity of norms and values, and decreasing in the family's ability to exercise control over the activities of its members. These factors naturally weaken the social control mechanisms (Abbott and Clinard, 1973). Generally, geographic studies of spatial variations in crime stated that over-crowding, social disorganization, unemployment, social class and the physical layout of the urban environment are key factors in explaining its distribution.

One of the consistent findings in the ecology of crime is that overall crime rates are higher for urban than rural areas, and that they increase with the size of the city. Urban areas provide cultural and structural environments for developing behaviour patterns that may result in criminally defined activities (Craglia et al., 2000). Since the nation is continuing to urbanize, the aggregate crime rates tend to be naturally increase as a result (Phillips and Votey, 1974). Therefore, main cause of violence in society is urban development and the growth of huge cities (Pinheiro, 1993).

Tönnies' human association concepts of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* have been utilised by Wirth in explaining urban crime as a consequence of urban anonymity and impersonality (*gesellschaft*) and absent traditional community units (*gemeinschaft*). Although Tönnies refuted claims of favouring *gemeinschaft*, his concepts fuelled subsequent explanations of crime as a consequence of urban isolation and anomie. Surely Park and Wirth's foundational assumption was that urban anomie and the spatial placing of extremes contribute excess crime potential by making the unattainable visible (Bal, 1999). For Dönmezer, the transition from a community where social norms coming from traditions to a society where there is less intimacy, and social norms based on profit. The result of this transformation was urbanization and it is related with high rate of urban crime (Dönmezer, 1984).

For example, Wirth attributes high criminality in the transition zone to spatial absence of formal and informal controls, irrespective of the zones' social composition. This emphasis on space in determining social action was further developed by Park's detection of natural areas within the transition zone, which combat the potential for deviance by developing spatial rather than social solidarity and identity.

Transition zone composed of extremely disadvantaged neighborhoods is characterized by high levels of chronic poverty, substandard housing, unemployment, and this situation inevitably leads to unusually high levels of crime. According to Shaw, both violent and property crime rates are considerably lower in the other areas of the cities than the central city (Schwab, 1992).

In Turkey, scholars coming from the Ecological School tradition defended that in the areas where socio-economic level is low and gecekondu areas are intense, crime rates are higher than other areas of the city (Erder, 1997). Some areas are seen as the real cause of high crime rates, and residents in these areas are characterized as potential criminals.

According to Marxist approaches, the failure of conventional approaches to urban sociology was due to the fetishism of space which ignored class analysis and the process of capital accumulation. Urban patterns in society are the results of the basic economic process of capital accumulation, profit-taking strategies, and particularly various urban manifestations of class struggle (Flanagan, 1990). Moreover, dynamics of urban spaces are the products of social interactions. Therefore, while rapid urbanization partly explains the scale and extent of urban violence and crime, there are also other factors like structural features of the society (Gendrot, 2001). Concepts like disorder, violence and crime that are characterized as emerging from the intensity of urban life, or social and physical disorder in urban neighborhoods cannot be understood in isolation from inequality, social divisions, and power relations. Urban landscapes are etched with highly uneven social and power relations, and this is reflected in socio-spatial differentiation and segregation in the urban context (Mooney and Brook, 1999). Urban violence is not

a spontaneous occurrence, but is the product of deprivation, unemployment, homelessness, illiteracy, injustice and social disintegration (Eitzen, 1985). Moreover, it should also be adopted that other environments that may be emerged with indirect contributions by unhealthy urbanization have some effects that may facilitate high crime levels.

Even when crime levels rise in urban areas, it is difficult to associate that rise with urbanization per se. For instance, rapid rise in crime levels that has been noted in so many Latin American cities during the 1980's and 1990's can hardly be accused on urban growth since the pace of urbanization has been slower during the 1980's than it was during the 1970's. The same is also true in Western Europe (Gilbert, 1999). In Turkey, similar examples can be given. For example, it can be seen that while urbanization rate of a province decreases, crime rates may increase. On the contrary, low crime rates in a city where urbanization rate increases may be possible too. Therefore, links between crime rates and growing urbanization appear not to be entirely straight forward (Heidensohn, 1990).

In any case, there would appear to be no obvious logical connection between urbanization and increasing crime levels. Like most of the other supposed linkages discussed here, crime is predominantly the outcome of a range of social factors and urbanization is only a secondary explicator. Although it has some impacts on crime level, this comes from different social dynamics occurred there. This is very clear if variations in crime rates across urbanized countries and more urbanized cities are examined (Maguire, 1994).

Moreover, there is a problem about the conceptualization of concepts. While space is not an abstract object, but is a social fact, urbanization is also a social transformation process. Therefore, urbanization and urban problems like crime cannot be separated from social structures and processes, and so urbanization should not be seen as an independent factor in the search of the reasons of crime. This important point will be especially considered in the study. Unfortunately, most of the studies on crime have fallen at this point. Additionally, while they present urbanization as a causative factor on crime, they have not been clear about the

urbanization process causes crime in which scales, and which issues accelerate this process. However, it can be emphasized that social and economic inequalities in capitalist cities which have been worsened by economic globalization creates spatial (residential) segregation together with exclusion, polarization and marginalization processes against some communities and spaces. Crime is highly affected by these socio-economic and spatial divisions in the cities. All of these factors will be discussed in the following parts of the study. At this point, it is essential to look at the historical development of the concepts of ghetto and underclass and exclusion practices of them from urban life. Because, for general opinion, dwellers of deprived and deteriorated neighborhoods are, in many cases, characterized as responsible people in the corruption of city life by their behaviours and attitudes against the urban culture. Crime is seen as peculiar to them, and this naturally strengthens the rhetoric of they are culturally different from the rest of the society and they encounter with socio-economic and residential segregation coming from different actors of the city.

## **2.5. Theories of Ghetto and the Underclass**

Re-structuring in the world economy in recent years has had profound effects on urban social structures (Silver, 1993). There has been a large increase in the number of people experiencing persistent and pervasive poverty. As the economy has globalized, large sectors of urban poor have become even poorer (Fitzpatrick and LaGory, 2000), and this has contributed to strengthen existing inequalities (Mingione, 1996). Since the end of 1970's, the ratio of poor to nonpoor in ghetto areas has increased (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998), and a new economic era called globalization has led to high contrasts between wealth and poverty especially in the cities. Generally, increased social inequality and social division result in the social inclusion of one part of society and the social exclusion of another part today.

Poverty is concentrated spatially and anything correlated with poverty is also concentrated in the transformation process. This increasing concentration of poverty has been intimately connected to rising concentrations of some groups in narrowly defined specific areas of the cities (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998), and the

demise of many urban neighborhood (Mingione, 1996). Therefore, there is a malign circuit which links the increase in the number of the poors and their separateness from the rest of the society. This spatial segregation of different groups can only be interpreted as the spatial appearance of structural inequalities which have also been also influenced by urban and housing policies of the last twenty years (Ladanyi, 1993). Thus, especially in recent years, the spaces of the deprived areas are economically and socially apart from the rest of the society, besides physical separation and the dwellers of this neighborhood have generally been cut off from social and economic opportunites for growth and success. Inhabitants of these neighborhoods who have been isolated within specific areas are usually called underclass, while their neighborhoods are generally called ghetto in metropolitan areas today.

The name ghetto refers to an area where people from a given ethnic background or united in a given culture or religion live as a group. The word historically referred to restricted housing zones for Jews, however, this word in modern times are not applied specifically to the place of officially regulated settlement of the Jews, but rather to those local cultural areas which have arisen in the course of time or are voluntarily selected or built up by them (Wirth, 1966). Wirth also emphasized that the physical distance that separates these immigrant areas from that of the natives is at the same time a measure of the social distance between them and a means by which this social distance can be maintained. Moreover, the ghetto, as an institution, represents a prolonged case of social isolation and a historical form of dealing with a dissenting minority within a larger population (Adler et al., 1991). According to him, ghetto is also a relatively closely inbreeding, self-perpetuating group, to such an extent that it may properly be called a closed community (Wirth, 1966). Today, the concept of ghetto which is characterized by joblessness, misery and the confluence of personal and contextual stressors, commonly labels any poverty in urban area with restricted housing patterns, and in a spatially concentrated area with residents who are excluded from the economic life of the mainstream society.



Nowadays, the term ghetto is used with the terms of underclass (Auletta, 1982; Murray, 1984), undercaste (Gans, 1993), abandoned (Marcuse, 1993), truly disadvantaged (Wilson, 1987), passive poor, marginalized poor or some such terms. All of these concepts are used to denote the spatial concentration of poverty in large cities. The people who live in the ghetto type neighborhoods are generally characterized as underclass, and this term is seen as urban and peculiar to ghetto in the studies of poverty, despite it has been started to be abandoned in recent years because of its misuse and racist outcomes related to it. However, today underclass is still an umbrella term which is open to anyone who wishes to place new meanings, or a variety of stereotypes, accusations and stigmas under it (Gans, 1993).

In the literature, underclass means a group of people who does not belong to one of the established classifications of social class, and are characterized as the people who choose not to work or perhaps are incapable of work (Mingione, 1996). The term underclass is often used to refer to those who suffer from poverty and even are under the skilled and unskilled workers. According to many scholars, underclass people reject the norms and values of mainstream society and which, in their behaviours and attitudes, they have cut themselves off from normal society by living outside society's norms and values (Murray, 1984; Auletta, 1982). Lack of skills and lack of access to stable employment are important reasons for this class of disadvantaged who falls outside of regular employment structure and who have few hopes ever to become part of the mainstream society (Wilson, 1987). Giddens sees underclass as a specifically American phenomenon but he extended it to coloured minorities in Britain and France (Silver, 1993). He also states that the underclass is composed of people that are concentrated among the lowest paid occupations, or are chronically unemployed or semi-employed as a result of a disqualifying market capacity of a primarily cultural land (Morris, 1993).

Two dominant tendencies in the conceptualization and perception of underclass and their neighborhoods are cultural and structural approaches. According to cultural theories of underclass the ghetto is pre-eminently a cultural community (Wirth, 1966), and cultural transmitted family values within the ghetto poor led to ghetto

poverty. These theories' main focus which has the notions of culture of poverty and the demonization of the underclass, emphasizes that lack of socio-economic opportunity led to family instability in poor ghettos, which in turn gave rise to the social pathologies linked to the culture of poverty. "Culture of Poverty" thesis of Lewis defends that children of poor families have usually absorbed the basic attitudes and values of their sub-culture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their life time (Morris, 1994).

The culture of poverty thesis has been followed by sub-culture or counter-culture theories in the cultural approach of urban underclass in the deprived inner city areas. Massey and Denton states that residential differences may create urban underclass having counter-culture or sub-culture (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). For Auletta, underclass is the group of people living in poor inner-city ghettos where dependency, criminal behaviour and family breakdown are the norms (Musterd and Ohrendorf, 1998; Auletta, 1982). Murray who has also cultural dominated approach talks about the culture of dependency (dependence to state funds and benefits without working) in the ghetto underclass, and also defends that underclass is defined by illegitimacy, criminality and unemployment (Murray, 1984).

Particularly according to cultural theories of crime, underclass is such a national symbol of urban pathology that is regarded as moral dissolution (Wacquant, 1997), and lower class value system, which is separate self-sustaining sub-culture differs from that of the dominant culture and causes disobeying mainstream society's norms and values (Adler et al., 1991). This sub-culture flourishes in the lower classes has its own norms, beliefs and values (Hagan, 1985), and is seen as being opposite to urban culture. Low income, black inner city neighborhoods are being described as increasingly wild, inhabited by a socially deviant, dependent and lawless population (Wilson, 1987), and are represented as a threat to society because of the problems being identified with them (Fitzpatrick and LaGory, 2000).

Today, underclass of ghetto neighborhoods is a convenient and a powerful rhetorical label. The term underclass because of the popular construction of the term, can also easily function as a permanent stigma that can be used to sentence them to a criminal undercaste (Gans, 1993). These people are not just defined by lack of money or job, they were also characterized by their behaviours and some problems like unemployment, alcohol addiction, fewer marriages, prostitution, truancy, more child neglect, drug abuse, illegitimacy, urban decay, hedonism, despair etc. (Mingione, 1996).

As seen above, cultural theories describe the psychology and pathology of the ghetto in stark, sensitive and sophisticated ways. In their general conception, urban ghetto poor is morally defective and the conception of ghetto is as nefarious place that disrupts and corrupts social life (Wacquant, 1997). Moreover, according to behavioral and cultural approaches, while the underclass is the undeserving poor who lack a work ethic, family and religious values, respect for law, urban ghetto is seen as a place of lesser values, failure of decent education and thriving violence.

In general, psychological and pathological outcomes are rooted in historical and contemporary forms of racism and these neglect the blocked access to economic and other opportunities such as job, quality housing and education, racial segregation, discrimination and territorial stigma. For Wacquant, the underclass thesis roots the unabated poverty and high rates of social pathology of urban blacks in the economic and social isolation of the hyperghetto (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). In addition, it can be said that these studies misrepresent the true nature of poverty, accuse the underclass for their own economic status and reflect a prejudice attitudes towards poors in ghettos. The poor of today may in fact be perceived as becoming more criminal and deviant even when the actual rates of crime and deviance do not change. Especially poors of ghetto are viewed with suspicion, fear, anxiety, and anger (Mingione, 1996), and labelled as undeserving and marginalized in the eyes of state, media and the public. Moreover, these deteriorated areas are regarded as bad neighborhoods to be avoided and rumoured that police dare not enter it because of it is risky environment.

Wilson provides an explanation to support his reasoning for the persistence of urban poverty. Wilson's view of poverty is based upon "the tangle of pathology" (Wilson, 1987). Pathology refers to the characteristics of black urban life which include: drug-abuse, crime, teenaged pregnancies, out-of-wedlock births, female-headed households, and welfare dependency. He claims that the neighborhoods of blacks where these characteristics are uncontrollably rampant, have become increasingly socially isolated from mainstream patterns of behavior (Wilson, 1987). Although Wilson points out the complexity of the underclass problem, his explanation for it focuses on historical discrimination that led to the geographic concentration of the underclass. He also accepts the structural causes of the underclass without denying the pathological, behavioral and cultural outcomes (Silver, 1993).

Other explanation of urban underclass is the structural approach. In this view of underclass, institutional barriers are more influential in the structuring of underclass rather than negative attitudes and lack of commitment of the poor people to the work ethic. In addition, while cultural explanations of underclass examine household structure, structural approaches interest in macro variables (Morris, 1993). For Myrdal, American economy were creating an unprivileged class of unemployed, unemployables and underemployed who are more and more hopelessly set apart from the notion at large and do not share in its life, its ambitions and its achievements (Gans, 1993).

Economic re-structural transformation has a role in creating the urban underclass (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). Especially after 1980's, policies in labour and housing regulation of the most of the states in the world have led to poverty and marginality in the majority of the societies. Especially the discrimination in the housing market has led to concentration of uneducated and unskilled people in the inner city areas who found themselves geographically isolated and left with little chance for social mobility. This fact naturally polarizes societies and marginalizes the poor (Mingione, 1996), and isolates such areas from the more affluent parts of the community (Morris, 1994). Moreover, state tolerance of segregation and recognition of divisions only serve to intensify the cumulation of urban

dispossession and to exacerbate the destructive consequences of socio-economic marginality (Wacquant, 1997). Other discriminatory practices also forced urban poor to live in specific neighborhoods which also become known as ghettos. Moreover, the dwellers of ghettos, because suffering from economic, social, cultural and political defeats, are forced to associate with others who are similarly isolated. Today significant sections of society no longer being able to have social contact with the rest of the society. Problems which are related to income, housing, labour, education, demography and culture are all linked to social exclusion and spatial isolation which cause and reinforce socio-economic segregation (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998).

A research suggests that production of social exclusion realizes 5 percent in society in general, 10 percent in big cities, 25 percent in disadvantaged groups and more than 35 percent in segregated and ghettoized groups (Mingione, 1996). Truly, segregation is the key factor responsible for the creation and perpetuation of the communities characterized by persistent and spatially concentrated poverty. The stratification of the society has translated into an increasing ghettoization. Thus, it can be said that ghettos and slums are the products of segregation (Fitzpatrick and LaGory, 2000), and social exclusion implied appears to be crucial for understanding the difference between those who are simply in poverty and those who belong to and underclass (Alcock, 1997).

Increasing concentration of poverty, absence of routes for upward social mobility, and increasing polarisation encourage marginalization of inner city poors, and underclass has been systematically excluded from the participation in economic and social life. Then, highly segregated groups find themselves isolated from the organizational structures and resources necessary to promote health and well being. Moreover, segregation ensures that neighborhoods with limited resources for protection against risk will be particularly vulnerable since their isolation restricts their access to the range of resources available in the larger community. Underclass once settled, often choose to stay in segregated areas as protection from unfriendly behaviours against them and to stay in a community with a social safety net. This also increases and reproduces the segregation process (Rex, 1988).

In the understanding of crime problem, the process is the same. Generally crime and delinquency has traditionally been associated with the low socio-economic status, residential instability and social disorganization of the neighborhoods. This situation feeds the rhetoric that labels the other as a guilty or a potential danger by the aid of the prejudices that have been constituted against urban poor. Segregation can be a powerful spatial force that serves to protect the status quo, and it separates groups from each other. Then, social services are intensely reduced, punitive and other social controls over the poor are increased. Thus, the logic of segregation is reproduced (Fitzpatrick and LaGory, 2000). There is a vicious circle about crime. When the crime rates increase in ghetto areas, fear of crime increases too, and this naturally feeds the discourse which legitimizes the segregation, then crime was in turned answered by more harsh methods from the police, for example harassing ghetto people more or less without cause which amplified the hostile relations between police and urban underclass people (Rex, 1988). Crime rates continue to rise in the ghetto areas with the inequality and isolation that breeds the social tensions. Crime, at this point, is the way of rejecting the labels of ghetto underclass and answering to their segregation from the society. Then, abandonment, economic isolation, social exclusion and spatial segregation of these people continue.

According to Wacquant (1997) there are three pernicious premises in the conceptualization of ghetto: The dilution of the notion of ghetto, the tendency to exoticize the ghetto and the reliance on lack and deficiency and analytic templates. Moreover, he defends that there are racialization and reconstruction of the underclass and urban orientalism which misrepresent the true nature of the ghetto (Wacquant, 1997). These facts naturally encourage and legitimize the segregation.

Although economic status of groups is a key factor in exclusion, it also results from social construction of marginality and vulnerability (Musterd and Ostendorf, 1998). Only difference between the ghetto and the middle-class neighborhoods is not in the behavior but in the social position of those exhibiting it. The myth of the underclass has been created and sustained because it is such an appealing concept, not because it is true. The ideas about whom the underclass is and why its members are so poor are merely reflections of socially ingrained prejudice that tries to

separate the world into two. The problem of urban poverty should be fixed by allowing greater opportunities to escape the ghetto, rather than trying to correct the ghetto culture.

Underclass is the result of the complex operation of social factors. To say underclass cut themselves off from society through their behaviour and attitudes would not be realistic hypothesis. Despite cultural alienation may emerge in some areas and transmission within the underclass, structural factors like low economic and social status concentrated with poverty, socio-economic exclusion and residential instability can be seen as consistent predictors of problems in this type of neighborhood. Thus, no single explanation can show why crime is such an acute problem in the ghettos.

In Turkey, there is also a tendency to ghettoize the deprived gecekondu areas. Ghettoization process is composed of discrimination, stigmatization and segregation of urban poor. The fact of some low-income neighborhoods have more persistent problems like than similar gecekondu areas are got in touch with the cultural difference of these neighborhoods rather than structural factors. Therefore, segregation policies against urban poors continue to rise and deepen the acute problems of these deprived areas.

Işık and Pınarcıoğlu have evaluated the urban poor in two groups; urban poor who are abandoned and isolated population and have no power to change their life conditions, and the urban poor who have the power to change their life conditions by the possibilities of informal sector, the ties of kinship etc. The main difference between groups is that while one of these groups has power and hope to find opportunities to change and improve their life conditions, the other has no chance to create opportunity for themselves. (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003). They have also stated that Western type isolated and segregated urban underclass cannot be defended in Turkey.

Keleş says that there are differences between the gecekondu type of settlements of non-developed or developing countries and the deprived areas of the developed ones. While gecekondu are permanent settlements where its homogeneous dwellers have rural origins, developed countries' slums are temporary where heterogeneous dwellers have urban origins (Keleş, 1983).

Despite some deprived and segregated areas promote an existence very different from the rest of the society in Turkey, all gecekondu type of settlements cannot be characterized as having district population and culture, and cannot be evaluated in the framework of slums, ghettos or such deprived areas of other countries. There is no general observed district culture of underclass in Turkey's gecekondu neighborhoods and they are not radicalism centers or criminal areas where the culture of poverty exists.

Moreover, the problem also comes from the conceptualization of the terms, that is, at least, there is a conceptual ghetto underclass in the studies. For example, the word *varoş* which has replaced the term of gecekondu for twenty years, reflects the transformation in the perception of gecekondu settlements and its inhabitants by the public, state and the media. Today, most of the gecekondu areas (especially ones where poverty is more acute) are seen as the neighborhoods of poor, uneducated, uncultured, impolite and dangerous people who cut themselves off from the urban culture. These areas are also stigmatized as being against the rules and norms of the society and the potential criminal production centers. It should be stated that when this type of perception about some diverse and deprived urban areas have increased, these places are naturally the objects of societal discrimination, spatial segregation, stigmatization and marginalization. As stated above, when crime rates increase in a special part of a city, fear of crime increases among public, mass media and the police who have already prejudices about these neighborhoods. Then, this situation feeds the rhetoric which legitimizes the isolation and segregation of these areas, and it brings another step, that is labelling the other as a guilty or a potential danger.



It can be clearly said that every theory has contributions to criminological literature in spite of their inadequacies while explaining crime. When the general framework of these theories is wanted to draw, it can be stated that Classical Criminology tried to provide a philosophical rationale for reforming judicial and legal systems to make them more rational and fair. However, they could not tell about why people commit crime. Rational will or pain-pleasure principles cannot give sufficient information on crime. Biological and psychological theories of crime which had enormous influences on examining crime did not give sufficient attention to social, economic and environmental factors because of giving more importance to criminal actor.

Sociological theories which focus on the relations of social factors and crime defended that the causes of crime should be searched outside personal characteristics. Strain and Cultural Deviance theories were the first among them which investigate crime in its social environment. Common point of these theories is that both of them locate the causes of crime in the disadvantageous position of the lowest stratum in a society. While strain theories have emphasized the importance of the concept of anomie, Social Disorganization Theory which has been developed by Chicago School's sociologists has defended that urban areas provide cultural and structural environment for developing behaviour pattern which may result in committing crime. This theory has focused on the development of high crime areas as associated with the disintegration of conventional values caused by industrialization, increasing migration, rapid social changes by urbanization, impersonality, anonymity and heterogeneity of the cities. Social Learning Theory maintains that people learn to commit crime as a result of contact with anti-social values, attitudes, and criminal behaviour patterns. Sub-culture theories state that different groups learn different conduct norms, and the conduct norms of some groups may clash with conventional middle class rules. Sub-culture (may be also counter-culture) is a separate self-sustaining culture, and its value systems may sometimes accept deviant activities as a norm.

In general, all three theories contend that criminals and delinquents in fact conform to norms that deviate from those of the dominant middle class. They have mainly

used different cultural attitudes of lower-class communities in their conception of crime. But, it can be claimed that they have neglected the class analysis and the process of capital accumulation.

Radical theories of crime that have been also discussed in this chapter, criticize the positivist understanding of crime and reject its arguments. According to radical theories, crime can be explored by structural factors, rather than cultural, biological, mental or environmental factors used by the past theories. Moreover, the reasons and the results of crime cannot be explained in a simple cause-effect fashion.

It should be generally stated that crime should be studied with multi-dimensional approaches, because of the problem due to so many divergent factors are already known in criminology. Each of the above theories contributes to finding out different aspects of crime and to propose some reasonable solutions, but crime is a multi-dimensional issue and has diverse causes. Therefore, it is impossible to explain the causes of crime as relevant to only one factor. When studying the crime many factors should be taken into consideration. Because none of the factors on their own can be regarded as sufficient explanation (Vanderschueren, 2000). Analyzing crime should be made with the common evaluations of all different theories using different factors in their propositions. In summary, crime is a social phenomenon and the roots of this problem can be found in the social structure accompanied by economic, political and cultural factors.

Next chapter in the study will examine urban crime statistics with some socio-economic characteristics of Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. But, firstly, the definition, reasons and characteristics of urbanization process in Turkey will be discussed briefly. After some demographic and socio-economic indicators of Ankara are examined, urban crime in Turkey will be started to discuss.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **URBANIZATION AND URBAN CRIME IN TURKEY**

#### **3.1. The Definition of Urbanization**

Urbanization can be defined as the increase in the number of cities and the development towards a higher concentration of the population in towns and cities (Keleş, 1980). While Sezal defines urbanization as the transition from community life with narrow space to society life with wide space (Sezal, 1992), for Castells, urbanization is the accumulation of population spatially and spreading of a serie of values, behaviours and tendencies which is called urban culture (Schwab, 1992). Wirth defined the city with three features; size, density and heterogeneity. According to him, city is intense and permanent settlement of heterogeneous people. It is important to state that urbanization is not just a physical increase in the density of population and the size of the space. It has also socio-economic, political and cultural dimensions in terms of economic and social transformations (Keleş, 1983).

Marx, beside he recognized the city as an important element in the emergence of a class consciousness and revolutionary action, also recognized the city itself to be a product of general social processes (Schwab, 1992). That is, it can be said that city being both a geographical space and a social fact, cannot be evaluated without socio-economic and cultural dimensions.

### **3.2. Urbanization in Turkey**

#### **3.2.1. Reasons and Characteristics of Urbanization in Turkey**

Migration is the basic source of urbanization in Turkey together with natural population growth. Generally, rural people have left rural areas in search of better employment and income, housing opportunities, educational and cultural resources, and desire for urban life. As well as rural environment has acted as a push factor on immigrants, cities have pulled migrated people by the possibility of providing better living conditions stated above. In addition, changing economic and social structure of Turkey after 1950's has caused rural to urban migration and thus migration wave have had some implications on urban structures. In large cities like Ankara, urban population has increased dramatically in a relatively short time.

Turkey's urbanization experience represents a singular type of capitalist urbanization (Şengül, 2001b) because of its aspects of urbanization show some structural differences from the cities of developed countries. In Turkey, urbanization as one of the basic elements that forms the social and economic structure of the country is not a single result of changes in agriculture or industrialization, but also an indicator of social transformation process. It has some effects on social, political and economic structure which are peculiar to itself (Kongar, 1999). Moreover, rapid urbanization has brought important changes in social, political and spatial structure of the large cities like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir (Şengül, 2003).

The most important feature of urbanization in Turkey is that it comes from inner migrations, rather than natural population growth. Natural population growth is not as an important element as migration while affecting the urbanization process. Other important point about urbanization is that it does not only come from pull factors of urban areas like employment, education and health possibilities, it is more related with push factors of rural areas like low agricultural productivity and low agricultural income. After the end of the Second World War, in addition to structural transformation in rural areas especially coming from the developments in

the agricultural cultivation technology with Marshall Plan Aid, distribution of land ownership, limited social mobility, market economy, and newly developing highway network led to rural to urban migration (Erdoğan, 1991).

In 1950, with Democratic Party, and its economic policies and preferences have encouraged rural people to migrate to cities for employment in the industrial sector. Anyway, from the beginning of the Republic, industrialization has had effects on agricultural sector (Kongar, 1999). Therefore, in this phase, rapid urbanization resulting from a massive population wave from rural areas has caused cities composed of labour pools (Şengül, 2003). Population growth in urban areas between 1950's and the early 1980's was the indicators of spatial mobility, and has represented the most important characteristics of the period of urbanization of labour power (Şengül, 2001a).

In Turkey, migration influx to big cities has never been stopped, on the contrary it has continued throughout the years. In 1980, while 43.9 percent of the total population was living in the cities, the rate has become 64.9 in 2000. Between 1950 and 2000, while rural population has increased 34 percent, and total population has increased 69 percent, urban population has picked up steeply (Erten, 1999).

Table 3.1: Urban and Rural Population

	1990			2000		
	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
TURKEY	56473035 100%	33656275 59.6%	22816760 40.4%	67844903 100%	44109336 64.9%	23735567 35.1%
ANKARA	3236378 100%	2836802 87.6%	399576 12.4%	4007860 100%	3540522 88.3%	467338 11.7%
İSTANBUL	7309190 100%	6753929 92.4%	555261 7.6%	10018735 100%	9085599 90.7%	933136 9.3%
İZMİR	2694770 100%	2134816 79.2%	559954 20.8%	3370866 100%	2732669 81.0%	638197 19.0%

Source: DİE, Genel Nüfus Sayımları

The table above shows urban and rural populations in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir between 1990-2000 and indicates that while rural population has increased slowly between 1990 and 2000 except İstanbul, urban population has increased caustically. But, the most important thing about urban population is that it is still increasing in a large scale in Turkey and in three largest cities. Moreover, it should be emphasized that despite Turkey's total population has not grown as Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, its urban population growth is bigger than these cities. This situation presents that Ankara, İzmir and especially İstanbul still pull the masses even to their rural (outside the municipal boundries) parts of them.

In the post-1980 period which is called the period of urbanization of capital (Şengül, 2001a), neo-liberal policies have caused a new socio-spatial environment and urban development (Doğan, 2001). The policies of new economic and social restructuring have had no similar effects on every area and social classes (Bauman, 1997). Today, large cities have become arenas of polarisation and fragmentation between the spaces of the classes. There are residential segregation and socio-economic isolation practices which naturally bring acute socio-economic problems

of individuals and groups. Therefore today, urbanization is seen as undesirable and leading to catastrophic physical and social consequences, and urbanization process with rapid social transformation process are accepted for giving like overcrowding, squatter settlements, inadequate schooling, the bad sanitation, environmental and infrastructural problems, rising unemployment and poverty (Erten, 1999). In Turkey, crime is also seen as one of the important negative consequences which have been affected by unhealthy rapid urbanization too, and existence and the rise of the crime especially in metropolitan areas are tried to be related with high urbanization level or size, heterogeneity and density of the cities in most of the studies on crime.

In this study, Ankara will be used as the study area to explore probable links between crime, urbanization and some socio-economic variables in the cities. This city is one of the three biggest cities of Turkey in terms of some socio-economic variables like population, population growth rate, population density, share in GDP etc. This types of variables will be analyzed as important factors that facilitate the conduct of the study for getting some considerable results.

### **3.2.2. Ankara Case**

Ankara, the capital of Turkey, is the second big province in terms of population. The functions of this city as the capital have caused it has absorbed population along years (Keleş and Ünsal, 1982). Therefore, it can be said that urbanization of Ankara has been realized by political and administrative decisions (Görmez, 1997) especially in the phase of urbanization of the state (Şengül, 2003).

Ankara has become highly immigrant rather than industrial city where population has picked up sharply by the phase of structural change in economy, and the support for private sector in early 1980's which cause new migration wave from surroundings and rural parts of Ankara. Thus, heterogeneous structure of Ankara has become more intense throughout the years. While 80 percent of Ankara population has been composed of people who were born in Ankara twenty years ago, in 2000 this percentage is 53. Biggest shares in the people living in Ankara

who were born outside Ankara belong to Çorum, Yozgat, Çankırı and Kırşehir (DİE; 2002a). This situation has naturally caused rapid changes in Ankara in terms of social and cultural structure (Ersoy, 1985). Moreover, unhealthy growing population reflects the features of unhealthy urbanization to Ankara too (Keleş and Ünsal, 1982). Today, the city is faced with a lot of problems like transportation, employment, housing, environment, infrastructure and security.

Most important problems of Ankara are employment and housing problems today. Sufficient employment areas which can absorb the people coming with migration could not be improved, thus marginal institutions have inevitably emerged in the city. Other important problem of Ankara is housing. Up today, lack of intervention by the state has caused housing deficiency which has been tried to closed with squatter settlements, called *gecekondu* (landed overnight) in Turkey, and therefore today 60 percent of urban population live in these illegally built settlements especially in the biggest cities (Görmez, 1997).

Table 3.2: Population of Ankara and Turkey Between 1950-2000

YEAR	ANKARA	URBAN	RATE	RURAL	RATE
1950	819693	288537	35.2	531156	64.8
1960	1321380	651241	49.2	670139	50.8
1970	2041658	1467304	71.8	574354	28.2
1980	2854689	2238967	78.4	615722	21.6
1990	3236378	2836802	87.6	399576	12.4
2000	4007860	3540522	88.3	467338	11.7



Table 3.2 (continued)

YEAR	TURKEY	URBAN	RATE	RURAL	RATE
1950	20947188	5244337	25.0	15702851	75.0
1960	27754820	8859731	33.6	18895089	67.0
1970	35605176	13691101	38.5	21914075	61.6
1980	44736957	19645007	43.9	25091950	56.1
1990	56473035	33656275	59.6	22816760	40.4
2000	67803927	44006274	64.9	23797693	35.1

Source: DİE, Genel Nüfus Sayımları

Today population of Ankara is 4.007.860, and 88.3 percent of this number lives in urban areas. Data show that Ankara's rate of urban population is higher than Turkey's rate of urban population. In 1950 there was not a big difference between the rates of urban populations of Ankara and Turkey. The difference has increased day by day, and in 1970's and 1980's has rise to its peak, but after 1990 it can be observed that Ankara's urban population has grown less than Turkey's. However, according to table above, it can be seen that while the rate of urban population in Ankara is 88.3 percent, Turkey's urban population rate is 64.9 percent in 2000. Therefore, it can be defended that Ankara is more urbanized than Turkey and most of the cities today. The reason of this situation absolutely due to being the capital of Turkey, most of the institutions of central government are placed there. According to the table below, Ankara's population growth rate is 21.4 ‰ while in Turkey is 18.3 ‰ between 1990 and 2000.

Table 3.3: Population Growth Rate (1990-2000)

	POPULATION GROWTH RATE (‰)		
	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
TURKEY	18.3	27.0	4.0
ANKARA	21.4	22.2	15.7
İSTANBUL	33.1	29.3	80.7
İZMİR	22.4	24.6	13.6

Source: DİE, Genel Nüfus Sayımı, 2000

The table also demonstrates that total population of three cities have grown more than the Turkey's population. Despite Ankara's total population growth rate is higher than Turkey's, it is low when it is compared with İstanbul and İzmir. İstanbul is the first city which has absorbed population in urban and rural areas. Population of rural areas of İstanbul has more expanded than the urban population there. This proves even rural areas of İstanbul still pull the masses. From the table, it can be observed that Ankara's urban population growth rate is lower than Turkey, İstanbul and İzmir. While rural population has increased more than Turkey, but not as much as İstanbul and İzmir again.

When some demographic indicators are examined, it can be seen that Ankara's net migration rate, population density and population growth rate are lower than İstanbul and İzmir. However, the birth growth rate in Ankara is 2.65 while 2.07 in İstanbul, 2.01 in İzmir, and 2.08 in Turkey. This proves the population growth has been highly affected by also natural population growth with migration in Ankara (DİE, 2000c; DİE, 2002f).

The biggest central districts in Ankara in terms of population are Çankaya, Keçiören and Yenimahalle. In urban population rate, the two first districts are nearly the same. Moreover, these three districts constitute more than a half of the urban population of Ankara today. Other big districts are Mamak and Altındağ.

Table 3.4: Urban and Rural Population in the Central Districts of Ankara

DISTRICT	1990			2000		
	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL	TOTAL	URBAN	RURAL
ALTINDAĞ	422668	417616	5052	407101	400023	7078
ÇANKAYA	714330	712304	2026	769331	758490	10841
ETİMESGUT	70800	69960	840	171293	169615	1678
KEÇİÖREN	536051	523260	12791	672817	625167	47650
MAMAK	410359	400733	9626	430606	412771	17835
SİNCAN	101118	91016	10102	289783	267879	21904
YENİMAHALLE	351436	343951	7485	553344	534109	19235
GÖLBAŞI	43522	25123	18399	62602	35308	27294

Source: DİE, Genel Nüfus Sayımı 2000, Nüfusun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri, Ankara (2002)

When the table above about the population of central districts of Ankara between 1990 and 2000 is studied, the biggest population growth can be observed in Sincan and Etimesgut which are relatively new constituted districts. Moreover, Yenimahalle's and Keçiören's total populations have also grown more than the other districts. In urban population, the situation is the same. There has been a serious decline in the urban population of Altındağ, while rural population there has risen. This demonstrates the possible migration to other parts of Ankara, or other cities, even controlling the birth rate. In rural population, Çankaya and Keçiören are the first two districts whose rural populations have increased sharply. This is the evidence of newly settlements surroundings of these districts. In terms of population density, Keçiören, Çankaya and Altındağ are the districts which have biggest population densities.

Majority of the population in Ankara is placed mostly in trade, manufacturing and service sectors. If it is compared with Turkey, the rate of employment in the social services and public sector have more place than Turkey's and all the cities (DİE, 2000c). This naturally comes from being the centre of government of the country. Moreover, industry sector which can provide employment possibilities to immigrants has not improved in Ankara.

According to the table below, the rate of Ankara's GDP has different from Turkey especially in finance and public sector. Other big difference between sectors is in the industry sector. It is observed that Ankara's industry sector constitutes 17.6 percent of GDP, while Turkey's 26.3. In the distribution of GDP, the share of industry sector is less than Turkey's. The other evidence about Ankara is that, despite it can be evaluated as more urbanized than Turkey because of its share of farming in GDP is also very smaller than Turkey, the distribution of GDP in the industry sector is low.

Table 3.5: Distribution of GDP Among Sectors in Ankara and Turkey  
(Census of 1990)

SECTOR	TURKEY	ANKARA
FARMING	14.5	5.1
INDUSTRY	26.3	17.6
CONSTRUCTION	6.5	8.4
TRADE	24.8	26.5
COMMUNICATION	13.9	12.3
FINANCE	5.1	14.8
PUBLIC	8.9	15.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Source: DİE, İllere Göre GSYİH, Türkiye 1997 (1999)

DİE, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Göstergeler- Ankara (1998)

Other data which can be shown as an indicator is national income per person can be seen in the following table. The greatest difference between Turkey and Ankara as to national income per person is the large growth in 1990 and 1993 in Ankara comparatively, but the difference has tended to drop sharply in 1994. While Turkey's average of national income per person has increased, Ankara has shown a decline between 1996-1997. However, it can be said that national income in Ankara is always higher than Turkey's average. Today, Ankara is the eight province in terms of national income per person among 81 provinces (DİE, 2002a).

Table 3.6: National Income Per Person in Ankara and Turkey Between 1987-1997

YEAR	TURKEY	ANKARA
1987	1629	2177
1988	1685	2157
1989	1993	2413
1990	2655	3636
1991	2603	3653
1992	2682	3892
1993	2981	4518
1994	2173	3202
1995	2727	3996
1996	2888	3976
1997	3021	3521

Source: DİE, İllere Göre GSYİH, Türkiye 1997 (1999)

Another statistics about GDP of the districts of Ankara are shown in the following table. It can be seen that urban area of Ankara has 8.43 percent of Turkey's GDP, and 83.36 percent in the province (DİE, 1999b). The biggest shares belong to the districts of Altındağ and Çankaya in context of Turkey (totally 3.57 %) and Ankara (42.33 %). It is interesting that despite Keçiören's population and population density are bigger than Altındağ and Yenimahalle, its share of GDP in Turkey and Ankara are comparatively small.

Table 3.7: Some Indicators of Ankara and the Central Districts

DISTRICT	POPULATION DENSITY	SHARE OF GDP* IN TURKEY %	SHARE OF GDP* IN THE PROVINCE %
ALTINDAĞ	2395	1.65	19.62
ÇANKAYA	2505	1.92	22.71
ETİMESGUT	1696	0.34	4.02
KEÇİÖREN	3381	0.97	11.52
MAMAK	1695	0.47	5.62
SİNCAN	796	0.38	4.49
YENİMAHALLE	1320	1.11	13.16
GÖLBAŞI	56	0.19	2.22
TOTAL	131	8.43	100.00

\*Gross Domestic Product

Source: DİE, Genel Nüfus Sayımı 1990, Nüfusun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri, Ankara (1993)

DİE, Genel Nüfus Sayımı 2000, Nüfusun Sosyal ve Ekonomik Nitelikleri, Ankara (2002)

### 3.3. Urban Crime in General

Today Turkey is a country in which crime rates are in a level that cannot be undervalued. Especially after 1980's, the crime rates have had a tendency to pick up steeply and crime has become an important phenomenon in the cities in Turkey. As well as rising crime rates, there has also been a qualitative change in the patterns of crime. In this part of the study, the comparison between the three biggest cities of Turkey will be tried to make by using crime and criminal statistics.

The crime level in several countries can be shown in the table below. Although countries may differ in many respects, and reasons of violent and property crimes may be country-specific (McClain, 2001), the table to compare and contrast Turkey's crime rates with other countries will be useful for this study. While burglary and theft are more observed in developing and developed countries,

robbery is more committed in the countries in transition like Bulgaria, Georgia, Estonia and in developing countries like Turkey, Egypt, Brazil than in developed ones like Canada, France, Germany. While assault is almost in the same level in the countries in transition, developing and developed countries, fraud, corruption and bribery are very higher in the countries in transition and the developing countries than the developed ones again. High levels of these types of crime in developing countries should be given attention.

Table 3.8: Crime Level in Several Countries

TYPE OF CRIME	DEVELOPED COUNTRIES	COUNTRIES IN TRANSITION	DEVELOPING COUNTRIES
BURGLARY	3.2	0.6	5.3
THEFT	6.1	0.8	11.3
ASSAULT	2.5	2.2	2.2
ROBBERY	1.7	2.3	4.6
FRAUD	10.4	9.7	29.9
BRIBERY/CORRUPTION	1.0	2.8	17.6

Source: Zvekic, U., Essays on Crime and Development, United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute, Pub.No: 36, Rome, 1990.

Despite Turkey's crime rates have similarities with developing countries, especially in burglary, theft and robbery, assault rate is higher than the rates of the countries presented in the table. It means the numbers of crime committed against people are close to the numbers of crime committed against property in Turkey. Truly, as stated above, countries may differ in many respects, and because of this fact, Turkey also has some singular characteristics (the religion, traditions, laws, moral laws etc.) that are different from other countries. It can be clearly seen that every community has an unique social ethnic and economic features which may cause fluctuations on its own crime statistics. Consequently, the study aiming to search the causes of urban crime should consider these special characteristics of countries or cities.

In this part of the study, different criminal activities will be tried to analysed by the population and the numbers of committed crimes. As emphasized in the preceding parts of the study, basic scale will be Ankara. In this study, urban crimes which are committed in urban areas called police responsibility area will be used. Moreover, crime statistics of Turkey, İstanbul and İzmir will be demonstrated and discussed to make a comparison and try to get results from the similarities and differences between them.

Table 3.9: Urban Population

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	19645007	26865757	33326351	44006274	50000000
ANKARA	2238967	2634430	2836802	3540522	4100000
İSTANBUL	4466885	5504227	6779594	9085599	10250000
İZMİR	1059183	1800797	2137721	2732669	3100000

\*2003 population has been estimated according to the population growth rate between 1990-2000

Source: DİE, İstatistiklerle Türkiye 2001, (2002)

DİE, Genel Nüfus Sayımları

Following table shows the total number of urban crime in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. To understand the real crime rate, urban populations of Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir that are shown in the table above will be used. The most important point in the table below is that increasing numbers of crime between 1980 and 1985 have decreased steeply at the end of 1980's and have tended to rise after these years. Moreover, it can be said that especially Ankara has witnessed a big growth in urban crime if the change between 2000 and 2003 is compared with the change between 1990 and 2000.

İstanbul's crime rate has been very higher than Ankara before 1990's. But in 1990, the difference between Ankara and İstanbul has closed and total number of urban crimes in Ankara has become more than İstanbul's. But the difference between Ankara and İstanbul has expanded after 2000 again. In 2003, while 86323 criminal offenses have been committed in İstanbul, 32944 in Ankara.



Table 3.10: Total Numbers of Urban Crime

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	15044	188617	107310	286482	342664
ANKARA	1321	32754	18756	26334	32944
İSTANBUL	3098	45899	17143	75716	86323
İZMİR	1103	16678	8673	16094	23989

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

In the following table that indicates urban crime rate per 10.000 people, it can be ensured that crime rates in 1980 were very low by the effects of the conditions at that time. Big fall between 1985 and 1990 has been followed by an extreme slope between 1990 and 2000. The change between 2000 and 2003 has seemed to be negative for Turkey, but it is important for Ankara, İstanbul and especially İzmir which have shown growing tendency.

Table 3.11: Urban Crime Rate per 10.000 people

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	7.7	70.2	32.1	73.0	68.5
ANKARA	5.9	124.3	66.1	74.3	80.4
İSTANBUL	6.9	83.4	25.2	83.3	84.2
İZMİR	10.4	92.6	40.6	58.9	77.4

Total urban crime rates per 10.000 people in the cities of Turkey can be seen in the following figure.



Figure 3.1: Total Urban Crime Rates per 10.000 People

Among arrested people for crime by security units, the share of arrested people for ordinary crimes are more than others., it can be recognized from the table that the number of arrested people for criminal activities is the highest in İstanbul, and a big percent of the arrested people for ordinary crimes in Turkey come from here. When Ankara is examined, while the number of arrested people for ordinary crimes is high, the number of arrested people for smuggling is aother important rate.

Table 3.12: Arrested People for Criminal Activities by the Type of Crime- 2003

	IDEOLOGICAL	ORDINARY	SMUGGLING	TRAFFIC	SUSPECT	TOTAL
TURKEY	5545 2.5%	187504 83.1%	16783 7.4%	7733 3.4%	8221 3.6%	225786 100.0%
ANKARA	216 1.1%	16105 82.1%	1755 8.9%	1301 6.6%	252 1.3%	19629 100.0%
İSTANBUL	1456 2.3%	54485 88.2%	1514 2.5%	1342 2.2%	2997 4.8%	61794 100.0%
İZMİR	220 2.4%	6450 70.8%	950 10.4%	218 2.4%	1271 14.0%	9109 100.0%

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)

### 3.4. Terror Crimes

Terror offenses are one of the biggest problems of Turkey. Despite of its share in the statistics is low, it is important in terms of its effects on state, society and individuals.

The table below presents the terror crimes between 1980 and 2003. After 1980 military coup, the terror offenses in the country have naturally declined by under the martial law, but have started to rise again after 1985 in Turkey and in other cities. The situation changed again after 1990. Along the years following this year, terror crime rates have sharply decreased especially in Ankara. However, while

terror offenses have decreased in Turkey and İstanbul between 2000 and 2003, they have increased in Ankara is important as being a city where the numbers of terror crimes have increased more than two times. In İzmir, the number of terror crimes has remained the same.

Table 3.13: Terror Crime Rate per 10.000 people

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	5.2	0.2	0.9	0.5	0.4
ANKARA	4.4	0.1	2.4	0.1	0.2
İSTANBUL	3.2	0.3	1.4	0.7	0.6
İZMİR	6.6	0.1	1.8	0.3	0.3

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

### 3.5. Political Events

Political events which are used in the Turkish criminal literature as a general name of the illegal demonstrations, protest marches, meetings etc. have been evaluated with terror offenses under the title of ideological crimes until 1995, but this classification has changed after this year. Two types of crimes (terror crimes and political events) have been categorized separately from each other for nine years.

The table that displays political events in Turkey gives a clear evidence about Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. The majority of these events in Turkey has occurred and is continuong to occur in these provinces.

Table 3.14: Political Event Rate per 10.000 people

YEARS	2000	2003
TURKEY	2.7	0.7
ANKARA	6.3	2.4
İSTANBUL	6.2	1.3
İZMİR	3.9	0.3

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

When the table is examined, it can be seen that the rate is lower in Turkey and İzmir by comparing with Ankara and İstanbul. While the rate of political events has decreased between 2000 and 2003, the highest rate is in Ankara. Probable reason of this situation is due to being capital, and naturally creates an atmosphere for political events that are made to protest central government's policies there.

### 3.6. Smuggling Crimes

Smuggling crime is the other type of criminal activity which is seen in Turkey rigorously.

Table 3.15: Smuggling Crime Rate per 10.000 people

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	0.2	3.4	2.3	3.2	3.0
ANKARA	0.1	4.8	5.2	2.9	2.5
İSTANBUL	0.3	1.7	0.9	2.4	1.8
İZMİR	0.1	3.0	1.0	4.5	4.3

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

Rates for smuggling crime per 10.000 people that are shown above prove that İzmir has had the biggest rates of smuggling activities after 1990's. A probable reason of this situation is that İzmir is closer to open seas. In Ankara, smuggling crime rate has been higher than Turkey until 1990's. However, the rate after 2000 for Ankara has showed decrease, and this has continued until 2003 too. In 2003, despite Ankara's smuggling crime rate is lower than Turkey and İzmir, is higher than İstanbul.

Organized crimes, narcotic crimes and financial crimes are sub-branches of smuggling crimes. According to data, it can be stated that organized crime, which is composed of offenses by the groups who come together to commit crime continuously in a illegally formed organization, has risen in Turkey especially since two decades. Total number of organized crime in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir can be seen in the following table. According to the table, while

organized crime in Ankara and İzmir do not have important place in total crime rate, İstanbul constitutes the greater part of the smuggling crimes in Turkey.

Table 3.16: Organized Crimes

YEARS	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	355	1996	1251
ANKARA	-	23	58
İSTANBUL	8	337	383
İZMİR	-	16	8

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

In narcotic crimes “the production, the sale and the use of narcotic products like heroine, hashish, cocaine, illegal drugs etc.”, Ankara’s share is mostly low when it is compared with İstanbul and İzmir where the transportation of narcotics is relatively easy because of their geographical positions. However, as seen in the table below, in Ankara the number of narcotic crimes has increased dramatically after 2000 as opposite to Turkey, İstanbul and İzmir.

Table 3.17: Narcotic Crimes

YEARS	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	918	3448	4440
ANKARA	56	96	221
İSTANBUL	273	682	768
İZMİR	41	586	602

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

It can be said that Ankara has an important place in financial crimes “embezzlement, bribery, corruption and forgery”. While the numbers of financial crimes is 680 in İstanbul and 725 in İzmir, there are 734 financial offenses in Ankara in 2003. This may come from being three biggest metropolitan areas where official processes and transactions are highly executed. However, it can be defended that the number of financial crimes in Ankara has decreased steeply. After 2000, while the number of financial crimes has decreased in Ankara and İstanbul, it has increased in İzmir and Turkey in general.

Table 3.18: Financial Crimes

YEARS	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	6451	7517	9316
ANKARA	1414	917	734
İSTANBUL	354	1136	680
İZMİR	166	623	725

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

### 3.7. Suicide

Suicide is another important type of deviant behaviour in the study of urban crime. Despite it is not completely characterized as a type of crime, it comes from showing the reaction of a person to his or her own body, rather than another’s body or property.

Following table shows the number of suicide occurred in urban areas. The number of suicides in Ankara is high and has increased regularly along the years together with İzmir. After 2000, Ankara and İzmir have witnessed high numbers of suicide while the numbers have been decreased in İstanbul and dropped sharply in Turkey. The rises in İzmir and Ankara that can be observed below should be given more attention.

Table 3.19: Numbers of Suicide

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	861	817	1357	2972	1661
ANKARA	44	62	67	142	162
İSTANBUL	308	147	159	378	320
İZMİR	76	83	63	83	121

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

Table below shows that suicide rate in Ankara has started to increase after 1990 and remained the same between 2000 and 2003. However, the rates in Turkey and İstanbul decreased after 2000. In 2003, the rate for Turkey and İstanbul is 0.3 per 10.000 people, and 0.4 for Ankara and İzmir.

Table 3.20: Suicide Rate per 10.000 people

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.3
ANKARA	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4
İSTANBUL	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3
İZMİR	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.4

According to next table that displays the number of suicide by sex and age, the share of female and male population in the suicides can be shown. The difference between sexes is more clear in the ages of 19 and above. Ankara's suicide numbers are; 7 in females, 6 in males in the group of 18 and under, 49 in females, and 99 in males in the group of 19 and above in the year of 2003. When the rates of suicide in total number, Ankara is the first in terms of suicide in 19 and above age group of female population, İstanbul in 19 and above age group of male population, and İzmir in 18 and under age group of female population.



Table 3.21: Numbers of Suicide by Sex and Age- 2003

	18 AND UNDER		19 AND ABOVE		TOTAL
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	
TURKEY	82 5.2%	75 4.8%	409 26.1%	1003 63.9%	1569 100.0%
ANKARA	7 4.3%	6 3.7%	49 30.4%	99 61.6%	161 100.0%
İSTANBUL	5 1.8%	7 2.6%	77 28.2%	184 67.4%	273 100.0%
İZMİR	9 7.5%	2 1.6%	33 27.5%	76 63.4%	120 100.0%

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)

The most important reasons for suicide are illness, domestic and economic problems in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. It can be easily stated that family problems are very related with economic ones, thus the numbers of suicide are very affected by economic problems and the social ones accompanying economic stress in Turkey.

Table 3.22: Numbers of Suicide by Reason- 1998

REASON	TURKEY	ANKARA	İSTANBUL	İZMİR
ILLNESS	597 31.5%	49 27.4%	87 26.0%	53 37.9%
DOMESTIC	502 26.6%	42 23.5%	97 28.9%	32 22.9%
ECONOMIC	277 14.7%	34 19.0%	54 16.1%	18 12.9%
COMMERCIAL	114 6.1%	11 6.1%	22 6.6%	14 10.0%
EMOTIONAL	247 13.0%	23 12.8%	42 12.5%	17 12.1%
EDUCATIONAL	79 4.2%	12 6.7%	14 4.2%	3 2.1%
OTHER	74 3.9%	8 4.5%	19 5.7%	3 2.1%
TOTAL	1890 100.0%	179 100.0%	335 100.0%	140 100.0%

Source: DİE, İntihar İstatistikleri 1998 (2000)

### 3.8. Ordinary Crimes

Ordinary (petty) crimes, also called *adi suçlar* in Turkey, constitute the greater part of the total urban crimes. Moreover, among other criminal activities, ordinary crimes (especially property crimes) are generally characterized as more urban because of its characteristics and types today.

The table below demonstrates the ordinary crime rates in some countries. Among 18 countries, Turkey is placed in the middle of the list in terms of homicide. The rate increases in the aggravated assault. However in Turkey, the rate of aggravated assault is not as high as other countries. While Turkey's rate for rape is higher than Greece and Portugal, the rate is only higher than Portugal in terms of

robbery. It can be generally said that despite the crime rates in Turkey are lower than most of the countries, they are still high and have tendency to rise which cannot be undervalued.

Table 3.23: Crime Rates per 100.000 People for Some Ordinary Crimes In Some Countries

COUNTRY	HOMICIDE	RAPE	ROBBERY	AGG. ASSAULT
TURKEY	4.00	3.20	4.60	78.90
USA	9.30	42.80	263.60	441.80
AUSTRIA	2.61	7.09	55.08	2.52
BELGIUM	2.70	7.81	98.71	117.91
DENMARK	4.59	10.77	87.91	169.23
ENGLAND	2.52	7.98	89.36	362.10
FINLAND	0.57	7.30	46.29	38.81
FRANCE	4.70	9.31	121.79	96.67
GERMANY	4.12	7.82	70.40	104.77
GREECE	2.54	2.69	14.80	66.42
IRELAND	0.71	3.61	72.70	1.04
N.IRELAND	30.64	9.87	117.71	30.19
NORWAY	2.06	8.89	23.24	44.95
NETHERLANDS	24.88	10.82	124.74	191.75
PORTUGAL	4.30	1.30	4.10	7.04
SPAIN	2.29	4.01	163.91	23.76
SWEDEN	8.39	19.42	71.55	42.51
SWITZERLAND	2.64	4.58	35.66	53.59

Source: McClain, P.D., Urban Crime in the USA and Western Europe (2001)

EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

The table below shows the crime rates per 100.000 people for some ordinary crimes for some cities. According the table, while Ankara together with London whose homicide rate is 2.27 is the last, İstanbul is the second in terms of homicide among other cities. When the rape is examined, it can observed that Ankara, İzmir

and İstanbul together with Rome are the last four cities which follow the others. İzmir is interesting in terms of rape rate. In robbery, while İstanbul presenting high rate, both Ankara and İzmir constitute the smallest rates for this category.

When the rates for Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir compared with Turkey, it can be stated that homicide is more observed in İstanbul than Ankara and İzmir, but the rape rate is lower than Turkey, Ankara and İzmir. In robbery, while Ankara's rate is almost the same with Turkey, İstanbul shows bigger numbers.

Although the rates for these three type of crimes look lower when compared with other cities of Europe, the crime rates have increased in Turkey throughout the years.

Table 3.24: Crime Rates per 100.000 People for Some Ordinary Crimes in Some Cities

CITY	HOMICIDE	RAPE	ROBBERY
ANKARA	2.27	4.01	4.59
İSTANBUL	11.60	2.71	10.79
İZMİR	3.73	8.16	3.47
LONDON	2.27	18.93	344.12
ROME	4.08	1.16	80.27
STOCKHOLM	20.90	53.28	269.61
VIENNA	5.28	11.32	106.73
ZURICH	11.37	12.54	204.72
COPENHAGEN	8.72	11.06	129.78

Source: McClain, P.D., Urban Crime in the USA and Western Europe (2001)

EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir which have shown increases in ordinary crimes after 1980, faced with sharp decreases after 1985. The decade between 1990-2000 is the clear evident in the rising rates for ordinary crimes. Despite rises have reduced their speed after 2000, it can be said that ordinary crime is still an important problem for Turkey and especially for metropolitan areas. The

other important point about the crime rates is that more than 40 percent of the total ordinary crime in Turkey are committed in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir (EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları).

Table 3.25: Ordinary Crime Rate per 10.000 people

YEARS	1980	1985	1990	2000	2003
TURKEY	2.1	66.6	28.8	68.0	64.4
ANKARA	1.4	119.4	58.5	65.1	75.3
İSTANBUL	3.6	81.4	23.0	74.0	80.5
İZMİR	3.7	89.4	37.8	61.1	72.5

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

Ordinary crime rates will be more functional at this point. It can be clearly got result from the following table that, Ankara's rate (75.3) for ordinary crime is higher than Turkey (64.4) and İzmir (72.5), but lower than İstanbul (80.5). Moreover, the biggest increase in the rate per 10.000 people has occurred in Ankara and İzmir between 2000 and 2003. Another important point is that except 1980 and 2000, Ankara's ordinary crime rate is always higher than Turkey and İzmir.

If ten biggest provinces in Turkey are examined in terms of ordinary crime, it can be proposed that these cities which constitute 53.0 percent of the urban population in Turkey, also constitute 64.1 percent of the urban ordinary crime according to the table below. While crimes against the property (property crimes) in these cities form 75.5 percent of the property crimes of Turkey, this number becomes 50.1 percent for crimes against person (violent crimes). This may state the effects of being big metropolitan areas on the types of crime. Other important point here is that, except the cities as Adana, Konya and Şanlıurfa which partly protect their rural characteristics, crimes against property are higher than the crimes against person in big cities of Turkey. Ordinary crime rates per 10.000 people in Turkish cities can be seen in the next figure.



Among ten biggest provinces in Turkey, the highest rates of crime per 10.000 people are in Antalya, Bursa and Gaziantep, the lowest rates can be seen in Şanlıurfa and Adana. Other province that is under the level of Turkey's ordinary crime rate is Konya. Ankara is the sixth province whose rate of ordinary crime per 10.000 people is high according to the table.

If the difference between the shares of the provinces in Turkey's urban population and ordinary crimes are examined, it can be stated that Adana, Konya, and Şanlıurfa's share in ordinary crime is lower compared with their population. The biggest difference can be seen in İstanbul, Antalya and Ankara. This difference may be another proof of the high levels of crime in these cities.

Table 3.26: Urban Ordinary Crime in Ten Biggest Provinces- 2003

PROVINCE	Urban Population	Crimes Against Property	Crimes Against People	Total	Rate per 10.000 people	Share in Turkey's Urban Pop. %	Share in Turkey's Urban Ordinary Crime %
İSTANBUL	9085599	62775	19754	82529	80.5	20.6	25.6
ANKARA	3540522	16639	14248	30887	75.3	8.0	9.6
İZMİR	2732669	14140	8342	22482	72.5	6.2	7.0
BURSA	1630940	10055	6732	16787	102.9	3.7	5.2
ADANA	1397853	2551	3846	6397	45.8	3.1	2.0
KONYA	1294817	2742	4835	7577	58.5	2.9	2.4
G.ANTEP	1009126	7080	3452	10532	104.4	2.3	3.3
MERSİN	999220	6725	4826	11551	115.6	2.2	3.6
ANTALYA	936330	10485	4182	14667	156.6	2.1	4.6
Ş.URFA	842129	1122	1875	2997	35.6	1.9	0.9
TOTAL	23469205	134314	72092	206406	87.9	53.0	64.1
TURKEY	44006274	178003	143802	321805	64.4	100.0	100.0

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)

The following table shows the rate of people arrested for ordinary crimes per 10000 people in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. Rates of arrested people for ordinary crimes has decreased between 2001 and 2003 except Ankara with high female criminality. It is interesting that despite İstanbul's crime rates are higher than Turkey, Ankara and İzmir, the rate of people arrested for ordinary crime in İstanbul is low. Moreover, while Ankara's share in crime is lower than İstanbul, the rate of people arrested for ordinary crime in Ankara is very high when it is compared with Turkey, İstanbul and İzmir.

Table 3.27: The Rate of People Arrested For Ordinary Crimes per 10.000 people

	2001		2003	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
TURKEY	7.3	61.8	7.0	60.8
ANKARA	10.2	71.9	10.4	66.2
İSTANBUL	6.6	49.0	4.1	37.2
İZMİR	8.9	65.8	7.4	61.3

Source: EGM-AKKM, İstatistik Yıllıkları

According to the table below, in terms of the rate of people arrested for ordinary crimes, female criminality in the age group of 18 and under is high in Ankara and İzmir compared with Turkey and İstanbul. Male criminality is higher in the age group of 19 and above than the age group of 18 and under in all of them. İzmir is the foremost in the male criminality in the age group of 18 and under. In the age group of 19 and above, Ankara is the first in both male and female criminality.



Table 3.28: The Rate of People Arrested For Ordinary Crimes by Sex and Age per 10.000 people- 2003

	18 AND UNDER		19 AND ABOVE	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
TURKEY	1.2	12.5	5.8	48.3
ANKARA	1.5	5.9	8.9	60.3
İSTANBUL	1.2	3.5	2.9	33.7
İZMİR	2.3	13.0	5.1	47.3

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)

Ordinary crimes can be separated into two types of crime, crime against property (property crime) and crime against person (violent crime). The table below displays the numbers of crimes against property and crimes against person in context of historical evolution of these types of crime in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. All three cities have more crime against property than crime against person as well as Turkey, and while the difference highly expands in İstanbul and İzmir, is not very high in Ankara. It should be stated that while crime against person has shown a small decreases or increases, crime against property has shown big increases in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and Turkey. This may prove the effects of economic crisis in Turkey in recent years.

Table 3.29: Crime Against Property and Crime Against Person

	CRIME AGAINST PROPERTY			CRIME AGAINST PERSON		
	2001	2002	2003	2001	2002	2003
TURKEY	160623	155819	178003	138966	140300	143802
ANKARA	14059	14610	16639	14135	13767	14248
İSTANBUL	66166	51828	62775	22670	19363	19754
İZMİR	9102	9368	14140	7966	7744	8342

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

### 3.8.1. Crime Against Person

The crime against person (violent or non-property crime) is the crime against the human body and involves force or threat of force (McClain, 2001).

When this type of crime is examined in the following table, it can be seen that, as the city size increase, the crime rates rise. This is true for Turkey too. In Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir where population is more than 250000, the violent crime rates are in very high points. For example the numbers of homicide is 100 in Ankara, 465 in İstanbul, and 169 in İzmir, the number of rape is 163 in Ankara, 211 in İstanbul, and 148 in İzmir.

Table 3.30: The Number of Crimes Against Person by City Size

CITY SIZE	TOTAL	HOMICIDE	RAPE	AGG. ASSAULT
250000 or more	1344	19	78	563
100000-249999	802	10	52	441
50000-99999	536	6	36	307
25000-49999	420	5	28	263
10000-24999	307	4	20	214
Less than 10000	272	4	17	211

Source: Flanagan, W.G., Urban Sociology: Images and Structure (1990)

Next table that shows the crime against person demonstrates that the majority of crime against person consists of assault and wounding, battery, and using and carrying firearms in Turkey, assault, battery and domestic violence in Ankara, assault, battery, using and carrying firearms in İstanbul and İzmir.

As proportional to the population, while homicide, assault and wounding, using and carrying firearms are very high in İstanbul, menace, battery, domestic violence, defamation, cursing and attempt to suicide are high in Ankara, and domestic violence, obscene acts, rape and molestation in İzmir.

Table 3.31: Rates of Crime Against Person- 2003

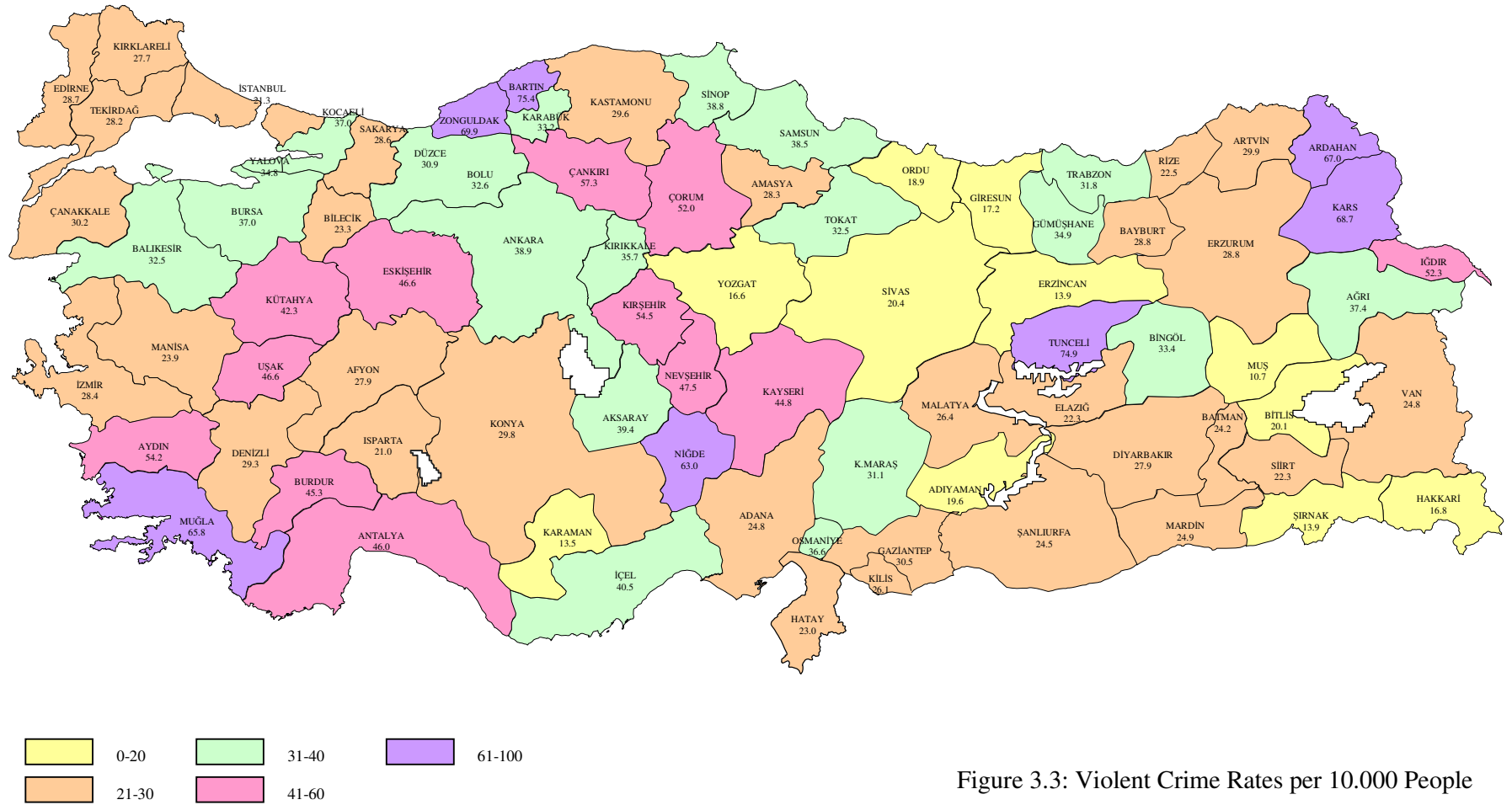
TYPE OF NON-PROPERTY CRIME	TURKEY	ANKARA	İSTANBUL	İZMİR
HOMICIDE				
<i>INTENTIONAL</i>	1827 1.3%	100 0.7%	465 2.4%	169 2.0%
<i>NEGLIGENCE</i>	948 0.7%	12 0.1%	474 2.4%	4 0.1%
ASSAULT AND WOUNDING				
<i>INTENTIONAL</i>	23510 16.3%	1906 13.4%	5128 26.0%	1765 21.2%
<i>NEGLIGENCE</i>	4082 2.8%	127 0.8%	812 4.1%	31 0.4%
BATTERY	33010 23.0%	4081 28.8%	2347 11.9%	1590 19.1%
KIDNAPPING	4612 3.4%	297 2.1%	537 2.7%	284 3.4%
MENACE	4520 3.1%	608 4.3%	395 2.0%	356 4.2%
DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	5682 3.9%	1169 8.2%	30 0.1%	536 6.4%
DEFAMATION-CURSING	1724 1.2%	196 1.3%	75 0.3%	91 1.1%
OBSCENE ACTS	1583 1.1%	231 1.6%	99 0.5%	186 2.2%
RAPE-MOLESTATION	2210 1.5%	163 1.1%	211 1.1%	148 1.8%
INCITEMENT TO PROSTITUTION	1704 1.2%	227 1.6%	172 0.9%	179 2.1%
GAMBLING	3613 2.5%	497 3.5%	1003 5.1%	214 2.6%
INSULT TO STATE OFFICIALS	6183 4.3%	446 3.2%	789 4.0%	544 6.5%

Table 3.31 (continued)

EMBEZZLEMENT- BRIBERY- CORRUPTION- FORGERY	206 0.2%	13 0.1%	43 0.2%	10 0.2%
USING AND CARRYING FIREARM	10955 7.6%	409 2.8%	2305 11.7%	719 8.6%
SUICIDE	1661 1.1%	162 1.1%	320 1.6%	121 1.4%
ATTEMPT TO SUICIDE	8432 5.8%	850 6.0%	430 2.3%	286 3.4%
OUTSIDE CLASSIFICATION	27340 19.0%	2754 19.3%	4119 20.7%	1109 13.3%
TOTAL	143802 100.0%	14248 100.0%	19754 100.0%	8342 100.0%

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)

Next figure shows the violent crime rates per 10.000 people in Turkish cities.



According to following table which shows the rate of people arrested for crime against person by sex and age, both female and male criminality are lower than 19 and above in the group of 18 and under, but it is in a level that cannot be undervalued especially in Ankara. Female criminality is high in the age group of 18 and under in Ankara and İzmir. Male criminality for 19 and above has high shares in Ankara and İzmir again within the total number of male arrested for crime against person in Turkey general.

Table 3.32: The Rate of People Arrested For Ordinary Crimes (Crime Against Person) by Sex and Age per 10.000 people- 2003

	18 AND UNDER		19 AND ABOVE	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
TURKEY	0.5	3.4	4.4	38.2
ANKARA	1.1	3.2	6.6	41.4
İSTANBUL	0.1	1.1	1.7	20.9
İZMİR	0.5	4.4	3.7	31.3

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)

#### 3.8.1.1. Homicide

Homicide (Murder) is the death of somebody because of another's neglected or intended actions and it is the most acute type of crime among the crimes against person. If the countries by homicide rates are examined, it can be observed that the homicide rate is 9.4 in the USA, 8.7 in Ex-Soviet Union, 6.0 in UK and 4.0 in Turkey (Giddens, 1997; AKKM İstatistikleri). This shows that the rate in Turkey is low among the other countries, but homicide is still a big problem of Turkey and gets more attention in the statistics.

According to the table below, the number of the homicide is lower in Ankara than İstanbul and İzmir. Moreover, Ankara's share in homicide as proportional to its population in the total population of the country is low too.

Table 3.33: Homicide

YEARS	2000	2001	2002	2003
TURKEY	2715	1437	1674	1827
ANKARA	91	79	100	100
İSTANBUL	1054	306	393	465
İZMİR	102	108	141	169

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

### 3.8.1.2. Aggravated Assault

Aggravated Assault is composed of some types of violent crime like assault, wounding and battery in general. The table below shows that aggravated assault in Ankara is lower than İstanbul, but higher than İzmir. It can be said that the historical process in this type of crime against person has fluctuated in Turkey, Ankara and İzmir, while the numbers have decreased in İstanbul in 2002 and have increased again in 2003.

Table 3.34: Aggravated Assault

YEARS	2000	2001	2002	2003
TURKEY	53485	51069	55074	56520
ANKARA	5958	5719	5835	5987
İSTANBUL	7558	7461	6792	7475
İZMİR	3350	3036	3210	3355

Source: EGM-AKKM İstatistik Yıllıkları

### 3.8.2. Crime Against Property

Crime against property (property or non-violent crime) is the crime against the property of other people by taking anything without the owner's consent, stealing it or giving damage to it etc.

When this type of ordinary crime is investigated in the table below, it can be seen that, as in the crime against person, when the city size increases, the rates

of crime against property also rise. This is also true in Turkey. Moreover, in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, crime against property is very high. The number of property crimes in these cities constitutes more than half of the property crimes in Turkey.

Table 3.35: The Number of Crimes Against Property by City Size

CITY SIZE	TOTAL	BURGLARY	LARCENY	MOTOR VEHICLE THEFT	ROBBERY
250000 or more	8290	2156	4339	1111	684
100000-249999	7300	1949	4471	582	298
50000-99999	5685	1456	3521	522	186
25000-49999	5254	1265	3480	385	124
10000-24999	4317	1000	2965	283	70
Less than 10000	3987	881	2850	215	41

Source: Flanagan, W.G., Urban Sociology: Images and Structure (1990)

According to the table which presents the crime against property, property crimes are concentrated in larceny, fraud and damage to property in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. The difference in the type of crime is in the crimes of robbery, usurpation and autotheft concentrated in İstanbul, fire, damage to property, larceny from office, fraud in Ankara and larceny from home, pickpocketing and snatch in İzmir. As proportional to the population, while damage to property and assault to domicile are high in Ankara, robbery, usurpation and fraud are high in İstanbul, autotheft, pickpocketing and snatch in İzmir.



Table 3.36: Crime Against Property- 2003

TYPE OF PROPERTY CRIME	TURKEY	ANKARA	İSTANBUL	İZMİR
LARCENY				
<i>FROM HOME</i>	29541 16.6%	2884 17.3%	10195 16.2%	2871 20.3%
<i>FROM OFFICE</i>	28345 15.8%	2848 17.2%	8239 13.1%	1835 13.0%
<i>FROM OFFICIAL INST.</i>	2277 1.3%	242 1.5%	290 0.5%	206 1.4%
<i>FROM BANK</i>	78 0.1%	4 0.1%	37 0.1%	2 0.1%
<i>FROM AUTO</i>	24534 13.7%	2649 15.8%	10384 16.5%	2103 14.9%
<i>AUTO THEFT</i>	24616 13.7%	1449 8.7%	16665 26.5%	1711 12.0%
<i>PICKPOCKETING- SNATCH</i>	12793 7.2%	598 3.6%	5175 8.2%	2430 17.2%
<i>OTHER</i>	22243 12.5%	1702 10.2%	4798 7.6%	1005 7.1%
ROBBERY-USURPATION				
<i>FROM PERSON</i>	3158 1.8%	96 0.5%	1084 1.8%	60 0.4%
<i>FROM HOME</i>	266 0.2%	1 0.1%	200 0.3%	1 0.1%
<i>FROM OFFICE</i>	281 0.2%	8 0.1%	172 0.2%	12 0.1%
<i>FROM BANK</i>	31 0.1%	- 0.0%	26 0.1%	- 0.0%
<i>OTHER</i>	312 0.2%	26 0.2%	112 0.2%	1 0.1%

Table 3.36 (continued)

FIRE				
<i>STATE'S</i>	210 0.2%	13 0.1%	37 0.1%	5 0.1%
<i>PERSON'S</i>	2886 1.6%	315 1.9%	410 0.7%	93 0.7%
<i>FOREST</i>	253 0.2%	4 0.1%	123 0.2%	18 0.1%
FRAUD	4342 2.4%	539 3.2%	911 1.6%	229 1.5%
ASSAULT TO DOMICILE	1898 1.1%	140 0.8%	165 0.2%	68 0.5%
DAMAGE TO PROPERTY	5215 2.8%	608 3.6%	430 0.7%	345 2.4%
OTHER	7596 4.3%	1664 10.0%	1750 2.7%	555 3.9%
OUTSIDE CLASSIFICATION	7128 4.0%	849 5.0%	1572 2.5%	590 4.1%
TOTAL	178003 100.0%	16639 100.0%	62775 100.0%	14140 100.0%

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)



The figure above shows the property crime rates per 10.000 people in all cities of Turkey.

According the table below, the male and female criminality are intensified in the age group of 19 and above in Turkey and in the three cities. In İzmir, male and female criminality in the ages of 18 and under is high while compared with İstanbul and Ankara. Additionally, İstanbul's female criminality in the ages of 18 and under is very high. If the criminality in the ages of 19 and above is examined, Ankara's number of people arrested for against property is higher than İzmir and İstanbul, while it is very high in the 18 and under age group again.

Table 3.37: The Rate of People Arrested For Ordinary Crimes (Crime Against Property) by Sex and Age per 10.000 People- 2003

	18 AND UNDER		19 AND ABOVE	
	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE
TURKEY	0.7	4.6	1.4	14.5
ANKARA	0.1	2.7	2.3	18.9
İSTANBUL	1.1	2.4	1.2	12.8
İZMİR	1.8	9.6	1.4	15.9

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yılığ (2004)

### 3.8.2.1. Larceny

Larceny or theft means the act of stealing in general. In this study, the term of larceny will be used as a general title that contains all types of stealing. While the concept of burglary is used as the entering action to a building at night with intent to commit a felony or to steal valuable property, the concept of theft is used as taking things from anywhere.

The table about the numbers of larceny in Turkey shows that in the total number of larcenies, larceny from home and larceny from office are the most commonly observed types of larceny. Other types of larceny whose shares are high, are theft from auto, autotheft, pickpocketing and snatch. All types of larcenies except

larceny from the bank have fallen in 2001, increased again in 2002 and 2003 except the larceny from the bank again. When it is looked at the historical evaluation of the total numbers of larcenies in Turkey, it can be observed that the numbers which have decreased between 2000 and 2001, decreased after that time.

Table 3.38: The Number of Larcenies in Turkey

TYPE OF LARCENY	2000	2001	2002	2003
FROM HOME	25799	20451	26305	29541
FROM OFFICE	27738	21751	27391	28345
FROM OFFICIAL INST.	1837	1376	2193	2277
FROM BANK	70	160	80	78
FROM AUTO	19822	16170	18031	24534
AUTO THEFT	19719	14954	20099	24616
PICKPOCKETING-SNATCH	15743	12012	12602	12793
ROBBERY-USURPATION	2299	1632	3128	4048
OTHER	16532	12209	17631	22243
TOTAL	129559	100715	127460	148475

Source: EGM-AKKM, İstatistik Yıllıkları

In Ankara, the biggest shares in the total number of larcenies belong to larceny from home, office and auto. In all types of larceny, important growths have been observed after 2000, but the larcenies have fluctuated slowly between 2001 and 2002 except autotheft that has declined sharply. In 2003, it can be stated that big changes can be observed in larceny from auto and office, autotheft and in pickpocketing and snatch. The total numbers of larceny in Ankara prove that larceny have increased day by day.

Table 3.39: The Number of Larcenies in Ankara

TYPE OF LARCENY	2000	2001	2002	2003
FROM HOME	1308	2606	2602	2884
FROM OFFICE	1664	2441	2345	2848
FROM OFFICIAL INST.	196	208	248	242
FROM BANK	3	12	4	4
FROM AUTO	1189	2156	2138	2649
AUTO THEFT	594	1010	886	1449
PICKPOCKETING-SNATCH	477	613	688	598
ROBBERY-USURPATION	76	114	152	131
OTHER	1016	1504	1876	1702
TOTAL	6447	10664	10939	12507

Source: EGM-AKKM, İstatistik Yıllıkları

According to the table which displays the rate of larceny in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir per 10.000 people below; the cities of Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir constitute more than half of the total number of larcenies in Turkey. This proportion is nearly the same in almost all types of larceny, except larcenies from official institutions and from office. Moreover, it can be said that autotheft, pickpocketing and snatch have very high numbers in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir.

If the rates of larceny are examined in detailed, it can be observed that the rates in İstanbul are higher than Ankara, İzmir and Turkey in terms of total larceny. Second province which has big rates is İzmir. Ankara's total larceny rate is closer to Turkey.

Larceny from home is mostly seen in İstanbul and İzmir, larceny from office in İstanbul and Ankara, larceny from official institutions in İzmir and İstanbul, larceny from bank in İstanbul, larceny from auto, autotheft, pickpocketing and snatch in İstanbul and İzmir, robbery and usurpation in Ankara and İstanbul.

If the cities are studied separately, while Ankara shows big rates in larceny from home, from office and from auto, İstanbul shows big rates in autotheft beside others. İzmir attracts attention in larceny from home, larceny from auto, pickpocketing and snatch

Table 3.40: Rates of Larcenies per 10.000 People- 2003

TYPE OF LARCENY	From Home	From Office	From Official Inst.	From Auto	Auto theft
TURKEY	5.9	5.7	0.5	4.9	4.9
ANKARA	7.0	6.9	0.5	6.5	3.5
İSTANBUL	9.9	8.0	0.7	10.1	16.2
İZMİR	9.3	5.9	1.5	6.8	5.5

Table 3.40 (continued)

TYPE OF LARCENY	Pickpocketing- Snatch	Robbery- Usurpation	Other	Total
TURKEY	2.6	0.8	4.4	29.7
ANKARA	1.5	0.3	4.2	30.5
İSTANBUL	5.0	1.6	4.7	56.0
İZMİR	7.8	0.2	3.2	39.5

Source: EGM-AKKM, 2003 İstatistik Yıllığı (2004)

Following tables show the spatial distribution of larceny or theft in Ankara in terms of central districts in the year of 2000 (Current crime rates in the central districts could not be obtained from the Ankara Directorate of Security). According to the table, the most committed larcenies in Ankara are larcenies from home, from office and from auto in general. It can be observed that the districts of Çankaya and Altındağ constitute more than half of the larcenies in Ankara, and other district, Yenimahalle follows them. It is interesting that the row of the districts in the context of their share of GDP in the province is almost same with the row in the larceny. If the districts' rate of larceny are examined in terms of population, Çankaya is the first in both population and the larceny. The most interesting

point is that while Altındağ is the fifth in the population, is the second biggest district in the numbers of larceny. This may cause from the intense existence of official institutions there. Other surprising data is related with Keçiören. Despite its population is the second in the province, the number of larcenies is smaller than Altındağ and Yenimahalle.

When the rate of larceny per 10.000 people is examined, it can be said that Altındağ is the first, Çankaya is the second and Yenimahalle is the third. Another important thing about these districts is that their larceny rates are over the Ankara's larceny rates.

Table 3.41: Numbers of Larcenies in the Central Districts of Ankara in 2000

TYPE OF LARCENY	From Home	From Office	From Official Inst.	From Bank	From Auto
ALTINDAĞ	200	484	112	1	349
ÇANKAYA	523	584	22	2	337
ETİMESGUT	65	55	3	0	25
GÖLBAŞI	5	9	1	0	15
KEÇİÖREN	181	127	8	0	215
MAMAK	104	106	17	0	86
SİNCAN	21	76	0	0	12
YENİMAHALLE	209	223	33	0	150
TOTAL	1308	1664	196	3	1189



Table 3.41 (continued)

TYPE OF LARCENY	Auto theft	Pickpocketing Snatch	Other	Total
ALTINDAĞ	135	102	217	1600
ÇANKAYA	173	272	464	2377
ETİMESGUT	30	4	48	230
GÖLBAŞI	6	0	6	42
KEÇİÖREN	56	13	111	711
MAMAK	63	14	57	447
SİNCAN	20	8	2	139
YENİMAHALLE	111	64	111	901
TOTAL	594	477	1016	6447

Source: Ankara Emniyet Müdürlüğü

When the rates of larcenies in central districts per 10.000 people are examined separately, it can be said that while larceny from home, from office, from bank, from auto, autotheft, pickpocketing and snatch are more committed in Çankaya and Altındağ. Most committed types of crime are larceny from office and auto in Altındağ, Mamak and Gölbaşı, larceny from home and office in Çankaya, Yenimahalle, Sincan and Etimesgut.

Table 3.42: Rates of Larcenies in the Central Districts of Ankara per 10.000 People in 2000

TYPE OF LARCENY	From Home	From Office	From Official Inst.	From Bank	From Auto
ALTINDAĞ	5.0	12.1	2.8	0.02	8.7
ÇANKAYA	6.9	7.7	0.3	0.02	4.4
ETİMESGUT	3.8	3.2	0.2	0.00	1.5
GÖLBAŞI	1.4	2.5	0.3	0.00	4.2
KEÇİÖREN	2.9	2.0	0.1	0.00	3.4
MAMAK	2.5	2.6	0.4	0.00	2.1
SİNCAN	0.8	2.8	0.0	0.00	0.4
YENİMAHALLE	3.9	4.2	0.6	0.00	2.8
TOTAL	3.7	4.7	0.6	0.01	3.4

Table 3.42 (continued)

TYPE OF LARCENY	Auto theft	Pickpocketing Snatch	Other	Total
ALTINDAĞ	3.4	2.5	5.4	40.0
ÇANKAYA	2.3	3.6	6.1	31.3
ETİMESGUT	1.8	0.2	2.8	13.6
GÖLBAŞI	1.7	0.0	1.7	11.9
KEÇİÖREN	0.9	0.2	1.8	11.4
MAMAK	1.5	0.3	1.4	10.8
SİNCAN	0.7	0.2	0.1	5.2
YENİMAHALLE	2.1	1.2	2.1	16.9
TOTAL	1.7	1.3	2.9	18.2

When larceny is examined with its sub-types, it can be said that the greatest number in burglary (larceny from home) can be seen in Çankaya with 523. Altındağ takes attention in the larceny from official institutions. In the larceny from office, Altındağ and Çankaya are again ahead. Moreover, larcenies from bank are only happened in these districts. If the

the most of the other larcenies like autotheft, larceny from auto and pickpocketing-snatch in Ankara are observed in these districts too. Keçiören and Yenimahalle are the other districts which follow them.

If the districts are examined separately, the larceny in Altındağ is concentrated in the larcenies from office and auto. While the quarter of Aydınlikevler in Altındağ is the neighborhood in which larceny from home is primarily seen; Siteler, Ulus, Gençlik Parkı and Sıhhiye show big numbers of larceny from office. Larceny from auto and autotheft are concentrated in the central parts of Altındağ, Siteler, Ulus and its surroundings, Yenidoğan and Doğanstepe. Pickpocketing and snatch are more observed in Ulus, Opera and Sıhhiye.

The district of Çankaya is the place in which larceny from home and office are more observed together with larceny from auto and pickpocketing-snatch. While the neighborhoods of Esat, Bahçelievler, Yıldız, Birlik, Kavaklıdere, Cebeci and Dikmen are the regions in which larceny from home is intense, larceny from office is more observed in Bahçelievler, Kızılay, Cebeci, Esat, Kavaklıdere and Yıldız. Larceny from auto and autotheft are concentrated in Esat, Balgat, Çiğdem, Oran, Yüzüncü Yıl. Most of the pickpocketing and snatch are seen in Kızılay and periphery.

In Yenimahalle, larceny from home and larceny from office constitute the biggest part of the total larcenies. Larceny from auto follows them. Larceny from home is mostly seen in Batıkent, Karşıyaka, Demetevler and the central parts of Yenimahalle. Moreover, in all types of larceny Karşıyaka is the first or the second. While autotheft in Yenimahalle is mainly seen in Ostim and Batıkent, the first three quarters are Ostim, Yenimahalle and Demetevler and its surroundings in larceny from office.

Keçiören has an important place in terms of larceny from auto, larceny from home and larceny from office follow it. All types of larceny are seen mostly in Etlik, Yayla, Yükseltepe, and the central parts of Keçiören. Larceny from auto and autotheft are concentrated in the central parts again.

When Mamak is examined, it can be stated that larceny from home and office are the most common types of larceny. Larceny from auto follow them. Demirlibahçe, Abidinpaşa and Saimekadın are the first quarters in almost all types of larceny. Additionally, Kayaş shows big numbers of larceny from auto.

If the types of larcenies are evaluated in Ankara in general, it can be claimed that Esat, Bahçeli, Birlik Mahallesi, Yıldız and the central parts of Keçiören and Yenimahalle are the quarters where larceny from home is more intense in Ankara. Larceny from office is chiefly observed in Kızılay, Sıteiler, Ostim, Esat, Ulus and Sıhhiye. Esat, some parts of Yenidoğan and the centre of Keçiören are the first three regions that prove big numbers of larceny from auto. Autotheft is primarily seen in Dikmen, central parts of Keçiören, Karşıyaka and Doğanatepe. As well as the central parts of Yenimahalle and Çankaya, pickpocketing and snatch are mostly observed at the line of Ulus- Opera- Sıhhiye- Kızılay. Maps about the distribution of larcenies from home, larcenies from office, theft from auto and autotheft can be seen in the figures on next pages.

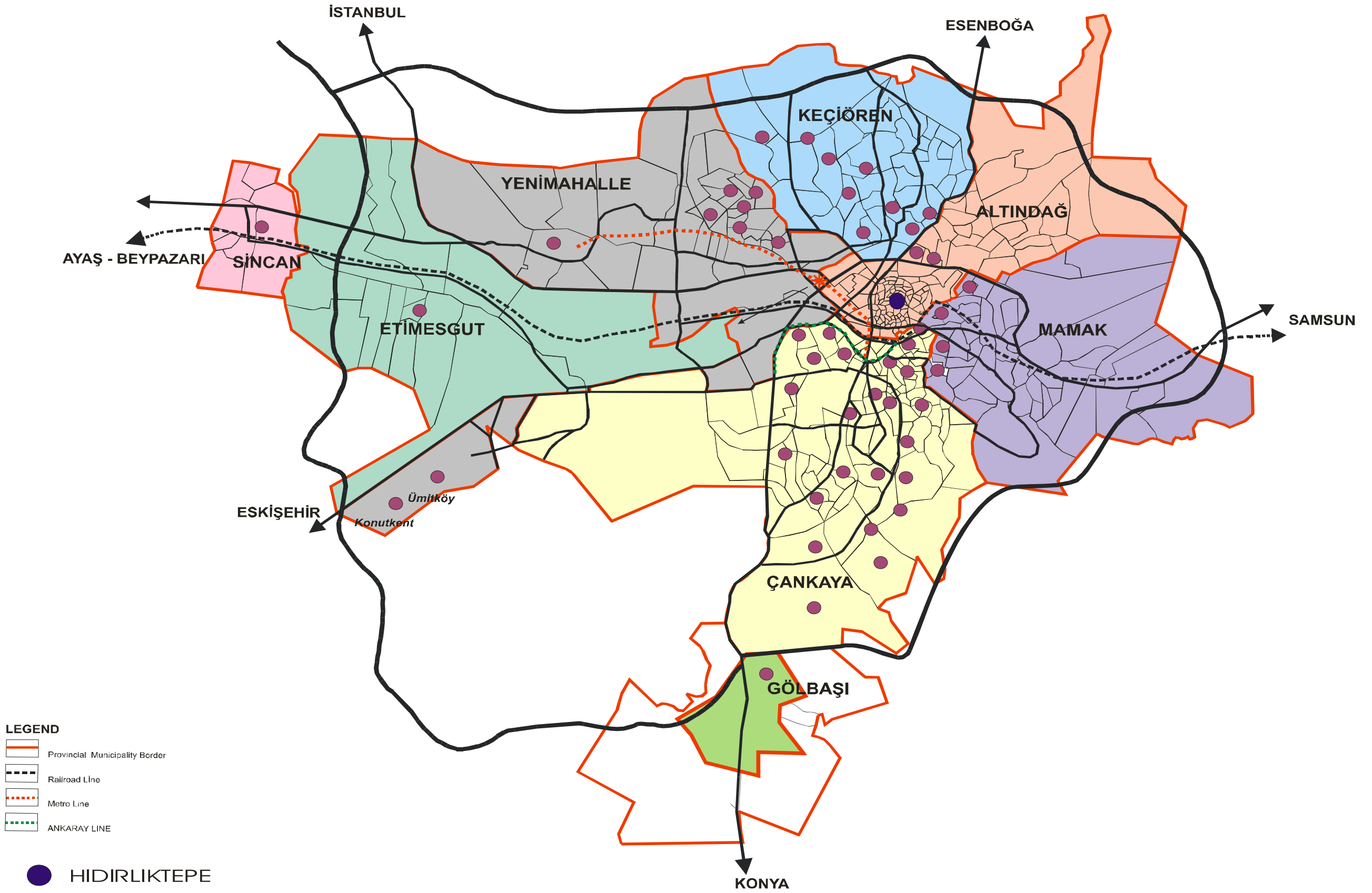


Figure 3.5 : Distribution of Larcenies From Home in Ankara

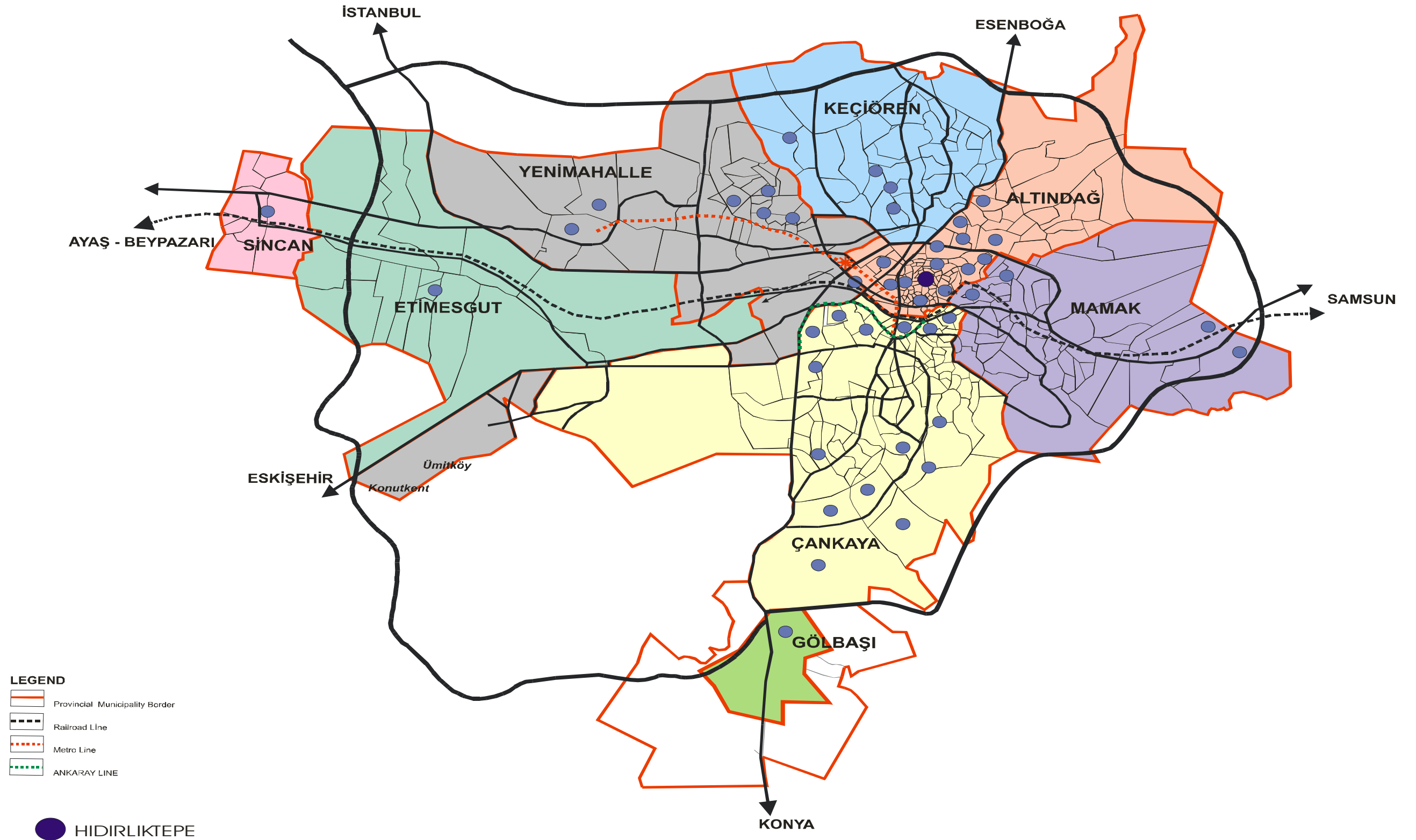


Figure 3.6: Distribution of Larcenies From Office in Ankara

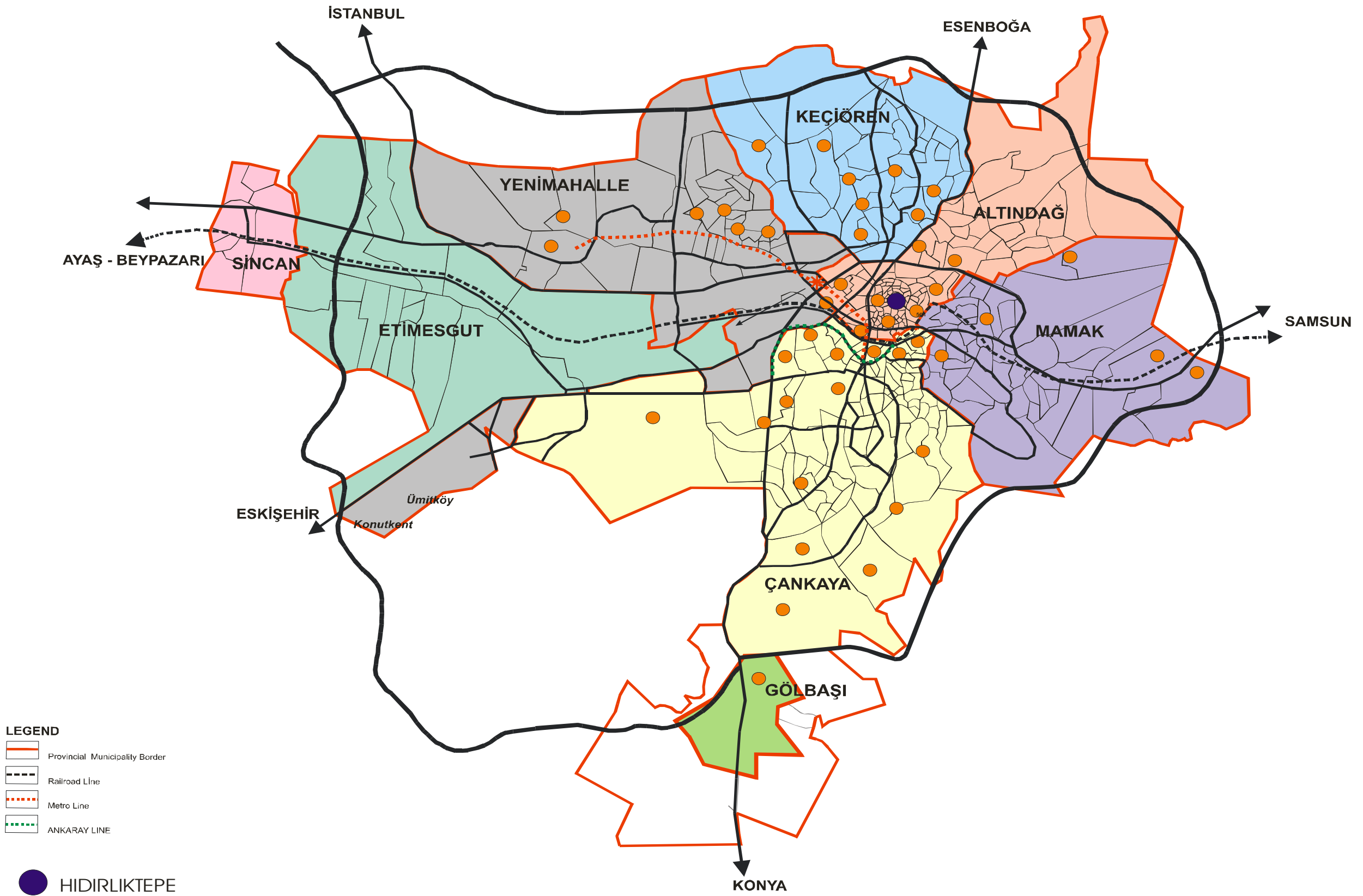


Figure 3.7: Distribution of Theft From Auto and Autotheft in Ankara

Table 3.43: Criminals Charged with Larceny in Ankara's Central Districts by Age Group and Sex in 2000

DISTRICT	18 AND UNDER			19 AND ABOVE			TOTAL
	F	M	TOTAL	F	M	TOTAL	
ALTINDAĞ	22	74	96	26	438	464	560
ÇANKAYA	21	282	303	71	600	671	974
ETİMESGUT	1	24	25	2	61	63	88
GÖLBAŞI	0	2	2	0	16	16	18
KEÇİÖREN	2	77	79	10	237	247	326
MAMAK	5	100	105	6	181	187	292
SİNCAN	2	52	54	7	60	67	121
YENİMAHALLE	25	97	122	26	405	431	553
TOTAL	78	708	786	148	1998	2146	2932

Source: Ankara Emniyet Müdürlüğü

When larceny is examined with age groups and sex according to the table above, it can be observed that Çankaya is foremost district in the total delinquency, second is Altındağ, third is Yenimahalle. It should be stated that juvenile criminals are concentrated in Çankaya, Yenimahalle, Altındağ and Mamak as parallel to the numbers of larceny. When the age group of 19 and above is studied, it can be stated that Çankaya is first, Altındağ and Yenimahalle come behind it. Female criminality for larceny in both 18 and under and 19 and above age groups is mostly seen in these districts again.

Ankara which has lots of problems like unemployment, inadequate housing today, is also faced with the continuously increasing crime rates especially in recent years. Crime rates in the city are higher than the country's average. When the types of crime are examined, it can be observed that while Ankara shows small numbers in terror crimes when is compared with Turkey, İstanbul and İzmir; in political events, high rates in the city attract attention. This is mainly due to being the capital city. While smuggling crime rates are low in Ankara, high rates of financial crimes can be observed. Suicide which has been used in a separate title in this study is concentrated especially in the female population of Ankara, and the



numbers of suicide are generally in a level that cannot be undervalued. Ordinary crime rates per 10.000 people in Ankara is higher than Turkey's, but İstanbul. The numbers of urban ordinary crime in Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir show that share of these cities in crime rates is bigger than the share of them in Turkey's total urban population.

Ankara is interesting in context of the division of crimes. While urban crime in Turkey, İstanbul, İzmir and other big cities of the country are more concentrated in crimes against property, the shares of crime against property and crime against person are close to each other in Ankara. High rates of domestic violence, assault and battery crimes in Ankara verify this claim. Another important point about the rates of violent crimes in Ankara is that female (especially in the age group of 19 and above) and male criminality for this type of crimes are more than the criminality in non-violent crimes. The most committed types of crime against property in Ankara are damage to property, fire, larceny from office and fraud.

When the larceny which has continuously increased in Ankara is examined, it can be stated that larceny rates in the city are higher than Turkey's rate except pickpocketing and snatch, but lower than İstanbul and İzmir except larcenies from office.

Urbanization is generally characterized as one of the important contributors to increasing crime rates in most of the studies which investigate the crime. Today urban population in Ankara does not grow as much as Turkey's urban population. But, the numbers of crime continues to rise there. This shows the necessity to find other reasons different from urbanization, population growth etc. A similar example can be given from Altındağ, a central district of Ankara. Urban population of this district has decreased between 1990 and 2000, but crime rates have risen there. Çankaya where small increase in urban population are observed in the same period, is one of the most problematic central districts in terms of urban crime in Ankara. On the contrary, Sincan and Etimesgut whose urban populations have highly grown for ten years, are the last cities in the range of urban crime rates. Another example can be given from İstanbul. Some demographic indicators of

İstanbul, such as population density, migration rate, heterogeneity and population growth, are bigger than Ankara's, in crime rates, Ankara gives close numbers of urban crime to İstanbul. In Şanlıurfa and Konya whose urban populations have grown more than many cities, urban crime rates cannot be defended as being too high. This type of cases can be observed in figures below which show urban crime rates in Turkey.

When the crime problem is examined in the context of a popular claim which defends "Crime is more committed in gecekondu neighborhoods or common among its dwellers", it can be stated that this claim cannot be verified generally. For example, Mamak where gecekondu settlements are more dense than Keçiören, comes after it in crime statistics for many types of crime.

In summary, it can be claimed that the numbers of urban crime are increasing in Ankara today. Therefore, the reasons and the results of crime in this city should be carefully followed, and the policies peculiar to place which can meet the local needs and conditions of the city should be improved. This is the first condition to reduce crime levels and to create stability and order in the city because of crime prevention strategies cannot be divorced from urban policies, and the effective response to the problem of crime depends on its integration with rather than its abstraction from general themes in urban management.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **URBAN PROBLEMS CONCERNING URBAN CRIME**

When studying urban crime, many factors should be taken into consideration. Some of the conditions that have been generally accepted as affecting the type and volume of crime in the theories of crime are; population density and degree of urbanization, the size of the cities, heterogeneity in the cities, other variations in the composition of population, migration, squatter settlements, physical and environmental conditions, the levels of income inequality, poverty and unemployment, social isolation, residential segregation, education, family conditions, religion, gender, age and other biological, psychological, environmental factors. It should be strongly emphasized that the problem that will be examined may not be peculiar to urban areas. All of them can be observed in rural areas too. The reason of including them in this study is to show their possible effects on urban crime. Another reason is to show crime cannot be evaluated with a simple cause effect relationship. Following step in this study will be to discuss some of these factors.

#### **4.1. Migration**

Urbanization of village immigrants by migration movement naturally has presented serious problems. In Turkey, urban areas and institutions usually cannot respond all socio-economic and cultural needs of immigrants (Görmez, 1997). Therefore, the problems coming from these inadequacies have emerged, and they are characterized as identity problems due to disruption of past living habits and customs, cultural conflicts, economic stress, alienation and other problems coming from living urban areas in some studies (Abbott and Clinard, 1973). Moreover, immigrants to the cities forced with lack of education, unemployment, poverty, poor health, lack of adequate housing or over-crowded housing, even some discriminatory practices. Thus, informal and marginal structures and institutions

have emerged. Today, one of the most important problems of the cities are these marginals themes in Turkey (Görmez, 1997).

Ecological perspective has defended that when traditional relations and ties which are dominant in rural areas which provide social solidarity and social control have weakened or lost in urban areas, and urban crime rates have increased excessively. Because, urbanization resulted in a gradual loss of ties and the subsequent disintegration or controlling social forces which lead to increased crime and delinquency among new migrated people to the cities (Dönmezer, 1984).

The table below offers 300 arrested people who have been randomly selected in Ankara for crime against person by birthplace for this study. According to the table, 76.7 percent of the arrested people for crime against person were born in Ankara and other Central Anatolian cities.

Table 4.1: Arrested People for Crime Against Person by Birthplace in Ankara-2002

BIRTHPLACE	The Number of Convicts	Rate %
ANKARA	131	43.7
OTHER CENTRAL ANATOLIAN CITIES	99	33.0
OTHER	70	23.3
TOTAL	300	100.0

In another study that has been made by General Directorate of Security, it can be seen that, the share of the people who were not born in İstanbul in the total number of arrested people is very high, when it is compared with İzmir and Ankara. Ankara's rate is also high in the context of the difference between the distribution of arrested people by crime area and distribution of arrested people by birthplace according to the tables below. It can be seen that migrated people especially in İstanbul and Ankara have got big shares in the numbers of arrested people.

Table 4.2: Distribution of Arrested People by Crime Area

	The Number	Rate %
TURKEY	26151	100.0
ANKARA	2337	8.9
İSTANBUL	5023	19.2
İZMİR	97	0.4

Source: EGM-APK, Suç ve Suçlu Profili (2001)

Some links about migration have been found that some places where crime levels are high, are also cities having heterogeneous population by intense migrations, but this does not prove the migration process directly contributes to rising crime rates.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Arrested People by Birthplace

	The Number	Rate %
TURKEY	24728	100.0
ANKARA	1242	5.1
İSTANBUL	1443	5.8
İZMİR	175	0.7

Source: EGM-APK, Suç ve Suçlu Profili (2001)

Relative deprivation and relative wealth are two of the reasons which have been used to explain the differences of crime rates in migrated communities. For example, relative wealth may prevent the migrants from committing crime. The people who compare possibilities of city with rural conditions may think they reached at least limited wealth and this may prevent them before committing crime. Additionally, underground economy may play a role in the non-explosion of the immigrant areas in this respect (Gendrot, 2000). On the contrary, the theory of relative deprivation states that inequality breeds social tensions when poor people compare themselves with wealthier people. Feeling of disadvantage and unfairness lead the poor to seek compensation and satisfaction by all means, including crime. There is a problem of perception in this framework, that is, if they compare

themselves with the place where they come from, there is no problem (Kıray, 2003), but if the comparison is made with the city conditions that they cannot reach to, some problems may arise.

Moreover, new comers to the cities are accused with demolishing and disturbing urban order by the natives of the cities. Immigrants are also seen as the people who are opposite to urban culture, and problems like unemployment, crime or unhealthy urbanization are tried to get in touch with them. It can be said that natives of the city have prejudice about immigrants. This may naturally cause some problems in the cities related with rising migration.

In summary, it can be said that migrants might be less involved in violence than were people raised in cities and that there was not much evidence of a positive relationship between migration and crime. In spite of some indirect correlations between population growth by migration and crime, there cannot be a direct cause-effect link between high crime levels and migration (Keleş and Ünsal, 1982).

#### **4.2. Squatter Settlements (Gecekondu)**

Urban growth since the end of the Second World War, has been the result of unprecedented large scale migration rural to urban areas. After this time, the most important development in the urbanization process is gecekondu oriented urbanization (Şengül, 2002). Immigrants were unable to find affordable housing in the cities, thus they have built illegal settlements on the outskirts or inner parts of the cities, especially in large ones. This situation is valid for Ankara and other large cities of Turkey too (Dündar, 2001). A study has suggested that 84 percent of the inhabitants of gecekondu consists of people migrated from rural to urban areas (Karpat, 2003).

At the beginning, gecekondu settlements have been constructed temporarily, but then the slowness of industrial development and scarcity of salaried jobs have caused them becoming developed into extensive and permanent neighborhoods that had over-crowding, congestion and no facilities like piped water, electricity and

other infrastructures (Kıray, 2003). It was impossible for the governments to provide enough alternative housing as a response to the problem. Therefore, they have been proposed to accept the squatter areas as apart from housing supply and to upgrade their infrastructure and social services. Keleş defines the gecekondu concept as a reflection form of the necessity and hopelessness (Keleş, 1983). Moreover, it is a fact that the existence of gecekondu has occupied to reproduction of labour power with a minimum cost (Tekeli, 1982). Thus, it can be said that dual structure in the cities has been accepted by governments in terms of gecekondu. Then, one of the most important and inevitable results of rapid unhealthy urbanization for metropolitan areas by important contributions of the migration from rural to urban areas has become gecekondu (Kaygalak, 2001).

Table 4.4: Gecekondu Population in Turkey

YEARS	GECEKONDU POPULATION	SHARE IN URBAN POPULATION %
1955	250000	4.7
1970	3000000	23.6
1980	5750000	26.1
1990	8750000	33.9
1995	10000000	35.0

Source: Keleş, R., Kentleşme Politikası (2000)

According the table above, it can be stated that the gecekondu population in Turkey has increased throughout the years, and has constituted 35 percent of urban population. Today, more than 50 percent of urban population in Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir live in squatter housing areas with such a large number of people. Another table that shows the growth of gecekondu population since 1955 below proves that 60 percent of the urban population live in gecekondu areas, and today this number still continues to increase.

Table 4.5: Gecekondu Population in Ankara

YEARS	GECEKONDU POPULATION	SHARE IN URBAN POPULATION %
1955	62400	21.8
1970	748000	60.6
1980	1450000	72.4
1990	1750000	58.3
1995	2850000	60.0

Source: Keleş, R., Kentleşme Politikası (2000)

In fact, the concept of gecekondu is the contradiction coming from capitalist social relations in some respects, and reflects the capitalist inequalities of the capitalist city (Şengül, 2002). State's insufficient intervention to new comers of city is the basic reason of gecekondu process. This comes from the withdrawal of state from the regulation of the cities and urbanization, as in the economy especially after 1980's (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003). Existence of the gecekondu today shows the presence of two different social system in the city. Therefore, it is an also image of cultural and class contradictions in the space (Tekeli, 1982). Moreover, gecekondu is not only a settlement form, it is also an area where the transition process from village family to city family is realized. Because gecekondu population can partly reproduce their rural life and continue to have economic ties with their villages. Then, cultural values of new comers from self-sufficient agricultural societies become a new (or transition) culture (Kaygalak, 2001).

In many studies, gecekondu areas have been seen as the most important and persistent problem of urban life (Glaser, 1970). For Keleş (Keleş, 2000), gecekondu populations depicted as backward, uncultured, ignorant, and unskilled in the studies on gecekondu, and gecekondu neighborhoods have been characterized as the places of chaos and unruliness, and especially juvenile delinquency is high in the areas where gecekondu settlements are intense and socio-economic level is low (Hancı, 1995). In a study about the juvenile



delinquency has showed that more than 30 percent of the delinquent juveniles is from gecekondu areas (Gökçe, 1971).

Table 4.6: The Number of Crimes Against Person by Crime Area and Criminal's Residence- 2002

DISTRICT	THE NUMBER OF CRIME AREA	THE NUMBER OF CRIMINAL'S RESIDENCE
ALTINDAĞ	37 24.7%	66 22.0%
ÇANKAYA	32 21.3%	39 13.0%
ETİMESGUT	1 0.7%	5 1.6%
KEÇİÖREN	22 14.7%	68 22.7%
MAMAK	17 11.3%	35 11.7%
SİNCAN	6 4.0%	20 6.7%
YENİMAHALLE	33 22.0%	60 20.0%
GÖLBAŞI	2 1.3%	7 2.3%
TOTAL	150 100.0%	300 100.0%

The table above about the number of crimes against people by crime area (criminal's residences which are randomly selected for the study, are the gecekondu areas of the central districts) and 300 arrested people for 150 crimes against person by residence shows that, 150 offenses are intensified in the

gecekondu areas of Altındağ, Yenimahalle and Çankaya by crime area. But Keçiören, Altındağ and Yenimahalle are the first three districts where the arrested people live in their gecekondu neighborhoods. This shows that the numbers of criminals live in Keçiören are committing more crimes outside their districts. Mamak, in spite of high gecekondu population, it does not show an increase in crime rates. Moreover, Sincan, Gölbaşı and Etimesgut show parallelism to Mamak with their numbers of criminals. The table generally shows that a clear relationship between location and crime cannot be built. For example, Keçiören which includes less gecekondu areas than Altındağ and Mamak may be the first among the districts which criminals live. As is shown in the last chapter, Mamak where gecekondu settlements are more dense than Keçiören, comes after it in crime statistics for many types of crime.

There is also another important point. It should be also stated that criminals who live in the gecekondu areas may not commit crime where they live. They commit crime in different parts of the city. The situation is more clear in property crimes. For example, Çankaya which is the wealthiest district of Ankara is also the district where property crimes are committed the most. However, the difference between the rate of crime areas and the rate of offenders of these crimes may give reasonable information.

Although most scholars defended crime rate and the tendency of deviance are high among people who live in gecekondu areas, some researches made in gecekondus have not given results that verify this claim (Keleş, 2000). On the contrary, in this areas, rural life show their effects, and social control and pressure is more effective than the other parts of the city. There is important point that should be considered in this study; the concept of gecekondu in Turkey cannot be evaluated as slums, ghettos, favelas, bidonvilles and other types of deprived neighborhoods in the other countries. There is a poverty, but not a cultural poverty in these settlements of Turkish cities. They are never crime, prostitution or radicalism centres (Karpat, 2003). Truly, gecekondus in Turkey have not become the criminal areas where culture of poverty is dominant, but it is a fact that problems emerged in the adaptation process of immigrants may naturally cause deeper socio-economic

problems in the cities. Despite economic, social and cultural conditions are efficient on committing crime, they do not directly cause gecekondu settlements becoming criminal areas (Hancı, 1999). Criminals may be anywhere of the city, including gecekondus or middle class neighborhoods. Naturally, poor living conditions of the people in squatter settlements cannot be seen as a factor that made them potential criminals. Some factors which are more effective than the existence of the gecekondus like the other segments of urban society may push the residents of these areas to the deviant activities.

It can be said that some socio-economic and cultural problems in gecekondu areas accompanying the changes in gecekondu process (for example increasing commercialization of gecekondu areas after 1970's) has caused the transformation in the perception of these settlements. Today, gecekondu is seen as an usurpation process by the mainstream society rather than the solution of the poors to housing problem. Therefore, this type of settlements have lost social legitimacy, then gecekondu areas have been characterized as “*varoş*” for twenty years. This word reflects the fear, anxiety and anger of state, public and mass media about these areas. Moreover, there are different gecekondu areas which have different characteristics. Existence of homogeneous gecekondu and homogeneous gecekondu people cannot be defended today (For example, squatter settlements of Mamak and Altındağ in Ankara are different from each other in terms of some socio-economic, cultural or political issues). Thus, crime like any problem of the cities should be evaluated in this framework.

High crime rates in gecekondu areas can also be explained by the facts of social exclusion and spatial segregation that have been used in some researches. This type of studies have defended that people who live in slum areas are isolated from the general power mechanisms and are regarded as inferior, and this may cause deviant behaviour. Effects of spatial segregation on crime in a deprived community and neighborhood in Ankara will be examined in the following parts of the study.

In summary, the concept of gecekondu in the study of crime should not be evaluated only with physical or individual factors, but socio-economic ones.

Structural factors like low economic and social status correlated with lack of income, exclusion and residential instability can be seen as consistent predictors of delinquency and crime (Gendrot, 2000). Diversity and segregation may decrease the opportunity cost of crime indirectly by causing the provision of public goods to decrease, lower educational attainment and income levels in segregated areas may contribute to the increase in crime. In addition, majority of society thinks that people from gecekondu areas are more criminals than other people, so the people of gecekondu are located further away jobs, education, social and health facilities, then they become indeed more criminal than other people naturally. There is no more chance for them.

#### **4.3. Unemployment**

Today, another persistent problem of the cities is unemployment (Chiricos and Kleck, 2002). So analyzing the concept of unemployment is also necessary to understand urban crime too. Nowadays, unemployment is not only a loss of income, also loss of status (Erdoğan, 1991). In Turkey, because of the migration coming from the deficiencies and push factors of rural areas cannot exercise its functions like redistribution of labour for productivity. Rate of migration is higher than employment level today, thus economic and industrial development of the urban areas are incapable of absorbing more than a small part of immigrant population. Because of these factors, labour source cannot find job or go to the marginal sector. Today as many as two-thirds of all lower class urban families depend on non-industrial, unskilled work for their livelihood in the underground economy which is divided into two; informal and illegal sector (Ataay, 2001). While informal sector contains marginal employment areas that require no skill and education, illegal sector is composed of criminal activities like smuggling, larceny, fraud etc.

Among arrested for crimes against person, unemployed people is low, compared with the percentage of unemployed persons among property offenders. Unoccupied and unskilled persons are found to be associated with this type of urban crime (Witte, 1996), and thus they have important place in the statistics. Despite there is

not positive significant relationship between unemployment and crime, but joblessness as a social reflection of loss of status, loss of self-esteem, boredom and alienation may contribute to crime levels.

In summary, it can be said that there should be more detailed analysis to explain crime and unemployment in a causative link.

#### **4.4. Education**

Other factor that is relevant to urban crime is education. Statistics show that illiteracy or inadequate education are really important reasons that facilitate people are directed towards deviant behaviour and crime.

The level of unemployment and education are very related concepts to each other in Turkey in spite of exceptions. Because the level of education is a naturally determinant factor in the occupation and economic status. Therefore, the loss of income and loss of economic and social status may trigger the deviant behaviours. Anyhow, the importance of education on crime levels can be seen in many studies.

According to the table below that demonstrates the distribution of arrested people by educational level, most of the arrested people have no education or low educational level. It can be seen that when educational level rises, the rate of involvement in crime decreases.

Table 4.7: Distribution of Arrested People by Educational Level

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL	The Number	Rate%
ILLITERATE	1493	5.8
LITERATE	1972	7.7
PRIMARY SCHOOL	17384	67.7
HIGH SCHOOL	3831	14.9
HIGHER EDUCATION	990	3.9
TOTAL	25670	100.0

Source: EGM-APK, Suç ve Suçlu Profili (2001)

In the other data obtained from the table above shows that people who have been graduated from primary school have a big share in crime rates. Similar results can be observed in the data from State Institute of Statistics (DİE, 2000a).

In summary, it can be said that education is very important in terms of crime and violence. It is not surprising that these statistics are almost parallel to the crime statistics of other countries. Therefore, to reduce and prevent crime in the cities, the necessity of improving educational possibilities for everyone who live in urban areas can be observed.

#### 4.5. Poverty

Another explanation of rising crime in the cities has been tried to be found in the level of poverty. Poverty has been the first variable ever looked into as a possible cause of crime. Turkey is one of the countries suffering from the chronic poverty today. According to a report by UNICEF, 14.2 percent of the population in Turkey live under the poverty limit (UNICEF, 2000). Poverty, in general is a state in which a family's income is too low to be able to buy the quantities of basic needs like food, shelter and clothing that are deemed necessary for survival and minimal well-being. Poor people have the lack of minimal physical requirements necessary to sustain a healthy existence. This type of poverty is called absolute deprivation. Today inequality or relative deprivation which are defined by reference to the

living standards of the majority in any given society and which also refer to a comparison between the material level of those who have the least in a society and the material level of other groups in the society is more commonly used, and poverty is understood in the framework of relative poverty. Because poverty is the deprivation of basic urban services or living in unhealthy conditions, rather than only a lower income, it is social and psychological situation (Bauman, 1998). This wholeness creates conditions to reproduce poverty continuously in spatial and individual levels. Therefore, it can be stated that poverty is not a static fact, but a process (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2003).

There is a general claim that poverty induces many socially injurious experiences and an unequal distribution of opportunities, both of which are conducive to increased deviant behaviour (Hagan, 1985), and poverty and inequality have been cited as precipitating factor and positively associated with especially property crime (Muncie, 1999). In recent years however, some criminologists associate economic inequality with violent crime. Many studies have found a relationship between economic inequality (relative deprivation) and homicide (McCall and Parker, 1999), and it has been proved that the maps of poverty and lawlessness are very similar (Gendrot, 2000). According to the results of studies on crime, criminals tend to be less educated and from poorer backgrounds than noncriminals. While Engels concluded that crime depends on the economic position of proleteriat, Marx, while proposing all social phenomenons are the products of economic conditions. He also assumed that man is guided not only by his conscience but by his economic position (Schafer, 1969).

Shaw and McKay were interested in social disorganization that was a possible factor on poverty, and they were concerned about the three D's of poverty; disease, deterioration and demoralization. They defended that poverty areas have no direct relationship with the crime rates, but they tended to be socially disorganized, higher rates of crime can be seen in these areas (Shaw and McKay, 1969). Wilsons in their study defend that the growth of neighborhoods with extreme levels of poverty has created conditions which isolate residents from mainstream society and tie them to a local settings of multiple disadvantages (Wilson and Wilson, 1983).

These disadvantages may naturally bring crime (Croall, 1998). Moreover, scholars also defended that poverty, economic misery, and desperation are the other factors that lead a man to violate the criminal law.

As stated above, economists and social commentators have generally for long recognized the different ways in which crime can be related to economic conditions. There is almost universally accepted conclusion that the lower socio-economic classes have higher rates of illegal behaviour than do the middle class or upper classes (Wolfgang, 1967) and crime is often portrayed as an under-class phenomenon with the poor stealing from the rich (Lea and Young, 1993). Moreover, the underclass notion in effect blames the poor for their situation and it can therefore be used ideologically to divert attention from structural problems (Croall, 1998).

According to the table below, the majority of arrested people are also the people who has low income, and the people who get medium income follow them. Data present that when the income level rises, the rate of criminality decreases. This is not surprise. However, high crime rates should not be evaluated as being associated only with income level. Despite some links have been found in some studies, crime and delinquency are not confined to the poor or class is from lower economic status. Statistical correlation between poverty and crime has not been proved. Individuals from different classes may commit the same type of crime, while the individuals from the same class commit different types of crime in any given society (Schafer, 1969).



Table 4.8: Distribution of Arrested People by Income

INCOME LEVEL	The Number of People	Rate %
LOW	9791	39.3
MEDIUM	7443	29.9
GOOD	4910	19.7
VERY GOOD	2746	11.0
TOTAL	24890	100.0

Source: EGM-APK, Suç ve Suçlu Profili (2001)

Moreover, poverty rate alone underestimates the relative disadvantage and does not explain crime. Some workings have demonstrated that income inequality is more effective on criminal behaviours than poverty (Blau and Blau, 1982). Here, the notions of relative deprivation and relative wealth can explain urban crime (Schwab, 1992). Poverty cannot be presented as a cause of crime in as much as there are many poor societies with very little crime rates like China and Middle East countries. Crime rises or falls without any clear relationship with rising poverty level in Turkey too.

Approaches which see poverty in cultural, spatial and socio-psychological levels outside the framework of class relations are insufficient to explain the problem of poverty and create a legal base to exclude poors from the society. Despite other factors may have effects on poverty, class phenomenon also has an important role on crime by reproducing, accelerating and deepening the poverty.

Then, today why most economically deprived and socially disadvantaged areas here those that experienced high and increasing levels of conflict, violence and crime? There are wide divergences of wealth and power in society which greatly influence opportunities open to different groups. Theft and burglary, not surprisingly, are carried out mainly by people from the poorer segments of the population, homicide is also more frequent in areas with large concentrations of persistent poverty, low socio-economic status of persons, poor housing stock

and high unemployment. But these are not sufficient to defend a causative link between crime and poverty.

In summary, poverty cannot be seen as a direct cause of crime. Today, the qualitative transformation of poverty especially in the cities causes economic, social, cultural and political exclusion and residential segregation practices against urban poor in all over the world. These discriminatory practices are continuously reproduced by the system. Therefore, the roots of crime should be searched in a wider framework. As stated above, an example of the effects of segregation on crime in a deprived area will be examined in the following parts of the study.

#### **4.6. Gender and Age**

Rates of criminality are much lower for women than men in all societies despite crime rates for women may change as relevant to differences in socio-cultural structures (İçli, 1992). Probable reason of this situation can be found in general difference of socialization between men and women according to the culture and greater involvement of men in non-domestic spheres (Giddens, 1997). But, it cannot be said that the gender rate in the criminal activities is not constant.

But especially in the last years, the rate of female criminality has started to rise. Dönmezer defends that the crime rate in women increases as parallel to social transformation, the weakening of parents' authority inside family, disruption of effects of traditional values are the factors which cause rising women criminality (Dönmezer, 1984).

Other important variables whose relationship with crime has been investigated in most of the studies is the age factor. Up today, the studies on crime could not explain the relationship between age and crime completely (İçli, 1992).

Today, young males commit more crimes than other people throughout the world, and Turkey whose population consists primarily of the young, is faced with social and economic transformation and the problems due to transformation process.

Therefore, this causes young population is particularly affected. Arrest data show that crime is predominantly on youthful male phenomenon (Abbott and Clinard, 1973; Kindlon and O'Hagan, 1996). Youth play a particularly important role in the three economic felonies: robbery, burglary, and auto-theft, and the rate of violent crime among young especially males has risen substantially in recent years. The reason for this increase cannot be found easily, but it seems likely to have arisen from a number of cultural, economic and social sources, like dysfunctional families, decreased economic and educational opportunities etc. (Foster and Hagan, 2001).

The table below which offers randomly selected 300 arrested people in Ankara by age group demonstrates that 19-30 age group constitutes the majority of the criminals among arrested for crime against person. Other important age group is 31-45 among arrested people for crime against person.

Table 4.9: Arrested People for Crime Against Person by Age Group-2002

AGE GROUP	The Number of Convicts	Rate %
18 AND UNDER	31	10.3
19-30	173	57.7
31-45	79	26.3
46 AND ABOVE	17	5.7
TOTAL	300	100.0

In another study that was made by General Directorate of Security, it can be observed that the criminality is intensified in the 18-25 and 25-35 age groups. The crime rate decreases as age rises, and decreases under and above interval of 18-35.

Table 4.10: Distribution of Arrested People by Age Group

AGE GROUP	The Number of People	Rate %
<15	779	3.0
15-18	3051	11.7
18-25	7355	28.2
25-35	8157	31.2
35-45	4552	17.4
45-60	1989	7.6
>60	235	0.9
TOTAL	26118	100.0

Source: EGM-APK, Suç ve Suçlu Profili (2001)

Another table about the age factor is given below. According to this table which contains convicts received into prison by age, it can be proposed that the age groups of 22-29 and 30-39 constitute the greater part of the convicts received into prison in Turkey, Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir.

Table 4.11: The Number of Convicts Received into Prison by Age-1998

AGE	TOTAL	-15	16-18	19-21	22-29
TURKEY	69077	122	961	3979	19130
ANKARA	3820	21	56	235	1049
İSTANBUL	7199	3	109	439	2306
İZMİR	2679	3	31	120	561

Table 4.11 (continued)

AGE	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-64	65+
TURKEY	23773	14365	4965	937	845
ANKARA	1334	819	258	46	20
İSTANBUL	2392	1468	390	53	41
İZMİR	968	661	255	43	31

Source: DİE, Adalet İstatistikleri 1999 (2000)

As stated above, the population of Turkey is highly composed of young population. Because of this fact, juvenile delinquency should be discussed for the future tendencies of urban crime.

In recent years, the size and the reasons of juvenile delinquency have shown increasing trends in Turkey. Moreover, the age of entrance into delinquency has decreased to 12 years especially in the cities with more than 500.000 habitants (AKKM İstatistikleri). Thus, juvenile delinquency is a big problem especially for a decade. It can be observed from data that juveniles received into security units in Turkey is mostly male in terms of sex, offense charged in terms of reason of reception, and received by police in terms of security unit (DİE, 1999a). It is interesting that children and adolescents are not only victims as they have been considered and expected, they are also criminals. Generally, it can be said that in spite of some decreases in aggregate levels of violence, offending and victimization rates among juveniles have rising trends. This means the higher adult criminality in the future. Therefore, crime prevention policies which direct to young population should be improved. Some proposals on crime prevention strategies are given in the last chapter.

#### **4.7. Physical Characteristics of the Space (Comparison Between Urban and Rural Areas)**

To compare crime rates in urban and rural areas is another way of studying the problem of urban crime. Statistical studies have shown that the frequency and the intensity of crime and delinquency are several times higher in urban areas than in rural areas (Glaser, 1970; Beall, 1997; Patel, 2000). Moreover, Engels also pointed out that the number of crimes varies according to the crime area (Schafer, 1969). Therefore, analyzing crime in cities and rural areas is also important for this study.

While urban areas usually have higher rates for all major offenses, there are also some significant differences between urban and rural areas in some types of crime. The greatest differences of rate between rural and urban areas are for crimes against property- larceny, fraud etc., and the difference some less apparent for

crimes against the person- homicide, aggravated assault etc. (Duhart, 2000). While property crimes are high in the cities which have more urbanized, non-property crimes can be seen in the rural areas and cities which protect their rural nature. Here the concepts of urban crime or rural crime emerge. For example, while homicide and kidnapping are mostly observed in rural areas, fraud and forgery, or embezzlement are more committed in the cities and accepted as peculiar to urban spaces (İçli, 1992).

It should be stated that in rural areas, the types of criminality show differences according to the dominant characteristics of social structure. In these areas, while some behaviours may be encouraged, others may not be seen because of the control of the society as opposite to the urban centres where informal relations and institutionalized control system are dominant (Sencer, 1993). Moreover, in rural areas, the problems are often solved unofficially within the mechanisms of community like preventing crime, solving and punishing it, or even approving deviant and criminal activities. From this point of view, the behaviour which is seen as deviant in a culture, can be seen as expected or approved in a different culture.

In summary, it can be stated that despite urbanization and population growth may naturally contribute to increasing crime rates, the differences in crime rates of urban and rural areas do not come from only their physical characteristics. Rates of crime are also affected by socio-economic, demographic and cultural conditions that differentiate in cities and villages. The fact of some urban areas show lower crime rates than rural areas gives a considerable clue about the problem. It can be generally claimed that cities and the urbanization process are the results of social formation, and the parts of social structure, therefore, they do not designate the social structure by themselves.

#### **4.8. Economic and Social Restructuring**

According to neo-Marxist theory, the structure or the problems of cities in capitalist societies are the products of their underlying economic order. The theorists of this

approach defend that urban problems mirrored the contradictions built into the capitalistic system and in the minds of many, the only solution is changing the system (Schwab, 1992).

Castells views the function of the city as economic. In cities, capitalist societies reproduce their labour force. The city is the container in which the state supplies the items of consumption necessary for the reproduction of labour to keep the capitalist system working (Schwab, 1992). For Harvey, city cannot be seen as autonomous from the capitalist accumulation processes. Moreover, spatial patterns in capitalist cities reflect the inherent injustices and contradictions of capitalism (Harvey, 1985). Engels defended that capitalism forms the cities according to its logic, and exploitation, inequalities and poverty simply show themselves in the cities as the products of capitalism. Therefore, the capitalist city can be defended as being the space of capitalist contradictions.

Harvey, in his book, *Social Justice and the City*, defends that distribution mechanisms in the cities of capitalist countries increase injustice (Harvey, 1973). If this process cannot be stopped, the phase of conflicts is inevitable in the system of the city. As a result of these facts, the study on urban crime should involve contradictions of capitalism like alienation, segregation, exploitation, unemployment, income inequality and other economic stresses of the capitalist society. To understand crime, it is important to understand the development of political economy of capitalist state (Quinney, 1975). Thus, it can be stated that crime is a manifestation of the conditions of the society, and free market society promotes deviant behaviours by increasing inequality and concentrated economic deprivation (Quinney, 1977).

The relations of capitalist production with crime can be seen especially in the last two decades when power relations in the world system have fairly changed. While the role of the state has limited in the accumulation strategies, market mechanism has gained importance (Şengül, 2001b). New social and economic restructuring has also reflected to the cities. State has withdrawn from economic arena as well as from the urban services especially in the end of 1970's. This has been the reflection

of the end of the welfare state (Şengül, 2002). Social consequences of this new era have naturally increased instability in the world (Tuna, 2001).

1980's is the starting point of new capitalist movement called globalization in the world and characterized by a new phase of economic and social restructuring process. This year is too important for Turkey in term of its effects. Neo-liberal policies have started to be implemented in this year. The effects of the new era have been emerged in the cities by a new urbanization type called urbanization of capital (Şengül, 2001b). But the rise in the poverty and unemployment levels, decline in the wages, absence of social justice, social security and safety, widening gap in the income levels of different groups of society, decline in the social benefits of economically disadvantaged groups, emergence of the phenomenon of underclass, social and residential polarization, moral breakdown in the cities have shown that new period of urbanization have brought lots of problems, rather than new opportunities. According to data of General Directorate of Security, the crime rates have increased in Turkey especially since 1980's.

Inequal dynamics of capitalism which have expanded the differences between urban areas have been accelerated by neo-liberal policies, have role on the growth of poverty spatially. Because poors are excluded from labour markets, political processes and the social relation networks in cities (Tekeli, 1982). According to Castells, capitalism benefits relatively few people. Any behaviour that interferes with the reproduction of labour threatens the interests of the few. Moreover, those who control the means of production also control the political and police powers of the state. The poor who deviate from laws are created by these vested interests, and are the people who are labeled and stigmatized as criminals (Schwab, 1992).

In Turkey, when the money for positive social forces (school, family, neighborhood) has tended to decline, the conditions of some groups have become worst. Freedoms could not be balanced with equality and many people have found their lives largely devoid of self-fulfilment. Then, deviant behaviour and crime have been to be channelled towards socially destructive ends.



Other problem is the non-attainability of consumer mode of life and meta fetishism which is presented by the city. Nowadays, consumption is equivalent of being individual. Neo-liberal policies have made homo economus people homo consumerus. Social structure designated some values as absolute valuable and cannot limit or define well the targets to reach them and it did not insist about the ways, so every way become legal. These have naturally caused increasing incongruities among communities (Baumann, 2000).

Industrialization and the rate of economic development have failed to keep pace with urbanization. Urban poverty, urban unemployment and income inequality are extensive and housing and urban services are inadequate. Today, these factors may have some observable effects on the growth of crime in urban areas. However, although rapid urbanization partly explains the scale and extent of urban crime and violence, other factors such as the political and economic climate, local traditions and values, alcohol and drug use, inability of criminal justice system, inadequate education, cultural conflicts, mental illnesses and the degree of social cohesion and solidarity among urban communities may play important roles on crime (McClain, 2001; Vanderschueren, 2000), and erosion of moral values and the breakdown of positive socializing forces, such as family, school or the neighborhoods puts communities more at risk of urban violence and crime (Krivo and Peterson, 1996). Today, many crimes may be primitive form of individual rebellion to the conditions in the capitalist city which is socially and economically inequal. Therefore, crime may be a response against the inequalities in the cities worsened by a new economic and social restructuring phase called globalization in the world economy especially in recent years. This phase highly creates social chaos and displacement, and it does not favor social cohesiveness, but generates tensions and it reinforces social and economic polarization, spatial segregation and other discriminatory practices in the cities (Gendrot, 2000).

In summary, it can be stated that urban crime is not a spontaneous occurrence, but above all, it seems more the product of society which is characterized by inequality, economic discrimination, social exclusion, spatial segregation, marginalization and alienation of some individuals and the groups in the city (Finer

and Nellis, 1998; Vercaigne and Walgrave, 2000). These people cannot create an autonomous area for themselves and conceptualize themselves as loosers, outsiders, withdrawns, downs and misfitters. The space where they create is their own criminal space. In this space, their reaction to the conditions of them sometimes may direct toward their own body- as suicide, or another's body- as violence, or another's property- as property crime.

#### **4.9. Segregation**

Segregation which has become more definite in all over the world especially after 1980's is the practice or policy of creating separate facilities within the same society for the use of a minority group (Patel, 2000). This may be social or spatial isolation. Spatial differences between individuals or groups in the city cause increasing segregation level (Witte, 1996), then the segregation pushes the people to live and work in different places because of poverty, illiteracy, ethnical or religious origin of them. Therefore, socio-economic and cultural conditions of people may develop differently. This causes the differences increase. Today, in most of the countries in the world, economically deprived and socially disadvantaged areas experience high and permanent increasing levels of crime. In these areas, there are large concentrations of low socio-economic status persons, poor housing stock and high unemployment, and crime rates are also higher among immigrant populations who have a greater proportion of youth in their population who have low education levels and disadvantageous living conditions. This poorest environment has been defended as a factor which create urban underclass who has different values. Especially in recent years, the concept of underclass is considered as a class of individuals in mature societies situated at the bottom of the class system who has been systematically excluded from participation in economic and social life. The underclass is normally composed of people from ethnic, immigrant, disadvantageous groups who are unable to assimilate into the mainstream society (McClain, 2001), and they have been seen as socially inadequate, maladjusted and psychologically disturbed. Therefore, it can be stated that underclass notion is used as a new label for the poor that would naturally bring new types of socio-spatial segregation. This is a new formation of the poor for whom the primary means of

social organization in mainstream society are inaccessible and the stratification of the society has translated into an increasing spatial separation (Gendrot, 2000).

Some spaces and groups especially in metropolitan areas which consist of almost exclusively of the most disadvantageous segments of urban community have been segregated along history by the mainstream society, usually on socio-economic, religious, ethnic, or residential grounds. They have had unequal resources and unequal access in democracies and they usually have been seen as incapable, harmful, lawless, dangerous, and potential criminals for public life by public or police. They are also outside the mainstream society and the occupational system. Exclusion is related to isolation from social and economic networks, disaffection from mainstream society, and also associated with social issues (such as educational achievement, family structure, culture and economic issues), lack of participation in economically or socially valued activities, and lack of involvement in local or national decision-making processes (Saunders, 2003).

Therefore, linkages between social inequality and crime have been subjected to speculation since the beginning of the criminology (Gendrot, 2000), and the concept of segregation is used as an explanation for urban problems, especially crime and violence by some scholars like Castells who examined social exclusion in spatial patterns and who also defended social segregation is an expression of class struggle and gentrification is inevitable in the cycle of capital accumulation process, and Harvey who criticized the zoning radically (Caldeira, 1999).

Social aberration among the poor of the *gecekondus*, as well as their apathy, is a product of their being the poorest, rather than of their being poor, and their alienation, apathy and withdrawal from the general society appear to be maximum under *gecekondu* conditions. In rural areas, the relative effects of poverty are counterbalanced by stronger traditions and group ties. In the areas of extensive urbanization and also industrialization, where traditional and primary group ties are weakened, the lack of power and status among the poor particularly those in urban areas, is much greater (Glaser, 1970).

The lawlessness of economically and socially disadvantaged neighbourhoods have been also tried to explain by Chicago theorists who relate crime closely to the social and spatial contexts in which it arises, and defend that there are close relationships between urban structure and the distribution of crime and criminals (Johnston, 1994). Although they consider inequalities in the cities as a factor, they neglect the social, economic and residential segregation in their studies (McClain, 2001).

Spatial segregation comes from different reasons. Social exclusion and polarization together with economic separation due to long periods of unemployment or marginalization. These factors lead to socially polarized and residentially segregated neighbourhoods. Uneven development in the cities is the other cause in the social stratification and group differentiation of urban spaces and is thereby a fundamental contributor to the spatial segregation of the poor. Here, it can be observed that income level is closely related with the spatial separation of the poor from non-poor. So, it can be stated that there is a strong and consistent relationship between spatial-residential segregation of the poor and the geographic concentration of the poverty.

Segregation of the poor does not strictly adhere to socio-economic status, but to patterns of social relations based on a combination of factors coming from capitalist mode of production. Today, poverty is identical with economic, social, political and cultural exclusion. It is clear that structural understanding of society and modes of production is relevant in understanding the production and reproduction of segregation in classed societies. Urban spatial segregation no longer simply expresses socio-economic differences but has become the spatial evidence of societal fragmentation and incompatible inequality. Spatial segregation, by dividing the city into zones of inclusion and exclusion, can easily reinforce disadvantage and exclusion by restricting the geographic and social mobility of people. These people may also be denied the full benefits of the city life. Process of impoverishment by creating segregation and reproducing inequality, also produces further processes like marginalization, disintegration, and invalidation in some groups and stigmatization of them (Caldeira, 1999).

Labelling theory that is examined in previous chapters, focuses on the reaction of other people against some people and the subsequent effects of those reactions which create deviance. When a person from certain neighbourhoods has engaged in deviant acts, she or he is then segregated from society and thus labelled as theft, abuser, junkie etc. Thus, some people become vilified in the eyes of society and defined as potential criminal. They have a status placed upon them by both the criminal justice system and the society.

There is also a process of how labels are constructed and applied to certain individuals, groups or districts in order to curtail or denigrate the actions. The relationship of devaluation, stigma, in which one individual is disqualified from full social acceptance plays important role in the labelling process. With stigma, the status loss and discrimination result from the display of stigmatized attributes or behaviours. The stigmatization of behaviour is the enforcement mechanism behind social norms.

In this process (may be informal or formal), applying rules to particular people from less powerful groups and officially and unofficially labelling them as potential dangers for public life create a constituted criminal status upon them. The members of these groups, because of they suffer legislative and judicial defeats, they may be forced to associate with others who are similarly segregated and stigmatized, and continue to act in accordance with their status upon them, which means violating the law (Gendrot, 2000).

Truly, social and spatial segregation may have roles on the level of crime. Some groups are objects of societal and police discrimination. So, prejudice and discrimination, stigmatization and marginalization in some diverse and deprived urban areas like the neighborhoods composed of squatter settlements (gecekondu in Turkey) may contribute to increasing crime rates (McClain, 2001).

Violence has been associated with the low socio-economic status and residential instability of neighborhoods. Three dimensions of neighborhood stratification-concentrated disadvantage, immigration and residential stability. Moreover,

disadvantage and deprivation are associated primarily with economic conditions. Social deprivation can have both non-pecuniary and pecuniary manifestations (Fajnzylber et al, 2001). Most violent and property crimes are positively related to both diversity and segregation, even after controlling for other socio-economic and demographic characteristics. Crime is sometimes individual rebellion to economic and social conditions and the pressures upon people, sometimes is the way of refuse their labels and answer to their segregation from the society. Especially young members of some communities have experienced discrimination. They are located further away from jobs and social services. In addition, inequalities that they face with breeds social tensions among them. When they compare themselves with wealthier people, the feeling of disadvantage leads them to seek compensation and satisfaction by all means, including crime.

In short, it can be said that, there is a vicious circle in the application of segregation. When the crime rates increase in a special part of a city, fear of crime emerges among the public, mass media and the police. This situation feeds the rhetoric which legitimizes the isolation and segregation, and brings another step, that is labelling the other as a guilty or a potential danger. Therefore, there is an exclusion process which is based on security notion (Caldeira, 1999). Excluded and segregated people naturally is on the role given to themselves. That is to say, they continue to commit crime naturally.

In this chapter, some socio-economic problems in cities have been generally discussed. Importance of them comes from they are being characterized as the factors contributing to increasing crime rates. Poverty is one these problems is seen as the primary cause of committing crime. Statistics show that crime is mostly committed by low income people. Truly, poverty is undoubtly effective on people's involvement especially in property crimes. But today, low socio-economic status people are generally perceived as becoming more criminal than other people even the actual rates of crime do not change. This type of argument has some problems in terms of its verification. For example, it cannot explain the low crime rates in many cities or urban neighborhoods where poverty rates are high. Moreover, this argument uses further claims which have been translated into an increasing

ghettoization process of some neighborhoods and stigmatization of poors who live there.

Urban poors because of their socio-economic level, generally live in deteriorated neighborhoods in the cities. These neighborhoods are located further away jobs, education and social facilities. As well as they are geographically isolated from the more affluent parts of the society, they are also far from the routes for social mobility. These factors are crucial to understand increasing numbers of crime committed by these people.

Existing gentrification and marginalization of urban poors have more increased after the important transformations in the world economy after late 1970's. New economic and social restructuring process has led to state has withdrawn from economic arena as well as from the social services. Then, economic and social consequences of new era have increased the instability in the world. Cities also have been affected by neo-liberal policies. Especially large cities have become arenas of polarisation and fragmentation between the spaces of the classes. These facts have accelerated the emergence of more diverse urban areas where poverty is geographically concentrated. Increasing inequalities in cities have caused conditions of lower class groups have become worse, and have also reinforced social and economic isolation together with residential segregation against them.

Spatial segregation does not only restrict the geography and the social mobility of urban poors, it also produces further discriminatory practices like stigmatization and labelling them as outsiders, abusers, potential dangers, criminals etc. Moreover, the emergence of the vicious circle in the application of segregation can be observed. When urban crime rates increase in a place, fear of crime which emerges about this area feeds the rhetoric of poors are more criminals than other segments of urban society, and this legitimizes more dense isolation and segregation practices against them. They are more excluded from occupational and educational system. In addition, existing punitive and other social control over the people who are already objects of societal discrimination have also increased. Therefore, it can be said that crime is continuously reproduced by the system.

Similar perception of crime and representation of poors can be also observed in the issues of migration and gecekondu which have mutual relationship with each other. These issues are the other factors which are usually characterized as contributing to criminal deviance. Studies which defend similar arguments state that post-migration process in the cities weakens the institutions of traditional value system of migrated people, and causes anomie, disintegration or social disorganization of these people. These studies claim that rural people who did not commit lots of crime in their living areas, start to commit more crimes after they migrated to cities. On the contrary, in the neighborhoods where these people live (mostly gecekondu areas), rural life still shows its effects, and social control and pressure over individuals prevent urban poors to commit crime. Increasing criminality in the cities does not come from the reasons like disintegration or counter culture of these people, but socio-economic inequalities which may affect all people direct individuals towards crime. To defend urban life destroys the value systems is not a reasonable claim. Differences in crime rates are completely related with social structure in cities, not the cities themselves.

Segregation of poors does not strictly adhere to socio-economic status, and urban spatial discrimination no longer simply expresses socio-economic differences, but has become the spatial embodiment of societal fragmentation and incompatible inequality. The concept of segregation in urban crime analysis, which has been usually neglected in most of the past studies, should necessarily be used while exploring crime in the cities. The fact of after controlling for other socio-economic and cultural problems in cities, residential segregation explain the differences between the crime rates of different urban areas.

In summary, it can be stated that urbanization is a social transformation process. Therefore, the problems which emerge in this process are naturally related with social structure, and so urbanization should not be seen as an independent or a primary factor in the search of crime. If variations in crime rates in urbanized cities are examined, this can easily be verified. Because there would appear to be no obvious logical connection between urbanization and increasing crime levels, and being city of any area cannot be presented as one of the basic reasons of disobeying



to social norms. Crime is dominantly an outcome of a range of economic, social or political factors that can not be evaluated as related to urbanization. Moreover, high crime rates in cities are also associated with low socio-economic status people who mostly live in the deteriorated neighborhoods of the cities. This type of perception of urban poors generally defends that social disorganization and the separate sub-cultures which emerge in this type of areas affected mainly by the negative outcomes of urbanization contribute to increase in crime rates. However, main reason of high criminality among urban poors is related with the geographic concentration of poverty in the cities. This socio-economic and residential division is the evidence of polarization and fragmentation between classes in urban spaces. Today, increasing socio-economic and residential discrimination practices against lower class people have naturally decreased the opportunity cost of crime. Therefore, physical and socio-economic isolation of urban poors from other segments of urban society is naturally a barrier in front of stability and order in urban areas.

Another step in this study is to explore the effects of spatial (residential) segregation, socio-economic exclusion, and cultural isolation of some neighborhoods and communities on crime rates. For this purpose, Hıdırlıktepe- a squatter settlement (gecekondu) area in Altındağ, Ankara will be examined.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CASE STUDY: PERCEPTION OF CRIME IN A DEPRIVED COMMUNITY- HİDIRLIKTEPE CASE**

The neighborhood of Hıdırlıktepe which has been chosen for this study is a region in Altındağ, located in a polarized and segregated region, and is one of the most problematic areas of Ankara today. It is the oldest and the most concentrated informal settlement area in the city (Şahinyılmaz, 1988). This has been caused by people's wish to be nearer to Ulus quarter which was the old financial, commercial, educational, cultural and administrative center of Ankara. Another reason of the establishment of gecekondu settlements in Hıdırlıktepe is that the region has been set free from urban development plans.

Today, Hıdırlıktepe is generally characterized by its density of squatter settlements called gecekondu which are in the situation of physical deterioration and the extremely heterogeneous, disadvantageous and deprived people living in chronic poverty. Moreover, inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe are viewed as being at the bottom end of the socio-economic scale with low income, education and occupation, and they are accepted as potential risk because of the rate of convicted person is high there. Generally, it can be said that this economically disadvantaged and socially deprived neighborhood is seen as dangerous and insecure by the police, public and the mass media. In this chapter, problems of socio-economic exclusion, cultural isolation and spatial segregation will be tried to be examined by studying the perception of Hıdırlıktepe in terms of crime below.

Socio-economic re-structuring in the world economy after late 1970's has had negative effects on Ankara like the other cities. This new process has led to a large increase in the number of people experiencing persistent and pervasive poverty and a rising concentration of the poor in specific areas of the cities. Speciality of these neighborhoods is that they include the poorest segments of urban society. Then,

neighborhoods like Hıdırlıktepe become economically and socially apart from the rest of the society, besides physical separation.

Today economically deprived and socially disadvantaged residents of Hıdırlıktepe are excluded from economic, social and cultural life and also from political processes in Ankara. Economic isolation, socio-cultural exclusion and spatial segregation directed towards to Hıdırlıktepe reinforces disadvantage by restricting the geographic and social mobility of these people. This naturally has effects on the integration the dwellers of this neighborhood. It cannot be defended that they cut themselves off from the mainstream society as defended by some scholars. When they firstly come to Hıdırlıktepe, they may choose to settle in this area because of low rents and of being safe together with people who have similar economic and social status. That is, it can be said that they may show voluntarily segregation at the beginning, but this self-isolation is replaced by obligatory socio-economic and residential segregation practices which are applied by the mainstream society in the course of time. This naturally deepens the poverty and other severe problems of these people. Therefore, they cannot find a geographic and a social mobility to go beyond their life conditions.

In this study, Hıdırlıktepe is used to determine the different groups' perception of crime in a deprived community. For this purpose, first of all eleven police officers and managers who are working actively in this neighborhood have been interviewed and some questions about Hıdırlıktepe region have been asked to them. Another group which has been interviewed was ten shopkeepers and other public officials in the neighborhood. Moreover, similar questions have been asked to ten residents of Hıdırlıktepe, and also to ten non-dwellers of the neighborhood to compare and contrast the perception of crime in police, inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe and other people. Other title is the media's perception of crime in Hıdırlıktepe. In the first part of the research, answers of the police officers will be evaluated.

Before the starting the evaluation of interviews, the study by Demet Şahinyılmaz about the relationship between socio-economic structure of Hıdırlıktepe society and their residential positions which has been done in Hıdırlıktepe neighborhood in

1988 will be examined, and the comparison will be tried to make to observe which things changed and which things have remained same in this district for 16 years.

According to Şahinyılmaz, dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe have been composed of poor, unemployed, migrated and low educated people 16 years ago. It can be said that the situation is the same today. Inhabitants are still composed of low educated, unemployed and immigrant poor people.

While the number of officers were constituting nearly 20 percent of the neighborhood's employed population, qualified worker's rate was about 32 percent in 1980's. There was not too much people who had a job which brought high income and which was secure, organized and specialized. This problem was the barrier in front of the dwellers' social urbanization and their integration to urban society according to Şahinyılmaz. Today, the employment structure cannot be defended as being changed positively. On the contrary, there is almost no officer who lives in Hıdırlıktepe. Moreover, the number of qualified worker's rate has decreased along the years. Most of the today's dwellers are unskilled workers and the people who are in the situation of chronic unemployment.

In 1980's, half of the dwellers in Hıdırlıktepe were from Black Sea Region, especially Bayburt. Central Anatolian immigrants were following them. There was nearly no people coming from the Eastern or the South-Eastern provinces. Other important point was that the number of people who came directly from rural areas was less than the people who came from urban areas of other cities or different neighborhoods of Ankara. In recent years, while the people who has come from the Black Sea or other regions of Turkey have declined, the Eastern and the South-Eastern immigrants coming from rural areas have grown. Moreover, the number of people who has migrated to Hıdırlıktepe from urban areas is at the level that cannot be underestimated today.

In the study of Şahinyılmaz, it has been stated that there was a gradated migration to Hıdırlıktepe. Migrated people to this neighborhood had come to different neighborhoods of Ankara or other cities before they have come here. Other

characteristic of the residents was that the majority of people living in Hıdırlıktepe generally were there for a long time. Nowadays, a gradated migration cannot be claimed here. Immigrants directly come to Hıdırlıktepe by leaving their villages especially in the South-Eastern and the Eastern regions in Turkey. Today, it cannot be stated that people who live in this neighborhood have not been here for a long time. Most of the old dwellers, who were the owners of the houses where they resided, have left Hıdırlıktepe because of their moving to the other parts of the city due to rise in their wealth along the years. Today, the majority of the dwellers in Hıdırlıktepe pay rent to the buildings where they live.

Şahinyılmaz has stated that dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe had not too much knowledge of Ankara. They only know their near surroundings such as Ulus, Sıhhiye, Dışkapı. The situation has not been changed for 16 years unfortunately. Dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe cannot be said as having knowledge about the other neighborhoods of Ankara.

The use of urban services and institutions by inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe were low in 1980's. For Şahinyılmaz, the people were living in a circle-like life space which included Ulus and Sıhhiye where lower income groups prefer to meet their needs, beside Hıdırlıktepe. Their places of housing, work, entertainment, shopping etc. were in this belt, and they did not go beyond this border except rare exits because of the urgent necessities. According to study, this proved that dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe could not get in touch with the other parts of the society, and it can be defended that despite they lived in city, they were cut off themselves from the city due to having a different way of life which is different from other populations of Ankara.

In spite of the benefit from the urban services and institutions have risen and the belt where the activities of live, work, entertainment and shopping has been expanded in recent years, there have been no positive changes in the relations between the dwellers and the other communities in the city of Ankara for 16 years.

Dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe were having some demands from the local government in 1988. They were firstly asking bus and minibus services to Hıdırlıktepe should be increased, garbages should be collected more frequently, streets of the neighborhood should be built, water should flow orderly. Additional demands were related with educational, cultural, health, and the other infrastructural problems. Generally, it can be claimed that they desired to benefit from the same possibilities of other dwellers of Ankara. Today, the demands that could not be met for nearly 20 years still continue in this neighborhood.

Şahinyılmaz has stated that the length of living in the city, the nearness of the neighborhood to employment areas and public or private institutions, sufficient income and the level of benefit from urban opportunities contributes the increases in the level of adaptation to the city and the integration of gecekondu people to urban culture. Although, inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe were close to occupational possibilities and urban services in Ankara, they could not be socially and culturally integrated to the urban way of life. Because they did not have a sufficient interaction with the rest of the society, sufficient income and sufficient benefit from urban services. As in the other issues, there has been no positive change in economic, social and cultural situation of this neighborhood. Despite the center of the city has moved to south parts of the city, it can be stated that Hıdırlıktepe is still close to the occupational possibilities and urban services in Ankara. However, the physical closeness even now, does not reflect to their situations positively. They still have problems in terms of interaction with the rest of the society and sufficient benefit from urban services.

Şahinyılmaz has defended that when the dwellers of gecekondu settlement had no sufficient economic level which could improve the level of benefit from urban possibilities and the level of interaction with other urban populations of the city, the problem of disintegration occurred. Because of the importance of these factors on the integration of gecekondu areas and its dwellers to urban culture, the shortage of them had negative effects on gecekondu residents in the way of becoming socially and economically urbanized. She has explained this problem with the argument like this; newly migrated people to the cities, cannot adopt to city, cannot

become really urban dweller and cannot be socially integrated to society unless they have a certain economic level.

It can be stated that Şahinyılmaz, in her study, has not mention about the effects of segregation on the disintegration of Hıdırlıktepe neighborhoods and dwellers to the rest of urban population in Ankara. Although, economic level is important in the integration of the people in Hıdırlıktepe to urban culture, socio-economic exclusion and residential segregation of them is the biggest barrier in front of the integration process to the city.

It can be certainly said that full integration to urban culture and socio-cultural urbanization of these people depends to segregation level in the city. There is a reverse proportional relation between integration and segregation. If the segregation is intense, the integration level decreases. On the contrary, when the segregation tends to decline, the integration level rises. In conclusion, if the objective is the integration of the deteriorated and deprived areas to the rest of the city population, the policies which aim at reducing the segregation practices in the city should be improved.

### **5.1. Police's Perception of Crime**

The first question that has been directed towards police officers was about the socio-economic structure of the neighborhood. According to the most of the officers who have been interviewed, people who live in Hıdırlıktepe are composed of immigrants from the surrounding provinces of Ankara and from the east and the south-east parts of Turkey. Therefore, they are agree about the heterogeneity of the population. For officers, unemployment and poverty level are very high in this neighborhood. There are four officers who have said that there is an excess income inequality between Hıdırlıktepe and the other parts of Ankara.

Officers generally think that while people in Hıdırlıktepe do not work generally, people who are working choose marginal sector today. There is nearly no people who is under the tree of social security. They work as a seller in markets and streets

or they are occupied with illegal activities like selling of narcotics, burglary, pickpocketing, snatch and the other types of larcenies. Education level of neighborhood's inhabitants is very low. 40 percent of the people is illiterate, rest of them were just graduated from primary school. One of the officers said:

People who have migrated to Hıdırlıktepe have also carried their rural culture to the city, and they continue to live with this culture. A person who has come here from the same city or region, participates to his friends or relatives, thus they come together here again, and they support each other.

All police officers emphasized high poverty rate of the neighborhood. According to them, people continue their life by informal or illegal sectors. Half of the officers strongly stated that the inhabitants do not like working and do not want to, too. There is no culture of effort to earn honestly. They prefer getting money easily or they live on with the aids and funds of central government or local governments like coal, food, or money supports.

The following question was about the education level and the rate of schooling in the neighborhood. According to all of the officers, education level is too low, and nearly half of the population is illiterate, the rest of the population were just graduated from primary school. People leave the school and participate to the unemployed army. Unemployment is very widespread among youth, so they have no more choices except committing crime.

Latter question was related with the negative or bad fame of the neighborhood. When the question of "Do people feel secure or safe themselves in Hıdırlıktepe?" have been asked to the officers, most of the answers were no. They generally said that there are a lot of convicted persons here and sometimes big struggles have occurred between the people who live in the neighborhood. Especially people coming from outside of the region, do not feel secure themselves both in the day times and at nights. People of Hıdırlıktepe are used to live here with the disorder and complexity. Therefore, criminal activities or deviant behaviours of people do not bother them.



People of the neighborhood struggle too much by the reasons of alcohol use, gamble, and aggravated assault. An officer claimed:

Negative opinions about Hıdırlıktepe are mostly true, it is an unusual space where a criminal problem may happen in any time.

Another question was about the reasons of the lack of security and safety. All of the policers defended that to feel secure is not possible here. They explained this situation with the bad fame of the neighborhood. They characterized the region as a crime and criminal production center, as one officer said:

People are mostly convicted here and next generations will be probably delinquent or criminal, because, there is no more chance for them.

Most of the officers said that nearly 50 percent of the population has been absolutely related with criminal activities committed in the past.

Following question was about the crime rate of Hıdırlıktepe. Again, all officers stated that although crime rates are high in the neighborhood, they emphasized the number of criminals who live here is higher than the number of offenses committed here. This difference primarily comes from the fact that almost all of the crimes against property are committed outside this neighborhood. In Hıdırlıktepe, the most committed types of ordinary crime are aggravated assault (assault, wounding and battery), insult to the state officials, events coming from excessive alcohol and drug use, carrying weapon- mostly knife, and domestic violence according to the officers. For them, in Hıdırlıktepe, due to being disadvantageous place, the rate of crime against property is very low inside the borders of the neighborhood. Another possible reason is that people know each other, so they do not give harm to each other except small dissensions. Criminals realize larcenies outside their neighborhoods, for example in the central or wealthier parts of Ankara or the surrounding provinces.

Another question was “Is there any previously stigmatized convicted person in the neighborhood?”. The answers of the officers were completely clear. One officer explained his opinion with an example:

When there is a crime, we start to search about it, but our job is not easy if you compare us with other police stations. Because nearly 50 percent of the population is previously convicted, so we cannot constitute a list of suspects. Unfortunately, anybody in the neighborhood may commit it.

Answers to the question about the rate between the criminals who live in Hıdırlıktepe and offenses committed there were generally parallel. The rate is the same in the type of crime against person (violent crimes). According to the officers, the number of criminals who live here is higher than the number of offenses committed here in the type of crime against property. Because, as stated above, they commit these types of crime outside neighborhood. One officer stated:

There is no people coming from outside and commit crime here, the crime problem of Hıdırlıktepe is related with the inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe.

Most important thing for many officers was to be aware of one matter. Hıdırlıktepe does not have a big place in statistics with criminal events occurred there, it has a big place in the statistics in terms of the number of its residents who commit crime inside and outside of the neighborhood.

Then, the officers answered the question that has been asked about the difference between the view about Hıdırlıktepe from inside and from outside. This question was very important to show the police perception of crime in a deprived community. More than 90 percent of the officers were in the same opinion about this theme. They defended that the observation from both inside and outside will show the economic and social problems of the neighborhood. But, if the crime problem is evaluated, the situation will be absolutely different for all of the officers.

According to them, when a person looks at here, he or she probably has an impression like this: “Hıdırlıktepe is a neighborhood where is composed of squatter settlements intensely and where economically and socially deprived people”, and he may worry about them. But the reality is different for officers. When the person comes and stays here, he will be aware of instability, danger and insecurity of this palace in a short time.

One officer said:

Most of the people who live in Hıdırlıktepe do not work and have no intention or effort to find a job. These people defend that they cannot find a job in spite of their desire for it, but they do not try to find it actually. They expect everything from the state. When the state is insufficient to satisfy their needs, these people choose the easiest way, and they do not avoid committing crime.

There is an important thing at this point. According to the officers, people when they or their relatives and friends commit crime, they legitimize their actions and they defend the rightfulness of themselves. Committing crime has become a right for them and social justice is realized by committing crime in their understanding. Moreover, they accuse the state for being poor. In summary, officers said that to put forward an idea about this neighborhood is very easy from outside. To understand this region, it is absolutely necessary to live here in some period. These people do not help police in the criminal investigation, they may hide and protect the suspects, they sometimes try to take out them from the police station as well. According to the most of the officers, it can be easily claimed that neighborhood will be out of control if this situation continues.

Other question was about the types of crimes committed in the neighborhood. Most observed offenses are aggravated assault, insult to the state officials, carrying weapon, and domestic violence for the officers. They stated that struggle has become a culture or a way of life for inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe. At any time, a problem may arise between individuals or groups here. “This place is like a Harlem” said one officer.

According to officers, unemployment, poverty, inadequate education, irrelevance of family and alcohol use are the main causes of crime. But, these factors cannot be insufficient in investigating crime, and also underestimate other factors. For example, there are also other squatter settlement areas in Ankara, and it is a fact that 80 percent of Altındağ is composed of squatter settlements. Moreover, people who are the inhabitants of gecekondu, live in the same or even worse conditions, but do not choose committing crime to live. For police officers and managers, there are also other important factors which contribute increasing crime rates. For example, in Hıdırlıktepe, crime is like an inheritance which goes on from generation to generation. One officer said: “Moral deficiency is very dominant in this neighborhood”. Therefore, it can be stated that officers generally are not optimistic about the future of Hıdırlıktepe.

Police officers said that the people make harder their job and they defended that they are coerced by the inhabitants of the neighborhood. They complain about the people who live in Hıdırlıktepe, because they do not give information, they do not help to the police, sometimes the criminal is hidden, even he or she may be defended as being innocent.

Following questions were that “How to correct the bad image of this neighborhood and how to solve crime problem in Hıdırlıktepe?”. The answers of police officers and managers were generally hopeless. More than half of them defended that the negative image and the bad fame of this place cannot be totally removed. Others said that the only solution is to move all people from here, not houses. There is an established culture of crime in this neighborhood. Therefore, only solution is to transfer the community to the other parts of city for the officers. But, this transfer should regard one important point. People should be separate from each other when they will be moved from Hıdırlıktepe, if not, the place where they go will be new problematic area in a short time, because they get power to resist and disobey laws when they are together. Nearly all of the officers think that the people here have become like a gangs by the ties of family, friendship etc. According to them, the problems of Hıdırlıktepe, especially involvement in crime cannot be solved with only economic or judicial measures. The officers are generally complainant about

the recent laws that have been put into force about criminal justice especially in recent years. These laws and frequently announced amnesties create situations in favour of the criminals, and encourage the people for disobeying the laws.

Another question was about the relations between police and the inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe. Most of the officers talked about the existence of lack of confidence mutually. They said that police behave and work as appropriate to the legal procedure. There is not any prejudice or discrimination practices on dwellers of this neighborhood as defended in the mass media. However, they said that they do not definitely give tolerance to any illegal action.

For officers, people of Hıdırlıktepe generally do not help to the police in criminal investigation. They are not tender to police or other civil officers of the state. Police managers and officers said that the people may not give an information about searched suspects, and this can be evaluated as a normal response. Because the suspect may be relative or friend of them. But, the people are not contented with being silent, they may try to hide, protect, even take out the suspects or accused persons from the police station. One police said:

They may not like us and they may not help, it is their right,  
but we only want not to be prevented by them while we are  
doing our job.

Committing crime for the officers is completely related with environment. To be a criminal means to be powerful for this neighborhood. Committing crime has become traditional activity, and to be a burglar, narcotic seller or pickpocket are considered as a job continues from generation to the next one. One officer said that the ferment of these people is spoiled. Moreover, people are affected by each other. To be engaged in criminal activity starts by taking any criminal as a model and, then juveniles become new criminal nominees. Additionally, the irrelevance of the families is one of the important factors that triggers the committing crime according to many officers.

The question of whether the criminal activity is done individually or as a group has aimed showing whether do person act individually or does his family directly help him while committing crime for the police officers. The answers of officers are mostly parallel. They generally said that there is a criminal culture in the community, but this is not like a professional gang. Child or young people take other people around him as a model, and they tend to commit crime. Families are aware of their children occupy with the illegal activities. Despite they do not directly encourage or orientate them to the criminal activities, they do not intervene or try to prevent him. However, it can be said that there is an indirect incitement for trying to hide or protect the suspects even they are really guilty. Nowadays, committing crimes equals easy money, and money equals power and wealth, “Families choose to become quiet against the illegal activities of their members” an officer said.

Majority of the officers defend that if a child is put here, he or she will absolutely become a criminal. Crime completely occurred by the effects of environment in this neighborhood. The most important thing is to get money whether it is legal or illegal. For many officers stated that there is no culture of honestly working with effort in the understanding of these people, young people therefore have no more chance except choose to become a criminal.

Last question directed to the officers was that “Are they happy to work in Hıdırlıktepe?”. They generally answered this question as “yes”, but they also said their work is too hard here. Moreover, Hıdırlıktepe is an important school-like place in terms of experience for them. According to nearly all police officers defend that any state officer who works here can easily work anywhere in Ankara or the other provinces of Turkey with the experience that he gained in this neighborhood.

In summary, general claim about the neighborhood of Hıdırlıktepe which regard here as a crime and criminal center is also dominant among police officers who work in this region. It cannot be stated that they have positive opinions about Hıdırlıktepe and its inhabitants. They think this place is the most problematic area

in the capital, and it is very difficult to provide order here, therefore to remove the bad fame or image of this neighborhood is nearly impossible.

## **5.2. Residents' Perception of Crime**

In the second part of the field research, the interviews that have been made with ten male residents of Hıdırlıktepe will be examined. If the socio-economic conditions of them are needed to state, five of them are unemployed, the other five of them have unskilled jobs, while seven of them was graduated from primary school, the rest is illiterate. All of them have no his own house. The persons whom have been interviewed are the people has been lived here more than 5 years. The earliest dweller said that he came to Hıdırlıktepe ten years ago. The regions where they have come are South-Eastern Anatolian and Eastern Anatolian regions. One of the persons said that he came to this neighborhood from Black Sea Region.

First question which has been asked to inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe was about socio-economic structure of this neighborhood. For all of the residents, the poverty level is very high and becoming more intense and chronic especially in recent years. They also stated that unemployment is the other big problem of their neighborhoods. Moreover, most of the dwellers cannot benefit from the social security according to them. As the officers said, all of the residents said that education level of the neighborhood is very low. Nearly half of the people living there is illiterate. Children cannot continue their education because of the economic impossibilities. Therefore, schooling level is too low. Mainly because of these factors, people work in the informal sector or engaged with illegal occupations. Additionally, they continue their life by the aids of central government, municipality, non-governmental organizations etc.

Another question for residents are wanted to answer was about the difference between the view about Hıdırlıktepe from inside and outside. More than half of the residents defended that the situation is the same in both. The rest of them said that the situation is worse when you come and see the neighborhood. The important difference between the opinions of police and inhabitants should be stated here.

While inhabitants perceive this question as an economic or social conditions, police see as criminal.

When the question of “Do people feel secure or safe themselves in Hıdırlıktepe?” have been asked to the residents, they do not have the same opinion with the police officers. They said that there is a general claim about the insecurity of Hıdırlıktepe among both public and state institutions, but it is not true. For them, there may be more struggle, assault, wounding in this region than the other parts of Ankara, but this does not mean that this place is insecure, instable and dangerous. One of the residents said:

There is no security problem here as told by many of the people, the opinion about Hıdırlıktepe are completely wrong. This place is just a poor gecekondu neighborhood like the others in Ankara, the problem is related with the labelling of this neighborhood.

This place is very safe according to one dweller. He stated that people of Hıdırlıktepe here cannot give harm if not somebody try to give harm them, for example disturbing the girls, asking for trouble etc. Most of the residents stated that the people living here know each other, and do not interfere to each other except some minor struggles.

Following question was about the crime rate. Again, nearly all of the residents whom are interviewed claimed that the crime rate is not very high as told as by local authorities and the mass media. The crime rates are as much as the other poor and deprived neighborhoods of Ankara or any other city.

For residents, the most committed criminal offenses are aggravated assaults, minor struggles due to alcohol use, and carrying weapon. Some of them have added some minor larcenies which is the natural result of being disadvantageous place.



Latter question has been asked about the numbers of previously convicted persons. The answers coming from the residents stated that there are naturally some people who are previously convicted. But, they are not as much as defended.

Subsequent question was related with the types of crime committed in Hıdırlıktepe. Most observed offenses are aggravated assault (assault, wounding and battery), carrying weapon and minor larcenies according to the residents. Main reasons to commit crime are poverty, unemployment or low alternatives in legitimate employment for all of them. Some of the residents add the illiteracy, alcohol, honour, and family problems to the factors causing crime.

Half of the answers to the question about the relations between police and the dwellers of the neighborhood defended that they may face with some injustices and they are complainant from the police. Moreover, most of the dwellers said that the prejudices or injustices are not coming from only police, every public institutions see them as problem. They said that when a crime has been committed, they have been directly seen as suspect in the eyes of them. One of the people whom is interviewed said: “They should not see us as potential suspect or dangerous people”. Briefly, it can be said that the relations between police and residents of the neighborhood can be seen too limited except criminal events. However, the residents stated that there may be some dissensions between police and the dwellers of the neighborhood.

People whom have been interviewed generally accepted the bad fame and the image of Hıdırlıktepe as the police officers. They answered the question of “How to correct the bad image of the neighborhood?”, and their optimism can be observed to the contrary to officers’ pessimism. More than half of them claimed that the bad fame of Hıdırlık comes from being highly poor, diverse and deprived area. If the state helps them by investing their neighborhood by creating employment areas and giving job, the bad image may be corrected. One of the resident said “We are also the citizen of this country, they remember us in only election times. We do not want to be neglected anymore”. Moreover, the dwellers have same opinion with the police officers in one point. According to them, the

problems of Hıdırlıktepe cannot be solved with only judicial measures. They said that if the poverty and unemployment problems are solved, most of the problems will be automatically solved.

Factors pushing the youth to the crime are mainly economic for all of the residents whom are interviewed. If they go to the school, or have a permanent job, they do not have to engage in crime. “Hungry man can do everything” said one of the dwellers. Another factor is that children is affected by criminals who live in the neighborhood. People said that they cannot prevent their children interact with them. Additionally, people who have low job opportunities commit crime because of hoping to make money easily and quickly for them.

The question of whether the criminal activity is done individually or as a group has aimed to show whether a person act individually or does his family direct or help him while committing crime. Most of the residents said that except a few examples, families do not have information about the illegal activities of their children. When they know, it is too late to interfere. They completely think as one dweller states: “Who wants his children becomes a criminal?”.

Another question which is directed to residents is that “Whether they are happy to live in Hıdırlıktepe”. They generally answered this question as “Yes”. They just want their living conditions will be better. If they have a permanent job, sufficient money to live, sufficient infrastructure and social services and security, they defend they will be very happy for being an inhabitant of this neighborhood. One resident said:

We are happy here, everybody thinks that the problem is the Hıdırlıktepe and its residents, but they are completely wrong. The problem is not us, our houses or our neighborhood, but is starvation.

According to all of the residents of neighborhood, people know each other and they do not definitely give harm to each other too. They are not complainant about their neighbors. There are some minor struggles which may occur anywhere.

One of the inhabitants whom are interviewed said that they are like a big family and they always support each other.

In general, there is a discontent about living conditions among the residents and they commonly connect the rising crime rates in Hıdırlıktepe to these conditions. They mostly defended there are discriminatory practices against them in their social and economic life. This discrimination may be explicit or implicit. They see the problem of crime in this context too. There is an opinion among most of the residents about their exclusion or isolation from economic, social and political processes in Ankara. Actually, the crime is a type of response to this reality for them.

When the comparison is made between the interviews of police and residents of Hıdırlıktepe about their perception of crime in Hıdırlıktepe neighborhood, it can be stated that there is a general negative opinion about the region in police. For example, while the residents said that they are excluded from the employment possibilities, the police officers stated that the people of Hıdırlıktepe have no intention or effort to find a job. Because, there is no culture of working among them according to police. Moreover, while police officers claimed the insecurity and instability of this neighborhood, the dwellers do not have the same opinion.

In the criminal context, the situation is the same. While the residents connect the poverty and unemployment with rising crime rates, police officers, besides accepting these causes, claimed that these are used by the residents of Hıdırlıktepe as a pretense. Criminals see crime as a right for themselves, and believe the social justice is realized by committing crime in their understanding. Moreover, police officers said that the inhabitants of the neighborhood do not help them in investigations of criminal cases. Residents and officers have the same opinion about the existence of lack of confidence in the relations between police and dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe. They are complainant from each other. While police defended that the inhabitants of the neighborhood prevent them in their criminal investigation by hiding or protecting the suspects, the residents claimed that applications of police may sometimes be faulty and most of them rejected the

police opinion about the criminal culture that is dominant in Hıdırlıktepe. They stated that they always try to help police, but if they face with injustices, there may be naturally some contentions. However, the police officers see crime like an inheritance which goes on from generation from generation. Additionally, while police officers said that the families are aware of illegal activities of their children, and they do not pretend to see them, the residents defended that a few family may help their children committing crime.

In the context of the neighborhood's future, the officers are hopeless, but the residents claimed that if their living conditions will be better, the negative image about the neighborhood and its people will be removed. In consequence, there are big differences of perception between police and residents about the crime in Hıdırlıktepe and its problems.

### **5.3. Non-residents' Perception of Crime**

In the next step of the field research, interviews that have been made with ten non-residents of Hıdırlıktepe will be examined. The aim in these interviews was to reflect the point of view of the other people about Hıdırlıktepe.

First question was about the poverty level of the neighborhood. All of the interviewed persons think that the neighborhood of Hıdırlıktepe is composed of highly poor population.

Other question was "Which words do you use to describe Hıdırlıktepe?". People answered this question with the words of illiteracy, uncultured population, lesser values, crime, homicide, narcotics, burglary, usurpation, struggle and strong ties between the residents of this area. These answers show that Hıdırlıktepe is generally characterized with the acute problems by also non-residents of this neighborhood.

Third question in the interviews was related to negative or bad image of the neighborhood. Most of the persons whom have been interviewed answered this

question with “Yes”. All of them completely have the constructed image of this neighborhood in the public, mass media and the police too. The reason of the bad fame of Hıdırlıktepe is the high rates of crime and criminals who live there for them. One people said:

When a social event occurred in this neighborhood, they unite and support each other (Even they are wrong), and they act as a body to mass media members, police or other public officers. This naturally effects and also strengthens the bad image of Hıdırlıktepe.

The subsequent question of whether the criminal activity is committed individually or as a group with the aid of the family have been generally answered by negative opinions. Most of the persons think that there is a relation between family and people who commit crime. Half of them stated that although the family has no active role in the committing crime, they sometimes may be irrelevant about their children, or they do not participate into the demands and needs of their children because of their economic possibilities, therefore they are indirectly helpful to their members to commit crime.

According to people whom have been asked, cultural degeneration, lack of education, poverty and unemployment are the main causes of committing crime. One of the person stated that: “When the intense and persistent poverty is united with illiteracy, community is closed to outside and this led to committing crime”. While two of the people see segregation as a factor for committing crime, one of the non-dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe sees crime as one of the habitual activities of those people.

Following question was that “How to correct the bad image of this neighborhood?”. People were not hopeless about this question as the police officers. Moreover, almost all answers coming from people have included the importance of education. While two of them answered the question with the necessity to improve the cultural, social and sports activities in Hıdırlıktepe, six of them defended the necessity of increase in the job opportunities. Other

proposals of interviewed persons were generally about the importance of youth population and the necessity for gaining them. Two people defended that authoritarian measurements should be increased in this neighborhood.

Other question was “How to solve the crime problem in Hıdırlıktepe?”. Majority of the answers has emphasized the priority of education in the solution of crime problem. Half of the people defended the necessity of educating the families firstly. Four of them defended that special educational institutions for the youth should be set up. Other proposal coming from the interviewed persons is to improve the job opportunities for the dwellers of neighborhood. One people emphasized that: “Improving occupational possibilities is not sufficient itself, these possibilities should increase the life quality of the dwellers in this neighborhood”. Moreover, requirement of the increase in the security measurements are defended by two persons.

Other question was that “If you live or work in Hıdırlıktepe, what will you then?”. While three of the officers stated that they certainly cannot work and live in this neighborhood and they will resign or leave their job, four of them said they can work but cannot live in Hıdırlıktepe. Moreover, three of these four persons said that they will try to change their work. They stated that if they cannot, they will definitely leave the neighborhood after work. Two persons claimed that they can work or live in Hıdırlıktepe, however one of them has a conditional answer: “If I can find or built a building like a castle, I can live or work there”.

The following question was that “What is the meaning of gecekondü and gecekondü people for you?”. One of the persons said that these words mean migration for him. He explained his view like this:

Gecekondü neighborhoods are image pollutions which have been emerged because of people coming from rural areas who want to have a house without spending money.

Two persons see gecekondu as temporary buildings which are gates of hope for hopeful people about becoming wealthy in future. Five persons claimed that gecekondu means the environment where the people live in minimum conditions to continue their life. The other two absolutely characterized the gecekondu areas and its inhabitants as socially and culturally non-developed.

The last question that has been directed towards to non-dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe was that “What do the words of varoş and ghetto remind you?”. Six of the non-dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe defended that these areas are closed communities. Moreover, two of the answers of persons completely consist of the words of “criminal area, criminal center etc.” where potential criminals live and commit crime. One person said that nobody can not live here. Other two emphasized the disorder of these neighborhoods. One of the persons defended that there is no cultural or social activities there (Even not thought by them), because main focus is to survive for people of Hıdırlıktepe. Two people see these areas as limited life area of poor people. However, these two persons generally defended that economic deficiencies of these people naturally reflect to their life. One person stated that there is a different culture in these areas. Only one people claimed that traditional values are protected in these areas.

In summary, it can be said that despite non-residents of Hıdırlıktepe neighborhood have not too much negative viewpoints about Hıdırlıktepe and its inhabitants as the police officers have, they follow the understanding in the perception of people who live there. Moreover, public’s perception about the neighborhood of Hıdırlıktepe and its residents is the most negative among the other concepts of gecekondu, varoş and ghettos. Despite people has negative views on gecekondu areas, they have more positive views on them, and they describe the gecekondu neighborhoods and gecekondu dwellers as deprived areas and communities. Same tendency can be observed in the concepts of ghetto and varoş too. But, they are also perceived in a more suspicious sense. It can be inferred that the reaction to Hıdırlıktepe becomes more insensitive when compared with the terms of gecekondu, varoş and ghetto. General opinion of public about the neighborhood in Hıdırlıktepe is completely negative. Hıdırlıktepe which is characterized by crime

and deviance by common people is also seen the place of lesser values, crime and criminal production center. Therefore, it can be said that despite opinions which reflect the social exclusion and isolation by the public can be observed in all of these areas, the reaction is more rigid in Hıdırlıktepe than other gecekondu areas of Ankara, and the fear and suspicion about here can be easily seen in the public.

#### **5.4. Shopkeepers and Other Officials' Perception Of Crime**

Other group which has been interviewed was ten shopkeepers and other officials of different public institutions in the region. Similar questions that are directed towards to other groups were also asked to them. The most important feature of this group is that there are only three persons who live in Hıdırlıktepe. Thus, evaluation of their opinions about the neighborhood is also essential.

First question that has been asked to them was about the socio-economic structure of neighborhood. According to the most of the persons in this group, people who live in Hıdırlıktepe are highly composed of immigrants coming from the east parts of Turkey. For them, almost all people living in Hıdırlıktepe is poor, and unemployment level is very high in this neighborhood.

Interviewed persons also stated that education level and the rate of schooling in the neighborhood are very low. All of these ten people accept the intense illiteracy in the neighborhood. One of the interviewed persons said:

There are only a few person who were graduated from the secondary school in Hıdırlıktepe, the rest of the population is generally illiterate.

When the question of “Do people feel secure or safe themselves in Hıdırlıktepe?” have been asked to the shopkeepers and other officials who work in the neighborhood have been generally been answered by “No”. Only two persons have defended that people can feel secure in Hıdırlıktepe. Another question was about the reasons of insecurity of Hıdırlıktepe. According to the majority of people, nobody cannot feel secure, both in the day times and at nights. For them, the



reason of this situation is the existence of continuous struggles and the noise in the neighborhood.

Following question was about crime rate in Hıdırlıktepe. All the interviewed persons said that the crime rate is very high in the neighborhoods. However, nearly all of them stated that the number of criminals who live there is higher than the number of the offenses committed there. The difference comes from criminals who live in Hıdırlıktepe commit crime outside their districts. According to the greater part of the interviewed persons, the most committed types of crime are aggravated assault, murder and larceny (outside Hıdırlıktepe).

Another question was “Is there any previously stigmatized convicted person in the neighborhood?”. Answers of nine people whom interviewed was the same. They emphasized high rate of convicted person who live in Hıdırlıktepe. This group had a same idea with the police officers about a matter. For them, Hıdırlıktepe does not have a big place in statistics in terms of the number of its residents who commit crime inside and outside neighborhood.

When the causes of committing crime have been asked to the shopkeepers and public officials, the most important reasons for them are unemployment, poverty and illiteracy. One of the people stated:

Illiteracy is the most effective cause, because the parents of the young criminal persons are also illiterate, and thus they do not aware of the importance of the lack of education on crime, and cannot give sufficient education to their children.

Another person stated:

Most of the young people of Hıdırlıktepe do not work in spite of some occupational possibilities, and have no intention or effort to find a job. Actually, there are employment possibilities like waiter, bellboy etc., they do not accept to work in this type of occupations, because they do not impute these jobs to themselves.

Another important point that should be considered is that this last interviewed group generally sees crime as highly environmental. That is, they think the young dwellers of Hıdırlıktepe are affected by criminals who live in neighborhood.

When the relation between police and the inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe has been asked, half of them accepted the tension between the police and inhabitants. However, other half emphasized an interesting point. According to them, police officers and dwellers of the neighborhood have good relations. One person stated that this situation is surprising when crime and criminal rates in the neighborhood has been considered.

As stated above, the majority of interviewed persons accepted the bad fame of the neighborhood because of high rates of convicted persons and regular struggles there. One person said in a Turkish proverb: “Its name became nine, it does not go down to eight”.

Subsequent questions were that “How to correct the bad image of this neighborhood and how to solve the crime problem?”. Answers generally emphasized the importance of education and employment. Other proposal came from two persons. They strongly stated that problems like crime of Hıdırlıktepe are very related with unemployed young dwellers of the neighborhood. Due to having no occupation and no sufficient money, but lots of spare time, they want to find easy money that can be found in illegal activities. Moreover, they imitates mafia by being affected by media and the environment.

When uneducated and unemployed young persons of Hıdırlıktepe come together, they always have a potential to commit illegal activities by generally taking convicted persons as a model. One young person cannot do anything alone. Thus for nearly half of the interviewed persons, it is important to keep young people busy doing something legal that interests and engages them by improving leisure opportunities in Hıdırlıktepe.

“Are you happy to live or work in Hıdırlıktepe?” was the last question that has been asked to the shopkeepers and other officials. Three of them (they are shopkeepers) have emphasized that they are happy to live here. Other persons told that they are not happy to work or live in Hıdırlıktepe because of known reasons. One of the dwellers of the neighborhood stated that he is bound to live there account of the near distance to his shop. Other six persons generally talked about they got bored with noise and struggle of Hıdırlıktepe. When the question of “Why do not you leave here?”, all of them said that their income level is not enough to live in different neighborhoods of Ankara.

When interviews are examined generally, despite shopkeepers and other officials who work in the region have not too much negative viewpoints about Hıdırlıktepe as the police officers have, and they have not too severe opinions as the non-residents have, it can be said that they also follow the same perception of neighborhood and its dwellers. But they have some positive views too. First of all they do not see Hıdırlıktepe as a hopeless case. For them, problem is mostly related with the unemployed young dwellers in general. They do not see the problems of Hıdırlıktepe with the different sub-culture of this neighborhood. According to them, crime problem can be solved to improve educational and occupational possibilities in the neighborhood, and to keep young people busy doing something legal that interests and engages them by improving leisure opportunities in Hıdırlıktepe.

In summary, it can be claimed that when the physical distance goes away from the neighborhood, the negative opinions of the people about Hıdırlıktepe can be observed. This is the other evidence of explicit or implicit discriminatory practices

that are not only come from the state or its agents. Today, there is a clear physical isolation, socio-economic exclusion and residential segregation of this deteriorated and deprived neighborhood and its people from the society.

### **5.5. Media's Perception of Crime**

Another step in this study is to examine media's perception of crime in deprived areas and communities like Hıdırlıktepe. In the previous parts of this study, it has been stated that according to the dominant understanding among social scientists, ghetto underclass has a separate self-sustaining or counter-culture which is highly different from the urban culture. For the defenders of this conception, urban ghettos are the places of lesser values, failure of decent education and thriving violence. The dwellers of these areas are deprived as backward, uncultured, ignorant and unskilled. In the mass media, there is a paralel perception in the representation of these neighborhoods and their dwellers. The ghetto areas are shown as the places where acute problems insist. Source of these problems is represented as the dwellers of these areas by their attitudes and behaviours which are against the rules of the mainstream society.

Media construction of crime as a problem in deprived areas is highly similar to the conception of lower classes. Today, low-income neighborhoods are described as inhabited by a socially deviant and lawless population and are represented as a threat to society because of being identified with illegitimacy by the mass media.

Media conforms to, and also strengthens general tendencies in the perception of deprived neighborhoods and communities. In Turkey, before 1980's, gecekondu has been seen as temporarily built settlements which would be used temporarily by the poor homeless immigrants. But insufficient intervention of state to this informal process led to them being permanent in the history of Turkish urbanization. This process has been accelerated because of being commercialized and finally, is stated to be characterized as an usurpation process and lost its legitimacy. The term "varoş" is the reflection of the lost legitimacy of these settlements. After the transformation in the perception of gecekondu and urban poors, gecekondu areas

are seen as the power threatening urban culture. Today, the discourse of varoş music, varoş youth, varoş lifestyle and varoş culture in general are used by media in a negative sense and reflects the general prejudices about the deteriorated areas.

It should be stated that there is a dilemma in the representation of crime and criminal in the media. While by generating diffusion of gang culture with TV series, movies, media makes gang symbols of dress, music and behavioral styles immediately available to youth groups seeking special identity, and it also uses crime as entertainment in gaining increasing influence and attention. However, at the same time, media complain about the rising crime rates in the cities, especially in deprived areas, and low income groups are usually represented as guilty. In addition, urban poors of today are perceived as more criminal and deviant, and they have no place in the media as victims. They are generally represented as perpetrators, monsters, murderers and responsible persons in the criminalization of the cities etc. in the televisions, radios, newspapers and magazines. Because they have a high potential to commit crime. Homicide and larceny for example are always pretended as being intense among low classes. Other important point in the representation of crime is that the reasons of criminal events are reduced to the psychological problems of the people.

Except the sad stories, only images in the mass media are poverty, lack of work ethic, illiteracy, the gecekondu destructions, fights of gecekondu people for free food, clothes and other aids, homicides, domestic violences, child neglects and contagious diseases.

For this study, news about Hıdırlıktepe in mass media between January 2004-July 2004 have also been examined. There was just a positive news about the promise of the Metropolitan Mayor before the elections. He gave the good news about the hotel which will be built in Hıdırlıktepe which will be a model of Airbus plane (Sabah, 24.03.2004). Other news were completely negative; and these were; narcotic trade in Hıdırlıktepe (Hürriyet, 07.02.2004), Hıdırlıktepe is like a barrel of gunpowder (Radikal, 07.02.2004), people spilled streets in Hıdırlıktepe (Milliyet, 07.02.2004), a Harlem-type gang in Hıdırlıktepe (Zaman, 12.02.2004), a monster

of the capital has been caught (Sabah, 13.02.2004), epidemic invasion of louse in Hıdırlıktepe (Zaman, 30.03.2004).

According to the results of the field research, it can be observed that Hıdırlıktepe which also consists of almost exclusively of the most disadvantageous segments of urban community in Ankara, is a really segregated region today. People who live here are viewed as being at the bottom end of the socio-economic scale because of their levels of low income, education and occupation and they are usually accepted as potential criminals by the general opinion of the public especially by high rate of convicted person there. Generally, it can be said that this economically disadvantaged and socially deprived neighborhood and its residents are seen as dangerous, incapable and instable by the police and the mainstream society and excluded from the occupational system. Moreover, residents of this neighbourhood are excluded from economic, social and cultural life and also from political processes in some respects. Additionally, spatial segregation which dividing the city into zones of inclusion and exclusion can easily reinforces disadvantage and exclusion by restricting the geographic and social mobility of these people in Hıdırlıktepe.

Truly, social and spatial segregation may have roles on the level of crime in Hıdırlıktepe. Some people are certainly objects of societal and police discrimination. Therefore, beside increase in income inequality, prejudice and discrimination, stigmatization and marginalization may directly and indirectly lead to this neighborhood become socially polarized and spatially segregated and increasing crime rates there. In this process, labelling them officially and unofficially as potential dangers for public life create a constituted criminal status upon them. This excessive fear of crime and consequent self segregation of people from this deprived area fuel the forces of injustice and underlying causes of crime.

Therefore, the residents of Hıdırlıktepe, because of they suffer legislative and judicial defeats, are forced to associate with others who are similarly segregated and stigmatized in same neighborhood, and continue to act in accordance with their status upon them. They are more induced to commit crimes and are indeed more

criminal than other people. This residential segregation or social isolation reinforce them to choose illegal activities to live on.

In recent years, large cities like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir have become arenas of polarisation and fragmentation between spaces and groups. There are some reasons of this situation. Spatial patterns in the city reflect the inherent injustices today. Neo-liberal policies of the last two decades have caused lots of problems in Ankara too. These problems have affected low classes more than the middle and upper classes. While upper and middle classes have greater access to the legitimate opportunity structure, members of low classes have not and they have been continued to be excluded from labour markets and social networks. Thus, the conditions of these people have become worst. New phase in the world economy highly creates social chaos and displacement, and it does not favor social cohesiveness, but generates tensions and reinforces social and economic polarization, spatial segregation and other discriminatory practices.

It is true that people who live in the neighborhood of Hıdırlıktepe are on average more criminals than other today. While controlling for usual determinants of crime such as age, education, gender, income, unemployment etc., location seems to play a major role in explaining the intensity of crime among people of this neighborhood. But this naturally cannot be explained by the physical characteristics of Hıdırlıktepe. The problem is more related with discrimination practices against the neighborhood. The field research has been conducted in Hıdırlıktepe highly supports this argument. It can be generally said that high rates of crime are mostly due to spatial isolation and segregation, together with economic and social exclusion which represent a barrier to participation to urban life by the people who live in Hıdırlıktepe.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **CONCLUSION**

In this study, main emphasis is the importance of the interaction between urban crime and socio-economic and spatial segregation processes against the people who live in deteriorated and deprived neighborhoods of urban spaces.

Studies on urban crime generally present urbanization as a causative factor contributing to increase in crime rates. They explained the relations between crime and urbanization by some concepts like size, density, high mobility, heterogeneity, impersonality and anonymity of the cities. By the aid of these factors, urbanization cause social disorganization by undermining the social controls of traditional social order and values with the breakdown of primary social relations. All the forms of deviance and lawlessness were interpreted as the outcome of social disorganization within some urban areas, especially the neighborhoods which are characterized by low rents and physical deterioration. In these neighborhoods, criminal and delinquent behaviours are culturally transmitted from one generation to next. Undoubtly, all of these factors have important effects on criminality in the cities. But the relations between crime and urbanization need a wider framework than these factors. For example, urbanization can partly explain the scale and extent of urban violence and crime. Urbanization and problems peculiar to urban areas cannot be separated from social structures and processes, and crime in urban areas cannot be understood in isolation from socio-economic and spatial problems of the cities.

As similar to Chicago School, cultural oriented studies define the problem of crime as low-class phenomenon. According to them, sub-culture which is a sub-division within the dominant culture having its own norms, beliefs and values, typically emerges when people in similar circumstances find themselves isolated from the mainstream society. Sub-culture has a role in influencing lower class people to



become involved in delinquent behaviours. Criminal behaviour is a norm-like way of life in the deteriorated areas. In this structure, urban ghetto becomes a place of lesser values and thriving violence and crime.

As is shown in chapter four, neighborhoods with dense squatter settlements where low-income people live in, have been characterized as the places of chaos and unruliness, and low-class poor communities are regarded in touch with the problem of crime and deviance. Because people who live in these neighborhoods are uneducated, uncultured and dangerous people who cut themselves off from the urban culture.

In Turkey, similar tendencies have been observed in the urban studies. Crime and delinquency has traditionally been associated with the low socio-economic status and the social disorganization of gecekondu neighborhoods, and crime is generally seen as an underclass phenomenon. Despite some low-income neighborhoods have more persistent problems than other regions the city, it cannot be stated that there is a separate cultural structure. It should be strongly emphasized that this type of the studies divert attention from structural problems. Structural factors like low economic and social status correlated with poverty and residential instability and socio-economic and spatial divisions in the city are consistent predictors of delinquency and crime.

Economic and social restructuring in the world economy after 1980's have important contributions to the growth of the inequalities especially in the cities. New policies (especially in the labour and housing markets) coming with the globalization phase have helped the discriminatory practices have increased. Decline in the income level, rise in the unemployment level, decrease in the welfare policies in the areas of social justice and social security which are necessities of the social state have caused a large increase in the number of people experiencing persistent and pervasive poverty.

In recent years, Ankara like the other big cities of Turkey, has also become an arena of polarisation and fragmentation between the spaces and the groups. Spatial

patterns in the city reflect the inherent injustices today. Neo-liberal policies have more affected the low classes than the middle and upper classes. While upper and middle classes have greater access to the legitimate opportunity structure, members of low classes have not and they have been continued to be excluded from labour markets and social networks. Therefore, life conditions of these people have become worst and they are mostly concentrated in specific areas of the cities. Geographic concentration of poverty has directly caused uneducated, unskilled and poor people of the cities found themselves geographically isolated and left with little chance for social mobility. They have been also excluded from the general power mechanisms and occupational system and are regarded as inferior.

The phase of globalization has highly potential to create social chaos and displacement, it does not favor social cohesiveness, but generates tensions and reinforces social and economic polarization. Thus, today polarized and fragmented cities are the spaces of social contrasts with growing levels of poverty and segregation, and criminality in these spatially segregated and poor areas in cities increases day by day.

Especially after 1990's, crime rates, particularly ordinary crimes have increased sharply in metropolitan areas of Turkey despite country's crime rates have decreased. Ankara which is the capital and the second big province in Turkey in terms of population is one of the cities where crime rates have arisen. Additionally, the only problem is not crime for this city. Employment and housing have been two other important problematic sectors for the city. Ankara has been one of the cities which absorb high numbers of people from rural areas. Lack of employment possibilities and the insufficiency of the state in solving these problems have caused especially immigrant populations forced with lots of another problems. Today 60 percent of urban population in Ankara lives in squatter settlements.

Crime, as one of the important problems of urban spaces, is also the reflection of the transformations in the last two decades. Diversity and segregation as mentioned above, decrease the opportunity cost of crime by causing provision of public goods to bring lower education attainment and income levels in segregated urban

neighborhoods. Then, especially property crime not surprisingly are carried at mainly by people from the poorer segments of the population. But, to stigmatize all of them as potential dangers to urban culture presents new exclusion practices against them. It can be generally stated that urban spatial segregation no longer simply expresses socio-economic differences, but becomes the spatial embodiment of societal fragmentation and incompatible inequality.

When the crime rates increase in a deprived neighborhood, fear of crime among public, state and media increases. This feeds the discourse which legitimizes the segregation and labels the other as a guilty or a potential danger by the aid of the prejudices that have been constituted against urban poor before. Then, the punitive and other social controls over the poor increase. This naturally brings crime rates continue to rise in this type of neighborhoods also with the inequality and isolation which breed social tensions. Then socio-economic exclusion and residential segregation continue. Therefore, it can be stated that there is a process of reproduction of the segregation in the cities.

Moreover, today it can be mentioned about the ghettoization process. Deteriorated urban neighborhoods which are already separated socially, economically and spatially from the other sections of urban population cause the transformation in the perception of gecekondu settlements. For example, the term varoş today represent this transformation and reflects the fear, anxiety and the self-isolation of the mainstream society. This process can be explained by the examples from Ankara. As stated above, more than half of urban population live in gecekondu areas in this city. It can be said that their socio-economic, demographic and cultural characteristics are almost the same. However, some neighborhoods (for example Hıdırlıktepe) where the crime and criminal rates are high is characterized as dangerous, troublesome and insecure, but Akdere, which is another gecekondu area where the crime and criminal rates are low, is seen as the settlement of poor immigrant people. Despite there are some factors which cause the differences between two neighborhoods, these two different perceptions show the possible effects of segregation in the mind of people about Hıdırlıktepe.

Altındağ is one of the most problematic central districts of Ankara. It is the only district whose population has decreased between 1990-2000. Total population of the district has decreased from 422.668 to 407.101, while its urban population from 417.616 to 400.023. Altındağ is the second district whose rural population is the lowest. Other important point about Altındağ is that it follows Keçiören and Çankaya in terms of population density. It is also the place where the larceny is more observed than the other central districts of Ankara.

The neighborhood of Hıdırlıktepe which is located in a polarized and segregated region in Altındağ is mostly characterized by the density of squatter settlements which are in the situation of physical deterioration and the extremely heterogenous, disadvantageous and deprived people living in chronic poverty. It can be clearly observed that it is economically and socially apart from the rest of the society, beside physical separation. Moreover, inhabitants of Hıdırlıktepe are viewed as being at the bottom end of the socio-economic scale with low income, education and occupation. Generally, it can be said that this economically disadvantaged and socially deprived neighborhood is seen as incapable, instable, dangerous and insecure.

Today economically deprived and socially disadvantaged residents of Hıdırlıktepe are excluded from occupational system, socio-cultural life and the political processes in Ankara. Economic isolation, socio-cultural exclusion and spatial segregation directed towards to Hıdırlıktepe strengthen disadvantage by restricting the geographic and social mobility of these people. This naturally has effects on the integration of the dwellers of this neighborhood. It cannot be defended that they cut themselves off from the mainstream society. When they firstly come to Hıdırlıktepe, they may prefer to settle in this area because of the low rents and of being safe together with the people who have similar economic and social status. That is, it can be said that they may show voluntarily separation at the beginning, but this self-isolation is replaced by obligatory socio-economic and residential segregation which are applied by the mainstream society in the course of time. This naturally deepens the poverty and other serious problems of these people.

Results of the field research suggest that the traces of the segregation of Hıdırlıktepe can easily be observed in the opinions of the people who live outside the neighborhood. When the physical distance from the neighborhood grows, opinions about Hıdırlıktepe becomes more negative.

Truly, roles of social and spatial segregation on the level of crime in Hıdırlıktepe can be observed. In addition to the increase in the income inequality, prejudice and discrimination, stigmatization and marginalization may directly and indirectly lead to this neighborhood become socially polarized and spatially segregated. In this process, labelling them officially and unofficially as potential dangers for public life create a constituted criminal status upon them. This excessive fear of crime and consequent self segregation of people from this deprived area fuel the forces of injustice and underlying causes of crime. Therefore, the residents of Hıdırlıktepe, because of they suffer legislative and judicial defeats, are forced to associate with others who are similarly segregated and stigmatized in same neighborhood, and continue to act in accordance with their status upon them. They are more induced to commit crimes and, are indeed more criminal than other people, and residential segregation or social isolation reinforce them to choose illegal activities to live on.

In the science of criminology, there are two paradigms in the conceptualization of urban crime and constitution of policy making process; criminal justice paradigm and public health or community policing paradigm (Maguire, 1994).

Among criminal justice policies, both police resources and police policies can deter crime, but the effect is not too large (Witte, 1996). Moreover, criminal justice paradigm is short-sighted emphasis on punishment, but the public health model subsumes the criminal justice approach while at the same time providing mechanisms for the development of preventive strategies, that is the time frame is before the event, rather than after.

Public health paradigm also offers a vastly superior policy framework for tackling the issue than does the narrowly focused criminal justice model (McClain, 2001). As a place-based strategy of crime and violence prevention, encourages a problem solving relationship between the citizens in a location and their law enforcement partners (Fitzpatrick and LaGory, 2000).

Prevailing approach in Turkey to violence and crime is a criminal justice conceptualization too, which uses the legal definition as basic conceptualization of the problem for policy formulation purposes. For example homicide or theft are defined as the criminal acts and therefore are deemed a criminal justice problem. From this perspective, the emphasis is placed on the perpetrator and the institutions involved in solving the problem like the police, prosecutors, prisons and parole system. Thus the policy recommendations call for the death sentence, more police, longer jail terms, irregular furlough and parole standards, stiffer sentences and other criminal justice related penalties (McClain, 2001). However, it can be stated that this can only deal with the symptoms of crime (Weisburd, 1998).

Although this type of short-term and reactive measures are necessary, they are insufficient if crime is to be significantly reduced. It can be said that, crime is a multi-dimensional and complex phenomenon which is a combination of inter-related factors that cannot be characterized with one dimensional approach. As with all human behaviour, criminal behaviour also emerges from many reasons which are related to other social problems of urban man. Roots of the crime should be searched in the society where economic, social, cultural and political relations interact, rather than urbanization which is just a part of social transformation process. Therefore, it should be regarded as a part of wider structure of social, political and economic organization, not as element that stands outside these structures. As such, no one policy or one program will provide the complete solution, and crime requires multiple approaches at all levels of society.

Prevention of crime covers a wide range of activities (Glaser, 1970). For example rapid apprehension is a stronger deterrent than apprehension long after the crime has been committed (Witte, 1996). Looking behind symptoms to treat the causes of

community problems is a strategy. Thus, first of all, research on the causes of crime should be made, than the measures should be taken. It should be also stated that the most important thing in detecting and preventing crime is neighborhood-based crime prevention programs that should be developed in an effort to localize prevention and to give residents a role to play in maintaining the safety and well-being of their neighborhoods. Local community development strategies that attempt to reduce various risks or provide additional sources of protection through promotion of human, physical or social capital in local areas will be other essential attempt (Fitzpatrick and LaGory, 2000).

As stated above, in crime prevention, there must be multi-strategy, multi-agency and multi-disciplinary approach and a coordinated response at the local level in accordance with an integrated and comprehensive crime prevention action plan. This naturally requires integrative model of interaction of city administration, police management and civil society (Evans, 1992).

Relevant actors who should take part in the crime prevention are central administration and its regional institutions, local administration and the other local political decision makers, the private sector, non-governmental organizations, police and other criminal justice professionals, social service agencies, mass media, universities and individual citizens too. All of these actors must become involved in planning and executing in the criminal justice system (Glaser, 1970). Encouraging a broad multi-disciplinary participation and inter-agency co-operation so as to promote crime prevention initiatives of the international, national and local levels is the must condition of any crime prevention strategy.

Truthfully, crime could not be controlled by the institutions of criminal system alone. Every institution and person has a responsibility to fight crime and prevent criminal victimization (McClain, 2001). Especially the existence of local authorities is very important because of urban crime prevention cannot be separated from urban policies and cities need different actions in terms of local conditions. Thus, policies should be neighborhood, community or problem oriented rather than state (Silberman, 1978). Moreover, community or space oriented policing which is

peculiar to place will cause people feel safer and neighborhoods can improve. Integrating crime prevention into urban government priorities and tailor to local needs and conditions are the other parts of this type of policies. Truly, effective response to the problem of crime may depend on its integration with rather than abstraction from general themes in urban management. As stated above, reduction strategies cannot be divorced from social urban policies. There should be policies in which crime prevention was set within the context of urban regeneration in connection with all levels of society would provide a mechanism for reducing crime levels and fear of crime among urban residents (Hester and Eglin, 1992).

Undoubtly, municipalities have an important place in crime prevention. Because of they are the most appropriate bodies to secure participation due to their daily face to face interaction with the inhabitants in a settlement they may meet the common needs of the local people and satisfy them in line with the public welfare principle. The existence of them with real responsibilities can also provide an administration which is both effective and close to the citizen. Moreover, they may defend the principles of local services by local organs, transparency, participation and the pluralism in the framework of common benefit.

It should be known that social progress can only be fostered by a gradual renewal of the existing building stock which also respects the existing social milieu. Therefore, urban planning projects should be increased. For this reason, developing physical and social environments inhospitable to crime is also important. Planning agencies for planning improvements in criminal administration and encouraging their implementation should be established in terms of developing the habitat or housing environment.

Moreover, Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) which is a set of practices and procedures that address the design of public spaces to reduce the opportunity for crime may be useful (Witte, 1996). In addition, civil participation and procedures of social assistance have been made obligatory. Unfortunately, full effective, coordinated and participative planning cannot be stated in today's Turkey. Human dimension has not been taken into consideration



in the preparation and the approval of the plans. Thus, to improve the consultation and the active participation of the inhabitants of all planning processes that concern the neighborhood is another vital point (Evans, 1992).

The police force has also an important place in crime prevention. So, police in neighborhoods firstly should interact with residents in their daily lives. They should attend community meetings or oversee social, cultural and sports activities. Neighborhood residents will be more likely to cooperate with officers who are a part of and concerned about the community. Thus, the purpose will be to make the police less an occupation force and more a participant in the community (McClain, 2001). For this reason, encouraging appropriate training and information to support all professionals involved in crime prevention is very significant too. Therefore, more regular use of seminars, conferences and institutes to train the police, judges and prosecutors will be useful and they are indispensable for police in terms of higher levels of knowledge, expertise, modernization, initiative and integrity at the level of law enforcement (Glaser, 1970). Other emphasis of the police should be a new viewpoint about social prejudices and punishments, beside crime and guilty, they should increase the knowledge about the phenomenon of crime more than crime and criminal. Moreover, there is a need about an approach to draw attention and sensitivity to victims of crime, rather than being concerned only with those who undertake criminal acts (Patel, 2000).

Crime prevention should also be linked with economy. Up to now, there has been massive and well publicized expenditure on crime control and law enforcement and this did not give a result. In addition, it can be said that no program can be expensive as criminal justice systems' cost of dealing with crime (Weisburd, 1998). So, crime should be attacked by spending more money on social and economic problems so that relative costs of education and imprisonment certainly suggest that reallocation of resources from imprisonment to education and training is worthwhile (Witte, 1996).

It should be stated that local administrations should have urban investment, beside social and development expenditures. Resources should be directed towards

culture, associations, recreation and education. Concrete projects to fight poverty and new employment opportunities must be enlarged and young people provided with more effective vocational training and individual job counselling (Glaser, 1970). Therefore, it is very important to link crime prevention with economic development and improve economic opportunities for the disadvantaged. These are necessary factors needed to control crime (Witte, 1996). Moreover, urban regeneration in connection with business partnerships would provide a mechanism for reducing crime levels and the fear of crime among urban residents. In many cities, this is associated with the growth of surveillance techniques (McClain, 2001).

Some social policies can also reduce the crime rate. Among social policies efforts to provide meaningful activities to young males by preventive and supportive programs are particularly important because of directing to young children who has a considerable place in crime prevention strategies (Witte, 1996). Thus, to combat and prevent the development of behaviour among urban youth requires programs which are based on the public health approach to urban crime (McClain, 2001). An effective attack on the youth crime problem in cities may involve the criminal justice system only as a backup (Weisburd, 1998).

It is very important to keep young people busy doing something legal that interests and engages them by improving leisure and recreational opportunities in the areas of high youth crime. Local governments should have programs designed to keep young people occupied. These programs should encourage young children to join sports, arts or counselling groups. So policies should emphasis on programs which target and provide activities for youth (Hester and Eglin, 1992). Youth training centers or youth clubs which provide a place for young people to meet, discuss and resolve problems associated with employment, vocational training, finance, job placement, recreation programs and counselling are very required (McClain, 2001; Glaser, 1970). There are some types of workings in Ankara that can be used as a model. In the district of Altındağ, there is a youth center and a children club which have been set up by the metropolitan municipality directed towards to the young population. In these places, various educational, social, cultural and sports

activities are organized. Other positive working of the municipality is the BELMEK Project which aims to improve the occupational possibilities of especially young people by training them with professional courses.

Research suggest that good job, good education and structured social activities can lower the level of crime among the young (Witte, 1996). So, ensuring access to adequate educational, training and employment opportunities for all young people is essential (Hagan, 1985). Intensive work at-risk youth and families by family support initiatives, organized community activities, and better educational and economic opportunities may provide a more effective front-line attack. For example educating the youth about the effects and consequences of violence and providing safe extracurricular activities for them are obligatory (McClain, 2001).

Crime prevention should deal with the combination of physical and social issues which are at the heart of many community problems, and it should require active involvement by community residents. Truly, full participation in vested interests in society would be the most potent vaccine to the problem of crime. Lessening inequality in the society through full employment legislation, providing greater access to quality education, health and housing services to the citizens would attack to root causes of crime. In short, these solutions get at the heart of social justice and ensure social cohesion (Evans, 1992).

By raising awareness of rights and how to exercise them effectively and giving an active role to the community by promoting welfare and health development and progress, and by combating all forms of social deprivation by eliminating social conditions closely associated with crime in terms of community development (Hester and Elgin, 1992). New activating methods of participation or neighborhood initiatives like councils, municipalities should have duty in terms of bridging the gap between local citizens, businesses and initiatives on the one hand and the different branches of administration on the other (Silberman, 1978). Local councils may control the relationships between state and communities. These locally elected councils should be given responsibility for social equality and management of resources in terms of enhancing a sense of sustainability and coherence among

local population, and mobilizing residents for crime prevention efforts. Therefore, people may regulate and regard their settlement areas and participate to the decision making processes and meet other individuals and groups in spite of the cultural, economical or ethnical differences. All of these will cause a city which works for social, economic and cultural integration (Patel, 2000).

Moreover, municipalities should give equal service to the citizens, so nobody feels himself as spatially segregated or socially deprived. They feel themselves as participating to social life and possibility of affecting it. Because criminal justice should win the respect and co-operation of all citizens. Thus, local involvement in the framework of promoting civil responsibility is important.

In conclusion, it should be doubtlessly mentioned that full integration to urban culture and social urbanization of the people who live in disadvantageous neighborhoods like Hıdırlıktepe depends on the reducing the official and unofficial segregation practices in the cities. This is also the only way to decrease crime levels and create safer cities to live where the Pax Urbana is achieved.

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