The Relationship between Migration and Crime in Istanbul, Turkey: Social Organization and Social Support in Practice

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Abstract: This paper examines the relationship between migration and crime. According to social disorganization theory, there is no direct link between migration and crime. Crime rates increase due to the negative environment where the newcomers reside. This research aims to test this proposition. The findings indicate that social disorganization in Istanbul is different than social disorganization in the United States, as depicted by the scholars of this theory: Istanbul has several city centers, which is absent in the US. Crime is generally committed in commerce, business areas as well as in the old Istanbul neighborhoods. These areas are also extremely heterogeneous in terms of culture and ethnicity. Also, people who have access to social support after migration are less likely to commit crime. This research employs face-to-face interviews and quantitative data from Turkish Statistical Institute to provide support for the core arguments.

Keywords: migration, immigration, crime, Social Disorganization and Social Support Theories, Push and Pull Factors, Turkey, Istanbul, Kurds, forced migration, PKK

Özet: Bu araştırma göç ve suç arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. Sosyal düzensizlik teorisine göre, göç ve suç arasında direk bir bağ bulunmamaktadır. Suç oranları göçmenlerin taşındıkları bölgelerin negatif özelliklerinden dolayı artmaktadır. Amacımız bu hipotezi test etmektir. Bulgular İstanbul'daki sosyal düzensizliğin, Amerika'nınkinden farklı olduğunu gösteriyor. Amerika'dan farklı olarak, İstanbul'da çok sayıda şehir merkezi bulunmaktadır. Suç, genellikle, ticaret ve is bölgeleri ile insanların kültürel ve etnik olarak heterojen yaşadıkları *Eski-İstanbul* mahallelerinde işlenmektedir. Göçten sonra, maddi ya da manevi destek alan insanların suç isleme potansiyelleri daha düşüktür. Bu araştırmadaki argümanlar, yüz-yüze görüşmeler ile Türkiye İstatistikler Kurumu sayısal verileri üzerine inşa edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: göç, suç, Sosyal Düzensizlik ve Sosyal Destek Teorileri, Çeken ve İten Faktörler, Türkiye, İstanbul, Kürtler, zorunlu göç, PKK

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Introduction

The main goal of this paper is to examine the relationship between mass migration and increasing crime rates in Turkey, specifically in the context of Istanbul. The focus is primarily on urban to urban, and rural to urban migration patterns. Previous research dealing with migration patterns and crime in major urban centers indicates that crime rates increase dramatically after a period of mass migration. However, the reason behind this is not clear. Therefore, this paper will try to find an answer for this puzzle, examining the Turkish context. This research suggests that the negative environment in migrants' neighborhoods identified with social disorganization and the lack of social support contributes greatly to increasing crime rates in Turkey.

This study aims at establishing a connection between increasing crime rates and mass migration in Turkey, Istanbul by using social disorganization and social support theories, interviews, and descriptive data from the Turkish Statistical Institute. Even though there are numerous studies on migration in Turkey, only a few of them focus on the relationship between migration and crime. For this reason, the relationship between crime and migration can be explored better through international literature and theories, such as social disorganization. In reviewing different countries' literature and using the social disorganization and social support theories, a strong platform for this study is established. Furthermore, the Turkish case will illuminate some aspects of this relationship, which are absent in the international literature due to country specific reasons. The hope is that this study will contribute to existing international research and promote a new direction for research on migration-crime relations in Turkey.

Theory

The paper uses two theories, social disorganization and social support theories, to illuminate the variance in crime rates in different places after migration. Social disorganization theory was first introduced by Shaw and McKay in 1942. According to these scholars, in the areas where crime rates are low, there is a relative uniformity,

universality, and consistency of traditional values. These areas are identified with middle and upper socioeconomic status. On the other hand, in high crime rate areas, which are also identified with lower class socioeconomic indicators, there are competing and conflicting moral value systems. Youths growing up in such environments can not adequately differentiate the right from the wrong. Within these conditions, youths, through socialization with delinquent juveniles, adopt some delinquent behaviors. Therefore, juveniles in such areas are more prone to committing crime (Shaw and McKay, 1942). Furthermore, Shaw and McKay argued that the high move-in and move-out rates are positively related to the crime rates.

In the following decades, there have been crucial contributions to this theory. For example, Sampson and Groves (1989), testing the validity of social disorganization theory, found that low economic status, family disruption, high-level ethnic heterogeneity, and residential mobility lead to social disorganization. Lowenkamp, Cullen, and Pratt (2003), replicating Sampson and Groves' (1989) study, found that the lack of local friendship networks, supervision by peer groups, and the lack of participation in local organizations emerge after mass migration movements, contributing to the increasing crime rates.

Yirmibesoglu and Ergun (2007) examined whether the increase in crime rates in Istanbul can be explained by social disorganization theory or not. After denoting the high crime areas in Istanbul, they measured the distance between these neighborhoods (townships) and the city center. As a result, they found that Istanbul, a city with multiple city centers, had a distinct form of social disorganization. The historical city centers, economically active areas, had higher crime rates compared to the other areas. Yirmibesoglu and Ergun (2007) suggest that in Eminonu, Beyoglu, Sisli, Besiktas, Fatih, Uskudar, Bakirkoy, Kadikoy townships, famous for being the centers of trade and housing, in the Kartal, Umraniye townships that are industry and housing centers, and in Sariyer, Buyuk Cekmece, and Sile which are housing areas and close to industry centers, crime rates are the highest (see figure I for the map). Going toward outer city districts, crime rates decrease in Istanbul. One of the important points to notice is that the historical city centers, which are also the centers of commerce, the most vibrant areas of Istanbul, attract migrants from very different cultural backgrounds. As Shaw and McKay (1942)

indicate, there are competing conventional values where youths grow up in a space of in-betweens in city centers, impacting their character development negatively and contributing to the increase in crime rates. In the following sections, this topic will be discussed comprehensively.

Another theory that is employed to explain the variance in crime rates is the social support theory. According to Cullen (1994), individuals, receiving social support, are less likely to commit crime. Such individuals learn how to be socially supportive in their life course. People, not receiving social support, are more likely to seek illegal ways to reach their goals. Colvin et al. (2002) points out that the children who grow up in a coercive environment are more likely to use coercive methods. On the other hand, children, growing up in a socially supportive environment, become more productive in their social environments. Social support theory is tested by the aforementioned authors and their findings support the validity of their theory. This research also shows that socially supportive areas are more cohesive and peaceful compared to the other areas.

Figure I: Istanbul's Townships Map

In the following section, the paper will delve into the relationship between crime rates and mass migration. In Turkey, mass migration movement is followed by an increase in crime rates. This study aims to explain how such mass migration in Turkey

leaves a wake of social disorganization, which is followed by an increase in crime rates. The paper will also indicate how socially supportive environment favors a peaceful and cohesive environment, examining Istanbul-Turkey.

Methodology

The study is based on face-to-face interviews, previous research, as well as descriptive data from the Turkish Statistical Institute. Interviews were conducted during March 2008 in Istanbul. People who were interviewed were migrants who moved to Istanbul at different time periods in the last five decades. The interviews were conducted with a convenience sample that includes experts, migrants, and professionals. They were asked a series of questions dealing with migrants' SES, living conditions, previous living location, reason of migration, time of migration, social networks, educational background, as well as familial characteristics. The interviewees ranged in age (18-60). Descriptive data such as urbanization growth rates, forced internal migration rates, overall migration rates, and origin cities of forced internal migrants were collected from the Turkish Statistical Institute. Although the original purpose of this paper was to make a robust quantitative research, the lack of relevant data made it impossible. Therefore, the paper took the best advantage of the available resources to empower the explanations.

A Historical Perspective

Throughout the history (since 1920), Turkey has faced two major migration waves. The first internal migration started in early 1950s to mid 1980s mostly due to economic reasons. This migration was from underdeveloped rural to industrialized urban areas. The goal of migrants in this wave was to find better jobs to improve their living conditions, contributing to the economic development, since it contributed to finding human power necessary for the growing industry (Celik, 2005; Cankaya). Growing job market in the industrialized cities attracted the mass attention from all over the country, contributing to the further migration from various ethnic and cultural groups (Koseli, 2006).

Chart 1: The Urbanization Rates of Turkey since 1960

1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
31.92 %	38.45 %	43.91 %	59.01 %	64.90 %

Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI)

Beginning from the late 1980s to the present, Turkey has experienced its second migration movement. Migrants of these movement manifested different characteristics in terms of the reason of migration, such as forced-migration or willing migration. The pattern was both rural to urban and urban to urban migration in all regions in Turkey, increasing the urbanization rates dramatically (Isir, Tokdemir, Kucuker, & Dulger, 2007). According to Ortiz (1998) push factors relating to one's place of origin and pull factors relating to the new destination cause one to migrate. Push factors move people to seek better living conditions: for instance, wars, conflicts, poverty, unemployment, lack of economic sources, lack of educational and health opportunities are a few examples of push factors. On the other hand, pull factors attract people to migrate to other places: for instance, better health and educational opportunities, job opportunities, and a peaceful environment are a few factors that attract people (Lee, 1996). In Turkish case, main push factors included political violence due to the activities of the armed-Kurdish group, the PKK (Simsek, 2006), rapid increase of population, the use of technology by farmers in agriculture fields, and some other minor factors; the major pull factors included an increase in job opportunities in the industrialized cities, particularly Istanbul, and the presence of better educational and health opportunities in the urban areas (Hanci, Akcicek, Aktas, Batuk, Coskunol, and Erol, 1996). However, the most crucial factors were the conflict between the PKK and the Military and economic underdevelopment of the regions, especially where Kurds constituted the majority.

People who migrated to the western regions did not find the environment they expected. When they arrived at their new destinations, they faced a substantial amount of problems, such as acculturation, joblessness, homelessness, security, and the inability of continuing their education (Balcioglu, 2001). Migrants who faced these problems fall into

a state of hopelessness, strain, and anomie, pushing them into the criminal activities (Balcioglu, 2001).

Migration and Crime Relationship in İstanbul

There were substantial differences between the migration conditions of the willing and forced migrants whose villages were evacuated by the governmental forces due to the activities of the PKK. Willing migrants, using their relative networks during the migration process, had a more organized migration process. This facilitated their integration into the mainstream community. On the contrary, the forced migrants had a very disorganized, sudden, and painful migration process (Aker, Ayata, Ozeren, Buran, and Bay, 2002). Most of them lacked relative networks since they had no time to go to a city to find a job to bring their families, as the previous migrants. Therefore, they experienced a wide range of problems, such as joblessness and housing. Thus, forced migrants are in the high risk group in terms of criminal activity. The story of a forced-migrant illustrates such migrants' situation very well:

> I first moved to Sirnak. which is a strange place for us from our village ... I bought a field in order to built a house, and then we built a simple two roomed house that would meet our urgent needs … we applied for the aid because of the fact that our village that we had a store in it was burnt by them … However, they did not provide us with financial aid … we had some relatives in Sirnak. Nevertheless, they were very poor, so they could only meet their needs with the money they earned. Therefore, we did not receive any financial aid from anyone … When I moved to Sirnak, neither I had a job, nor did I have an occupation or skill … I went to Adana for a seasonal job to collect tomatoes in the agricultural field. However, we finished job in the middle of the summer, so I became jobless again. I had only one thing to do: to go to Istanbul to my brother with the expectation of finding a job. Since then, I have been staying in Istanbul with no job or occupation.

People who were forced to migrate to other cities left not only their houses, but also their economic resources, cultural environments, and traditions (Pazarlioglu, 2005). Due to the

sudden evacuation, they could not sell their homes, stores, or agricultural fields. Therefore, after moving to the cities, they found themselves uneducated, unskilled, and poor (Celik, 2005), making them very prone to victimization.

> I have two daughters. They both stay at home: one of them, after primary education, wanted to continue her education. However, because of the economic difficulties, I could not send her to school ... It would be very nice, if I were able to go back to my village, establish a job, and rebuild my destroyed house … However, we even do not have money to buy a bus ticket to go home.

Figure II: Turkey's Map
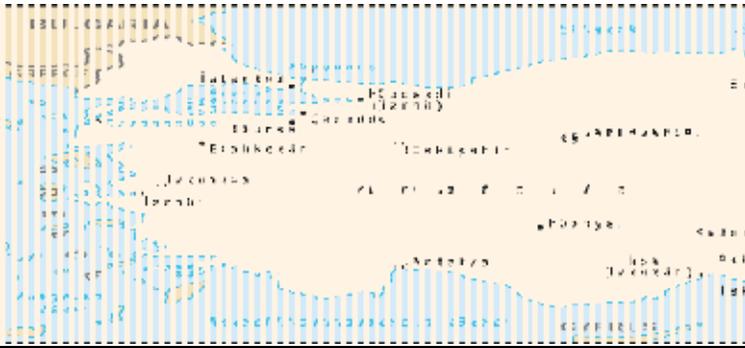
Chart 2: The Population of Istanbul since 1960

1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
1,466,535	2,132,407	2,772,708	7,620,241	11,803,468

Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI)

Social support plays a crucial role in prevention of crime and the integration of migrants to the mainstream society (Cullen, 1994). The lack of social support was another important point that made the life of forced-migrants more difficult in Istanbul.

People who migrated to Istanbul due to economic reasons, particularly in the first migration wave, had informal social support resources. They sometimes went to their hometowns and visited their relatives. By doing so, they received both emotional and instrumental social support (Unalan, 2005). However, the case was different for the forced migrants. They did not have a source of social support due to the lack of relatives in their evacuated home-towns. This hardened their situation, making them more prone to the criminal activities.

Networks and Migration

People who migrated to Istanbul, in general, used two methods: *hemsehri* networks (people sharing a common geography and for this reason having very strong ties) and the other ways. One of the best options for the migrants is to move to the places where they have relatives. This is due to that the migrants' relatives helped them find jobs and housing, and supported them after migration both financially and emotionally (Karpat, 2004). Nevertheless, some migrants, particularly in the second wave, lacked the *hemsehri* networks. Therefore, they had to rely on resources available to them. Although some of the willing migrants subjected to this situation, it was particularly the forced-migrants who lacked the *hemsehri* networks as well as the social support.

People who moved to Istanbul can be categorized into two general groups based on their neighborhoods and these neighborhoods' relation to criminal involvement. These are *gecekondu* neighborhoods where people from the same ethnic and geographical origin live and inner-city neighborhoods or old-Istanbul neighborhoods, showing ethnically very heterogeneous characteristic. While in the first one, the crime rates are very low, the second one has high rates of crime.

Chart 3: The differences and similarities between internally forced and willing migrations

Willing Migrants	Internally Forced Migrants
* Major push factors: terrorism, economic difficulties, and unequal opportunities in terms of governmental services including education, health, and transportation. * Very organized migration process * Before migration they go to the destination cities to find a job, and then they bring their families. * Relative networks * Social support in the origin place * Generally live in gecekondu houses * They live in a socially supportive and secure environment, which is identified with low crime rates, so they are in low risk group.	* Push factors: Terrorism and the government * Unorganized migration process * No time to go to a city find a job and then bring the rest of the family * Some have relative networks, but most of them do not. * Lack of social support both in the origin place and in the future destination * Some move to newly established gecekondu neighborhoods, some of them move to historical city centers which are business and commerce centers, which are ethnically and culturally diverse, high crime areas. * They are in the high risk group due to the economic and social problems they face in their new environment.

A- Gecekondu Neighborhoods

Gecekondu neighborhoods emerged in Turkey beginning from 1960s, when migrants moved to Istanbul due to economic reasons. These first migrants established a relative network, and then called their relatives to move to their neighborhoods, resulting in the emergence of the gecekondu neighborhoods. The literal meaning of gecekondu is "built over night" (in the Turkish language the word "gece" means night and "kondu" means constructed). "It refers to the informal habitation that must be constructed before the authorities arrive"(Lossifidis, 2007: 5).

Although there are many characteristics of gecekondu houses, the most common features of gecekondu areas are these: 1- they are generally established in metropolitan areas in developing countries, 2- gecekondu houses are made from collected and low quality materials and established in a very short period of time, and 3- these houses do

not possess most of the urban infrastructures (Yalcintas and Erbas, 2003). In these areas, transportation and communication services are inadequate. These houses are constructed by migrants, who come from rural areas. Gecekondu represents a transition from rural life to urban life (Yalcintas and Erbas, 2003; Karpat, 2004). They also represent a cultural difference and segregation in the urban areas, and they are the centers of informal economic activity (Yalcintas and Erbas, 2003; Karpat, 2004). All these characteristics indicate that gecekondu areas are created as a result of self-survival efforts, and there exist informal (unauthorized) economic activities in these areas (Yalcintas and Erbas, 2003; Karpat, 2004).

Gecekondu neighborhoods can be categorized into three groups based on socio-economic characteristics and migrants criminal involvements: old gecekondu neighborhoods (generally the ones that are established by the first migrant beginning from early 1960s), new gecekondu neighborhoods (established starting from the late 1980s after the second migration wave), and gecekondu neighborhoods where the majority of people consist of people from the Eastern regions of Turkey and with Kurdish cultural and ethnic back grounds. Each of the type has developed distinct features in terms of criminal involvement of their members.

1-Old Gecekondu Neighborhoods (OGN)

Old gecekondu neighborhoods are those having over twenty-five year history in Istanbul. People who moved to Istanbul between 1960 and late 1980s established their businesses and become rich over time (Yalcintas and Erbas, 2003). They also maintained their cultural values, lifestyles, and traditions. Therefore, old gecekondu areas are identified with social support, positive neighborhood relationships, social control, traditional, conservative, and religious values, and middle-class districts, contributing to the security and low crime rates in these neighborhoods. Gaziosmanpasa Township which is an old gecekondu district in Istanbul is a good example for such districts. A Kurdish woman who recently moved to Gaziosmanpasa expresses very positive feelings about her neighborhood.

> We feel safe in the neighborhood ... We do not have relatives around us… Most of our neighbors are house owners; people know each other here. We are the poorest family in the neighborhood … We have good relationships with our neighbors.

Another migrant who lives in Istinye, one of the old and periphery gecekondu neighborhoods of Istanbul declares:

> My parents came from the Black Sea area around 30 years ago. We live in Istinye with our relatives and *hemsehris* around us. Our relatives had been residing there before us, and they arranged the place we reside in, before my parents came to Istanbul … We built a five floors house in Istinye… We do not have any crime problem at all in our neighborhood… If somebody try to do something wrong, we all show a negative reaction and warn him. Also, if there is somebody who is very poor or unable to work, we help him in the neighborhood. For me, it is the safest area in Istanbul; everybody knows each other there.

Some gecekondu areas consist of people from different ethnicities and religious sects, such as Alevis and Sunnis (Karpat, 2004). Despite the cohesive characteristics of the gecekondu neighborhoods, some ethnically and culturally heterogeneous gecekondu areas have been in the risk group in terms of crime.

2-New Gecekondu Neighborhoods (NGN)

While the old gecekondu areas are identified as middle class, cohesive third generation migrants' districts, the new gecekondu areas established beginning from late 1980s are identified by poverty, joblessness, and inequalities in terms of governmental services and economic opportunities. However, new gecekondu neighborhoods also share most of the features of the old gecekondu neighborhood: People maintain their cultures; they are socially supportive (informal); they have good neighborhood relationships; and they are from the same ethnic, cultural, or geographical backgrounds. All these characteristics of these areas contribute to the formation of a safe, cohesive and socially

supportive environment. Moreover, in gecekondu neighborhoods, including both the old and the new ones, shaming factor plays a crucial role in keeping people away from crime. The new gecekondu districts are in a disadvantaged position compared to the old gecekondu neighborhoods. Therefore, people who live in these districts have a higher likelihood of committing crime. The newly established gecekondu areas do not receive the same level of health and educational services that the old gecekondu areas receive. Also, the residents of the new gecekondu areas are mostly from the first generation, and their houses are illegally built, receiving no amnesty. The newcomers also face economic and acculturation problems. Taking these factors into consideration, it can be said that the residents of newly established neighborhoods are more likely to be involved in delinquencies than that of the old gecekondu areas.

However, the positive characteristics of the gecekondu neighborhoods, such as social control and shaming factor, discourage the criminal activities in these areas. People use historical districts of Istanbul, trade and business centers and where they are not recognized, for their criminal activities. The claims of the deputy governor of Istanbul strongly support this situation.

> Based on my experiences in my previous governorship in Ankara, I can say that criminals do not commit crime in their own neighborhood where people know each other … Shame factor is an influential variable that deters people from committing crime in his or her neighborhood.

Although there is no evidence that can support these claims, a research conducted in Izmir, very similar to Istanbul in terms of its socio-economic characteristics and its relationship with migration and crime, supports the aforementioned arguments. Hanci (1995), examining 3327 cases from Izmir juvenile court and investigating the districts where they live, found that 1.9% of the children who committed crime were homeless; 23.8% of the juveniles were from these three groups: Juveniles who live in reformatories, juveniles who live out of Izmir (in towns or villages), and the other juveniles; 74.3% of juveniles were from gecekondu districts of Izmir.

Hanci (1999) suggests that unpractical, unhealthy, and unorganized aspects of gecekondu houses affect youths negatively, pushing them into criminal activities. Migrant families, living in these houses are generally overcrowded. Since these houses are very small, the family members have to sleep in the same room. Therefore, children witness adults' sexual relationship at very early ages. This situation causes early sexual exposure in children, increasing their motivations toward delinquency (Hanci, 1999). Moreover, it is important to realize that the migrants' some children commit crime in city centers in Izmir, far from their neighborhoods. These findings are in accordance with the situation in Istanbul due to the similarities in terms of migration and crime relationship and their socio-economic features.

Children grew up in a coercive environment are more likely to use coercive methods in their social relations with others, and similarly children raised in a socially supportive environment become a productive member of the society (Colvin et al., 2002). Due to economic difficulties, children of migrant families are forced into workforce and not allowed to continue their education by their parents. The working places of the migrant children are dangerous streets, where they learn toughness and solving the problems with coercion, pushing them into the illegal activities (Hanci, 1999). This situation is identical for nearly all children of the second wave migrants.

In short, people who live in the newly established outer city neighborhoods are generally decent people who practice their traditions and maintain cultural values. However, the problems they face, such as economic and educational problems and problems related to inequalities in governmental services and discrimination push some members of these communities into crime.

3-Kurdish Gecekondu Neighborhoods (KGN)

As explained above, after migration, by using relative networks, many people from same cultural and geographical backgrounds move to the same neighborhoods in Istanbul. Therefore, these people create neighborhoods which basically consist of people from the same ethnicity or cultural backgrounds, such as Kurdish neighborhood. There are both old and new forms of these neighborhoods. These neighborhoods also reflects

the characteristics of the aforementioned two other neighborhoods in terms of neighbor relationship, social support, social control, shaming factor, low crime rates, and maintaining the cultural and religious values. However, people who cannot commit crime because of the shaming factor and social control in these neighborhoods go to the central districts of Istanbul to commit crime.

The societal (i.e., the forced migration) and political problems and developments (i.e., discussions on Kurdish cultural rights, their relatives economic problems back home, and European propaganda on human rights pointing out Kurds) that occurred in the last decade in Turkey caused an ethnical and cultural awareness among Kurds living in these neighborhoods (Teymur and Smith, 2008). However, The PKK, which is identified as Kurdish Marxist-Leninist armed group, started to take advantage of this new environment.

The new environment was very fertile for the PKK's activities. People, due to the economic crisis, were jobless. They were also angry, since some Kurds were forced to migrate as a result of the pressure from the military to evacuate their villages, falling into desperate poverty in their new destinations. Furthermore, some children of the migrants in the last wave (both forced and willing) could not continue their education (Hanci, 1995). The new-comers, especially the forced ones, could not receive adequate social support, and find proper housing to live in with their children (Hanci, 1995). As a result, the last wave migrants had to also struggle against poverty, ignorance, inequalities and discrimination aside from the other economic and social problems the other migrants faced.

In this new difficult environment, in order to expand its influence, the PKK tried to contact the migrants, especially the ones in immediate economic needs, and to provide them with social support (Teymur and Smith, 2008). To reach the new-comers, the PKK used arguments that were oriented around social injustice and economical inequalities, which attracted the attention of many newcomers' youths (Teymur and Smith, 2008). Due to the problems in the new environment, some of the migrants, especially the young ones, started to work with the PKK. As a result, many people who migrated or were forced to migrate because of the PKK, found themselves in a situation, where they needed mercy, even from the PKK (Teymur and Smith, 2008). The important point to

realize is that most of these people did not support or like the PKK when they were in their villages. However, the difficult conditions of their new destinations did not leave any better option for their children, except cooperating with the PKK.

People who received the social support from the PKK, which is an illegal organization, were forced to do illegal activities in turn, which contributed to the increasing crime rates. However, this crime type was not simply individual crimes against property or some other individuals, it was organized crime which was monitored by the PKK and included a huge range of crimes, such as drug dealing, pick pocketing, and killings, contributing greatly to the PKK's budget and increasing its influence over the migrants (Teymur and Smith, 2008).

To sum up, after many years of migration, in Istanbul, ethnically homogeneous (Kurdish) gecekondu districts emerged. People who live in these places are generally decent people who maintain their traditional lifestyles. However, the political and societal developments as well as the socioeconomic problems that some Kurdish origin migrants have encountered forced them into dangerous environments and illegal activities.

B) Inner City or Old Istanbul Neighborhoods and Their Relations to Crime

Inner city neighborhoods (ICN) are in the historical part of Istanbul. These places are identified with ethnic heterogeneity, cultural diversity, relatively low social support, social control, and lack of shaming factor. These districts are also active business and commerce centers characterized with high crime rates. Since these neighborhoods are central business and commerce centers, crimes are the result of the environment emerging from the activities of the daily population of the ICN, where the criminals find an appropriate atmosphere to function. These places are also identified with a state of social disorganization by some Turkish scholars like Yirmibesoglu and Ergun (2007).

In their research, Yirmibesoglu and Ergun (2007) claimed that Istanbul is subjected to a new form of social disorganization. There are multiple city centers, which are encircled with multiple layers. Crime rates show a decreasing trend going toward outer circles. Moreover, the aforementioned gecekondu neighborhoods (GN) are low crime areas, since they were located in the outer-circles/outer-city areas. Yirmibesoglu

and Ergun (2007) found that in Eminonu, Beyoglu, Sisli, Besiktas, Fatih, Uskudar, Bakirkoy, Kadikoy townships, famous for being the centers of trade and housing, in the Kartal, Umraniye townships that are industry and housing centers, and in Sariyer, Buyuk Cekmece, and Sile which are housing areas and close to industry centers, crime rates are the highest (See Figure I for the map). Going toward outer city districts, crime rates decrease in Istanbul.

One of the neighborhoods which are located in inner-city/historical-city areas, Tarlabasi, is identified with highest crime rates. This neighborhood is in one of the historical township of Istanbul, Beyoglu. This township is one of the most active trade and housing centers. There is a huge move-in and move-out rate and a high crime rates in this township, especially in Tarlabasi neighborhood. Not to mention the lack of social support, social control, neighborhood relationships, unsupervised peer groups and their negative influence on other kids, and economic deprivation of residence of this neighborhood. The remarks of the governor of Tarlabasi neighborhood display the situation of the neighborhood very well:

> Almost 6000 people live in Tarlabasi in the part that I govern, and most of them are poor. The unemployment rates are very high. Families are over crowded: many families from Kurdish origin have 6 or 10 children. They cannot supervise their children properly and they cannot educate their children as well. Also, these families are uneducated. Because of these reasons, property crimes such as theft and burglary rates are very high in the neighborhood. However, crime problem is mainly economic here. Also, they can not control their children. Thus, kids on the street meet delinquent kids and become delinquents.

It is a fact that environment has a substantial effect on people's behavior. However, the most important factor that influences children's behavior is their families. If the parents are well educated, then probably their children will be well educated too. If there are some convicted members in the family, the young members of this family have a higher likelihood of committing crime according to research. (Isir, Tokdemir, Kucuker, and Dulger, 2007) If the family is poor, uneducated, and lack the ability of supervising

their children, in neighborhoods like Tarlabasi, kids are more likely to find the delinquent ones and be influenced negatively, which pushes them into criminal activities. There is a huge range of crime in Tarlabasi, but the most visible one is drug dealing and crime against property, which are widespread among youths. A forced migrant who lives in Tarlabasi points out the negative features of the neighborhood adding that:

> Tarlabasi is a very bad place. You can find every kind of evil thing in it... Joblessness, health related difficulties and problems, and the bad neighborhood conditions are the most frightening: you can find wounding, drug smuggling, stealing, and many other similar crimes in this neighborhood. I am afraid of my children to be victimized. As you know, my son is in jail now… We do not have any neighborhood relationship with each other. We do not know each other... We have nine members in the family, but only my oldest son works. I could not find a job because I do not have any skill.

Ethnic heterogeneity is mentioned as one of the factors that increase crime rates in Sampson and Grove's (1989) study. In ethnically and cultural diverse environment, people lack a common culture and mutual trust. Tarlabasi homes many different ethnicities and cultures.

 People do not trust each other and they lack good neighborhood relationships. The governor of Tarlabasi to emphasize the role of racial heterogeneity in emerging problems says that:

Chart 4: A Typology of Neighborhoods in Istanbul based on their Features in terms of Crime

OGN	NGN	KGN	ICN
* Established beginning from the early 1960s.	* Established beginning from the late 1980s.	* This type might be either old or new gecekondu neighborhoods.	* Historical city centers, which are also business and money centers
*Residents have amnesty of their houses.	* Some have amnesty, but most of them do not.	* Reflects both the features of old and new GN in terms of Amnesty.	*Ethnic heterogeneity
*Characterized by both formal and informal social support, social control, good neighborhood relationships, and the presence of shaming factor and traditional religious values.	* Characterized by strong informal social support, weak formal social support, social control, good neighborhood relationships, the presence of shaming, and traditional religious values.	* Characterized by social support, social control, good neighborhood relationships, the presence of shaming, and traditional religious values.	*Lack of social support, social control, and shaming factor
		* Low crime rates in KGN, but some residents are increasingly involved in crime in city centers in cooperation with the PKK, which is also related to ethnical sensibilities and awareness.	* Unsupervised peer groups, negative peer pressure
* Provided with a good level of governmental services related to infrastructure,	* Very low crime rates in NGN.	* Ethnical and cultural awareness due to the factors like internally forced migration, European human rights propaganda addressing Kurdish rights, and other societal and political developments in Turkey.	* High rates of move in and move out rates
	* Inadequate governmental services related to infrastructure, health, education, and transportation. Negative features of gecekondu houses	* Especially the young, the	* Poverty
			* Educational problems
			* Many vacant buildings
			* High rates of

health, education, and transportation.	forces some people into crime.	second generation, and forced migrants are in the high risk group.	crime
* Very low crime rates.	* Young people are in the high risk group.	* Educational and economic problems and problems related to living conditions of migrants, etc. in the NGN, force people into criminal activities.	* Property crimes, drug dealing, pick-pocketing as the most widespread crime types
*Economically in a good shape (middle class)	* Crime is committed in the city centers.		* Committed by a group of people spread among the daily visitors of these districts
	* Low income, poverty	* Reflects the features of both old and new GN in terms of Economy.	

Some people have been living there for a long time, such as Roma people (Gypsies), and some came relatively recently such as people from Siirt (a city of southeastern Turkey that is predominantly Kurdish). Also, there are some people from Black Sea region. These people usually live on the same streets in the neighborhood with their close relatives. There are also relatively new comers from different areas of Turkey and African immigrants scattered in the neighborhood. Sometimes, Roman people and Kurdish people experience problems with each other in the neighborhood.

To sum up, there is a state of social disorganization in Istanbul. In historical city centers, which are active business and commerce centers and visited by overall population of Istanbul crime rates are very high. However, crime rates are low in outer city gecekondu neighborhoods. (See Chart 4 in p, 13)

Conclusions

Even though there are many reasons for migration in Turkey, the most important reasons have been economic reasons, the activities of the PKK, security issues, which originate from the tension between the PKK and Turkish military. Social disorganization and social support theories are employed to explain the increasing crime rates in Istanbul after migration movements.

In Turkey, two kinds of migration, which are willing and forced migrations, are seen. While willing migration is originated from economic and other reasons including terrorism, the use of high technology in the agricultural field, natural disasters, the opportunities of the cities, etc., forced migration originates from the tension between PKK and the governmental forces.

People who migrated to big cities moved to neighborhoods where they have relatives. Therefore, gecekondu neighborhoods emerged. In this neighborhoods crime rates are very low depending on shame factor that originates from social support and social control mechanisms in the neighborhood. However, some of the residents of these neighborhoods commit crime in the city centers, which are also economic centers, in the places where nobody recognize them.

Most people migrate to other places in order to escape from the PKK or from economic difficulties. However, in their new environment, they face poverty and inequality. The PKK and some criminal groups take advantage of the negative conditions of the new environment. As a result, the people who migrate because of the economic problems and terrorism are faced with these two problems, plus other security related problems, such as organized crime groups in turn.

City centers have the highest crime rates. However, all of these crimes are not committed by people who reside in these neighborhoods. They are committed by a small

group of people living in different districts of Istanbul. Nevertheless, migrants who live in these inner city neighborhoods, such as Tarlabasi in Istanbul, are more likely to commit crime because of the pressures of the environment that they live in (there is no social support and no social control in these neighborhoods).

Overall, migrants in their new environments face a number of problems such as housing, educational, cultural adoption, and economic problems. All these factors affect migrants negatively. However, the group that includes second generation and young migrants is mostly affected from migration and its consequences. Therefore, they are in a high-risk group in terms of crime.

Research shows that familial factors such as education level of the family, the economic situation of the family, the presence of convicted member in the family, etc. have an important role in their members' criminality (Isir et al., 2007). The more negative aspects a family have, it is more likely for a child, growing up in that family, to be involved in delinquencies. The case is the same in Turkey.

The lack of social support in the new environment and the presence of the coercion in the places of origin for migrants seem to be important factors in increasing crime rates. Considering the coercive environment that originates from the PKK in the places of origin, it would be more meaningful to say that individuals who are forced to migrate are more suitable to commit crime and to be the target of the crime.

Because the domestic migration movement is a new phenomenon in Turkey, there are a few studies on it. However, all these studies have common findings in that migration, poverty, terrorism, violence, ethnic heterogeneity, the lack of local culture, the lack of health and education services, inequalities, the lack of social support and social control, the difficulties of adopting to a new environment and culture, and the negative futures of families (such as families with convicted members, families with low education level, and families in poverty) all increase the criminal motivation of people, especially juveniles who are in the process of character developments.

Chart 5

Push-Pull Factors → Migration to Istanbul → Social Disorganization and lack of Social Support→ a Rapid
Increase in Crime Rates

Push-Pull Factors	Migration to	Social Disorganization	Crime Rates
* Economic reasons * Terrorism * The Governmental replacement * Some other minor reasons, like increase in the population of rural areas, the use of high technology in agricultural field, etc.	*To OGN (Old gecekondu neighborhoods). * To NGN (New Gecekondu Neighborhoods) * KGN (Kurdish gecekondu neighborhoods) * To ICN (inner city neighborhoods)	* Economic problems, inequalities and discrimination in NGN, KGN in outer city. * The PKK's activities, economic prob., inequalities and discrimination in KGN. * lack of social support, social control, shaming factor, and almost no neighborhood relationships. Ethnically very heterogeneous, unsupervised peer groups, negative peer pressure, big families, parents with low education, high move-in and move out-rates, poverty, economic deprivation in ICN	* In OGN (outer city): almost no crime problem * In NGN (outer city): very low crime rates, but some members commit crime against property in historical city centers * In KGN (outer city): very low crime rates but some members increasingly commit organized crime and crime against property in the historical city centers. * In ICN: very high crime rates, especially crime against property including pick-pocketing, stealing, drug dealing, etc. and organized crime

Strengths and Weaknesses

The lack of adequate quantitative data made it necessary to conduct a field
research in Istanbul on the migration-crime relationship. Field analysis and interviews
with experts, professionals, and migrants helped understand the real nature of the

problem. As a result, the problems caused by data limitations were diminished to the minimum levels. The hope is that this study will promote new research and provide scholars with valuable findings and theories from international literature.

The significance of this project was due to the fact that social disorganization and social support theories were carried out in this research. The initial idea was that if the stated assumptions and applied theories that were previously introduced to meet the American culture and experience work for Turkey, then they could be generalized to other counties with similar cultural and law background. In this research, I had to reformulate some aspects of this theory to explain the Turkish case. The framework that I developed in this research is partly a product of this endeavor. The hope is that this framework will make a humble contribution to the development of this field of research in Turkey.

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