

## Tez Özeti

Dilek Çelik, “Ergenlik Dönemindeki Suç Davranışlarında Algılanan Öncüller ve İlişkili Düşünce Biçimleri”

Bu çalışmanın temel hedefi, ergenlerin suça yönelik davranışlarda bulunmalarına ve de bunun sonucu yasayla itilafa düşmelerine neden olan faktörlerin kendi algılarından neler olduğunu araştırmaktır. Çalışmaya yasayla itilafa düşmüş ve gasp suçundan dolayı yakalanmış 11 ergen katılmıştır. Veriler yüz yüze derinlemesine görüşme yapılarak toplanmıştır. Çalışmanın sonucunda suça karışan ergenlerin gelişimsel süreçleri boyunca deneyimlerine anlamlar atfettikleri ve suç teşkil eden davranışlarıyla bağlantılı özgün düşünce biçimleri geliştirdikleri gözlenmiştir. Antisosyal davranışlarını normalleştirme, düşük sorumluluk duygusu, mağdurla empati kuramama ve güç yönelimi özgün düşünce biçimleriyle ilintili olarak ortaya çıkan konular arasında yer almaktadır. Bunun yanı sıra, erken dönemde yaşlıları tarafından dışlanma, suça karışan arkadaşlar grupları içerisinde yer alma, okulu bırakma, babaların sert disiplin uygulaması, ebebeynlerin düşük denetimi, anne baba arasındaki tutarsızlıklar, ailedeki alternatif sosyal destek ağının kaybı ve sosyal dışlanmışlık gibi çeşitli risk faktörlerinin de bu gibi özgün düşünce biçimlerinin şekillenmesinde rol oynadığı gözlemlenmiştir.

## Thesis Abstract

### Dilek Çelik, “Perceived Antecedents and Criminal Thinking Patterns in Adolescent Criminal Offenses”

The main objective of the present study is to explore the adolescents’ own perceptions of the factors that led them to act in delinquent ways and to be in conflict with the law as a result. The target group of the study consists of eleven adolescents who had been in conflict with the law and detained due to property offenses, mainly mugging.

Data was collected in the context of a face-to-face in-depth interview and analyzed using grounded theory (Strauss, & Corbin, 1998). It was observed that the adolescents were not passive throughout their development but they were constantly attributing meaning to their experiences and developing specific kinds of thinking patterns related to their offensive behaviors. Normalization of their antisocial behaviors, decreased sense of responsibility, diminished level of empathy for the victims and power orientation were among the emerging themes related to their thinking patterns. Besides, various risk factors such as early peer rejection, deviant peer affiliations, dropping out of school, harsh paternal discipline, low monitoring of the parents, inconsistent parenting strategies among parents, loss of alternative social support in the family environment and neighborhood disadvantages were observed to contribute to the criminal thinking patterns of adolescents throughout their development.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The etiological factors, affecting the delinquent and criminal behaviors, have been one of the core interest areas of researchers from multiple disciplines such as psychology, sociology and criminology. One of the main distinctions in the literature has been made between adult criminal involvement and juvenile criminal involvement. The main objective of the present study is to explore the risk factors related to the development of antisocial behaviors. The investigation of the risk factors affecting the juvenile criminal involvement is important for developing effective intervention strategies.

Studies showed that there are mainly two different paths in the development of criminal involvement and antisocial behavior; life-time persistent antisocial involvement which is more likely to result in severe problematic behaviors and arrests, and adolescence limited antisocial involvement which is milder in form and more likely to diminish after adolescence period (Moffitt, 1993). The present study focuses on the life-time persistent antisocial involvement and how several risk factors integrate with each other and leads adolescent to act offensively.

There had been a numerous theoretical approaches and empirical findings about the risk and protective factors for antisocial behavior. Some of the risk factors are biological predisposition such as genetic transmission, neurological dysfunctioning, impulsivity, emotional and cognitive abnormalities; problems in family environment and relationships such as single-parent households, parental criminal involvement, parental psychopathology and abuse, communication problems within the family, low parental monitoring and low level of maternal care as well as community variables such as

poverty, race, social exclusion and disorganization. In addition to the risk factors, there are also protective factors such as school attachment, warmth in family atmosphere, effective adult supervision and supportive social network in neighborhood for those who are prone to develop conduct problems. All of these risk and protective factors will be examined in depth in this study but in order to understand the development of antisocial behavior, there is a need for integrative understanding of how these diverse predictors operate together through the development.

### Developmental Model for Explaining Conduct Disorder and Juvenile Delinquency

In the developmental taxonomy model, Moffitt (1993) identified two qualitatively distinct types of trajectories in antisocial behavior; life-course-persistent antisocial behavior and adolescence-limited antisocial behavior, within developmental taxonomy model. There are some main differences in two types of antisocial behavior.

Adolescence-limited trajectories of antisocial behavior are temporary. Adolescence-limited delinquent behaviors have a late onset; occur by the developmental shift to adolescence and are more likely to be predicted by developmental shift in social environment, especially school environment and deviant peer affiliation. Severity of the delinquent behaviors is low. They are less likely to result in severe criminal acts. In cases when those antisocial behaviors lead to criminal offence, they are more likely to be property offenses and the recidivism rates are significantly lower. On the other hand, life-course persistent adolescents manifest chronic antisocial conduct problems though the time. Their proportion in the arrest and criminal statistics are nonlinear. That is to say, the

recidivism rates are significantly high among life-course persistent antisocial children. Their offending behaviors are more likely to include violent components. It has an early onset, beginning from childhood since the root of chronic antisocial behavior was thought to be in biological predispositions which interact with other risk factors such as parenting practices and peer relationships in the amplification of the problem. Moffitt (1993) identified the trajectories of life-course persistent antisocial behavior as pathological while adolescence-limited trajectories as normative characteristic of the developmental phase the individual is in.

Other studies also supported Moffitt's model (1993) that life-time persisters begin antisocial acts around 6-7 years old and lasting through the adolescence and adulthood; and these behaviors are stable (Coie, 1996; Stanger, Achenbach, & Verhulst, 1997). However, adolescence-limited antisocial behaviors begin during adolescence and continue to decline through adulthood (Coie, 1996; Stanger, Achenbach, & Verhulst, 1997, Tolman, & Gorman-Smith, 2002).

Other researchers also tested whether age is an important determining factor in the delinquency trajectories in their longitudinal studies (Bartusch, Lynam, Moffitt, & Silva, 1997). They assessed several risk factors between the ages of 5 and 18 with 2 year intervals. The results provided consistent support for the developmental theory, showing that separate latent factors underlie childhood and adolescent antisocial behavior. Childhood antisocial behavior was found to be more strongly associated with low verbal ability, hyperactive behavior and negative/impulsive personality style, whereas adolescence antisocial behavior was more strongly related to peer delinquency. In addition, they also supported the idea that childhood antisocial behavior was significantly

more strongly associated with committing of violent offenses, whereas adolescent antisocial behavior was significantly more strongly associated with committing of nonviolent offenses. Similarly, McCabe, Hough, Wood, and Yeh (2001) supported the Moffitt's model in the sense that familial and individual factors were more strongly related with childhood onset conduct problems while exposure to peers is more strongly related to adolescent onset conduct problems. Individuals with childhood onset conduct problems are more likely to commit violent and victim oriented offenses than individuals with adolescent onset conduct problems.

Moffitt (1993) mentioned that the distinction in the developmental trajectories of antisocial trajectories can serve a powerful organizing function on the causes of crime. That is to say, for person whose criminal behavior is just reflection of a continuous lifelong antisocial course, the theoretical explanations of the causes of offense should take its' roots from early childhood biological, neurological, temperamental and behavioral problems and the continuity in those children's troubled lives in interaction with environment up to adolescence. On the other hand, for those whose criminal activities are specific to adolescence period, the causal factors may be proximal and relatively more specific to the characteristics of the developmental phase that the adolescence is in and to socio-relational problems. It should be kept in mind that arrest statistics and court convictions merely reflect the tip of the deviance iceberg. Actual rates of illegal behavior maybe even higher during adolescence.

In their review, Dodge and Pettit (2003) mainly focused on the chronic antisocial conduct problems and excluded the trajectories of the single-time offenders which are thought to be highly context specific. The differentiation between the trajectories of

chronic antisocial problems and time and context specific antisocial problems is similar to the formulation of Moffitt's (1993) developmental taxonomy model.

Identification of individual risk and protective components is not sufficient in understanding the developmental process. What is necessary to know is how those components interact with each other. The developmental models posit that emergence of delinquent and antisocial behavior can be described by identifying the reciprocal influence among biological predispositions, social contexts, family and peer processes. Dodge and Pettit (2003) claimed that, in order to understand the developmental process of conduct problems, it is necessary to understand how distal factors such as biological predispositions and social context relate to lifetime experiences in family and peer groups through the development and eventuate in delinquent acts through more proximal processes such as social-cognitive and emotional reactions. Dodge and Pettit (2003) mentioned that some children are born into a certain kind of sociocultural context and with certain biological predispositions which may put them at higher risk for the development of conduct problems. Such biological predispositions and sociocultural contexts are identified as distal risk factors. According to Dodge and Pettit (2003), those distal risk factors moderate the effect of family and peer processes through the development. On the other hand, parental and peer experiences mediate the effects of distal risk factors across time for the development of antisocial conduct problems and delinquency. The mediating effect of parental and peer relations also differs according to the developmental point of the child.

What is more, the interaction between these components is not bidirectional at the outset. The influences become reciprocal over time. Through these reciprocal

interactions, the effects of risk components are amplified. Dodge and Pettit (2003) mentioned that the onset of adolescence is an important shift point in antisocial development because it brings changes in biological predispositions as well as access to broader neighborhood influences and different patterns of peer and family relationships.

#### Biological Predispositions and Individual Characteristics as a Risk Factor

For those who have a persistent pattern in their antisocial involvement, researchers look for its roots early in life: individual differences in genetic predispositions, neuropsychological functioning and temperamental characteristics.

#### Genetic Correlates

Twin studies and adoption studies for the development of conduct behaviors reveal that there is a high heritability effect with varied shared environment effect, and familial resemblance of antisocial disorder is also found to be high (Eley, Lichtenstein, & Moffitt, 2003), especially for those who exhibit life-time persistent antisocial problems (Moffitt, 1993, Moffit, & Caspi, 2002 cited in Eley et al., 2003).

#### Neuropsychological Factors

There are also various empirical studies examining the effects of differences in neuropsychological functioning on the emergence of antisocial problems. For instance, the disturbance in the central serotonergic system as a result the diminished central serotonin level and oversensitivity of postsynaptic receptors as well as abnormalities in HPA axis functioning have an association with the childhood aggressive and impulsive behaviors (Halperin, Schulz, Mckay, Sharma, & Newcorn, 2003; Snoek, Goozen, Matthys, Sigling, Koppeschaar, Westenberg, & Engeland, 2002) by altering the



physiological activity, executive and cognitive functioning of the children (Goozen, & Fairchild, 2006).

It was argued that the left hemisphere dysfunction, leading to verbal deficits, have an important role in the development of the antisocial disorder (Gibson, Piquero, & Tibbetts, 2001). Bartusch, Lynam, Moffitt, and Silva (1997) also found that low verbal abilities, hyperactive behavior and negative/impulsive personality style have a strong differentiating effect for the developmental trajectories of life-time persistent antisocial behaviors.

On the other hand, other studies showed that the right hemisphere dysfunction leads to spatial cognitive deficits, which beginning in childhood has an important place in the etiology of antisocial disorder; whereas the left brain dysfunction shows itself during the late adolescence when it is combined with family adversities (Raine, Yaralian, Reynolds, Venables, & Mednick, 2002). Some of the longitudinal studies supported the idea that spatial deficits that are related to right hemisphere dysfunction are apparent even in the first years of life and can strongly influence affect recognition, withdrawal system, pain perception and response inhibition systems whereas the verbal gap between the normal and antisocial children increases with age (Raine et al., 2002; Toupin, Dery, Pauze, Mercier, & Fortin, 2000). The difference between these children in verbal skills, related to left hemisphere dysfunction, can be seen during adolescence but not during childhood (Raine et al., 2002; Toupin et al., 2000).

#### Comorbidity of Other Psychological Problems

In addition, other researchers found that approximately, 40% of the juvenile offenders were diagnosed with learning disabilities (Zabel, & Nigro, 2000; cited in

Alltucker, Bullis, Close, & Yovanoff, 2006). The high comorbidity rates of early conduct problems and ADHD is also supported by Lahey, Waldman, and McBurnett (1999). Similarly, Schaeffer, Petras, Ialongo, Poduska, and Kellam (2003) also mentioned that teacher rated concentration problems were higher among boys with a chronic trajectories of conduct problems. Nagin and Tremblay (2003) mentioned that other biologically disposed psychopathological problems such as learning disabilities and ADHD may have an indirect effect on the development of antisocial behavior by amplifying the effect of environmental adversities such as negative peer relationships and school experiences as well as parenting processes.

#### Comorbidity with Drug Use

Significant efforts have been made to describe key elements of maladaptive developmental systems to identify risk factors for the onset of multiple problem behaviors, ecological factors that maintain these multiple problems, and their acceleration and stabilization during adolescence. For instance, Haggerty, Wells, Jenson, Catalano, & Hawkins (1989) indicated that serious and persistent delinquency and the frequent use of illicit drugs emerge from common etiological roots. In their study conducted with 315 arrested adolescents, Dembo and Schmeidler (2003) also found that adolescents were experiencing overlapping delinquency, alcohol/ other drug use, and emotional and psychological problems.

Welte, Barnes, Hoffman, Wieczorek, & Zhang (2005) conducted a study with male adolescents aged between 16 and 19 in order to investigate the influence of substance involvement on the trajectory of delinquency. Adolescents were interviewed three times at 18-month intervals. It was found that for the adolescents with increased

delinquency over time, alcohol involvement determined the starting point of their delinquency. However, drug involvement was not predictive at this early stage. In addition, findings showed that individuals who used more substances also committed more crimes. More interestingly, adolescents tend to be more involved with substances around the same time in their lives when they are committing more offenses. Similarly, Barnes, Welte and Hoffman (2002) stated that the relationship between alcohol use and both delinquency and illicit drug use were stronger for younger adolescents than older adolescents.

In addition, Mackesy-Amiti and Fendrich (1999) conducted a study in order to evaluate whether there is an effect of drug type on delinquency and criminal behavior. In other words, they investigated the differential effect of inhalant use among other drugs. The measures of problem behavior included “trouble behavior” which consists of school related problems such as truancy and suspension and troubled family relations; and the minor criminal acts consisted of property offenses and vandalism. The results showed that inhalant users reported more minor criminal activity and trouble behavior than other drug users.

On the other hand, some other researchers claimed that there is a more intimate connection between substance involvement and crime than merely that the same personality traits predict both maladaptive outcomes. Not only are some adolescents more prone to problem behavior than others, but some periods in adolescents lives are more prone to problem behavior than others (Welte et al.2005). For instance, substance involvement may lead to crime, for example, by reducing self-control. Although it is difficult to determine the direction of causal relationship between drug use and deviation

and conclude that taking drugs affected the commission of crime from Farrow and French's findings (1986), the adolescents who are drug users in their study had a common perception that there is a discreet association between drug use and criminal acts.

Tubman, Gil, and Wagner (2004) investigated the differential trajectories of adolescents who had a co-patterning of substance abuse and delinquency. The participants were middle school students who were assessed 3 times with one year intervals in between. The results revealed that among adolescents reporting both substance use and delinquent behavior, mean levels of each indicator of substance use or delinquency were significantly higher than those among adolescents reporting either substance use or delinquency and the magnitude of the mean differences in substance use and delinquency increased over time. Dembo, Wareham, and Schmeidler (2007) also examined the continuity of self-reported heavy alcohol and marijuana use and delinquency among adolescents. In their latent growth model analyses in a sample of justice-involved adolescents, the researchers found that delinquency exacerbated substance use over time. In another study conducted with juvenile offenders, persistent delinquent behavior and concurrent substance abuse significantly predicted recidivism among delinquent adolescents and patterns of continued offending (Randall, Henggeler, Pickrel, & Brondino, 1999).

White, Tice, Loeber, and Stouthamer (2002) investigated the proximal effects of alcohol and drug use on offenses committed by adolescents. The results of the study showed that participants who reported to be under the influence of alcohol or other drugs were more likely to be on trial from committing offenses against persons than general

theft. Alcohol use, rather than marijuana use, was more related to commission of violent offenses. Those who reported committing illegal acts under the influence reported committing offenses in company of others and being arrested more often than those who did not.

### Temperamental Characteristics and Personality Variables

Richter, Krecklow, and Eisemann (2002) mentioned that temperamental traits such as harm avoidance and novelty seeking as well as the character trait self-directedness which is thought to be constructed during development are significantly associated with adolescence delinquency. Chapple (2005) found that there is a significant direct effect of low self-control on childhood peer rejection and association with deviant peers which in turn predicted the delinquent behavior during adolescence. Another individual characteristic which is associated with delinquency was impulsivity. However, there are inconsistent findings about the moderator variables that affect the association between impulsivity and delinquency. Vazsonyi, Cleveland and Wiebe (2006) mentioned that individual's personality characteristics such as impulsivity, low ego resilience, inability to delay gratification, low self-control and impulse control may predispose individuals to behave in criminal ways and the relation between impulsivity and deviance is found to be independent of neighborhood disadvantages. On the other hand, the developmental model emphasized that there is a constant process of reciprocal interaction between personal traits and environmental reactions to them. As supporting evidence, Lynam, Caspi, Moffitt, Wikström, Loeber, and Novak (2000) found that the effect of impulsivity on juvenile offending is stronger in poorer neighborhoods. In addition to moderating effect of neighborhood variables, the effect of low self control on

delinquency was found to be mediated by association with deviant peers and adaptation to deviant values (Baron, 2003).

Some of the personality variables were also found to be good predictors for discriminating the life-course persistent offenders from adolescent-limited offenders. Donnellan, Ge, and Wenk (2002) examined the effect of personality variables of juvenile offenders on their criminal trajectories. It was found that early starters whose first offence was before the age of 15 scored lower in conforming behavior, concern for other's impressions, responsibility, self-control, norm following, acceptance of others, concerned with other's impressions, interest in intellectual matters and was less likely to succeed in unstructured settings compared to those whose first offence was after the age of 15. That is to say, there is a strong correlation between personality variables and age of onset of offending. In their review, Lahey, Waldman, and McBurnett (1999) also mentioned that oppositional temperament, low level of harm avoidance and callousness which was identified as low level of empathy and concern for others, diminished level of guilt, dampened level of some emotions are also associated with early onset conduct problems.

#### Moral and Emotional Development

In addition to temperamental and personality correlates, some researchers investigated whether there are differences in moral and emotional development of children who are prone to develop antisocial behavior. Results of the studies, some of those mentioned above, showed that there are differences in the moral and emotional development of delinquent adolescences but understanding the mechanisms through

which these developmental variables affected the delinquency is a bit more complicated and those variables have high interaction with environmental and family variables.

Fornycy, Crutsinger, and Fornycy (2006) mentioned that individual variables such as self-respect, self-acceptance and morality that are assumed to have a significant effect on the development of antisocial behavior during adolescence are significantly determined by the quality of parent-child relationship. They found that when adolescences feel happy and comfortable while interacting with their parents and are able to act naturally around them, they had a higher level of self-respect and self-acceptance which in turn had significant contribution on the morality of juvenile delinquents. Palmer and Hollin (2001) also found that moral reasoning, which was found to play a role in delinquent acts of male adolescences, was associated with consistent disciplinary practices within the family.

In their study conducted with male youth offenders in probation system, Carr and Lutjemeier (2005) found that there is a relationship between facial affect recognition, empathy and delinquency. Specifically, youth who scored higher on self-reported delinquent behavior that included physical violence and theft were worse in accurately identifying the angry face expressions. The ability to identify fearful faces was also found to be associated with physical violence. In addition, there was a negative relationship between the ability to empathize with others and self-reported delinquency.

Zimmermann (2006) examined the relationship between alexithymia, family structure and delinquency in offender and non-offender male adolescents. Alexithymia, which was conceptualized as “no words for feelings”, included the difficulty in identifying emotions, difficulty in expressing emotions and externally oriented cognitive

style. The results revealed that alexithymia scores were significantly higher among offender adolescents than control adolescents. It was also found that offender adolescents are more likely to come from disrupted families. These findings were significant because many other studies about the etiology of alexithymia had also shown that adversities in family relationships strongly contributed to the development of alexithymia, which further increase the risk of delinquency as indicated in Zimmermann's study (2006).

Richter, Krecklow, and Eisemann (2002) conducted a cross cultural study about the relationship between personality characteristics and parental rearing practices among juvenile delinquents who had been in conflict with law and controls that had not been in conflict with law in Russia and Germany. Both Russian and German delinquents scored significantly higher in novelty seeking and harm avoidance and lower in self-directedness than controls. What is more, Russian and German delinquents reported less maternal warmth and more parental rejection than controls. Harm avoidance among delinquent adolescents was positively correlated with paternal rejection and negatively with parental emotional warmth. Rejected delinquents identified themselves as less reward dependent. Self-transcendence was high among delinquents and predicted by both parental rejection and overprotection. Those results are important in the sense that they show the bidirectional effect between parental rearing practices and adolescents' characteristics among juvenile delinquents. On the other hand, there are still need for further research to explore why youth who are higher in novelty seeking also scored higher in harm avoidance and why harm avoidant personality trait elicited parental rejection.



## Family Environment

Most of the developmental perspectives about early conduct problems emphasize that the predisposed characteristics turn into serious conduct problems as a result of continuing transactions between children and their environment (Moffitt, 1993; Shaw, Bell, & Gilliom, 2000; Lahey, Waldman, & McBurnett, 1999). In other words, “child acts, the environment reacts; and the child reacts back in mutually interlocking evocative interaction” (Caspi et al., 1987, p. 308 cited in Moffitt, 1993). In this part, the association between characteristics of family environment, parenting and delinquency will be evaluated.

## Family Structure

Some of the researchers claimed that criminal acts are higher among adolescences who are coming from single-parent households. For instance, McMackin, Morrissey, and Kaloupek (2000) found that 41% of the adolescent offenders in their study lived solely with their mothers. Paschall, Ringwalt, and Flewelling (2003) found that the effect of father absence on adolescents’ delinquent behavior is only significant in interaction with socioeconomic disadvantages. Other researchers also found that familial relationships are related to adolescents’ delinquent behavior in certain types of families (Matherne & Thomas, 2001). For instance, Matherne, and Thomas (2001) found that specific dimension of family cohesion, namely disengagement that is characterized by high independence and lack of closeness is significantly related with adolescents’ delinquent behavior only for those adolescents’ who have a nontraditional family type such as single-parent or reconstituted families but not for those who have an intact family structure.

### Parental Mental Health

First of all, it is noteworthy not to forget that, parents and children resemble each other on temperament and personality. Moffitt (1993) mentioned that cognitively and temperamentally disadvantaged children are disproportionately found in maltreated families that will not ameliorate but constitute an additional risk factor. Parents of children who have a difficult temperament often lack necessary coping skills and psychological resources to manage their children. At risk children are more likely to have an adverse home environment that may include low financial resources, parents with poor mental health and low intellectual capacities (Moffitt, 1993). Similarly, Lahey, Waldman, and McBurnett (1999) mentioned that youth who engage in high level of antisocial behavior are much more likely to have parents who also engage in chronic antisocial behavior due to genetic transmission of predisposed temperament. Meyer et al. (2000) conducted a study to explore the genetically and environmentally mediated psychopathological risks to antisocial behaviors and concluded that both shared environmental factors and latent effect of genes are significant in the development of conduct behaviors.

In addition to other contextual variables, parental mental health and criminal history is also found to be associated with youth offending. Shelton (2000 cited in Preski & Shelton, 2001) also stated that mother's mental illness and father's criminal behavior are risk factors for youth's criminal outcomes. McMackin, Morrissey, and Kaloupek (2000) also found that 61% of the adolescent offenders in their study had a family member who had been criminally involved. Blackson, Tarter, Loeber, Ammerman, and Windle (1996) found that paternal substance abuse and difficult temperament in fathers

influenced the family processes with sons' disengagement from family and conflictual interpersonal relationships within the family which in turn influenced the developmental trajectories of the adolescents' deviant peer affiliations.

### Parenting

The role of families in fostering the criminal behavior and delinquency among juveniles has also been widely researched area in criminology. Smith and Stern (1997) identified some of the aspects of parenting practices which had an impact on youth's criminal behavior as follows; parental management, parent-child affiliation, parent-child conflict and problem solving and child maltreatment. The researchers emphasized the different aspects of parenting processes in explaining its effect on delinquency. In addition, as it is previously mentioned in the conceptualization of developmental model different aspects of parenting gain significance in the different developmental stages. For instance, Wiesner, and Silbereisen (2003) found that low parental empathy was consistently associated with all levels of offending trajectories whereas low parental monitoring was found to be trajectory specific and had a greater effect for high-level offenders. These findings were consistent with the results of Perrin, Perry-Casler, Romeus, and Dejoy (2003). In their study, Perrin et al. (2003) investigated the effect of parental conflict history on different trajectories of delinquency development and found that incarcerated offenders were more likely to report poor relationship with their parents than nonincarcerated offenders.

Shaw, Bell and Gilliom (2000) mentioned that the quality of caregiving environment and maternal responsiveness, even during the age of 2, plays a significant role in the canalization of children's trajectories for the children who are temperamentally

prone to develop conduct problems. Richter, Krecklow, and Eisemann (2002) mentioned that the main childhood parenting correlates of later adolescents' delinquency are parental rejection and lack of emotional warmth during the early years. Palmer and Hollin (2001) also stated that physical punishment in parenting practices heightened the level of delinquency.

One of the most studied aspects of family interaction and delinquency is parental management strategies which include the parental monitoring, providing consistent discipline and setting rules for their children (Smith & Stern, 1997). According to Caldwell, Beutler, An Ross, and Clayton Silver (2006), parental monitoring was defined as the adolescent's perception of their parents' knowledge of their whereabouts, progress in school and social activities as well as peer relations. Vitoria, Brendgen, and Tremblay (2000) also found that low parental monitoring has a direct effect on adolescents' delinquent behaviors.

Paschall, Ringwalt, and Flewelling (2003) examined how different aspects of parenting have an effect on the adolescents' delinquent behavior. Their findings revealed that adolescents' delinquent behavior was associated with maternal monitoring and perceived maternal control over their sons but not associated with maternal communication and mother-son relations. It was consistent with Dodge and Pettit's (2003) developmental model that different aspects of parenting are effective at the different developmental level of the child is in and parental monitoring became more important in adolescent years. Caldwell, Beutler, An Ross and Clayton Silver (2006) examined the relationship between parental monitoring, self-esteem and delinquency among Mexican American adjudicated male adolescents and found that both low

maternal and paternal monitoring was significantly correlated with delinquency.

Although neither monitoring types were correlated with self-esteem, self-esteem was found to be positively correlated with delinquency.

In addition, early childhood behavioral problems may affect the parent's disciplinary strategies (Moffitt, 1993). Unfortunately, harsh discipline, low parental supervision and inconsistent parenting practices are highly common in the families of children who had early externalizing problems (Lahey, Waldman, & McBurnett, 1999). Other researcher also mentioned that parents, who have children with difficult temperament, are more likely to develop insecure attachment bonds. (Shaw, Bell, & Gilliom, 2000).

Smith and Stern (1997) specified that poor communication skills such as lack of supportive communication, defensive communication patterns, conversation domination, and lack of problem solving skills are related to delinquency. Family members are less likely to negotiate and more likely to behave aggressively to their children who are prone to behave in delinquent ways. Klein and Forehand (1997) examined the effect of maternal communication and problem solving skills during the mother-child conversation and its effect on later delinquency. The results indicated that maternal communication-problem solving skills at the age of 10 predicted severe delinquent acts of children which resulted in arrests and convictions 6 years later. It is also noteworthy that the predictive power of maternal communication-problem solving skills significantly increases when the maternal depressive mood scores and interparental conflict is high.

From another perspective, child maltreatment within the family is seen as the prominent factor for delinquent profiles. Child maltreatment is an extreme form of lack of

family affiliation, parental control as well as characterized by excessive conflict within the family. In other words, it is a matter of child abuse and neglect. The national statistics in United States showed that being a victim of abuse and neglect during childhood significantly increases the risk of later juvenile delinquency (Widow, 1992 cited in Preski & Shelton, 2001).

### Peer Relations

Reviews of arrest records and self-reports suggested that a majority of juvenile crimes are committed in the company of peers. As it was previously mentioned in Dodge and Pettit's (2003) developmental model deviant peer association is one of the most powerful proximal predictors for delinquent behavior during adolescence and its' effect is moderated with various individual, familial and neighborhood variables. Cattarello (2000) also mentioned that the effect of macro level variables such as social disorganization, poverty, ethnic heterogeneity, neighborhood disadvantages on delinquency is fully mediated by peer association. Pratt and Cullen's (2000 cited in Baron, 2003) meta-analytical study showed that deviant peer relations is a significant predictor of crime even after controlling for the effect of self-control.

There are two main theoretical perspectives about the effects of peer relation processes in delinquency and their corresponding points with developmental taxonomy perspective, one of which attributes a noncausal link between delinquency and peer relationships; selective processes and the other attributes a causal link; socialization processes.

### Selection Processes

In selection processes, the youth with similar behavioral tendencies are likely to reinforce each others common behavior and form associations. That is to say, delinquency or delinquent attitudes may precede the deviant associations (Reed & Rose, 1998). Fergusson, Swain-Campbell, and Horwood (2002) mentioned that selective explanation implies that the existing behavioral tendencies and relationship patterns of children predispose them to selectively associate with like minded peers. Moffitt (1993) mentioned that delinquent behaviors of life-course persistent children shift from being primarily an individual manner to a normative group social behavior during adolescence. They are more likely to affiliate selectively with antisocial others. Life-course persistent antisocial children are ignored and rejected by other children because of their unpredictable and aggressive behaviors. Fergusson, Woodward, and Horwood (1999) designed a structural equation model in order to examine the relationship between early peer relationship problems and later deviant peer affiliation. At first sight, the results showed that there was a moderate association between children's peer relationship problems in middle childhood (9 years old) and their subsequent risk of forming deviant peer affiliations in adolescence (15 years old). However, when the model was extended to include children's early conduct problems, peer relationship problems in middle childhood were no longer significantly related to adolescent's choice of deviant peers. Based on their model, researchers concluded that children's early conduct problem is a strong predictor of both early peer relationship problems and adolescent deviant peer involvement and nearly all of the association between early peer relationship problems and later deviant peer affiliation problems arose from the mediating effects of early conduct problems. Other researchers also examined the effect of early peer relationships

and rejection on adolescence deviant peer affiliations. Laird, Jordan, Dodge, Pettit, and Bates (2001) examined the effect of peer rejection in childhood and antisocial peer associations in adolescence in explaining the different developmental pathways of externalizing behavioral problems and found support for multiple pathways model in the development. According to their multiple pathway models, they found supporting evidence for Moffitt's (1993), life-time persistent and adolescence-limited differentiation. In addition, they displayed the role of early peer rejection and antisocial peer involvement in adolescence for both life-time persistent and adolescence-limited profiles. In another pathway, a third group of children were represented, who were classified high in externalizing problems during childhood but exhibited reduction in externalizing problems during adolescence. The differences in peer rejection level of children with high externalizing problems during childhood but not during adolescence provided evidence for the importance of early peer experiences in channeling of the behavioral problems in particular ways.

In their 18-year longitudinal study, Garnier and Stein (2002) found that delinquent peer affiliation is the strongest predictor of delinquent behavior during adolescence. However, affiliation with deviant peer was in turn predicted by early family adversities such as low SES and maternal drug abuse and the quality of peer relationships in childhood. Thus, the ones who were less socially competent during childhood were more likely to affiliate with delinquent peers during adolescence.

Within this process, the antisocial behavior of children are maintained and elaborated. The options for change are narrowed since they failed to learn prosocial alternatives to antisocial behavior.



Haynic and Osgood (2005) examined the contribution of peer relations to delinquency from two theoretical perspectives; socialization influence and opportunity. According to socialization theory, attitudes and behaviors of an individual are influenced by the others in socialization by peers in order to become similar to those of others in the group. According to this theory, interpersonal relationships are significant because they integrate individuals into normative communities. On the other hand, opportunity theory sees interpersonal relationships as important for structuring everyday life and shaping opportunities for different types of behavior. So socialization theorists propose that adolescents whose friends are more delinquent will engage in more delinquency themselves, even after the friendship selection processes controlled. The relationship of peer delinquency to adolescents' own delinquency will be stronger when the adolescents are more attached to those peers and when they spend more time with those peers. On the other hand, opportunity theorists proposed that peer delinquency had a strong effect on adolescents' delinquent behaviors but adolescents who spend more time in unstructured socialization with friends, away from authority figures, will engage in more delinquent act even after the peer delinquency is controlled. Haynic and Osgood's study was important because their data provided measures of peers' participation in delinquency based on peers' actual responses rather than children's perception of their friend's behavior as in the most of the studies and due to it's high sample size. The participants were consisted of 8.838 children between the ages of 7 and 12. Self-reported delinquency scales were used in the assessment of children's delinquent behavior. To measure social networks of the students, students were asked to nominate five of their male and five of their female friends. The peer delinquency was computed based on the social network

analysis. To control for selection effects, researchers took into account the factors that lead adolescents to choose a particular group of friends such as gender, race, age of the peer into account. In addition, parents' educational level, friend attachment, parental attachment, parental supervision, and unstructured socialization were the other variables that were assessed. The unstructured socialization was assessed by children's responses on how much time they spend with their target peers in leisure activities without the supervision of authority figure. The results supported both socialization and opportunity theories. That is, adolescents found to engage in higher rates of delinquency if they had highly delinquent friends. Socialization effect was more limited than it was indicated by previous studies since the relationship between children's delinquent behaviors and peer delinquency decreased; although still stay significant, when the peer selection effect was controlled. The effect of socialization was not found to be increased by being more closely attached to the delinquent friend or spending more time with delinquent friend. Researchers also found independent contribution of opportunity than the socialization processes. That is, adolescents who spend more time in unstructured socialization with friends found to engage in more delinquent act even after the peer delinquency is controlled. Parental variables were also found to be significantly correlated with delinquency but not as strong as peer delinquency.

Vitoria, Brendgen, and Tremblay (2000) found that the association between best friend's deviancy during early adolescence and later deviant behavior is moderated by adolescents' disruptiveness, attitudes towards delinquency and parental attachment during childhood. That is to say, for those who have an insecure attachment pattern towards their parents, scored higher on disruptiveness scale during childhood and who

have a positive attitude toward delinquency, the association between best friend's deviancy and later deviant behavior is stronger.

### Socialization processes

As opposed to selection processes, formation of affiliation with delinquent peers had a causal effect in delinquent behavior in socialization processes. There are number of mechanism by which deviant peer affiliation could have a socialization effect; such as imitation, social learning, reinforcement (Fergusson, Swain-Campbell, & Horwood, 2002).

Reed and Rose (1998) identified some of the key theoretical aspects that emphasized the different aspects of the socialization processes within the deviant peer network. In Sutherland's differential association theory (1947 cited in Reed & Rose, 1998), it was posited that the criminal behaviors are norms, attitudes, values learned in intimate face to face interaction and communication with deviant others. The deviant associations and attitudes precede the onset of delinquent behavior. In this perspective the duration, priority and intensity of the associations in peer network is the key elements that heightened the effect of deviant peer affiliations on delinquent behavior.

Similarly, social learning theory also stated that delinquent attitudes which are formed by deviant associations are the primary cause of criminal acts. However, the social learning theory also emphasized the meaning making processes of youth in addition to the duration, priority and intensity of the associations as in the differential association theory. In differential association and social learning perspectives, formation of delinquent attitudes is necessary for the deviant peer associations which result in delinquent behavior.

Yet other theoreticians emphasized the effect of social pressure. According to this model, the delinquent attitudes are not necessary for criminal behavior. The social group which the youth is within provides the impetus to deviate before the formation of crime favorable attitudes. In this sense, social pressure serves as a reinforcer.

In addition to selection and socialization processes, some of the theoreticians also claimed that there is a rationalization model which posits that the delinquent attitudes are formed after a norm or a law violation (Reed & Rose, 1998).

In order to examine which of those developmental pathways are more accurate in explaining the delinquent acts among youth, Reed and Rose (1998) conducted a 3 year follow up longitudinal study with 1,725 youths. They assessed how often during the 12 months the youth had stolen or tried to steal something worth more than \$50 and how often they had broken into building or vehicle in order to steal something in each 1 year intervals. At the same time, they have measured the delinquent associations and delinquent attitudes of youth at the end of each year. The results showed that the differential association, social learning and group pressure models are more favorable than social selection model. They did not find any support for rationalization processes. It is seen that social selection perspective is more likely to resemble the deviant peer affiliations of life-course delinquents while differential association and social learning models resemble the process in adolescence-limited youths.

According to developmental taxonomy model, one of the explanations for the effect of peer affiliation in the etiology of delinquency for youth whose behavioral problems are adolescence-limited is maturity gap hypothesis (Moffitt, 1993). According to this hypothesis, although adolescents are biologically capable of and interested in adult

behaviors and privileges such as independence, autonomous decision making and freedom, they are unable to possess those privileges due to normative values and restrictions of authority figures in their lives. For those adolescences, one of the possible solutions is imitating the behavior of their antisocial peers since life-course persistent youths suffer less from this maturity gap. Life styles of life-course persistent delinquents are more likely resemble adulthood. They are generally more sexually experienced, have more access to adult possessions such as cars, clothes, drugs and are more likely to enter adult only leisure settings. As a result, adolescent-limited youths regard life-course persistent delinquents as models in order to reach the adult privileges.

That is to say, three basic processes are significant in adolescence-limited youths to engage in delinquent acts; motivation, mimicry and reinforcement. Adolescents in the maturity gap who are motivated to reach the adult privileges mimic their life-time persistent antisocial peers delinquent behavior and the consequences of those behaviors, although negative, since they proximate adolescence to adult like life experiences. Moffitt (1993) also mentioned that delinquent peer network does not necessitate supportive friendship, intimacy; trust in order to mimicry of delinquent acts. It is more related to time-spent within the network. That is to say, the quantitative properties of the friendship processes are much more emphasized rather than qualitative properties.

This developmental and relatively normative process is also explains why those late starters desist from criminal acts. They gradually experience a loss of motivation for delinquency as they exit maturity gap, reach adult privileges and acting delinquently shift from being rewarding to punishing for them.

Rebellion (2006) examined whether delinquent acts of youth increases their social

desirability within the group and whether such social reinforcement if it exists increases the risk of further delinquent acts. The study was longitudinally designed and conducted when the youth are between the ages of 11 and 17. They assessed the youth's delinquent acts by self reports which included the items of theft and vandalism as well as the amount of time they spend time with their friend outside formal education and the importance of those socializing for youth. The results showed that increase in delinquency prompted increase in time socializing but that increase did not prompt further delinquency. It is also found that there is a significant association between delinquency and the importance of socializing processes for youth.

Patterson, Dishion and Yoerger (2000) examined the mechanism of deviant peer relationships. As in the previous studies, they also found that deviant peer involvement in early adolescence significantly predicted the development of antisocial behavior. What is more, they also suggested that the effect of early deviant peer involvement in the development of antisocial behavior is mediated by deviancy training constructs, such as amount of time spent with deviant peers, reinforcement for deviancy within the peer network and deviancy level of the peer network which explained the 53% of the variance in deviancy development during adolescence. Wiesner and Silbereisen (2003) also mentioned that high tolerance to deviance within the peer network is another mechanism that explains the contribution of peer relationships in all levels of offending trajectories whether it is high or low. In addition other researchers examined how deviancy related processes increased the deviancy involvement. Deviant talk in adolescent friendship that was defined as utterances that had antisocial or norm-breaking elements has been found to be significant process in explaining how deviant peer association is related to deviant

behavior. In their study, Dishion, Spracklen, Andrews and Patterson (1996 cited in Granic & Dishion, 2003) found that delinquent dyads responded positively to each other in response to deviant talk while nondelinquent dyads did not. Granic and Dishion (2003) also conducted a study with 102 high risk adolescents between the ages of 11 and 14 years old and their friends in order to examine the process of deviant talk. High risk adolescents participated in a problem solving session with their friends. The researchers coded the frequency of deviant talks as well as duration of each deviant talk during the problem solving session. The deviant talk process is identified as a reinforcing mechanism, namely attractor strength when there is an increase in deviant talk duration in each successive deviant talk bouts. The mean duration of deviant talk was significantly correlated with adolescents' deviancy and deviant peer association. Interestingly, duration of deviant talk was not correlated with deviant talk attractor strength and deviant talk attractor strength was not associated with initial level of delinquency and deviant peer affiliation. On the other hand, deviant talk attractor strength predicted the delinquency and authority conflict such as arrests three years later, even after controlling for prior problem behavior, family coercion and deviant peer association.

Based on their 21-year longitudinal study, Fergusson, Swain-Campbell and Horwood (2002) mentioned that there is an age-related variation in the strength of association with delinquent peer affiliation and delinquency, with the youth at the age of 14-15 showed greatest susceptibility to deviant peer affiliations. In addition, Fergusson, Swain-Campbell and Horwood (2002) also concluded that the presence of both selection processes and peer influences underlie the association between peer affiliation and delinquency.

### Sociocultural Context as a Risk Factor

Family as a system and peer relations are not in isolation from societal and contextual influences. It is important to understand the context in which those processes occur. Shaw and McKay (1969) also emphasized that social disorganization theory includes micro-level components in addition to those macro-level community components. That is to say, macro-level components, such as SES, residential stability, race influences delinquency not directly but indirectly, through altering the family environment and school relationships (cited in Cattarello, 2000). According to social disorganization perspective, the youth are more prone to behave in criminal ways and violate community norms where the developmental social context of the youth is disorganized and is unable to provide community support (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993 cited in Vazsonyi, Cleveland, & Wiebe, 2006). The contextual factors such as neighborhood disadvantages, poverty, residential instability and single parent families are some of those which are thought to have a negative effect on the collective efficacy. From the statistics of National British Crime Survey which included a large sample of youth who were older than 16 years old, Sampson and Groves (1989) found a supportive evidence for social disorganization theory. Schuck and Widow (2005) mentioned that criminal behaviors do not just simply occurs but rather develop out of interaction among individual tendencies, family characteristics, socialization experiences and social circumstances. From a broader ecological perspective, the concept of child maltreatment not only includes the children's' abusive developmental trajectories within a family dysfunctioning and parental psychopathology but also the effect of the community and



cultural conditions on the development of children (Pecore, Whittaker, Maluccio & Barth, 2000 cited in Ryan & Testa, 2005).

### Poverty

In their examination of community based survey, Aneshensel and Sucoff (1996) found that conduct problems and oppositional defiant behaviors are higher among children who are coming from low-SES neighborhoods. Smith and Stern (1997) also specified social isolation, parental depression, discrimination and racism as a potential risk factor for youth offending in addition to the contextual factors mentioned above. They also stated that economic hardship within the family does not only have a direct effect on youth offending but also had various indirect effects by effecting the parental monitoring skills, parental stress and increasing the inter-parental conflict.

Wikstrom and Loeber (2000) also found that socioeconomic disadvantages have a direct impact on late onset offending of adolescents who have a well-adjusted childhood and protective individual characteristics. However, they did not find any support for the greater effect of socioeconomic disadvantages on early onset starter.

### Race

Aneshensel and Sucoff (1996) found that conduct problems are higher in children who are coming from African-American neighborhood. McCabe, Hough, Wood, and Yeh (2001) also mentioned that ethnic minority status is a strong differentiating factor for childhood and adolescent onset conduct problems. Thus, children coming from ethnic minority status are more likely to act in antisocial ways, chronically. From an individual differences perspective, some theoreticians claimed that there are significant differences in verbal abilities of children between races which bring the differential biological

predispositions of antisocial development in mind. However, Bellair, and McNulty (2005) mentioned that that is not the case. In their study, they also found that there is a significant racial difference in adolescent delinquency and this difference among races is a result of socioeconomic disadvantages of the neighborhood context in which the black adolescents live in and the verbal ability difference between races emerges during adolescence years and is mediated by school context. In addition, Walker-Barnes and Mason (2001) mentioned that ethnicity and cultural differences had an effect on delinquency by altering the parental control strategies.

#### Community Level Maltreatment

Preski and Shelton (2001) examined which of the family characteristics and contextual variables predicts seriousness of crime committed by 60 youth in detention center. It is reported that 35% of the participants had been exposed to physical violence and 18% had been sexually abused. In addition, 67% of them had been exposed to at least one form of following violence; family violence, community violence, witnessing a peer getting shot. It was also found that participants who had been exposed to community violence and had a mother with mental illness were four times likely to commit more serious crimes.

Erwin, Newman, McMackin, Morrissey, and Kaloupek (2000) also examined the frequency of exposure to traumatic life events and malevolent environment among 51 male adolescent offenders. They found that 92% of the participants reported feeling unsafe in their environment and all of the participant have witnessed criminal activities. Approximately, half of the participants witnessed a use of guns and received a threat of murder which increased their need to carry weapons in their school and neighborhood.

Similarly, Luthar and Goldstein (2004) mentioned that children living in violent communities are at high risk for both internalizing and externalizing problems and level of community violence is higher in African American neighborhoods. Black adolescents are both more likely to be perpetrators and victims of violence. In addition, Luthar and Goldstein (2004) mentioned that positive family processes in the face of high community violence have a potential protective effect for children's psychopathological outcomes.

#### Residential Instability

Schuck and Widow (2005) mentioned that neighborhood instability was one of the strongest predictor of juvenile criminal behavior if children were exposed to a constant maltreatment and neighborhood disadvantage in those stable environments.

Studies showed that children who experience maltreatment are at higher risk of engaging in delinquent behavior. In many societies, children who were detected to be victimized within their families were separated from their families and placed into substitute care centers. However it is not clear whether those placement instability had a protective effect within those children's' developmental trajectory. Ryan and Testa (2005) conducted a study both to compare delinquency rates for maltreated and non-maltreated children and to determine whether or not substitute care placement and placement instability mediates the experience of maltreatment and delinquency. The data of all variables, delinquency rates, maltreatment and substitute care placement for each participant were gathered from population data and legal institutional records. The results showed that, on average, delinquency rates are 47% greater for maltreated children between the ages of 10 and 16. On the other hand, males but not females who were placed into substitute care due to maltreatment victimization within the family were

found to be at higher risk for delinquency compared to maltreated children who were not removed from their parental network. The researchers hypothesized that male adolescent entering the foster care system are poorly supervised and more likely to associate with deviant peers and placement instability creates an additional risk factor for delinquency.

### *Schooling*

In their 4-year follow up study during the adolescence period, Wiesner and Silbereisen (2003) found that not the initial level of low academic achievement but time-averaged level of low academic achievement was associated with offender trajectories. This finding is consistent with the assumption that, rather than assuming a causal effect of low academic achievement on subsequent offences, low academic achievement is a consequence of prior delinquent behavior, which in turn heightened the risk for further offences.

Brownfield and Thompson (2005) examined the effect of reflected appraisals by parents and peers on delinquency. They compared two theoretical perspectives; symbolic interactionist theory and social control theory. According to symbolic interactionist theory, individuals are affected by their own active processes as opposed to being passively affected by social forces. Social control theorists are more likely to interpret behavior as determined or caused by external factors, such as parental monitoring while symbolic interactionist theorists tend to believe that individuals actively construct their own identities within an interaction with others which in turn affect the behavior. Brownfield and Thompson (2005) hypothesized that measures symbolic interactionist theory measures such as reflected appraisals would be more strongly associated with delinquency than social control theory measures. Approximately 500 adolescents from a

public high school in Canada participated in the study. Adolescents' level of delinquency was measured by self-report delinquency scale adopted from Hirschi (1969 cited in Brownfield & Thompson, 2005). In addition, adolescents' delinquent self concepts were measured. The measures of symbolic interactionist theory were reflected appraisals. Reflected appraisals were defined as how the individual perceives the way others see that individual. The adolescents evaluated separately how they thought their parents and peers evaluate adolescents on sociability, success and rule violation dimensions. The measures of social control theory were attachment, commitment and belief. Attachment was assessed both for mothers and fathers. Commitment was based on the self evaluation of school success and the importance of school. In terms of belief, adolescents' belief about law and conventional values were assessed. The results showed that reflected appraisals of parent and peer were significantly correlated with delinquent self concept and even strongly with self-reported delinquency. Reflected appraisal of peers had stronger correlation with delinquency than reflected appraisals of parents. It was also found that all three social control theory measures were significantly correlated with self-reported delinquency. However, these control theory measures were not as strongly related to delinquency as were symbolic interactionist theory measures.

Sankey and Huon (1999) investigated whether the effect of family environment, school based experiences and individual variables on juvenile delinquency mediated by the alienation. Alienation was conceptualized as "an individual's sense of separation or estrangement from society, work, themselves or significant others (Sankey & Huon, 1999; p.95). It was assessed by using Margin of Society Alienation Scale. They conducted a structural equation modeling. In their model, they had proposed that the

delinquent behavior was a direct function of association with delinquent peers. A hundred and fifty two adolescents participated in the study. Seventy eight of the participants were female (mean age of 14.9) and 74 were male (mean age of 16.0). The measure which assessed the quality of family consisted of 3 variables; parental style, punitiveness and marital conflict. Parental style items included the parental strictness, decision making opportunity, family acceptance and monitoring. Individual variables were adolescents' achievement orientation, academic self-efficacy, academic performance and social skills. School-related experiences consisted of classroom practices, peer interaction and school attachment. All of the measures were based on adolescent self report. In addition, researchers obtained the adolescents' delinquent behavior by Self-Reported Delinquency Scale which included 34 delinquent acts and association with deviant peers by asking how many of their friends had also engaged in those kinds of activities. It was found that higher level of adolescent alienation correlated with more association with delinquent peers. As predicted by the model, association between delinquent peers mediated the relationship between alienation and delinquent behavior. The association with delinquent peers was the strongest predictor of delinquency. The results showed that school based experiences were significant predictor of delinquent behavior, with more negative school-related experiences associated with more delinquent behavior. In addition, school-related experiences significantly predicted both alienation and association with delinquent peers. Academic performance and social skills were significant predictors of delinquent behavior but the effect did not mediated by alienation since there was no relationship between academic performance and social skills and alienation. It was also found that quality of family life was a significant predictor of delinquent behavior, with lower

quality family life associated with more delinquent behavior. However, the effect of quality of family was indirect, rather than direct, which was mediated by academic and social skills.

#### Social Adjustment and Cohesion Within the Neighborhood Context

Sampson and Groves (1989) mentioned that there are three main elements of social organization within the community that protects youth from acting in delinquent ways and these are; "ability of the community to supervise youth groups, local friendship and acquaintanceship networks, and lastly, local participation in formal and voluntary organizations". Similarly, Hagan (1994 cited in Gatti, Tremblay & Larocque, 2003) claimed that residential segregation, race-linked inequality and concentration of poverty prevent the societies' establishment of cohesion and lead the loss of legitimacy in social institutions. As a result, youth born into those kinds of noncohesive societies are under the risk of acting out in delinquent ways due to the lack of supportive network. According to Braitwaite (1989 cited in Gatti, Tremblay, & Larocque, 2003), individuals in the societies which lack their communitarian characteristics have a diminished reintegrative shaming, an attitude of responsibility and moral obligations towards others.

Other theoreticians from a social ecological perspective emphasized the effect of "civiness" that may be conceptualized as "property of social fabric that is characterized by socio-political commitment, solidarity and mutual trust" on the juvenile delinquency (Gatti, Tremblay, & Larocque, 2003). Gatti, Tremblay, and Larocque (2003) conducted their study in 20 different regions of Italy. The juvenile delinquency variable was gathered from national records concerning the charges that led to the initiation of penal action. The civic community variable consisted of four indexes which included respect

for norms, participation in civic associations, political and trade union participation and involvement in cultural activities within a given region. It was found that civic community variables correlated significantly with given charges. In addition, the researchers examined the role of socio-economic factors such as poverty, unemployment and urbanization in the association between civicness and juvenile delinquency. The results showed that urbanization does not play a significant role in crimes committed by youth but poverty and unemployment level within a given region have significant effect on criminogenic structure in the region.

Another contextual variable which both directly affects the youth's attitudes towards delinquency and indirectly affects through disturbing the effective parent-child relationship is social isolation and unavailability of social support (Smith & Stern, 1997).

In another study, Chung and Steinberg (2006) investigated the relations between neighborhood factors, parenting behaviors and peer group affiliation and delinquency among 488 serious adolescent offenders. The age range of offenders was 14 to 18 years old. Researchers included neighborhood location, its structural characteristics, and its social organization in the neighborhood factors. Parental monitoring was the main parenting behavior that was assessed in the present study. In addition, adolescents' own engagement in delinquent acts and peer deviance was measured by using Self-Report of Offending Inventory. All of the measures were based on adolescents' self-reports. Association with deviant peers was the most significant predictor of delinquency. On the other hand, parental monitoring is the predictor of association with deviant peers. The results also indicated that weak neighborhood social organization is indirectly related to delinquency through its association with parenting behavior and peer deviance.



## Protective Factors

What is missing in Dodge and Pettit's (2003) developmental model is inclusion of protective factors in addition to risk factors. Carr and Trish (2001) mentioned that some of the personal characteristics, familial conditions and peer selection may also have a protective effect and differentiate the chronic offenders from non-chronic offenders as it was illustrated in their study or may alter the development of antisocial behavior in other cases. Rutter (2003) also emphasized the necessity of identification of protective factors for the development of effective intervention models while supported the idea of transactional developmental modeling of antisocial behavior. For instance, it has been found that temperamentally predisposed children are less likely to develop antisocial behavior if they are raised in adaptive social environment (Moffitt, 1993). Palmer and Hollin (2001) also found that warm, inductive and involved parenting style had a protective effect on delinquency in adolescence for those who were temperamentally prone to develop conduct problems.

Kiriakidis (2006) stated that actual parental practices represents the distal factors affecting youth offending, whereas youth's cognitive representations of those parental variables are proximally related to offending. In order to examine the effect of youth's perceived parental care and supervision on offending, Kiriakidis (2006) conducted a study with 152 youth offenders. They assessed the participants' attitudes toward the probability of reoffending, their perceived behavioral control about reoffending, their intentions toward reoffending, their perception of advantages and disadvantages of offending, availability of others who keep them far from offending as well as perceived

maternal and paternal care and supervision. Maternal care was found to be significantly related to perception of control and ability to stop offending in the future. Paternal protection was not found to be related to the youth's cognitive representations of reoffending. It seems that not overprotection but care variables are more related to reoffending risk of youth.

Cao, Cao and Zhao (2004) mentioned that female headship and welfare experiences are not directly related to youth's offending when some other variables are introduced into the analysis. The results of their study showed that the direct effects of female headship and level of welfare on youth's offending were diminished when juveniles' characteristics and family background variables were introduced into the model. The school attachment was also found to be significant protective effect on juveniles offending. According to those results, it is possible to argue that it is not the female headship on their own that has an effect on juveniles offending but the effect of decreased adult supervision and school attachment which pushes the youth to act in delinquent ways in female headed families. Existing relative network may be a protective factor in those families. That is to say, the quality of female headship is more important than presence of a two parents in itself.

#### Qualitative and Longitudinal Studies

Approximately, all of the studies in literature which were about the effect of family and peers interactions on juvenile delinquency were based on the quantitative analysis. In order to gain deeper insight into the issues that delinquent adolescent and their parents identified as problematic in their family processes, Madden-Derdich,

Leonard and Gunnell (2002) conducted a qualitative investigation with 61 male youths, all of which had a history of incarceration in juvenile justice system most of which were related to property crimes. Data obtained from in-depth interviews with adolescents and their parents. The mean age of the male adolescents were 15.76 (ranged between 13 and 18). The adolescents and their parents' interviews included both a series of structured questions and a series of open-ended questions. The structured questions were related to exposure to parental conflict, the quality of parent-child relationship and the nature of peer relationship. The open-ended questions explored 3 dimensions; the identification of problem areas, the contextual factors believed to amplify problem development and parent's reports of parenting practices and child-related concerns. The results showed that one-third of the adolescents identified conflictual interaction among family members as a problem. Adolescents wanted to see a reduction in the overall level of family conflict and an improvement in parent-child relationship. Adolescents identified the necessity of changes in parental attitudes, increased parental care and improved parent-child communication for improved parent-child relationship. Another problem area identified by adolescents was the amount of drug and alcohol used by family members. Despite the frequency of relational problems within the family context, 82% of the adolescents identified a family member as their first line support during difficult times. Similar to the adolescents' perceptions, mothers of these adolescents also identified poor communication as an area in the need of improvement. However, child-related changes were the most saturated category for parents. Although, only 11% of the adolescents identified their own behavior as a primary focus of change, 64% of the mothers reported wanting to see change in their children's behavior, attitudes and peer relations. In the

responses of mothers about future concern about their children, parents identified physical injury, peer groups, gang involvement and drug use. Grounding, restricting activities and removing a possession from the child were the most frequently used strategies by mothers in response to problematic behaviors. Generally, mothers also reported to be frustrated with the ineffectiveness of their discipline and they choose to withdrawn from their children as a result of their ineffective effort to control their children's behaviors.

The use of qualitative methodology in this study presented the opportunity to validate existing empirical findings regarding family context and the development of delinquent behavior, while also allowing for the emergence of deeper insight regarding the familial context of delinquency that extend beyond the factors identified by previous studies.

Within the various empirical researches, both the additive models which show the cumulative effect of risk factors through hierarchical linear modeling and interactive models through structural equation modeling has been formulated. The existence of complex statistical analysis and longitudinal data provides an opportunity to understand the interaction between risk and protective factors while explaining the delinquency.

The severity of risk factors is another important point in the interactional models. The studies about the differential trajectories of antisocial conduct problems clearly manifest the nonlinear effect of severity of on delinquent outcomes (Nagin & Tremblay, 1999, Broidy et al., 2003). In addition, different chronic externalizing problems may lead to different delinquent outcomes. Nagin and Tremblay (1999) conducted an 11 year follow up study with a large sample of boys and identified three main externalizing

behavior dimensions; physical aggression, opposition and hyperactivity; with four different trajectories according to severity; chronic problem trajectory, high level problem trajectory, moderate problem trajectory and no problem trajectory. It is noteworthy to mention that they found high comorbidity among chronic physical aggression and opposition trajectories (48%). The results showed that chronic problem trajectories of physical aggression and opposition nonlinearly predicted the delinquent acts at the age of 17. In addition, it was found that a chronic oppositional trajectory, with the effect of physical aggression and hyperactivity held constant, predicted the property related delinquent act; theft while a chronic physical aggression trajectory, with the effect of opposition and hyperactivity held constant, predicted more severe and violent delinquent acts. Broidy et al. (2003) also supported the findings of Nagin and Tremblay (1999) in their comparison of the results of Nagin and Tremblay (1999) with other studies conducted in 3 different countries. However, the relationship between chronic physical aggression trajectories and adolescence delinquency is found to be gender specific; that is essential for boys but not for girls which shows the effect of gender interaction clearly. Another nonlinear effect of risk factors on delinquency was also identified for relational processes such as parental and teacher attachment in which only insecurely attached children compared to neutral and positive attachment patterns predicts adolescence delinquency (Thaxton & Agnew, 2004).

In their 22 year follow up study which investigates the effect of various risk and protective factors in the development of behavioral problems among disadvantaged adolescents, Smokowski, Mann, Reynolds and Fraders (2004) also looked at the effect of cumulative family risk factors on the adolescents' delinquent acts. 1539 children

participated in the study. Researchers assessed the family risk factors at the birth of children and four more times when the children were 8, 10, 12 and 17 years old. The family risk factors consisted of parental education, child neglect and abuse by the parents, single-parent family structure, and pregnancy of the mother before the age of 19, high number of sibling within the family, low SES and parental unemployment. The delinquency of adolescents was assessed based on court records. The results showed that cumulative family risk from birth to age 12 significantly predicted increased in juvenile court petitions.

#### Studies conducted about adolescents in conflict with law in Turkey

There are very few empirical studies conducted in Turkey with adolescents in conflict with law and many of them are based on the demographical properties of those adolescents and check-list results, none of those studies assessed the risk and protective factors for antisocial development and juvenile delinquency.

Most of the studies were conducted with offender adolescents in detention centers and reformatories such as Bakırköy Youth Detention Center (Özçeşmeci Ünal, 1999; Kırımsoy, 2003), İzmir Şirinyer Reformatory (Onat, 1995; Demirbaş, 1992; Kaya, 1995; Kırımsoy, 2003; Nalbant, 1993), Ankara Elmadağ Detention Center (Basut, & Erden, 2005; Kırımsoy, 2003), Elazığ Reformatories and those who were from adult facilities (Kırımsoy, 2003), Ankara Kalaba Reformatory (Demirbaş, 1992; Kabasakal, Keçeciler, Özcan, Özkan, Öztürk, & Taş, 1997; Kırımsoy, 2003; Nalbant, 1993), Diyarbakır 75<sup>th</sup> Year Social Service Youth Center (Erdoğan, 2005) as well as non-offender control

participants from apprenticeship training centers and high schools. The age of participants ranged from 12 to 22 years.

In general the educational level of adolescents was found to be very low with a high level of school drop outs. The average level of education was found to be 6.8 years in Basut and Erden's study (2005). In one of the studies, 20% of the adolescents were illiterate (Erdođdu, 2005). The percentages of primary school graduates were as follows; 77% (Özçeşmeci Ünal, 1999), 65% (Nalbant, 1993), 88% (Demirbaş, 1992), 40% (Kaya, 1995). Similarly, Kabasakal (1997) found that 26% of them had primary school, 54% of junior high and 14% of a high school diploma. In addition, 70% and 27% of the offender group dropped out of elementary school in Erdođdu's study (2005) and Kaya's study (1995) respectively.

Related to those school drop outs, working is highly common among them. In Nalbant's study (1993), 80% of the adolescent were found to have a work experience. In another study, 33% of the adolescents also mentioned that they had been working before imprisonment in order to make a contribution to the family income (Kabasakal, 1997). In Özçeşmeci Ünal's study (2005), 65% of the children had been working (29% industrial employment, 15% service sector, 21% apprentice). The results of the survey conducted in İstanbul Bakırköy Youth Detention Center (1998) also stated that 41% of them had a previous work experience with no social insurances, mostly in textile ateliers and auto repairs.

Although personality characteristics were not assessed in many of these studies, there is evidence that offenders scored higher in impulsivity (Demirbaş, 1992), lower in self-esteem and life satisfaction (Nalbant, 1993), and higher in external locus of control

and lower in problem solving abilities (Kaya, 1993) compared to adolescents who had not been in conflict with law.

It was also found that substance and alcohol abuse are highly common among these adolescents (Özçeşmeci Ünal, 1999; İstanbul Youth Detention Center, 1998). In Ögel and Aksoy's study (2007), 33% of the adolescents mentioned that they were under the influence of substance while they were committing the crime.

The findings related to family structure and relations are as follows. Seventy percent (Onat, 1995) and 63% (Kabasakal, 1997) of the adolescents mentioned that they were living in intact families. Kaya (1995) mentioned that 73% of them were in nuclear family structure. Death of a parent (34% for fathers and 20% for mothers) was as high as divorce rates (34%) for a reason to live in single-parent family structure. The results showed that youth's expectations of parental support after release change as a function of family structure. Youth who come from an intact family structure expected more support from their parents and were less worried about the after-release period. Youth's expectations of parental support after release also changed as a function of family income (Kabasakal, 1997).

The studies showed that there are higher rates of maternal and paternal loss (Erdoğdu, 2005; Nalbant, 1993), parental unemployment, parental drug abuse, parental imprisonment (Erdoğdu, 2005) among offender adolescents compared to non-offender adolescents. In addition, maternal and paternal educational levels were also significantly lower among offender adolescents in Turkey (Kabasakal, 1997, Nalbant, 1993; Özçeşmeci Ünal, 1999; İstanbul Youth Detention Center Survey Results, 1998)



Kabasakal (1997) mentioned that 30% of the adolescents had a family member who had a previous offense history and having a family member who had a previous offense history significantly affected the recidivism rates of youth. Similarly, Nalbant (1993) mentioned that 27% of the adolescents in the detention center and 34% of the adolescent in the probation system have a parental offense history.

Kaya (1995) stated that adolescents identified their parenting styles as follows; authoritative 31%, permissive 30%, authoritarian 24% and neglectful 16%. In Erdoğan's study (2005), there was a significant difference in terms of familial relationships and aggressive behavior between the two groups. The children who had been in conflict with the law scored higher on aggression scale and reported more troublesome familial relationships. Parental fights did not affect the perception of familial relationships but had a significant effect on aggression.

In Kabasakal's study (1997), 55% of adolescents reported that they share their problems at least with one of the family members, whereas the remaining either preferred not to share their problems with anyone (26%) or to share them with their friends (17%). Moreover, 26% of them mentioned the familial relationships as a main cause of their deviance.

Kırımsoy (2003) found that delinquent adolescents perceive higher levels of emotional abuse from their families and scored lower in self-esteem compared to non-delinquent adolescents. Level of self-esteem in non-delinquents is higher than in delinquent adolescents.

Onat (1995) also mentioned that 80% of the adolescents in their study had at least one attempt to run away. In another study, 25% of the adolescents reported that they

attempted to run away from home and most of them reported the domestic violence as the cause of their attempt (Kabasakal, 1997). Similarly, Attempt of running away from home was higher among offenders compared to non-offenders in Erdoğan's study (2005).

Nalbant (1993) stated that although %87 of the adolescents in the detention center mentioned that they are close with their family members, the level fell to 48% for adolescents who had already been released from the detention center. Those adolescents who had been released were mostly not living with their families and found their friends to be close to themselves.

Onat (1995) also found that offender adolescents are more likely to have a group of friends that the adolescents usually hang out with (97%) compared to those who had not been in conflict with the law (64%). Thirty eight percent of the children reported to have friends who had been in conflict with the law (Erdoğan, 2005).

Sixty seven percent of the adolescents in Kaya's study (1995), 63% of the adolescents in Özçeşmeci Ünal's study and 66% of the adolescents who participated in the survey study in İstanbul Youth Detention Center (1998) reported that they were in a group during the offence.

Forty five percent of the adolescents in Kabasakal's study (1997), reported the deviant peers as the main reason for offending and 75% of them mentioned that they don't want to hang with old friend after release.

When the neighborhood variables examined, adolescents were more likely to come from urban settings rather than rural settings (Kabasakal, 1997; Nalbant 1993).

In Kabasakal et al.'s study (1997), 50% of the offender adolescents reported that their family income is not sufficient for their family expenses and most of them

mentioned that their families do not receive any financial support form alternative resources and that they live in the slum areas and 20% of the adolescents reported that those economical problems were the primary reason of their deviance. In a study conducted with adolescents from immigrant families, Özçeşmeci Ünal (1999) stated that 63% of the children was living in “gecekondu” regions. Eighty percent of the adolescents reported that they were unhappy because of the immigration and explained the reason of offense as 73% economic and 22% social.

### Present Study

There are considerable similarities between the risk factors affecting the adolescents in conflict with the law in Turkey and the risk factors which are found to have an impact on the development of antisocial behavior and juvenile delinquency in the West. For instance, temperamental characteristics such as impulsivity, the familial maltreatment and parenting styles as well as neighborhood disadvantages and poverty are found to be important in both literatures. In addition, delinquent peer affiliation is found to be the proximal predictor for criminal acts both for adolescent in Turkey and in many other countries. However, there are still further points to explore in order to have a deeper understanding of the juvenile delinquency in Turkey. For example, only few of the studies examined the interaction between the risk factors for children who are at risk of developing antisocial behavior and prone to acting in criminal ways and their current socio-cognitive and emotional reactions; thinking patterning about the occurrence of the offense. In addition, studies carried out with Turkish children suffer from methodological weaknesses and lack of depth.

As it was previously mentioned, the trajectories of antisocial development and criminal involvement vary as a function of the onset of problematic behaviors and chronicity of the criminal involvement (Moffitt, 1993). From a developmental point of view, there is a need for understanding how the risk and protective factors operate together and have a reciprocal relationship within the developmental processes (Dodge & Pettit, 2003). One way of examining the interactional relationship through the development is analyzing the longitudinal data which is an expensive and time consuming method to employ in addition to its advantages.

Another way of exploring the phenomena is conducting a qualitative research with a target group. Thomas (2003) mentioned that employing qualitative research methods for exploration of juvenile delinquents lifestyles is one of the most appropriate ways of studying the phenomenon in order to establish the patterning of interactions among multiple variables.

The main objective of the present study is to explore the adolescents' own perceptions of the factors that led them to act in delinquent ways and to be in conflict with the law as a result. The target group of the study consists of adolescents who had been in conflict with the law and detained due to property offenses. It is necessary to investigate the experiences of more specific groups within a specific culture in order to have a deeper understanding of the phenomena. For instance, dropping out of school and early work experiences, which are not considered as risk factors in the western research literature, appeared to be so for adolescents in Turkey.

Another objective of the present study is to explore the future expectations and worries of adolescents who had been in conflict with the law. It is expected that the

identification of the risk and protective factors in the lives of juvenile delinquents would aid the success of intervention strategies and the development of after release adaptation programs.

## CHAPTER 2

### METHOD

#### Research Questions

The main objective of the present study is to explore the adolescents' own perceptions of the factors that led them to act in delinquent ways and to be in conflict with the law as a result. Along with the main objective, the study is designed to obtain data that would lead to a better understanding of the peer processes, family processes, individual characteristics and neighborhood characteristics of those adolescents' who had been in conflict with the law whether the adolescents perceive these factors as related to their offense or not. In addition to the distal risk factors, the study also aims to explore the proximal thinking patterning of the adolescents and their perception of the offensive behavior. From the literature about the developmental perspective on antisocial behavior and criminal trajectories, the following questions are relevant to the present study:

- a- What are the characteristics of adolescents' deviation trajectories such as the onset of deviation, prevalence of the delinquent behaviors and co-occurrence in the problem behaviors?
- b- What are the proximal and distal risk factors in the lives of adolescents in conflict with the law in Turkey?
- c- Which of these factors are perceived as having an effect on conducting the offence by the adolescent?
- d- What are the characteristics of the adolescent's thinking patterning about the offense?

- e- How did being detained change the adolescent's perceptions of the offense?
- f- What are their future expectations and worries?

### Research Setting

The participants were recruited from İstanbul H Type Juvenile Detention Center with legal permission from the Ministry of Justice. The convenience sampling was employed in the selection of the participants among the adolescents in the detention center. A collaborative relationship was formed with the social workers in the detention center and they were asked to inform adolescents about the research. The social workers provided the contact between the researcher and the adolescents who were willing to participate in the study.

### Pilot Sample

Pilot interviews were conducted with six adolescents. For three of them, the interview began with the question "Can you tell me about your personal characteristics? How you define yourself?". The adolescents were unable to understand the rationale of the task and failed to define themselves. It was noted that their motivation for being interviewed decreased due to their perceived failure on the task. In the remaining of three interviews, the main research issues; which were family relationships, peer relationships, self-concept, and neighborhood, were introduced and the adolescent was asked which of these issues they would like to talk about first. However, the adolescents did not specify any preferences. On the other hand, it was observed that the adolescents were willing to talk about their criminal experiences and the occurrence of the offense they had been

imprisoned for. In addition, the adolescents had some difficulties in specifying the chronological sequences of their experiences. The structure of the interviews was modified in accordance with implications of these observations.

### Participants

From the convenience sampling, seventeen male adolescents were interviewed in depth if they met the following criteria:

- a- being detained for a property offense; mainly robbery “*gasp*”
- b- being between 15 and 18 years of age
- c- living with their families before being detained
- d- being willing to volunteer for an interview

Out of the 17 interviews, one was eliminated because the informant wanted to end the interview early due to becoming upset during the interview. It was found out that he had come to the detention center the day before the interview and thus was psychologically not ready to talk about his experience yet. Four more had to be eliminated due to technical problems with the recording device. The sound quality of the recording was poor and some sections of the talk were inaudible. When comparing the content of these four interviews with the final sample for the study, no significant divergences were observed by the researcher. Finally, one interview was left out of the final sample due to a strong belief that the informant was not being truthful and was unwilling to participate genuinely with the research process. Thus, eleven interviews were used in the analyses.



## Data Gathering

The adolescents were informed of the purpose and the method of the study in greater detail and written consents were gathered (see Appendix A). They were told that they could withdraw at any point of the interview. They were informed that the interview will be audiotaped with their permission. Interviews were conducted in a private room of the detention center under the supervision of the social worker in the detention center. First, the participant was asked to fill out a questionnaire in which demographic characteristics were assessed (see Appendix B). Next, the qualitative data was collected in the context of a face-to-face in-depth interview. Based on the experiences gained from six pilot interviews which were also conducted with the adolescent who met the criteria mentioned above, the structure of the interviews was modified. Participants were asked to write the main turning points and transitional periods they experienced throughout their lives on a A-3 sized page that included a graph that held for its x-axis years of their lives. The participants were told that each line on the x-axis was corresponding to a year of their life from birth to present and asked them to note each significant experience they would like to mention corresponding to the year it occurred. After this initial task, the participants were asked to explain the details of these events and how these experiences affected them. The interview was guided by the following main questions, although the order of them was not fixed:

- 1- Can you tell me about the occurrence of the event that you were incarcerated for?
- 2- Can you tell me about your family relationships?
- 3- Can you tell me about your friends?

- 4- Can you tell me about the characteristics of the neighborhood you were living before being arrested?
- 5- From your point of view, which of those factors had an effect you to be here (in the prison)?
- 6- What has changed in your life by being imprisoned?
- 7- What are your expectations and worries about the future?

### Data Analysis

After transcribing the records into written verbatim, grounded theory method was the qualitative analytic method used to code, analyze and interpret the interviews (Strauss, & Corbin, 1998). The main assumption of this theoretical method is that individuals have their unique experiences and exploration of these unique experiences can provide ideas for deeper understanding of the phenomenon. The main goal is to identify the unique factors and the relationships between these factors.

The analysis consisted of three main phases; open, axial and selective coding. In the open coding, the sentences are broken down into ideas or incidences in order to develop a list of definitions and codes. This procedure is conducted for each transcript. The conceptual similarities and differences are explored. Another important component of open coding phase is memo-writing; a free writing exercise in which researchers elaborate their impressions about the hidden meanings under the emerging codes (Charmaz, 2003). In the axial coding, the codes are coherently organized and the dynamic relationships between the codes are identified. The selective coding phase is the process

of reintegrating the concepts and identifying main categories relevant to the phenomena (Strauss, & Corbin, 1998).

In order to determine the inter-rater reliability, the analyses of the interviews were carried out by two researchers. Disagreements in coding were debated until a consensus was reached.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESULTS

In this study, adolescents, who were imprisoned for committing property offenses, shared both current and retrospective experiences about their lives related to their criminal involvements. All data were self-reports; no other sources of information such as parents interviews, peer interviews, court records or detention center records were used to validate adolescents' experiences, except checking the type of their offenses.

The results are presented in four sections; summaries for each interview, current perceptions related to criminal activities, factors that played a role in development of deviance and future plans, expectations and worries of the adolescents. In the first section, demographic characteristics and the summary of the emerging themes for each adolescent are presented, separately. In the remaining sections, main categories, emerged from the process of integrating and refining the results of all of the interviews are presented. Pseudonyms for the names of the participants are used to ensure confidentiality of data.

#### Summaries for Each Interview

##### Murat

He is a 17-year-old boy who has been imprisoned for about 14 months and was not sentenced yet at the time of the interview. Previously, he had been imprisoned for 3 months, 10 days for a car theft and had not received a sentence and had been released. In addition, he had been arrested, approximately, 25-30 times by police officers during his life.

He reported that he had dropped out of school 2 years ago; in the last year of high school and never worked.

His 42-year-old mother is a housewife and illiterate. His father was 43 years old. His father had graduated from high school and has his own business on auto commerce. Murat has three siblings; 23 year-old brother who was also imprisoned during the interview, 22 year-old sister who was working in a market as a cashier and living with the family and 9 year-old brother who was going to primary school.

He was the only one who responded to the demographic question “Who were you living with before imprisonment?” as living in a bachelor house “*bekar evi*” with his friends for 2 years instead of living with his family. During the interview, it was observed that he stayed at home somewhat sporadically, but he used the bachelor house “*bekar evi*” as his main place of stay.

Murat perceived the occurrence of the offense for which they had imprisoned for as the plan of the police services to cop him since he had a conflictual relationship with the police officers due to his previous offenses. Although, he accepted his intense criminal involvement beforehand, he rejected any responsibility related to the current offense for which he and his friend had been arrested and mentioned that it was his friend who actually robbed the victim’s telephone and he just tried to mediate between them. However, he also beat the victim and humiliated the victim’s mother during the so called “mediation”.

The most important turning point in Murat’s life was his brother’s incarceration when Murat was 9 years old. He defined the incarceration of his brother as a collapse of family. He also identified his stigmatization as being the younger brother of a criminal

and exclusion from the extended social network. In addition, his parents were neglectful in this period to help Murat to cope with loneliness and had a threatening attitude toward him to act properly and not being like the brother. On the other hand, the antisocial brother was the only person who cared for Murat and made Murat felt loved and valued. His involvement in offenses heightened his conflictual relation with parents. He mentioned that his parents are ashamed of him and humiliated him. He abused various kinds of drugs and he was the only adolescent who abused heroin in addition to alcohol, pills and marijuana.

He perceives the possession of power in all-or-none patterns and mentioned that being involved in criminal events is a preference between domination and subordination. He feels obsessed about being powerful even though the only possible way of gaining the power is being frightening and acting out illegally. He identified himself as the most powerful person in the neighbourhood and in the school.

#### Zafer

He is 17 years old and has been incarcerated for 7 months at the time of the interview and sentenced to 6 years, 8 months. He had been arrested 2-3 times for fighting.

He was living with his family; a mother and a younger brother, before imprisonment. His 38-year-old mother is a housewife and has graduated from primary school. His father had been murdered one and a half years ago. He was working in Eminönü Municipality before he was murdered. He has two brothers. His older brother is 22 years old, living and going to university in Cyprus. His younger brother is 15 years old and going to high school.

He had dropped out of school in the second year of high school and had worked as a cashier. He stated that dropping out of school and working were his own preferences because he did not like school and felt bored there.

He reported that he had been coming from the work and had paid a visit to an internet cafe where he encountered some of his friends at the night of offense. They went to the park altogether and sat at a minibus stop. One of his friends approached to a pedestrian who was a university student in order to ask the time and then tried to get his cellular phone. When the pedestrian resisted, Zafer and his friends throttled the victim. Meanwhile, a minibus stopped near them in order to intervene and a police came to the crime scene. They got arrested and handed over to the public prosecutor's office and was imprisoned.

He identified the primary cause of the offense as hanging out with deviant friends who he met a year ago in the internet cafe. He defined his friends as not having good characteristics, being vagrant and drug abusers. He mentioned that the reason for his disengagement with his old school friends was his irregular working hours and unavailability of those friends in the need for conversation.

One of the main themes emerging in his story is his older brother's departure from home to go to Cyprus in order to continue his university education when Zafer was 15 years old. He identified his brother as his best friend, someone to share his problems, ask for help and comfort. In other words, he was the primary attachment figure in Zafer's life and he mentioned that he felt lonely after the brother's departure and sought someone to fill his place. In addition, with the brother's departure, no one was left in the family to

monitor Zafer's friendship relations and leisure time activities. After the brother's departure, he dropped out the school and began to hang out with deviant friends.

Another crucial issue in his story is his father's murder and the diffusion of family cohesion after this event. After the murder, his mother began to suffer from psychological problems, his younger brother became withdrawn and the older brother was unavailable to support Zafer and the other family members. Because of the traumatized family members, Zafer mentioned that he wanted to get away from home and hang out with deviant friends.

At the end of the interview, he mentioned that everything could have been different if his brother had not gone to Cyprus and his father had not been murdered.

#### Osman

Osman is 17 years old and has been incarcerated for 4 months at the time of the interview. He had no previous incarceration or arrest records.

He was born in Mardin and lived there until the family migrated to İstanbul two years ago. He was living with his mother, father and eleven siblings. His 40-year-old mother is a housewife and illiterate. His 55-year-old father had finished his primary education. His father had not worked in İstanbul due to health problems. Before the migration, his father was working for a transportation company before the border gates of Iraq closed. After the closure of the border gates, he did not have a regular job which triggered the financial problems.

His 20-year-old brother just finished his military service. He had dropped out of school from the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and began to work. Osman did not identify remaining ten



siblings, except mentioning that all of them are smaller than him and the youngest two of them are twins.

Osman had never gone to a school. He worked at textile atelier in İstanbul.

Osman claimed that he was under the coercion of an adult during the offense. He dwelled at too great lengths on details of the event. At the night of the offense, Osman and a friend were in a park in their neighbourhood where they come across with abetter adult. Osman knew the abetter adult from his former job but they did not have a close relationship. Abetter adult offered them to smoke marijuana but misinformed them that it was not the marijuana that they smoke but a contraband smoke which is widely consumed in the Eastern side of Turkey and does not have the effects of drugs. Osman mentioned that abetter adult offered them to go Aksaray to wonder around and there he forced them to rob. Throughout the night, abetter adult abused Osman and his friend both physically and psychologically by threats of disreputing them, giving harm to them and their families, insistenty. Osman could not contest the abetter adult because he was so fearful, anxious and susceptible. Upon the instructions of the abetter, they robbed three taxi drivers. The paradoxical side of the event was that, Osman accepted to behave offensively in order to avoid the stigmatization as being offensive by his family and social network as a result of abetter adult's threat of disclosure.

Osman reasoned that the abetter adult forced them to be involved in the offense because Osman was unemployed for two weeks and was naive and gullible in general. He related to his gullibility and naivity to the migration process and difficulties he experienced in İstanbul. He identified the migration as the main turning point in his life. Mardin was defined as a harmless place with an extensive social network. On the other

hand, in Osman's experience, İstanbul was chaotic and inauspicious. In İstanbul, Osman had to work intensively in order to support his family financially. His brother's and uncle's unavailability during this process due to military service made his life more difficult.

### Mehmet

He is 17 years old and had been imprisoned for 20 months at the time of the interview. He had no previous incarceration or arrest records.

He was living with his mother, father, siblings and aunt; brother's wife. His mother is 44 years old, housewife and illiterate. His father is also 44 years old, primary school graduate and manage a tea shop.

He has six siblings; 23-year-old brother who is a primary school graduate, married, and working at a textile atelier, an older sister who is a primary school graduate, married and not living with them anymore, two younger brothers; one of them is going to high school and the other one is going to the middle school, two younger sister; both of them dropped out of school after the primary education and are working in the textile atelier.

Mehmet had dropped out of school in the last year of primary school and began to work with his father in the tea shop.

He claimed that the offense could not be viewed as a mugging but a fight although he is on trial for a property offense. He mentioned that his cousin and another friend called him to help in a fight and he did not hesitate to join although he did not know why they were fighting for. One of the youth from the counterparty had been

stabbed. During the chaos, his cousin had robbed the cellular phone of a boy from the counterparty during the fight but Mehmet claimed that he was not aware of this action.

As it was also appeared in the offense, belligerency is one of the dominant themes during the interview. He reported that he and his friends have often picked up fights unreasonably; biased perception of potential danger either to their honour or their power. The motivation behind these fights were proving themselves, being an authority. In addition, rejecting to be a part of the fight was perceived negatively and accepted as betrayal within the deviant friend cliques.

Mehmet has a conflictual relationship with his father and this has bidirectional effects with his association with deviant friends. According to Mehmet, his father is authoritarian, distant and frightening person. They did not communicate well, especially related to problems Mehmet might have although they have to spend a lot of time together due to working together. That is why Mehmet explains that tried to avoid going to work and escape. Mehmet defined his father as someone who continuously hurts his feelings. Although, the father always intervened with Mehmet's friendships, Mehmet rejected his authority which further worsened their relationship.

### Sinan

Sinan is 17 years old and has been incarcerated 2 months ago. He had no previous imprisonment and arrest records.

He was living with his family before the imprisonment; his mother, his father and his 2 brothers and their wives. His 53-year-old mother is a housewife and illiterate. His father is 58 years old and he is also illiterate. The family migrated from Tokat to İstanbul

before Sinan's birth. The father was a farmer in Tokat but has never worked in İstanbul after the migration due to health problems.

He has 4 siblings; 23-year-old sister who had been married and is not living with them anymore, 25-year-old and 29-year-old brothers; both of whom are married, living with the family and working in auto repairs and another brother who had been murdered when Sinan was 9 years old.

Sinan completed the 8<sup>th</sup> grade and did not go to high school.

He reported that he bought a cellular phone a while ago by installment. However, he could not pay the debt because he was out of his job and had been suffering from financial problems. He mentioned that he could not ask for money from his family members because he claimed that there were also financial problems in the family and, more importantly, he was not going home and had a conflictual relations with his parents at that period on account of the break up with his girl friend which made him felt depressed and traumatized. However, he did also not want to give the phone back because it was the only way to access to his girl friend and made an effort for reunion. He said that a friend of him provoked Sinan to ask for money a person in the internet cafe. When the victim refused to give the money, Sinan forced him to do so. However, he conceptualized the offense just as a request for loan. He got arrested a month after the mugging.

The main theme emerging in Sinan's story was his break up with his girl friend. According to Sinan, their relationship had brought happiness, peace and social support which were not achieved in the family atmosphere. On the other hand, he mentioned that their relationship was not free from conflicts; Sinan's intensive jealousy and his

insistence about the disclosure of the relationship that the girl did not want. Another problematic area in their relationship was the discrepancy between the educational level of the girl, who was a high school student and him. When his girl friend left him, he felt as if he got off the deep end, was obsessed and had suicidal ideations. However, his family could not establish a supporting network during this period. Based on these experiences, he had a problematic reasoning for establishing a causal link between the antecedents and the offense. According to him, the main cause of the offense was his girl friend's brother and the brother's negative attitude towards their relationship although the girl's brother had just asserted that they were too young to be in a serious relationship.

Besides this proximal stressor, the murder of his brother was turning point in Sinan's life. The brother was stabbed in 18 different places and was beheaded when Sinan was 9 years old. The reasons behind the murder are still either unknown or not available to Sinan. Moving of the family to a different place a month after the murder made the impression that there was a potential danger in the perception of the elder family members. What is more, 5 years later the brother of his murdered brother's wife was burned. That is to say, the murdered brother should have a criminal profile that Sinan either does not know or does not disclose. The death of the brother was a painful mourning process both for Sinan since he lost a significant attachment figure and for the other family members. In addition, the another older brother also left the home for military service and the only remaining 3<sup>rd</sup> brother become responsible for managing the family affairs since the parents were both traumatized and neglectful towards their children. His mother began to suffer from psychological problems onward. The family

had also suffered from financial problems since the murdered brother was the primary financial resource in the family. He identified the period as traumatic for the family.

### Ali

Ali is a 17-year-old boy who has been imprisoned for about 17 months and is not sentenced yet at the time of the interview. In addition, he had been arrested two times before both of which were due to fights; in the first one, he seriously damaged the victim and in the second one, he threatened the school director with a knife that caused Ali to be expelled from high school.

His 51-year-old mother is a housewife and illiterate. His father was 50 years old. He is working as a farmer in Van; the hometown. He has 6 siblings; 5 of them are older than Ali; 23-year-old brother who is working in Tekirdağ, a married sister, 21-year-old brother working in a textile atelier and 19-year old brother who is a repairman. He also has one younger brother at the age of 14 who is a clerk.

He had a residential instability before the incarceration and shuttle between İstanbul, where his parents live and Tekirdağ, where his brother lives. During the demographic data gathering procedure, he identified that he was living with his parents, and the remaining siblings in İstanbul.

The most significant turning point in Ali's life was the moving of the oldest brother to Tekirdağ. Although, Ali has two more brothers, they did not care for Ali and looked after Ali's needs as the oldest brother did. After his oldest brother's moving to another city, he began to abuse marijuana at the age of 12 and hung out with deviant peers. He had obsessions about being powerful and dominant in the school through acting out in deviant ways since he was unable to gain the power by academic success and

positive relations with teachers. The father was also unavailable both physically and emotionally and was abusive towards Ali. His rejection within the family made him feel closer to deviant friends, most of whom were older than him and substituted the physically lost brother. The heightened level of deviant behaviors further triggered his conflicts with the father.

He went to Tekirdağ to work with the brother after he dropped out of the school. However, he mentioned that he regularly come back to İstanbul for his friends, not to visit his family. He mentioned that he do not have any emotional bonds with the family members except for the oldest brother and added that the reason for coming to İstanbul was easy access to drugs and his feeling of belonging with his deviant friends.

The offense which they had been incarcerated was also emerged in one of these revisits to his friends. They smoked marijuana and then, during the withdrawal period, they needed money to buy more marijuana. They decided to rob the pedestrians. Ali mentioned that the decision process was spontaneous rather than planned. On the other hand, they robbed four people the same night and the amount of money they robbed exceeded the amount of money they needed to buy marijuana.

### Burak

Burak is 17 years old and has been incarcerated 4 months ago. He had no previous imprisonment and arrest records.

He was living within an extended family context before the imprisonment; his mother, his father and his siblings, the wives of his brothers and their children. His 40-year-old mother is a housewife and illiterate. His father is 50 years old and had dropped out of

school in the last year of primary school. He is a stallholder “*pazarci*”. The family migrated from Aydın to İstanbul when Burak was 7 years old.

He has six siblings; four of them are older and two of them are younger than Burak. 24-year-old and 22-year-old brothers who are also stallholder and married, 20-year-old brother who is working in a printing press, 18-year old sister who is working in a textile atelier, 16-year old brother who is also working in a textile atelier, 12-year-old brother who is going to school.

The effects of deviant peer associations were manifested at the beginning of the interview and dominated the interview. Burak was aware of this effect and mentioned that he began to associate with deviant peers at the age of 12. He did not disclosed why there had been this kind of a dramatic shift in his friendship associations but throughout the story it was observed that he began to work with his father as a stallholder at the age of 10 which brought an extra burden to him that was not proper for his age. It was followed by academic failure and failed at the age of 11. These may be the potential antecedents for deviant peer associations. After forming friendship with deviant peers, he began to use marijuana at the age of 13; the time when he first noticed his friends drug abuse and began to abuse inhalant “*bali*” a year later until his parents noticed his drug abuse at the age of 15. He also dropped out of school at the age of 15. When his parents noticed his drug abuse, they forced Burak to join to a rehabilitation center in Bakırköy. Burak was not hospitalized in his first rehabilitation because he was motivated to do so. However, his “*bali*” abuse has recurred shortly after and he was hospitalized by the family members but he escaped from the hospital.



Besides drug abuse, Burak was aware of his friends' offensive behaviours such as theft and mugging. He accepted being involved in these offenses except the one that caused them to be imprisoned. He claimed that it was the aspersion of his friends because his friends were angry at Burak due to some of his unpaid debts. According to Burak, they also had a negative attitude towards Burak because he had abandoned them when he was in rehabilitation. He had been arrested 3 months after the offense based on his friends' declaration. The victim did not confirm the presence of Burak during the offense but the primary role of Burak in the property offenses was being a watchman; a role that means being least identifiable person for the victim. On the other hand, he mentioned that he began to be involved in his deviant friends in the last months again due to loneliness and absence of an alternative social network.

#### Nihat

Nihat is 17 years old and has been imprisoned 4 months ago. He had no previous imprisonment and arrest records.

He was living with his family before the imprisonment. His 40-year-old mother is a housewife and illiterate. His father is 43 years old and he is a primary school graduate. He manages a grocery store. Nihat has dropped out of school at the age of 15 and began to work in the grocery store afterward. Although the parents had a history of migration from Kars to Silivri, Nihat was born in Silivri and lived there until he had been incarcerated.

He has 4 siblings; a twin of him who has dropped of the school and is also helping to his father in the grocery store as Nihat does, 16-year-old sister, 15-year-old brother and 12-year old brother; all of whom are going to school.

He continuously refused to be a partner in crime and avoided to give details about the offense during the interview although the victims, who were the acquaintances from the neighbourhood, identified Nihat and his friend as perpetrators. They had not been arrested during the mugging but arrested by the police at the night of the offense while they were hanging out in the seaboard.

Nihat was depressed throughout the interview and had an ideation that life was unfair. The main theme in his story was the sudden moving out of his girl friend to another city after her father's death. It was the most traumatic event in life; a loss of the most significant attachment figure and protective factor. Before his girl friend father's death, he was a boy who was going to school regularly and engaging in professional sports activities. Although he made acquaintances with some deviant friends, he constantly avoided to have closer relationships with them. Besides the protective effect of his girl friend's presence, their relationship had some problematic issues. That is, during the period of passage from primary school to middle school, Nihat had transferred to a new school to be closer to his girl friend just because his girl friend also transferred. Since she was the only attachment figure for Nihat, the moving out of his girl friend was traumatic for him. He began to associate with deviant friends in the first hand and skipped school. As a result of his academic failure, he dropped out of school. In addition, he had to abate his sports career due to an accident. During this period, his parents were not adequate to intervene and provide support for him. Their reaction to school drop out was just accepting the situation and enforcing Nihat to work in the grocery store as a way of punishment which intensified the effects of his depression and loneliness.

Metete

Mete is a 17-year-old boy who has been imprisoned 5 and half months ago. He had no previous arrest records.

Before the incarceration, he was living with his sister and her husband in İstanbul. He did not continue his education after graduating from middle school. He identified that dropping out of school and beginning to work at those ages are normative for his family and for the other people in the village where he was living before the migration in Sivas. First, he went to İzmir, where another sibling is living, in order to work as a seasonal worker but then come to İstanbul due to better financial opportunities and began to work in a textile atelier.

His 42-year-old mother is a housewife and illiterate. His father is 54 years old. He had dropped out of school in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. Mete's father was working in a transportation company in Saudi Arabia before retirement. Mete's parent's and his siblings except the two sisters living in İstanbul and İzmir were still in Sivas.

He has 6 siblings. Four sisters, all of whom are married, 2 of them are still living in Sivas, one of them is in İzmir and the other one is living in İstanbul. In addition, he has 2 younger siblings; 14-year-old sister and 9 year old brother who are living in the village with their parents and are going to school.

During the interview, he accepted to be in the crime scene but rejected his intentional awareness and involvement in the offense. He talked about the event as if he was the eye-witness rather than a crime partner. He claimed that he was just watching his crime partners while they were committing the offense. During the process of offense, they either asked for time or beg for cigarettes from strangers in the first hand and then pick up an intentional fight by accusing the strangers by passing a word to their sister and

threatened the victims by giving harm if they reject to give money. They robbed 2 pedestrian in the same night.

He identified the primary cause of the offense as the migration process and hanging out with an antisocial relative who had a criminal profile. The dominant theme in Mete's interview was the exclusion process after the migration and the advantages of hanging out with an antisocial adult that provided a power status and possession of goods. He compared earning money by working and finding "easy money" by illegal ways and mugging and mentioned that not the former but the latter one provided him to be included in the social network. After he began to hang out with his deviant relative, he identified himself with the antisocial figure and internalized his deviant norms; he began to lie to his sister that further worsened his relationship with his sister and his boss.

#### Emin

Emin is 17 years old. He was in the prison for about 27 months and sentenced to 6 years and 8 months at the time of the interview. He had been arrested 3 more times due to fights.

He was living with his family before imprisonment; his mother, his father and his siblings. He also mentioned that his maternal uncle was sometimes staying with them. His mother is 37 years old, graduated from primary school and a housewife. His father is 38 years old. He is also primary school graduate. His father was unemployed at the time of the interview but had been managing a music-hall in Aksaray until it was closed by the police.

Emin has four younger siblings; 15-year-old brother who is a primary school graduate and working, 13 year-old brother, 9-year-old brother and 7-year-old sister in order of age; all of them are going to school.

He had been expelled from the school in the first year of the high school due to fighting. He had no previous work experiences.

Emin was born in Siirt and migrated to İstanbul at the age of 5 with his mother. His father had migrated to İstanbul when he was younger due to financial problems and then they reunited in İstanbul when his father recovered financially. They were regularly going to Siirt for extended family visits. When Emin made a comparison between 2 cities, he identified Siirt as beautiful and small, and İstanbul as big, dirty, a place with difficult life conditions, a place where the crime rates are too high.

One of the main turning points in Emin's story was the unemployment of his father. Before the unemployment, his father was a symbol of power for him; householder, the one who supports both the family and the extended social network financially. However, the unemployment process made his father a passive member of the family in a continuous depressive mood. Emin was also angry towards his father due to his incompetence to bear paternal responsibilities. In addition, he was mistrustful towards the extended network since they did not support Emin's family both socially and financially.

The risky point in Emin's life was the association with antisocial adult figure as a substitute of his father. He mentioned that he was attached to this person and loved him as if he was his own brother because he was the only person who made Emin felt loved and cared after. He internalized the deviant norms of the antisocial attachment figure, had a criminal career and abused a various kinds of drugs.

He also mentioned that how being the oldest child in the family overburdened him since his father was too conservative to let the mother care about external family households such as joining to the information meetings in their children's school or going out to pay the bills. Beyond that, the father himself was unavailable for those and Emin was responsible to manage all these age- inappropriate stuff. This role confusion within the family strengthened Emin's obsession about being like an adult and having adult privileges.

Another issue was his continuous need for domination and intolerability toward different point of views. He was also tense, aggressive and tried to impose his opinions during the interview.

#### Bariş

Bariş is 17 years old and has been imprisoned four and a half months ago. He had no previous imprisonment and arrest records.

Bariş was living with his family before the imprisonment; his mother, his father and his siblings. His 45-year-old mother is a housewife and is going to literacy courses. His father is 45 years old and he is a primary school graduate. He is a construction worker.

He has five siblings; 23-year-old brother working in a textile atelier, 19-year old sister who is married, 16-year old brother who is also working in a textile atelier, 13-year-old sister who is going to a middle school and 11-year-old brother who is going to a primary school.

According to his reports during the interview, he has been accused of robbing a woman for her cellular phone and necklace with his friends. They had not been arrested during

the mugging but were arrested by the police while he was talking to the alleged partners during the offence. He continuously refused to be a partner in crime, emphasized the low level of relatedness with the partners in crime and avoided to give details about the issue during the interview. However, he also reported that his best friend is also imprisoned from an offence that he actually was not responsible for and the point sounds too incidental to be true which keeps a skeptical approach to his reasoning in mind.

He had dropped out of school in the first year of the middle school and was working in a textile atelier before incarceration. He mentioned that the causes of school drop out were the migration from Iğdır to İstanbul and the financial difficulties of the family at those times.

One of the main themes is the experience of migration and its consequences. He has a negative attitude towards the migration process because he had to drop out the school involuntarily and lost his child-role in Iğdır and become responsible for financing family in İstanbul. He made strict comparisons between Iğdır and İstanbul and identified Iğdır as sweet, small, warm, a place to be together with family members, a place with low crime rates while defined İstanbul as ambiguous, insecure, a place with difficult conditions, and a place with no social support network. His older sister and his older brother also leaved the home due to marriage and military service, respectively and these separations from the significant others worsened the loneliness process.

Another main issue is the despair due to school drop out and aspiration of being able to go to school. The most overwhelming paradoxical experience was that the parents explained the reasoning of the migration as better conditions for younger siblings financially and economically while he experienced a dramatic disadvantages and

deprivation in both by the migration. Throughout the interview, he repeatedly expressed how much he wished to go to school and mentioned the disadvantages of being uneducated; difficulty to find jobs, necessity to work in unskilled labour and not being able to look ahead.

### Current Perceptions Related to Criminal Activities

#### Current Offense

All of the adolescents are on trial for mugging “*gasp*” which is a kind of robbery. Although it is classified as a property offense, there are some main differences between robbery and milder forms of property offences such as theft. In robbery, there should be a threatening or actual intimidation and violence to victims. That is to say, it is an intentional act of depriving the victim from a property by means of fear and force.

All of the adolescents in the study reported that it was a team work and they were in a group of friends during the offense which is observed to have the heightened their sense of power during the offense and allows for the refusal to take the responsibility for the offense in their prospective evaluations. While the majority of the victims were strangers for the adolescents, many acknowledged that the victims were living in their neighborhood known by their crime partners. The details about the characteristics of the offense and the adolescents’ evaluations will be mentioned in the following pages under the relevant categories.

#### Previous Offense History

Four out of the eleven adolescents (Murat, Zafer, Ali and Emin) reported having previous offense records. They reported that the previous arrests were due to crimes



against people, more specifically, fights. On the other hand, the adolescents' previous deviant behaviors, whether it was illegal or not, are not restricted to the arrest records. Four of the adolescents (Emin, Mete, Burak and Murat) reported to be involved in property offenses prior to the current offense. Majority of the adolescents mentioned at least being involved in one count of truancy, drug abuse, theft, fights and violence toward others in their interviews without linking them to having acted antisocially prior to the arrest. Issues related to fights will be discussed in this section while drug abuse will be examined in the following sections related to deviant peer associations.

### Fights

Four of the adolescent (Emin, Nihat, Mehmet and Murat) were also observed to have problems in managing their anger. They seem to have a biased perception towards potential threat from others and are more likely to evaluate the ambiguous situations as others' intention to humiliate or harm them. The adolescents who had a biased perception of intentional harm from others are sensitive to the potential threat to their honor. Cursing, humiliating their family members and significant others by the means of repeatedly inferring to the honor in the family, were the dominant issues related to honor. Girl friends, women in the family such as mothers and sisters were the main objects of the honor. For instance, Emin declared the righteousness of the honor killings and supported the act of the antisocial adult figure who had killed a man who has spoken against his sister. Threat to a women virtue is apperant in the cases of Emin, Nihat and Mehmet .

I am very sensible about my family, I mean I will beat anyone who intends to make anything to them. I can not stand anyone who swears to them. I mean I can not stand when someone swears, to me or my family, if he thinks of something wrong. I mean, rather, nobody can handle that. I mean I can not stand a

word on me or my family, I'd rather desolate<sup>1</sup>. (Emin)

We were disputed with him. We fought I mean. For a friend. He started to go out with the girlfriend of one of my friends. We said, don't you know, he's my friend, etc. I hit him, 2-3 times. And he went and told it to my dad, uncle, etc, he told it to all of them<sup>2</sup>. (Nihat)

What are you looking at, for example. Why did you look at my girlfriend, etc. Because of that, I mean, because of them<sup>3</sup>. (Mehmet)

Emin and Mehmet also stated their difficulty to respect other people's opinion and they picked up a fight in order to impose their opinions.

It's nothing more but I can not handle it when some guy does smething to me. I mean, a person, I mean. Every man has a capacity of anger I mean. Some people come down a peg,. Some people can not stand anything. I can not stand things easily. Discussion, disagreements, harmony, does not happen between some people<sup>4</sup>. (Emin)

This guy, you know, we used to swear and fight before. He crashed to me, I said "Easy man" he swore, in the school. In purpose or not, a man should apologize. I said "Easy man", he swore, and I have beaten him<sup>5</sup>. (Emin)

Generally the fights starts from the reasons like, that guy glares at me or something. The fights grew. I mean, I don't feel hatred usually but when I feel

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1 Ben aileme karşı çok hassasım. Yani kılına zarar getirecek insanların hepsini ben yakarım yani. Kaldıramam küfür ettiğinde. Yani bir insan küfür ettiğinde gerek bana karşı olsun gerek aileme karşı olsun yanlış düşünüyorsa ben onu kaldıramam. Yani hiçbir insan daha doğrusu kaldıramaz. Yani kaldıramam bana karşı veya aileme karşı bir kelime geldiğinde üzerim daha iyi yani. (Emin)

2 Onunla kavgalıydık zaten. Kavga ettik işte. Arkadaş için. Benim arkadaşımın kız arkadaşıyla o çıkmaya başlamış. Biz dedik sen bilmiyor musun o benim arkadaşım falan. Vurdum işte 2-3 tane ona ben. O da gitmiş daha babamlara amcama falan filan hepsine gitmiş anlatmış. (Nihat )

3 Ya niye bakıyorsun mesela. Niye bilmem kız arkadaşına baktın falan. Bunun yüzünden yani onlar yüzünden. (Mehmet)

4 Ya başka bişey değil de benim şahsıma bir insan birşey yaptı mı ben kaldıramazdım yani... Yani bir insanın yani. Her insanın yani bir sinir kapasitesi vardır yani. Bazıları daha alttan alır. Bazıları da hiçbirşeye tahammül edemez. Ben kolay kolay birşeye tahammül edemem yani. Tartışma anlaşamama uyum olmuyor bazı insanlar arasında. (Emin)

5 Bu çocukla işte daha öncesinden de sürekli küfür kavga ediyorduk...Bana çarptı yavaş ol dedim küfür etti bana okulda...Bilerek veya bilmeyerek insan bir özür diler. Ben yavaş ol dedim ona. O direk küfür etti. Ben de dövdüm. (Emin)

hatred, fighting start afterwards<sup>6</sup>. (Mehmet)

In Emin, Murat and Mehmet's account, the occurrence of the fights was incidental and they were unable to define the causes of the fights.

Youth, a temporary desire<sup>7</sup>. (Emin)

I don't say we were fighting or not, but I mean, it wasn't happening like, I mean, growing. I don't know. I don't know, unimportant, unnecessary stuff<sup>8</sup>. (Mehmet)

We were going there at first. We were seeing that all of them were there. I was going<sup>9</sup>. (Murat)

On the other hand, Mehmet had some conflictual statements about the occurrence of the fights. In addition to having difficulty to managing his own anger due to his biased perception towards potential threat from others, he also mentioned that the necessity to obey deviant norms in order not to be excluded from the group of deviant friends in some instances.

I did not fight for myself but I went for the others fights. Not of mine. I don't remember myself getting into my own fight, I always went for theirs. At the starting point if you do not go they say "you betrayed" So you do go<sup>10</sup>. (Mehmet)

### Thinking Patterns that Sustain Deviance

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6 Genellikle. Ama öyle yok bu bana ters baktı hesabı yok bilmem neydi gibi şeylerden çıkıyordu. Büyüdü kavga. Yani kin duymamda mesela ben birine kin duyuyorum uyuz oluyorum. Hani sağlam çadıra basmasın yer ararım. Kavga çıkıyor ondan sonra. (Mehmet)

7 Gençlik. Bir anlık heves.(Emin)

8 Kavga ederdik etmiyorduk demiyorum da yani bu kadar şey olmuyordu, büyümüyordu. bilmiyorum....Bilmiyorum ki. Boştan beleşten işler. (Mehmet)

9 Gidiyorduk ilk önce. Bakıyorduk hepsi orada. Bir tane vuruyordum (Murat)

10 Ben kendim kavga etmezdim de milletin kavgasına giderdim ben. Kendimin değil. Kendimin kavgasına gittiğimi hatırlamıyorum hep onların kavgasına giderdim. Ya gaz devresinde gitmediğin zaman işte satış koydun falan diyorlar. Öyle gidiyorsun sende işte. (Mehmet)

Throughout the interviews, three themes emerged strongly related to the adolescents' perception of their deviant acts; normalization, refusal to take the responsibility and power orientation.

Due to those thinking patternings, it is difficult to determine the onset of deviation because most of the antisocial behaviors were normalized by the adolescents and were not conceptualized as "harming others". For instance, Murat was asked to identify the first offense he had committed, he reported his first arrest although he has reported to have taken part in theft, truancy, drug abuse previously. In other word, the prerequisite of defining an act as offensive or deviant is its legal status and was being detected by the judicial system, although he was reactional having been involved in the offensive behaviors since the age of nine just after his brother's release from the detention center.

The first crime I committed, I was 13 then, we were sitting in front of the house. I've seen my friends being beaten. I ran in, there was a knife in there, took that. I was in the act. I hit one of them in the head, it was bleeding. That guy was in a coma for 5-10 days. So that I was in. We started like that<sup>11</sup>. (Murat)

Murat was not unique in linking antisocial acts with being caught for the offense. All appeared to follow a similar pattern. Among all, only Burak was insightful in the gradual amplification of the seriousness of the deviation and reported that they were committing thefts while they were younger and gradually began to commit offenses in which the victim is forced and violated such as mugging.

Yeah, we were robbing the aliminum stores generally. There are aluminim- ironworkers you know, he was robbing them. Then we grow up,

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<sup>11</sup> İlk işlediğim olay. O zaman 13 yaşındaydım. Evin önünde oturuyorduk. Baktım arkadaşlarımı dövüyorlar. Ben de koştum içeriden döner bıçağı vardı, onu aldım. Ben de olaya karıştım işte. Orada birtanesinin kafasına vurdum. Yarıldı böyle. İşte çocuk 5-10 gün komada kaldı. O yüzden öyle alındım. İşte o şekil. Oradan öyle öyle başladık. (Murat)

robbing the markets, etc., then it turned to the assumption<sup>12</sup>. (Burak)

Not being caught or at least not being punished for previous offenses appeared to have an effect on the adolescents' view of their criminal acts and reinforced their sense of irresponsibility. Not being sentenced or otherwise penalized by the courts give the feeling of innocence which may distant their appraisal of the acts they commit. For instance, Emin was accusing the teachers by being unfair in their decision to expelling Emin from the school after he had stabbed his friend in the school because he perceive himself as innocent since he had not been penalized by the court. Similarly, the amplifying effect of not being penalized on further offenses was apparent in Murat's stabbing of a person and causing him to go to a coma which was indicated above.

Yeah, then we appeared in the court, I told the event. We were set free<sup>13</sup>.  
(Emin)

Acquittal after having committed crimes appear to depart from the harm caused to the victim. Normalization is also seen in the pattern of their verbalization of their deviant involvements. "Finding their way" is the most common concept in the criminal talk, without any reference to moral dilemmas

We were finding a way. My friend was helping, it was nothing. We were working in the morning, tiny works existed, I mean we had chances. I was helping to most of my friends. There were people that we liked and people we did not. I mean, it was happening<sup>14</sup>. (Emin)

They said we will find our way. I was not knoeing what does finding way

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12 Hı hı genellikle aliminyum dükkanı soyardık. Aliminyum demirciler var ya onları soyuyorduk. Sonra büyüdükçe bakkaldı derken sonra gaspa döndü. (Burak)

13 Hı hı. Sonra mahkemeye çıktık olayı anlattım. Serbest bırakıldık (Emin)

14 Buluyorduk yolunu. Arkadaş yardım ediyordu yani birşey değil. Gündüz iş yapıyorduk ufak tefek işler oluyordu yani imkanımız vardı. Ben yardım ediyordum arkadaşlarımlın çoğuna. Sevdiğimiz insan vardı sevmediğimiz insan vardı yani. Oluyordu yani. (Emin)

mean. He said “do you have money?” my friend was speaking “I need money, we are going to find money from somewhere”<sup>15</sup>. (Metem)

We made things as we wanted, like snatching, assumption, automobiles, I mean we did anything<sup>16</sup>. (Murat)

### Normalization

The normalization of their antisocial behavior is an emerging theme in four of the interviews (Emin, Zafer, Ali and Mehmet). Firstly, the adolescents have a tendency to minimize the seriousness of the antisocial behavior. Secondly, they tend to emphasize the sudden occurrence while talking about the occurrence of the offense which lead to normalization of the criminal act. Tendency to normalize the decision of robbery was emerged in the cases of Emin, Zafer and Ali.

Momentary, momentary, what shall we do, what shall we do, we should make assumption<sup>17</sup>. (Emin)

It’s not that they speak that way but, it is a momentary act<sup>18</sup>. (Zafer)

As I have said before, one night when I came back, we drank again. Then we went touring. Narcotics, you know, we deforced those men. Money was finished. When I came, each time I come I had money anyway. As I have asked, the money finished at that moment. Ran out of marijuana, no money. What are we gonna do? You know. I have already told you<sup>19</sup>. (Ali)

In addition to the occurrence of the robbery and the other property offenses, they tend to generalize this justification patterns to the fights. They tend to perceive their criminal behaviour as accidental rather than intentional.

You know, in between them, I do not know. They called me too, told me

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15 Dedik yolumuza bakıcaz, biz de bilmiyoruz tabi yolumuza bakıcazı. Dedi sizin paranız var mı, arkadaş dedi bana para lazım dedi para bulucaz bi yerlerden falan dedi. (Metem)

16 Kafamıza estiği gibi yapardık bişeyler. Kapkaç olsun, gasp olsun, oto olsun. herşey yapardık yani. (Murat)

17 Bir anlık bir anlık. Para bitti. Napalım napalım? Gasp yapalım. (Emin)

18 Yok öyle konuşmuyorlardı da yani birden olan bir olay (Zafer)

19 İşte tekrar geldiğimde bir gece geldiğimde tekrar içtik dedik ya hocam. Ondan sonra gezmeye falan çıktık.

Uyuşturucu işte adamları falan gasp ettik. Para bitti. Geldiğimde zaten her geldiğimde bende para olurdu yani. İşte ben sorunca işte o zaman para bitti. Esrar bitti para yok. Napcaz ne edicez işte. Yani hocam. Anlattım işte (Ali)

that there is a fight and I have gone. We were taken afterwards. I mean, actually there is no assumption happening, it is just an idiom<sup>20</sup>.(Mehmet)

Nah, we have just hassled. Things grew afterwards. My friends exaggerated a little and stabbed the kid<sup>21</sup>. (Emin).

You get into trouble that way. You found yourself in the act in an unintended way<sup>22</sup>. (Zafer)

### Refusal to take the responsibility

In addition to the justification of the criminal behaviour and minimizing its seriousness, adolescents were also unwilling to accept the responsibility for their behaviour. With their high level of refusal to take responsibility, they tended to blame others and attribute an agency to others and external source and reflect as if they were passive in the process.

The level of refusal to take responsibility varied among adolescents. Six of the adolescents (Emin, Ali, Mehmet, Osman, Sinan and Zafer) tended to minimize their responsibility by attributing the responsibility to the effects of drugs, the deviant peer associations or to the contextual stressors they had experienced. In addition, two of them (Barış and Nihat) totally rejected their involvement in the offense. Mete accepted his involvement but either minimized his responsibility by claiming that he was just a watchman during the offense and was not intimidate with victim directly.

Emin and Ali accepted their involvement during the offense but minimized their intentionality by emphasizing that they were under the effect of drug. In addition, Ali and

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20 İşte onların aralarında. bilmiyorum ki. işte beni de çağırdılar kavga var dediler bende gittim işte. ondan sonra alındık işte. yani gasp olayı yok aslında ortada da yani öyle bir deyim var yani. (Mehmet)

21 yo sadece tartışmıştık. ondan sonra olay büyüdü işte. benim arkadaşlar biraz abarttılar işi. çocuğu bıçakladılar.(Emin)

22 O şekilde işte başım belaya giriyor. İstmeden kendini olayların içinde buluyorsun (Zafer)

Mehmet reported that hanging out with deviant peers was the main cause of their offense.

The problematic thinking error throughout these two interview is that, They reflected their deviant peer group involvement and, more specifically involvement in the offense, as if these processes were totally out of their self-control.

I also do not remember exactly. I was high<sup>23</sup>. (Emin)

How did it happen? Because of the entourage. I mean the guys we hang out with, actually the guys we hang out with were not of mine, I mean not at my age, older than me. We have seen from them, namely we have learned. We came together as 3-5 friends, having drugs. By its effect namely<sup>24</sup>. (Ali)

Because of friends<sup>25</sup>. (Mehmet)

Osman continuously emphasized that the robbery was adult-driven and he was under threat. He reasoned that “he had to commit the robbery” in order to prevent potential damage and stigmatization.

He threatened us We were under pressure, that’s why we did it, that’s the case I mean. I mean, we did not intend to do it. I have already come from the village, was working. I mean, I had a job. Everybody knows me. I was obliged to. I mean we did come. We did not know what Istanbul is about, what happens in. We were afraid because of its greatness<sup>26</sup>. (Osman)

Some of the adolescents also tend to reduce their responsibility by attributing the cause of the offense to the distal life stressors they experiences. They emphasized their depressed mood that impeded their decision making processes and moral reasoning. The problematic reasoning in this causality was that in they did not take the intervening processes in between the reported causes and the emergence of the antisocial acts into

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23 Tam olarak hatırlamıyorum bende yani. Kafam güzeldi. uyuşturucu ..hap esrar içki hepsini aldım (Emin)

24 Nasıl oldu? Arkadaş ortamından dolayı. Yani gezdiğimiz adamları, gerçi dolaştığımız arkadaşlıklar benden yani yaşlıtlarım değıldiler benden büyüklerdi. Onlardan görüyorduk yani biz de öğrendik. 3-5 arkadaş topladık öyle uyuşturucu içiyorduk. İşte onun etkisiyle yani... (Ali)

25 Arkadaş yüzünden... (Mehmet)

26 O bizi tehdit etti. Zaten baskı altında kaldık onun için yaptık olay bu yani. Yani bilerek yapmamıştık. Ben zaten köyden gelmişim çalışıyordum yani. Çalıştığım yer var yani. Beni de herkes biliyor. Mecbur kaldım. Yani gelmiştik İstanbuldur bilmiyorduk ne olduğunu. O da büyük olduğu için korktuk. (Osman)



account. For instance, Sinan blamed the brother of his ex-girl friend for his own behaviour and avoided to take the mediating processes of his own action into account. When he was reminded that the offense he was incarcerated for was related to property and victimized other person, he stated that;

Ok, thats another thing but... That period, I mean, its depression<sup>27</sup>.  
(Sinan)

If he did not break up, maybe we would not be here. I was sad I mean. Sometimes I think about shooting myself on the head because of this event. It hurts a lot. It is the reason of my presence in here, nothing else<sup>28</sup>. (Sinan)

Similarly, Zafer blamed his brother who had left the home and his father who had been murdered.

Not to blame them but, the departure of my brother and the death of my father corrupted my psychology. I have thrown myself out, it's because of that<sup>29</sup>.  
(Zafer)

Mete mentioned that he was just a watchman during the offense. In Emin's account, being watchman is not equated with being the crime partner.

I was only observing, I did not even realize what happened<sup>30</sup>. (Mete)

On the other hand, Barış and Nihat were the ones who totally rejected their involvement.

I did not see the event. I had no idea until I've seen my case. Then the advocate came. I had no idea why I was taken, how it happened before that<sup>31</sup>.

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27 Ya tamam o ayrı da. O dönemde yani onun moral bozukluğu... (Sinan)

28 Belki ayrılmasaydı yani belki burada olmazdık. Üzüldüm yani. Bazen yani kafama sıkasım da geliyordu yani bu olaydan dolayı. Çok koyuyordu yani. Buraya düşmemin nedeni odur yani başka da bir şey değil yani. (Sinan)

29 Hani şimdi onları suçlamak gibi olmasında abimin gitmesi babamın vefatı iyice psikolojimi bozmuştu. Bende kendimi dışarı atmıştım ondan dolayı kaynaklanmıştır. (Zafer)

30 Ben sadece gözlüyordum ne olduğunu anlamadım bile. (Mete)

31 Olayı falan görmedim ben. Benim dosyayı görene kadar olayla ilgili bir bilgim yoktu. Avukat geldi sonra benim yanıma. Ondan önce neden alındık nasıl oldu benim hiç bir bilgim yoktu (Barış)

(Barış)

I did not even see the event. They lodged a complaint about me<sup>32</sup>. (Nihat)

### Power Orientation

Power orientation is another dimension in adolescents' criminal thinking patterns which emerged in the five of the interviews (Zafer, Ali, Murat, Emin and Mehmet). Criminal adolescents, especially the ones who manifested a life time persistent trajectories, attempted to exert power and control over others. They reported that they felt weak and helpless when not in control of a situation. They attempt to alleviate this feeling by manipulating, intimidating, or physically assaulting others. The power orientation is noticeably in the cases of Murat, Emin, Ali and Mehmet.

You know, if we did not oppress, we would be oppressed, so that we are trying to oppress. Now you take a look and see that the kids are being beaten by everybody. If we join. If we do not act that way, we will be beaten too. We said that best of it will be us who oppress instead of the others. Others get oppressed instead of us. You know. If I was not following this path, if it was the other way, I could not take my girlfriend and go anywhere. People would pass a word or do stuff. I would be beaten, be oppressed. On the other hand, I mean, they would take my money, my stuff. But if you are following this path, they can neither say something to someone with you, or take your money, or swear, or beat you. It differs a lot. They can not say anything. They would say lots of things if it was the other way<sup>33</sup>. (Murat)

Now if I tell you something, you would tell me another thing. My point would not suit you, and yours would not suit me. And if you push that a little forward, say it will be my way or I say it will be my way, there will always be a debate or fight in the end. I mean, I don't know but most of the fights in a

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32 Ben olayı görmedim bile şikayet etmişler (Nihat)

33 İşte ezmek ezilirdik. Bizde ezmeye çalışıyoruz işte...Şimdi bakıyorsun çoluk çocuk hep dayak yiyor milletten. Şimdi bizde girsek... Biz o şekil olmasak biz de dayak yiyeceğiz. En iyisi dedik biz olalım. Biz ezelim millet ezeceğine. Millet ezilsin biz ezilmeyelim. O şekil... Bu yola girmeseydim diğer türlü olsaydı ben şimdi bir kız arkadaşımı alıp bir yere gidemezdim. Millet laf atardı şey yapardı. Dayak yerdim ezilirdim. Ayriyetten yani paramı alırlardı şeyimi alırlardı. Ama diğer yola girdin mi hani ne yarındaki insane kimse birşey diyebilir ne paramı alabilir, ne küfür edebilir, ne vurabilir. Hani çok fark var arada. Hani hiçkimse birşey diyemez hani diğer türlü olsa hani çok şey derler. (Murat)

friendship are that way. Making them sad is better anyway<sup>34</sup>. (Emin)

Though none was superior than me at the school. No one could defy me. No one could say anything. Since I was superior than anyone, they came to me as anything happens at school<sup>35</sup>. (Ali)

You know, what the young people think is for example, that guy afraid of me, does what I want. That was all we were thinking of. Let's beat him, let's do it. Coming over, I mean on the outside. Nothing else<sup>36</sup>. (Mehmet)

They also glorified the antisocial adult figures in their lives that were perceived as the source of power. Zafer, Emin, Ali and Mete are the adolescent who had a tendency to identify with those powerful figures.

What was I saying? Well-done, etc. Did that well. That's what I was saying. I mean, I was saying they did it well. On affair at those times in the past. It felt like they were so powerful... Because I hang out with those elders. They had cars and stuff. I was hanging out. Because they see me all the time with them. Sometimes I was going to school by car. I mean, because of that<sup>37</sup>. (Ali)

Consequently, they had a tendency to reject the subordination to authority. In its milder forms, they rejected the parental authority and authority figures in the school. In some other adolescents like Emin and Murat, they blamed the regulations in the legal system.

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34 Yani ben şimdi size birşey desem siz başka birşey dersiniz. benim fikrim size uymaz sizin ki de bana uymaz. E bunu biraz daha ileri götürüsen. İlla benim fikrim olucak dersiniz ya da ben illa benim fikrim olucak dersem bunun sonu illaki ya tartışmayla ya kavgayla bitiyor. Yani bilmiyorum ama çoğu kavgalar arkadaşlıkta o şekilde... Üzerim daha iyi yani. (Emin)

35 Gerçi okulda benden üstün yoktu da. Hiç kimse bana kafa tutamıyordu. Hiç kimse bir şey diyemiyordu. Bende herkesten üstün olduğum için okulda herhangi bir olay olduğu zaman benim yanıma geliyorlardı (Ali)

36 Ya işte gençlerin düşündüğü ne mesela falan kişi benden korksun. Benim dediğimi yapsın. Düşündüğümüz hep oydu. başka bişey yok. Şunu dövelim şunu yapalım. Havamızı satmaktı yani dışarıda. Başka bişey yok. (Mehmet)

37 Ya ne diyordum. Helal olsun falan yani. İyi yapmış falan. Öyle diyordum. Ya iyi yapmışlar diyordum işte. O anki şeyle işte o zaman ki halimle. Güçlü oldukları gibi bir şey hissettiriyordu...O büyüklerin yanında takıldığım için. Arabaları falan vardı. Geziyordum. Her zaman yanlarında gördükleri için. Bazen okula arabayla gidiyordum. Yani onun için işte. (Ali)

I mean, I don't know. You can't know what they'll do next. I mean, another court does not do things. It does not care that much. Bakırkoy forexample, there is also Beyoglu courthere. There is Istanbul Child Court, and the other one. Here I mean, some people do it. I also have friends from the outside. They come for the 3rd time and they discharge again. But Bakirkoy court is a crappy place I mean. Sometime, it punished anyone who comes, now they discharge most of the people, my friends who came later tells that the advocates of the bar council complained about it<sup>38</sup>. (Emin)

Though, it's a conspiracy the police set on me anyway. I have gotten in and out of the police station before. They kicked against me<sup>39</sup>. (Murat)

### Importance of Money

Another significant theme emerged during the four interviews (Mete, Murat, Emin and Ali) is the significance of having money. Emin mentioned that having money is necessary for supplying for the basic needs for life such as nutrition, clothing, transportation and looking after the households. However, in addition to the supply of basic needs, he also identified it's necessity to protect one's power status, to invest for having girl friends which is another symbol of power. He added that not having money is depressing and embarrassing. Similar to Emin, Murat also defined the significance of having money to being all powerful and emphasized the necessity of it to make people to submit and serve for you. Murat conceptualized the relationship between having money and being powerful in an all-or-none patterning and emphasized that he felt good about being different and, subjectively, more powerful than his peers by having a lot of pocket

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38 Bilmiyorum işte. Ne yapacakları belli değil. Yani başka bir mahkeme hani şey yapmıyor. Bu kadar üstüne düşmüyor. Bakırköy mesela burada beyoğlu adliyesi de var. İstanbul çocukta var öbürü de var. Burada yani bazı insanlar yapıyor. benim dışarıdan da yani arkadaşlarım var. Üçüncü kere tekrar geliyorlar gene tahliye oluyorlar. Ama bakırköy adliyesi yani pis bir yer. Önüne gelene bir ara herkese ceza veriyordu. Şimdi çoğu insanı tahliye ediyorlar da sonradan gelen arkadaşlarım söylüyor işte baro avukatları şikayette bulunmuş. (Emin)

39 Gerçi bu emniyetin bana kurduğu bir komplo zaten. Önceden benim karakola girip çıkmışlığım vardı girip çıkıyordum. Uyuz oldular bana. (Murat)

money supplied by his brother who had a criminal history from the early school ages onward.

You know, money is a sine qua non at this time. You are nothing without money, just nothing. Because, you know, how will you feed on without money. How can you dress up. If you have a family to look after, how will you do. There is the transportation, there is that dress and finery, I mean, there should be money anyhow. I don't mean that money is everything, but there should be money. You will get depressed without it. You will get depressed without money. I mean foreexample, a guy has a girlfriend, but he can't go anywhere with her, I mean, ofcourse he won't go anywhere, where can you take her without the money? You'll have to drink something at somewhere anyway, so how are you gonna pay? One would be ashamed of that<sup>40</sup>. (Emin)

If you don't have money, you are strong in this age, this world. If you have money, you are both strong and you are everything... If I had money, I would succeed in anything, I mean. That guy would come to you from his house even if it's 5 in the morning<sup>41</sup>. (Murat)

In Ali's case, the main prerequisite of being powerful is identified as having money as it is in Murat and Emin.

There is no door money can't open. I mean, it does anything. Actually it is not that important. Better with it than without it<sup>42</sup>. (Ali)

In Mete's case, he mentioned that the primary reason for the feeling of envy to an antisocial older relative was the elder's possession of money. There are comparisons

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40 Ya para şimdiki zamanda olmazsa olmaz yani. Paran yoksa hiçbirşeysin. hiçbirşeysin. çünkü hani ne bileyim paran yoksa yani karnımı nasıl doğuracaksın. Üstünü başını nasıl giyeceksin. Ev bakmaya mecbur olduğun bir ailen varsa nasıl bakacaksın. Ulaşımı var giyimi var kuşamı var. Yani para olmazsa olmazlardandır yani. Yani demiyorum herşey paradır da gene de para olmazsa olmazlardandır yani...Bunalıma girersin yani ya. Parasız olsan bunalıma girersin. Yani mesela bir erkeğin kız arkadaşı olsa kız arkadaşıyla bir yere gidecek olsa dair gidemez yani tabi gidemez paran yoksa nereye götüreceksin. İllaki bir yerlerde oturup birşeyler içmek lazım e neyle ödeyeceksin. İnsan kendinden utanç duyar. (Emin)

41 Paran olmazsa bu devirde bu alemde güçlüsün. Paran olursa bu alemde güçlü de sensin herşey sensin.... Para olduktan sonra yılanı bile deliğinden çıkartırdım yani. O şekil. Adam gece 5 olsa yani ara evinden gelir yani. (Murat)

42 Paranın açamayacağı kapı yoktur ki. Yani her şeyi açar...Ya pek fazla önemli değil de hani. Olmamasından daha iyidir paranın olması. (Ali)

between the privileges of antisocial attachment figures such as being respected, having what he wants, investing for girl friends and having an adult privileges because of having a lot of money and Mete's deprivation from all those privileges and feelings of rejection.

He did anything he wanted when he had money. He kept on buying stuff to the girls. I could not do anything, I had friends but when I went there, I could just sit. He said, money ain't no problem anyway. I will give you as much as you want, come and let's go somewhere, I'm bored he said, and I wanted to anyway. Then, he was going to the cafe with his friends, but they were not letting me in. He said to the cafe owner "he will just sit with us, he won't do anything". The cafe owner said no, he is not old enough, but he was letting them in since they were always there. They were also not old enough anyway but since they were there all the time, he was letting them in. Not me... Forexample, I was going somewhere but I had no money... I said, bro, I am working here, I will pay you later, and he said, no man, not without the money. The people from our village knew me mostly anyway and did noty give to me. But he was giving me what I wanted. They were telling me to come and ask them if I do not have money, do not hesitate. They were giving him since he had money, do not make debt. That is why he said "I am working" at home. He could make debt in the patisserie or other places and hecould pay afterwards. They have said to me no, you are a student. I don't know, but some, he took 10 liras, he gives 15 and says keep the change. That way, those men trusted him, think he has money<sup>43</sup>. (Mete)

It is noteworthy to mention that the cases in which the significance of money came out as one of the main themes during the interview are the ones which the

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43 Parası olunca istediğini yapıyordu, kızlara bi şeyler alıyordu. Ben de hiç bir şey yapamıyordum arkadaşlarım var ama ben gidince öle oturuyordum. O zaten para hiç sorun diil diyordu. Kaç para istersen ben vericem sana diyordu, gel gezmeye gidelim, benim canım sıkılıyor diyodu, e ben de istiyordum zaten. Ondan sonra kahveye gidiyordu arkadaşlarıyla, beni kahveye almıyorlardı ama, kahveye dedi sadece yanımızda otursun bir şey yapmıyacak falan dedi. kahveci dedi yok dedi yaşı büyük değil onun dedi. Zaten onların da yaşı o kadar büyük değildi ama devamlı gittiklerinden adam onları alıyordu. Beni almıyordu...Benin mesela bir yere gidiyorum falan ya param olmuyordu... Bir yere gidiyordum abi diyordum burda çalışıyorum bana bişiler ver sonra getiririm diyodum, yok oğlum paran olmadandan olmaz diyordu zaten bizim köylülerin çoğuda tanıyordu vermiyordu bana. Ama o istedimi ona çıkarıp veriyordu...Onlar zaten bize diyodu yani, yani o gel paran olmazsa gel bende iste şey yapma diyordu.... Ona şey veriyorlardı, adamın parası var ya borç yapmıyordu, ondan evinde diyordu çalışıyorum, pastahane olsun diğer yerler olsun borç yapıyodu yani, ondan sonra ödüyordu parasını. Bana o zamanlar yok diolardı olmaz öğrencisin.... Bilmem, ama a biraz, mesela o on lira mı aldı 15 lira veriyo abi üstü kalsın. Öyle falan, adamın artık ona güveni oluyo. Parası var diyordu. (Mete)

adolescents had a criminal self-concept and positive attitudes towards antisocial adult figures.

On the other hand, there are also some adolescent's who had negative attitudes towards money; Osman and Barış. The reason of having a negative attitude is the discrepancy between the possibility of having a lot of money in their lives by legal ways and their current financial conditions. Their awareness about the necessity of acting illegally to have an amount of money for gaining a power status rather than supplying basic needs, triggered their perception of negative consequences of the offensive behaviors, such as relational problems within the family and the possibility of being arrested.

People change anyway. I saw some men change. He forgets about the people around when he has money. He forgets about his friends. He has problems with his family. He leaves the house. He goes hanging out, drinking. I don't want that kinda stuff. All I think is, working up in the hard way. That is, I pay for the education of my little siblings, thats enough<sup>44</sup>. (Osman)

No it's not that important. It is not as important as to ruin your youth. Thhat's what I think<sup>45</sup>. (Barış)

#### Lack of Victim Empathy

Lack of victim empathy is another factor in offending of the eight adolescents (Murat, Sinan, Ali, Nihat, Emin, Barış, Burak, and Mete). Empathy is a complex reaction that requires both perspective-taking skills and sympathetic feelings. The adolescents in the study were observed to have some deficits both in the cognitive perspective-taking

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44 İnsan değişiyor yani. Bazı kişileri görmüşüm değişiyor. Parasını olduğu zaman etraftaki insanı tanımıyor. Arkadaşını tanımıyor. Ailesiyle sorunu oluyor. Evden gidiyor. İçmeye gidiyor bir yere takılıyor. Ben öyle şeyler istemiyorum yani. Tek bir düşündüğüm çalışayım alın terimle. O diğer ufak kardeşlerimi okutayım o yeterli yani. (Osman)

45 Hayır çok önemli değil yani. Bi gençliğini çürütecek kadar önemli değil yani. Öyle düşünüyorum. (Barış)

skills and in experiencing sympathetic feelings toward the person they had been victimized.

Them, I mean, take us with their places I mean. Anyway, sometimes we were high, did not do anything. Them, I mean, we were going anyway. We were doing what we were to do I mean<sup>46</sup>. (Mete)

It never came to our minds. We were taking what we were to take anyway, say let what will happen happen. You know, it does not come to ones mind. When you use that god damn inhalant no one comes to your mind. We go to someones house and break the windows. Besides, we hurt at work. Who is this guy, what does he do? Whether he run out of money, we were not thinking these<sup>47</sup>. (Burak)

In some cases, adolescents mentioned that the victims suffered in a particular way but they referred as if someone else victimized them rather than themselves and distanced themselves in their statements.

Just think of that, he wants your money. You don't give it, you resist. He persists, I mean, you don't give it. But he is determined to take it. I mean, he may hurt you<sup>48</sup>. (Emin)

I don't know, it's a bad thing. Sometimes I think, if something similar happens to me, I mean you work, intending to bring money to your house, but a kid comes and takes it from you. The needs of your family are gone. It's a bad thing in my opinion. I mean, that's what I think<sup>49</sup>. (Barış)

Besides, some adolescents blamed the victim either for making a faulty depositions, for behaving inconsistently in repeated victimizations or by claiming it was

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46 Onu işte onu bizim onlarla yerine koyalım yani. Yine de bazen kafamız yerinde oluyordu hiç şey yapmıyorduk.

Onlar yani yine gidiyorduk yani. Yapacağımızı gene yapıyorduk yani. (Mete)

47 Hiç aklımızın ucundan bile geçmiyordu. Zaten alacağımızı alıyorduk zaten artık ne olursa olsun diyorduk. Ya insanın hiç aklına gelmiyor. Şu lanet baliyi kullanınca insan insanın hiç aklına gelmiyor. Birisinin evine gidiyorduk camları kırıyorduk. Bi de işte zarar da veriyorduk. Acaba bu adam kim yapıyor. Güçte kalmış parayı. Onları hiç yazmıyorduk. (Burak)

48 Düşünün bir kere yani biri sizden paranızı istiyor. Siz vermiyorsunuz direniyorsunuz. O da üsteliyor yani siz vermiyorsunuz. Ama o kararlı onu almaya kararlı bir yerde. Bize zarar verebilir falan. (Emin)

49 Bilmiyorum çok kötü birşey. Bazen düşünüyorum acaba bana da böyle birşey olsa bazen böyle çalışıyorsun bir evine ekmeğini falan götüreceksin. Onu çocuğun biri çıkıp geliyor elinden alıp gidiyor. Çoluğun çocuğun ekmeği gidiyor. Kötü birşey bence. Öyle düşünüyorum yani. (Barış)



the victims fault.

Come on, whats my fault about it, I too went with him. Ok, it's not that it did not come to my mind but I just said, nevermind, I'd better not get involved. I don't mean that I'm not guilty. I too am not lieing here innocent. I was there too<sup>50</sup>. (Emin)

He have mistaken for someone else, there is no other chance. We did not do anything<sup>51</sup>. (Nihat)

He did not call it back (his complaint) Because it was him who was guilty, not me<sup>52</sup>. (Ali)

They say we like it when it suits their purpose, but they say they caused damage when it does not. I mean, we are good when they like and bad otherwise<sup>53</sup>. (Murat)

Throughout the interviews, Sinan and Murat stated that they humiliated and used the physical force on the victims. Interestingly, Murat also stated that it was a matter of profession and it is more appropriate to finish the job you began. Otherwise, it would be unjustly to be arrested for an offense attempt.

I said like, go and tell it to your chief or your clerk, or whoever you want. His son came from school, you know, I have beaten him and sent him back...Now oftenly, I mean, he may reacted or something. We may have hit there, or did something. I mean, most probably we have done it, because when you stick to a job, you should not stop without achieving it. I mean, you may tell, ok, you say I may go without taking that thing. But, bang, some cameras have seen you, I mean, there are cameras around. It may have recorded us. So I may come here and lay without being guilty. So we take the job anyhow. You wouldn't stop without taking it. That way<sup>54</sup>. (Murat)

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50 Ya benim ne suçum var ki ben de onunla beraber gittim. Ha benim de aklımdan geçmedi değil ama dedim boşver ben karışmayayım dedim. Ben demiyorum ben suçsuzum. Suçsuz yere ben de yatmıyorum. Ben de oradaydım ama... (Emin)

51 Benzetmiş başka bir ihtimal yok. Biz yapmadık etmedik. (Nihat)

52 Geri çekmedi (şikayetini). Çünkü suçlu olan oydu ben değildim. (Ali)

53 İşlerine geldi mi seviyoruz diyorlar işlerine gelmedi mi zarar. Verdi diyorlar ... Yani işlerine geldiği zaman yani iyiyiz, işlerine gelmediği zaman yani kötüyüz. (Murat)

54 Ben de dedim git dedim amirine mi söylüyon memuruna mı memuruna mı söylüyon kime söylersen söyle. Oğlu geldi işte okuldan oğlunu dövdüm gönderdim.... Şimdi çoğu zaman olmuştur yani öyle tepki mepki vermiştir. Hani biz

Then we called him aside. I, you know, asked him kindly to lend me some money. Since he hassled a bit, we got toughen. That's it. Nothing else<sup>55</sup>. (Sinan)

### Regrets

Five of the adolescents (Emin, Ali, Burak, Mete and Osman) talked off their regrets about the occurrence of the offense. However, the content of the adolescents' statements containing regret was not victim oriented but included the grief of losing their freedom, being caught and send to detention center. Three of the adolescents focused on their own experiences of losses.

Whatever we have done, we have done to ourselves, I mean, nothing else<sup>56</sup>. (Emin)

I was feeling good then. When I look back, I see that I have done lots of stupid things. You know, if you were here, you would understand that easily, I mean. You would get it easily, it's not something hard to understand<sup>57</sup>. (Ali)

They curse. They curse and say I hope his life will be like this or that. Anyhow what people do, I mean we are here now because of those curses. That's the reason. I mean, what would you expect when you make assumption and makes him curse to you? They complain, they curse, they'd do anything<sup>58</sup>. (Burak)

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de orada vurmuşuzdur şey yapmışızdır. Hani illa yapmışızdır yani bir işe yapıştınmı o işi almadan bırakılmaz çünkü. Hani dersin tamam dersin ben bu işi almadım gideyim. Tık seni orada bir kamera görmüştür yani etrafta kamera var. Çekmiştir bizi. Geleceğim burada suçsuz yere yatacağım . Hani illaki alıyorduk o işi. Almadan da bırakmassın yani. O şekil.(murat)

55 Ondan sonra bizde çektik kenara.Ben yani nasıl diyeyim borç para vermesini rica ettim. O da biraz çart çurt yapınca, bizde biraz tersleştik. O kadar yani. Başka bişey yok. (Sinan)

56 Ne ettiyse kendimize ettik işte başka birşey yok. (Emin)

57 O zaman çok iyi hissediyordum hocam. Ama şuanda baktığımda çok salaklık falan yapmışım hocam. İşte hocam siz de böyle bir yerde olsaydınız çok rahat anlardınız yani hocam. Çok rahat anlarsınız, anlamayacak bir şey değil yani. (Ali)

58 Beddua ederler. Beddua eder onun da hayatında şöyle olsun böyle olsun. Zaten yaptıkları insanların beddua ede ede bunlar biz buraya düştük yani. O yüzden. Yani nisanı gidip bedduasını alıp gasp edersen ne bekliyorsun ki. Şikayetçi olurlar beddua ederler her şeyi yaparlar. (Burak)

Whenever they took the others into account, it tend to be their own family members and the externally imposed moral norms rather than internal moral intuitions toward victim.

One day, we were sitting somewhere. Suddenly, it came to my mind, my friend also said. “You see Ferhat?” said one of my friends, he brings money in an easy way. He said, “What if we do such a job? We would live well for 36 years”. “Anyhow” he said, “mother is in the village”, you know, lack of money. He said, we would attract attention if we do such a thing in the village as my father says. Then he said, OK, we’d better not do it, we’d better not go near them again. I said OK. I said, we have a nice job, it’s illicit for nothing. But that was what came to our minds then. He said, for nothing. We’d earn by ourselves, we’ll spend by ourselves. We’d better not send illicit money to our families. That was what came to our minds, of mine and my friend. But it first came to his mind, it was him first who told me. He said, we have nothing to do in there, we have our jobs... I mean, you know our families were in the village. Something happens in our village, they aggravate it too much. He said, we’ll not even be able to get married if we do this. We will not have the heart to see our families again, they will be disgraced in the village if we do such a thing. And I said alright, you are right. I thought so I said<sup>59</sup>. (Mete)

For the thing we have done, the event, I mean we get angry for ourselves. I wish I was dead and did not do such a thing. I’m so regretful. I also think about my family since they are poor. I also think about the work I have done. It happens<sup>60</sup>. (Osman)

I mean, the same could have happened to me too. Who knows, my family could have lived the same. My cousin was assumed once, for a moment I said

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59 İşte birgün böyle oturuyoruz. Biranda o aklıma geldi arkadaşla dedi. Görüyor musun Ferhatları dedi bir tane arkadaşımı kolay yoldan para getiriyor. Dedi biz de bunun gibi bir iş yapsak dedi 36 sene hayatımızı yırtarız dedi. Zaten dedi köyde dedi annem var dedi işte parasızlık. Babamlar dedi köyün gözüne batarlar dedi böyle birşey yaparsak dedi. Dedik yapmayalım o zaman bir daha bunların yanına gitmeyelim falan dedi arkadaşım. Ben de dedim tama dedim. Ne güzel işimiz var dedim boşuna dedim haram para dedim. Ama işte o zaman ikimizin aklından da geçen o oldu yani. Boşuna dedi. Kendimiz çalışıp kendimiz yiyelim dedi. Annemize babamıza haram para göndermeyelim falan dedik işte. İkimizin aklından da geçen şey oydu yani arkadaşım. İlk onun aklından geçti ama ilk bana o söyledi. Dedi bizim ne işimiz var dedi çalışıyoruz dedi...İşte bizim ailemiz köydeydi ya. Bizim köyde birşey oluyor ya onu çok abartıyorlar yani. Bize dedi kız bile vermezler dedi böyle yaparsak dedi. Yani ailemizin yüzüne bakamayız, dedi ailemiz köyde rezil olur dedi eğer böyle birşeyimiz olursa dedi. Ben de tamam dedim doğru söylüyorsun dedim. Benim aklımdan da geçti dedim. (Mete)

60 Olayı yaptığımız şeye kendimize kızıyoruz yani. Keşke ölseydim de öyle yapmasaydım. Çok pişmanım yani. Bir de ailem maddi durumları olmadığı için hem onları düşünüyorum. Hem de yaptığım işi düşünüyorum. Öyle oluyor yani. (Osman)

never mind<sup>61</sup>. (Emin)

## Factors that Play a Role in the Development of Deviance

### Family Characteristics

Some of the characteristics of the family functioning such as socioeconomic status of the family, family cohesiveness, parental attitudes, and parental discipline strategies and delinquent activities of the adolescents were relevant for the present study. Except Murat, all of the adolescents in the study were coming from low SES families. The financial difficulties within the family both had a direct effect through the scarcity of family resources and had an indirect effect through the disruption of family cohesion due to the migration processes of the families on the adolescents' delinquent trajectories. Before moving to the relationship patterning between the family members and the adolescents, it is meaningful to introduce how adolescents perceived the transitional periods experienced by the family such as migration.

### Migration

Five of eleven adolescents had a migration history (Burak, Barış, Mete, Osman and Emin). The migration has two important characteristics; transition from rural living to urban living since all of the adolescents reported to live in the villages before the migration and transition from Eastern culture to multicultural way of living. All of these adolescents stated that the main cause of the migration was financial problems

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61 Yani benim de başıma gelebilirdi aynı şey. Ne bileyim aileminde başına gelebilirdi. Benim amcamın oğlunu daha doğrusu gasp etmişlerdi bir ara bir an hani boşver dedim. (Emin)

experienced in the hometown due to paternal unemployment and the alternative job opportunities in İstanbul.

I remember, it was monetary... Dad was here, we were in the village. Yeah, my father was here and we were there. Both homesickness and the situation in there. We came here I mean... They were sending us money monthly... He took us near him<sup>62</sup>. (Emin)

There was no job in the village. My father had debt. We came to work. We said, let's work a little, pay our debts. We'll collect some money, maybe we'll buy a car and go to Iraq or something. That's why we came. That wasn't in our destiny<sup>63</sup>. (Osman)

Don't know, probably because of the monetary situation. I mean, what a man eat or drink in the village? That's why we came here<sup>64</sup>. (Burak)

I mean, our monetary situation was worsening then, that's partly why I have left, because we came to Istanbul. Then our situation straightened. I mean, in here, I don't know, against, err, the conditions, etc, may be better we thought. Maybe my siblings might have a better education. To make them have a better education. To make things better. Because everything is better in here, for those reasons<sup>65</sup>. (Barış)

#### Relational Patterns with the Fathers

The interviews revealed that there were associations between emotional, physical abuse and neglect experiences and paternal harsh discipline strategies and the adolescents' deviation. Adolescents who were abused and neglected by their fathers experienced more negative emotions toward their father. The patterning of the

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62 Maddi olduğunu hatırlıyorum...Babam buradaydı biz köydeydik...Evet babam buradaydı biz oradaydık. Aile özlemi hem oradaki durumlar. Buraya geldik yani...Aylık olarak yani para gönderiyordu bize...Bizi de yanına aldı. (Emin)

63 Köyden iş yoktu. Babamın borcu vardı. Çalışmak için geldik. Dedik biraz çalışalım borçlarımızı kapatalım. Biraz para toplayalım aravba maraba falan alırız Irak'a gideriz falan. Onun için gelmiştik. O da kısmet olmadı işte. (Osman)

64 Bilmem ki maddi durum olmadığı için herhalde. Yani köy yerinde insan ne yer ne içer. O yüzden geldik işte buraya. (Burak)

65 Ya birazda maddi durumumuz o zamanlar kötüleşti birazda onun için bırakmıştım İstanbul'a geldiğimiz için. Ondan sonra maddi durumumuz düzeldi...Ya buranın bilmiyorum şeye karşı yani koşulları falan. daha güzel olabileceği kanaatine vardık..Ya işte daha iyi okutabiliriz kardeşlerimi falan. daha iyi okutabilmek için. Daha güzel olması için. hepsinin burada daha iyi olduğu için. O sebeplerden dolayı. (Barış)

relationship between fathers and their sons is dynamic and continuously undergoing reconstruction and should be evaluated from a developmental perspective.

### Childhood Relations with Fathers

From a developmental perspective, it is noteworthy to introduce the quality of father-child relationships in the childhood years. Three of the adolescents reported to have less conflictual relationships with their fathers in their childhood. For instance, Zafer and Mete reported that they engage in common activities and had a positive communication with their fathers in their childhood. Unfortunately, the fathers became unavailable as these two youth grow up since Zafer's father had been murdered and Mete's father was living in the village far away from him.

My relationship with my father was very fine. My father, you know, was taking me after work on weekends. He was taken me to his work place. We stroll in there you know, we do his works. Then we stroll back to home<sup>66</sup>. (Zafer)

I wanted to be close with my father. In Sivas, I was going to the fields with my father, we were having a picnic<sup>67</sup>. (Mete)

Murat reported that they got along well with his father before the incarceration of Murat's brother. Murat identified his brother's incarceration as a turning point of the collapse of family dynamics. The father employed harsh disciplinary strategies starting from the brother's imprisonment onward and had blaming attitudes towards. (Murat)

The relationship between me and my father was good at first. You know, people can't get on well as they grow up. You know, he had a dream. He was making me have education. You know, he wanted me not to be like my older brother. I mean, he was saying be a man that your family prouds of. You know, I

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66 Babamla olan ilişkilerim benim çok iyiydi. Babam işte haftasonu işten çıktıktan sonra beni alırdı. Kendi çalıştığı yere götürürdü. Orada akşama kadar dolaşırdık işte işini falan hallederdik. Sonra geze geze eve giderdik. (Zafer)

67 Ben babamla yakın olmak istemiştim, sivasdayken, tarlalara gidiyordum babamla, pikniğe falan gidiyorduk. (Mete)

couldn't be someone like he said, that's why<sup>68</sup>. (Murat)

In Emin's case, there is a physical absence of father in childhood years since the father migrated earlier than the other family members. However, the unavailability of the father is not restricted to the distancing due to migration because Emin also reported that his father was also unavailable in the school years and did not show concern for Emin's academic affairs.

### Corruption in the Relationship with Father

Murat and Emin were the ones who mentioned that the relationship with their fathers become more problematic with increasing age and the fathers' attitudes toward them were also affected by their own delinquent and offensive involvements.

No, it did not exist before I walked this way. We had a perfect life. You know, I walked this way. I lost everything, the one I love. You know. How did it turn with my father? You know, when someone grows up, he can not handle those words of his family. You know, we were becoming adults<sup>69</sup>. (Murat)

After going home late and my father broke my arm<sup>70</sup>. (Ali)

For Sinan and Ali, the fathers were even not perceived as someone to talk with. They did not share their problems with their fathers. The fathers were also neglectful about their children's daily affairs. Their attempt to monitor their children was by

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68 Babamla aramız iyiydi ilk zamanlar. İşte insan gitgide büyüdükçe anlaşıyor. Şimdi babamın bir hayali vardı. Beni okutuyordu. Yani diyordu sen bari abin gibi olma. Hani diyordu ailene yakışır bir evlat ol. Hani dediği gibi de olamadım o yüzden. (Murat)

69 Hayır ben bu yola girmeden öncesinde böyle birşey yoktu. Dört dörtlük bir hayatımız vardı. İşte bu yola girdim. Herşeyimi sevdiğimi mevdüğimi kaybettim yani. Anlıyacağınız o. Babamla nasıl bozuldu. Yani işte insan büyüdükçe ailesinin o kelimelerini kaldıramaz yani. Biz hani git gide yetişkin olmaya başladık. (Murat)

70 Eve geç gidip kolunu kırdıktan sonra. (Ali)

threatening the adolescent instead of trying to understand their needs and sharing their problems.

I couldn't share... We were not destroying it (the conversation). I was not. Let me tell you. I was sitting on the corner and listening, but I wasn't speaking. I was not a man that talks outside I mean<sup>71</sup>. (Sinan)

It wasn't well with my father. He was talking only if I was talking. He wouldn't ask anything if I did not talk... Nope. I would not tell. He was asking. Lying, I was to him<sup>72</sup>. (Ali)

In some cases, the fathers were both physically and emotionally abusive toward their children. Mehmet and Murat mentioned that their fathers constantly humiliated them. They also attributed it to the fathers' temperamental characteristics. In Ali's case, the abuse was physical. Ali's father had broken Ali's arm and beating was common in general.

Then I knew my father wanted the bad on me. You know, hurting my feelings in everyone, etc... My dad was usually angry on us, it's partly because of that... I mean, we were fighting a lot so he was speaking sharply. We were afraid of my father. That's why we could not tell anything. And he was so crabbed. He is irritable, you can not tell. Humiliation<sup>73</sup>. (Mehmet)

I mean insults, etc. One can not tolerate after a while. 1 day's fine, 2nd is ok, 3rd time, ok<sup>74</sup>. (Murat)

Forexample we were visiting someone. He says "My son is such a gentleman". Mine looks down and tells, "Mine is a vagrant"<sup>75</sup>. (Murat)

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71 Paylaşmazdım..Yok etmiyorduk (muhabbet). Ben etmiyordum. Söyle diyeyim. Oturup bir kenara dinliyordum ama ben konuşmuyordum. Dışarıda öyle konuşan bir insan değildim yani. (Sinan)

72 Babamla pek iyi değildi. Ancak ben konuşsam o konuşurdu. Ben konuşmazsam o hiçbirşey sormazdı...Yok. Anlatmazdım.Sorardı. Yalan söyledim ona ben. (Ali)

73 O zaman işte ben babamın benim kötülüğümü istediğini biliyordum yani. Hani milletin içinde rencide etmesi falan...Babam genellikle hep kızılıyordu bize biraz ondandı..Yani işte kavga mavga çok ediyorduk. O yüzden hiç. Tersliyordu bizi...Korkuyorduk işte babamdan. O yüzden birşey anlatamıyorduk...Bir de çok ters bir adam ya. Sinirli zaten birşey anlatamıyorsun... Öyle işte aşağılama... (Mehmet)

74 Yani hakaret falan. İnsanın yani tahammülü kalmıyor. 1 gün olur,2 gün olur, 3 gün olur.(Murat)

75 Mesela bir misafirlige giderdik. O derdi benim oğlum ne kadar efendi falan. Şimdi bizimki de bakardı kafasını önüne eğerdi derdi bizimki de serseri. (Murat)



Then, I was coming late from school. For a while I returned real late. It was 11, I returned. I was returning at 10 before and he was angry. I went at 11 for a while. He said, like, where are you and you know hit me. He put me and hit me to the ground you know. My arm was broken, it was jammed. It was broken I mean<sup>76</sup>. (Ali)

In Mete's case, the father was only associated with financial issues. Mete reacted to his fathers financial exploitation by breaking off the connection with his father.

Anyhow, although we had money, my father was taking the money I earn and was giving me pocket money... For a while, I did not call the village, my father said, why aren't you calling, don't you have money. I said I have money. My family wasn't even coming to my mind, I was talking to them, then I swear to call them again, twice or 3 times a week. I was saying I was going to call them 3 times<sup>77</sup>. (Mete)

### Paternal Unemployment

The effects of paternal unemployment were relevant in three of the interviews (Burak, Osman and Emin). It caused role confusion between fathers and their sons. Some of the adolescents in the study were the primary financial suppliers in the family. The role confusion is evident in Osman's life. Osman also mentioned that he had to deal with his father's continuous insistence of returning back to the hometown which brought an extra emotional burden for Osman besides the necessity to finance the family. Similarly, Burak stated that he dropped out of the school because of the necessity to help father at work.

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76 İşte okuldan sonra eve geç gidiyordum. Bir ara bayağı bir geç gittim. 11'di gittim. Önceden 10'da falan gidiyordum ama yinede kızıyordu. Bir ara 11'de gittim. İşte neredesin diye işte bir anda vurdu bana. Kaldırdı yere vurdu işte. Kolum kırıldı altta kaldı kolum. Kırıldı işte. (Ali)

77 Zaten paramız olduğu halde, babam harçlık veriyordu zaten benim çalıştığım parayı alıyordu....Bir ara köye telefon açmamıştım, babam da niye telefon açmıyon paran da mı yok açmıyon dedi. benim param falan dedim, hiç aklımdan bile geçmiyordu ailem, konuşuyordum ondan sonra yemin ediyordum bir daha arayacam diyordum haftada iki gün üç gün. 3 gün arayacam diyordum (Mete)

He wasn't working, he was home all the time. He was sitting with mom. We were working you know and returning back in the evening. He was saying you know, I am going to go. My brother was saying, stay a while, go after we pay your debts. That's why we did things. Otherwise, we'd already be gone I mean. I wouldn't be here. And we said, since we are here, we'd better not leave in debt. My father was also very complainant, saying human are not human anymore. Mom and dad could never got used to it anyway. We forced them to<sup>78</sup>. (Osman)

My father is old, I mean. I also didn't want him to get tired. I mean, didn't want him to work. He had worked enough<sup>79</sup>. (Burak)

In Emin's case, the father was a symbol of power in the childhood years. His father's sudden unemployment was a loss of family status. His father became withdrawn after the unemployment and became a passive member within the family. Although Emin did not explicitly mention his anger toward his father due to by unemployment, it was apparent throughout the interviews. The unemployment process was influential in Emin's disengagement from family environment and the beginning of deviant friend associations.

Not about the house. Think about it, you are home all day, do not work, do nothing. Can not bring the needs of your house, you do not work, have a family I mean. If you can't bring something to your house, you become obsessed about it. Anyway I mean. Moral problems appear. Because of that thought I mean. Of course I am so sad about it. I mean, as a father you don't have the power<sup>80</sup>. (Emin)

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78 Çalışmıyordu evdeydi hep evdeydi. Annemle oturuyordu. İşte bizde çalışıyorduk akşam geliyorduk. O da işte diyordu zaten artık gidecem. Diyordu abim biraz daha dur nasıl olsa gelmişiz zaten. Borçlarını kapatıp öyle gidelim diyordu. Onun için biz şey ettik. Yoksa çoktan giderdik biz yani. Şimdi burada olmayacaktım. Biz de dedik ki madem gelmişiz borçlu gitmeyelim bari. Babamda bayağı şikayetçiydi işte diyordu insanlar insan değil. Annem babam alışmadılar zaten hiç. Biz onları zorladık.(Osman)

79 Babam da yaşlıydı yani. Yorulmasını da istemiyordum. Hani iş yapmasın diye. Adama yeteri kadar çalışmış zaten. (Burak)

80 Ya evle ilgili değil. Düşünün şimdi siz bütün gün evdesiniz çalışmıyorsunuz etmiyorsunuz. Evinize bir ekmek götürememe. Çalışmıyorsunuz bir aileniz var yani. Ekmek götüremedikçe kafanıza takıyorsunuz. İllaki yani. Manevi sorunlarda çıkıyor. Bu düşünceden dolayı... Tabi ki çok üzülüyordum yani. Baba olarak yani gücün yok. (Emin)

Emin and Murat explicitly mentioned that they rejected the financial support from their family. The underlying cause of this rejection was the neglectful and accusatory reactions of their fathers and their efforts to be independent.

Because of money I mean I can't go and want money from my family one day. Only if they think and give themselves<sup>81</sup>. (Emin)

Now I wanted to stay on my own feet. You know, something happens, you take it and break it. I mean, he says son I bought it for you. A relative comes and says foreexample. This and this and this of that. He says there son, I bought it he says. I mean, these are the things I don't like. I mean, to stand on my own feet is better<sup>82</sup>. (Murat)

### Reactions to Fathers

As a result of the conflictual relationships and humiliation, the adolescents reported to feel alienated from their fathers and acting rebellious to their fathers' authority and warnings.

Because of my father I was even ashamed of looking at the face of my family<sup>83</sup>. (Murat)

I mean, I lost my enthusiasm for my dad. He also lost it, I mean, it's your son no matter what you say about it but I lost it. Don't come home late, do this I said I won't do that. Do it I said I won't do that. Come home at that time. I was coming 2 hours later. Go there. I won't<sup>84</sup>. (Emin)

I mean on the outside my father was saying don't tour with him, there's a

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81 Para yüzünden yani ben hayatta bir gün oturup ailemden para isteyemem. Ancak kendileri düşünür de verirlerse. (Emin)

82 Şimdi kendi ayaklarım üzerinde durmayı istedim. Hani birşey olur mesela bunu alırsınız kırarsınız. Hani mesela oğlum der sana aldım der. Mesela bir akraba gelir der. Hani bunun buyu buyu. Ben orada oğlum der bunu bunu aldım der. Yani bunlar hoşuma gitmeyen şeyler benim. Hani kendi ayaklarının üzerinde durabilmek daha iyi yani. (Murat)

83 Babamın yüzüne bile ailemin yüzüne bile bakmaya utanıyordum yani. (Murat)

84 Yani bir ara hani babamdan soğumuştum açıkcası. Yani o da benden soğudu sonuçta evlat ne kadar desen soğudum moğudum da ama ...eve geç gelme. Şunu yap ben yapmam diyordum. Şunu yap ben yapmam diyordum. Bu saatte eve gel. Ben 2 saat sonra eve geliyordum. Şuraya git. Gitmem. (Emin)

problem with him. I mean he was saying they are no good, they are not trustworthy but I was saying nothings gonna happen or something. Our relation worsened like that<sup>85</sup>. (Mehmet)

The adolescents were unable to solve their problems by the means of communication. They tend to avoid the problem. Running away from home and sulking “*küsmek*” were the most common strategies used in the disputes between the fathers and adolescents.

I mean I did not see my father after I dropped the school, after I dropped the high school for 8 months or so. I mean, we were staying at the same house. I was coming home at 2-3 and sleep. Father comes at 4-5 and sleeps. I wake up and go on 2, my father wakes up and goes at 5. For 8 months I mean, I did not even see his face for real. At last he called me and told I did not see your face for months, what are you trying to do<sup>86</sup>? (Emin)

When he said something, I was directly passing to another room, I did not even want to listen. I was getting out of the house<sup>87</sup>. (Mehmet)

I mean, as I said before, my arm was broken. I did not go home for a week. We fought but he could not come over much that time. I again did not go home. Then I started going again. He said nothing. He could not say anything<sup>88</sup>. (Ali)

Once I drew a gun to my father, I was high. If mom did not stay between us, I was really shooting him on the head there. My mother standed in front of me. I threw he gun away. I walked away. Then for 3 months I did not come back home. None of them had seen me. I just left<sup>89</sup>. (Murat)

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85 İşte mesela dışarıda babam derdi bana onunla gezme bunda sorun var. Yani onlar iyi değil sağlam ayak değil diyordu ama ben yok bişey olmaz falan diyordum. Öyle aramız bozuluyordu işte. (Mehmet)

86 Yani ben babamı okulu bıraktıktan liseyi bıraktıktan sonra 8 ay falan yüzünü hiç görmedim yani. Aynı evde kalıyorduk. Ben eve saat 2-3 gibi geliyordum eve yatıyordum. Babam 4-5 gibi gelip yatıyor. Ben saat 2’de kalkıp gidiyordum babam da 5’de kalkıp gidiyordu. 8 ay valla yani babamın yüzünü dahil görmedim. Hani hatta en sonunda beni kendisi çağırdı dedi kaç aydır senin yüzünü dahil görmüyorum. Hani gel bakalım dedi ne yapmaya çalışıyorsun. (Emin)

87 Yav bişey söylese ben hemen öbür odaya geçerdim yani. Dinlemek bile istemezdim babamı. Çıkardım giderdim evden.(Mehmet)

88 İşte kolum kırıldı ya hocam. Eve gitmedim bir hafta... İşte kavga ettik ama bu sefer fazla gelemedi üstüme. Gene gitmedim işte eve. Ondan sonra gene gitmeye başladım. Bir şey demedi. Bir şey diyemedi.( Ali)

89 Babama bir ara silah çektim kafam güzeldi. Annem önüme geçmeseydi harbiden de sıkıyordum orada kafasına. İşte orada annem önüme geçti. Silahı attım yere falan. Geçtim gittim. Gidiş o gidiş. İşte 3 ay daha gelmedim eve. Yüzümü görmedi yani hiç birisi. Çektim gittim. (Murat)

He was beating me and I was escaping from home. I was not coming back for 1-2 days I mean. I wasn't thinking of something I mean I was always thinking of escaping. I was thinking of stealing money from home and escaping<sup>90</sup>. (Burak)

And I escaped from the house that day. He said do what you want ok, I don't care. Not escaping actually, I shut the door and left. I did not come back for 2 hours. Then he called me and said, come and do what you want. Then I returned immediately<sup>91</sup>. (Nihat)

### Relationship with Mothers

The mothers of adolescents in the study are housewives and most of them are illiterate. The remaining ones have a low level of education. Compared to fathers, the relationships with mothers were less conflictual. None of the adolescents displayed a negative emotional reaction towards his mother during the interview and reported that they had a good relationships.

My relationship with my mother is very good. I share everything I do with my mother. She also loves me a lot. She also tells me everything<sup>92</sup>. (Zafer)  
Number one with mom<sup>93</sup>. (Mehmet)

It should be kept in mind that the positive attitudes toward mothers does not mean that the adolescents share their problems with their mothers in general. The level of the adolescents perceived warmth from mothers is exaggerated in the adolescents verbalization because the adolescents were evaluating the level of positive relationships

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90 Döverdi evden kaçardım. Eve gelmezdim 1-2 gün öyle işte. Birşey düşünmüyordum yani kaçmayı düşünüyordum hep. Evden para çalıpta kaçmayı düşünüyordum. (Burak)

91 Ben de o gün evden kaçtım sonra dedi ne yaparsan yap tamam karışmıyorum. Kaçmak değil o gittim kapattım kapıyı 2 saat eve gelmedim. Sonra beni aradı dedi gel ne yapasan yap ben de gittim hemen. (Nihat)

92 Annemle olan ilişkim çok iyidir. Annemle ben her şeyimi de paylaşıyorum. Annem de beni çok sever. Annemde bana her şeyini paylaşır.(Zafer)

93 Annemle on numara... (Mehmet)

with mothers compared to negative relationships with fathers. On the other hand, poor maternal monitoring and discipline were apparent.

I mean, not that much but. I could tell the things to my mother, while I could not be that open to my father. I was closer to her I mean<sup>94</sup>. (Emin)

My mother was also telling me not to stroll but she wasn't insisting. My father was insisting a lot<sup>95</sup>. (Mehmet)

She was asking where I was going, asking when I will be returning back, and that's all<sup>96</sup>. (Zafer)

It was pretty nice. She wasn't telling anything anyhow<sup>97</sup>. (Ali)

Maternal role of mothers were underestimated by the adolescents. Mothers were perceived as acting in maternal ways. They were not sufficiently voluntary to take the responsibility of being mother, besides they wish to pass this responsibility onto others which leads inconsistent disciplinary strategies between fathers and mothers. In Zafer's cases, it caused a contradiction in the maternal attitudes since the mother was a person both monitors the child and seeks for monitoring from him.

Mom's like a sister<sup>98</sup>. (Emin)

If she had something to do at home she always asks me. She doesn't do anything without asking me<sup>99</sup>. (Zafer)

Zafer and Sinan reported that their mothers were suffering from psychological problems which makes them unable to monitor the adolescents' development and show maternal warmth. These were the cases in which there was a murder in the family.

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94 Yani o kadar da değil de yani. Babama açmadığım şeyleri annemle konuşabilirdim yani. Daha yakındım yani... (Emin)

95 Annem de diyordu gezme ama öyle ısrar etmiyordu fazla. Ama babam çok ısrar ediyordu. (Mehmet)

96 Sonra nereye gideceğimi falan filan sorar. Kaçta geleceğimi sorar. O kadar. (Zafer)

97 Güzeldi gayet. Annem hiçbirsey demiyordu ki zaten. (Ali)

98 Annem abla gibi yani. (Emin)

99 Evde yapacağı bir şeyler olur gene yani bana sorar. Bana danışmadan bir şey yapmaz. (Zafer)

My mom stayed at tyhe hospital for 1 or 2 weeks, she could not get well completely anyhow, she's still the same. She's now staying alone with my brother ... It affected her a lot. She's now a nerve patient. She's using pills now...<sup>100</sup>  
(Zafer)

I mean, all kinds of deseases appeared on my mother after that I mean. What I'm trying to tell is... Mentally also I mean<sup>101</sup>. (Sinan)

The psychological problems which Zafer's mother suffer from also had a negative impact on Zafer. Thus, he was unable to share his feeling about the loss of father and distanced himself from the home environment to find someone to share his problems since his mother was so susseptible.

She' affected badly, thats for sure. She was sad. Now out there she is a nerve patient. She passes out everytime she gets angry. It's no good at all I mean<sup>102</sup>. (Zafer)

Three of the adolescents mentioned that their mothers were aware of their criminal involvements and association with deviant friends but unable to intervene. Adolescents perceived their mother as a person who should be deceived because they did not want to upset their mothers. Lying to the mothers were common among adolescents.

She knows. She knows and becomes sad. I sometimes do not tell her. She gets said you know, my mother knows<sup>103</sup>. (Murat)

Where are you? Where have you been? You did something again she was saying. I said no, I didn't do anything. She wasn't believing because they knew

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100 Annem 1 hafta mı 2 hafta mı ne hastanede kaldı zaten. O da doğru düzgün toparlayamadı kendini hala da aynı yani. Şimdi tek başına kardeşimle kalıyor yani....Annemi çok kötü etkiledi. Sinir hastası oldu işte. Sinir hapı alıyor kullanıyor yani şuanda da....(Zafer)

101 Yani annemde zaten yani her türlü hastalık oldu ondan sonra yani. Yani nasıl diyeyim sana. Zihinsel de yani.(Sinan)

102 İllaki kötü etkiledi. Üzdü yani. Şimdi dışarıda işte sinir hastası annem. En ufak bir sinirlendiğinde bayılıyor. Hiç iyi bir şey değil yani.(Zafer)

103 Bilir. Yani bilir üzülür. Bazen söylemem. Üzülür işte annem bilir. (Murat)

well that I was doing bad things<sup>104</sup>. (Burak)

Someone comes to my house and asks me, my mom says why did he come, why did he ask. I think and think. I say I've taken something of him or I did something like that. Then the police comes and asks me she says, why did he come, why did he ask you. I say I did this and that, I was involved in a fight or I shot someone. I mean, sometimes I have to lie. That's why<sup>105</sup>. (Emin)

At first I come home, change my clothes, take a shower, my mom looks in my pockets. Looks if there is something like a knife or money. She sees a lot of money. She asks, son you are not working. Where do you find all this money. Then I have to lie. I say my friend works. It's his salary. Or I say, my brother gave it. I'm telling I mean, lies<sup>106</sup>. (Murat)

The possible explanation for lack of maternal intervention was that the adolescents were overreactive to parental control and the mothers' were fearful about that they may further lose their child if they acted in same disciplinary fashion like the fathers. The adolescents rather prefer to run away from home. In the cases of Murat and Burak, mothers were anxious about losing their children.

And when somebody comes she asks why is he asking you. She says did you take something from him did you do something? Let me know. If you go somewhere call me she says. Let me know if you're dead or alive<sup>107</sup>. (Murat)

She was always thinking of me. Don't do it son she said. You're not gonna do these stuff. You're end will be either the cemetary or the prison<sup>108</sup>. (Burak)

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104 Neredesin? Nerde kaldın? Sen yine birşey yaptın diyordu. Yok diyordum anne birşey yapmadım diyordum.

İnanmıyordu çünkü onlarda biliyorlardı pis şeyler yaptığımı. (Burak)

105 Şimdi eve birisi gelir beni sorar annem der oğlum der niye geldi sordu. Ben düşünürüm düşünürüm. Derim bunun bişeyini aldım veya şöyle şöyle yaptım ondan sonar polis gelir sorar der oğlum niye geldi sordu. Derim böyle böyleya kavgaya karıştım ya birisini vurdum. Öyle yani bazen yalan konuşmak zorunda kalabilirim. O yüzden.(Emin)

106 İlk önce hiçbirşey olmaz gibi geliyorum eve üstümü deđiştiriyorum banyoya giriyorum annem ceplerimi karıştırıyor. Bıçak mıçak para bişey var mı?Bakıyor bir ton para var. Nerden çıktı bu oğlum diyor sen diyor çalışmıyorsun etmiyorsun. Bu kadar parayı nereden buluyorsun. İşte yalan söylemek zorunda kalıyorum. Diyorum hani arkadaşım çalışıyor. Onun maaşındır. Veya abimden aldım diyorum. Diyorum işte yalanlar. (Murat)

107 Sonra birisi geldi mi oğlum diyor niye soruyor seni. Neden birşeyini mi aldın birşey mi yaptın. Hani diyor bileyim diyor. Nereye gittin mi ara diyor. Öldün mü kaldın mı bilmek isterim diyor. (Murat)

108 Hep düşünüyordu falan beni. Oğlum yapma diyordu bak. Bu işleri yapmayacaksın diyordu. Senin sonun ya mezar diyordu ya cezaevi. (Burak)



### Siblings

As it was indicated above, the strength and dynamic of the adolescents' attachments to parents change with an increased age and the peer influences become more important than parental influences over time. With decreasing attachments to parents, adolescents often look toward their siblings for social support. As the influence of parental attachment decreases, sibling attachments and influences strengthen and act as an alternative source of familial support potentially mitigating other peer influences. So the presence of siblings is an important mediator for adolescents' delinquency. However, the quality of the relationship with the siblings is more important than the mere presence of siblings. For instance, it can be assumed that the higher number of siblings is associated with higher level of deviation among siblings by the means of division of potential parental investment, both financially and emotionally. The parents might be in difficulty to monitor each of children. For the present study, the mean number of children in the family is 6,18 with a range of 3 to 12 which is very high, especially the socioeconomic status of the families is taken into account.

In addition to the effect of number of siblings, it was observed that gender and the age of the siblings are significant in the quality of the sibling relationship.

### Older Brothers and Sisters

Zafer's and Ali's cases are similar to each other since the main theme in the relationship with siblings was the loss of older brother who was a significant attachment figure for them. In Zafer's case, the brother moved to Cyprus for university education and

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in Ali's case, the brother moved to Tekirdağ for work. Zafer and Ali were identified their brothers they could share their problems and felt cared by them. These brothers were generally moderating the conflict within the family.

I usually tell these to my brother in Tekirdag. I was going to him if I have a problem...He is a very nice person. He is so different from the others. He helps me about anything. When I have something, he helps me again. When I need something it's him again who helps. He cares<sup>109</sup>. (Ali)

My brother is my best friend. We get on very well with him. I share, I share. I talk to him. I mean, when I'm bored, depressed he helps me, gives me a hand. He cheers me up. I ask for his advice about the problems in the family. When I have other problems outside, I again tell him<sup>110</sup>. (Zafer)

However, the unavailability of the brothers deprived Zafer and Ali emotionally. Both of the adolescents began to hang out with deviant peers. It is interesting to note that there were two more available brothers in Ali's case but they substituted the paternal figure that was perceived negatively by Ali.

He was interfering everything. Interfering a lot to my haircut and etc<sup>111</sup>. (Ali)

Zafer also mentioned the psychological effects of his brother's absence as follow;

It happened ofcourse I mean. He went and I was searching for people to chat. I was by myself at home, I was starting to get bored. When he was around at least I was tackling him. We were laughing at home, we were having fun. We

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109 Genellikle Tekirdağ'daki abime anlatıyordum. Bir sıkıntım oldu mu da onun yanına gidiyordum...O çok iyi bir insan. Diğerlerinden çok farklı.Ya her konuda bana yardımcı olur. Bir şeyim olduğu zaman gene o bana yardımcı olur. Bir şeye ihtiyacım olduğu zaman gene o gelip bakıyor. İlgileniyor. (Ali)

110 En iyi arkadaşım benim abim. Abimle çok iyi anlaşıyoruz.Paylaşırım, paylaşırım. Konuşurum onunla.Mesela böyle yani dışarıda sıkıldığımda bunladığımda falan bana yardımcı olur destek çıkar. Teselli eder. Ailevi sorunlarda yine ona danışırım ben. Dışarıda başka sorunlarım olduğunda yine gider abime söylerim. (Zafer)

111 Her şeyime karışıyordu. Saç traşına falan çok karışıyordu. (Ali)

were strolling. I searched for things to fill his absence<sup>112</sup>. (Zafer)

In four of the cases, such as Barış, Burak, Sinan and Osman, the process of getting lonely was apperent in milder forms due to the unavailability of brothers in military services. It is important to mentioned that the military services of the brothers coincided with a transitional period in all of these cases which further accelarated the emotional burden.

Yeah, my uncle arranged that. My uncle was already working on the uniforms. He said you will start to do it. My brother was in the army then. Me and my sister came. We worked<sup>113</sup>. (Osman)

My brother was opening, one of them was in military at the time. My other brother you know, he was working on the funerals. He was arranging the meals, arranging the funeral, working on those. And until my brother came back from the army we had lots of problems<sup>114</sup>. (Burak)

The school, my brother joined the army and my father could not make it up by himself. He wanted us to be crowded<sup>115</sup>. (Burak)

I was getting on well with my brother. We were doing well I mean. He joined the army<sup>116</sup>. (Barış)

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112 Oldu tabi yani. O gitti işte muhabbet edecek insanlar arıyordum böyle hep. Evde tek başıma kalmaya başladım canım sıkılmaya başladı. O olduğunda hiç yoksa onunla uğraşıyorum. Evde gülüyorduk makara yapıyorduk. Dolaşıyorduk. Onun yerini dolduracak şeyler aramaya çalıştım. (Zafer)

113 Ha ha ayarlamıştı dayım. Zaten dayım formada çalışıyordu. Dedi onu yapmaya başlayacan. Abim de o zaman askerdeydi. Ben bir de bir kız kardeşim vardı geldik. Çalıştı. (Osman)

114 Abim açıyordu birtane abim askerdeydi. O diğer abim var işte o cenazeyle falan ilgileniyordu. Yemek falan veriyordu mevlid falan onlarla ilgileniyordu. Bir de abim askerden falan gelinceye kadar işte bayağı bir sıkıntımız oldu. (Sinan)

Okulu abim askere gitti babam da idare edemedi tek başına işte. Fazla insan olalım dedi. (Burak)

115 Abimle de anlaşıyordum. Abimle de çok iyiydik yani. Askere gitti falan... (Barış)

116 Abimle de anlaşıyordum. abimle de çok iyiydik yani. askere gitti falan (Barış)

For Sinan, one of the main traumatic experiences was the murder of his brother. It should be kept in mind that the murder of Sinan's brother connoted the possibility of the criminal involvement of the brother even though Sinan denied it.

And the case of my brother, we were perished<sup>117</sup>. (Sinan)

In Murat's cases, the older brother of him also had a criminal history. The brother was incarcerated for various offenses for several times and also in prison at the time of the interview.

There was only my brother in the family, and he was on another way. He had 25-30 people around him. He was staying apart. That's it<sup>118</sup>. (Murat)

The brother was first imprisoned when Murat was 9 years old. Murat mentioned that the cohesion within the family corrupted the after this event and Murat was stigmatized as a criminal both by his own parents and by the extended network. He stated that his brother was the only source of care even it was potentially troubling for Murat. He was well aware of the effect of his brother on his deviation. However, it is not possible to determine whether it is an effect of shared genetic heritage or shared environment because of the methodological constraints of the study.

Not because of luck of course. We were seeing from our elder brothers. We were young then<sup>119</sup>. (Murat)

His brother was a significant role model and the symbol of power for Murat. Being like his brother was a significant motivation for him. He internalized the criminal values of

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117 Bir de abimlerin olayı zaten bayağı bir yıkıldıydık. (Sinan)

118 İşte bizim bi ailede abim vardı. O da yani aynı bu yolun yolcusuydu. Yanında vardı bunun 25-30 tane insan. O da ayrı kalıyordu. İşte o şekil (Murat)

119 Şansa değil tabi. Hani görüyorduk böyle abilerimizden. Tabi ufaktıkta o zamanlar. (Murat)

his brother even though the brother stated his disapproval of Murat's deviation and criminal involvement.

He was knowing but she got angry. He threatened my friends, none of them were hanging with me. But whenever my brother left, we were coming and we were driving to other places. That is it. He got angry when I committed a theft. Often, he beat us. He tied us to the trees all along the day. He beat all of my friends, we broke their heads. I mean, he got angry. He was saying "I am the man of this way, not you"<sup>120</sup>. (Murat)

Interestingly, the primary attachment for Barış and Mete were older sisters rather than brothers. Barış perceived his older sister as someone to share their problems.

Unfortunately, his sister also left the home because of her marriage.

I shared it a lot with my sister. Then she got married and went to her own house. Now I share it a lot with my brother. Mostly with my sister. We talked and shared our problems a lot with my sister. I mean, I felt more like friends with my sister. She was someone I can be open. I was sharing everything with my sister<sup>121</sup>. (Barış)

The exceptional case was Mete in term of the availability of older sibling. Mete's sister was caring and monitoring person but unable to prevent Mete's delinquent involvements in spite of her warnings and effort.

### Relationships with Younger Siblings

Osman, Emin and Barış were the ones who suffered from being the oldest available child within the family which brought an age inappropriate responsibilities.

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120 Bilirdi kızılıyordu hani. Çocuklara tembih etmişti kimse onu korkusundan yanımda gezemiyordu. Ama abim gitti mi biniyordu arabaya gidiyordu çocuklar geliyordu toplanıyordu gene. O şekil...Hırsızlık yapmama kızılıyordu. Pek çok gün geldi yani bizi dövdü. Gün ortasında bizi ağaca bağladı yani. Ne kadar arkadaşım varsa dövdü kafasını gözünü kırdı. Yani kızılıyordu abim şey yapmamıza. Diyordu hani ben o yolun yolcusuyum siz kovalamayın. (Murat)

121 He ablamlam çok paylaşırdım. Ablam evlendi sonradan işte kendi evine gitti. Şimdi abimle çok paylaşıyorum. En çok ablamlam. Ablamlam sürekli dertleşirdik paylaşırdık. Ne bileyim yani ablamlam kendimi daha arkadaş gibi hissediyordum. Açılabilirdiğim biriydi yani. Öyle herşeyi ablamlam paylaşıyordum. (Barış)

Emin also mentioned that his parents continuously blamed him for not being a good role model for his younger brothers.

Bu there are certain difficulties of being older for sure, for example, I went through that, each time I come my family tells me that your brother had a fight. I say why did you fight, etc. And he says who is my brother, what do you expect. For example if I do something this time he says who is his brother, what'd you expect. We are like that, I mean if my brother does something, it will be considered as my fault, I mean, if I did something forexample, he follows my example. That's it<sup>122</sup>. (Emin)

I mean, we may make them have a better education. To make them better educated. To make things better. Because they are all better in here. For those reasons<sup>123</sup>. (Barış)

Zafer mentioned that there was a communication problem between him and his younger brother. According to Zafer, the reason was the brother's withdrawn personality and lack of common available time to see each other.

I don't know that, the psychology of my brother. He never reacted in a different way. My brother does not react much to the outside anyhow, he always keeps it inside, make distress. You don't realize if he's sad... Asking how my relationship with my little brother is that, I mean, we don't talk that much. He goes to school. He comes in the evening and sleeps. He studies his lessons. We don't chat much<sup>124</sup>. (Zafer)

### School Experiences

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122 Ama büyük olmanın verdiği sıkıntılar illaki var mesela ben bunu yaptım benim ailem her gelişte bana diyor kardeşin kavga etti. Ben diyorum niye kavga ettin şu bu. e diyor abisi ne ki kardeşi ne olsun diyor. Mesela ben birşey yapmam bu sefer der babası ne ki oğlu ne olsun. Biz öyleyiz yani kardeşimiz şey yapsa direkman bana yıkılır öyle ben şey yapmışım diyelim onu benden örnek alıyor. Hani öyle. (Emin)

123 Ya işte daha iyi okutabiliriz kardeşlerimi falan. daha iyi okutabilmek için. daha Güzel olması için. Hepsinin burada daha iyi olduğu için. O sebeplerden dolayı (Barış)

124 Kardeşimin psikolojisini onu bilemiyorum. Hiç değişik bir tepki göstermedi. Benim kardeşimde zaten hiç öyle dışarıya fazla tepki göstermez hep içine atar sıkıntı yapar. Öyle fazla üzüldüğünü falan belli etmez yani....Küçük kardeşimle aram nasıl derken yani onunla pek muhabbet edemiyoruz. O okula gidiyor. Akşam geliyor yatıyor. Derslerine çalışıyor. Fazla muhabbet edemiyoruz.(Zafer)

Another main theme is the adolescents' perception of their school experiences. Except Osman, all of the adolescents started their primary education at the age of 7 or a year later (Metem and Sinan). The late starters did not mention any effect of schooling with the younger peers to the school adaptation.

Osman, the adolescent who did not have any schooling, reported that the reason of not being able to go to school was the physical unavailability of father to take care of the process of application as well the financial problems that make the school expenses difficult to afford. He mentioned that he would like to go to school if he had the opportunity and emphasized the difficulty of being illiterate and held positive attitudes towards education.

If I had the opportunity I'd want to study. I would like to have a diploma I mean. At least, maybe I would know more things. I'd have a better job. Since I don't have a diploma, I can't think of that<sup>125</sup>. (Osman)

It is noteworthy to mention that all of the adolescents dropped out of the school. The details of the school drop outs will be presented in the following pages. Before the presentation of school drop outs, the areas that caused concern for the adolescents in their school life such as academic failure, relationship with friends and teachers will be discussed.

### Academic Failure

When the adolescents were asked about their school performance, the majority of them mentioned that they had a low level of academic success. Only Burak indicated that he flunked but the remaining ones also perceived themselves as unsuccessful. Since they

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<sup>125</sup> Okumak fırsatım olsaydı isterdim. Diplomamın olmasını isterdim yani. Hiç olmazsa belki daha çok birşeyleri bilirdim yani. Daha iyi işe girerdim. Diplomam olmadığı için onu düşünemiyoruz yani.(Osman)

were unable to achieve a valued goal, that is a school success, adolescents became frustrated and may have turned to delinquency as a result. None of the adolescents reported that they strived to improve their academic performance. They identified school as a boring place and stated their inability to attend during the lessons.

My lessons were good, but only the math...<sup>126</sup>(Emin)

I mean, I couldn't do it at school. I was getting bored I did not like it. I wanted to escape. I was escaping I mean, it was like on the report card. Because of that I'd fail etc. I didn't like school I mean. I was getting bored. The lessons, I was getting bored. At the same place from morning until the evening. It was boring<sup>127</sup>. (Zafer)

I didn't like it. I mean, I didn't like it at all, studying. It was boring for me, studying...<sup>128</sup> (Mehmet)

The lessons. I liked them all. I didn't like the way of speech. I mean, that instructor gave me that grade. I mean, they do not want you to fail until 6th grade, or else I would have failed on the 2nd grade. I would have dropped it on 2nd grade. The instructors said, I mean, don't make him fail, it won't do anything. Else I would have dropped it on 2nd grade. I would have failed. I would have failed and then drop the school<sup>129</sup>. (Ali)

While some of the adolescents indicated that their performance was low from the beginning onward, which may be the manifestation of comorbid learning disabilities, Burak and Nihat reported that their academic failure in school that highlighted in the upper classes with deviant friend affiliations.

My lessons were good until 5th grade but since then they got worsened caused by the environment and things<sup>130</sup>. (Burak)

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126 Derslerim iyiydi ama matematik birtek... (Emin)

127 Ya okulda yapamıyordum. Sıkılıyordum böyle sevmiyordum. Kaçmak istiyordum. Kaçırıyordum böyle karnede şey oluyordu. Onun yüzünden kalıcam falan sevmiyordum okulu yani. Sıkılıyordum. Dersleri, sıkılıyordum. Hep aynı yerdesin sabahtan akşama kadar. Sıkıyordu. (Zafer)

128 Sevmedim yav. Ne valla hiç sevemedim okulu hele okumak. Sıkıcı geliyordu ya bana okumak...(Mehmet)

129 Derslerden. Hepsini seviyordum hocam.Muhabetini sevmiyordum hocam. Ya işte bu hoca bu dersten bunu vermiş bana. Ya zaten 6. Sınıfa geçene kadar da hocalar bırakmak istemiyordu yoksa 2. Sınıfta kalmıştım zaten. 2. Sınıfta bırakmıştım yoksa. Hocalar işte dedi bırakmayalım bişey olmaz. Yoksa 2. Sınıfta bırakmıştım işte. Kalırdım. Kalırdım o zaman da okulu bırakırdım. (Ali)

130 Derslerim güzeldi 5. Sınıfa kadar falan ama daha sonra ortam falan derken bozuldu işte yani. (Burak)



It was being good but at the last semester it worsened. It was good until the primary school. After the primary school<sup>131</sup>. (Nihat)

### Truancy

The prevalence rates of truancy were high among the adolescents in the study. It should be kept in mind that, low level of academic achievement, feeling like a failure, lack of parental monitoring, deviant friend associations were all closely related to the truancy. Because these adolescents fell behind in their school work, many dropped out of school since dropping out is easier than catching up.

They were taking me to the school, I was escaping. They sent, I escaped. 86 days of inattendance report came to the house. I mean, I wasn't going<sup>132</sup>. (Murat)

It was good but we were always escaping<sup>133</sup>. (Mehmet)

The lessons, I mean, we were going to the field with friends etc. I mean, because of the fields we were escaping, we were going there and playing games, there are channels you know, the pool, we went to the pool for swimming<sup>134</sup>. (Mete)

We were never going to the school then. We were going and strolling, surfing on the net you know. Then until the school's out. Then we were going back home. We are coming from the school. He was giving I mean, he was sending paper. We were tearing those... My friend environment worsened then. They weren't going to the school and I joined them. I did not go. We were met before but I wasn't joining them that much then. After he's gone, I joined them completely<sup>135</sup>. (Nihat)

### Relational Issues in the School

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131 İyi de oldu da son dönemde kötüleşti. O ilkokula kadar iyiydi. İlkokuldan sonra (Nihat)

132 Beni okula gönderiyorlardı ben kaçıyordum, gönderiyorlardı ben kaçıyordum, 86 gün devamsızlık kağıdım geldi eve. Gitmiyordum hani. (Murat)

133 Yani iyiydi de hep kaçıyorduk yani okuldan. (Mehmet)

134 Dersler, zaten arada tarlaya gidiyorduk arkadaşlar falan. Ya işte tarla yüzünden okuldan kaçardık gidip orda oyun oynuyorduk, kanallar vardır ya, havuz, havuza yüzmeye gidiyorduk. (Mete)

135 Hiç okula hiç gitmiyorduk o zaman. Gidip gezerdik internete falan giderdik. Oyun onlarda. Sonra okul dağılana kadar falan. Sonra eve giderdik. Okuldan geliyoruz. Veriyordu işte kağıt yolluyordu. Biz de kağıtları yırtıyorduk....Arkadaş çevremde kötüleşti artık. Onlar okula gitmiyordu ben de onlara uydum artık. Gitmedim. Daha önceden tanışmıştık ama o kadar onlara uymuyordum. O gittikten sonra tam uymaya başladım. (Nihat)

Besides the academic failure, the adolescents in the study also reported to experience social and contextual difficulties in schools. Most of them reported to have a poor relationship with their teachers and peers which accelerated the social and emotional adjustment problems. It should be kept in mind that, there is an interaction between the quality of the relationship with teachers and peers in the school and the socio-emotional adjustment problems and adolescents' deviant behaviors. In the present session, only the relationships with teachers evaluated. The relationship with peers in the school is going to be examined in the following sessions.

#### Relationship with Teachers

In Mete's account, the teachers were neglectful towards the students. He was the one who went to primary school in a village in the southeast area of Turkey. He mentioned that the teachers were not caring about the students and they did not attend the classes.

The teachers were not attending that much anyway. They did not do lots of things. They did not attend much. They were going at the weekend and return back on Monday<sup>136</sup>. (Mete)

In some other cases like Emin, Murat and Ali, there was a conflictual relationship between teachers and the adolescents. These adolescents were more likely to break the rules in the school and disobey the authority of the teachers. In Ali's case, there was an intense conflict between the school principal and Ali which resulted in an expulsion since Ali threatened the school principal with a knife. Ali argued that it was in self-defense because the school principal blew up and abused him.

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136 Hocalar zaten fazla girmiyordu derslere. Öyle fazla şey yapmıyorlardı. Pek fazla gelmiyorlardı. Haftasonları gidiyorlardı, Pazartesi gene dönüyorlardı (Mete)

I was going at the first lesson and getting stubborn to the teacher. We were hassling, he was saying go out and I was saying I'm not that fond of your school anyway and was going out<sup>137</sup>. (Murat)

At the school. I did not have my tie. I went to the school in the morning, the teacher did not let me in. This is the entrance of the school, the outer door, and that is the entrance. The entrance, the entrance of the main gate. Then we were entering there and the teacher said turn back as he sees us. And we turned back. We left, I mean. To the school gardens thing. There was something, I mean, there was a wall. We were watching the school from there. To the side, there was the pavement of the school. The door was just 10 meters away from us. Deputy manager was coming from the front. The kids were saying but I said who is that, just nevermind. We were standing by the door. We were watching the school. Yeah, the deputy manager. And the other deputy manager was coming from the other way. He was just coming to the school. The teacher did not let us in I mean, and so we went there. He came and told, what are you doing here. We said, It happened like this and that. We did not have our ties and the teacher did not let us in. He said come on and I'll take a look. We went. We went to the office of the deputy manager. He slapped me there. I shook my head, he said nothing. I might have said something if I wanted to but I did not say anything. Then the headmaster came. He made us go out. He held me from the back of my neck and I did not like this (he was pushing his hand) He had forgone. When I pulled his hand, his hand was like, you know. He pulled back. He said, what are you doing. And I said, what are you doing. He pulled my ear and tried to take me to his room. He was going to beat me in there I guess. This time I pulled his hand, and I drawn a knife to the headmaster. I chased him at the school, then the police came in you know<sup>138</sup>. (Ali)

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137 Gidiyordum ilk derse hocaya dikleniyordum. Tartşıyorduk falan diyordu çık dedim senin okuluna mı kaldık falan çıkıyordum öyle. (Murat)

138 Okuldaki. Kravatım yoktu. Sabah okula gittim hoca almadı. Şu okulun giriş kapısı dış kapısı, şurası da okulun girişi. Kapının girişi ana kapı içerinin girişi. Şimdi biz oradan girerken hoca baktığı gibi böyle geri dönün dedi. Biz de geri döndük. Gittik işte. Okulun bahçesinin şeyine. Şey vardı. Ne diyeyim ya. Duvar vardı. Biz de oradan okulu izliyorduk. Yan tarafı da kaldırım okulun kaldırımı. Kapı zaten hemen 10 metre uzaklığımızda. Müdür yardımcısı da ileriden geliyor. Çocuklar söylüyor da ben kim ya o boşverin dedim. Kapının orada duruyorduk. Oradan okulu izliyorduk...Evet müdür yardımcısı. İşte diğer müdür yardımcısı da diğer taraftan geliyordu. Okula yeni geliyordu daha. Hoca bizi almadı işte biz de oraya gittik. Hoca geldi yapıyorsunuz burada. Hocam böyleyken böyle. Kravatımız yoktu hoca bizi içeri almadı. Gelin bakayım dedi. Gittik. Müdür yardımcısının odasına girdik. Tokat attı bana. Kafa salladım bir şey demedi. Ben isteseydim derdim de bir şey demedim. Ondan sonra müdür geldi. Çıkardı kapıdan. Tuttu ensemden ben böyle yaptım (elini itiyor). Çekti elini bıraktı. Ben kendimi çekince onunda eli şey oldu işte. Çekildi geri. Sen ne yapıyorsun dedi. Ben dedim sen ne yapıyorsun dedim. Kulağımdan tuttu işte kendi odasına çıkartmaya çalıştı. Orada dövecekti herhalde. Ben bu sefer elini çektim bıçak falan çektim müdüre. Okulda müdürü kovaladım ondan sonra polis falan geldi işte. (Ali)

One of the theme emerged in the Emin's case was the generational gap between the teachers and the students. He identified the teachers who were above a certain age as narrow-minded and mentioned that they were having arguments.

I mean, he was outdated. There were a few younger teachers. Thanks to them, they were helping. But most of them were old... I mean, what I say would seem wrong to them, and what they say seems wrong to me... I mean, we were discussing with the guiding teacher. We were talking about the family, about the concept of family. I mean, like, if they do something to you don't come out against them, don't say a word or something<sup>139</sup>. (Emin)

Ali and Sinan also stated the lack of disciplinary practices in school. According to Ali, the reason for not being plowed was the friendly chats between Ali and the teachers rather than an academic success. Similarly, Sinan mentioned that the school principle condoned Sinan to break the rules, more specifically to smoke in the school because the school principle and Sinan had multiple roles and they were acquaintances from the auto repair where Sinan was working.

They did not let me out. I was chatting with the teachers and so but. Since we were chatting they liked me, they did not let me out. It wasn't much because of my lessons. It was because of my chat. We were getting on well I mean. I wasn't hassling much with the teachers at those times. Because of those, we used to have a good relationship<sup>140</sup>. (Ali)

How can I say, I mean we were smoking on the school garden. We were taking them to the school, the cigarette packages. We were just smoking. The headmaster knew us so he was not saying anything when he was seeing us. Because we were acquaintances. The distance between the house and the school was not longer than 100 meters anyway. Because we were going there all the

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139 Ya çağdışı kafalıydı. genç birkaç tane hocamız vardı. Sağolsun onlar yardımcı oluyordu ama çoğu yaşlıydı... Yani şimdi benim söylediklerim onlara ters geliyordu onların söyledikleri bana ters geliyordu... Ya mesela rehberlik hocasıyla tartışıyorduk işte. Aile hakkında aile kavramı hakkında falan konuşuyorduk işte. Yok işte şey yaparlarsa size birşey derlerse karışmayın ses çıkarmayın falan. (Emin)

140 Ha bırakmıyorlardı. Ya hocalarla muhabbet ediyordum işte de. Muhabbet ettiğim için onlarda beni seviyordu yani bırakmıyorlardı. Derslerimden fazla şeyi yok yani. Muhabbetimden dolayı. Aralarımız çok iyiydi yani. O zamanlar hocalara fazla dik başlılık yapmazdım da. O yüzden aramız çok iyiydi. (Ali)

time. We were doing the works about his car. We know him from there<sup>141</sup>. (Sinan)

### Dropping Out of School

As indicated before, all of the adolescents in the study dropped out of the school. Except Mehmet who was unable to graduate from primary school, all of the drop outs were in the middle school years or the beginning of the high school. Emin, Ali and Burak were the ones who were expelled from school. Ali was expelled for an attempt to stab the school principal. Similary, Emin was expelled for stabbing a peer and Burak for fighting and abusing his peers. Emin normalized the expulsion but accused the teachers because he thought that they were unfair.

There wasn't much to think about. I know that I deserved it anyway but they shouldn't be that cruel because it wasn't about me anyway, yeah I know he was my friend. They did it eventually. Yeah, I hit a few times but they should have helped. No one should be prejudiced to anyone directly. They did not like me anyway. They did not like me when I started the high school. At the secondary school they liked me more. You know, we had just started that. They threw us out since they think we may cause trouble to them I mean<sup>142</sup>. (Emin)

About the school, I mean the teachers liked me a lot. I mean, I studied the 6th and I started to get spoiled. I did not study much in 7th. I studied the first semester and quit. I was driven away to tell the truth. I was driven away and started the school again. I was always fighting at the school<sup>143</sup>. (Burak)

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141 Yani nasıl diyeyim bahçede falan içiyorduk yani. Okula götürüyorduk paket falan sigara götürüyorduk. Öyle içiyorduk. Müdür de tanıdık öyle gördüğü zaman falan bir şey demiyordu yani. Tanıdık olduğu için. Zaten 100 metre yoktu okulla evin arasında. Devamlı gidip geldiğimiz için. Onunda bir araba işlerini falan yapıyorduk biz. Oradan yani tanıdık. (Sinan)

142 Düşünecek birşey yoktu. Sonuçta ben de biliyorum hakettim ama bu kadar da acımasız olmamaları gerekirdi çünkü benimle ilgili bir şey yoktu sonuçta tamam ben de biliyorum arkadaşım. Sonuçta onlar yaptı. Tamam ben de vurdum bir kaç tane ama sonuçta yardımcı olmaları lazımdı. Hiçbir insana direk ön yargılı olmamak lazım. Onlar da zaten sevmiyorlardı beni. Liseye başladığımda sevmiyorlardı. Ortaokulda biraz daha seviyorlardı. İşte buna yeni başlamıştık. Başında bela olduk diye hemen attılar yani. (Emin)

143 Okulla ilgili hani öğretmenler beni çok seviyorlardı. Zaten 6'yı okudum çok şımarmaya başladım. 7'yi de fazla okumadım. İlk dönemini okudum bıraktım yani. Daha doğrusu kovuldum. Kovuldum geri okula başladım. Hep kavga ediyordum okulda (Burak)

Mete, Sinan, Zafer and Nihat mentioned that dropping out the school was their own decision. Sinan, Zafer and Mete also stated their motivation to work. Different than others, Nihat was not motivated to work but unable to cope with failure in the school that was heightened with deviant peer associations.

We were not attending to the classes. We also complied. We did not attend and when the school report came, it was bad so I quit the school but I finished the secondary school<sup>144</sup>. (Nihat)

I had to study, that's because of it... I liked to study and I liked to work, I mean because we are used to it. I mean, I work for 2-3 years in a place if I start to. I was not having a debate. Studying was also nice, but it's nice from a point and from another point it is like...<sup>145</sup> (Sinan)

The reason for me to quit the school was something of my choice. I did not want to study, I wanted to work. They said study, they even applied pressure for me to study but I said no. I went and started to work you know<sup>146</sup>. (Zafer)

### Responses of Family Members to School Drop Outs

In general, the parents were unable to intervene with the drop out, even though they did not approve. In addition, they were convinced that the adolescent began to work which was thought as an alternative to school and the parents thought working could be better for the adolescents.

They reacted at first but afterwards when I started working they said you can complete the high school by distant learning. I said ok, I will attend to the

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144 Derslere girmiyorduk. Biz de uyduk. Derslere girmedik. Girmedik gittik karne gelince kötü geldi ben de okulu bıraktım ama ortaokulu bitirdim. (Nihat)

145 Çalışmak gerekiyordu yani onun için...Okumayı da seviyordum çalışmayı da seviyorum yani alışkın olduğumuz için. Yani bir çalıştığım yerde zaten 2-3 sene çalışıyordum ben yani. Öyle bir anlaşmazlığımız falan olmuyordu. Okumakta güzeldi ama bir yönden güzel bir yönden şey yani. (Sinan)

146 Okulu bırakmamın sebebi benim isteğime bağlı olan bişey. Evdekilere işte dedim böyle böyle ben okumak istemiyorum çalışmak istiyorum. Onlar dedi oku oku baskı bile yaptılar okumam için yok dedim ben. Girdim işe işte çalışıyordum. (Zafer)

distant learning<sup>147</sup>. (Zafer)

I mean, when I did not attend, my family did not persist. Then I did not attend<sup>148</sup>. (Mehmet)

They were telling me that, saying that it's always good to study. I mean, after the death of my brother we bought a house, some work existed at that time. We had to work. And I was saying, what's gonna happen when someone studies anyway. What's gonna happen to us<sup>149</sup>. (Sinan)

My mother did not tell anything. She also said study, I mean, I said I won't. Like that<sup>150</sup>. (Nihat)

Parents of Emin and Murat offered to intermit the school when they noticed the academic failure of their children which further reinforced the distancing from school.

I did like that there. At last my father said, you don't have any intention to study. Tell me when you become conscious. He stopped my record. I did not go since then<sup>151</sup>. (Emin)

They did not want it. My mother. My father said, son, what's lacking so you don't go to the school. Your schoolbag is first hand, your book is first hand. Your book and etc. If you talk about pocket money, when others take 1-2 millions, we take 50-60. I said, I did not want to study. I don't have the enthusiasm. He said we ay stop your record. He said anyway, tell me when you want to start again. It happened like that<sup>152</sup>. (Murat)

### Working Experiences

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147 Tepki gösterdiler baştan işte de sonra işte işe girince iyi dediler açık liseden okursun dediler. Ben de tamam dedim açık liseden devam ederim (Zafer)

148 Ya ben gitmeyince sonra ailemde işte üstelemedi. Sonra işte gitmedim. (Mehmet)

149 Diyorlardı yani her zaman okumak iyi falan diyorlardı. Yani söyle diyeyim abim vefat ettikten sonra zaten biz de işte ev falan aldığımız, iş falan vardı o zaman. Çalışmak zorunda kaldık. Ben de diyodum okuyan olmuş diyodum. Biz nolucuz diyodum. (Sinan)

150 Birşey demedi annem. O da dedi işte oku okumayacağım dedim. Öyle işte.(Nihat)

151 Orada da öyle yaptım. En sonunda babam dedi senin okumaya niyetin yok dedi. Aklın başına geldiği zaman söyle dedi. Kaydımı durdurdu. İşte ondan sonra daha gitmedim. (Emin)

152 Şimdi istemiyorlardı. Annem. Babam dedi oğlum dedi neyin eksik dedi okula gitmiyorsun dedi. Çantan desen sıfır dedi kitabın desen sıfır. Kitabın milabın. Harçlık desen millet okula 1-2 milyon götürürken biz 50-60 milyon götürüyorduk. Dedim ben dedim okumak istemiyorum dedim. Okuma hevesim yok. Dedi kaydını durduralım biz dedi. Dedi zaten okula başlamak istediğin zaman söyle dedi bana. İşte öyle oldu (Murat)

Nine out of eleven adolescents in the study reported that they had been working before imprisonment. Murat and Emin are the ones who mentioned that they had never worked. It is noteworthy to mention that these two adolescents are the ones who, even though it is not explicitly validated in Emin's case, reported that they financed themselves through property offenses and other illegal involvements. In addition, their families' financial statuses were higher compared to other adolescents in the study.

All of the remaining reported some sort of working experiences. After the migration, Barış had various working experiences in textile ateliers, in painting ateliers and in the hotels as a bellboy. In Barış's account, the irregularity of his work experiences was the better conditions and financial opportunities offered in the subsequent employments. Another adolescent who began to work after migration was Mete. In the first hand, he went to İzmir as a seasonal worker and then came to İstanbul hoping for higher financial earning and worked in a textile atelier. He also reported that he was working in unpaid family business as a farmer in the childhood year. Osman is another adolescent who also worked in textile ateliers after migration. He switched a job once and reported that he was consistent in his working experiences. Zafer worked as a cashier after he dropped out the school.

Similar to Mete, Sinan and Burak also both went to school and worked for a while. Burak began to work with his father as a stallholder at the age of 10 and Sinan was working as an auto repairer. After the school drop out, Sinan began to work in a paid job.

After dropping out of school, Ali worked in his brother's shop in Tekirdağ. Mehmet worked in the tea shop with his father and Nihat worked in the market owned by his family. For those children who worked with their family members, the differentiating



feature of the work is that, theirs was unpaid labor. The adolescents just received an amount of pocket money in return. For the adolescent's who worked with their families, the main reason for working was the families' intention to monitor and restrict the deviant leisure time activities of their children.

Nope, I hang out a bit, then my father wanted me to come to him. I went on like that<sup>153</sup>. (Mehmet)

It was observed that beginning to work is also frequent among other family members and it was perceived as taking the responsibility of self from early ages onward and accepted as a normal. It is explicitly mentioned in Mete's case.

Yeah, they go out of the secondary school and come here. Some of them do not even go to the school. After the 6th grade, they come here on Summer. Some of them never attend. They had send a report, they said it would be punished. His family sent him to the school<sup>154</sup>. (Mete)

In addition, three of the adolescents, Osman, Sinan and Mete, reported a proximal unemployment before the occurrence of the offense. According to Sinan and Mete, their proximal unemployment also had an effect on their criminal involvement since these leisure times were financially burdensome for them and they lack an adult supervision and monitoring.

I had to give it there, I mean I had to give it I mean. Let me say I mean. We had already taken that. We can not give the thing we have taken back. We have said that I mean, we can not give it back. At that time I mean, we quit the

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153 Yok işte biraz gezdim sonra babam dedi gelsin işte yanıma. Öyle öyle devam ettik işte. (Mehmet)

154 Hıhı, ortaokuldan çıkıp buraya gelirler. Bazıları var okula da gitmiyor. Altıncı sınıftan sonra yazları çıkıp buraya geliyorlar. Bazısında hiç devam etmiyor. Bir kağıt döndürmüşler ceza falan var demişler. Onuda ailesi göndermiş okula. (Mete)

work. It happened like that<sup>155</sup>. (Sinan)

I was making skirts or trousers for summer, then since winter arrives there's a holiday, than winter dresses were being done. My first things happened then because of the holiday I mean. I did myself, you know since I was strolling without work, I was going to the work when there was work, I was sometimes running away<sup>156</sup>. (Mete)

### Attitudes towards Working

Most of the adolescent's reported that it was their own choices to work and expressed their families did not pressured them to start working.

I have liked working. I have liked working. Because working is what we endeavour. We earn halal money. That is why I liked it<sup>157</sup>. (Osman)

Fine. It is good to earn your own Money<sup>158</sup>. (Mehmet)

On the other hand,three of the adolescents mentioned that they felt upset since they have to drop the school out because they have to work.

I liked it. It was good to earn your own money but then I also got angry to myself, I would like to go to school<sup>159</sup>. (Zafer)

Once I thought to continue (to school) but then I was already working and there was no time. My brother went for military service. I had to work. I was

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155 Ben orada vermek zorundaydım yani vermeliydim yani. Yani nasıl diyeyim sana. Almışız yani. Aldığımız malı da tutup geri veremeyiz. Söylemişiz yani geri de veremeyiz. O anda da işte işten çıktık. Öyle oldu (Sinan)

156 Normalde yazlık etek pantolon falan yapıyordum, ondan sonra kış geliyor ya biraz tatil oluyo ondan sonra kış elbiseleri yapıyor. O zamanlar zaten benim ilk şeyler işlerin tatil olmasından oldu yani. Kendimi, iş olmadımı geziyorduk ya, normalde iş olunca işe gidiyordum, bazen kaçıyordum. (Mete)

157 Çalışmayı seviyordum. Çalışmayı seviyordum. Çünkü çalışmak kendi terimizle çalışıyoruz. Helal parayla çalışıyoruz. Onun için seviyordum. (Osman)

158 Güzel kendi paramı kazanmak tabi ki güzel bişey. (Mehmet)

159 Seviyordum ya. Yani kendi paramı kazanmak falan filan o konudan çok iyi oldu da sonradan kendi kendime kızmadım değil kızdım yani okula devam etmeyi de istedim. (Zafer)

liking school more than work<sup>160</sup>. (Barış)

I was both liking work and the school, I was used to both of them. I was working 2-3 years at the places I worked. We were not having much conflict<sup>161</sup>. (Sinan)

### Reasons for Working

Even though many of the children indicated that they liked working and they started to work willingly without any pressure from their parents, it was apparent that the adolescents' entrance to labor activities was determined by the fact that they felt responsible for dealing with financial struggles their families were going through.

It can be claimed that working adolescents felt themselves as grown-up members of the family, who assumed the responsibility of household and created adult-like identities for themselves. The feeling of responsibility of household was also important factor in their school drop out decision.

I wanted to support my family. Setting up a life and arranging it from now on<sup>162</sup>. (Sinan)

I was sending money to my father, I was becoming happy. It was ok in the first place but then İstanbul spoiled me when I used to İstanbul<sup>163</sup>. (Mete)

In addition, Osman and Mete also reported that their fathers were either too old or suffering from chronic illnesses and they are unable to take the whole financial

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160 Devam etmeyi bir ara düşündüm (okula) ama artık ondan sonra çalışıyordum zaten zaman olmadı zaten. Abim de askere gitmişti. Ben çalışmak zorunda kaldım Okumayı daha çok seviyordum. (Barış)

161 Okumayı da seviyordum çalışmayı da seviyorum yani alışkın olduğumuz için. Yani bir çalıştığım yerde zaten 2-3 sene çalışıyordum ben yani. Öyle bir anlaşmazlığımız falan olmuyordu.(Sinan)

162 Yani eve bir katkımız olsun istiyordum yani. Şimdiden bir hayatımızı kuralım düzene sokalım yani. (Sinan)

163 Babamlara para gönderiyordum, kendi kendime çok seviniyordum. Geldiğim ilk zamanlarda iyiydide sonra İstanbul'a alıştıkça yani İstanbul bozdu beni. (Mete)

responsibility of the family. The unavailability of older brothers due to military service involvement also redoubled the adolescents' mandatory working.

My father was also old. I didn't want him to get tired. Because him to not work. He had already worked enough. I had 2 brothers and one of them had gone for military service<sup>164</sup>. (Burak)

Nope it was hard but what can we do, we had already come. If we had not worked, we would be homeless. There is rent of a house, bills of water, and the younger siblings also. If you don't get used to, who will care for them? That is why I worked since my brother was in military service. I mean I was working. I wasn't hurt by that. I was responsible for my family<sup>165</sup>. (Osman)

### Working Conditions

Besides the positive attitudes towards working, working adolescents also emphasized the downsides with their working experiences. Most obvious problem they face was the age inappropriate working hours. Especially, the ones, who were working not in a family business but in others companies, complained that they had to spare nearly all of their time to work and had no time to socialize with their friends. That is to say, the working process increased their feeling of loneliness and exclusion. These issues are apparent especially in Osman, Zafer, Mete, Ali, Burak and Nihat.

From home to work, work to home<sup>166</sup>. (Mete)

I was going from home to work, work to home<sup>167</sup>. (Ali)

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164 Ya zaten babam da yaşlıydı yani. Yorulmasını da istemiyordum. Hani iş yapmasın diye. Adama yeteri kadar çalışmış zaten. 2 abim vardı zaten. Biri de askere gitti işte. (Burak)

165 Yok geliyordu da mecburuz ne yapalım yani bir kere gelmişiz. Çalışmasaydık sokakta kalırdık o zaman. Ev kirası var, su parası var, bir de ufak çocuklar var onlar. Çalışmazsan kim onlara bakar. İşte onun için çalışıyordum abim de askerde olduğu için. Çalışıyordum yani. Zoruma gitmiyordu. Aileme bakıyordum (Osman)

166 Evden işe işten eve. (Mete)

167 Evden işe, işten eve geliyordum. (Ali)

On the other hand, it can be suggested that working experience had a protective effect for adolescents because most of them reported that they were hanging out with their deviant peers only on the weekends because they did not have a chance to do so because of work during the week. However, Burak, Mete and Mehmet reported that they sometimes skipped work in order to hang out with their peers.

### Comparisons between Own Work and Other Works

In general, adolescent had a negative attitude toward working for others. They had problematic relationships with subordination to authority figure and taking orders from others.

Anyway when you said work, you can not work from that point onward, I mean you can not submit anyone. Either you will have your own business or other's work, I mean, he will give you 300 milion and he will order you to bring and take the things. I mean, if he comes to me I give him 300 milion per day<sup>168</sup>. (Murat)

Sure. I mean, my brother wanted. He has some friends. They direct met o textile, I worked for one day. Then I run away, I couldn't stand. Textile was hard. People. Bring and take these and those. I resented. I didn't do, I quited<sup>169</sup>. (Mehmet)

I mean, when you work in other places, I mean, you have to obey others and surordinate the orders. When you have your own business, you bid yourself. You did what you want. You did what you know, not what the others said<sup>170</sup>. (Sinan)

I mean, my father was not a kind of person who can work under the orders of others. Only if he has his own business<sup>171</sup>. (Emin)

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168 Zaten hani çalış deyince yani bu saatten sonra da çalışılmaz yani kimsenin kahrı çekilmez. Ya kendimizin iş yeri olacak ya da milletin işini hani vereği 300 milyon para yok diyecek şunu getir bunu getir. Hani gelsin 300 milyon ben ona bir günde vereyim. (Murat)

169 Tabi. Yani abim istedi. abimin arkadaşları var. Tekstile falan verdiler de işte bir gün çalıştım. Kaçtım ondan sonra dayanamadım...Zordu ya tekstil...Milletin şunu getir şunu götür falan. Zoruma gitti benim. Yapmadık işte onu da bıraktık. (Mehmet)

170 Yani başka bir yerde çalıştın mı yani başkasının emirlerine dediklerine uymak zorundasın. Kendi iş yerinde kendi kendine emir veriyorsun. Kendi istediğini yapıyorsun. Kendi bildiğini yapıyorsun işte başkasının dediğini değil. (Sinan)

171 Başkasının emri altına girip çalışacak bir insan da değil yani babam. Ancak kendi işini yaparsa.(Emin)

## Peer Relationships

Peer relations were another important domain in the trajectories of delinquency. The emerging themes related to peers relations in this study are lack of non-delinquent peer associations and rejection from non-deviant peer groups, deviant peer association processes, attitudes toward deviant peers and the leisure time activities engaged with deviant peers.

### Lack of Non-deviant Peer Associations

In some cases, lack of non-deviant friend relationships were moderated by contextual variables. As it is indicated before, most of the adolescents dropped out of the school and began to work after the drop out. In addition, five of the eleven adolescents migrated to İstanbul from other cities. Six of the adolescents reported that they were unable to meet with their friends either because of living apart from them or the excessive working hours. Feelings of loneliness was the emerging theme associated with the lack of an adequate peer network.

There was, there was some friends from the school, from my hometown, I had different kinds of friends. Then I broke up with them due to work. We can only see each other once in a year. Not very often. Go to work and come back, go and come back<sup>172</sup>. (Zafer)

Nope, not. They all moved, from neighborhood. I moved from neighborhood<sup>173</sup>. (Mehmet)

I did not have much friends there<sup>174</sup>. (Ali)

I don't know. I mean, I was working. I felt bored. There was no one in my neighborhood. I was hanging alone. That is why I began<sup>175</sup>. (Burak)

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172 Vardı okuldan arkadaşlarım vardı, memleketten arkadaşlar vardı, farklı farklı arkadaşlarım vardı. Onlarla işten dolayı bağımlı koparmak zorunda kaldım. Onlarla da ayda yılda bir görüşüyordum. Pek sık görüşemiyordum. İşe git gel git gel. (Zafer)

173 Yok değil. onların hepsi taşındı yaa... Mahalleden. Mahalleden tanıştım. (Mehmet)

174 Orada pek fazla arkadaşım yoktu. (Ali)

175 Ne biliyim. Çalışıyordum böyle yani. Sıkılıyordum böyle. Kimse yoktu mahallede. Ben de yalnız takılıyordum. Öyle başladım. (Burak)

I did not have that much close ones. There was not anyone who help me that much<sup>176</sup>. (Emin)

There was some, formerly. Childhood friends. But not someone like that (who share his problems)<sup>177</sup>. (Barış)

I mean, our neighborhood was ok. It was ok, I didn't stop to speak with much people. I was going to work in the mornings, I was turning back at nights. I mean, I didn't know much. There was some, some friends but we were just greeting each other and passing, we were not close<sup>178</sup>. (Osman)

On the other hand, the lack of non-deviant peer associations could not be

evaluated only with regard to contextual variables. Peer relationships has a dynamic structure in which the the attitudes of each party toward the other is in a constant co-construction. Due to some of their tempremental and individual characteristics, some of the adolescents were unable to establish consistent relationships with their friends from early ages onward. Also, Murat, Ali and Burak mentioned that it was their own decision not to associate with their non-delinquent peers. They identified them either as childish or leery which was perceived as a threat for their power status. They stated their preference to hang out with like-minded peers; who were deviant.

Some of them are good, some are not. There was one who is so called sapient in the school, it was not good with them. I mean, It was good with the ones like us. I mean, the ones who were naughty<sup>179</sup>. (Murat)

With the same-aged peers. They were too childish. That is why I did't hang out with them<sup>180</sup>. (Ali)

There was. I had very close friends but I didn't hang with them<sup>181</sup>. (Burak)

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176 Bu kadar yakınım yoktu. Bu kadar bana yardımcı olan bir insan yoktu. (Emin)

177 Önceden vardı çocukluk arkadaşlarım vardı işte. Öyle (dertlerini paylaştığı) bir arkadaşım yoktu hiç. (Barış)

178 Yani mahalle güzel. Mahalle güzel fazla kimseyle öyle ben muhattap olmuyorum. Sabah işe gidiyorum akşam geliyorum. Kimseyi fazla öyle tanımıyorum yani. Vardı iş arkadaşlarım vardı ama selam verip geçiyorduk yani öyle samimi değildik. (Osman)

179 Bazılarıyla iyiydi bazılarıyla iyi değildi. Şimdi bir tane çok bilmiş vardı okulda onlarla iyi değildi. Hani bizim gibi olanlarla iyiydi. Hani haylaz olanlar. (Murat)

180 Yaşıtlarımla yani. Çok çocuksu geliyorlardı hocam. O yüzden onların yanına fazla gitmiyordum.(Ali)

181 Vardı. Çok yakın arkadaşlarım vardı. Vardı ama takılmıyordum onlara.(Burak)

Three of the adolescents also reported that their friendship bonds were weakened since the interests and the context of their daily talks of their peers; which was generally included school experiences were not important for the adolescents. The adolescents' feeling of belongingness to their non-deviant peer group diminished over time.

People from my own neighborhood, all. I mean, I was not going to school at that time. By at that tim I mean before imprisonment. Peers in my onw nighborhood are too much. They were going to school. Their talks did not interest me<sup>182</sup>. (Ali)

*These ones always talk abou lesson, whether they are good or bad. One day they study, the other day they play futbol and so on. This one did not fit me, but the other one did. That was the reason<sup>183</sup>.* (Burak)

How you go here and there, he goes to his home or to cinema or cafe. These were not for us. At those times. We did not prefered that way but the other<sup>184</sup>. (Murat)

#### Rejection from Non-Deviant Peer Group

In the cases of Murat and Burak, peers were also reactive to the adolescents' deviant involvement and excluded him from the group because they had hesitation of possible harm.

When you have been excluded, you have to be like this. Peer group. I mean, because of our deviant behaviors. Everyone abstained and fear from us. They did not come near<sup>185</sup>. (Murat)

Of course, I would like to keep on seeing each other but they did not want to. Because I was in a bad ambient. That is why. Since they excluded me, I find

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182 Kendi mahallemdeki insanlar hepsi. Hani ben okula gitmiyordum o zamanlar. O zamanlar derken işte içeriye girmedığım zamanlar. Kendi mahallemdeki çocuklar çok şeydi. Okulu vardı. Muhabbetleri sarmıyordu. (Ali)

183 Bunlarda hep derslerim iyi kötü derdi hep. Birgün oturup ders çalışırlardı birgün top oynarlardı falan. Bu benim kafama yatmadı ama diğeri yattı kafama. O yüzden (Burak)

184 Nasıl sen gidersin şuraya bıraya o gider yani evine gider veya sinemaya gider oraya gider kafeye gider pastaneye gider hani onlar bize göre değildir mesela. O zamanlar. İşte o yolu seçmedik gittik diğeri yolu seçtik. (Murat)

185 Ortamdan dışlanınca yani öyle olmak zorundaydı. Arkadaş ortamı olsun...Şimdi yaptığımız suçlardan dolayı sebep olmuştur. Herkes çekiniyordu korkuyordu yanımıza gelmiyordu.(Murat)



myself in the other ambient<sup>186</sup>. (Burak)

### Deviant Peer Associations

As it was mentioned before, deviant peer involvement is one of the main proximal predictors of the offense. In this study, all of the adolescents mentioned that the offense was committed in company of other delinquent peers. All of the adolescents also reported that their deviant peers also had multiple offenses. Similarly, all of the adolescents, even non-abusers, also reported that they were in association with peer groups who were abusing drugs.

Murat, Osman, Mehmet, Ali, Mete and Nihat mentioned that there were also older antisocial role models within their deviant peer groups. In Emin's and Mehmet's cases, the older antisocial figures were also relatives. All of the adolescents except Zafer, Nihat and Osman mentioned that they met with their deviant friends in their neighborhood. Establishment of deviant peer associations were in the internet cafe of the another neighbourhood for Zafer, in the elementary school which was not in his own neighbourhood for Nihat and at work for Osman.

They were my childhood friends. From my neighborhood. We were living in the same neighborhood. That is the reason<sup>187</sup>. (Murat)

They were from our neighborhood. They were living in our neighborhood. I was not hanging with them much at those times. I didn't go near them. There was one of them who was very nice brother. I was knowing him. He was very nice to me. This and that. Hanging out with him. We met each other in time. Then, I began to hang out with them<sup>188</sup>. (Ali)

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186 Tabi. Ben görüşmek istiyordum ama onlarda benimle görüşmek istemiyordu. Çünkü neden kötü ortadayım diye. O yüzden. Zaten bunlarda beni ortam dışına taşıdığı için ben de kendimi bu ortama attım işte. (Burak)

187 Onlar benim çocukluktan arkadaşım. Mahalle çocuklarıyız. Aynı mahallede oturup kalkıyoruz. O yüzden. (Murat)

188 Onlarda bizim mahallenin çocukları. Bizim mahallede oturuyorlar da hani pek fazla yanlarına gitmiyordum önceden bayağı bir önceden. Yanlarına gitmezdim işte. Bir tanesi çok iyi bir abimdi. Tanıyordum onu. Çok iyi

At the age of 12. Bad ambient at the age of 11-12. When I said Ambient, peer relations. Bad ambient. I fall in a bad ambient at the age of 12. From the same neighborhood. Everyone got frightened from them. That was the reason<sup>189</sup>. (Burak)

Nope, I have a cousin, he had come before me but, 3 years older, I came after him. When I came he already had some friends, from these places. We hanged out a few weeks. They were already committing these kinds of things, I wasnot knowing, my cousin also did. I had a friend who I always hanged out, from our village, my school friend. We both began to hang out with my cousin<sup>190</sup>. (Mete)

Nope, he was the person I kone from my own neighborhood<sup>191</sup>. (Emin)

I saw him in the neighborhood. We were just sitting together. I saw him from the neihgborhood. I mean, we were greeting each other, we met each other 2-3 year ago. We was coming to the places I hang out. We sometimes played futbol together. They were coming to the park we played<sup>192</sup>. (Barış)

### Drug Abuse and Deviant Peer Associations

Comorbidity of drug abuse and delinquency was common for the present study.

Eight of the adolescents among eleven mentioned that they either experimented or abused drugs during their lives. Among the remaining three, Barış and Nihat had no experience of drug, alcohol or cigarette use, while Zafer mentioned that he smokes. Among the users, Sinan stated that his alcohol abuse was restricted to the last periods of his life and did not abuse any other drugs. Osman mentioned that he experimented with the marijuana

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davranıyordu bana. Şöyle böyle. Onun yanında geze geze. Gide gele diğerleriyle de tanıştık zaten. Ondan sonra onların yanında oturup kalkmaya başladım. (Ali)

189 12 yaşında. 11-12 yaşında ortam... Ortam derken arkadaşlık ortamı yani... Kötü ortam 12 yaşında kötü ortama düştüm. Tabi aynı mahalleden. Herkes onlardan korkuyordu. O yüzden. (Burak)

190 Yok, bi halamın oğlu vardı burda, o benden önce gelmişti ama, 3 yaş daha büyük, ondan sonra ben geldim. Ben gelince onun arkadaşları vardı, buranın çocukları onlar. Bir iki hafta falan gezdik onlarla. Onlar zaten bu işi yapıyorlarmış ben bilmiyordum, halamın oğluda gidiyormuş. Benim bi arkadaşım var devamlı gezdiğim bizim köyden okul arkadaşım. Onunla halamın oğluya takılmaya başladık bir iki hafta. (Mete)

191 Yok kendi yani mahalleden tanıdığım bir insandı (Emin)

192 Mahalleden görmüşlüğümüz var işte. Öyle işte normal otururken falan. Mahalleden görmüşlüğümüz var. Öyle yani selam melam ilk işte 2 sene önce 3 sene önce falan tanışıyordum. Sürekli takıldığım ettiğim yerlere geliyorlardı. Maç yaparken onlarda maça geliyorlardı. Onlarda sürekli maç yapılan parka geliyorlardı. (Barış)

“*esrar*” once with the suggestion of older antisocial figure. Mehmet, Ali and Mete were the ones who abused only marijuana. Emin, Burak and Murat abused multiple drugs. Marijuana, hashish, roche and other kind of pills, alcohol were among the drugs abused by Emin. He mentioned that he took any three of them together in order to amplify their effects. Heroin, roche, marijuana and alcohol were the drugs abused by Murat. Lastly, Burak mentioned that he abused inhalants “*bali*” and marijuana.

### Resistance to the Drug Use

Three of the adolescents who had never abused drugs (in Sinan’s case there was an alcohol abuse but not any other sort of drugs) mentioned that drug abuse was common among their deviant friends and added that they had resisted to their friends’ suggestions.

They said “use it”, I did not want to<sup>193</sup>. (Zafer)

I mean, I have a lot of friends using it but i did not get involved. I know what it is like. I did not get involved to those kind of things<sup>194</sup>. (Sinan)

A reverse effect happened at first. I said, what are you doing. I saw them using it. They said, we are used to it, we can not quit. They also offered me, come and join, I said I don’t use it. And I will not. I never did<sup>195</sup>. (Nihat)

### First Trial

Except Emin, all of the adolescents mentioned that they were offered by a friend in their first trial. Even though some of them mentioned they had hesitated for a while, this hesitation was shortlived. Most of them stated they were eager and curious about the drugs.

Marijuana, yes. That was an enthusiasm, I mean smoke it once, then we

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193 Onlar dediler kullan ben istemedim. (Zafer)

194 Yani kullanan çok arkadaşım vardı da ben bulaşmıyordum yani. Nasıl bir şey olduğunu biliyorum ben.

Bulaşmadım öyle işlere. (Sinan)

195 Ters bir etki oldu ilk başta dedim ne yapıyorsunuz falan. Baktım kullanıyorlar. Dediler alıştık artık bırakamıyoruz dediler. Bana da dediler gel sen de kullan ben kullanmıyorum dedim. Kullanmam da dedim. Hiç kullanmadım. (Nihat)

did. Again, my friends have said<sup>196</sup>. (Mehmet)

I was in the 5th grade. I think I was 12 or so. Since we were with older peers from our age. Since you hang out with elders, I was with them when they were smoking. There was one who liked me. He was protecting me all the time. Like he said, do you wanna smoke. I said I do, because of anxiety ofcourse. I said I wanna smoke. Like that, I am smoking. I mean, I saw them smoking, nothing was happening to them. I said to myself, I may smoke it too, nothings gonna happen. And so I smoke. I got used to like that., oh and it helped at that time. I mean, it was good. And, yeah when you smoke, you want more<sup>197</sup>. (Ali)

I mean, before I go home, they have their friends. I smoked 2 or 3 times anyhow. But my friend was smoking. In that environment, we went with him, I took inhaled 2-3 times. Then the friends were surrounding. He said, you take it too, take it. And I smoke, I did nothing I mean. I wanted to try and I took it<sup>198</sup>. (Mete)

No not at the same time, they started prior to me. I realized them smoking in 2004. Then I started too... I did not hesitate because I did not know what is what since that was the first time. On the other hand, it tasted kinda good. You know, kinda weird. It was good. I enjoyed it, and then people get used to it inevitably. He sees that he gets high as he smokes, you know<sup>199</sup>. (Burak)

The friends have their amusement you know. 12, no, 13 or 14 or so. In the secondary school. You know, there was a birthday of a friend. We went like that, to the cafe. I saw, he brought some pills. They said lets take it. I said at first, I will not, etc. I was one of them was high there, having fun. I said, give it, I'll take. I

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196 Esrar evet. O da heves yani bir kere iç falan. İçtik ondan sonra. Yine arkadaşlarım dedi. (Mehmet)

197 5'e gidiyordum. 12 yaşında falandım herhalde. Yani işte büyüklerinin yanında olduğuna yaşlılarından daha büyüklerin. Sen de büyüklerin yanında takıldığın için onlar içerken ben de onların yanındaydım. Beni seven biri vardı da. Devamlı koruyordu beni dışarıda. yani içmek istiyon mu dedi. Ben de istiyom dedim meraktan tabi. İçmek istiyorum dedim. öyle böyle o yüzden böyle içiyorum işte. Yani işte onların içtiğini falan da gördüğüm zaman yani bir şey olmuyordu onlara da. Ben de içiyim dedim belki bir şey olmaz dedim. İçtim işte. Öyle öyle alıştım ben de. Haa iyi geldi o zamanda. İyiydi yani. Yani içtikçe de içesin geliyor yani. (Ali)

198 Yani eve gitmeden onların arkadaşları falan vardı ben 2 kere mi 3 kere mi ne içtim zaten. Ama arkadaşım içiyordu. Ortamlarda falan onunla beraber gitmiştik o zaman 2-3 duman falan almıştım. Sonra arkadaşlar böyle çeviriyordu. Dedi sen de al sen de diye. Ben de içtim hiç şey yapmadım yani. Denemek istedim ben de aldım. (Mete)

199 Yok aynı zamanda değil onlar benden önce başladı. Ben 2004'te fark ettim işte onların içtiklerini. Sonra ben de başladım.... Çekinmedim çünkü ilk defa olduğu için neyin ne olduğunu bilmiyordum. Öbür taraftan da tadı böyle bir hoş geldi. Ne bileyim bir tuhaf geldi böyle. Bir hoş geldi. Hoşuma gitti sonra da alışıyor zaten insan ister istemez yani. Bakıyor içtikçe güzelleşiyor falan. (Burak)

Arkadaşın eğlencesi vardı işte. 12 yok 13 yaşında mı 14 yaşında mı ne.

started taking there first<sup>200</sup>. (Murat)

Heroin I mean, we went to another distinct as a guest. The elders in that distinct called us you know, and we went there. They were taking it already. They said, do you want it. I said, yeah we will, I mean, no big deal. We had it. 1-2 times, we realized that we like it, we said we might buy it too. We were going and buying, again and again<sup>201</sup>. (Murat)

### Short-term Physiological and Psychological Effects of Drugs

Emin, Murat, Burak and Ali also identified the physiological and psychological effect they experiences during the drug abuse. It should be kept in mind that the effects specified below were based on the adolescents' subjective experiences.

Pills: driving mad, need for teasing others, acceleration in speed, alertness

Marijuana: calming down, sleeplessness, getting drowsy, dizziness, acceleration of appetite, being emotionally oversensitive

### Reasons for Drug Abuse

Emin, Murat and Mehmet stated the psychological relief obtained from drug abuse. Emin stated that he first experimented with drugs in order to forget the emotionally overwhelming experiences. Similarly, Murat mentioned the need for forgetting everything; especially feeling of exclusion and need for consolation. In Mehmet's case, marijuana was used as a mean of anger management.

I will tell you their effects. You know, to forget everything, to make yourself consoled people finds the stuff. We also had it because of that. We were

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200 Ortaokuldayken. İşte arkadaşların doğumgünü vardı. Biz öyle gititk kafeye falan. Baktık şey hap almış gelmiş. Atalım falan dediler. Ben dedim ilk başta atmam falan. Baktım bir tanesi orada kafası güzel eğleniyor öyle. Dedim ver dedim atayım. İlk atışım orada başladı. (Murat)

201 Eroine işte gittik bir ara misafirliğe başka semte. O semtin büyükleri çağırıldı işte gittik. Onlar içiyordu zaten böyle. Baktılar öyle dedi içer misin. Dedim içeriz yani farketmez. İçtik öyle. 1-2 kere baktık hoşumuza gitti dedik biz de alalım. Gidiyorduk alıyorduk gidiyorduk alıyorduk öyle öyle... (Murat)

sidelined, like that. We had to stand tall on our feet. We had to since we were sidelined<sup>202</sup>. (Murat)

I mean, It was making numb, what would it do. We had it not to mass with anyone. To laugh, to have fun... And you know, you laugh and have fun when you want to, that's one thing. In your face you know. You do not go for anything<sup>203</sup>. (Mehmet)

In addition, Emin and Burak emphasized that they become addicted to drugs over-time and the process went beyond their self-control.

When you do it once, others follow<sup>204</sup>. (Emin)

No, I wasn't preferring inhalant, it was chosing me. I wanted to quit, it wasn't quitting<sup>205</sup>. (Burak)

### Attempts to Give Up

Only two adolescent (Ali and Burak) mentioned their attempt to give up drug use. Unfortunately, both of these cases were unsuccessful in their attempt. Ali's intentions remained ideational and never reached to a behavioral level. Burak was forced by his family to join a rehabilitation program. He was hospitalized twice with a two years interval. However, Burak's inhalant abuse relapsed in both of these trials.

I thought it for a moment. I thought it with a momentary thought. I did not think about it much<sup>206</sup>.(Ali)

I started going there in 2008. I was going there in 2006. I quit it there. I started again in 2008. I did not stay there because I had the desire to quit. I had it, I did not stay. I did not go near those friends. A year have passed and I started to hang out with those friends again. I started again. I started again. And then I lined

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202 Şimdi onların etkileri ben size söyleyeyim. Şimdi herşeyi unutmak için, insan kendini avutmak için maddeyi bulur yani. Biz de o yüzden vuruyorduk. Hani artık ortamdan dışlanmıştık yani o şekil. Kendimize kendi ayaklarımızın üstünde durmak zorundaydık. Ortamdan dışlanınca yani öyle olmak zorundaydı. (Murat)

203 Yani uyuşturuyordu işte napıcak. Kimseye bulaşmamak için içiyorduk. Gülmek eğlenmek için içiyorduk...Biiir de işte istediğin zaman gülüyordun eğleniyorsun o var. Yüzünde falan yani. Böyle hiçbirşeyin gitmiyorsun üstüne. (Mehmet)

204 İlki geldi mi gerisi geliyor zaten. (Emin)

205 Hayır ben baliyi tercih etmiyorum o beni tercih ediyordu. Ben bırakmak istedim o bırakmıyordu. (Burak)

206 Düşündüm ben de bir an. Öyle bir anlık düşünceyle düşündüm. Öyle pek fazla üstünde de düşünmedim. (Ali)

directly to a hospital. I had to, the situation didn't let me do it. I said, there is no need, you either recover or, ok I was going to line but then we came here<sup>207</sup>.  
(Burak)

### Accessibility of Drugs

Emin and Murat also mentioned that drugs were easily accessible in their neighborhood.

You have dealers in every corner of every distinct anyway, I mean drug dealers. If he does not, the other does not; there is always someone who provoke you<sup>208</sup>. (Emin)

Not on the outside. There wasn't. I was finding it I mean. I would succeed in anything when money exist. Like that. Even if its 5 am, he would come from his house if you call. Like that<sup>209</sup>. (Murat)

### Being Under the Influence of Drugs During the Offense

Five of the adolescents (Osman, Emin, Sinan, Ali and Burak) reported that they were under the influence of drugs during the offense. These adolescents reported that drugs facilitated the process of committing the offense.

I also do not remember exactly. I was high<sup>210</sup>. (Emin)

My mind is. I had alcohol at the same time<sup>211</sup>. (Sinan)

I mean, what kind of effect does that have? We were not assuming actually but we had the narcotics. We have taken marijuana. Went for a tour

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207 2008'de gitmeye başladım. Önce 2006'da gidiyordum. Orada bıraktım. Sonra 2008'de gene başladım. O zaman yatmadım çünkü içimde yani bırakma isteği vardı. Vardı şeytmedim yatmadım. O arkadaşların yanına gitmedim işte. Bir sene aradan geçti yine takılmaya başladım o arkadaşlarımla. Yine başladım. Yine başladım. Baktım sonra direk hastaneye yattım. Mecburen artık durumum yaptırtmıyordu. Dedim hiç gerek yok yani ya kendine gelirsin dedim ya da tamam işte yatacaktık işte ama buraya geldik. (Burak)

208 Ya zaten her semtte her mühitte köşe başlarında yani torbacılar olur. uyuşturucu satıcıları vardır yani. O olmasa bu olmasa illaki seni teşvik eden biri olur yani. (Emin)

209 Bulurdum yani. Para olduktan sonra yılanı bile deliğinden çıkartırdım yani. O şekil. Adam gece 5 olsa yani ara evinden gelir yani. O şekil. (Murat)

210 Tam olarak hatırlamıyorum bende yani. Kafam güzeldi (Emin)

211 Aklım söyle. Bir yandan da alkollüydüm ben alkol almıştım. (Sinan)

afterwards<sup>212</sup>. (Ali)

We were not using it much. I was having inhalant, was not using anything else. I quit inhalant in 2006. Then I started again. Then we got caught. We were going in the park and we get caught you know<sup>213</sup>. (Burak)

The relationship between drug abuse and offense is more complicated than the drugs facilitative effect since the adolescents also mentioned that they robbed people in order to get the money to buy new drugs.

Yeah, I mean, at that moment. I mean, there is also fall state after you use that stuff, i mean, you become weird, you feel yourself weird. You know, he wants that stuff again. You want it again I mean, because that is what passes in your mind<sup>214</sup>. (Emin)

No. Because you seek it. When you can't find it, you direct to another thing. It wants you to direct to something else. It makes you do it I mean<sup>215</sup>. (Ali)

They wouldn't do it if it was not there. You wouldn't want it if you do not have that inhalant. It's always that who makes one do things<sup>216</sup>. (Burak)

It should be kept in mind the facilitative effect of marijuana use was like an

excuse since the psychological and physiological effects of marijuana make people more immobile and withdrawn which are more obstructive in reality. For committing an offense such as robbery, Murat and Burak stated the necessity to get drugs other than marijuana such as pills and inhalant.

It slows down. Everybody outside calls me the "fast kid" The slower does not suit to us. How does it? Something happened for example. You are dopey. Something happens, the police chases, you will not have the thing to escape, the endurance. So we used what makes us faster. Now, that gives some people

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212 Yani ne gibi bir etkisi var. Yani biz gaspı yapmıyorduk aslında da uyuşturucu içtik işte. Esrar aldık. Gezmeye çıktık sonra. (Ali)

213 Kullanmıyorduk fazla. Bali çekiyorduk başka bir şey kullanmıyordum yani. Baliyi 2006'da bıraktım. Sonra geri başladım. Sonra yakalandık. Parkta gidiyorduk yakalandık işte. (Burak)

214 He işte o anki şeyle. Yani insan mesela o maddeyi attıktan sonra onun bir de düşüş halleri var yani o anda insan bir tuhaf oluyo kendini tuhaf hissediyor. Hani tekrar o maddeyi istiyor. Tekrar almak istiyorsun yani. Çünkü insanın beyninden o geçiyor yani. (Emin)

215 Hayır. Çünkü onu arıyon. Bulamadığın zaman başka şeylere yöneliyorsun. Başka şeylere yönlendirmek istiyor. Yaptırıyor yani. (Ali)

216 Tabi yoksa yapmazlardı. Zaten o baliyi çekmezsen hiç yapma isteği gelmez. Hep o yaptırıyor insana. (Burak)



courage. People can not do anything before they get high. Some people have to use it to have the courage to do something<sup>217</sup>. (Murat)

Marijuana is not like that. Marijuana gets you a little high but bali leads you astray. It makes you do all kind of things. You would not care anyone I mean. That's why<sup>218</sup>. (Burak)

### Attitutes toward Deviant Friends

Zafer, Ali and Murat reported that they had never seen their deviant friends' delinquent involvements. It should be kept in mind that the things which the adolescents reported to be unaware of their offenses such as theft and robbery. They were aware of their peers delinquent involvements and what is more, they were part of these relatively minor involvements such as truancy, fights and drug abuse.

These kinds of things, I had heard but I didn't see<sup>219</sup>. (Zafer)

Hı hı. I had heard but I did't see<sup>220</sup>. (Ali)

I did't know. I didn't know but I had heard. Like they were naughty. A lot of people was saying. I mean, people were afraid of them. They were not going to school. A lot of these kinds of things<sup>221</sup>. (Barış)

Emin, Zafer and Osman also rejected their sincerity with deviant friends. They identified their friends as someone to talk with but there were no caring and sharing in those relationships.

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217 Şimdi yavaşlatıcı. Şimdi herkes dışarıda bana hızlı çocuk diyordu dışarıda. Şimdi yavaşlatıcı bizi bozar. Nasıl bozar? Bişey olurdu mesela. Uykun var mesela. Bir durum oluyordu polislerle kovalamaya giriyorsun. Yani kaçacak şeyin tahammülün kalmaz. O yüzden bizde bizi en hızlı yapan neyse onu kullanıyorduk. ...şimdi bazıları için o cesaret veriyor. Onlar sahte cesaret. Öyle yani. Milletin kafası güzel olmadan bir iş yapamıyor. Cesaretini toplamak için de onları kullanmak zorunda bazı insanlar. Öyle... (Murat)

218 Esrar öyle değil. Esrar da biraz kafa yaptırıyor ama bali adamı yoldan çıkarıyor yani. Her türlü şeyi yaptırıyor yani. Kimseyi tanımazsın yani. O yüzden. (Burak)

219 Böyle şeyler genelde duymuşluğum vardı da hiç görmüşlüğüm yoktu. (Zafer)

220 Hı hı. Yani gördüğüm yoktu da duyduğum vardı. (Ali)

221 Bilmiyordum yani bilmiyordum ama arada duyuyordum yani. Yaramaz insanlar diye. Çoğu kişi söylüyordu yani. Yani korkarlardı insanlar okula falan da gitmiyorlar ya yani işte öyle şeyler çoktu yani. (Barış)

I mean, just greeting each other, sometimes talking. Nothing more. They were not very close to me, nope<sup>222</sup>. (Emin)

We were just talking. We did not share more with them. Just hanging out<sup>223</sup>. (Zafer)

We were not close, just knowing each other from work. When I was working there, he was also working there, he was a friend of the boss. That is hoe I met him. Then we began to greet each other. Of course we greet each other that was all. We were not closer that that<sup>224</sup>. (Osman)

Another important point is that some adolescents underestimated the potential harm of their deviant peers since they were not the object of such harm. In addition, they did not care for the others' harm because of their inability to take the perspective's of others and their egocentric thinking patterns. This theme was apperant for Mete, Nihat and Zafer.

They did not have much good sides. When I said bad sides, They did not did anything bad to me until I came here. This was the only incidence, they were bad to me. Bad sides, they were vagrant as much as I know<sup>225</sup>. (Zafer)

Not their behavior but they were good to me, but not to the other people<sup>226</sup>. (Mete)

I haven't thought. I thought as if nothing will happen<sup>227</sup>. (Nihat)

On the other hand, Murat, Ali, Mete and Burak mentioned that it was their own preference to hang out with like-minded deviant peers. They formed associations with

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222 Yani selam falan arasıra öyle konuşuyorduk. Başka birşey yok işte.yok öyle aşırı samimi olan bir arkadaşım değildi. (Emin)

223 Sadece muhabbet ediyordum. Başka bir şey paylaştığım yoktu benim onlarla. Gezer tozardım yani. (Zafer)

224 Samimiyetim yok sadece iş yerinden tanıyordum. Biz de zaten o yerde çalıştık o da oradaydı patronun arkadaşıydı. O da öyle tanıdım yani. Ondan sonra selam veriyordum mesela bir yerde gördüğüm zaman. Haliyle selam veiryordu budur yani. Başka bir samimiyetimiz yoktu yani. (Osman)

225 Şahsen iyi yönleri fazla yok. Kötü yönleride derken bana hiçbir kötülüğü dokunmadı bu cezaevine girene kadar işte. Bir bu olaydan dolayı kötü yönleri dokundu. Kötü olaraktanda tanımlanacağı kadar serseri tipli gibi bişeyler. (Zafer)

226 Davranışlarını değilde bana karşı iyidi, ama başkalarına karşı iyi değildi. (Mete)

227 Hiç düşünmüyordum. Birşey olmaz diye düşünüyordum. (Nihat)

deviant peers with a similar deviant attitudes and behavioral tendencies. They also stated that formation of deviant associations amplified their sense of power and prestige.

It is obvious from the way they act. It is obvious from their naughtiness. It is obvious. For instance, you can easily differentiate the well mannered ones from the vagrants. It is obvious that way. The surrounding of them are different. The reason I preferred. I was looking the the others were like childish. I said instead of being like them, it is better to be like the other ones<sup>228</sup>. (Murat)

What I said it is halal, it is a well-done. I said this. They did well. In that mind set. I felt as if they were powerful<sup>229</sup>. (Ali)

I don't know why, it is because of friendships. It is emulation. I don't know. I don't know. As if being like them. It happened like that. They were more entertaining. My good friends were better. I mean, they were pure. But everyone is responsible from their own acts. I preferred the others. I mean, the others are not involved in impure things. They were 3-4 people. The other ones were more crowded. I wanted to join them, crowdedness was good. More entertaining. Since there are girls in this group. It happened that way<sup>230</sup>. (Burak)

I was already emulating them. Since they had money, they were doing what they want. They were buying something for girls. I could not do anything. I had friends but I was just sitting<sup>231</sup>. (Mete)

However, once the deviant associations were formed, the adolescents were expected to follow the deviant norms and otherwise, either excluded or punished by the

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228 Belli zaten hareketlerinden belli yaramazlıklarından belli. Belli zaten yani. Mesela bir tane serseri adamı yanına koy bir tane de efendiyi koy her türlü seçersin dersin bu serseri bu efendi. O şekil belli hani Şimdi diğerlerinin ortamı farklı... İstemememin sebebi. Bakıyordum yani millet hanım kızı diyordum o zamanlar. Dedim bunlar gibi olmaktansa daha farklı oluyorum daha iyi. (Murat)

229 Ya ne diyordum. Helal olsun falan yani. İyi yapmış falan. Öyle diyordum. Ya iyi yapmışlar diyordum işte. O anki şeyle işte o zaman ki halimle. Güçlü oldukları gibi bir şey hissettiriyordu.(Ali)

230 Neden bilmiyorum işte ortam. Özenti işte özenti. Bilmem ben de söyle olayım ben de böyle olayım hesabı. Öyle oldu işte. Eğlence tarafından bunlar daha iyi yani. İyi arkadaşlarım da daha iyiydi yani çok temiz insanlardı ama herkes kendi bacagından asılır diye bir laf var. Ben kendiliğimden geçtim o gruba yani. Yani onların pislikle işi olmadığı için 3-4 kişilerdi bunlar çok daha büyük. Ben de aralarına katılıyım dedim daha iyi olur. Daha eğlenceli olur...Çünkü ortamlarında kız falan vardı derken öyle oluyordu işte. (Burak)

231 Ben zaten ona özeniyordum o zaman, Ne oluyor parası olunca? Parası olunca istediğini yapıyordu, kızlara bi şeyler alıyordu. Ben de hiç bir şey yapamıyordum arkadaşlarım var ama ben gidince öyle oturuyordum. (Mete)

group members. Mete, Barış, Burak, Ali and Mehmet were the ones who complained about their friends insistence on acting deviantly.

I don't know. They were mking fun of me. Sometimes they were making fun of me. I don't know. They said me "You are nurseling"<sup>232</sup>. (Barış)

If I had said that I won't be a watchman, there would be a fight, they would beat me. I mean, you had already joined them. You can't give up when you want. I mean, they beat you, curce you, humiliate you. That is the reason. I broke up with them. I complained about them to my brothers. My brothers beat them. Then, I left the group<sup>233</sup>. (Burak)

Sure, I was not abusing but they give in by force. Wtihout my control. I said no but they insisted, they said you can't be a watchman. I said I can but they reacted. When they reacted, I was taking drugs<sup>234</sup>. (Burak)

### Leisure Time Activities

Amount of time spent with deviant peers far from the monitoring of any authority figure was a significant domain and emerged in eight out of eleven cases. They identified the leisure time activities as going to Internet cafes, playing computer games, hanging around, going to clubs, coffee houses "kahve" and chatting with each others. Some of the dominant themes among them were clothes and girls which were the indication of status. In addition all of the adolescent stated that they began to go home late at night after the formation of deviant associations. They were more likely to hang arond on weekend.

It was good. For instance, when we find 5-10 billion, we were going shopping, buying some clothes, hanging out and entertaining. That way. We were having fun. We got on a car and hanged out<sup>235</sup>. (Murat)

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232 Bilmiyorum ki yani dalga geçiyorlar işte bazen dalga geçiyorlarbilmiyorum ki işte sen süt çocuğumuzun falan diyorlar. (Barış)

233 Ben gözcülük yapmayacağım desem yani kavga ederdik döverlerdi yani. Şimdi bir kere ortama girmişsin zaten yani çıkmak çıkamıyorsun çıkmak istemiyorsun. Yani seni beraber eziyorlar dövüyorlar sövüyorlar. O yüzden. Çıktım işte abilerime söylüyordum abilerim de onları dövüyordu işte. Çıktım işte ortamdan. (Burak)

234 Tabi ben kullanmıyordum zorla veriyorlardı isteğim dışı. Yok diyordum. İnceceksin diyorlardı gözcülük yapamazsın diyorlardı. Yok yaparım diyordum. Tepki veriyorlardı işte. Ben de tepki verince içiyordum. (Burak)

235 Güzel geçiriyorduk. Mesela parayı bulduk mu 5-10 milyar gider giyinirdik miyinirdik. Oradan giderdik kendimize gezerdik eğlenirdik. O şekil. Zamanımız güzel geçiyordu yani... Arabamıza binerdik, giderdik gezerdik. (Murat)

Nope, Not only internet. We were not always going to internet. We hanged out. We came together at the weekend and went to beach. I mean, we were ranging. We come together for the birthdays. That is it. We were chatting. Nothing else. I like their talks. It was all about clothes, friends, hanging out. Nothing special<sup>236</sup>. (Zafer)

What can we talk about? Girls and these kinds of things. What can the boys talk about? Generally, in the neighborhood. We didn't go to other places<sup>237</sup>. (Mehmet)

Internet and such like. For instance, I have been going to internet cafes for about 8-9 years. The offense had happened in the internet cafe. We were going to cafes, internet. We were going to clubs for play<sup>238</sup>. (Sinan)

Their conversation was good. I mean, lets go here and there, if you offered them to go somewhere, they come. If you said lets do that, they did. We were going to cafes and clubs. That is it<sup>239</sup>. (Ali)

We were hanging out, going to internet and so on. We were playing games with them since the school let out. Then we went home. We were coming from the school<sup>240</sup>. (Nihat)

He was going to internet cafe when he woke up, he had money at those times. He was kidding me up but saying we were going to work. He was going to internet, playing. He had some friends. Then he was going to coffee houses with them. He was playing and the night was coming<sup>241</sup>. (Mete)

I was seeing them at the weekends. We were chatting, we were playing futbol. We were playing computer games in the internet with each other. We were

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236 Yo internet değil. Sürekli internete gitmezdik. Gezerdik böyle. Hafta sonları toplanırdık denize falan giderdik. Turlardık yani. Doğum günü falan oldu mu böyle toplanırdık. O kadar. Valla muhabbet ediyordum. Başkada bir şey yapmıyordum onlarla. Muhabbetlerini seviyordum onların. Böyle hep giyimden kuşamdan, arkadaşlardan, gezmeden, tozmadan, onlar. Çok farklı bişeyler yok yani. (Zafer)

237 Neyden bahsedicez. Kız arkadaşlardan falan. Erkekler ne muhabbet edebilir ki yani... Genellikle mahallede. Mahalleden pek çıkmazdık yani. (Mehmet)

238 İnternet falan. Ben mesela 8-9 senedir internet kafeye gidiyorum. İnternet kafede oldu bu olay. Kafelere gidiyorduk işte internete gidiyorduk. Kulüplere falan gidiyorduk işte oynamaya gidiyorduk. (Sinan)

239 Onların muhabbeti güzeldi. Hani buraya gidelim desen buraya gidiyordu oraya gidelim desen oraya gidiyordu. Onu yapalım dersen hepsini yani yapıyorduk. Kafeye falan gidiyorduk kulüplere gidiyorduk. Yani öyle. (Ali)

240 Gidip gezerdik internete falan giderdik. Oyun onlarda. Sonra okul dağılana kadar falan. Sonra eve giderdik. Okuldan geliyoruz.(Nihat)

241 Zaten sabah kalkınca önce internet kafeye gidiyodu, parası vardı o zamanlar. sabah işe gidiyorum diye beni de alıyordu. İnternette gidiyodu, biraz oynuyodu, arkadaşları vardı, sonrada onlarla kahveye gidiyodu, oyun oynuyorlardı, zaten akşam oluyordu (Mete)

not very close. I mean, we were just chatting<sup>242</sup>. (Barış)

### Hanging Out in Other Neighbourhoods

Although, the adolescents were more likely to hang out in their own neighborhood, Murat and Ali mentioned that they were also hanging around in the other neighborhoods. Feeling of belonging to the neighborhood where the deviant friends live is an emerging theme for Ali.

Since we live in this neighborhood or we visited at nights. We were driving to other places without thinking, going to other neighborhoods. We were going to other neighborhoods<sup>243</sup>. (Murat)

Until the age of 13, I hanged out in my own neighborhood, before using drugs. After starting to hang out with this brother. Now, this is the street. This one is Göztepe neighborhood and the other one is Fatih neighborhood. I was in Göztepe neighborhood. The other side is Fatih. I was hanging more in Göztepe. I was not knowing well to the people in my own neighborhood but the ones in Göztepe. I was knowing more about Göztepe. I was very attached there. It was the reason why I came from Tekirdağ once in 2-3 weeks. I had closer friends there<sup>244</sup>. (Ali)

### Bachelor houses “Bekar evleri”

Five adolescents also indicated that they stayed in bachelor houses during the drug abuse episodes and when they had conflicts with their family members. These houses were the places only the deviant peers live and they were far from adult monitoring.

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242 Ben onlarla pazar günleri görüşüyordum. Konuşurduk maça giderdik internette falan oyun oynardık karşılıklı öyle karşılaşırdık yani. Fazla da samimi değildik yani samimi dediysek yani normal konuştuğumuz muhabbet ettiğimiz bir kişiydi işte. (Barış)

243 Şimdi o semtte kalmadığım için veya akşamları uğruyordum. Kafamız estiği gibi biniyorduk arabamıza gidiyorduk o semtten çıkıyorduk. Başka semtlere gidiyorduk. (Murat)

244 Ya ben kendi mahallede işte ben 13 yaşına kadar uyuturucuya bağlanana kadar kendi mahallede takılıyordum. İşte o abinin yanında takılmaya başladığım zaman. Şimdi cadde bizim. Bu tarafta Göztepe mahallesi, bu tarafta fatih mahallesi. Göztepe mahallesindeydim fatih mahallesi bu taraftı. Göztepe de daha çok takılıyordum. Kendi sokağımdaki adamın nerede oturduğunu bilmiyorsam Göztepe'dekini daha rahat bilirdim yani. Oraya çok bağlıydım. yani. İşte Tekirdağ'dan 2-3 haftada bir gelme sebepim orası işte mahalle. Orada daha iyi yani arkadaşlarım vardı işte.(Ali)

I am a drug abuser. You can't go home when you are high. You have mother and father. I mean, I went once or twice. We had argument with my father. I mean, It is not suitable when you are with your family. That is why I left. The reason I began to live apart from my family is that. I had a lot of visitors. For instance, my friends were coming. My girl friend was coming. For instance, I am gadabout. I had gone to various places. I mean, my friends were coming there. Girl friends. It can be in family house. I had to rent a house in Etaplar, bachelor house<sup>245</sup>. (Murat)

After we had broke up. I was neither going home nor going to work. I was staying with my friends. How can I say? Since there are a lot of people around me, acquaintances. I was going, for instance. With my friends. One they with this one, two they with the other one<sup>246</sup>. (Sinan)

Not outside. In another house, I was staying in a place called bachelor house. 3-4 people, 5 people, we were staying together<sup>247</sup>. (Ali)

When I used drugs, I was not going home. We have a place to go. Friend's cafe. House of the others. Bachelor houses. There is a workplace of some others, for instance. There were a lot of places<sup>248</sup>. (Emin)

My sister was saying "Don't go there", but sometimes I used<sup>249</sup>. (Mete)

### Extended Social Network and Neighborhood

Social context which the adolescents lived in is another important domain that is related to adolescents' deviation. For a better understanding of the interaction between family environment, peer relations and the offending trajectories of adolescents, it is more appropriate to take the effect of neighborhood and extended social network into account since the family and peer relationships are not isolated from the extended context

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245 Ya ben madde içinde bir insanım. Eve kafan güzel gidilmez şimdi. Annen var baban var. Hani 1-2 kere gittim öyle. Babamla tartıştık olmuyor yani öyle ailenin önünde. O yüzden ayrıldım. Şimdi ailemden ayrı yaşamaya başlamamın sebebi şudur. Gelenim gidenim çoktu. Mesela arkadaşım geliyordu. Kız arkadaşım geliyordu. Mesela ben gezen insanımdır. Çok yere de gitmişimdir. Yani oradan arkadaşlarım geliyordu. Bayan arkadaşlarım. Hani kendime evde olmaz zaten aile evidir. Kendime Etaplar'da bekar evi tutmak zorunda kaldım o yüzden. (Murat)

246 Ayrıldıktan sonra. Ne işe gidiyordum ne eve gidiyordum. Dışarıda arkadaşlarda kalıyordum. Ya nasıl diyim ben. Çevre çok olduğu için tanıdık. Gidiyordum mesela. Arkadaşlarımda falan. Bir gün onda 2 gün onda. (Sinan)

247 Ya dışarıda değil. Başka bir evde bekar evi diye bir yer vardı orada kalıyordum. 3-4 kişi falan 5 kişi falan orada kalıyorduk işte. (Ali)

248 Ben kullandığım zaman eve gitmezdimya gidecek yerimiz vardı. Arkadaşın kafesi vardı. Öbürünün evi vardı. Bekar evi vardı. İş yeri vardı mesela bir tanesinin. Yani istemediğin kadar kalacak yer çoktu yani. (Emin)

249 Ablam gitme diyordu ama ben arada kullanıyordum. (Mete)

in which they exist. A key aspect is whether deviation and offending trajectories are influenced by adolescents' perceptions of their neighborhood or by the actual physical and social features of the neighborhood itself.

In eight out of eleven adolescents's cases, the dynamics within the social context they lived in, emerged as a risk factor for adolescent's deviation. Main themes related to the effects of social context are the change in the social context as a result of migration, normalization of the deviant behavior and criminal involvement in the extended social network, need to be powerful in the social context, social exclusion and stigmatization

The negative attitudes about neighborhood was most apparent for four out of five adolescents who had a migration experience. Their perception of the migration process; their attitudes toward hometown and İstanbul is evaluated separately since some of the characteristics of these adolescents' perceptions diverged from the perceptions of the neighborhood in general. They were more likely to overgeneralize the negative effects of social context to İstanbul rather than the narrower neighborhood they lived in.

#### Characteristics of the hometown for immigrant adolescents

When the adolescents who had experienced a migration were asked to define their hometown, they identified the hometown as beautiful, harmless, warm, petit and secure that pointed out their positive emotionality to the hometown.

Our hometown is different. Very different. It does nothing to people. There are no such kind of facts there. You learn a lot here. There is nothing like that in our hometown. Theft, robbery, marijuana, pills and else. There is nothing like these there. You either be shepherd or visit your uncles in the village. Nothing else. Hometown in better<sup>250</sup>. (Osman)

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250 Ya bizim orada biraz daha farklı yani. Çok farklı. Bizim o taraflar hiçbirşey yapmaz insana. Olay yok fazla. Burada bayağı bir şey öğrenirsin yani. Bizim o tarafta öyle bir şey yok. Hırkızlıkmiş, gaspmış, esarmış, hapmiş bilmem ne



Iğdır is a nice place. We were living in its district. Nealy everything was good. Home was warm<sup>251</sup>. (Barış)  
Good place but petite<sup>252</sup>. (Emin)

Existence of social support network in the hometown is another factor that intensified the adolescents' feeling of safety and belonging in the hometown.

Of course I remember. We were going there at least once in a year or two years. I mean, my family is there, most of my relatives, my grandfather, my sisters, most of my relatives<sup>253</sup>. (Emin)

When I went to village, I was not wanting to turn back. All of my friends were there, all of them were from the same village<sup>254</sup>. (Mete)

Similarly, Osman mentioned that his fathers' physical absense was not problematic for the family in the hometown due to existense of alternative social support network.

Nope, why is it becoming difficult? My uncles were all there. My relatives were in the village. It was not difficult<sup>255</sup>. (Osman)

#### Attitutes toward İstanbul

The immigrant adolescents mentioned that İstanbul was a chaotic city for them. They had experienced difficulties in adaptating to the new city. They complained about the unpredictibility of the people living in İstanbul, high crime rates and difficult living

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öyle birşey yok bizim orada. Ya bir çobanlık yaparsın ya da köyde amcanın yanına gidersen dayının yanına gidersen başka birşey yok. Orası daha güzel yani. (Osman)

251 Iğdır güzel bir yerdi. işte ilçesinde yaşıyorduk zaten. Hemen hemen her şey güzeldi yani. Ev sıcak. (Barış)

252 Güzel bir yer ama ufak bir yer (Emin)

253 Hatırlıyorum tabi. Sene de olmasa da 2 senede bir muhakkak gidiyoruz yani. Ailemiz orada yani çoğu gene akrabalarımızın dedem ablalarım çoğu orada yani gene akrabalarımızın. (Emin)

254 Köye gidince gelmek istemiyordun, arkadaşlarım falan toplu orda, hepsi aynı köyden. (Mete)

255 Yok niye zor olsun zor olmaz ki. Zaten amcamlar orada dayımlar orada. Akrabalar vardı köyde. Zor olmuyordu. (Osman)

conditions. The words used in the definition of İstanbul were “dirty”, “bog”, “consuming” and “distressing” ; all of which had a negative emotional valence.

İstanbul is bigger but it is difficult to live in İstanbul. There is impurity in every each step of you. Everywhere. Drugs, assaults... There is no calmness. People are being messed up here. If it does not happen, it does not. Neighborhood. I mean, People can walk safely even outside. It is not a beautiful city, I mean<sup>256</sup>. (Emin)

Mardin. Hometown is better. At least there is not that kinds of things. You can offend there, like robbing and else. I was in Mardin until the age of 13-14. I did not witnessed those kinds of offences. When we came here, I see that İstanbul exhausts everything as all the other people said. It is like a boggy<sup>257</sup>. (Osman)

You don't know who is who cause everyone looks like someone else. It was not like that in the village. Everyone is working there, everyone knows each other. They do not involved in these kinds of things. Village is different. I don't know if it is from the air or water. The circumstances in İstanbul are much more difficult<sup>258</sup>. (Barış)

Nope, I was happy cause I came to İstanbul but then I became alienated from İstanbul. İstanbul is oppressive<sup>259</sup>. (Mete)

### Normalization of the deviant behavior and criminal involvement in the extended social network

Besides the immigrant adolescents, the dynamics of the social context and the adolescents perception of their neighborhood also had an effect on the psychological wellbeing and the deviant trajectories of the adolescents who were born in İstanbul.

Murat and Mehmet mentioned that the offenses were normative in their neighbourhood.

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256 İstanbul daha büyük daha şey de istanbulda da yaşamak zor işte... adım atsan. Adım atsan yani artık her yerde bir pislik var... uyuşturucular olsun. saldırılar olsun. Sakinlik yok yani. Ya burada insanın üstüne pislik sıcıyor devamlı. Olmazsa olmuyor...Çevre olsun. Yani insan sokakta bile doğru düzgün yürüyemiyor. Güzel bir şehir değil yani.(Emin)

257 Mardin şimdi Memleket daha güzel. Hiç olmazsa öyle birşey yoktu. O tarafta yapamazsın öyle hırsızlık oymuş buymuş. Yani öbüründe 13-14 yaşına gelene kadar Mardin'deydim zaten. Öyle bir olaya da hiç rastlamadım yani. Buraya geldik hani diyorlar ya İstanbul insanı ye bitirir harbiden öyle. Bataklık bir yer. (Osman)

258 Kimin ne olduğunu bilmiyorsun çünkü herkes bambaşka biri oluyor. Köyde öyle değil, köyde herkes işinde gücünde herkes kendi insanları falan böyle şeyle alakası olmayan öyle köy bambaşka. Bilmiyorum ki havasından mı suyundan mı.. İstanbul'un koşulları daha zor. (Barış)

259 Yok ya, İstanbul'a ilk geldiğimde çok sevmiştim ama sonra İstanbul'dan soğumuştum. İstanbul bunalıyo.(Mete)

People should protect their children. I mean, there is a knife in the hands of 5-6 year-old children outside. Our neighborhood is a very dangerous neighborhood. When it is dark at nights, strangers become afraid of being there. Afriad of hanigng there. I mean, a impure place<sup>260</sup>. (Murat)

There is a need for these kinds of things in our neighborhood. There is no day without fights there<sup>261</sup>. (Mehmet)

As a result of perceived frequency of offense and deviation in the neighborhood, the adolescents stated their need of being powerful and a well-known person in their neighborhood because they had an all-or-none style perception; which means they either had to dominate the others, even in a criminal ways or would be suppressed and victimized by other criminal people in the neighbourhood.

Sure. I mean, to make people know you. And this way. When we say to make people in the neighborhood know your name, we mean the neighborhood must know you. That is it. I mean, to make people in the neighborhood know your name. I mean, like Burak is coming, Ömer is coming. That is it. I mean, you always want someone to call your name. That is the reason<sup>262</sup>. (Burak)

The main reason for being here is being known in the neighborhood<sup>263</sup>. (Barış)

I mean, how the things go in our neighborhood. No one can speak against the women when we were there. Sometimes they say bravo to us look at those children. I mean they say you are here and none of the thefts can stay here, they left. If we are not there, someone else would be excused, Ali, Veli or Mehmet. Because we are well known. Nothing will work anymore<sup>264</sup>. (Murat)

It is because we hang a lot. Well-known. Everyone knows us, ehat kind of

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260 Millet hayırlısıyla çoluk çocuğuna sahip çıksın. Dışarıda yani 5-6 yaşında çocuğun bile elinde bıçak var şimdi...Şimdi bizim semt çok tehlikeli bir semt yani. Akşam karanlık çöktüğünde korkar insan yabancı bir insan olsan. Gezmeye korkar yani. O şekil bir pis semt yani. (Murat)

261 Yani bizim oturduğumuz semtte bunlara gerek duyuyolar. Kavgasız dövüşsüz gün yok bizim orada. (Mehmet)

262 Hı hı tabi. Bir de böyle mahalleye ismini duyurmak için yani. Bir de o şekil yani. Mahalleye ismini duyurmak derken yani mahallenin seni tanınması gerekir. Öyle işte. Yani ismini duyurmak için. Hani Burak geliyor yok Ömer geliyor şu geliyor. Öyle işte. Yani hep senin ismin geçsin isterdin zaten. O yüzden öyle şeyler. (Burak)

263 Buraya girmemin esas sebebi mahallede kişilik olarak tanınmam. (Barış)

264 Yani mahallede nasıl yürüyor. Biz o semtte olduğumuz zaman kimse kimsenin kızına laf atamıyor falan. Hani bazen diyorlar aferin oğlum çocuklara bak falan. Hani diyorlar siz buradasınız falan hırsız mırsız kalmıyor o semtte çıkıyorlar gidiyorlar. Biz olmadıktan sonar bir kişi halleder ali veli mehmet yapmış. Tanınmışsın çünkü. Ne yapsan boş yani. (Murat)

a person we are<sup>265</sup>. (Sinan)

### Stigmatization and Exclusion

Stigmatization and social exclusion are other emerging themes of the interviews.

It should be kept in mind that children were not passive agents throughout their development. As it is seen in some of the examples below, adolescents' deviant involvements also affected how they were perceived by the people around them. It is a co-construction process in which deviation of adolescent leads to an exclusion in the neighborhood and the adolescent who is excluded from the social context acted out offensively in return.

In Murat's case, the stigmatization in the neighbourhood based on his brothers incarceration when he was 9 years old before the onset of Murat's deviation. He mentioned how much he was psychologically overwhelmed by the unfair stigmatization and withdrawn from social contact with the people in the neighborhood in return.

When you go out, they said he is the brother of Fırat, the brother of a theft. It affected. I mean, it affected unintentionally. When you go somewhere, people act you as if you are your brother. That is why it affected. People's view changes. I mean, you evaluate the person different but if he was the brother of a theft you evaluate different. Everyone's perspective changes. And I wanted to be alone. I was going to deserted places. I was hanging in the places that no one knows. It was that way<sup>266</sup>. (Murat)

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265 Çok dolaştığımız için orada. Fazla görünen. Herkes de tanıyor yani biliyor nasıl birisi olduğumuzu (Sinan)

266 Şimdi dışarı çıktığımda diyorlardı bu da işte Fırat'ın kardeşi, hırsızın kardeşi. Etkiliyordu yani ister istemez etkiliyordu yani. Bir yere gittiğinde ufakta olsan abin gözünden bakıyorlardı. İşte o yüzden çok etkiledi yani... İnsanların bakış açısı değişiyor yani. Yani bakarsın temiz insan farklı bakarsın. Ama bakarsın hırsız insanın kardeşi farklı bakarsın. Değişen yani değişir. Herkesin açısı değişir... Ben de yalnız kalmak istiyordum yani böyle. Kimsenin girmediği tanımadığı yerlere gidiyordum. Öyle kimsenin bilmediği tanımadığı yerlere gidiyordum oralarda gidip geziyordum dolaşıyordum. O şekil. Öyle sürüyordu. (Murat)

On the other hand, four adolescents stated that their stigmatization and exclusion in the neighborhood come after the adolescents' deviation.

I mean, no one wants to give their daughter to us anymore. People know us, they won't give their daughter to us. When we pass from the street, everyone was saying "Come here, my daughter, my son, vagrants are passing". We were known like this. There is a saying like instead of gaining a bad reputation, it is better to die. It is true<sup>267</sup>. (Murat)

I liked the neighborhood but they were not loving me. But I thought they love me but they did not<sup>268</sup>. (Burak)

Now, my uncles judge me as a potential criminal. They say he had robbed, why he had robbed. All of them spoke against me. He had already been imprisoned. Someone said he was also abusing drugs. Cigarettes, alcohol and all<sup>269</sup>. (Nihat)

They were good day friends. They did not even turn and look. They were good day friends. It is like this outside. I had a lot of friends outside. 27 months passed since I came here. Just two people is visiting me. There were a lot of people outside. But now only two. One of them is my mother and the other is a friend. It is like that. Most of the people are just for good days<sup>270</sup>. (Emin)

### Future Plans, Expectations and Worries

All of the adolescents mentioned that they are planning to be with their families after the release. Although the adolescents mentioned that the family members reacted negatively and got angry with them in the first place, they accepted the situation with the

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267 Yani bize kız da vermezler bundan sonra. Yani tanıyan tanıdı zaten bacılarda bizi yani bu saatten sonra kızda vermezler bize. Biz mesela sokaktan geçiyoduk. Herkes diyordu gel kızım gel oğlum serseriler geliyor işte. İşte o şekilde tanınmıştık. Bir laf var insanın adı çıkacağına canı çıksın. Doğru yani. (Murat)

268 Mahalleyi seviyordum ama onlar beni sevmiyordu. Ama ben de sevdiklerini biliyordum ama sevmiyorlarmış. (Burak)

269 Şimdi bana amcam falan hepsi böyle bu ihtimal şeyi ile bakıyor diyor falan işte bu gasp yapıyor ne işi var işte gaspla. Hepsisi de şimdi beni kötümüşlerdir. İçeriye de girmiş. Birisi demiş o zaten uyuşturucu falan da içiyor. Sigara alkol malkol. (Nihat)

270 İyi gün dostuydular herhalde. Dönüp bakmadılar bile. İyi gün dostularmış yani. Dışarıda öyle yani. Dışarıda kendi adıma mesela bir ton arkadaşım var. Buraya gireli 27 ay oldu. Arayan soran hala 2 kişi var. Bir ton kişi tanıyorum ben. Ama arayan sadece 2 kişi. Biri annem biri de sağolsun yani arkadaşım. Böyledir yani. Çoğu insan iyi gün dostudur. (Emin)

passage of time and became supportive. In addition, ten of the adolescents, except Murat, were planning to work after release and they stated that they do not worry about finding new jobs. Five among the eleven adolescents (Emin, Murat, Osman, Nihat and Mete) were also planning to move to a new city.

### Ambiguity of Their Situations

The content of the future plans and expectations of the adolescents were not comprehensive as it was indicated above. One of the possible explanations for these shallow statements could be the adolescents' perception of the ambiguity of their situation. The effects of ambiguity on being planless were explicitly mentioned by three adolescents.

There is nothing I can plan here, in the prison. Anyway, I was sentenced for 6 years 8 months. After finishing my sentence, They will send met o military service. After finishing my military service, I will plan for future<sup>271</sup>. (Zafer)

What I tell here will be lie. It is ambigious that I will be set free. I mean, I can be sentenced in this trial. What I said will be lie<sup>272</sup>. (Murat)

Nope, no expectations<sup>273</sup>. (Mehmet)

### Worries about Having a Criminal Record

Ali and Murat also stated their worries about having a criminal record. Murat accused the legal system and stated that having a criminal record further increase the possibility of recidivism and unemployment. Similary, Ali mentioned that he is plannig to be a jokey but he won't be able to achieve this because of his criminal record.

Now, a person is incarcerated and then released and wants to work. But how can he work, he has a criminal record. You have a criminal record, you can't

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271 Şuan burada planlayabileceğim hiçbirşey yok. Zaten burada ceza aldım ben 6 sene 8 ay. Cezaevinde yattıktan sonra direk askeriye inzibata kapı teslimini yapacaklar. Öyle askerlik bittikten sonra bakalım ne olacak. (Zafer)

272 Şimdi burada ne desem yalan olur. Çıkacağım belli mi belli değil. Hani bu mahkeme ceza da alabilirim çıkabilirim de hani. Ne desem yalan olur burada. (Murat)

273 Yok ya ne hayali... (Mehmet)

get appeal. You have a criminal record. You can't float. Wherever you take this record, the people do not trust you anymore, they do not commend their job. This is the point that the state is guilty. If you do not erase the record of a person, he continues to act criminally, he steals<sup>274</sup>. (Murat)

I had a diploma problem. For this, they were searching someone who had not been incarcerated previously, A person who had not been imprisoned. When I am released, if I won't find guilty, I will not have a criminal record. They want some documents. So and so<sup>275</sup>. (Ali)

### Worries About Attitudes of Other People

Zafer, Barış and Zafer also mentioned their worries about stigmatization and exclusion in the social network. They thought that they will be humiliated by the other people in their extended social network. Zafer was anxious about being perceived as a “second-class person”.

Sure, they will react. It will be but how will it be, I can't know. Whether they will judge us as a second class person or not<sup>276</sup>. (Zafer)

They will look, some of them will look to our records, how can I say, the son of these people committed these and those they will say. The acquaintances will know. There will be these kinds of things. But I would like to continue my normal life. Sure, I will resent, I can't say I will not resent<sup>277</sup>. (Barış)

I would not choose this way. I can't turn back right now. Now, you also can't work, why? Because you have a criminal record. The state declare people to work. This person have a criminal record, no one employs him, how can he work? The state is also guilty. If you erase his record, he can work. I mean, you apply for a work but the employer looks at your record and see you have previous offense

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274 Şimdi mesela bir insan bir kere girer çıkar bir iş kurmak ister ama nasıl kurcak sicilini kirli. Sicilini kirli bir kere temiz kağıdı alamıyordun. Sabıkan var. Hadi gel de kur bir iş yeri. Nereye götürsen o sicil kağıdını hani adam sana güvenmez yani iş yerini bıraksın. İşte devletin hataları da bu yani. Bir insanın şeyini silmezse o insan gene devam eder iş imkanı vermezse o insan gene çalar çırpar. (Murat)

275 Var işte hocam diploma sorunu var. Şimdi hocam onun için hiç girmemiş adam arıyorlar. Cezaevi görmemiş adam. Şimdi çıktığımız zaman ceza almadığımız sürece hiçbir şey işlemeyecek sicilime falan. Evraklarda falan kayıt istiyorlar. Falan filan işte. (Ali)

276 İllaki tepki olur. Olur olmasına da nasıl bir tepki olur onu da bilemem artık 2. sınıf insan muamelesi mi olur nolur. (Zafer)

277 Ya bakacaklar yani ehliyete bakacak bazıları işte nasıl diyeyim şunun oğlu şunu yapmış diye tanıyanlar bilecek ya böyle şeyler olacak ama normal eski hayatıma devam edeceğim yani. Ya tabi gücüne gider yani zoruma gider şey yapmam demiyeyim. (Barış)

and says “Don’t come here again, there is no work for you here”<sup>278</sup>. (Murat)

### Worries About Recidivism and Deviant Peer Association

Murat, Emin and Ali also stated that they had worries about being involved in a further offense and having further associations with deviant friends. It was observed that they were aware of having difficulties in self-control and were not trusting themselves.

Nope, if I give up then they will not give up. I mean, whenever someone forswear, he also break his oath. I mean, I am the man of this way, when I give up and go to my family. Now, even though you do not encourage them, they will do. I mean, I am afraid. This is the only thing that I am afraid of. Eventually, we will be murdered, eventually, that is the only thing that I am afraid of<sup>279</sup>. (Murat )

It happens anyway if I go. Anyway, the same thing. I fall into the same way<sup>280</sup>. (Ali)

I don’t know. I mean, I don’t want to get involved with them. If they involved with me, it is their choice<sup>281</sup>. (Emin)

In addition to the worry of having further contact with deviant peers, Murat was also anxious about being harmed and punished by the victims.

There are some people that we oppressed. People we beat, hit, and hurt. I mean, we can’t conciliate all. They all have a sense of revenge. I mean, revenge and hate. All of them waiting for a chance. All of them wait us to fall into trouble. That is it. Anyway, I will not stay here anymore after release. I will go to somewhere else<sup>282</sup>. (Murat)

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278 Bu yola girmezdim işte. Geri dönüş de yapamıyorsun. Şimdi çalışamazsın da, niye çalışsın sabıkalsın. Hani devlet bırakıyor insanları diyor çalışın diyor. Bu insanın sabıkası var kimse iş vermez nasıl çalışsın yani devletin de çok suçu var bunda. Sil şu adamın sabıkasını sicilini adam çalışsın. Şimdi bir iş yerine gidiyorsun diyor teymiz kağıdı getir götürüyor bakıyor pis. Gelme lan diyor iş miş yok sana. (Murat)

279 Şimdi ben elimi ayağımı çektiğim zaman bu sefer millet benden durmayacak. Hani bir insan tövbe ettiği zaman tövbesini illaki geri alır. Şimdi ben bu yolun yolcusuydum bıraktım çekildim ailemin yanına gittim. Şimdi sen millete pişt demesen de illaki millet sana pişt diyecek. Yani korkuyorum. Tek korkum o zaten yani. En sonunda hani bir tane cinayetden giricez gene yani en sonunda korktuğum şey odur yani. (Murat)

280 İllaki olurum hocam gitsem yani. İllaki gene aynı şey. Giderim aynı yola. (Ali)

281 Ya bilmiyorum ki. Ben pek bulaşmayı düşünmüyorum yani. Onlarda bulaşırlarsa kendileri bilir. (Emin)

282 Şimdi zamanında ezdiğimiz insanlar var. Vurduğumuz dövdüğümüz kırdığımız insanlar var. Onların hepsinin kalbini de toplayamazsın yani. Hepsinin içinde bir kin vardır. Hani bir kin bir nefret vardır yani. Hepsi de yani o fırsatı bekliyor yani. Düşmemizi bekliyor yani. İşte o şekil. Zaten hani çıktığım zaman kalmam burada yani. Çeker giderim. (Murat)



## CHAPTER 4

### DISCUSSION

This study focused on adolescents who were imprisoned for mugging in order to examine the antecedents to criminal involvement. As it was indicated before, mugging is a special kind of robbery which is classified as a property offense but has various violent components. Most of the previous studies differentiated the developmental trajectories of antisocial behavior and related proximal and distal risk factors in terms of the type of resulting offensive involvement such as property offenses and violent offenses. For instance, Moffitt (1993) identified two qualitatively distinct types of trajectories in antisocial behavior; life-course-persistent antisocial behavior which has an early onset and more likely to be associated with violent offenses and disproportionally represented in arrest and recidivism statistics and adolescence-limited antisocial behavior which has a late onset and more likely to be associated with property offenses.

In this sense, the present study is unique since the current offense of the adolescents is neither within the conceptualization of the property offense such as theft nor the violent offense such as murder and assaults but somewhere in between. The trajectory of adolescents in the present study are more likely to resemble the characteristics of life-course persistent antisocial behavior, although it is difficult to identify the onset of the adolescents' deviation due to the methodological constraints as

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well as the adolescent's particular thinking patterning about their deviant behaviors, such as normalization of their delinquent involvements.

The crucial finding in the present study was that adolescents had certain kinds of thinking patterns related to their offensive behaviors. They were more likely to normalize their antisocial behavior and attribute the causes of the current offense external factors which decreased their sense of responsibility. In addition, they observed to have a power orientation and diminished level of empathy for the victims. Essential point in the present study was to introduce how these certain kinds of thinking patterns developed in relation to fundamental risk factors in adolescents' lives. In other word, it was observed that the adolescents were not passive throughout their development but they were constantly attributing meaning to their experiences and developing specific kinds of thinking patterns which diminished the emotional burden of their offensive acts.

Risk factors emerged in the present study could be evaluated in individual, relational and societal levels. The present study showed that some of the adolescents may have born with some biological predispositions such as impulsivity, low level of self-control, potential learning disabilities and deficits in affect recognition that may have heightened the risk of developing conduct problems early in life. In addition, majority of the adolescents reported that they experienced problematic relationships both in school environment and family environment such as early peer rejection, conflictual relationships with teachers in the school environment and harsh paternal discipline, low monitoring of the parents, inconsistent parenting strategies among parents and loss of alternative social support in the family environment. As a result of break off in the relationships in school and family environment, the adolescents formed associations with

deviant friends which can be evaluated as the proximal predictor of offensive acts. Among all, they experienced neighborhood disadvantages such as social exclusion and stigmatization. The present study also showed that dropping out of school and work experiences were common among these adolescents and triggered the conflictual relationships within the family and the social isolation. Lastly, all of these risk factors were observed to contribute to the criminal thinking patterns of adolescents throughout their development. The results of the present study revealed that the development of antisocial behaviours is a complex and multifaced issue and a result of constant interaction among various risk factors.

#### Temperamental and Personality Characteristics that Sustain Adolescents' Thinking Patterns and Criminal Involvement

Some of the studies proposed that life-course persistent antisocial behavior has its roots in certain biological predispositions and it is necessary to understand how those biological predispositions are related to lifetime experiences in family, peer and school environment in the amplification of the problem (Moffitt, 1993; Dodge, & Pettit, 2003).

The previous studies showed that deficits in right hemisphere functioning have an effects on the affect recognition, withdrawal system, pain perception and response inhibition systems (Raine et al., 2002; Toupin, Dery, Pauze, Mercier, & Fortin, 2000). Some of the adolescent in the present study were unable to imagine themselves in victim's place and empathize with the victim which may be related to the deficits in affect recognition and pain perception as a result of right hemisphere dysfunctioning. Whenever, the adolescents talked off the regrets about the occurrence of the offense, the

content of the adolescents' statements were more likely to be related to losses they have experienced due to imprisonment rather than being victim-oriented. These findings are consistent with the findings of Richter, Krecklow and Eisemann (2002) that showed self-directedness is significantly associated with adolescent delinquency. Lahey, Waldman and McBurnett (1999) reported that early onset conduct problems are associated with callousness which was identified as low levels of empathy and concern for others, diminished levels of guilt, dampened level of some emotions. Similarly, adolescents in the present study, who mentioned that the victims suffered in a particular way, were observed to distance themselves and refer to the event as if someone else was responsible from the victimization without manifesting any signs of guilt and concern for the victim. They also observed to be power oriented which may be the manifestation of their heightened self-esteem as indicated by Caldwell, Beuter, An Ross, and Clayton Silver (2006).

In addition, some adolescents attributed the cause of the offensive acts to external factors which may be manifestation of deficits in the response inhibition and withdrawn systems. These results also supported the effect of impulsivity and self-control on delinquency. In their study, Vazsonyi, Cleveland and Wiebe (2006) found that impulsivity, low ego resilience; inability to delay gratification, low self-control and impulse control may predispose individuals to behave in criminal ways and the relation between impulsivity and deviance is found to be independent of neighborhood disadvantages. Although, the findings of the present study also showed that incarcerated adolescents are more likely to act impulsively in general, the invariant effect of impulsivity and self control on criminal acts is questioned. It was found that there is a

constant process of reciprocal interaction between impulsive acts and the environmental reactions to them. For instance, Lynam, Caspi, Moffitt, Wikström, Loeber and Novak (2000) found that the effect of impulsivity on juvenile offending is stronger in poorer neighborhoods which is consistent with the findings of the present study in which majority of the adolescents were coming from low SES families and reported to experience financial difficulties throughout their lives; some of which lead a major changes in adolescents' lives such as migration. Besides, the adolescents in this study who are more likely to act impulsively experienced a childhood peer rejection in the school and more likely to associate with deviant peers and adapt to deviant norms in turn, as it was previously stated in other studies (Chapple, 2005; Baron, 2003).

The comorbidity of learning disabilities (Zabel & Nigro 2000 cited in Alltucker et al., 2006), ADHD (Lahey, Waldman, & McBurnett, 1999) and concentration problems (Schaeffer, Petras, Ialongo, Poduska, & Kellam, 2003) with antisocial behavior are high among offenders. These other biologically disposed psychopathological problems such as learning disabilities and ADHD may have an indirect effect on the development antisocial behavior by amplifying the effect of environmental adversities such as negative peer relationships and school experiences (Nagin & Tremblay, 2003). Similarly, adolescents in the present study also reported to have concentration problems in the school which are resulted in academic failure and dropping out of school. Most of the adolescents reported that they felt bored in the school. What is more, the school environment were also observed to lack the necessary rule regulations and teachers were neglectful about intervening with the development of problematic behavior which diminished the structured characteristic of the school environment. These findings were

consistent with the study of Donnellan, Ge and Wenk (2002) in which life-course persistent offenders were less likely to be interested in intellectual matters and were less likely to succeed in unstructured settings.

However, it should be kept in mind that it is difficult to claim that the adolescents in the present study certainly had those temperamental predispositions due to methodological constraints and the deficits in emotional and cognitive domains, if they exist, should not be evaluated without considering the effects of family environment, peer relations and neighborhood disadvantages they experienced throughout their development.

#### Family Environment

Besides the biological predispositions and individual characteristics, family environment also plays a significant role in fostering delinquency. As opposed to the previous findings which stated that criminal acts are higher among adolescences who are coming from single-parent households (McMackin, Morrissey, & Kaloupek, 2000), majority of the adolescent in the present study were coming from intact family structure, except Zafer's case whose father had been murdered. For the present study, the effects of the quality of parenting are more important than the structure of family environment in predicting the development of delinquency.

Previous studies showed that youth who engage in high level of antisocial behavior are much more likely to have parents who also engage in chronic antisocial behavior due to genetic transmission of predisposed temperament (Lahey, Waldman, & McBurnett, 1999). Meyer et al. (2000) also stated that both shared environmental factors

and latent effect of genes are significant in the development of conduct behaviors.

Although none of the fathers in the previous study are reported to have criminal involvement and only one of the brothers, in the case of Murat, was reported to have imprisonment history, the presence of murdered family members within the family members and high rates of criminal involvement among relatives may be the manifestation of genetic predisposition.

Adolescents who grow up in homes characterized by lack of warmth and support, whose parents lack monitoring skills and whose lives are characterized by conflict and maltreatment are known to be more likely to be delinquent and act offensively in the long run. Parental management, parent-child affiliation, parent-child conflict and problem solving and child maltreatment are found to have an impact on the adolescent's criminal behavior in the previous studies (Smith, & Stern, 1997; Wiesner, & Silbereisen, 2003; Perrin, Perry-Casler, Romeus, & Dejoy, 2003; Madden-Derdich, Leonard, & Gunnell, 2002). What is apparent in the present study is the necessity of evaluating the paternal and maternal relationships separately as well as how these two different aspects of parental practices affected the adolescent's development when they are evaluated together which is not sufficiently identified in the existing literature. The present study showed that the quality of paternal and maternal relationships is different from each other in various dimensions. Adolescents reported to have more conflictual relationships with their fathers. Fathers are more likely to be abusive towards adolescents both emotionally and physically and employ harsh discipline strategies. Palmer and Hollin (2001) had previously stated that physical punishment in parenting practices heightened the level of delinquency. Adolescents who were abused and neglected by their fathers experienced

more negative emotions toward their fathers. Some of the adolescents attributed the causes of their conflictual relationships with their fathers to their fathers' difficult temperament. The effects of paternal difficult temperament on adolescents disengagement from family was previously mentioned by Blackson, Tarter, Loeber, Ammerman, and Windle (1996).

It should be kept in mind that, from a developmental perspective, the patterning of the relationship between parents and their sons is bidirectional and continuously undergoing reconstruction. In other words, early childhood behavioral problems may also affect the parent's disciplinary strategies (Moffitt, 1993). Some of the adolescents in the present study reported to have less conflictual relationships with their fathers in their childhood and their relationship with their fathers become more problematic with increasing age and the fathers' attitudes toward them were also affected by the adolescent's delinquent and offensive involvements. It was also indicated previously that harsh discipline, low parental supervision and inconsistent parenting practices are highly common in the families of children who had early externalizing problems (Lahey, Waldman and McBurnett, 1999).

Smith and Stern (1997) also specified that poor communication skills such as lack of supportive communication, defensive communication patterns, conversation domination, and lack of problem solving skills are related to delinquency. Family members are less likely to negotiate and more likely to behave aggressively to their children who are prone to behave in delinquent ways. Present study also supported the effect of maladaptive communication and problem solving strategies on adolescent's deviation. As a result of the conflictual relationships and humiliation, the adolescents



reported to feel alienated from their fathers and acting rebellious to their fathers' authority and warnings. Adolescents who were unable to solve their problems by the means of communication tended to avoid the problem. Running away from home and sulking were the most common strategies used in the disputes between the fathers and adolescents and adolescents were more likely to associate with deviant peers and ask for support from deviant friends at the time of disputes.

As opposed to negative emotional reactions toward fathers, none of the adolescent in the present study reported conflictual relationships with their mothers. However, mothers were also unable to set rules and provide consistent discipline for the adolescent's antisocial behaviors. It was consistent with Dodge and Pettit's (2003) developmental model that different aspects of parenting are effective at the different developmental levels the child is in with parental monitoring becoming more important in adolescent years.

As it was also mentioned in some of the previous studies (Wiesner, & Silbereisen, 2003; Brendgen, & Tremblay, 2000), it should be argued that low parental empathy was consistently associated with all levels of offending trajectories and other developmental problems whereas low parental monitoring was found to be trajectory specific and had a greater effect for high-level offenders. Most of the adolescent in the present study reported that their parents did not know much about the adolescent's whereabouts, progress in school and social activities as well as peer relations. As it was also indicated in Paschall, Ringwalt and Flewelling's study (2003), adolescents' delinquent behavior in the present study was associated with maternal monitoring and perceived maternal

control over their sons but not associated with perceived maternal warmth since most of the adolescent's reported to have positive relationships with their mothers.

On the other hand, Klein and Forehand (1997) indicated that lack of maternal communication-problem solving skills predicted severe delinquent acts of adolescents when it is coupled with maternal depression. In two cases of the present study, Sinan and Zafer mentioned that their mothers suffer from chronic psychological problems due to family adversities and the adolescents reported that they avoid communicating with their mothers and share their problems with them from the onset of maternal depressive mood and began to distance themselves from the family environment and associate with deviant friends as a result. It should be kept in minds that, majority of the mothers in the present study were illiterate which may contribute the lack of necessary skills for effective parenting.

It is noteworthy to mention that the inconsistencies between paternal parenting styles; which was mainly characterized by harsh disciplinary strategies and abuse towards adolescents and maternal parenting styles; such as being insufficient in monitoring and failing to intervene with the adolescent's deviant behaviors further heightened the risk involved in the adolescent's antisocial development.

However, most of the previous studies did not take the siblings into account when examining the effects of family dynamics on the adolescent's deviation. Present study showed that the presence of delinquent or protective siblings could be an important mediator between the disrupted parental relationships and association with deviant peers as adolescents grow older. With decreasing attachments to parents, adolescents often look toward their siblings for social support. As the influence of parental attachment

decreases, sibling attachments and influences strengthen and act as an alternative source of familial support potentially mitigating other peer influences. Unfortunately, majority of the adolescents in the present study experienced a loss of older sibling, at least in the specific periods of their lives, due to moving, military services or by murder, and it was observed that these absences became significant and vulnerable periods for adolescents in their antisocial involvements. That is to say, the creation of an alternative social support networks with deviant peers should be taken into account for a better understanding of the trajectories of antisocial development in future investigations.

The present study also showed that the parenting practices and relationships within the family should not be evaluated in isolation from the adversities that the family members experienced and the effects of the larger context. Most of the adolescents in the present study were coming from low SES families. Paternal unemployment, financial difficulties and migration were emerging themes related to financial adversities the family members had experienced. The overcrowdedness within the family, with high number of siblings also amplified the effects of financial difficulties. As opposed to the mitigating effect of the presence of older brothers within the family on adolescent's deviant involvement, the presence of high number of younger siblings in disengaged families was seen as a significant risk factor for adolescents by the means of division of potential parental investment, both financially and emotionally. The parents may have difficulty in monitoring each of their children. What is more, some of the adolescents reported feeling responsibility for their younger siblings' needs and for supporting the family financially, which has an effect on the adolescent's early school-to-work careers.

## Dropping Out of School and Work Experiences

As opposed to the delinquent trajectories of adolescents in the west, dropping out of school and working experiences were found to be common among offender adolescents in Turkey due to ineffective state regulations. Previous studies conducted in Turkey also showed that the educational level of offender adolescents was very low with a high level of school drop outs (Basut, & Erden, 2005; Erdoğan, 2005; Özçeşmeci, & Ünal, 1999; Nalbant, 1993; Demirbaş, 1992; Kaya, 1995; Kabasakal, 1997).

Adolescents' academic failure and dropping out of school is a complex phenomenon which should be evaluated from a broader perspective in relation to school experiences, family environment and social context the adolescents lived in addition to probable biological dispositions which put them under the risk of learning disabilities. Majority of the adolescents defined themselves as being unsuccessful academically. While majority of the adolescents indicated that their performance was low from the beginning, some others also reported that their academic failure in school increased in the upper level classes alongside with association with deviant friends. These findings are consistent with the previous study of Wiesner and Silbereisen (2003), which found that not the initial level of low academic achievement but time-averaged level of low academic achievement was associated with offender trajectories. In other words, rather than assuming a causal effect of low academic achievement on subsequent offences, low academic achievement is a consequence of prior delinquent behavior, which in turn heightened the risk for further offences.

Truancy, low level of school attachment and high level of peer rejection in the school were common among adolescents. It was found that poor relationship with their

teachers and peers accelerated the social and emotional adjustment problems. Conflictual relationships with teachers, low level of academic self-efficacy and peer rejection heightened the adolescent's sense of separation from school and they were more likely to associate with deviant peers as a result. Sankey and Huon (1999) also found that school-related experiences significantly predicted both alienation and association with delinquent peers and association with delinquent peers was the strongest predictor of delinquency. In addition to mediating effect of alienation and deviant peer associations between the school experiences and delinquency, Sahkey and Huon (1999) also found that quality of family life, that included the parental strictness, decision making opportunity, family acceptance and monitoring, was a significant predictor of delinquent behavior, with lower quality family life associated with more delinquent behavior. However, the effect of quality of family was indirect, rather than direct, which was mediated by academic failure. Although it is difficult to deny the direct effect of family experiences for the present study, it can be suggested that low parental monitoring had also indirect effect on adolescent's deviant involvements upon the academic failure since most of the adolescents mentioned that their parents were either unaware or normalized their academic failure up to the point of dropping out of school.

All of the adolescents in the study dropped out of the school. Among them, three of them were expelled from school due to violent involvements in the school. The remaining reported that dropping out of school was their own decision since they were unable to cope with failure in school and felt they needed to contribute financially to their families. Paternal unemployment, migration and loss of other available income providers such as older brothers were some of the factors that were found to amplify the school-to-

work careers of adolescents. These findings were also consistent with the findings of studies conducted with imprisoned adolescents in Turkey (Nalbant, 1993; Kabasakal, 1997; Özçeşmeci Ünal, 2005). In the present study, it was apparent that the adolescent's entrance to labor activities was determined by the fact that they felt responsible for dealing with financial struggles their families were going through and working adolescents felt themselves as grown-up members of the family, who assumed the responsibility of their household and created adult-like identities for themselves. Adult-like identity formation heightened their feeling of independence and rejection of parental control. In addition, it was observed that many of the adolescents worked in age inappropriate jobs, with excessive working hours.

#### Association with Deviant Peers

As it was indicated in various studies, one of the most powerful proximal predictors for delinquent behavior during adolescence was deviant peer associations (Dodge, & Pettit, 2003; Catarello, 2000; Pratt, & Cullen, 2000 cited in Baron, 2003). All of the adolescents identified the deviant peer associations as the main cause of the offense and stated that the offense was committed in the company of deviant peers. Before evaluating the dynamics of deviant peer associations and its effect on the occurrence of offense, it is noteworthy to identify the characteristics of early peer relationships and the reason for lack of non-deviant peer network.

It was observed that adolescents in the present study were more likely to be ignored and rejected by other children in the school context during childhood because of their unpredictable and aggressive behaviors. The effect of early peer rejection was also

stated by previous studies (Moffitt, 2003; Fergusson, Woodward, & Horwood, 1999; Laird, Jordan, Dodge, Pettit, & Bates, 2001; Garnier, & Stein, 2002). The present study also implied that dropping out of school and working experiences further amplified the relational break off with non deviant peers by the means of lack of common interests and time restrictions.

On the other hand, some of the adolescents in the present study stated that they preferred to hang out with like-minded deviant peers even in the school years. Fergusson, Swain-Campbell and Horwood (2002) had previously identified these selective processes as the existing behavioral tendencies and relationship patterns of children predispose them to selectively associate with like minded peers. Although some of the adolescents stated that they were unaware of the deviant friends' involvement in specific offenses such as truancy and robbery at the time of friendship formation, majority of them reported that they were aware of the deviant friends' delinquency in general but underestimated the potential harm of their deviant peers since they were not the object of such harm and stated that formation of deviant associations amplified their sense of power and prestige. In other words, it can be claimed that specific kind of thinking patterns among adolescents, such as power orientation, normalization of the deviation and egocentric thinking patterning may predispose adolescents to hang out with like-minded peers. Baron (2003) previously indicated that the effect of low self control on delinquency was mediated by deviant peer associations and adaptation to deviant values. The importance of selection processes, especially for adolescents who manifest life-time persistent antisocial trajectories were also apparent in various previous studies (Reed, & Rose, 1998; Moffitt, 1993; Fergusson, Woodward, & Horwood, 1999). However, it is

difficult to claim that all of the delinquent attitudes and delinquent acts precede the deviant peer formation. In addition to selection processes, socialization processes also had notable role in antisocial involvement and offensive behaviors. It was observed that there was an antisocial adult figure in some of the cases, in addition to same-aged antisocial peers. As it was also posited in Sutherland's differential association theory (1947 cited in Reed & Rose, 1998), adolescents reported to learn and accept some of the deviant norms, attitudes, values in intimate face to face interaction and communication with deviant peers and antisocial adult figure. It was observed that duration, priority and intensity of the associations with deviant others; by the means of hanging out in internet cafes and bachelor houses, were significant predictors for adolescent's offense as it was indicated in differential association theory. Similarly, Haynic and Osgood (2005) stated that adolescents, who spend more time away from authority figures, will engage in more delinquent acts. However, the meaning making processes of the adolescent in addition to the duration, priority and intensity of the associations also contributed to the occurrence of offense by the amplification of sense of power and feeling of belonging as it was predicted by social learning theories (Reed, & Rose, 1998; Patterson, Dishion, & Yoerger, 2000). Reed and Rose (1998) emphasized the effect of social pressure on delinquent acts. In other words, they claimed that social pressure serves as a reinforcer. The effect of social pressure in the socialization processes was also supported in the present study that once the deviant associations were formed, the adolescents were expected to follow the deviant norms and otherwise, either excluded or punished by the group members.



That is to say, rather than evaluating the selective and socialization processes as competing explanations, it is better to conceptualize them as complementary processes in the amplification of antisocial behavior as it was previously mentioned by Swain-Campbell and Horwood (2002).

Another dominant theme for the present study was the high prevalence of drug abuse and its relation with deviant peer associations. Most of the adolescent reported that they have either abused or experimented with drugs. Marijuana and pills were the most common drugs, abused by adolescents, although there was one inhalant and one heroin abusers. Except one, all of the drug abuser adolescents mentioned that they were offered by their deviant friends in their first trial. Strong association between drug abuse and delinquency was well documented in previous studies (Barnes, Welte, & Hoffman, 2002; Mackesy-Amiti, & Fendrich, 1999, Welte et al, 2005).

In addition, some of the adolescents reported that they were under the influence of drugs during the offense. These adolescents reported that drugs facilitated the process of committing the offense by reducing the sense of responsibility. Welte et al. (2005) had previously proposed that adolescents tend to be more involved with substances around the same time in their lives when they are committing more offenses. What is more, the findings of the present study also supported that adolescents who reported to be under the influence of alcohol or other drugs were more likely to be on trial from committing offenses against persons as it was indicated by White, Tice, Loeber and Stouthamer (2002).

#### Neighborhood Factors

Lastly, it is noteworthy to mention that the dynamics within the social context they lived in emerged as a risk factor for adolescent's deviation both by the means of adolescents' perceptions of their neighborhood or by the actual physical and social features of the neighborhood itself. Main themes related to the effects of social context are the change in the social context as a result of migration, normalization of the deviant behavior and criminal involvement in the extended social network, need to be powerful in the social context, social exclusion and stigmatization. The direct effects of social disorganization previously stated by Sampson and Groves (1989) and Gatti, Tremblay and Larocque (2003). Similarly, Bursik and Grasmick (1993 cited in Vazsonyi, Cleveland, & Wiebe, 2006) stated that the adolescents are more prone to behave in criminal ways and violate community norms where the developmental social context of the adolescent is disorganized and unable to provide community support. It should be kept in mind that social disorganization also affected the adolescent indirectly through disturbing the effective parent-child relationship and peer relationships by social isolation and unavailability of social support as indicated by previous studies (Smith & Stern, 1997; Simon, Simon, Burt, Brody, & Cutrona, 2005; Chung, & Steinberg, 2006). It is also noteworthy to mention that some of the adolescents witnessed criminal involvement in their neighbourhood as well as experienced a murder of family member in their neighborhood which led them to normalize the offensive acts. The effects of exposure to criminal activities on adolescents' future criminal acts were also mentioned by Erwin, Newman, McMackin, Morrissey, and Kaloupek (2000). In addition to their previous experiences in the neighborhood, the adolescents also reported to have some worries about further exclusion due to having criminal records and indicated that they were

planing to live in other places.

### Limitations

Some of the limitations of the present study are related to some methodological issues. First of all, the interviews with the adolescents were based on a single session. The content and the amount of information the adolescent disclosed should have been deepened the level of trust that was built between the adolescent and the interviewer. However, it should be kept in mind that most of the adolescents' trial were still under the interrogation and although they had been informed about the confidentiality of the interview, adolescents should be spectiveal about whether the information they disclosed would be available to legal authorities or not. Since the interviewer meet with the adolescent for the first time and had a limited time to build a trusting relationship with them, it is possible that the adolescent reported their experiences partially. In addition, adolescents were interviewed under the supervision of the social workers in the detention center. Although none of the adolescents mentioned to be disturbed from the presense of social worker, the social worker did not interfere at the time of interviews and the relationships between social workers and adolescents were observed to be positive in general, it is possible that some of the adolescents should prefer not to disclose some aspects of their experiences under the supervision of social workers.

Another point with regard to methodological issues was the sampling method employed in the study. Participants were recruited through convenience sampling

method. This method might have created selection bias regarding the adolescent who were invited to participate in the interview. In other words, there should be differences in the trajectories of adolescents who were willing to participate and who were avoided to participate and the results may not be representative for the trajectories of adolescents who were imprisoned for mugging.

Another limitation of the present study was small sample size. However, the intent of the present study was to understand the underlying experiences of adolescents who were in conflict with law in depth and their thinking patterning related to their offensive involvements rather than identifying the risk factors of many. Hence, the collecting the narratives of eleven adolescent was thought to be sufficient within the scope of qualitative study in the first place and in laying the foundation of further research in the field, as there is a scarcity of Turkish literature regarding the developmental trajectories of adolescents in conflict with law. The preliminary themes emerged from the study would provide very valuable data for further quantitative research.

#### Future Research

Due to time constraints, the present study based on the outcomes of only single interviews with each participant, which implied some considerations for further research. It is necessary to carry out in-depth interviews for each of the emerging themes occurred during the present study. Although some of the findings of the present study were well demonstrated in the previous studies and were supportive evidences for the importance of some of the domains in the adolescent's life such as family dynamics, peer relations and the larger social context the adolescent live in; various other themes were also observed

to emerge as new phenomenon. For instance, it was found that adolescents had a specific kind of thinking patterning about the occurrence of offense which could be evaluated as a result of interaction between the biological predispositions that the adolescents born with and amplification effect of life-time experiences within the family and peer environment.

In addition, it was observed that the initial task in which participants were asked to write the main turning points and transitional periods they experienced throughout their lives on a A-3 sized page that included a graph that held for its x-axis years of their lives eased the course of the interviews. It should be evaluated as a methodological innovation and further developed in future studies.

Although, the main aim of the present study was to identify adolescents' subjective experiences about the issue, multiple data sources could be included as a part of overall design in future studies. For instance, it might be helpful to interview parents and learn about their perspectives, thoughts and feelings about their sons and the offense. In addition, adolescent's reports about their previous involvement such as previous arrests might be validated with police, court and other sorts of legal records.

There is another vital issue that needs to be mentioned as a suggestion for further research. Due to small sample size in the present study, only a few number of adolescents shared their experiences. Increasing the number of adolescents in future research might widen the understanding of experiences of adolescents in conflict with law. The present study was only based on the experiences of adolescents who had been imprisoned for a specific type of property offense, "mugging". Future research might include the experiences of adolescents who had been imprisoned for other types of offenses such as

theft, murder and assaults which could allow for the comparison of the similarities and differences in different trajectories.

In addition, combining qualitative and quantitative research would provide a broader outlook at the themes emerging from the adolescent's narratives. That is, since qualitative themes have been explored, a quantitative survey could be developed upon those themes and administering them to a greater number of participants. Lastly, further research could also be longitudinal in nature and examine the developmental trajectories of children who are at risk of developing conduct problems from early ages onward, with proper time intervals which would enable the exploration of the protective factors in addition to the risk factors.

#### Implications for Intervention Programs

Through additional research in the field, intervention programs can be developed. The intervention programs might be evaluated in two grounds; early intervention programs to prevent children, who are prone to develop conduct problems, from getting involved in offensive acts and after release programs in order to prevent recidivism.

The development of intervention programs should take the following aspects into account; social inclusion in school environment, alternative social support network which might be discussed both in terms of maintaining the relationship with the existing alternative social support providers such as older siblings and other elders in the neighborhood, and establishing new support systems with social services and community centers.

School based intervention programs might be developed to inform teachers about the ways of detecting the children at risk of developing conduct problems and cooperation should be formed between the teachers and the parents for an effective monitoring of the child. It is also known that the comorbidity of learning difficulties with early conduct problems is common which increases the risk of dropping out of school. In addition to the regular classes, there should be education support programs in order prevent these children to fall behind. However, it should be kept in mind that, attitudes of the teachers or the executers of the early intervention programs as well as the content of the programs should be organized in socially inclusive manners, should help the children to display their resilience capacities and encourage them to stay in school.

In addition to alternative social support network, community centers should organize programs to enhance and develop effective coping strategies for dealing with problem areas both for adolescents and the other family members.

In addition to early intervention programs, development of after-release programs is crucial in order to prevent recidivism. The present study showed that most of the adolescents suffer from the ambiguity for their future and have some worries about the social exclusion after the release. Application of social programs during the detention period by social workers in the detention center or voluntary NGO's might enhance adolescent's social skills, lessen the emotional overburden and a sense of exclusion due to incarceration and promote adolescents to set more realistic plans for their future.

## APPENDIX A

### Bilgilendirilmiş Olur Formu

Bu araştırma, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi öğretim üyesi Yrd. Doç. Serra Müderrisoğlu'nun danışmanlığında, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yüksek lisans öğrencisi Dilek Çelik tarafından yürütülecek olan bir çalışmadır.

Araştırmanın amacı, tutukevinde olan gençlerin tutuklanmadan önceki aile, arkadaş ve toplum ilişkilerini, suça itilmelerine neden olan faktörleri, geleceğe yönelik beklenti ve kaygılarını araştırmaktır.

Görüşmeye katılım gönüllüdür. Görüşme için ortalama bir saatinizi ayırmanız istenmektedir. Görüşme esnasında sizden ilk önce yaşınız, eğitim durumunuz ve tutukluluk durumunuza ilişkin bir takım demografik özellikleri içeren bir form doldurmanız istenecektir. Görüşmenin ikinci aşaması ise tutuklanmadan önceki yaşam deneyimleriniz ve geleceğe yönelik beklenti ve kaygılarınız ile ilgili olacaktır.

Görüşmeler kasete alınacaktır. Görüşme sırasında dilediğiniz zaman kaydın durdurulmasını isteyebilirsiniz. Görüşme başlamadan önce, görüşme sırasında veya sonrasında dilediğiniz zaman soru sorabilirsiniz.

Paylaştığınız bilgiler gizli tutulacak, araştırma içerisinde sözlerinizden alıntı yapmak gerektiği yerlerde isminiz kesinlikle gizli tutulacaktır. Sadece bütün görüşmelerden çıkacak ortak sonuçlar araştırmanın sonunda bir araya getirilmek suretiyle diğer araştırmacılarla paylaşılabilir.

Eğer bu araştırmaya katılmak istiyorsanız lütfen aşağıda “Bu formu okudum ve araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum.” yazısının altındaki yeri imzalayınız. Dilerseniz bu formun bir kopyasını saklayabilirsiniz.

Görüşme boyunca istediğiniz anda görüşmeyi kesebilir, araştırmadan çekilebilirsiniz.

Zaman ayırdığınız ve araştırmaya verdiğiniz değerli katkılarınız için teşekkür ederim.

**BU FORMU OKUDUM VE ARAŞTIRMAYA KATILMAYI KABUL EDİYORUM.**

Katılımcının adı:

İmzası:

Tarih:

Araştırmacının adı:

İmzası:

Tarih:



## APPENDIX B

### Demografik Bilgi Formu

Kaç yaşındasın?

Ne kadar zamandır tutukevindesin?

Tutuklanmana sebep olan olay neydi?

Daha önce hiç gözaltına alındın mı veya tutuklandın mı?

Tutuklanmadan önce kimlerle yaşıyordun?

(Eğer anne baba sağ ve birlikte ise...)

Annenin yaşı:

Annenin eğitim durumu:

Annen çalışıyor mu? Çalışıyorsa ne iş yapıyor?

Babanın yaşı:

Babanın eğitim durumu:

Baban çalışıyor mu? Çalışıyorsa ne iş yapıyor?

Sen tutuklanmadan önce çalışıyor muydun?

Okula gidiyor muydun? Bıraktıysan hangi seviyede bıraktın?

Kaç kardeşsiniz?

Kardeşlerinin yaşları nelerdir?

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