PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF INCIVILITY BY URBAN YOUTH: A FIELD SURVEY IN ANKARA
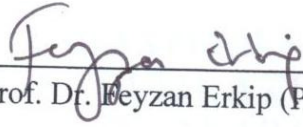
A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
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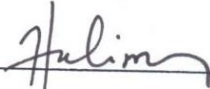DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ART, DESIGN AND ARCHITECTURE

By

Güliz Muğan
July, 2009

I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art, Design and Architecture.

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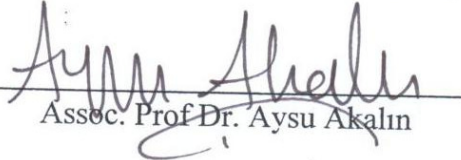Assoc. Prof. Dr. Tahire Erman

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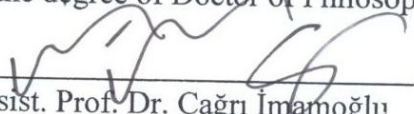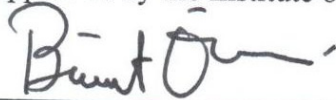
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ABSTRACT

PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF INCIVILITY BY URBAN YOUTH: A FIELD SURVEY IN ANKARA

Güliz Muğan
Ph.D in Art, Design and Architecture
Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Feyzan Erkip
July, 2009

There is a growing interest in studying (in)civility within the contemporary urban context due to disordered image of the city. This study focuses on incivilities resulting from daily encounters with strangers and experiences of incivility in daily life within a Turkish city context. Groups of youth around and their attitudes in urban public spaces are discussed to be the main incivil events in the social realm that prompt anxiety and unease among adult users of those spaces. In this respect, the aim of the study is to inquire different perceptions of incivility thoroughly and the ways it is perceived and experienced within the context of urban public spaces by the Turkish urban youth. First of all, the overall understanding of incivility in the Turkish urban realm is investigated through the statements of the urban youth and adults living in different neighborhoods of Ankara. Secondly, in order to explore the context dependent embodiment and locatedness of incivility as well as the role of space and physical environment, a field survey is conducted within a street context where everyday incivilities are mostly encountered. In this survey, Sakarya is chosen as the survey site concerning its significance with the variety of services and leisure activities on offer for the urban youth. The main purpose of this research is to investigate perceived and experienced incivilities and their interconnection with young people's patterns of street use, which are expected to indicate problems in relation to social and physical environments of the street. Information on these issues was obtained through semi-structured interviews and observation. The results indicate that while describing and explaining incivility, Turkish urban youth focuses on the importance of 'respecting the norms and rules of the adult order of the society' and the role of education and the family. They are observed to have different meanings and experiences of incivility in the street context and mostly describe and explain them in relation to the social environment. A mutual interference is found between perception and experience of incivility and the patterns of street use and young people's attribution of meaning to the street. Likewise, variations in time of the day and gender differences among the youth appear to be influential on perception and experience of incivility on the street. Furthermore, Turkish youth is observed to be responsive to politics and social issues as well as planning and design of the urban spaces.

Keywords: Incivility, Urban youth, Urban public spaces, Street context, Sakarya.

ÖZET

KENTLİ GENÇLERİN MEDENİ OLMAYAN DAVRANIŞLARLA İLGİLİ ALGI VE DENEYİMLERİ: ANKARA'DA ALAN ÇALIŞMASI

Güliz Muğan
Güzel Sanatlar, Tasarım, ve Mimarlık Fakültesi
Doktora Çalışması
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Temmuz, 2009

Çağdaş kentlerdeki yaşam koşullarında düzensiz şehir görüntüsüne bağlı olarak oluşan medeni olmayan davranışlarla ilgili çalışmalara artan bir ilgi söz konusudur. Bu çalışma, yabancılarla kent hayatındaki günlük karşılaşmalarda meydana gelen medeni olmayan durumları ve bunların deneyimlerini bir Ankara bağlamında ele almaktadır. Gençler ve bunların kentsel kamusal mekanlarındaki tutumları, sosyal olarak, o mekanların yetişkin kullanıcıları arasında endişe ve rahatsızlığa yol açan temel medeniyetsizlik olayları olarak tartışılmaktadır. Bu bakımdan, çalışmanın amacı, medeni olmayan davranış algılarını ve medeniyetsizliğin kentsel kamusal mekanlar bağlamında kentli gençler tarafından algılanma biçimlerini derinlemesine soruşturmaktır. İlk olarak, kentsel alanda genel medeniyet dışı davranış anlayışı, Ankara'nın farklı semtlerinde yaşayan kentli gençlerin ve yetişkinlerin ifadeleri üzerinden araştırılmıştır. İkinci olarak, medeni olmayan davranışların şartlar ve çevreye bağlı şekillenmesinin ve tanımlanmasının yanı sıra, mekan ve fiziksel çevrenin rolünü araştırmak için, gündelik medeni olmayan davranışların çoğunlukla rastlandığı sokaklar üzerine bir alan çalışması yapılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, kentli gençlere sunduğu hizmetlerin çeşitliliğinin ve boş zaman faaliyetlerinin öneminden dolayı, Sakarya bölgesi çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiştir. Alan çalışmasının temel amacı, algılanan ve deneyimlenen medeni olmayan davranışların ve bunların, gençlerin sokağın toplumsal ve fiziksel çevrelerine yönelik sorunları göstermesi beklenen sokak kullanım biçimleriyle olan bağlantılarını araştırmaktır. Bu konuya yönelik bilgi, yarı yapılandırılmış yüz yüze görüşmeler ve gözlem yoluyla elde edilmiştir. Sonuçlar, kentli gencin medeni olmayan davranışları tanımlarken toplumdaki yetişkin düzeninin kurallarına saygı duymanın yanı sıra, eğitim ve ailenin rolünün önemine odaklandığını göstermektedir. Gençlerin, sokak şartlarında farklı medeniyet dışı davranış tanımlamaları ve deneyimlerinin olduğu ve bunları çoğunlukla toplumsal çevreyle ilişkili olarak açıkladıkları görülmektedir. Gençlerin sokaktaki medeni olmayan davranışlarla ilgili algısı ve deneyimleriyle, sokak kulanım biçimleri ve sokağa atfettikleri anlam arasında bir ilişki olduğu saptanmıştır. Ayrıca, günün farklı zaman dilimlerinin ve gençler arasındaki cinsiyet farklılıklarının sokaktaki medeni olmayan davranış algı ve deneyimleri üzerinde etkili olduğu belirlenmiştir. Son olarak, gençlerin kent mekanlarının planlanması ve tasarımının yanı sıra, siyasi ve toplumsal konulara da duyarlı oldukları gözlemlenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Medeni olmayan davranışlar, Kentli gençler, Kentsel kamusal mekanlar, Sokak, Sakarya.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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1. INTRODUCTION

There is a growing interest in studying (in)civility within the contemporary urban context (Boyd, 2006; Fyfe, Bannister and Kearns, 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006). (In)civility has contradictory associations with city and city life. On the one hand, city and city life are assumed to be having celebrations with civility (Boyd, 2006; Fyfe et al., 2006). On the other hand, there is an increasing concern about dangerous and disordered image of city that is identified with the term incivility and incivil way of living among diversity of people in cities (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Boyd, 2006; Moser and Corroyer, 2001). In the scope of this study, the main emphasis is on the perception and experience of incivility by taking the prevailing existence of civility and incivility together in the urban realm into consideration.

Within the scope of environmental psychology, 'environmental perception' refers to initial gathering of information through all our senses (Gifford, 2002). This dissertation, also involves in the way we process, store, recall information about environments, i.e., environmental cognition as well as an affective component which is about the emotional aspects of attitudes toward an environment (see Gifford, 2002 on this issue). Studying the perception of incivilities and their degree of salience is required in order to understand relations of citizens to the city (Félonneau, 2004). A predominant concern in contemporary studies is to question the means that make living among strangers possible and provide a civil way of life. However, failure in the everyday encounters, including incivil relations with those unknown others has been given less attention (Philips, 2006).

Therefore, incivilities resulting from daily encounters with strangers and experiences of incivility in daily life within the city context are the foci of this study.

In contemporary studies, incivility is analyzed only with criminal aspects (see Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2004; Covington and Taylor, 1991; Reisig and Cancino, 2004; Wilson, 1991). Whereas incivility should be investigated in full range including everyday personal interactions in a variety of settings with a broader perspective in addition to its criminal basis (see Félonneau, 2004; Philips and Smith, 2006). The number of researches that study crime and violence in the urban context seems to be increasing in Turkey as well, due to the rising concerns on crime which is triggered by events like terrorist attacks, kidnappings and murders. The topics of these studies are the perception and representation of crime within the urban context, fear of crime in cities, fight against crime, different types of crime in different urban settings (see Aksoy, 2007; Ataç, 2007; Erman, 2007; Güneş, 2007a; 2007b, Yılmaz, 2006). Nevertheless, there is a lack of comprehensive research that investigates the variety of meanings, perceptions and experiences of incivility within the Turkish urban context. The reasons of this might be complex variations and blurred definitions of the term incivility in different contexts, as well as the prejudices against certain groups such as young people. This dissertation aims to investigate various definitions and meanings of incivility through the experience of incivility in urban public spaces with a particular attention to young people. In other words, the aim is to inquire different perceptions of incivility in a full range and the ways it is perceived and experienced within the context of urban public spaces by the Turkish urban youth.

Sennett (1996) argues that people having diverse social and political backgrounds recognized the necessity to reconstitute the city life starting with 1990s. The acceleration in the contemporary urban developments has different impacts on citizens. Urban youth is the most influenced group in the city by the contemporary urban development and transformation due to its exposure to all the innovations and changes (Crane and Dee, 2001; Haddon, 2000). As Neyzi (2001, p. 412) indicated, "the rise of a global youth culture in recent decades suggests greater convergence of the experiences of young people in global cities". How youth perceive, experience and live out changes over time with the changing expectations is an important field of research concerning the future of urban cities.

1.1. The Aim of the Study

Within the scope of this dissertation, the issue of incivility is questioned by focusing on young people as being the group who are stigmatized as the main actors of incivility. Thus, the dissertation is shaped around the question of '*how do young people, who are perceived as the objects of incivilities by powerful groups within society, i.e., the elderly and adults, in fact, perceive and experience incivility and incivil behaviors within the urban context?*. First of all, with a preliminary research, the definitions and variations of incivility are aimed to be examined in reference to urban youth. Concerning the importance of neighborhoods in incivility arguments (see Brown et al., 2004; Lee, 2006; Robin, Police and Couty, 2007), preliminary survey aims to investigate perceptions and experiences of incivility by urban youth living in different neighborhoods of Ankara. In this research, the overall understanding of the incivility in a Turkish urban realm is tried to be grasped by the way that urban youth perceive and experience different types

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of incivilities and explain their reasons and sources. Besides, the different urban settings and situations in which incivil behaviors/events mostly appear, the individual groups who are perceived as the main actors/targets of incivil behaviors and the behavioral and/or verbal responses to incivility are investigated through this preliminary survey. Individual interventions to tackle with incivility are indicated as well. In addition, young people's perceptions and experiences of incivility are to be compared/contrasted with the views of adults and elderly (see Appendix A for the details of the preliminary survey). Moreover, it is crucial to explore how young people as the users of urban public spaces construct the meaning of incivility and experience it by focusing on the 'locatedness' of incivilities in the different urban contexts (Dixon, Levine and McAuley, 2006). Weller (2003) states that neighborhoods and places of 'hang out' such as skate parks are spaces of citizenship for many young people. According to her, "the places in which teenagers hang out are perhaps their most important spaces of citizenship and their political agency is demonstrated at a variety of scales" (p. 167). Accordingly, grasping the perceptions and experiences of incivility in the foremost 'spaces of citizenship' including different urban settings that young people spend their time out of their home such as parks, streets, neighborhoods, transportation nodes etc. is also taken into consideration.

Street is an important 'hangout' space for the everyday lives of young people (Lieberg, 1994; Matthews, Limb and Taylor, 2000). Concerning the consistency in preferences of certain places by young people and their feelings in those places (Matthews and Limb, 1999), the meaning that young people attribute to street as a public space and as an outdoor environment to hang out and their patterns of use are significant for analysis and for the discussion of incivility in the urban realm (see Breitbart, 1998; Loader, Girling

and Sparks, 1998; Malone, 2002; Moser and Robin, 2006; Valentine, 1996). Within this framework, a focused and detailed field survey is intended to explore the context dependent embodiment of incivility with a reference to 'street context' where everyday incivilities are mostly encountered and fear of crime is mostly experienced (see Collins and Kearns, 2001; Erkip, 2003; Malone, 2002). Furthermore, the general view about young people among adults concerning their use of public spaces, their remarkable position in incivility arguments and their particular engagement with streets as a collectivity make this group as the focal point of analysis of incivility on streets.

By framing the analysis of incivility with the context of street as an open urban public space, one of the goals emerges as examining the role of space and physical environment on the perception and experience of incivility and explaining its sources and reasons. Hence, it is planned to explore the environmental concerns and interests of the urban youth with their physical as well as social environments by examining the nature of their relationships with the environmental matters while they are enjoying their spaces of citizenship and engaging with social life (see Macnaghten, 2003; Moser and Robin, 2006; Weller, 2003). Besides, it is presumed to grasp more detailed and varied information on the perception and experience of physical incivilities and environmental problems.

While emphasizing what it means to belong to a particular age group and the experience of being young, it is necessary to identify other characteristics of that age group, such as gender, family structure, school, peer relations, neighborhood etc. (Valentine, 1996). Within this context, another important aim of the field survey is to investigate the

influence of the diversity of the urban youth in terms of their some socio-demographic characteristics as well as their patterns of street use on their perception and experiences of incivility in the street context.

By involving and participating urban youth in decision making process, the findings of this research are expected to suggest some improvements and upgrading in the planning and design of the urban realm regarding the perceived incivilities and environmental problems. The findings may also point out policy and social implications. With this research, integrating the perceptions and views of young people into the incivility argument is emphasized by recognizing the importance of their thought, voices and experiences as future citizens and their rights and responsibilities of being part of the society (see Francis and Loren, 2002; Frank, 2006; Parkes, 2007). Thus, the path towards a good city and active citizenship is tried to be traced.

1.2. The General Structure

The study focuses on young people's perceptions and experiences of incivility within the city context. The first chapter involves the introduction that states the aim and the general structure. In the second chapter, (in)civility is explored within the framework of urban context. First, experience of city is discussed by emphasizing its divergence, heterogeneity, positive and negative sides. Second, city life and its experiences are considered together with the concepts of civility and incivility. Third, the arguments on varied definitions and meanings of civility and incivility within the city context is underscored which is followed by different definitions of civility and incivility.

Fourth, different types and reasons of incivility in the city context are explained by focusing on physical and social incivilities and their reasons. Then, context dependent embodiment of incivility is discussed by focusing on the role of the physical environment within the discussion of incivility and urban pubic spaces as the significant contexts of incivility. Following this, street as an open public space is explained together with the incivility of streets as well as the way physical incivilities and environmental problems within the street context is investigated. Third chapter examines different experiences and perceptions of incivility by different citizen groups. Since the focus of the study is on the impact of age on different perceptions and experiences of incivility, different perceptions of incivility in relation to age of citizens are discussed. Then, a particular emphasis is given to the youth as a category who are engaging with incivil behaviors/events and how they perceive and experience incivility. Under this subheading, young people's relationship with their physical environment, environmental problems and physical incivilities are emphasized. In addition, street use of young people and their perception and experience of incivility on streets are explained. Finally, the general assessment of Turkish youth by the relevant literature is given. Chapter four discusses the details of the field survey which is about the perception and experience of incivilities and environmental problems concerning the case of Sakarya. The chapter starts with the objectives of the field survey which is followed by the methodology. Within the discussion of the methodology, the analysis of the site, through the importance of Sakarya for the Youth in Ankara is emphasized, and the research questions together with the hypotheses of the survey are stated. The third section of the fourth chapter explains the methods of the study including the sampling methods,

instruments for the data collection and the procedure of the survey. Then, the results and the discussion of the analyses together with concluding remarks are given.

In the last chapter, major conclusions about the perception and experience of incivility in the urban context by the urban youth are presented. The social implications of the study are stated. The importance of involvement of youth in the process of design and management of the urban spaces is discussed by highlighting their role in creation of more civilized cities. Moreover, suggestions for further researches are generated.

2. (IN)CIVILITY AND THE CITY

Civility concerns in the city context is nothing new and it can range from the role of the built form of a city to linkages between social interaction at street level and to broader geopolitical developments (Fyfe et al., 2006). "Psychologists, sociologists, historians and geographers have been questioning the role of urban organization in the emergence and definition of civility or its opposite, incivilities" (Félonneau, 2004, p. 46). Various attributes concerning (in)civility and city life are discussed in the following sections.

2.1. Experience of the City

The city as an aggregation of people and their activities is composed of products, values and lifestyles which affect us all regardless of where we live or work (Krupat, 1989). According to Amin (2006), the contemporary cities are the sites without clear boundaries linked to the process of globalization trough extraordinary circulation, translocal connectivity and interdependence. As Watson (2006, p. 1) stated:

> For most contemporary city dwellers, or indeed visitors to the city, the experience of walking along a city street, and musing on the diversity of faces they see and languages they hear, on the shops with arrays of different products and smells, restaurants displaying foods and recipes from across the world, is a sensory delight.

Cities are shaped around the basics of urban infrastructure including access to clean water, energy, shelter and sanitation as the targets of urban progress. Félonneau (2004), in her study, identified the ideal city with culture, work, animation, social exchange, architectural heritage, going out, fashion, availability of consumption goods, cosmopolitanism and encounters with others. In the same study, noncity items are

indicated as greenery, cleanliness, tranquility/calmness, unpolluted, free of traffic, safe, helping others in need, equality and welcoming. The city evolves around the duality of pulling people apart and bringing them together. It has the potential of both constraints and opportunities (Krupat, 1989). As Robins (1995, p. 45) stated "the city is an ambivalent object: an object of desire and of fear". "As a result, cities are good for some people and bad for others, better at certain times and worse at others, good for certain purposes but not very good for others. Both extremes – and several shades of grey – exist side by side" (Krupat, 1989, p. 4).

City life is grounded in the diversity, heterogeneity and multiplicity of people, social experiences and subjectivity of the person which leads to different perceptions of and beliefs about different physical parts and social aspects of the city (Amin, 2006; Félonneau, 2004; Krupat, 1989). City life is actually living with difference (Watson, 2006). According to Robins (1995, p. 45), "we do not know what to think about the city. We are drawn to the image of the city, but it also the cause of anxiety and resentment". Amin (2006, p.1011) points out that:

> […] contemporary cities do not spring to mind as the sites of community, happiness and well-being, except perhaps for those in the fast lane, the secure and well-connected, and those excited by the buzz of frenetic urban life. For the vast majority, cities are polluted, unhealthy, tiring, overwhelming, confusing, alienating. […] They hum with the fear and anxiety linked to crime, helplessness and the close juxtaposition of strangers.

The city is a place that involves too many people, too much dirt, too much noise, too much pollution and too many social demands which have the potential of overloading and overwhelming the capacity of individuals (Krupat, 1989). The diversity and difference in urban life are increasingly evaluated as threatening and dangerous rather

than endowing (Fyfe et al., 2006; Lee, 2006; Watson, 2006). "It seems that the stressors to which city dwellers are exposed are numerous and concern more or less the majority of the residents" (Moser and Robin, 2006, p. 36). Research on urban nuisances related to physical annoyances including environmental stressors such as noise, pollution, population density, to social annoyances which are particularly deteriorated social exchanges, insecurity and crime, and to city dwellers' life-style that refers to lack of control on traveling time, problems in public transports and traffic jams are abundant (Robin et al., 2007). All those stressors have been proposed to designate negative effects on health and well-being of city dwellers (Moser and Robin, 2006; Robin et al., 2007). Therefore, many people have indicated the city as a place where they would not want to live (Krupat, 1989). However, as Watson (2006) pointed out, even though the content of the narratives about cities and political and social responses regarding urban life have changed, both pro- and anti-urban discourses have continued to exist since the first cities appeared. Therefore, it is important to note that heterogeneity and diversity of beliefs and experiences can show themselves in the form of favorable attitudes towards the city as well (Félonneau, 2004). Bannister and Fyfe (2001) indicate that the city image in the literature of urban studies is notified as a celebration of difference. Robins (1995) argues that cosmopolitan image of the city highlights the role of minority cultures in shaping the public life in cities. As Krupat (1989, p. 206) stated, heterogeneity can have both positive and negative impacts:

> It is true that heterogeneity can lead to problems in finding and defining one's own niche and may leave one feeling isolated and lonely. But diversity is just as likely to help people find groups of like-minded others […].

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Urban way of life demonstrates both common characteristics and diversity related to spatial scale, population density and socio-demographic characteristics of urban residents (Robin et al., 2007). The spatiality of city plays a crucial role in the negotiation of class, gender, ethnic and racial differences which are brought together at a close proximity within that spatiality and by the help of global flow and connectivity (Amin, 2006). This debate about whether diversity and difference within the city life have positive or negative impacts on individuals' experiences in the city and attitudes towards the city and city life can convey the discussion to "whether city holds a positive or negative outcome upon civility" (Fyfe et al., 2006, p. 853). Watson (2006, p. 6) develops an interconnection between city and civility while defining the city in the twenty-first century as follows:

> The city, and the public spaces which constitute it, in the twenty-first century is the site of multiple connections and inter-connections of people who differ from one another in their cultural practices, in their imaginaries, in their embodiment, in their desires, in their capacities, in their social, economic, cultural capital, in their religious beliefs, and in countless other ways […] If these differences cannot be negotiated with civility, urbanity and understanding, if we cling to the rightness of our own beliefs and practices and do not tolerate those of another in the public spaces of the city […] there will be no such thing as city life, as we know it, to write about or celebrate.

2.2. Thinking of City Life with (In)civility

Civility as a paradoxical concept also has paradoxical associations with city. On the one hand, urban life has assumed to be necessary for the development of civility and the word 'urbanity' has been mentioned together with the word 'civility' (Boyd, 2006). According to Moser and Corroyer (2001), civility and civil behaviors are required for social interactions in the city in order to cope with numerous stressful situations. Kasson (1990) in his book *Rudeness and Civility,* combines the rise of an urban industrial

capitalist society and alteration of cityscapes and metropolises with the common standards of polite behavior and civility. Stretching back to the ancient Greece, civilized Greek denizen of the city state was always distinguished from the barbarians (Boyd, 2006). Hume (1987, p. 271) differentiates ignorant and barbarous nations from the civil nations by indicating that the latter "flock into cities; love to receive and communicate knowledge[…]". "Already in the 16th century, Erasmus (1528) conceived civility as a strategy for distinguishing between the urban milieu and the peasant crudity and the barbarian instinct" (cited in Félonneau, 2004, p.46). On the other hand, "celebrations of civility and the city have existed alongside deep anxieties about the incivility of urban life […] These concerns around civility and city have become particularly acute over recent decades, with the incivility, rather than the civility of urban life coming to dominate policy and research agendas" (Fyfe et al., 2006, p. 854). Boyd (2006) states that even if city and civility have been associated, there have been various criticisms for the incivility of urban life. Cities have been transforming into places where social control mechanisms are losing their control due to high population density, increased urbanization, affects of globalization, environmental deterioration, development and spread of digital technology and geopolitical disorganizations (Aksoy, 2007). Living in larger cities can be reflected trough factors such as feelings of insecurity, fear of crime, unsafe and deteriorated and exhausted living environment and some incivil situations resulting from sharing public spaces with strangers (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Pain, 2001; Reisig and Cancino, 2004; Robin et al., 2007). This association of city life with incivility has been present since 19th century. Watson (2006, p. 2) explains that as follows:

> In the late nineteenth century, the public spaces of the city were proclaimed unhealthy places populated by the unruly disorganized working classes, prompting interventions through planning, social reform and other urban strategies.

Urban public spaces, including city streets; squares and parks are inherently perceived as disordered and problematic (Collins and Kearns, 2001). Banerjee (2001), while looking at the evolution of urban public spaces, states that in the late 19th century many of the urban parks were located on the periphery of the cities in order to make them stay away from the poverty of the city center. Putting it in another way, city life and city center have mostly been named together with poverty and disorder. Moser and Robin (2006, p. 36) claim that "[…] big cities are environments of bad quality, and that city dwellers should feel more threatened in their quality of life than inhabitants of rural areas". Many of the studies of crime, delinquency, disorder, anti-social behavior and incivilities are conducted in urban environments and metropolitan communities (see for example Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Félonneau, 2004; Gunes, 2007a; 2007b; Moser and Corroyer, 2001; Robin et al., 2007).

Image of the city, which is infused as dangerous, disordered, random, violent, unsettled and unruly, become prevailing (Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Boyd, 2006). For instance, according to 19th century thinkers, city life has been connoted with a threat to hygiene and morality (Félonneau, 2004). Robin et al. (2007, p. 56), by citing the researches of Korte (1980) and Milgram (1970), state that "urban living incurs social withdrawal behavior, reduces helping behavior and destroys civility". Moser and Corroyer (2001) also refer to the same argument by claiming how urban lifestyle affects our helping behaviors, care and attention to other individuals. According to them, "large cities are

characterized by increased indifference toward others […] The large city is no longer synonymous with civility, and behaviors of respect toward others are not necessarily still part of the daily repertoire of activities" (p. 624). Within the framework of this dominant concern in literature about consideration of cities together with the term 'incivility' rather than 'civility', the scope of this study, also, aims to examine the perception of incivility within the city context. However, it is important to note that the image of city presents itself as an enduring urban conflict in which acts of civility and incivility exist together (Lee, 2006). Therefore, in order to cope with this contradictory associations within the context of city, it is necessary to overview the variety of definitions and meanings concerning (in)civility.

2.3. Varied Definitions and Meanings of Civility and Incivility within City Context

Basic rules of interpersonal relations and acting accordingly enable us to live together with strangers. Therefore, civility matters (Pearson, Andersson and Porath, 2000). In recent years, there seems a growing interest in the vital place of civility and incivility in contemporary urban life (Boyd, 2006; Fyfe et al., 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006). However, there seems many contradictions resulting from broad definitions and common sense understandings of many connotative meanings of terms such as civility/respect/politeness and incivility/anti-social behavior/criminality/rudeness (Amin, 2006; Bannister, Fyfe and Kearns, 2006; Boyd, 2006; Fyfe et al., 2006).

2.3.1. Different Meanings of Civility

Boyd (2006, p. 864) describes civility as a "paradoxical concept because it lies precisely at the interstices of public and private, social norms and moral laws, conservative

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nostalgia and democratic potentiality". For Moser and Corroyer (2001), civility rules and

regulates the life of individuals in societies. They define the term civility as follows:

> Civility refers to tacit rules governing social behaviors regulating social
> interaction […] These are the social rules ratified by all the social actors,
> allowing for better efficiency in human interactions, and civility finds its
> expression in politeness […] Civility involves a common code of conduct that is
> indispensable for maintaining the social tissue, based on respect for the other,
> attention to others, and listening to them but also a certain modesty and self-
> effacement. The disinterested nature of the civil act allows one to distinguish
> between civility and all other forms of attention to others, civility concerning
> those relations with people unknown to the actor, without the actor expecting to
> benefit in any way in return for the behavior. This conception of being civil is
> closer to the concepts such as citizenship and public spiritedness (pp. 612-613).

Behind the concern of civility and respect, there lies the goal of establishing necessary

norms of behavior through which people can share a comfortable connected life without

fear and intimidation (Brannan, John and Stoker, 2006). According to Fyfe et al. (2006),

one distinction for the definition of civility is that between 'proximate' and 'diffuse'

civilities. 'Proximate' civility is commonly used as politeness or absence of 'rudeness'

in personal interactions. This understanding of civility is related to both our verbal and

non-verbal communication; physical interaction, presentation and appearance; body or

language (Fyfe et al., 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006). According to Boyd (2006), such a

definition of civility reduces it to formal connotations in the form of manners, politeness,

and courtesies of face-to-face interactions (see also Hume, 1987). These formalities

include good manners, courtesy, being respectful and sociable through speaking in a

sympathetic tone, temperate speech, using correct titles and phrases, behaving in an

appropriate manner at certain places and in certain situations, building relationships and

empathizing, etc. (Boyd, 2006; Elias, 1994; Kasson, 1990; Pearson et al., 2000; Shils,

1991). Moser and Corroyer (2001, p. 624) measure civility by focusing on politeness but

they indicate that civility can be measured through different ways such as "saying 'Hello' to the cashier in the supermarket, waiting in line for the bus or a taxi, offering one's seat in the bus, giving right of way to pedestrians at busy junctions, and so on […]". Félonneau (2004), by referring to Goffman (1974) associates civility with showing respect to codes and interaction rituals and emphasizes the formal aspects of civility. Whereas Kasson (1990) states that in the name of civility and common standards of polite behaviors what masked are ideological claims of the bourgeois code of manners which built both the inequities and opportunities of life in a democratic capitalist society.

The term 'diffuse' civility is a much broader understanding of civility regarding the impacts of our behaviors on others. Diffuse civility brings together the responsibility of the effects of our actions on others, on care for spaces regardless of the necessity of co-presence (Fyfe et al., 2006). In this scope, what Hunsberger, Gibson and Wismer (2005) mentioned concerning civility as one of the sustainability goals for the environmental assessment, together with ecological integrity and democracy can be categorized under diffuse civility. Boyd (2006) argues that civility functions as a facilitator of social conflicts and social interactions in heterogonous and diverse societies. Diffuse civility can be connated with "a solicitude for the interest of the whole society, a concern for the common good" (Shils, 1991, p.1). It is much more related with the concepts of everyday social intercourse, citizenship, public spiritedness, moral equality, social capital and rise of democratic public sphere (see Alexander, 2008; Boyd, 2006; Brannan et al., 2006; Crawford, 2006; Flint and Nixon, 2006; Habermas, 1989; Kasson, 1990; Turner, 2008). Shils (1991) clearly discerns the civility of good manners in face-to-face relationships

from the public civility of civil society; civility in the collective self consciousness. This kind of civility is uttered as "an attitude and a mode of action which attempts to strike a balance between conflicting demands and conflicting interests" (Shils, 1991, p. 6). According to Boyd's (2006, p. 864) classification of civility, diffuse civility can denote "a sense of standing or membership in the political community with its attendant rights and responsibility". This kind of civility is formulated through civil rights or civil obedience. Boyd (2006, p. 865) carries proximate and diffuse civilities one step beyond and claims that as we are all part of a moral public, the practice of civility clearly "generates a sense of inclusivity and moral equality" for all of us. He continues that "civility is not just a formality to which people must subscribe in order to be taken seriously or to cultivate the appearance of manners or refinement. It is a positive moral obligation that we owe to others in our everyday interactions" (p. 873). It is directly related to diversity, tolerance of difference, community norms and values, balancing the conflicts and ways of developing trust and shared commitment to one another through finding ways of not being strangers (Boyd, 2006; Brannan et al., 2006; Crawford, 2006; Flint and Nixon, 2006; Turner, 2008). Amin (2006) shares a similar understanding of civility with Boyd with his emphasis on solidarity and the politics of living together. He highlights the importance of care and regard for a civil contemporary city, which evolves currently into urban disregard, intolerance and self-interest. However, there are also arguments claiming that civility is conceived with cleaning off difference, removal of 'otherness' and ignorance of diversity and tolerance (see Alexander, 2008; Bannister et al., 2006; Kasson, 1990; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006; Turner, 2008; Weller, 2003). Within this framework, as Bannister et al. (2006, p. 928), pointed out "on the one hand, communities are being encouraged to use similar tools of purification and regulation

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(supporting respectability), but at the same time social mixing is being promoted as a means of generating civility and respectfulness".

2.3.2. Different Meanings of Incivility

After addressing definitions and meanings of civility, now, it becomes more significant to investigate the notion of incivility thoroughly without referring it as the opposite of civility. Pearson et al. (2000) state that we are living in an era of 'whatever' where rudeness, insensitivity and thoughtlessness towards others are proliferated; incivilities penetrate our social lives. In various researches, the terms disregard, disrespect, rudeness, lack of helping behavior, impoliteness, disorder, violence, crime, social deprivation, deterioration, urban nuisances, environmental annoyances and physical decay are mainly used and studied interchangeably by referring to the term incivility (see Brannan et al., 2006; Franzini, Coughy, Nettles and O'Campo, 2008; Kasson, 1990; Moser and Robin, 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004; Skogan, 1992). Reisig and Cancino (2004, p. 15) designate incivility as "visible signs of social disorder and physical decay". According to Brown et al. (2004), incivilities symbolize that neighborhoods are not well protected against crime. This symbolism may possibly interpreted by criminals as loss of control and lack of interference with criminal activity. Whereas, according to Félonneau (2004), incivility is related to the failure to respect social codes and rituals; it is an act of non-respect or aggression both towards others and towards environment. In this respect, what Félonneau (2004) expressed for the description of incivility, connotes the definition of both proximate and diffuse 'incivility'. Dixon et al. (2006), by defining 'acceptable' behaviors as carriers of moral and political implications mention incivility under the

heading of 'out-of-place' by referring to the behaviors that threaten the moral fabric of society and challenge the hegemonic values (see also Sibley, 1995). Philips (2006) associates incivil interactions with too-much self-interest, disregard for others and competitive attitudes. According to him, "being out for yourself, being too self-centered and seeing yourself as more important than others were all spoken about dispositions that could result in people failing to properly take strangers into account […]" (p. 300). Boyd (2006) also explains incivility as the failure to respect the rules of formal conditions of civility through rudeness, harshness and condescension. Those behaviors ranging from harmless instances (e.g. bad manners) to more extreme cases (e.g. cruelty and harmful behaviors) may be entitled as not regarding strangers as our equal, i.e., the most harmful aspect of incivility. Pearson et al. (2000, p. 125) define incivility as "mistreatment that may lead to disconnection, breach of relationships and erosion of empathy". Another term that is used to define incivility is 'anti-social behavior' that should be tackled to promote civility (Crawford, 2006; Flint and Nixon, 2006; Fyfe et al., 2006). Bannister et al. (2006, p. 928), by referring to different definitions of incivility, summarize the term anti-social behavior as "any behavior that violates an individual's well-being and falls outwith prevailing standards of behavior (or outwith the law)". Philips and Smith (2006) state that under the dominant paradigm of incivility definitions and researches, incivility is described in a stereotyped way by referring to the threatening activities of undesirable and marginal individuals, i.e., youth.

In addition to these negative assumptions that are identified with the term incivility, according to some scholars there is also a positive component in incivility and disorder (see Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Bannister et al., 2006; Sennett, 1996). Bannister et al.

(2006) emphasize the importance of questioning 'incivility as a confused concept' which may not hold a universally negative outcome. Thus, eradication of which may not necessarily result in a more civilized and respectful city. They point out that:

> […] incivilities do not always hold a negative impact and that identifying groups of people as anti-social may be based upon a reading of the government's agenda rather than an urban reality. There is a clear need to distinguish between anxieties born out of the confrontation with difference (primarily associated with the presence of young people) and those that result from urban decay or criminal behavior (p. 930).

According to Sennett (1996) disorderly and painful events might have a positive side in terms of making us engage with 'others'. Having familiarity and experience with 'otherness' and disorder makes it possible to cope with uncertainty. Otherwise, explosion of social tension becomes unavoidable. Moreover, Watson (2006) while defining the city in the twenty-first century argues that it is necessary to experience both the pleasures and pains of city life by confronting the realities of differences in cities. Robins (1995) also suggests that city is a place of challenge and encounter. Therefore, fear and aggression are supporting parts of cities. Painful events, fear and anxiety are functional and creative components of stimulation which is associated with cosmopolitanism in the urban culture. For Robins (1995, p. 48), "it is this fear, and the aggression and paranoia it provokes, that urban culture must hold and contain".

Concerning Turkish case for incivility argument, there is not any particular research on incivility due to complex variations and blurred definitions of the term incivility in different contexts, as well as the prejudices and stereotypes against certain groups. In this respect, it is difficult to analyze the perception and experience of incivility by certain groups of citizens such as urban youth. It is possible to claim that incivility in

Turkey is also described in a stereotyped way by referring to rudeness, rusticity and unmannerliness as well as different forms of criminal acts. Besides, it also covers the threatening and unwanted behaviors of undesirable and stereotyped individual groups. The researches on Turkish youth provide some evidences concerning the content of the term incivility by using some connotative meaning of the term such as anti-social behavior, disorder, disrespect to social codes, norms and rituals, rudeness, violence and criminality (see Armağan, 2004; Boratav, 2005; Kazgan, 2002; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999; Yeni Yüzyıl, 1995). For instance, in a youth survey in a disadvantaged neighborhood, while examining the differences among youth living there, some forms of incivil behaviors such as using bad words, inappropriate way of dressing and some bad habits like alcohol or drug use were indicated as factors that differentiate youth among themselves. In other words, incivil behaviors and the way those behaviors are reflected to the shared environments are declared as determinants for the youth having low education and low cultural background with a prejudiced and stereotyped understanding (Kazgan, 2002).

2.4. Different Types and Reasons of Incivility in the City Context

As mentioned earlier, incivility has complex meanings and definitions. It may involve both the irresponsibility of individuals towards each other and towards the environment and the city of which they are a part. Within that scope, it is necessary to classify similar and related definitions and meanings of incivility. In the following sections, different types of incivilities, their reasons and the context dependent embodiment of incivility including significance of urban public spaces, especially, streets are explored.

2.4.1. Different Types of Incivilities

One of the aims of this study is to determine different kinds of incivilities that are perceived and experienced in cities. Incivilities which are perceived and confronted in the urban realm can be brought together under certain groups. Hence, it might be much easier to analyze classified incivilities thoroughly. In the light of the literature review, perceived incivilities are grouped under two main headings which are related: to physical environment and to interpersonal relations and to social environment.

Robin et al. (2007) analyze urban nuisances under three headings including annoyances related to physical and social environment and city dwellers' life styles. Besides, Sampson and Raudenbush (1999; 2004), Covington and Taylor (1991), Franzini et al. (2008) and Taylor and Shumaker (1990) also examine the perception of disorder/incivilities under the headings of physical and social disorder/incivilities. According to Crawford (2006), civility can be fostered by enhancing social and physical conditions through which people can co-exist and interact respectfully. Incivilities and nuisances that are related to the physical environment can be reflected by perceived problems and inconveniences about environmental stressors, design and planning failures and functional aspects of living in an urban environment (see Airey, 2003; Covington and Taylor, 1991; Moser and Robin, 2006; Reisig and Cancino, 2004; Robin et al., 2007). According to this differentiation, physical incivilities include noise, population density, pollution, traffic, the bad smells, lack of green spaces, amount of run-down living environments with broken windows and graffiti (see Güneş, 2007b; for the details of graffiti as a deviant act), litter or trash on the sidewalk or street, cigarette buts, dog faeces, vacant, abandoned, burned or boarded-up buildings in the

neighborhood, abandoned cars, broken windows, badly lit streets (see Blöbaum and Hunecke, 2005 for the importance of sufficient lighting), badly parked cars, lack of parking space, difficulty in moving around on the pavements due to some design failures, lack of, or dangerousness of pedestrian areas or bicycle paths, and lack of planning for the elderly or handicapped (see Banerjee, 2001; Brown et al., 2004; Félonneau, 2004; Franzini et al., 2008; Moser and Robin, 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson, and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004; Skogan, 1992; Taylor and Shumaker, 1990 for various examples of such incivilities).

Incivilities related to social environment and interpersonal relations particularly include all forms of disorderly manners, behaviors and deteriorated social exchanges resulting from involving with strangers. Those behaviors are deviances from the norms of living together; involve reduced helping behaviors, behaviors leading to insecurity, fear, acts of criminality (see Covington and Taylor, 1991; Moser and Corroyer, 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004; Taylor and Shumaker, 1990). In this respect, items referring to social nuisances and incivilities can be listed as behaviors that lead to fear and insecurity (such as thinking that one might be a victim of assault in a public space, aggressed in public transport, shopping mall or at home), reduced helping behavior, criminal acts, drug dealers, drunks, public drinking, vandalism, encountering with marginal people in public spaces, inconveniences related to using public transport (such as having to wait for public transportation), increased poverty in the city, begging, drivers, cyclists, animal owners that do not pay attention to others, impolite, nervous and aggressive people, arguing on the streets, provocative behaviors, throwing out any kind of rubbish on the street, smoking in public spaces, groups of youth around, attitudes of certain youth in

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public spaces, disorderly or misbehaving groups of adults, teenagers (see Weller, 2003 for the details), children, gang activity, prostitutes, drug use, sexual contacts, verbal harassment on the street, open gambling (see Covington and Taylor, 1991; Franzini et al., 2008; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004; Skogan, 1992; Taylor and Shumaker, 1990; van Melik, van Aalst and van Weesep, 2007 for various examples of social incivilities). Besides, any kind of impolite and rude behaviors and manners or bodily management and display in face-to-face interactions within public realm such as a long hold gaze, an insulting or arrogant gesture, an overly familiar smile, an uninvited touch, bumping into each other in a public space, blocking people's way, pushing into queues, loud talking, loud laughing, inappropriate dressing for public, swearing, inappropriate bodily functions in public, blowing one's nose, spitting, yawning, belching (see Montgomery, 2008 for the details), not holding the door open for the person who enters after (see Moser and Corroyer, 2001 for the details), forget to say "hello" to the individuals who serve us, not offering one's seat in the bus, cut each other off for parking spots, slam the receiver on wrong numbers, neglecting to greet one another, being treated like a child (see Pearson et al., 2000 for the details of workplace incivility), invasion of personal space (see Kaya and Erkip, 1999 for the example of personal space invasion in the line of automatic teller machine), sexual remarks, and even some prejudicial comments about race ethnicity or sex can be entitled as a type of social incivility (see Elias, 1994; Félonneau, 2004; Kasson, 1990; Moser and Corroyer, 2001; Philips and Smith, 2006). These kinds of incivilities can be grouped under the heading of 'proximate incivilities' (see Fyfe et al., 2006 for the definition of proximate civility).

Incivilities that related to use of some ICT tools can also be entitled as social incivilities. ICT plays a vital role in transformation of urban public life and spaces by affecting the transactions between places and people. The city, which has become 'densely interwoven with mobile and wireless devices and networks', has remarkable effects on individuals' lifestyles and social networks. Rapid development of electronic technologies such as computers, TV, internet, video-cameras, monitoring systems and mobile telephones made us more aware of the importance of information technologies in fostering and shaping the urban field (Cash, Eccles, Nohria and Nolan, 1994; Maines and Chen, 1996; Paye, 1992). However, it is important to note that those profound effects do not always have positive consequences. The immense spread and developments in digital technology and ICT tools may lead to some forms of serious incivilities and crime (Aksoy, 2007). Pearson et al., (2000, p. 124) argue that "the effects of incivility can spread more broadly and quickly today than in the past, as technologies facilitate rapid and asynchronous communication". What mainly referred as developments in technology may include mobile phones, internet, iPods, mp3 players, CCTV surveillance etc. The use of mobile phones, iPods and mp3 players are perceived as incivilities due to a common use and share of public spaces by different citizens (Montgomery, 2008; Robin et al., 2007). As Srivastava (2005, p. 128) pointed out, "the increased convenience and extended information access afforded by mobile phones, however, is also accompanied by the potential for technology to enter the private spheres of human lives". Watson (2006, p. 163) describes such kind of disapproved behaviors such as inappropriate mobile phone use as resulting from "the plasticity of the public/private divide" through which a right of privacy is tried to be achieved in the midst of a public space. Martha and Griffet (2007) underline the social risks of incivility,

annoyances and some forms of impoliteness associated with mobile phone use such as noise pollution. The study of Monk, Carroll, Parker and Blythe (2004) also indicates that annoyance caused by public mobile phone use is related to the content or volume of the mobile phone conversations. Ling (1997) states that loud talk on the phone is one of the irritating sounds for the other individuals who are in the same public space. Philips and Smith (2006) also locate annoyances related to mobile phones such as loud ringing and irritating ring tone under the heading of sound related incivilities. Surveillance of public spaces through some technological equipment such as CCTV (closed-circuit television) leads to many discussions among researchers in terms of whether actually they make public spaces safer or lead more incivilities through exclusion of some undesirables (Amin, 2006; Goold, 2002; van Melik et al., 2007). For Koskela (2000), technologies like CCTV make public spaces safer by excluding certain groups of individuals. However, spaces which are not under surveillance of those technologies become much more open to crime and any other form of anti-social behaviors. Düzgün (2007) states that internet, which assists to speed up the communication in our modern era, contributed to new and different forms of incivilities and crime such as sexual harassments through computers and high jacking.

2.4.2. Reasons of Incivilities

Classifying incivilities makes possible to discuss reasons that trigger different types of incivilities. Foremost, the city life, which symbolizes freedom, order but also chaos, has a significant impact on formation of different types of incivilities. As the studies of Chicago School highlighted, the lifestyle in big cities leads people to choose more alienated and distant relationships in order to protect themselves from the unknown

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strangers they encountered everyday. High population density, unequal income distribution, poverty and adaptation to urban life after migration from rural areas demolish the social control mechanisms and reduce helping behaviors in cities, which in turn promote various forms of social and physical incivilities (Aksoy, 2007; Boyd, 2006; Erman, 2007; Moser and Corroyer, 2001; Robin et al., 2007).

Weak social ties between neighbors and relatives and temporary and superficial relationships result in neglects of even very simple rules of politeness by leading to more serious forms of deviant behaviors, disorderly acts, incivilities and even crime within the urban realm (Aksoy, 2007; Brown et al., 2004; Düzgün, 2007; Félonneau, 2004; Moser and Corroyer, 2001). Loader et al. (1998) argue that people's sense of place and their relationship to a particular geographical community are designative for the intensity of responses given against different forms of incivilities and crime discourse. Furthermore, Brown et al. (2004) take attention to the importance of creating positive bonds between people and between places and people in order to reduce incivilities in neighborhoods. According to them, physical incivilities, weak social ties and a weak place attachment are important signs that indicate residents have lost their control over the neighborhood leading to more physical incivilities and crime. They argue that "place attachment may guard against incivilities, as residents remove litter, trim lawns, and otherwise keep up appearances of places that are sources of pride and identity" (p. 361). However, according to Crawford (2006, p. 957) the way towards civility passes from "fostering weak social ties rather than strong bonds of 'togetherness'". Morenoff, Sampson and Raudenbush (2001, p. 519) also state that "strong ties may impede efforts to establish social control". Weak social ties work for instrumental goals; they are useful for getting

things done. Physical incivilities and traces like graffiti, rubbish, etc. may damage the collective conditions. However, weak ties enforce the renewal of those degraded environments that form bridges between social groups, residents and resources, ideas and information outside that neighborhood (Crawford, 2006). There are some misunderstandings about the impact of strong social ties and networks in terms of fostering civility and conformity and reducing crime rates (Crawford, 2006; Morenoff et al., 2001). Crawford (2006, p. 960) notes that:

> Affluent, low-crime areas (notably contemporary middle-class suburbia) that may display an appearance of civility do not exhibit the characteristics traditionally associated with high levels of social capital – namely, intimacy, connectedness and mutual support [...] These neighborhoods do not rely upon traditional informal social control mechanism. They are more likely to call rapidly upon the intervention of formal control mechanisms to which they have access and which respond to them. Middle-class suburbs may be lacking in social cohesion and yet orderly (see also Morenoff et al., 2001).

Reisig and Cancino (2004) also differentiate collective efficacy from strong social ties and social capital that may not have the potential of triggering a purposive social action for the improvement and recruitment of the community. They underline the importance of a well-structured social organization and collective efficacy within communities through which strong neighborhood associations can work with and obtain resources from public officials to achieve the goal of lower levels of crime, delinquency and incivilities (see Ayata, 1989; Erder, 2002 for the importance of collective efficacy and social organization in squatter housing areas in Turkey). Nonetheless, some structural constraints such as poverty and economic resource deprivation are big handicaps against these public ends (see also Crawford, 2006; Erder, 2002; Erman, 1997; 2007). Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) point out that collective efficacy reduces crime rate, violent acts

and observed disorder, only after neighborhood structural constraints are controlled such as poverty and lack of social resources.

Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) and Skogan (1992) point out that physical and social disorder and incivilities are much more prevalent in disadvantaged and deprived neighborhoods of cities with lack of collective efficacy in achieving social control and cohesion due to economic resource deprivation (see also Morenoff et al., 2001; Reisig and Cancino, 2004). Disadvantaged and deprived neighborhoods, especially slums and squatter housing comprise different types of physical incivilities such as pollution, noise, deteriorated and run-down living environments, litter, graffiti, crowding, etc. and all those physical incivilities result in more serious forms of social incivilities including various forms of crime (Aksoy, 2007; Brown et al., 2004; Erder, 2002; Robin et al., 2007). Erman (2007), through a field study conducted in a slum area of Ankara, examines the relationship between space and crime. She states that space reproduces crime and violence. Deteriorated, staled, excluded and poor neighborhoods transform into crime areas where accepted and dominant norms and values of society are out of place. This is one of the main reasons of further forms of incivilities and anti-social behaviors within those stigmatized neighborhoods. Hence, a vicious circle is formed out in which focalized crime and incivilities within the neighborhood transform it into a space where more serious forms of incivilities, crime and criminals are reproduced.

While some environmental design and urban planning failures might cause physical incivilities such as squatter housing, they can also be the reasons of social and other forms of physical incivilities (see Skogan, 1992; Perkins, Meeks and Taylor, 1992;

Yılmaz, 2006). Under the heading of environmental criminology, the reasons of behaviors and environmental factors that trigger crime and the impact of environmental design on the prevention and reduction of crime are emphasized. Skogan (1992) notes that environmental design involves soft solutions to exclude opportunities for disorderly behaviors. Yılmaz (2006) also underlines the role of urban interventions and urban planning strategies in possible reduction or even prevention of crime. There are different examples of design applications which assist to change the chaotic and stressful environmental conditions that may foster crime and incivil acts. Design solutions to reduce the stress and anger of people waiting in queues or designing entertainment places that make people feel spacious are some of the examples of design applications (Düzgün, 2007). For the littering problems, paying bounty or providing tax incentive can be a solution. Vandalism can be controlled through physical design by the use of, for instance, damage resistant materials such as shatter-proof plastic in private and public facilities (Skogan, 1992). *Defensible Space* of Newman (1972) also deals with how certain design features and arrangements can be effective in decreasing crime and increasing sense of security within residential areas. The gated communities, of which the number are increasing remarkably, and suburban way of living are good indicators of how defensible space theory is reflected to the neighborhood design through environmental planning that aims to isolate and reduce all forms of incivil and anti-social behaviors and criminal acts in order to promote a sense of security and privacy (Düzgün, 2007; Sennett, 1996; Watson, 2006). According to Sennett (1996), through the increasing number of homogeneous neighborhoods within cities, where people prefer to live closer to people like themselves, they try to reduce the chance of encountering with urban strangers. Skogan (1992) describes such an environmental design as zoning,

through which diversity is restricted by design to exclude activities that threaten the quality of life. Mike Davis (1992) in *City of Quartz* elaborates that kind of fortress and militarized way of living in Los Angeles by giving examples of some strict regulations and controls such as intentionally contracted street benches that prevents people sleeping on them, continuously patrolled and surveyed shopping malls, security cameras and CCTV located different parts of the city to scan the streets etc. Nonetheless, those design interventions to promote civility and to exclude incivility may cause further incivilities by individuals who are stigmatized with 'otherness' (see Amin, 2006; Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Lee, 2006; Sennett, 1996). As Watson (2006, p. 168) explained, as a result of such a life style that promotes living closer to the similar and isolating the stranger, "people lose the art of relating to and interacting with people who do not share the same language or understandings, so that they regard meeting and negotiating with others who are different with apprehension".

Exclusion and intolerance of difference are not new in the spatial and social organization of city life (Malone, 2002). Dominant notions for the appropriate way of behaving in public result in exclusion and marginalization of others (Watson, 2006). Al-Haj (2002) states that pluralistic societies having social and cultural difference and diversity face with the question of how to deal with this issue and to build a shared civility among its different nations, ethnic, religious and social groups. Some policy and design implications are trying to trade off difference and diversity within city for achieving civility (Crawford, 2006; Fyfe et al., 2006). Behaviors which are not the preferences of the majority and powerful groups within a society are labeled as incivil behaviors (Bannister et al., 2006; Kasson, 1990). Bannister et al. (2006) argue that enforced

respect to promote civility through zero-tolerance policies have the unintended consequences of further anxieties about disrespective behaviors (see also Fyfe et al., 2006). In that version of civility, 'otherness' is lost, city is sanitized; citizens are less tolerant, more fearful and very apt to overreact which in turn leads serious forms of incivil behaviors (Bannister et al., 2006; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Pain, 2001; Watson, 2006). As Watson (2006) claimed, exclusion and marginalization of others lead to disenchanted and even agonistic urban encounters. Boyd (2006) points out that it is a further insult to expect excluded groups of individuals to behave with respect and politeness who are regularly disrespected and ignored (see also Pain, 2001). As Sennett declared (2004), "people need to feel respected themselves if they are to respect others […] The restoration of respect in society requires the powerful and rich to show respect to those less powerful and skilled than themselves" (cited in Watson, 2006, p. 172). "Minority groups that are geographically or economically isolated, stigmatized or left with a sense that their voices have gone unheard are themselves more likely to become uncivil" (Boyd, 2006, p. 875). According to Bannister et al. (2006, p. 931):

> The eradication of all incivilities is counterproductive in the sense that it will ultimately lead to greater public anxieties about incivility being generated […] and that encounters with such incivilities will hold a greater potential to escalate into conflict.

The promotions that are aimed to create positive bonds between people and places and interventions which are tried to be regulated to enhance sociability or guardianship in certain exclusive neighborhoods (Brown et al., 2004), or gangs and associations in non-metropolitan or in economically and ethnically disadvantaged neighborhoods (Lee, 2006; Reisig and Cancino, 2004) can be argued as contributing little or nothing to civility; they are seen as the bearers of incivility (Boyd, 2006; Crawford, 2006; Fyfe et

al., 2006). Besides, some self-regulating promotions of civility such as surveillance in the mall space which aims to tackle incivility through self-disciplining of individual users may threaten dignity and autonomy and may lead to feeling and perceiving insecurity, embarrassment and exclusion (Goold, 2002; Koskela, 2000; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006). The insecure, embarrassed and angry citizens can be expected to promote incivility, rather than civility. In other words, patrolling and commanding police officers, security guards, wardens, regulations such as zero-tolerance policing and panoptic authoritarianism of urban governance can only increase the tension among citizens and trigger inequality resulting from exclusion and this may only come up with more 'promoted incivility' (Amin, 2006; Bannister et al., 2006; Boyd, 2006; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Crawford, 2006). As Cohen (1985, p. 201) pointed out:

> The resultant forms of control will be less noteworthy for their effects on crime than their intrusive side-effects on ordinary citizens: a retreat into fortress living; streets abandoned to outlaws; inconvenience and erosion of civil liberty.

To sum up, it is important to consider the fact that anti-social behavior may stem from the exclusion and intolerance of difference in the society against certain groups of citizens and this may lead to perception of those behaviors as incivil, which may in turn lead to interventions of strict policies. This is a vicious circle that leads to more 'perceived incivilities'.

In addition to the reasons and precedents of incivilities, which are examined at the neighborhood and community level and which have a criminological basis, there are also incivilities at the individual level that result from manners, behaviors, gestures and bodily managements and display in everyday face-to-face encounters with strangers in

public spaces within cities. Within the scope of criminological literature, crime, delinquency and incivilities in urban neighborhoods are managed together (Brown et al., 2004; Perkins et al., 1992; Philips and Smith, 2006; Reisig and Cancino, 2004). Philips and Smith (2006) discuss the problematic thesis of limiting the incivility research to a narrow application of criminology by disconnecting it from the sociological tradition; whereas incivility is needed to be explored in full range in addition to its criminal basis; that is by analyzing it into everyday personal interactions within variety of settings with a broader perspective (see also Félonneau, 2004). According to them, "although some [forms of incivilities] are associated with crime, with fear and with social deprivation, others are simply part of everyday life and everyday routine. They can take place even among the 'best of people'" (p. 879). The notion of incivility can be operationalized through acts of disrespect to certain number of social codes, social exchanges and rituals and acts of aggression towards others and towards environment (Félonneau, 2004). Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the issue of incivility within the scope of daily encounters by looking beyond the assumption, which limits incivility with behaviors of certain social groups and communities. Rather, it should be linked to the entirety of urban experience (Fyfe et al., 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006).

Residential and neighborhood spaces, where incivilities are experienced and regulated, are important urban settings that should be overviewed. According to the study of Robin et al. (2007), incivility in neighborhoods is associated with sharing of public spaces by different users. However, Philips and Smith (2006) claim that the research on incivility should be moved beyond the residential and neighborhoods to how the incivilities are distributed over the range of different urban locales such as shopping malls, airports and

transport hubs. According to them, "many events of interest to the study of incivility take place outside the 'neighborhood'" (p. 883). As it is mentioned above, these kinds of incivilities comprise any kind of impolite and rude behaviors, manners or bodily management and display in face-to-face interactions within public realm.

As Lee (2006) noted in her investigation, the context, in which the personal interactions are embedded turns the issue of civility into a precarious and fragile consideration. Philips (2006, p. 296) points out that:

> Much of daily social life in modern societies is experienced in public settings inhabited by unknown others. Whether catching the train, shopping at the supermarket or going to the movies, it is more than likely that we will usually find ourselves in the midst of strangers.

While rendering our daily life among those strangers, it is possible to face interactional breakdown and incivil relations with those unknown others (Philips, 2006). For Flint and Nixon (2006), anti-social behavior and uncivil acts are related to lack of respect to other people and community values and norms. Rush in some transitory locales such as transport nodes or bank machines appear to be risky places where many incivil encounters are mostly faced such as invasion of personal space, to be pushed or blocked (Kaya and Erkip, 1999; Philips and Smith, 2006). In those places everyone is in rush in order to get somewhere, so that many rules of social interaction are neglected.

Furthermore, excess stress and overload in urban spaces may lead to hostile practices and extreme reactions given against some mild events which may not be categorized under incivility but rather are so much a part of city life such as road rage and incidental touch of a stranger on the street or a verbal abuse (Watson, 2006). According to Philips

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(2006) the main reasons behind commonplace incivil relations that result in neglects of certain norms, values and rules of social interaction are "too much self interest, disregard for others, hyper-competitive ethos and materialist attitude" (p. 300). Being too self-centered, seeing oneself as superior compared to other individuals with whom s/he shares public spaces, placing excessive value on personal time and space and devaluation of the strangers can create all necessary conditions for common place incivil events in face-to-face interactions. In the modern city life, saving time, hurrying, making money, being the best and first are implicated as generating incivil interactions and events such as not queuing, not appropriately getting on or off public transport, etc. (Philips, 2006). Nevertheless, as it is claimed by Lee (2006, p. 916), "while individuals may have numerous positive, routine and civil encounters with another, interpersonal interactions do not necessarily translate into positive feeling about out-group more generally".

After discussing the reasons of different types of incivilities at the neighborhood and community level and at the individual level of everyday face-to-face interactions, in the following section, the significance of context dependent embodiment of incivility is discussed.

2.4.3. Context Dependent Embodiment of Incivility

Context, as a combination of the social, physical and cultural environment is affective on perception and experience of everyday life (Gifford, 2002). Hence, the influence of context -within which incivility appears - on perception and experience of different types of incivilities is an important field of investigation. Besides, identity development

of individuals is immensely influenced by the context (Güneri, Sümer and Yıldırım, 1999). Therefore, the analysis of incivility that is bounded up with a certain context is required for the analysis of individuals' identity formation in terms of being part of a collectivity (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999)[1].

Incivility and city life have been mentioned together since 19th century (Watson, 2006). This association is mostly manifested in the public spaces of the urban realm. Urban public spaces including parks, streets, squares and neighborhood areas are mostly mentioned together with incivility, disorder and fear of crime (see Banerjee, 2001; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Erkip, 2003; Malone, 2002; Perkins et al., 1992; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999). This identification of incivility with certain urban public spaces is significant in terms of context dependent embodiment of incivility in the urban realm.

According to the literature, there are many different reasons of incivilities that appear in different urban public spaces. Some of these reasons are examined and discussed at the individual level that covers the reasons of incivilities which are about the behaviors, manners, gestures and bodily display in everyday face-to-face encounters with strangers in public spaces (see Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Pain, 2001; Philips and Smith, 2006; Reisig and Cancino, 2004; Robin et al., 2007). In other words, the reasons of incivilities at the individual level, as Goffman (1966) pointed out, are related to disregarding of what we ought to one another in our everyday encountering in public spaces. Some other reasons of incivility are analyzed at the social level that are related to social deprivation

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[1] See Appendix A for the detailed arguments of identity and personality formation that is brought out by Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1999).

and some problems at neighborhood and community level. Geographic or economic exclusion in the society, 'otherness' of minority groups (see Aksoy, 2007; Bannister et al., 2006; Boyd, 2006; Kasson, 1990; Pain, 2001) and lack of chance in benefiting the equal right of education due to economic disadvantages (Boratav, 2005; Erder, 2002; Kazgan, 2002) are indicated as the main sources and reasons of incivilities and urban tension.

In addition to the reasons of incivilities at the individual and social level, it is also crucial to underline the space dimension as an important source of incivilities. Some scholars (see Dixon et al., 2006, p. 189) emphasize the role of "locatedness" of incivil situations or unacceptable behaviors by underlining the obligation of every individual to behave 'acceptable' according to the expectations of public spaces. According to Dixon et al. (2006):

> […] public conduct may become constructed as offensive not only because it denies what we owe to one another in our fleeting encounters on the city's streets […]. However curious the idea may sound, by violating valued constructions of place, such conduct may also be constructed as denying *what is owed to public spaces themselves*. By implication in order to understand everyday civility and incivility, we need to recognize their 'locatedness' within the symbolic and material geographies of public life (p. 189).

Put it another way, incivility may be a result of disregarding what is 'acceptable' and 'appropriate way of behaving' that public spaces demand from their users (Dixon et al., 2006; Goffman, 1966). Moreover, the spatial dimension can also be linked to the incivility argument in terms of its relation to some incivilities that are resulted from space- and environment-related problems, deteriorations in physical environment and environmental design and urban planning failures. In these respects, it is significant to

analyze incivility that is embodied in an urban context and to examine the role of space and physical environment on the perception and the experience of incivilities by focusing on the 'locatedness' of them.

2.4.3.1. The Role of Physical Environment within the Discussion of Incivility in the Urban Context

As Macnaghten (2003, p. 63) pointed out, "'the environment' needs to be reconfigured so that it better resonates with how people are experiencing politics, nature and every day life". Quality of life measures and individual well-being are directly related to the environmental features. City life with its own specific characteristics including population density and heterogeneity is significant to figure out the affect of perceived environmental quality of different urban settings on individual well-being (Robin et al., 2007). Valentine (2001, p. 205) claims that "[…] the density of city living also raises issues about sustainability of this life and about the relationship between human residents, their environment and other urban dwellers such as animals and wildlife". Moreover, Bonnes, Aiello and Ardone (1994) by underlining the importance of studying people's attitudes towards urban environmental features, assert that particular attention should be given to the shared meanings attributed to environmental features in order to figure out the process of forming and changing these features.

Urban environments and stress created by them have been the focus of research since 1970s. Accordingly, big cites are exposed to lots of environmental stressors and environments of bad quality that threaten the quality of life of their citizens (Moser and Robin, 2006). As Valentine (2001, p. 238) pointed out:

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All green and open spaces are assumed to be in the countryside, whereas the city is imagined as an overcrowded, polluted, concrete jungle: the very antithesis of nature and sustainability. The contrast between the two spaces has prompted urban-to-rural migration and the flight of people to the green suburbs.

Therefore, it is essential to investigate the role of physical environment on perceived and experienced environmental problems and physical incivilities in order to comprehend the relationship between 'physical environment' - built or natural - and 'every day life of citizens' including their environmental preferences, satisfaction, annoyances, their individual well-being and quality of life and even their practices of mobility within the urban context.

Furthermore, perceived and experienced environmental problems and physical incivilities are indicated as the reasons of social and other forms of physical incivilities in the urban realm (see Skogan, 1992; Yılmaz, 2006). In other words, problems and incivilities in the physical context of an urban space might be the sources of problems and incivilities in the social context. Gifford (2002) in his book of *Environmental Psychology: Principles and Practice* highlights the importance of characteristics of physical environments in different urban scenes on subjective environmental appraisals in terms of preferences, liking, goodness, quality and safety. Accordingly, urban spaces parking lots or streets with good environmental features, such as sufficient lighting and well-maintained vegetation are perceived to be safe and mostly preferred (Blöbaum and Hunecke, 2005; Loewen, Steel and Suedfeld, 1993; Shaffer and Anderson, 1985).

Besides, Perkins et al. (1992) test the role of actual physical incivilities in making negative inferences about local problems, which are unrelated to physical environment,

such as dangerous and serious. According to the results of their study, physical incivilities are declared as being independently linked to perceptions of social and crime related problems. Different researches also indicate similar findings in which environmental problems and environmental and urban planning failures are observed as the causes of severe incivilities in the urban context. According to these researches, deteriorated and run-down living environments, graffiti, litter, overcrowding, traffic, staled housing, slum areas, squatter housing, etc. might cause serious forms of incivilities and crime (see Brown et al., 2004; Erder, 2002; Erman, 2007; Perkins et al.,1992; Skogan, 1992). For this reason, determining environmental problems and experiences of physical incivilities in the urban context is necessary. Thus, environmental design solutions to tackle with incivility and crime and/or programs to increase environmental concern can be developed and promoted.

2.4.3.2. Urban Public Spaces as the Significant Contexts of Incivility

Public life of a society reflects the diversity of that society and is shaped through a persistent engagement with strangers and evaluation of those strangers' actions in the everyday context. Moreover, in public life, this evaluation is expected to be finalized with a negotiation of the lives and freedoms of those strangers. However, when there is diversity/heterogeneity rather than similarity/homogeneity, it is not easy to realize such an expectation. Urban public spaces which are accessible by various collectivities and various life styles are significant contexts of incivil situations. Face-to-face encounters with strangers in public spaces underscore the prevalent dilemmas - freedom and control, desire and fear, tolerance and intolerance - (Amin 2006; Dixon et al., 2006; Robins, 1995; Watson, 2006) that figure out the basis of discussion on 'different reasons

and sources of incivilities'. White and Sutton (2001, p. 69) argue that "public places, are 'for the people'. Nonetheless, some people are made more welcome than others". Hence, inevitable concerns prevail in urban public life as well as in the use of urban public spaces due to the difficulty in negotiation of differences and boundaries of freedom (Dixon et al., 2006; Rivlin, 1994). In that respect, urban public life and spaces, which are characterized by multiple (inter)connections of people who have diversity of life styles, have their connections with (in)civility to the extent that the differences are (in)tolerated (Dixon et al, 2006; Watson, 2006). Therefore, the analysis of incivility in relation to urban public spaces within which incivility is mostly experienced provides a better and detailed understanding of everyday (in)civility in a wider context, i.e., the city.

There are different conceptualizations of urban public spaces. On the one hand, urban public spaces are conceptualized together with the idea of 'public sphere' (Habermas, 1989) in which public affairs are debated and the domain of which exist between state and privacy of citizens (Banerjee, 2001; Kirby, 2007). In other words, they are the places for politics that is essential to democracy (see Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). On the other hand, conceptualization of urban public spaces are related to the spaces of public life "that is derived from our desire for relation, social contact, entertainment, leisure, and simply having a good time" (Banerjee, 2001, p. 14). Moreover, another two-sided conceptualization of urban public spaces is indicated by Dixon et al. (2006) as follows:

> On the one hand, public space has always been conceived as an arena of order where 'appropriate' public might participate in a particular ideal of urban existence. The implementation of this exclusive vision of public space has, of course, required the exercise of power, the imposition of a regime of social control that preserves sectional interests and values. On the other hand, public

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space has also been conceived as a site for oppositional activity, playful deviance, and educative exposure to the full range of people and values that make up a society (pp. 190-191).

Another conceptualization of public space regarding the power relations is constructed around the argument of boundaries that emphasize a further two-sided character of public spaces, i.e., open and closed. Malone (2002) discusses the terms "open and closed spaces" (p.158) by referring to David Sibley's (1995) argument on boundaries which questions how intolerance of difference and the practice of 'keeping a distance' are related to some exclusionary practices in public spaces in relation to the questions of power and social control. According to Malone (2002) boundaries that are used as physical markers of public spaces have also a significant role in construction of sense of identity in the inhabited places and in the organization of the social spaces of people through geographies of power. In other words, while distinguishing public spaces as open and closed, the literal meaning of boundaries - as a physical marker that distinguish two spaces (outdoor and indoor spaces) from each other - as well as the socially constructed meaning - as a social marker that differentiate the power relations in two spaces - are underscored. Malone (2002, p. 158) elaborates the characteristics of open and closed spaces that are demonstrated as "characteristics of open and closed curriculum organization" by David Sibley (1995, p. 79) as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Characteristics of open and closed spaces

Characteristic	Open Spaces	Closed Spaces
Definition of boundary	Weakly defined boundaries	Strongly defined boundaries
Value system	Multiple values supported	Dominant values normalized
Response to difference and diversity	Difference and diversity celebrated	Difference and diversity not tolerated
Role of policing	Policing of boundaries not necessary	Preoccupation with boundary maintenance, high levels of policing
Position of public	Public occupy the margin	Public occupy the centre
View of culture	Multicultural	Monocultural

Source: Malone (2002), p. 158 (adapted from Sibley, 1995)

Within this framework, in the next section, 'street' as an 'open public space' is discussed concerning its significance in the (in)civility argument.

2.4.3.2.1. Street as the Open Public Space within which (In)Civility Is Experienced

Staeheli and Mitchell (2007) in their analysis covering 218 public space books, chapters and articles, reveal that 'street' and 'open space' are mainly used together to define public space. In addition, Gardner (1994, p. 336) states that "the canonical instance of public space is the urban street, and certainly the canonical instance of private space is the home". Streets are predecessor condition of the relationship between public spaces and city (Gürçel, 2003). Besides, Rivlin (1994) points out streets as the stereotypic image of public places together with parks, plazas and playgrounds. According to Scruton (1984, p. 18), "people can live without parks, but not without streets, they can live without greenery, but not without accessible windows and doors. The street is the most important open public spaces". In short, in different studies 'street' is cited as a

reference point for either 'public spaces' or 'open public spaces' (see also Banerjee, 2001; Matthews et al., 2000). In addition, Wooley (2006) in her typology of 'urban open spaces', locates streets under the grouping of neighborhood open spaces together with parks, playgrounds, sorts grounds, city farms and green spaces. In that sense, streets as characterized by weakly defined and open boundaries of social mixing, diversity and tolerance of difference can easily be the focus of all conceptualizations of urban public space as an 'open public space'.

With the influence of globalization and standardized urban modernity, street life and street experiences of different cities all around the world show also similar concerns and standardizations regarding the developments and changes in transportation, ICT tools and leisure and consumption trends (see Bunnell, Barter and Morshidi, 2002 for the details of the argument concerning the case of Kuala Lumpur as a globalizing city region). Miao (2003, p. 52) while defining the public streets as "the main form of civic space in Chinese cities", highlights the deserted streets and death of street life in China together with an increase in the number of gated communities which show similarities with their US counterparts. Besides, Leisch (2002), by referring to the case of Indonesia, also talks about the increasing trend of gated communities in Southeast Asia with the similar concerns of Western counterparts. Accordingly, insecurity of street life and lack of maintenance of streets are declared to be the basis of the development of gated communities.

Nevertheless, while describing the street as an open public space in the urban realm, it is crucial to underline the differentiations between the street experiences of Western urban

contexts and non-Western urban contexts. Edensor (1998), by focusing on Indian street, highlights the significance of examining the rich diversity of social activities in non-Western urban streets in order to underline the increasingly regulated qualities of Western street life. In his comparison of Western metropolis streets and Indian streets, he emphasizes the difference between richness of weakly defined and heterotopic structure of Indian streets which contribute the human pleasure and an understanding of difference with power-laden and disciplined streets of the West which classify, spectacularize and commodify the difference and cannot easily transferable to non-Western contexts. Drummond (2000) states that the discussion of the concepts 'public' and 'private' spaces and their practices are mostly based on 'Western' usages and norms. However, according to her, it is important to understand 'non-Western' experiences and usages of these terms which may be more difficult to apply and necessitate the acknowledgement of local and cultural specificities. In her empirical research, Drummond (2000) examines the Vietnamese urban life and street experiences and denotes that street use in Vietnam works as a medium for the mediation between state and society. Hence, unlike Western societies, in Vietnamese urban experiences, individuals use so-called 'public' streets for their private activities and state intervenes in so-called 'private' domestic life. Moreover, Drummond (2000, pp. 2388-2389) indicates that "ironically, where studies of public life in Western cities decry the death of street life, Vietnam has experienced in the 1990s a sudden resurgence of streetlife and street use […] as an extension of domestic space, an annexation of commercial space and a space for personal expression".

Fyfe (1998, p. 1) defines streets as "the terrain of social encounters and political protest, sites of domination and resistance, places of pleasure and anxiety". This definition involves different conceptualizations of street as a public space as discussed. Besides, it takes attention to the contradictory structure of streets as denoted in the literature. The 'openness' of streets in terms of boundary-free, easy-access and outdoor physical structure and in terms of multiple value-laden and democratic social structure is discussed by various scholars by highlighting various contradictory arguments concerning streets (see Banerjee, 2001; Goss, 1993; Dixon et al., 2006; Jackson, 1998; Malone, 2002; Valentine, 2001). Nevertheless, the extent to which difference, diversity and 'openness'of streets are celebrated and tolerated (Banerjee, 2001; Jackson, 1998; Malone, 2002) is an important field of inquiry within the scope of incivility argument. Therefore, it is significant to study incivility in street context as a reference point for different open public spaces.

Streets as full of paradoxes and tensions are claimed to be places of "desire and dread, pleasure and pain, fantasy and fear" (Jackson, 1998, p. 177). Moreover, the contradictory image of city as an enduring urban conflict in which acts of civility and incivility exist together (Lee, 2006) primarily reflects itself on 'street' (Valentine, 2001). According to Fyfe et al. (2006), civility arguments in the city context is very much bounded with street behavior. Philips and Smith (2003) claim that human movements around the city and sites of these movements such as city streets are remarkably implicated in incivility arguments concerning variety of incivilities that can be encountered during the movements within the sites. According to them, "simply getting from A to B, whether by foot, car, bus or train, increases possibilities for unpleasant

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encounters and experiences" (p. 95).Therefore, the discussion on incivility of streets needs further attention and focus.

2.4.3.2.2. Incivility of Streets

Incivility argument in the context of street is prevalent in the literature. Staeheli and Mitchell (2007) in their analysis of public space definitions, bring together the concepts of street, public space and elements of danger. Streets as objects of fear, pain, danger, crime, perceived incivility and disorder are highlighted while giving reference to the increase in preferences of more controlled and privatized environments such as shopping malls and gated communities (see Erkip, 2003; working paper; Goss, 1993; Jackson, 1998; Miao, 2003; Muğan and Erkip, 2009; Staeheli, and Mitchell, 2006; Valentine, 2001) as well as incivility experienced in public spaces of cities (Collins and Kearns, 2001; Erkip, working paper; Malone, 2002; Perkins et al., 1992; Valentine, 2001). Goss (1993), while discussing 'the magic of the mall' as an idealized social space of the street, refers to the incivility of streets including the danger and pollution of the automobile and terror of crime. In addition, Miao (2003) highlights the deserted streets of China through the residential areas - gated communities - that have walled themselves away from their surroundings as a way to increase security (see also Leisch, 2002 for a similar argument about Indonesia). Moreover, Banerjee (2001) and Jackson (1998) indicate the 'perceived incivility' of streets as one of the major reasons of privatization of public spaces and increased demand for the use of shopping malls. According to Erkip (2003), this is also valid for the case of Turkey concerning the conditions of the streets in metropolitan cities of Turkey. She claims that "people seem to find the

modernity that they require in the privatized and the controlled mall spaces instead of in the hardship and negotiation in other public spaces of the city" (p. 1080).

Punch (2000) and Matthews et al. (2000), by referring to the street use of children and young people, highlight the environmental dangers, unruly gangs, pollution and assaults on streets. Oke, Khattar, Pant and Saraswathi (1999), in their study which is related to children's play in urban India, highlight the ecological constraints of unsafe streets of Baroda and Bombay such as crowding, high-rise buildings, high level of pollution, restricted open spaces and congested vehicular movement on the roads which work against the urban child's natural potential of play.

In addition, drug-dealers, drug use, the homeless, graffiti, trash, vandalism, noise, crowding, teenagers, prostitutes, open gambling, abandoned or ill-kept buildings, broken street lights, street drinking (see Dixon et al., 2006 for the details) are mentioned together with the disorder of city streets (Banerjee, 2001; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Erkip, working paper; Robin et al., 2007; Skogan, 1990).

Valentine (2001), by highlighting the close association of fear with disorder, states that "graffiti […], litter, groups of young people or the homeless on the street are often read as a sign that the space is not looked after or controlled, either formally by the police or private security forces, or informally by local residents, passers-by, store keepers, and so on" (p. 175). Besides, she underlines the role of night on the increase of fear of crime on streets due to the use of streets at night concerning the reduced visibility with darkness and reduced number of people on the streets and increased number of 'unknown men'

(see Erkip, 2003 for danger of streets and urban parks at nights for women and elderly and also Lieberg, 1994 for the danger of public streets that are deserted during evenings and nights). Tonucci and Rissotto (2001) take attention to the difficulty in walking along the city streets with the concerns of lack of safety and add that "the disappearance of [the] citizens from the streets is dramatic proof of the loss of democracy in urban areas" (p. 409).

Fear of crime on streets is closely connected to the "perceptions of who occupies and controls the space" (Valentine, 2001, p. 178). Accordingly, a predominant indicator of incivility on streets is the dangerous 'others' who are perceived as a threat to the moral order of streets. On the one hand, streets are claimed to be the sites of democracy, freedom, accessibility, political action, inclusiveness and environment for unmediated encounters with strangers (Jackson, 1998; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007; Valentine, 2001). On the other hand, "unconforming other" on streets (Malone, 2002, p. 157) and exclusion of and discrimination against 'others' (such as youth, elderly, the homeless, members of sexual and ethnic minorities) due to the dangers of encountering them on the street are highlighted by indicating that "[streets] were, of course never entirely free and democratic nor, were they ever equally available to all" (Jackson, 1998, p. 176) (see also Valentine, 2001). Encountering difference on streets and in public spaces in general are celebrated by some scholars such as Goheen (1998), Robins (1995), Sennett (1996) and Watson (2006) by emphasizing the dynamism and the diversity of those spaces in terms of communication with public and potential of coping with uncertainty (see also Valentine, 2001). Moreover, Philips and Smith (2003) indicate that fear of strangers may have the potential of rebuilding civil society through the growth of tolerance. Yet, the

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possibility of encountering with strangers and the proximity of demonized 'others' on the street are mentioned together with incivility and disorder of streets. As Valentine (2001, p. 199) argued "encounters of 'difference' are being read not as pleasurable and part of the vitality of the streets but rather as potentially threatening and dangerous.

Furthermore, one of the serious sources of incivilities and environmental problems on the street is indicated as being related to the traffic problems, especially to the problems resulting from vehicular traffic (see Gold, 1998; Edensor, 1998; for the influence of vehicular traffic on street life and also Robin et al., 2007 for 'traffic' as an important environmental annoyance). Erkip (2005), by referring to Turkish metropolises, indicates that the traffic congestion in the crowded urban core and lack of pedestrian areas are important safety concerns for Turkish citizens and important sources of incivility. Therefore, the analysis of incivility on a pedestrian street is different than studying incivility on streets where vehicular traffic is existing. Vehicular traffic influences the way individuals perceive and experience the street environment. Gifford (2002), by referring to the study of Korte and Grant (1980), asserts that traffic noise has a negative impact on the perceptual field of pedestrians. Moreover, concerning the fact that pedestrian access is crucial to understand the development of public spaces (see Gürçel, 2003), problems of vehicular traffic are also big handicaps to investigate unhindered relationship of individuals with public amenities and services. As Talen (2002, p. 275) stated, "planners should seek to remove impediments that separate people from the amenities and services they require". As Gürçel (2003) indicated, 'walking', as the type of movement of pedestrians in the city, serves for a more detailed realization of city life through multifaceted perceptions since pedestrians have the chance of being more aware

of the environmental features. Besides, Levent (1999) argues that pedestrian activities increase the chance of face-to-face communication through which individuals can collect lots of information about others and physical environment which helps them to evaluate their social positions in the society. Hence, the analysis of incivility on a pedestrian street provides the opportunity to have an all-embracing investigation of the perceptions and experiences of different incivilities and environmental problems on the street as well as the relationships of individuals with the physical and social contexts of city streets.

2.4.3.2.3. Investigating Physical Incivilities and Environmental Problems within the Street Context

Different types of physical incivilities and environmental problems are mentioned by different scholars (see Blöbaum and Hunecke, 2005; Brown et al., 2004; Félonneau, 2004; Franzini et al., 2008; Moser and Robin, 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004; Skogan, 1992; Taylor and Shumaker, 1990) were indicated as follows:

- o noise,
- o population density,
- o pollution (air, water)
- o traffic,
- o bad smells,
- o lack of green spaces,
- o run-down living environments with broken windows and graffiti,
- o litter or trash on the sidewalk or street,
- o cigarette buts on streets,
- o dog faeces,
- o vacant, abandoned, burned or boarded-up buildings or cars in the neighborhood,
- o badly lit streets,
- o badly parked cars,
- o lack of parking space,

- difficulty in moving around on the pavements due to some design failures,
- lack of, or dangerousness of pedestrian areas or bicycle paths,
- lack of planning for the elderly or handicapped, etc.

In addition to these actual and objective signs of disorder and decline (Philips and Smith, 2003; Reisig and Cancino, 2004), some disorderly, rude, impolite behaviors and manners, deteriorated social exchanges related to the social contexts of urban spaces and bodily managements and display - which are entitled as social and proximate incivilities previously - are assumed to be grouped under the heading of physical incivilities (see Philips and Smith, 2003 for a similar typology) (see also Dixon et al., 2006; Valentine, 1998 for the negative environmental consequences of street drinking and eating in the street respectively). The list of these behaviors, bodily management and display with a physical consequence can be given as follows:

- spitting,
- blowing one's nose,
- urination,
- drug use,
- littering,
- smoking,
- street drinking,
- street eating,
- vandalism,
- loud talk on the mobile phones, loud and irritating ringing tones of mobile phones,
- hawking,
- begging,
- violation of traffic use/road rage,
- inconsiderate use of footpaths,
- inappropriate or inconsiderate use of seats on public transport or benches on streets and parks, etc.

The reason of entitling such behaviors and display as physical incivilities is that those behaviors have negative environmental consequences and potential of environmental

damage such as environmental pollution, visual pollution in physical environment, noise and crowding. Moreover, according to Gifford's (2002, p. 57) definition of environmental attitude as "an individual's *concern* of the physical environment as something that is worthy of protection, understanding, or enhancement", such kind of behaviors and bodily managements and display are indicators of a negative environmental attitude and lack of environmental concern.

For many people, concern of environmental problems is related to their personal experiences. In that sense, the environment that is commonly experienced is not simply related to physical issues but involves issues related to social life. In other words, "the environment becomes meaningful when it engages with social life, inhibiting or facilitating the development of ongoing human relationships, whether in the context of family, friends or communities of interest" (Macnaghten, 2003, p. 80). Moser and Robin (2006) argue that it is not the environmental condition per se, but the nature of relation of individuals with the environmental matters seems to produce stress. In this respect, it is crucial to study environmental problems of urban realm in relation to the urban context within which the relation of individual beings with the environment is embedded. Within the framework of urban contexts, city streets are important sites to investigate the perception and experience of environmental problems and physical incivilities in two respects. Firstly, as Gifford (2002) stated perception of individuals on city streets are closely connected to the physical context of streets. Secondly, the relations of diversity of individuals with the diversity of environmental matters as well as strangers on streets provide the opportunity to question the perception and experience of environmental problems and physical incivilities. Hence, in the light of these two

aspects, it becomes possible to examine the role of space and physical environment of streets on the perception and experience of incivility.

3. DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES AND PERCEPTIONS OF INCIVILITY BY DIFFERENT CITIZEN GROUPS

Incivilities and their reasons are perceived and experienced differently by different groups of citizens depending on their socio-demographic characteristics, place of residence they live in the city and how they identify themselves with the city life. Concerning the environmental perception, the study of Félonneau (2004) reveals that salience of incivilities varies from person to person. Her research examines whether the degree of attraction towards or rejection of the city and strong or weak topological identity lead to underestimation or overestimation of or frequency of incivilities. According to her findings, "people favorable to urban life, with a sense of attachment and identifying with their city of residence, 'forget' in a manner of speaking to see the ambient dirtiness and disregard disrespectful behaviors" (p. 49). Put it another way, individuals who have a positive attitude towards the city life and identify themselves with their city perceive incivilities in their daily environment as less salient. Whereas, for those who are not attracted by the city life and have a weak urban identity, have a tendency to overestimate the frequency of everyday incivilities. In other words, perception of incivilities varies whether individuals have a positive or negative attitude towards city and city life and whether they identify themselves with that life. Robin et al. (2007) emphasize how different dimensions of perceived annoyances and incivilities vary according to socio-demographic and geographic characteristics of the urban residents. According to their study, social dimension of living in metropolitan cities and a metropolitan way of life are affective on the perception of certain types of incivilities and environmental annoyances such as overcrowding in public transport, inconveniences

related to the use of public transport and traffic jams. Besides, they also indicate that poor quality of residential conditions is associated with perception of social incivilities and feeling of insecurity. Franzini et al. (2008) investigate perceptions of disorder both at the individual level and neighborhood level. Their study note that perceptions of disorder are based on neighborhood observed disorder (visual cues of disorder) and also individual characteristics.

The perceptions of incivility and environmental quality are shaped around the variations associated with socio-demographic and socio-economic variables such as age, sex, race, social class, education, income level and occupational category (Carp and Carp, 1982; Pain, 2001; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004). Gifford (2002, p. 60) starting with the statement of "not everyone is equally concerned about the environment", highlights the differences among individuals in terms of their different levels of environmental concern by referring to numerous researches. Accordingly, gender, age, religion, politics, social class, ethnic variations, urban-rural differences, values, education and proximity to the problem site are denoted as important factors that affect the level of concern of individuals. Robin et al. (2007), designate that women perceive more environmental annoyances and incivilities than men. In addition, regarding to environmental concern, women are pointed out as having high scores on intensity of stress than men (Moser and Robin, 2006). Pain (2001) notes that women experience more fear related to crime than men (see also Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Blöbaum and Hunecke, 2005 on this issue). Airey (2003) also discusses how female respondents perceive and experience negative influences of incivilities upon well-being in a relatively deprived neighborhood. Robin et al. (2007, p. 64) also found differences

among occupational categories: "unskilled workers/employees appear to 'screen-out' the overall perceived environmental annoyance the most effectively; this is most evident in the physical and social dimensions (insecurity, incivilities, the run-down living environment, environmental nuisances)". According to the researchers, it is also possible to link this perception with lower-incomes and limited economic opportunities. In the same research, the reason of low level of perceived environmental annoyances of managers and senior professionals was explained by their autonomy and their easy access to urban resources through their privileges.

Franzini et al. (2008) argue that individual predictors such as marital status, education, individual physical mobility and race are influential on the perception of incivilities and disorder. They demonstrate that "those who were married or separated/divorced, who move frequently, or who have more education tend to perceive less disorder" (p. 90). Besides, they point out that poverty is also a powerful predictor on perception of disorder. According to them, residents of disadvantaged neighborhoods are more exposed to disorder so they perceive the disorder as less salient (see also Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004). Morenoff et al. (2001) and Reisig and Cancino (2004) point out that economically disadvantaged neighborhoods in urban communities have lack of social organization and lack of social control; therefore they are expected to experience more incivilities. Whereas, in higher class neighborhoods, where disorder level is less, more city services are provided and more social control is seen, fear level and possible perception of disorder and incivilities are less (Covington and Taylor, 1991).

Sampson and Raudenbush (2004), by underlining the influence of race and class on the perception of disorder, claim that black and minority groups are named together with many different negative social images (see also Pain, 2001). Their research in a Chicago neighborhood reveals that the racial composition of neighborhood determines the perception of disorder, which means that the existence of stigmatized groups within a neighborhood is influential on the perception of incivilities within that neighborhood. Black and minority residents compared to whites living in the same residential block perceive less disorder. This can be explained by blacks' past exposure to more disorder due to racial segregation compared to whites who have lived in all white areas (Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004). Lee (2006, p. 916), by emphasizing the racial and ethnic conflict, indicates that "[…] Jewish and Korean storeowners realize that, regardless of their efforts [to preserve civility], their non-Black status in poor, Black neighborhoods can easily make them visible targets of angry customers, residents and political entrepreneurs". Besides, she adds that although incivilities and disorder can be ignored at the individual level, the conflicts and negative relations may persist at the group level concerning the racially and ethnically stratified position of the society.

Some psychoanalytical accounts can also be on the agenda concerning different perceptions and experiences of city life (Watson, 2006). Sibley (1995, p. 15) argues that "fear precedes the construction of the bad object, the negative stereotype, but the stereotype - simplifies, distorted and at a distance - perpetuates that fear". Correspondingly, fear of crime and perception of incivilities can be triggered by living among or close to individuals whose cultural and social backgrounds are different than one's own; for instance, compared to their neighbors, racially different individuals

experience more fear (Covington and Taylor, 1991). Spatial and moral boundaries which are constructed to separate oneself from the potential social problems and 'otherness' of different groups (see Sibley, 1995) involve distancing strategies to dissociate themselves from incivilities (Airey, 2003). According to Pain (2001), unequal distributions of power within the categories of age, gender and race are used to explain who is the bearer of incivility and crime and who is most affected by those acts in terms of fear. On the basis of past behaviors in interpersonal relationships, certain social groups are marginalized and perceived as incivil encounters in different public and private spaces: the unemployed, the homeless, the non-consuming minority (see Salcedo, 2003) and the young people who are seen as disrespectful or disruptive (Philips, 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006; Wakefield, 2005). Sibley (1995, p. 29) points out that "in local conflicts, where a community represents itself as normal, a part of the mainstream, and feels threatened by the presence of others who are perceived to be different and 'other', fears and anxieties are expressed in stereotypes". In the framework of these stereotypes and held beliefs, actors of incivilities and victims of those incivilities are labeled and perceived differently. However, as Pain (2001, p. 902) asserted:

> In reality, the groups and places frequently demonized as a threat to law and order may themselves be at highest risk of violence and abuse of all, and so social 'others' such as children, young men, some ethnic minority groups people who are homeless or have mental health problems may be simultaneously feared and fearful.

In other words, some groups such as young people and people of color can be posited as threatening or threatened; offender or victim depending on different perceptions and stereotypes of different groups (Pain, 2001; Yumul, 2002). In the following section, the

scope of different perceptions of incivility is elaborated by focusing on different age groups, i.e., elderly/adults and young people.

3.1. Different Perceptions of Incivility in Relation to Age of Citizens

Goffman (1966) states that the acts that are approved or disapproved can only be differentiated in reference to the judgment of a particular group. Before drawing the attention towards different perceptions of young people, first of all, it is significant to examine the differences between age groups in terms of their perception and experiences of incivilities. According to the study of Carp and Carp (1982), the perceived quality of neighborhoods has a positive linear relationship with age, which indicates that elderly perceive environment more positively compared to younger individuals. Robin et al. (2007) state that older respondents (46-65 year-olds) are more sensitive to incivilities in public spaces compared to younger individuals; the under-25 year-olds were indicated as less concerned with insecurity and incivilities. However, the researches of Honnold, (1984) and Klineberg, McKeever and Rothenbach (1998) reveal that younger people are more concerned with environmental problems than older people. According to them, perception of environmental problems and general environmental concern decline with age.

Pain (2001) indicates that according to crime surveys, older people are more fearful against crime than younger people; especially older women compared to younger men (see Bannister and Fyfe, 2001). In addition, older population feel themselves as more vulnerable against crime (Covington and Taylor, 1991). For the younger groups, the perceived incivilities are more related to public transportation, to cars and to

environmental annoyances (Robin et al., 2007; Wooley, Dunn, Spencer, Short and Rowley, 1999). In the study of Martha and Griffet (2007), adolescents are found to perceive social risks of mobile phone use such as impoliteness and incivility inherent to noise.

Different perceptions of incivilities might have serious effects on social relations especially for those who experience exclusion and labeled as 'other' in the society. Many adults and elderly perceive young people as potential threats and bearers of many incivil and disorderly acts (Boyd, 2006; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Flint and Nixon, 2006; Loader et al., 1998; Philips, 2006; Philips and Smith, 2006). In many researches, groups of teenagers and young people hanging out in public spaces of the city and some behaviors of them such as going around in gangs and their 'misuse' of public spaces are usually entitled as a type of social incivility (see Félonneau, 2004; Franzini et al., 2008; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004; Skogan, 1992). Amit-Talai and Wulff (1995) claim that general view regarding youth among many adults expresses them as occasionally amusing, yet potentially dangerous and disturbing without taking them seriously. The moral panic among adults represents young people as violent, disrespectful and threats to the adult order of the society (Collins and Kearns, 2001; Loader et al., 1998). Philips (2006, p. 300), by highlighting the fact that "social contact between [younger and older individuals] nowadays is less harmonious and pleasant than it used to be […]", states that different perceptions of incivilities by younger and older individuals may stem from the generational differences between two groups; which means, the elderly perceive young people of today as more incivil compared to young people in earlier times. Besides, this lack of intercommunication

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between generations is also stated by youth as a basic problem. Many young people state that older generations do not understand them (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Young people as being closer to the edge become victims of exclusion by being exposed to the hegemonic values of the adult world and adult spaces (Matthews and Limb, 1999; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006). Resulting anxieties of adults about those dangerous young people lead to an assumption that young people can only be permitted in certain public spaces when they are accepted as being socialized into ways of behaving and of using space that suits the appropriate 'adults' ways (Valentine, 1996). Bannister et al. (2006) designate that lack of facilities and related spaces for young people are the major reasons of engagement of youth in activities which are perceived and attributed as 'incivil' and 'disturbing' in public spaces.

Moreover, insufficiency of parental control (see also Pain, 2001), lack of discipline at school, the disappearance of appropriate role models, collapse of a culture and moral order that should encourage children to know their responsibilities as well as their rights, decay in the education system and unhindered media content for young people contribute to the incivil behaviors of young people (Loader et al., 1998; Philips, 2006). Loader et al. (1998) condense the reasons behind the change of dispositions of young people detrimentally under the title of "lacking 'respect': respect for parents, teachers, police officers, for elders generally - in short, 'respect for authority'" (p. 397).

However, as White and Sutton (2001, p. 8) pointed out "perceptions of 'youth' as a problem need to be tempered by the realization that many of the behaviors that are the target of condemnation and chastisement are not unique to young people". Philips

(2006) denotes that due to an "exaggerated sense of entitlement" and seeking to achieve social recognition by other individuals, many elderly are mentioned as engaging incivil behaviors such as jumping into queues, push in front etc. As the research of Philips and Smith (2006, p. 898) underscored, although, as a dominant paradigm, some stereotyped groups of people such as young people are perceived as dangerous and bearers of incivility, " 'respectable' people such as middle-aged elderly were the most likely perpetrators of an everyday incivility, not minority youth".

3.2. 'Youth as a Category Engaging with Incivil Behaviors/Events': The Importance of Perception and Experience of Incivility by Young People

In many researches, groups of youth around, their gathering and attitudes in public spaces such as street corners, front walls, town centers are discussed to be the main incivil events in the social realm that prompt anxiety and unease among adult users of those spaces (see Franzini et al., 2008; Loader et al., 1998; Robin et al., 2007; Weller, 2003). As Daiute and Fine (2003, p. 5) noted, while defining the youth, "activities like presenting one's self, learning, creating relationships, and hanging out require young people, especially those in urban settings, to address competing and, in some cases, hostile social forces from the time they move about independently". In the representation of 'youth' in popular discourse, there is contradiction and complexity. They are both hopes for the future and also potential threats for the permanence and stability of the society. There are two explanations for this dichotomy. On the one hand, youth is perceived as a 'hard to control category' that display behaviors which are contradictory with the dominant norms of the society. On the other hand, 'youth' is described as a temporary life period which will eventually come to an end after the completion of

biological and psychological processes (Yumul, 2002). Pain (2001) argues that young people have the experience of being perceived as threatening due to their age; they are aware of the fact that older people perceive them as the main incivil encounters within the city. According to a study which analyzes Turkish youth from their point of view, it is suggested that young people should not be seen as potential criminals and threat in order to prevent alienation of this age group (Armağan, 2004). At this point, it is significant to investigate how young individuals perceive and experience incivilities as a labeled and stigmatized group; how they consider adults/elderly and their peers within the discussion of incivility. Therefore, what should be followed is "shifting the gaze away from youth as perpetrators to youth as critics and engaged citizens" (Daiute and Fine, 2003, p. 13).

There is a shift from focusing on how older people perceive incivilities and experience fear of crime to the assumption that young people are in fact at more risk from victimization (Pain, 2001). In other words, young people themselves might be the main targets of incivil acts at different situations. This leads to the understanding of a contradictory position for young people as being both victims and victimizers; as both 'angels' and 'devils' (Breitbart, 1998; Valentine, 1996; Yumul, 2002). Pain (2001, p. 901) state that:

> Men and young people (especially young men) are commonly constructed as provoking fear in others, yet when research is approached in new ways, allowing for the possibility that men's and young people's fear manifest differently, both have been found to be significant problems […] Those groups who are more excluded (in terms of past research, policy making and the impacts of urban planning) may be most at risk from victimization and even most affected by fear.

Young people pass through a transitional age range, which is somewhere between childhood and adulthood as a period of life (Weller, 2003; World Bank, 2008). In the media age, the link of globalization to the changing conceptions of time and space leads young people to challenge their representations and create new transnational spaces through which they try to express their identities (Neyzi, 2001). Young people might have acquired certain stereotypes in childhood and during their adolescence, they try to explore the implications, constraints and demands that social boundaries have for them and for their social behavior (Hendry, Shucksmith, Love and Glendinning, 1993). Within this transitional middle-ground, young people are also excluded from many spaces of citizenship and adult realms of socio-political participation (Weller, 2003).

Vanderbeck and Johnson (2000) argue that young people are rarely engaged in the field of researches to explore the meanings of the spaces and how spaces shape the lives of youth. However, as Talen and Coffindafer (1999) expressed, even making preferences about certain places is one of the important components of a whole environmental experience of an individual. Therefore, in order to comprehend the environmental experience of young people, the gap in the research field concerning youth's perception and experience of space and how they attribute meaning to different settings should be overcome.

In addition, Sibley (1995), by emphasizing the unjust position of young people in society, also underscores the significance of studying youth perspective in various research fields. He argues that while analyzing the assumptions of exclusion and inclusion, the point of view of the discriminated and excluded is needed to be explained

(see also Talen and Coffindafer, 1999). Moreover, as Daiute and Fine (2003) indicated researches in the field of youth violence mostly neglect the standpoints of youth "who may look at the world around them as problematic". They add that "youth critique the very institutions and practices that adults take for granted and question those behaviors, institutions, policies, and practices […]" (p. 3). In this respect, studying 'youth perspectives' (Daiute and Fine, 2003) on incivility is important to understand the impact of everyday incivility on their physical and psychological well-being as well as their engagement with space use (see Talen and Coffindafer, 1999; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000). Hence, it is possible to criticize the assumption regarding young people 'as a group which mostly engage in incivil behaviors' from their point of view by also considering them 'as the probable target group of many incivil behaviors and events' in the urban context.

Moreover, making youth's voices heard is crucial to make them involve in community and environmental affairs as a neglected group (Frank, 2006; Pain, 2001). Checkoway, Richards-Schuster, Abdullah, Aragon, Facio, Figueroa, Reddy, Welsh and White (2003), by highlighting the importance of youth participation in various fields of society as competent citizens, point out that youth-dominant understanding in any society is influential on the beliefs and behaviors of adults and youth themselves. According to them:

> Because the popular media, social science and professional practice often emphasize troubled youth and the services they require, it is not surprising that adults often view young people as victims or problems, rather than as competent citizens capable of meaningful participation (p. 298).

In addition, Francis and Lorenzo (2002) and Frank (2006) stress the significance of participation of children and youth in the planning of urban environments concerning their size as a population, their engagement with different urban public spaces and their isolated position in the society. While Francis and Lorenzo (2002) suggest that direct participation of children and youth is the best way to plan urban environments which are more child-friendly and healthy, Frank (2006) emphasizes the potential benefits of participation of youth to the environmental design and planning process. According to her:

> Youth participants directly benefit as a result of educational, entertainment, or networking aspects of planning processes; youth appreciate having a voice in public affairs and feel more connected to their community and environment (p. 352).

Furthermore, it is also required to consider the differences among youth. As Jackson (1998, p. 188) indicated, "the meanings that people attach to particular places […] vary according to differences of ethnicity and class, gender and generation". This variation shows itself within the category of youth as well. Although they have some common socio-demographic characteristics of their generation, their experiences, perceptions and expectations vary across, gender, age education, income, place of residence etc. (see Armağan, 2004; Boratav, 2005; Kazgan, 2002; Parkes, 2007). Parkes, (2007) in her study of young people's talks about violence, risk and safety, points out how their experiences show variations according to their gender. Van Vliet (1983) demonstrates how perception and experience of home range differ according to gender, age and social class of teenagers. In addition, Kazgan (2002) and Boratav (2005) highlight the influence of living in disadvantaged neighborhoods on the engagement with different types of criminal acts and incivil behaviors. Moreover, Armağan (2004) points out that

youth, which is distinguished from rest of the society as a social category, is

heterogeneous in itself. Different socio-cultural values and socio-economic stratification

in the society form the basis of this heterogeneity. As it is argued by Mathews and Limb

(1999, p. 65):

> Children can come in all shapes and sizes and may be distinguished along
> various axes of gender, race, ethnicity, ability, health and age. Such differences
> will have an important bearing on their geographies and should not be
> overlooked in any discourse. We emphasize the need to recognize the importance
> of 'multiple childhoods' and the sterility of the concept of the 'universal child'.

Thus, based on these arguments, in this dissertation, the socio-demographic differences

of young people are taken as the focal point of the analytical framework in order to

grasp the differences among urban youth in terms of perceived and experienced

incivilities.

3.2.1. The Relationship of Youth with the Physical Environment, Environmental Problems and Physical Incivilities

There are various researches that indicate how gender, age, income, education, class and

occupational category are influential on the way that individuals perceive and experience

their physical environments and attribute some environmental characteristics as

environmental stressors, annoyances and physical incivilities (see Carp and Carp, 1982;

Félonneau, 2004; Franzini et al., 2008; Robin et al., 2007). Nevertheless, within the

scope of this dissertation, it is intended to investigate the variations of perceived and

experienced environmental problems and physical incivilities along age by focusing on

urban youth as a category and figure out their environmental concern as well.

As Ojala (2005) pointed out, with the influence of globalization, individuals' identity development takes place in a larger global context within which young people have to consider the way global nature influence them as well as the way they affect the global system. Some researches reveal that young people in general are more environmentally concerned than older people (Gifford, 2002; Honnold, 1984; Klineberg et al., 1998). The reason of these differences and also the interest of young people on protection of greenery are explained with the higher level of education of young people (see Atmiş, Özden and Lise, 2007; Gifford, 2002). Ojala (2005), in her study with high schools students living in Sweden, indicates that adolescents experience a high degree of worry about environmental risks but their subjective well-beings display variations. Robin et al. (2007), concerning their research with Parisians, state that the under-25 year-olds as well as the 26-45 year-olds are more sensitive to environmental annoyances compared to elderly. Accordingly, perceived environmental problems and physical incivilities by youth are mostly related to increased number of cars, traffic, pollution, unhealthy air in streets, lack of green spaces and noise (see also Wooley et al., 1999 for 'traffic' as the major environmental concern of children living in cities of England). Moreover, the research with children living in urban India reveals that despite the incivility of streets and ecological constraints that hinder the activity of playing in urban settings, due to the natural propensity to play, children have ability to create their own play space even in crowded hovels, construction sites and even traffic-infested streets (Oke et al., 1999). However, in some other researches, children and young people are mentioned as having less environmental knowledge, concern and interest about environmental problems and their physical environment (see Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999; Muğan and Erkip, 2009; Pain, 2001). One of the reasons of this lack of knowledge and interest is explained

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by parental restrictions on their movements along city, especially outdoor environments such as streets (Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Hendry et al., 1993; Pain, 2001; Punch, 2000). In addition, as children and young people age some economical, social and political problems become predominant in their lives and they become less concerned with the environment (see Gifford, 2002). In the research of Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1999), when Turkish youth is asked to indicate the major problems of the country, problems like environmental pollution or uncontrolled urbanization are ranked way below unemployment, education, terrorism, socio-economic inequalities, ethnic problems and so on. Consequently, in order to understand the reasons of lack of priority given to environmental problems and physical incivilities in the everyday life of urban youth, it is needed to give further attention to the relationship of young people to their environment.

Talen and Coffindafer (1999) underline the fact that even though the way children understand their environment has been investigated for almost 25 years, relatively little is known about their environmental preferences since little research has been conducted on how children experience the world outside their home. Moreover, Malone (2001), by claiming the close relationship between children, youth and environments and by underlining the role of children and young people on creating more child-friendly and sustainable cities, refers to the UNICEF (1997) report:

> Children have a special interest in the creation of sustainable human settlements that will support long and fulfilling lives for themselves and future generations. They require the opportunity to participate and contribute to a sustainable urban future (cited in Malone, 2001, p.8).

In other words, without the knowledge of how young people perceive and experience physical environments outside their home, it is difficult to bring out solutions in terms of planning and design or social and policy implications for their 'attributed' problems of everyday life.

Furthermore, the research conducted in Turkish case states that outdoor physical environments are crucial for the healthy development of young people and findings indicate that children mostly prefer spacious and vegetated outdoor settings, even their school yards. In this context, it is necessary to figure out the influence of environmental attributes of outdoor environments on the perceptions and preferences of children in order to have designs that promote more outdoor activity for children and to develop policy implications and programs in order to tackle with problems and incivilities of youth and public concern. Thus, it also becomes possible to increase awareness of natural environment and enhance the health of children (Özdemir and Yılmaz, 2008). In the following section, young people's use of an outdoor environment i.e., street, is discussed by concentrating on two-sided arguments of incivility regarding urban youth: youth as the actors of incivility on streets and youth as the targets of incivility on streets.

3.2.2. Street Use of Young People and Their Perception and Experience of Incivility on Streets

Lieberg (1994) claims that one of the significant roles of public spaces for young people is providing the opportunity to control and shape their existence without the control of adults. In this respect, street is an important place for the everyday lives of young people concerning the recognition of their presence in public places (Francis and Lorenzo,

2002; Matthews et al., 2000). Malone (2002, p. 163) claims that "for many young people, the street is the stage for performance, where they construct their social identity in relation to their peers and other members of society". According to Valentine (1996), most of the time street is the only place for young people where they can engrave themselves without the gaze of parents and teachers. Matthews et al. (2000), by using the term 'street' as a metaphor for all public spaces where children and young people are seen, point out that engagement with street help young individuals to develop their own identities. In the Turkish context, according to ranking of major 'hang out' places where young people can gather, meet friends and engage in various leisure activities, street follows home environments and cafés (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). In another study, which is conducted with the Turkish youth, the ranking of street among mostly preferred leisure spaces is way below some other public spaces including shopping malls, café/restaurants, friends' houses and some game-areas/saloons (billiards, computer games, etc.) respectively (Muğan and Erkip, 2009). Concerning the fact that "preferences may be viewed as one component of the total environmental experience" (Talen and Coffindafer, 1999, p. 323), street as a significant fabric of youth culture deserves particular attention to study the way that young people perceive and experience incivility within that context.

Regarding the importance of street use for young people and incivility discussion, there are two important arguments that should be highlighted. One of these arguments is related to the image of streets as dangerous and unsafe public spaces for young people due to social and physical dangers of the space including assault, dangers during evenings and nights, traffic etc. (Breitbart, 1998; Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Matthews

et al., 2000; Punch, 2000). Lieberg (1994) underlines the danger of streets for young people, which are left deserted during evenings and nights. As Punch (2000) stated, the use of spaces such as streets is limited for young people in modern urban environments due to threatening and dangerous factors such as assault, traffic, pollution etc. Among these factors, traffic is particularly underlined as one of the major concerns and problems that make city streets to be perceived as dangerous sites for young people and also for their parents who bring restrictions on street use to their children (see Breitbart, 1998; Matthews et al., 2000; Punch, 2000; Wooley et al., 1999). Erkip (2003, p.1089), while discussing the reasons of young people preferring malls in Turkey, states that "the fear of traffic is a more dominant concern both for them and for their parents than is the fear of crime or sexual harassment".

Hendry et al. (1993) claim that although young people have more time, opportunities and less responsibility than at any other time of their lives, at this age, they are also restricted by lack of power, by lack of transport and by legal and parental limitations in their engagement with leisure activities and spaces. Francis and Lorenzo (2002, p. 159), by referring to children in developed countries who have to adapt the pace of changing requirements of urban life, state that "[children's and youth's] access to the outdoors is more limited and their use of structured places has increased. The result is that many children lack control over the daily lives". Several scholars emphasize the role of parental restrictions in limiting the use of streets by young people by highlighting parents' fears of danger on street (see Breitbart, 1998; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Valentine, 1996; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000; Wooley, 2006). Also, in the study of Malone and Hasluck (1998), young people identified streets and street spaces as the site

where they felt most in danger. In this respect, young people are declared as potential victims of incivility on streets (see Pain, 2001).

The second argument concerning 'street' and 'young people' is about how young people's use of street as space for expressing themselves is misinterpreted by adults due to young people's positioning as intruders (see Malone, 2002). Accordingly, prevalent discourses have emerged around the general view of "keeping young people, and particularly adolescents, 'off the street'" (Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000, p. 7) due to the moral panic among adults about their use of public spaces (Collins and Kearns, 2001; Loader et al., 1998; Malone and Hasluck, 1998). Groups of teenagers and young people in urban public spaces are mentioned together with the term incivility (see Félonneau, 2004; Franzini et al., 2008; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004; Skogan, 1992). Accordingly, young people on street have a polluting presence and main sources of disorder, incivility and threat to the hegemony of adult world (Breitbart, 1998; Matthews et al., 2000; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006, Pain, 2001). As Valentine (2001, p. 184) pointed out "[…] the ungovernability of children is being used to justify adults' perceptions that contemporary young people - particularly teenagers - are a threat to their hegemony on the street". Moreover, Collins and Kearns (2001) emphasize that one of the reasons of enactment of curfews in many countries is to remove young people from the streets. In other words, young people are indicated as the main actors of incivility and disorder on streets.

When these two negative discourses are brought together, the main theme that can be extracted is the efforts to remove young people from streets as either victims or

victimizers of incivility in street context (see Breitbart, 1998; Matthews et al., 2000; Valentine, 1996). Even if some young people resist intentionally or unintentionally to this adult order of street use (see Oke et al., 1999; Valentine, 2001), a progressive retreat from the street through exclusionary practices such as legal or parental restrictions (see Jackson, 1998; Sibley, 1995; Malone, 2002; Muğan and Erkip, 2009) is explicit. In other words, as either actors or targets of incivility on streets, young people's street use patterns and behaviors are shaped through the perception and experience of incivility on streets. Dixon et al. (2006), by emphasizing the importance of studying incivility in relation to a certain location, also take attention to the role of perception and experience of incivility in shaping the use of streets and attributing meanings to streets.

Furthermore, Jackson (1998) argues that experience and use of places culturally mediate the meanings that people attach to them. Put it another way, the way that individuals engage with spaces and their relationship with a particular space is influential on the meanings that they attribute to those spaces (Loader et al., 1998). Dixon et al. (2006) also discuss that people's relationship with spaces and habits of use are significant to understand everyday civility and incivility (see also Loader et al., 1998). Thus, there seems a mutual interference between perception and experience of incivility and patterns of space use including factors such as the frequency of use, preferred time of use, the aim of use and the time spent. Therefore, the analysis of the way that youth perceive and experience incivility on streets also assists to understand their behaviors and patterns of street use and also the way that young people used streets affect the meanings of streets for them in terms of incivility.

Besides, the analysis of incivility on street, from the point of view of young people is worthwhile in terms of making their voices heard, integrating them to the community, public affairs and environments and scrutinizing urban environments that may need potential renovations and improvements or totally different planning and design in order to tackle with incivility within those environments. As Parkes (2007, p. 132) stated:

> The implication is that involving young people directly in planning and implementing programmes may both offer new solutions and help to expand the choices available to young people in making decisions about their own safety. This does not mean an unquestioning acceptance of children's perspectives, but it does imply listening to, taking seriously and working with children to deconstruct beliefs and practices, and to seek non-violent alternatives.

Furthermore, Silbereisen and Todt (1994) point out that the differences among young people influence the way they interact with different contexts. Matthews et al. (2000) claim that multiple childhoods, which are layered according to different socio-personal characteristics including age, sex, class, ethnicity, income, educational background, disability etc., are influential on the meaning construction of 'street' by children. Malone and Hasluck (1998) analyze young people's perceptions and use of public space in relation to their gender, age and cultural differences. Accordingly, socio-demographic differences among young people such as gender, education, income, neighborhood, etc. seem to be influential on the way they perceive and experience incivility and needs further and more detailed explanations within the street context as well (see Malone and Hasluck, 1998; Matthews et al., 2000; Talen and Coffindafer, 1999; van Vliet, 1983).

3.3. The General Assessment of Turkish Youth

The term 'youth' in sociology is explained either as a term which is socially constructed or as a statue which is culturally ascribed. Therefore, it is beyond the physiological

development and growth. In fact, it is a very complicated category which is defined by the factors that show variation from society to society and is not possibly defined by age groups or population statistics (Yumul, 2002). As Boratav (2005, p. 219) noted, "'youth' can be understood and experienced very differently based on the social context, and even within a given context". Armağan (2004) claims that 'youth' is the preparation period for the societal life. It is the period in which personality develops and person becomes socialized. In other words, 'youth' is an embellished term with contradictory meanings. It is a socially constructed category; the way how individuals perceive themselves and others in this period of life differentiate this group of individuals from the rest of the society (Yumul, 2002).

Armağan (2004) argues that youth is the most dynamic and the most energetic segment of a society. However, it is also one of the most problematic segments, which is most of the time affected by social problems. Therefore, it is impossible to isolate the problems of youth from the problems of society in general. Contemporary Turkish society is very young compared to many European countries. According to the 2007 population census results indicated by Address Based Population Registration System (ABPRS), the median age of the population is 28.3 and approximately 61.3 % of the total population is below 35 years of age. The proportion for the age group 15-24 is 18 %. If the population for the age group 15-24 living in three biggest metropolises of Turkey is compared, 2,106,359 of that age group live in İstanbul, 778,958 in Ankara and 614,379 in İzmir (TURKSTAT, 2008). Whilst these statistics, which underline the fact that the major part of Turkey's population is composed of youth below 30 years of age, the precise information about this 'silent majority' is very few (Konrad Adenauer Foundation,

1999). If the significant role of the youth population in determination of the future of a country is taken into consideration, a country like Turkey, of which more than half of the population is below 25 years of age, should pay more attention to this majority (Kazgan, 2002; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Boratav (2005, p. 204) asserts that "for a number of reasons, the study of 'youth' in Turkey is particularly important, and has gained increasing urgency in recent years. With a historically high rate population growth, Turkey continues to remain a 'young' country […]". Although limited in number, there are researches on the Turkish youth indicating that there are generational shifts in the attitudes and worldviews of this group parallel to the structural changes in the society (Armağan, 2004; Boratav, 2005; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005, 1990; Kazgan, 2002; Neyzi, 2001). Boratav (2005), by focusing on a particular youth group as a case in her study, states that how structural transformation of Turkey in different domains is effective and determinant on a distorted urban life and how young people are also affected from this transformation process (see also Armağan, 2004). According to Boratav (2005):

> […] in the relatively short span of 80 years since the founding of the Turkish republic, Turkey experienced significant social, political, economic and cultural transformation. The rapid process of social change including wide-scale industrialization and urbanization since 1950s has resulted in a gradual transition from a mostly agrarian society to an increasingly urban one. The fastest growing urban population is concentrated in the economically disadvantaged communities on the peripheries of the large metropolises like İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara that have tended to attract the largest waves of migration. Already lacking adequate access to educational and occupational opportunity structures, the situation of young people living in these communities has become more difficult as a result of a series of economic crises that reached peak in 2001 (p. 204).

As Armağan (2004) expressed, in the formation of value systems of youth, education and social environment are influential as well as their families. Turkish youth assert

education and family as the most meaningful values in life (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). "When [youth] is asked to indicate the most important virtue or attribute that they acquired from their families, most respondents named 'honesty' by a very wide margin. Next comes respect for customs and tradition […]" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 30). Concerning benefits of education in Turkey, youth state that "education in Turkey serves to provide knowledge and teach skills, on the one hand, and helps raise generations that will benefit the country and the nation, on the other" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 36). *The Study of Youth in Kuştepe* which is conducted by İstanbul Bilgi University analyze the youth in squatters that are located on the peripheries of the big metropolises of Turkey by focusing on a case in Kuştepe, in İstanbul (Kazgan, 2002). According to the results of the research on Kuştepe youth, the reasons of violence, bad habits and gang activities that are widespread among youth living in such squatter settlements or disadvantaged neighborhoods are declared as economic deprivation (33. 6 %), bad family conditions and parental attitudes (25.4 %) by the youth attending to the survey[2] (Kazgan, 2002; Yumul, 2002).

Kağıtçıbaşı's (2005) longitudinal research on the value of children and family change shows that 'minding parents' which was the most important quality of a child in 1975 turned out to be one of the least important quality in 2003. There are also indications that control and autonomy are still perceived as compatible by many Turkish families which point out an emotional interdependence among family members. On the contrary to foreign counterparts, Turkish youth seem to idealize the family and even are ready to

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[2] The total number of respondents attending to the youth survey conducted in Kuştepe is 500.

sacrifice their freedom for the protection of the family (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). According to this research, conducted with a sample size of 2200, living with parents is widespread (70.9 %) among youth. Moreover, the results of the same study show that for the 57.5 % of the respondents parental allowance is the main source of personal income. However, even if Turkish youth are indicated to be financially and emotionally dependent on their families and preferring to live with them, they do not assert their families as understanding and concerned. According to a research about 'being youth in 1990s' Turkey', which is conducted with the participation of, approximately 1000 young respondents, more than half of the respondents state that their peers understand them best. Therefore, it is possible to argue that it is again the youth who understand the problems of youth best (Yeni Yüzyıl, 1995). When the relations with older generations are investigated, it is observed that youth indicate high percentage of confidence in older generations and need for their advices (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). However, this trust and need for older generations do not necessarily be an indication of good communication between two generations. Contrarily, Turkish youth note that there is a lack of communication with older generations (Armağan, 2004; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999).

Cross-cultural research on the immigrant Turkish youth supports Kağıtçıbaşı's model of emotional interdependence (see Phalet and Claeys, 1993) although there is an evidence of change across generations in accordance with the new culture that they begin to adopt (de Valk and Liefbroer, 2007). In different researches, there are also indications about how youth evaluate change across generations and how they foresee the future. Kazgan (2002) claims that young people in their short period of life have the chance of making

comparative evaluations with two different generations and themselves. One of these generations is their parents' generation and the other one is their younger siblings. The research of Yeni Yüzyıl (1995) points out that compared to past ten years, youth perceive the condition of Turkey in 1990s as worse. When they are asked about their future, they are not as pessimistic as the future of Turkey, but they not optimistic either. Armağan (2004) notes that Turkish youth of today are composed of young people who have great anxieties about their future. Findings of Konrad Adenauer Foundation's (1999) research also point out that percentage of youth who indicate next generation is luckier and more fortunate than themselves is lower than percentage of youth who consider themselves luckier than their parents. "In other words, the present day youth is less optimistic about future generations than they are about themselves" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 110). Nevertheless, according to the same study, more than two-thirds of the youth in Kuştepe declared themselves as luckier than their parents. Comparison with future generations indicates that more than half of the youth give more chance to their younger siblings by stating positive future prospects.

Neyzi (2001) claims that the youth is seen as the prime agent of making modernity in Turkey by pointing out the central historical role given to Turkish youth since the establishment of the Republic. She discusses the transition of youth from the object to the subject in the context of transformation of the Turkish society at large. Turkish youth are also aware of the role which is ascribed to them in making modernity in Turkey. They state that the reason of receiving education is to benefit their country and one of the most important virtues they got from their family is "loyalty to the state and nation" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 49). Nevertheless, according to the

results of the same study, even if they perceive that they are responsible for the future of their country, they also admit the fact that Turkish youth have "lack of purpose, absence of ideals and overall insensitivity" (p. 49). Similar findings are also observed in the study of Armağan (2004) which indicates that youth criticize themselves as having lack of values, norms and morality. Moreover, according to youth, their generation is inconsistent, faithless, fatalist, insensitive and unscrupulous.

However, it is noted by many others that Turkish youth are not homogeneous although they are shaped by the particular socio-demographic characteristics of the generation to which they belong (Alemdaroğlu, 2005; Armağan, 2004; Kentel, 2005; Lüküslü, 2005). In one study, it has been noted that material values are ranked at the lowest in the hierarchy of values of youth by underlining the contradiction between the significance of money in the lives of youth and the reality of material problems they should face in their lives (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). However, Armağan (2004), in his study, notes that material values and money has been indicated as the most imposing value and has a rising trend. Kazgan (2002) points out that the reason of why youth living in disadvantaged neighborhoods engaged in different types of criminal acts and their bad habits are explained mainly by their lack of chance in benefiting the equal right of education as their peers (see also Boratav, 2005; Erder, 2002).

Within this framework, while focusing on youth as the subjects of different research topics, it is crucial to elaborate differences and heterogeneity among them as well as the social, political and economic conditions and transformations of the country. Turkey is a good example to demonstrate how differences among youth and how different

conditions and transformations in the country are influential while studying youth as a research subject. For instance, the traditional family households, the education system and the atmosphere after the 12th September of 1980 in Turkey force young people to be conservative and tamed which result in a low level of political activism (Armağan, 2004; Kentel, 2005; Özgün, 2005). According to the results of Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1999) research, the conservative, tamed and dependent way of living has a negative correlation with socio-economic status. Statistics indicate that there exists a socio-economic status dependent negative relationship "between emphasis on 'capacity to think and act independently', on the one hand, and that on 'respect for custom and tradition' and 'piety/religion', on the other. This negative relationship is relatively moderate with respect to 'respect for custom and tradition' but more pronounced with respect to religion" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 50). Moreover, Yumul (2002), by referring to the youth in deprived neighborhoods, claims that youth who are the symbol of lives which are defined together with drug use, moral decline and violence, are described as a threat to the order of society and also the victim of that society (see also Erder, 2002 in that respect).

In the research of Yeni Yüzyıl (1995), the majority of youth in Turkey (69 %) notes that they are shown respect as having different personalities. However, other findings indicate that the young population of Turkey, seems to be "unable to live its youth" as they are "withdrawn and contained in the home or family environment" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 44). When the main places to meet with friends are investigated, it is noted that "Turkish youth is observed to meet with friends largely in home environments" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 14). Moreover, it is also

observed that reference to home environments as meeting places for youth tend to decline with increasing socioeconomic status; reference to cafés increase. In other words, Turkish youth usually do not prefer public places to meet with friends (see Muğan and Erkip, 2009 for a counter argument) and "even more strikingly very weakly as members or participants of various clubs, associations or similar organizations" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 16).

When youth were asked about major problems of Turkey, unemployment is indicated as the most urgent problem. The problem of unemployment is followed by the 'inadequacy of education'. In the list of problems that are announced by youth, there are also some physical and social incivilities such as environmental pollution, uncontrolled urbanization, squatter settlements and transportation problems (Armağan, 2004; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). However, they are lowest down the hierarchy of problems of Turkey indicated by the youth (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). This can be explained through the significance attributed to the unemployment as a problem by Turkish youth who are mostly under the threat of this problem. Armağan (2004) expresses that social order that youth dream of constitutes equality, freedom, societal peace, high level of economic welfare and development in science and technology.

Concerning the approach of youth to the potential areas of conflict between them and society, there seems a striking agreement on the social responsibility of youth (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). It is possible to complement this statement with their feeling of exclusion from decision making processes in all spheres of society, which means that they want their voices heard. Muğan and Erkip (2009), in their research

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about discrimination against teenagers in the mall environment, emphasize the significance of involvement and participation of young people in different social and management processes in order to meet the needs and demands of different age groups. Moreover, in the study of Armağan (2004), the major issues about which youth mostly complain are indicated as the lack of chance of having a free discussion platform, pressure from the society, lack of communication with older generations, feeling of exclusion, restrictions on their freedom and societal inequalities. Another interesting finding of the research of Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1999) is that more than half of the respondents (54.6 %) agree that "problems of youth are in fact common to the society as a whole" (p. 101). This high percentage of agreement is explained through the perspective of "failing to distinguish the problems of the youth is essentially associated with failing to distinguish youth as a social segment" (p. 103). Muğan and Erkip (2009) confirm this finding by referring to discrimination against youth. They claim that social discrimination patterns are valid for different individual groups in different spheres of the society (see Wooley et al., 1999 for the British case). Especially, segregation on the basis of income level is observed in many different urban settings.

In the light of above mentioned literature on the Turkish youth, it is observed that studying youth in Turkey in relation to different research fields is very crucial and promising concerning the social, economic, political and cultural conditions of Turkey. As the foreign literature indicated, it is significant to study 'incivility and youth' as a research topic in different parts of the world. However, there is no particular research that directly focuses on the relationship of Turkish youth with the term incivility. Therefore, concerning the importance of being youth in Turkey, the Turkish youth

deserves to be the subject of a study about incivility. Within this framework, in this dissertation, it was proposed to question the position of the Turkish urban youth as whether actors or targets of incivility within city context from their point of view. The heterogeneity of the Turkish urban youth was also taken into consideration within the scope of the thesis.

4. PERCEPTION AND EXPERIENCE OF INCIVILITIES AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS ON THE STREET: THE CASE OFSAKARYA

In the light of the findings of the preliminary survey (see Appendix A) and concerning the significance of context dependent embodiment of incivility, it was decided to study the relationship between incivility and youth in an urban public space that is commonly used by urban youth. Accordingly, 'street' was selected as an open urban public space to be studied where incivility was indicated to be mostly encountered by the youth. In the following section the objectives of the field survey is mentioned.

4.1. The Objectives of the Field Survey

Concerning the fact that context within which incivility appears is influential on perception and experience of different types of incivilities, in this field survey, it was aimed to figure out the incivility perceptions and experiences that are bounded up with an urban context. Urban public spaces including parks, streets, squares and neighborhood areas are significant contexts of incivility (see Banerjee, 2001; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999). The findings of the preliminary survey confirmed this assertion by revealing that mostly open public spaces including parks, streets and neighborhoods were perceived by most of the young respondents as the settings within which incivil conducts mostly appeared in Ankara (see Appendix A). Furthermore, it was found that the urban youth most commonly perceived and experienced incivilities in relation to street context such as sexual and verbal harassment, fighting and arguing, beggars, drunks and homeless individuals, spitting, swearing and invasion of personal space. In this respect, the main emphasis of this study

was determined as exploring the influence of 'context' on perception and experience of incivility by focusing on one of the urban public spaces, i.e., street. Moreover, in the literature, two negative discourses are highlighted regarding the interconnection of importance of street use by young people and incivility discussion: the experiences of young people as the actors of incivil conducts and the experiences of young people as the targets of incivil conducts on streets (see Breitbart, 1998; Matthews et al., 2000; Valentine, 1996). Therefore, it becomes imperative to emphasize the role of the street for the experiences of young people as either actors or targets of incivil conducts and for the profoundness of incivility argument. Thus, the research was shaped to reveal the perceived and experienced incivilities and environmental problems on streets by concentrating on the relationship of urban youth with the street both as a physical outdoor environment and as a social 'hangout' space.

The traffic related problems in the urban context were not major concerns for most of the young respondents (see Appendix A). Moreover, the perception of 'the problems encountered in traffic' as the major incivility in the urban context was indicated by the adults, but not by the youth. The reason of this was explained through the financial and legal limitations of young people in their access of car ownership and driving. In addition, previous researches assert that pedestrian activities have the potential of increasing the chance of collecting information about strangers and about physical environment. Thus, they have the potential of assisting the development of public spaces (see Gürçel, 2003; Levent, 1999). In these respects, in order to concentrate variety of incivilities and environmental problems other than vehicular traffic and to eliminate the limitations regarding young people in terms of equal access of car ownership and driving

license, conducting the field survey in a pedestrianized city street was assumed to be more appropriate.

Previously, it was observed that most commonly perceived incivilities by the urban youth were social and proximate incivilities (see Appendix A). Even though some of those incivilities were related to the physical environment, it was noticed that there was a lack of attention and concern with the physical environment and physical incivilities on the contrary to what is expected (see Moser and Robin, 2006), especially from the youth (see Honnold, 1984; Klineberg et al., 1998). In that sense, the physical environment and physical incivilities and environmental problems within the urban context were needed to be focused on. Therefore, studying perception and experience of incivility in relation to a specific street context is important also to understand the role of space and physical environment within the discussion of incivility. Hence, it becomes possible to find out incivilities caused by 'space' and 'physical environment', to understand the 'locatedness' of incivil conducts and to grasp more detailed and varied information on physical incivilities and environmental problems. Moreover, a comprehensive understanding on perceived and experienced incivilities and their reasons in relation to both social and physical environments of the street was expected to be gained. Besides, by concentrating on the mutual interference between perception and experience of incivility and patterns of street use, the nature of young people's relationship with social and physical environments of the street and the meaning that they attributed to the street was aimed to be explored. Hence, this study was shaped around the question of '*how does an urban context i.e., street, be influential on the perception and the experience of incivilities and environmental problems?*'

In addition, it was observed that the most of the respondents ascribed their peers as the actors of incivil conducts in different urban contexts and they highlighted gender influence on the perception of being the target of incivility (see Appendix A). Therefore, it seemed that further attention should be given to youth perspectives regarding incivility issue within the context of the street to grasp various attributions of youth about themselves and about the rest of the society. While investigating the relationship between young people's patterns of street use and their perception and experience of incivility, multiple realities of young people and their heterogeneity at identity and personality formation levels (see also Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999 on this issue) including age, gender, income, education, neighborhood and peer relations were aimed to be considered as its importance was pointed out by various researches (see Armağan, 2004; Matthews et al., 2000; Silbereisen and Todt, 1994; van Vliet, 1983; Valentine, 1996). The next section explains the methodology of the field survey. Then, the methods of the study are discussed including the sampling methods, the instruments for data collection and the procedure of the study. Following this section, the results and the discussions of the analyses are given.

4.2. The Methodology

The field survey was conducted in order to figure out how Turkish urban youth perceive and experience incivility within the context of the city street i.e., Sakarya[3] in Ankara. With the consideration of making young people's voices heard and involving them to the public affairs concerning the things they attributed as 'incivil' and 'problematic' in

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[3] Throughout the dissertation, 'Sakarya' is used by referring to the pedestrian region that constitutes Sakarya, Selanik, İnkılap, Bayındır and Tuna Streets. 'Sakarya Street' is only used when specifically referring to 'that particular street', which gives its name to the whole pedestrian region.

terms of the nature of relationship they engage with an outdoor public space, it was also intended to meet up with some design solutions and policy and social implications. Following sections discuss the analysis and the importance of the site and the research questions together with the hypotheses.

4.2.1. The Analysis of the Site: The Importance of Sakarya for the Youth in Ankara

Sakarya is an important meeting place of Ankara which is full of diverse meanings for different individuals. "For some Sakarya […] is a place where they get rid of their daily fatigue, for some it is a meeting point where provides social intercourse in order to see their friends, acquaintances and for some it is an employment area where 'big money' circulates" (Yetkin, 2004, p. 12). Sakarya was chosen as the site of this study concerning its significance in the urban public life of Ankara, with its location, diversity and density of users and dynamic structure with the variety of services and leisure activities on offer for the urban youth.

Sakarya Street, as a 100 meters long street, which gives its name to the whole pedestrian region, is located in Kızılay, the city center of Ankara (see Appendix B, Figure 1). Since it is at the center of the city, it is also at hubs of mass transport such as public buses, mini-buses, and especially subway (Appendix B, Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2). As Mahmud (1996, p. 101) stated, "[…] Sakarya most of the time serves as a transit path for pedestrians and together with shopping from the food stores".

Kevin Lynch (1960), while establishing the concept of legibility in his seminal work, *The Image of the City,* states the characteristics of a legible city as well formed, distinct, remarkable, easily recognized and organized by people. According to Lynch (1960), a legible city is inviting for senses in terms of attention and participation. He classifies the contents of the city images that contribute to legibility into five types of elements: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Out of these five elements, 'nodes' refer to cores of a city and they take part in junctions and concentrations. Gifford (2002, p. 33), by referring to Lynch (1960), defines nodes as "well-known points that people travel to and from, often at the junctures of important paths, such as key intersections, transit terminals and popular plazas or squares". In this respect, Sakarya can be considered as an important node in Ankara that serves for the legibility of the city concerning its harmonious relations with the transportation system of Ankara. This quality increases the efficiency of the street with its accessibility particularly for pedestrians who walk through the street to approach Atatürk Boulevard, Mithatpaşa Avenue and Ziya Gökalp Avenue (see Gürçel, 2003; Levent, 1999; Torlak, 1983; Yetkin, 2004).

Sakarya Street is the main arterial area where Selanik, İnkılap, Bayındır and Tuna Streets are intersecting (see Appendix B, Figure 3). With the decision of City Traffic Commission of Governorship of Ankara in 1979, Sakarya, Selanik, Bayındır and Inkılap Streets, as a total area of 1 km long, were closed to vehicular traffic and the area (between Atatürk Boulevard, Ziya Gökalp Avenue, Mithatpaşa Avenue and Tuna Avenue) was declared as "Sakarya Pedestrian Zone"[4] and generally called as 'Sakarya'. Hence, the vehicle entrance and exit to the region is restricted from 6 a.m. to 9 a.m. (see

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[4] Taken from the documents of Directorate of Development of Municipality of Çankaya.

Appendix B, Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2). Through pedestrianization of the area, the connection between Atatürk Boulevard and Mithat Paşa Avenue was supported and the retail sale seemed to be promoted (Mahmud, 1996). Gürçel (2003) states that after pedestrianization, with the elimination of traffic and the improvements on paving, planting, furniture and some building renovations, the area has become more inviting even if there are still problems in terms of harmony and the rhythm of buildings in terms of architectural quality (see Torlak, 1983 for the related argument). Moreover, the parking problem of Sakarya, which permits only the shop owners, municipality officers and office workers to park their cars since they come early, turns Sakarya an avoidable place for some citizens who prefers coming to the district by their cars (see, Gürçel, 2003; Torlak, 1983).

When the general layout of Sakarya is analyzed, Selanik, İnkılap and Bayındır Streets are observed to be perpendicularly connected to Sakarya Street and are identified as different zones. Selanik Street, the western section of the region, is intersected with Sakarya and Tuna Streets. It is characterized by a density and variety of commercial and office facilities, fast food shops and restaurants. In one side of the street, SSK- the abbreviation of the Institute of Social Health Insurance - *İşhanı* is located, which is a fourteen storey building full of offices, entertainment facilities, shops and bars at the galleria-like and multi-floored sections. Although the main entrances for the buildings are on Sakarya Street and Atatürk Boulevard, the other two entrances for SSK *İşhanı* are on Selanik and İnkılap Streets. All of the flower shops in the region are located in both sides of Selanik Street which makes it narrow for pedestrian passes. Moreover,

Fantasyland [5] is located on this street as well. In addition to some private establishments preparing students for various exams (*dershane*), bars can be observed along the street. Mahmud (1996) indicates that Selanik Street is the busiest pedestrian street in Sakarya Zone. İnkılap Street, which is parallel to Selanik and Bayındır Streets divides Sakarya from the middle and connects it to Tuna Street. The major activities of the street are bars, fast food shops, cafés and *dershanes.* One of the biggest stationery and book stores of the region is located at one corner of the street. Besides, at the opposite corner, one of the biggest *dershane*s in Sakarya is located. The characteristic of Bayındır Street is similar to İnkılap Street. It is full of bars, restaurants, cafés and *dershanes* as well. At the intersection of Bayındır and Sakarya Street, an open space with pigeons can be seen (see Appendix B, Figure 3 for the details of the layout of Sakarya) (see Mahmud, 1996 for the details of the streets' layouts).

Sakarya is under the responsibility of Municipality of Çankaya including its planning, cleaning and control. The natural environment in Sakarya is limited to a few green area and a very few number of trees. The municipality is also responsible for the maintenance, arrangement and enhancement of these greenery as well as the street furniture including benches, planter boxes, trash-cans and dustbins, statues, pavements, lighting elements and flower pots (see Appendix B, Figure 3 for street furniture and their functional distribution in Sakarya). However, the Municipality of Çankaya should work in coordination with the Municipality of Ankara concerning the infrastructure of the area

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[5] *Fantasyland* is located on Selanik Street in Sakarya. It is a game arcade where people can play arcade video games, pinball or some other indoor games. The video games are mostly housed in cabinets which have a coin/token based mechanism. *Fantasyland* is a popular entertainment place for young people where they can meet their friends and spend a plenty of their leisure time (see Mahmud, 1996 for a similar argument).

and with Directorate General of Security concerning interventions to issues related to general public safety and order in Sakarya. In Sakarya, there are 150 civilian personnel in addition to the uniformed municipal police (*zabıta*) who are patrolling around the area. These personnel are officially responsible from the area until 9 p.m. (a bit longer during summer). However, the range and the scope of intervention of these personnel are not as extensive as the interventions of police forces. Besides, cleaning of the area is fulfilled with 55 personnel between 5 a.m. and 9 p.m. who work in two shifts and are responsible from the whole district of Çankaya including Sakarya. At 8 p.m. garbage trucks start to stroll to collect the garbage which should be taken out at the latest 9 p.m. by shops and bars within large litter bags[6].

Gürçel (2003) defines Sakarya as a full pedestrian mall where the business and commercial activities and buildings are found together. As Mahmud (1996, p. 86) indicated, "being the first pedestrian mall in Ankara, [Sakarya Street] is quite a successful place to have different outdoor activities due to the mixed uses around". Moreover, Yetkin (2004, p. 12) highlights the past of the region as a shopping center which turns into a center of eating and entertainment today where "the diversified and differentiated life experiences of Ankara that changes through fast and different dynamics become visible". Starting from 1960s, restaurants which have the license for selling alcoholic drinks have started to appear in Sakarya. In the late 1970s, young population has seen to be involved in the area. During those decades, mostly the middle class was dominant in terms of engaging with entertainment facilities. After the second

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[6] The information about the services of municipality is gained through interviews with the officers of *zabıta* and cleaning personnel.

half of 1980s, the number of bars and cafés has continuously increased. Bars in Sakarya have different entertainment styles and play different genres of music including rock music, pop music, folk music (*türkü*), without music and others (see Appendix B, Figure 5 for the general view of a bar in Sakarya). Especially, concerning the interest in ethnic music in Turkey, the *türkü* bars have become widespread in Sakarya. Yetkin (2003, p. 17) claims that "some people or groups may go to different kinds of bars according to with whom, when and which purpose they go entertainment place". Moreover, factors such as the ethnic origin, gender, socio economic origin and political background of people are also influential in their preferences of different types of bars. Today, it is announced that the total number of bars in Sakarya is over 200. SSK *İşhanı,* starting 1990s onward, has also contributed to the increase in the number of bars in Sakarya. Actually, even if there are some state institutions (Directorate of Population) and entities of Municipality of Çankaya are located in SSK *İşhanı*, it is usually known with bars - especially *türkü* bars - in it. Moreover, another notable feature of this building is its run-down and destructed appearance on Sakarya Street which is sharpened by trucks and garbage collectors parking next to it (see Appendix B, Figure 6).

Today, the image of Sakarya among most of the citizens of Ankara is an entertainment place for the lower middle class group of people (Yetkin, 2003). Moreover, it is also mentioned together with a bad image due to its characteristics as a place 'for easy alcohol consumption' and which is 'full of criminals' where 'ordinary citizens' and families avoid entering after a certain hour and shop owners have lots of fears and worries regarding those dangerous individuals and individuals who are leading problems due to excess alcohol and drug use (Bayer, 2007, November 27; *Zaman*, 2003, May 21).

Nevertheless, the activities in Sakarya are not restricted to entertainment since the area has been affected tremendously by the global changes which have led the disappearance of some traditional activities and emergence of new activities; which means that some of the activities and places in Sakarya can easily be found in any part of the world such as McDonald's and Burger King. However, this does not mean that the distinctiveness of Sakarya has become invisible due to the homogenizing impact of global trends (see Appendix B, Figure 7). In other words, there are those user groups of Sakarya who prefer to identify themselves with the 'global part' of Sakarya and also those others who prefer to keep Sakarya distinctive part of their life (see Yetkin, 2003 for the details of this argument).

Apart from bars, *dershane*s, cafés, internet cafés, fast food shops, book stores and some other entertainment places which are spread along the business and commercial areas and upper floors of shopping arcades are mostly preferred places, especially, by the urban youth. They mostly use Sakarya with a leisurely purpose (e.g. meeting friends, hanging out, spending leisure time, etc.) or with a purpose of education (e.g. attending various *dershane*). In addition to these places and facilities of Sakarya, there are many other places such as restaurants, fish shops, food shops, supermarkets, tea houses, green groceries, herbalist shops, banks, various kiosks, flower shops, a small open bazaar, photography studios, pet shops, clothing and shoe shops, hair dressers, exchange offices, lawyers' offices, theatres, workers' unions, public institutions, guesthouses of some chambers, hair dressers, glassware shops, mobile phone selling and servicing shops, stationery, pharmacy, bakery etc. (see Appendix B, Figure 8.1, Figure 8.2 and Figure 8.3) which make the district an 'attractiveness center' for various socio-demographic

groups as well as the urban youth who have different sense of the place and give preference to particular characteristics and facilities of Sakarya and ignore some others. Moreover, for some user groups, Sakarya is an entertainment place where they feel secure, for some other groups it is dangerous and a place of insecurity in which they have to meet with some compulsory activities. Accordingly, as Yetkin (2003) highlighted, it is not possible to talk about a single identity and meaning attached to Sakarya. According to her "[…] rather than one shared meaning over Sakarya [Street], there are competing meanings and identities attached to it. There are complementary definitions as well as conflicting ones and the relationship among them is nothing other than a power struggle for the place" (p. 145).

4.2.2. The Research Questions and Hypotheses

Within the framework of the preliminary survey, three main headings were determined in relation to general incivility perception tendencies of young people, the urban contexts within which incivility is perceived and experienced and actors and targets of incivilities (see Appendix A). In this field survey, a similar categorization was employed in order to bring relevant issues together. Accordingly, the issues were grouped under four headings: 1- Perception and experience of incivility and environmental problems within the street context, 2- The impact of patterns of street use and time on the perception and experience of incivility, 3- The actors and targets of incivil conducts, 4- Behavioral/verbal responses to incivility and the interventions to tackle with incivility on the street. The relevant research questions for each heading can be given as follows:

1- Perception and experience of incivility and environmental problems within the street context

- How do young people perceive and experience incivility within the street context?

- What are the main incivilities and environmental problems that young people perceive and experience on the street?

- What are the roles of social and physical environments and environmental features of the street on the perception and experience of incivilities and environmental problems?

- What are the main reasons and sources of incivilities on the street?

- How do perceptions and experiences of incivility by urban youth on the street differ along socio-demographic differences?

2- The impact of patterns of the street use and time on the perception and experience of incivility

- Do young people's patterns of street use influence perceptions and experiences of incivilities and environmental problems on the street?

- Do the perception and experience of incivility on the street change with time of the day and seasons?

3- Actors and targets of incivil conducts on the street

- Which individual group(s) are the main target groups of incivil behaviors in the street context?

- Which individual group(s) are the main actors who mostly engage in incivil behaviors on the street?

- Do young people perceive themselves as a part of the incivil behaviors on the street?

4- Behavioral/verbal responses against incivility and the interventions to tackle with incivility on the street

- What are the main behavioral and/or verbal responses of young people to incivil encounters on the street?

- Do perceptions and experiences of incivilities and environmental problems on the street influence young people's tendency of street use?

- How do young people evaluate the interventions of state and municipalities to tackle with incivility on the street?

- What are the design suggestions and policy implications of young people for incivilities and environmental problems?

Accordingly, the related hypotheses of the study were configured as follows:

1. Urban youth defines incivility on street with a reference to the social context.

2. Perception and experience of incivility on streets affect the tendency of street use and behaviors of young people.

3. Perception and experience of incivility on streets vary according to time of the day and season.

4. Perception and experience of incivility and environmental problems on streets differ along their socio-demographic characteristics.

4.3. The Methods of the Study

The research was based upon a field survey that focuses on the way that the urban youth perceives and experiences incivility on streets. In this research, Sakarya region in

Ankara was the survey site, since its physical and social contexts were evaluated as appropriate for the purpose. Within the scope of the methods of the study, the sample selection of the research, the data collections methods, issues that are involved in the survey instruments and the procedure of the research are discussed. In the following section sampling of the research is given.

4.3.1. The Sampling Method of the Research

According to demography, youth covers the age group of 15 to 25. The age 25 is usually considered as the upper limit, but there are different opinions for the lowest limit of this age group (Armağan, 2004). World Bank (2008) defines the youth as a category including the individuals between the ages of 15 to 25. However, according to United Nations General Assembly (UN, 2008), this period of life falls between the ages of 15-24. According to UN (2008), for many countries the age of 18 is the borderline and a person who passes this age is considered to be an adult in the sight of the law. However, depending on many factors including political, socio-cultural, economic or institutional, the term 'youth' can have various definitions and descriptions (Armağan, 2004; UN, 2008). Official statistics of Turkey take the age range of 12-24 as the reference for the definition of youth where various studies can determine different age ranges for the category of youth. For instance, the research about Turkish youth by Konrad Adenauer Foundation determined the age range as 15 to 27 for the category of youth (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Whereas, in another Turkish youth study, this age range is 14-28 (Kazgan, 2002). In the framework of this study, the sample consists of youth who are considered as the persons falling between the ages of 15 and 24 years inclusive. The first reason of choosing this age range is, in this study, it is referred to UN definition of

youth and to the age range used by TURKSTAT (Turkish Statistics). Second reason is that, since 1997 compulsory primary education, which is defined with constitutional obligations has ended up, on the average, by the age of 15 and most of the adult responsibilities including military service for males, graduation from university, attaining a job and financial independence from the family, are attained, on the average, by the age of 25[7] in Turkey.

Within the scope of field survey, the combination of multiple methods was preferred concerning the benefits of using qualitative and quantitative methods together in the same study (see Muğan and Erkip, 2007 for the discussion about the impact of use of multiple methods in time-use surveys). As Krathwohl (1998) points out, the combination of multiple research methods through employing a hybrid with different aspects of each has a significant role in strengthening a study and compensating limitations and faults that may result from choosing one method over other (see also Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). According to Creswell (1994), in order to have a better understanding of the concept being tested or explored, it is advantageous to combine methods and to integrate the paradigms at several phases of the research process. In many cases, the optimal condition required for the powerful development of evidence and explanation that will gain a consensus around the interpretation of the data can be provided by only the use of multiple methods (Krathwohl, 1998; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). Therefore, within the scope of this research, it was attempted to follow multiple methodological

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[7] In the Kuştepe youth study (Kazgan, 2002), the age of 28 is considered to be the age by which the education of a person is completed, work life has gained stability and a family life is set up or about the set up. However, in this study, financial independence from the family by attaining a job, military services for males and probable graduation from the university are considered as reference points.

perspectives in which various qualitative and quantitative methods in sampling procedures, data collection, coding and analysis of data are combined.

Although quantitative and qualitative methods were used at several phases of the research process, the main aim was to collect qualitative data, so that quota and convenience sampling methods were used to select 82 young people. In determination of the sample, quotas were identified on the basis of gender, then convenience and judgment samplings were used to select equal number of respondents for each quota (41 females and 41 males). Besides, time sampling method was used to grasp the differences in terms of young people's patterns of street use and to investigate the impact of time on encountering different types of incivilities and environmental stressors. In this respect, the research was conducted between the months January and June, both in week days and weekends between 10 a.m. and 12 p.m. to avoid biases of age, season, morning, evening and night and different patterns of use.

4.3.2. The Instruments for Data Collection and the Procedure

In this field survey, in order to explore the perceptions and experiences of incivility on the street by urban youth, a semi-structured interview, based on 26 questions was prepared (see Appendix C for the interview questions). Most of the questions were open-ended in order not to skip ideas and not to restrict the responses. The first part of the interview aimed to obtain demographic information about the youth including their age, sex, place of residence and type of settlement, education level and income level. In the next part, young people were asked about their patterns of use of Sakarya including, familiarity and duration of use, the frequency of use, the aim of use, the mode of

transportation to Sakarya, the time spent, the preferred time of use and seasonal changes in the patterns of use. The last part of the interview was aimed to collect information about the perceived and experienced incivil behaviors/events and environmental problems that young people mostly encounter in Sakarya without underlining the observed and actual signs of incivility. This last part included questions about youth's views about Sakarya in respect to the things/events/behaviors/conditions/ situations/individuals that they disliked and attributed as problematic/dangerous/ disorderly/terrifying/disturbing/deficient/inappropriate/insufficient[8] in Sakarya without referring to a specific definition or a translation of the term 'incivility' as the Turkish concept of 'incivility' might be different. This involved interrogating young people about whether they are pleased to use Sakarya, the things they liked/disliked most, problematic/incivil behaviors/events/conditions/situations and individual groups that they do not want to encounter in Sakarya, the places in Sakarya that make them terrify and avoid using, the time periods in which they avoid or reluctant to use Sakarya, evaluations of conditions of and precautions for safety in Sakarya, individual group(s) they attribute as actors/targets of problems/incivilities in Sakarya, the reasons of problems/incivilities in the district, behavioral/verbal responses to problems/incivilities in Sakarya and their evaluations of interventions of individual users and the state/municipalities to tackle with problems/incivilities in the district. Furthermore, they were asked to recommend some policy and social implications to tackle with problems/incivilities in Sakarya and to bring out some planning and design suggestions for the area. In addition to the interviews, actual and visible signs of disorder and

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[8] In the rest of the dissertation from time to time the term 'problems/incivilities' is used by referring to these adjectives in order to avoid long repetitions of the terms.

incivilities were examined in the site and some photographs were taken in order to determine the incivilities and environmental problems in Sakarya (see Appendix B for the photographs and the recorded time period within which the photographs were taken).

Principally, permission was taken from Çankaya Municipality for four days to complete the field survey. At the end of the four days, 82 young respondents were reached in total. The interviews were conducted by a research team of three: the researcher and two assistant researchers. The whole team members were females of whom the age ranges are between 22 and 28. Since the age range of the research team was close to the age range of the respondents, during the application of the interviews, it was easy to communicate with the youth, make them relax and have a friendly conversation, which was also supported by avoidance of academic expressions and emphases.

Before the application of the interviews, a pilot study was carried out with 10 respondents at the site to test the clarity of the questions and to measure the required time for each respondent. The duration of each interview was approximately 25 minutes. The interviews were conducted at different parts of Sakarya in order to reach variety of respondents who are using the area for various purposes. Moreover, some interviews were conducted in front doors of some *dershane* and in front of *Fantasyland* in order not to skip young people who are at the two extreme sides in terms of their relationship with Sakarya: use of street for the purpose of education and spending leisure time. All respondents were informed about the aim of the study. In addition, to avoid any biases in terms of influence of respondents on each other, each young person was questioned separately from their peers.

Moreover, during the visits to Çankaya Municipality in order to take permission to conduct the field survey in Sakarya, face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted with some officers of Çankaya Municipality as key informants to trace the problems/incivilities in Sakarya and to criticize the arguments that were brought out by young respondents. Five municipality officers, three of which are *zabıta* were interviewed. Besides, *zabıta* officers were helped us to conduct interviews with two petty tradesmen (*esnaf*) as well. With the escort of one of the *zabıta* officers along the street, two *esnaf*, who were bar/restaurant owners in Sakarya, were interviewed. Interviews with the municipality officers and *esnaf* were not systematically done, they were rather based on convenience and willingness of the informants. Nevertheless, interviews with the municipality officers provided all-embracing information about officially observed, perceived and recorded incivilities, their reasons and their actors/targets and state and municipality interventions to tackle with incivilities in Sakarya. Furthermore, official views about urban youth were grasped throughout these interviews. Likewise, during the interviews with *esnaf*, the way they perceived urban youth and their experiences with this group in Sakarya was the main interrogated theme of the interviews. Moreover, their complaints about the physical and social context of Sakarya, main actors/targets of the incivil behaviors, the reasons of incivilities, their individual interventions and behavioral/verbal responses to incivility in Sakarya were questioned. All the interviews contributed to grasp the general context of incivility in the area.

4.4. The Results and the Discussions of the Analyses

In the following sections, the demographic information about the urban youth and their patterns of use of Sakarya are presented. After that, the results and discussions concerning the perceived and experienced incivilities and environmental problems in Sakarya are given.

4.4.1. Respondents' Socio-demographic Characteristics and Patterns of Use of Sakarya

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with 82 young respondents in Sakarya. The number of each gender group was kept equal (41 males and 41 females). The age range of the young people, which varies between 15 and 24, was categorized into three groups (15-17, 18-21 and 22-24) concerning their education level (high school students, university students and graduates of university with respect to the age groups). However, education level of the respondents was more diverse and unequally distributed including primary school graduates, high school students, high school graduates, university students and graduates of university. Accordingly, the mode is in the 15-17 that covers the young people who were primary school graduates, high school students and high school graduates including the group that attends *dershane* for preparation of various exams. Concerning the fact that the age range covered some respondents who were financially independent from their families, the income level of respondents was questioned in two axes: if they were working and financially independent, their income level was asked, if they were not working, the income level of their families was asked. Majority of the respondents belonged to the group of middle income. In addition, they

were also asked about the settlement type that they inhabited. Most of the respondents

stated that they inhabited in traditional apartment housing (see Appendix C, Part 1

Questions 1, 2 ,3, 4 and 5) (see Table 4.1 for socio-demographic characteristics of the

sample group). Like education level of the respondents, their income level as well as the

inahabited settlement types were observed to be diverse and unequally distributed for

each category. Therefore, these variables were not taken into consideration for the

statistical analyses.

Table 4.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

Sex	# of Cases	%
Female	41	50.0
Male	41	50.0
Total	82	100.0
Age	**# of Cases**	**%**
15-17	38	46.3
18-21	22	26.8
22-24	22	26.8
Total	82	100.0
Education Level	**# of Cases**	**%**
Primary school graduate	1	1.2
High school student	45	54.9
High school graduate	5	6.1
University student	16	19.5
University graduate	15	18.3
Total	82	100.0
Income Level	**# of Cases**	**%**
Low	4	4.9
Middle	65	79.3
High	13	15.9
Total	82	100.0
Settlement Type	**# of Cases**	**%**
Gated community	15	18.3
Traditional apt.	60	73.2
Dormitories/other	7	8.5
Total	82	100.0

As it was discussed before, in order to understand perceived and experienced problems of everyday life, it is crucial to investigate the relationship between individuals and the urban context and attributed meanings to the environmental features (see Moser and Robin, 2006; Bonnes et al., 1994). Hence, the nature of relationship of the urban youth with the street including their patterns of use of this urban context and the shared meanings attributed to the physical and social contexts (see Macnaghten, 2003) of the street are crucial for the analysis of incivility and environmental problems. In this respect, they were also asked about their patterns of use of Sakarya.

More than half of the respondents (53.7 %) claimed that they have known and used Sakarya for more than five years (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 1). When the frequency of young people's use of Sakarya was analyzed, 43.9 % of the respondents stated that they have been using and visiting the street several times in a week (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 2). The mode of transportation that young people preferred to use for coming to Sakarya was mostly public transportation, especially buses/mini buses with a percentage of 67.1 (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 4). The aim of using Sakarya was mostly leisurely for 56.1 % of the respondents including the activities of meeting friends, hanging out, going to bars and drinking, enjoying diversity of cheap food choices and shopping (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 3). Weekends' afternoon and evenings as being the main leisure time for many young people, were observed as the most preferred time to use Sakarya with a total percentage of 58.3 (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 6). In addition, 54.9 % of them explained their reason of time preference with leisure purposes. Almost half of the respondents (41.5 %) claimed that they were spending more than 3 hours in Sakarya and 31.7 % of them indicated that they were spending 1 to 3 hours (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 5). Out of these 60 respondents,

35 stated that their aim of use was also leisurely. Hence, as it was indicated in the literature, the street seems to be an important social space for many young people where they meet friends, enjoy a range of informal leisure activities and feel independent by being away from the adult gaze (Lieberg, 1994; Matthews et al., 2000; Valentine, 1996; 2001; van Vliet, 1983).

For 24.4 % of the respondents, the aim of using Sakarya was related to some compulsory activities that they had to engage like attending *dershane* which were located in the district (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 3). Moreover, some of these respondents pointed out that they were simply using Sakarya since their work place was there or they had things to be done in Sakarya like going to their tailors, banks, etc. Some other respondents claimed that they were just walking through Sakarya as a transition area (see Levent, 1999 for the argument regarding Yüksel Pedestrian Zone as a transition area) for another point of destination. For the rest of the young people (approximately 20 %), the aim of using Sakarya covered some compulsory and leisurely activities together such as attending the *dershane*, meeting friends, going to bars etc. Furthermore, during the observations, it was noticed that even if they were using the district for the purpose of attending *dershane*, during breaks or after *dershane* hours, Sakarya turned into a recreation area for these group of young people where they smoked, chatted with friends, ate fast food, went to bars or cafés, etc. (see Table 4.2 for the patterns of young people's use of Sakarya). Furthermore, respondents were asked whether the frequency and the preferred time of using Sakarya, the time spent in Sakarya and the aim of using Sakarya were changing with the seasons (see Appendix C, Part 2 Questions 2, 3, 5 and 6). According to the answers, only the frequency seemed to be influenced by seasonal

changes. Even if 59.8 % of the respondents stated that their frequency of use was not changing according to variations in season, the ones who stated they used and visited the street more frequently during spring and summer times that provide the conditions to spend time outside (40.2 %) were close to this percentage.

Table 4.2. Young people's patterns of use of Sakarya

Familiarity and duration of use	# of Cases	%
For the first time	3	3.7
Less than 6 months	3	3.7
6 months - 2 years	12	14.6
3 - 5 years	20	24.4
More than 5 years	44	53.7
Total	82	100.0
Frequency of use	**# of Cases**	**%**
Everyday	3	3.7
Several times in a week	36	43.9
Once a week	18	22.0
Once in two weeks	7	8.5
Once a month	8	9.8
Less than once a month	4	4.9
Other	6	7.3
Total	82	100.0
The preferred time of use	**# of Cases**	**%**
Week times-morning	5	2.6
Week times-afternoon	25	13.0
Week times-evening	29	15.1
Weekends-morning	21	10.9
Weekends-afternoon	67	34.9
Weekends-evening	45	23.4
Total	192*	100.0
The time spent	**# of Cases**	**%**
Less than half an hour	4	4.9
Half an hour-1 hour	18	22.0
1-3 hours	26	31.7
More than 3 hours	34	41.5
Total	82	100.0
The aim of use	**# of Cases**	**%**
Compulsory	20	24.4
Leisurely	46	56.1
Both	16	19.5
Total	82	100.0
The mode of transportation	**# of Cases**	**%**
Subway	11	13.4
By walking	8	9.8
Bus/mini bus	55	67.1
Car/Taxi	8	9.8
Total	82	100.0

* Total of multiple counting for the preferred time of using Sakarya [9]

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[9] Multiple counting refers to the multiple responses for a number of questions that necessitate a distinction between the number of responses and the number of people responding.

4.4.2. The Hypotheses Testing Along the Predefined Issues and Objectives

Within the framework of the objectives and issues that were grouped under four headings (1- Perception and experience of incivility and environmental problems within the street context, 2- The impact of patterns of the street use and time on perception and experience of incivility, 3- The actors and targets of incivil conducts, 4- Behavioral/verbal responses to incivility and the interventions to tackle with incivility on the street), four hypotheses of the study were tested. First, descriptive statistics including frequencies and contingency tables that point out the relationships between the variables were given. Then, to test the hypotheses, chi-square analysis and correlation analysis were applied to analyze the factors affecting the perceived and experienced incivility patterns of the young people in Sakarya (see Appendix D for the variable list and see Appendix E and Appendix F for the list of analyses and significant relations). In addition, some of the findings were given through narratives in qualitative terms relating to the topics that the young people themselves brought up during the interviews and issues that were gathered during the observations.

The first hypothesis was about the urban youth's description of incivility on the street. It was hypothesized that urban youth defines incivility on the street with a reference to the social context. In the second hypothesis, it was intended to see the affect of perceived and experienced incivilities and environmental problems on the tendency of using the street and behaviors of young people (in the form of approach to or avoidance from the street). It was hypothesized that perception and experience of incivility on street affect the tendency of street use and behaviors of young people. With the third hypothesis, the influence of variations in the time of the day and season on the perception and

experience of incivility on street was aimed to be discovered. Accordingly, it was hypothesized that perception and experience of incivility on street vary according to time of the day and season. Finally, it was aimed to see the impact of socio-demographic differences among young people on perceived and experienced incivilities and environmental problems on street. It was hypothesized that perception and experience of incivility and environmental problems on street differ along socio-demographic characteristics young people.

To deal with the problem of cultural variations in the definition of incivility, incivility patterns in different urban contexts are better to be analyzed by letting people to think of and talk about those patterns in the assistance of certain clues about the issue. For this study, without orientating the respondents through direct questions, they were expected to reveal perceived and experienced incivilities and environmental problems with the examples of problems, insufficiencies, dangers, deficiencies and dislikes. Besides, respondents were also awaited for indicating important elements of social and physical environments of Sakarya in order to understand how they perceive and attribute meaning to the environment around them.

4.4.2.1. The Analysis of Perceived and Experienced Incivilities and Environmental Problems within the Context of Sakarya

Matthews and Limb (1999) state that children and young people value a wide variety of places and there is a consistency in their preferences of various places, where they can engage in different activities and experience different feelings. The street is one of those places where they may develop their own identities. Lieberg (1994) highlights that the

street, with a mixture of people and diversity of activities is one of the ideal settings for young people where they can feel independent in an adult setting. According to the findings of the field survey, the majority of the respondents (67.9 %) indicated that they were pleased to be using Sakarya by underlining some reasons that made them use the area such as the variety of cheap food and drink (especially, beer) alternatives, presence of their favorite hangout places, diversity of activities and places (especially, flower and fish shops and variety of cafés), lively and joyful environment, mixture of different groups of people, being pedestrianized, easy access due to central location and familiarity with the area (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 7). Moreover, when the things that they liked most were asked, presence of their *dershane* was pointed out as the reason of liking Sakarya in addition to these factors (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 8). Nevertheless, when they were asked whether there were any problems/incivilities that they did not want to encounter in Sakarya, 76.8 % of the young respondents responded positively (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 17). Only 8 respondents stated that there was nothing that they did not like in Sakarya; the rest mentioned several dislikes related to social and physical environments of Sakarya (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 9). On the contrary to what was expected, when the responses were analyzed in relation to their age and gender, it was not observed any significant relationship between them (see Appendix E1). However, some differences were observed concerning value systems, family backgrounds and peer relations. For instance, a veiled female respondent, who lives in a low-income district of Ankara (Altındağ) stated that:

> I do not want to encounter with couples who have some kind of intimate relations on the street. Seeing close relationship and physical contact with the opposite sex on the street make me feel embarrassed and annoyed.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

Another respondent who has grown up in a village and then migrated to Ankara pointed out that:

> Since, I was grown up in a village, I got used to any kind of disrespectful, annoying and disturbing behavior. So, no one can make me feel disturbed in Sakarya. I do not get angry easily and I can put up with any kind of inappropriateness.
>
> (18-year-old, female)

The findings of the field survey indicated that most of the young respondents perceived and experienced social incivilities more and had complaints and dislikes mostly related to the social environment of Sakarya. When the problems/incivilities that young people did not want to encounter in Sakarya were grouped (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 17), social incivilities dominated with 45.1 %. In addition, 18.3 % of the responses included both social and physical incivilities and environmental problems and only 13.4 % of the responses were related to the physical environment and environmental problems. Moreover, when the dislikes of the youth in Sakarya were analyzed (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 9) along the same line, 42.7 % of the dislikes of the respondents were social incivilities which were related to the social context and only 24.4 % of them were related to physical incivilities and environmental problems (see Table 4.3 for the categorization of problems/incivilities and dislikes in Sakarya).

Table 4.3. The categorization of problems/incivilities and dislikes in Sakarya

Categorization of Problems/incivilities	# of Cases	%
Problems/incivilities related to physical environment	11	13.4
Problems/incivilities related to social environment	37	45.1
Both	15	18.3
None	19	23.2
Total	82	100.0
Categorization of dislikes	# of Cases	%
Dislikes related to physical environment	20	24.4
Dislikes related to social environment	35	42.7
Both	19	23.2
None	8	9.8
Total	82	100.0

When the problems/incivilities were tested along the age and gender of the young respondents, it was not observed any significant relationships between them (see Appendix E2). However, when the dislikes of young people were analyzed in relation to the gender of the respondents, a significant relationship was observed between the grouping of young people's responses according to different types of incivilities and their gender at the confidence level of 90 % ($\chi^2 = 7.330$, $df = 3$, $p = .062$) (see Appendix E3). Sexual and verbal harassment and abuses were mostly indicated as dislikes about Sakarya by female respondents. Besides, among the problems/incivilities that they did not want to encounter in Sakarya, out 41 female respondents 21 of them stated sexual and verbal harassment and abuses by referring to some unwanted male groups (*serseri, kıro, amele,* etc.). On the contrary to this, only two male respondents stated harassment and abuse in Sakarya as a problem. The difference between male and female respondents concerning the attribution of sexual and verbal harassment and abuses as major incivilities was also explicit in their responses for the behaviors, events and conditions that necessitated police intervention in Sakarya (see Appendix C, Part 2

Question 16). Accordingly, 20 female respondents indicated sexual and verbal

harassment and abuses among those events that necessitated the intervention of police or

zabıta where only one male had a similar opinion.

> Here in Sakarya Street you can encounter with sexual harassment by men very
> often. Military men [males under military service] are also among those
> disgusting men. I think the only way to cope with this problem is the permanent
> presence of police forces.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

> In Sakarya Street, you are continuously under the threat of verbal and sexual
> harassment. Sometimes, even only looks of some guys involve sexual abuse.
> This is very irritating.
>
> (24-year-old, female)

4.4.2.1.1. Different Types of Incivilities in Social and Physical Environments of Sakarya

When the problems/incivilities that young people did not want to encounter in Sakarya

and dislikes related to the social environment and physical environment of Sakarya were

examined in detail, it is possible to delve into the reasons of the young people's

disturbances and complaints about perceived and experienced incivilities and problems

in both social and physical contexts. In this respect, items and behaviors by referring to

social nuisances and deviances from the norms of living together (see Covington and

Taylor, 1991; Moser and Corroyer, 2001) were analyzed as problems/incivilities related

to the social context of Sakarya. According to the findings, these items and behaviors

that were declared as problematic for young people included

disturbing/terrifying/dangerous/inappropriate user profile (including alcoholics, drug

addicts, specific fan group of a local football team, i.e., *Ankaragücü* fans and some

unwanted groups of males which were labeled as *serseriler, kırolar, hanzo, amele,* etc.),

sexual and verbal harassment and abuses (especially against females), drunks, beggars, hawkers, insufficiency of security, fighting and arguing on the streets, inappropriate behaviors of *esnaf* including shop and bar owners and swearing.

> There are groups of *serseri* walking along the street. They are dangerous and assaulting. I do not want to bring my girlfriend here in Sakarya. There might harass her and then I might have to fight. I think Tunalı Hilmi [a high street in Ankara] is a better place to hang out.
>
> (17-year-old, male)

> Lots of street fighting and arguing happen here. Especially, the fans of *Ankaragücü* are causing lots of problems. Military men are also disturbing. They look at you gloweringly
>
> (17-year-old, female)

> The *esnaf* and some shop owners are very disturbing. They even force you to enter the shop. They are very insistent and rude. They do not respect your own will. Besides, there are those military men around. They are harassing you verbally. Being under their gaze make you feel terrified.
>
> (23-year-old, male)

In previous researches, the role of the street as a context for the identity construction and development (see Güneri et al., 1999) of many young people in relation to different members of the society is indicated as a positive contribution concerning young people (see Malone, 2001). In the study of Yetkin (2004), how some groups of individuals constitute their identity and identity of Sakarya Street are discussed. According to her, some users of Sakarya Street determine the people who belong to the street by constructing different categories of users. In her interviews, labeling '*kıro*' is also commonly declared to highlight people from the outskirts of the city and do not belong to Sakarya Street. On the other hand, encounters of difference on the street context through unknown, unconforming and dangerous others are mentioned as a predominant indicator of social incivility (see Malone, 2002; Valentine, 2001) which have negative influences on young people. In this study, '*serseri*', '*kıro*', '*hanzo*', '*amele*', by referring

to some male groups who were assumed to live at outskirts (*varoş*), illiterate, having low cultural background, not working and having low-income, were mainly indicated as closely related to the incivility of the social context of the street (see Boratav, 2005 for a detailed definition of '*serseri*'). Besides, some young respondents specifically highlighted the problematic outlook and incivil appearance of a group of young people who were globally called as *emo*[10]. The young respondents who had complaints about '*emos*' were observed to be identifying themselves with more traditional and local norms and values of the society; on the contrary to the marginal and globally accepted life styles and values of '*emos*'. In this respect, these '*emos*' and 'anti-*emos*' seems to be a good indicator of how competing and conflicting meanings and identities are shared over Sakarya in the form of a power struggle for the place (see Yetkin, 2003). One of the young respondents, who lives in Etlik, a low-middle income district in Ankara, showed his anti-*emo* attitude as follows:

> I think the major problem here in Sakarya is hawkers and *emos* - those guys who are hanging out street corners. They are disturbing and very crude. They are potential threats for the rest of the society.
>
> (18-year-old, male)

In addition to these groups, a male group which is specific to the context of Sakarya was particularly underlined, i.e., '*Ankaragücü* fans'. The fans of *Ankaragücü* - a favorable team of Ankara origin - were also defined along the same adjectives by some of the young respondents. Besides, those fans were also observed to be collected in groups like a gang in certain parts of Sakarya, cheering, applauding, swearing and terrifying individuals using the district. One of the respondents of the field survey was an 'ex-fan

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[10] *Emo* is an abbreviation for 'emotional hardcore'. It is a style of rock music that has originated from hardcore punk movement in US. Today, it signifies a lifestyle, a kind of fashion, subculture and attitude (see Wikipedia, 2009, June 09 for the details of *Emo*).

of *Ankaragücü*' who had been a member of the 'gang' for three years and then decided

to give up hanging out with those guys. He described those guys and hanging out with

them:

> '*Ankaragücü* fans' is a gang activity in fact. It is not directly related to the football team. Of course, somehow they are the fans of the team. They go to the matches of the team. They cheer up for the team, but in fact they are trying to prove themselves to the rest of the society since they are excluded from the society. They live in *varoş* such as Çinçin, Batıkent, Sincan, Demetevler[11], etc. Most of them have left the school after primary education. They are at their 20s. They use drugs. They are angry at the system and the society. They are oppressed. They do not have money and know that they will never have. Therefore, they do not want people with the money to be happy either. And they want to damage everything. Besides, they think that they are going to take the attention of someone by this way. Otherwise, they know that they are invisible in the society. I was hanging out with them when I was 15. I was also angry with everything during that period of my life. With those guys, I felt myself as if I had power and authority. Everyone was scared of me. But suddenly, one day I realized that except those guys I had no other friends left. I was continuously drunk and those guys were forcing me to use drugs. So, I quitted hanging out with them.
>
> (18-year-old, male)

During the interviews that were carried out with one of the bar/restaurant managers, it

was also observed that *esnaf* had lots of complaints about this group of individuals and

criticized their presence in the district. According to the bar manager:

> One of the major problems of Sakarya is those fans of *Ankaragücü*. They belong to the age range of 15 to 24. They are coming from squatter housing areas. They neither go to school nor work. They are spending their time as a gang here in Sakarya. They hang out together as a group. They cheer up and shout. Then, suddenly they start fighting, either among themselves or with some rival gangs. I do not know who their rivals are. The fans of other football teams? I do not think so. Because, '*Ankaragücü*' is only a mask they are wearing to conceal their disadvantaged position in the society. They take their power from the team. Anyway, those guys are a big threat for the region. You cannot warn them since you cannot guess their answers. They can even show you a knife.

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[11] The low-income and segregated districts of the city (see Erkip, working paper).

In addition to these groups of individuals who were declared as one of the major incivil conducts on the social context of Sakarya, other unconforming and dangerous groups such as beggars, drug addicts (who are called as *tinerci*, *balici şarapçı*), drunks and hawkers were also emphasized as the problems/incivilities in the region. Even though incivilities such as hawking, begging, drug use, and street drinking are grouped and analyzed under the physical incivilities in many sources (see Dixon, et al., 2006; Philips and Smith, 2003) since they have some negative environmental consequences such as environmental and visual pollution, noise and crowding, the respondents associated these with the social environment by underling negative social consequences of them for the members of the society. Some respondents did not differentiate hawkers and beggars.

> There are little children around who force you to buy pencils, handkerchief, etc. It is a kind of begging. They stick to your cuffs and make you feel pity for them. In addition, there are shoe-shine boys. They are coming from *varoş*. They are dangerous.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

In Sakarya, a lot of hawkers and beggars were observed. Some of the hawkers can be considered as beggars as the young respondents indicated. By trying to make people feel pity for them they insist on selling the object. Besides, different from hawkers, they do not need any organization like packaging or a standard pricing for the goods they sell. They usually sell handkerchiefs, roses or some cheap pens and pencils. According to the Municipality Law and Law of Offences, begging is not announced under the task definition and responsibility of the *zabıta* concerning the application of official fines[12] (see Appendix G for the relevant parts of Law of Offences -*'Kabahatler Kanunu'*). In

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[12] With the 03.07.2005 dated, 5393/51 numbered decision of Municipality Law and with the 01.04.2005 dated, 5326/33 numbered decision of the Law of Offences

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other words, begging is accepted as a criminal act that necessitates legal punishment by the official intervention of police forces. The Director of Municipal Police (*Zabıta Müdürü*) and the Director of Civilian Municipal Police Team (*Sivil Zabıta Ekipler Amiri*) underlined this limitation. *Zabıta Müdürü* claimed that:

> Beggars are one of the major problems/incivilities in Sakarya that should be overcome through the effective use of state power. Hence, one of the big handicaps against peace of Sakarya would be handled. However, we are bounded up with the laws. We have the chance to intervene immediately but we should wait for the police forces to fine them. After police has come here, there are lots of bureaucratic procedures that make us waste a lot of time. And beggars who realize this gap in the law do not take us seriously. However, if the chance is given to us to intervene in legal terms, we can collect all of these beggars and even help them to rehabilitate through the means of municipality.

When the hawkers in Sakarya were observed, it was seen that they try to sell a variety of goods including clothing, stationery, toys, books and movie DVDs without official banderole and foreign currency (see Appendix B, Figure 9). According to Law of Offences, hawkers and *esnaf*, who insist on selling goods or services, are declared under the task definition and responsibility of the *zabıta*[13] (see Appendix G for the law). However, there are some limitations in terms of condemnation and capturing the goods. According to the results of the field survey, some of the young people had serious complaints about hawkers and hawkers-like-*esnaf* who insisted to sell the goods and tried to cheat the customers. For the young respondents, that kind of *esnaf* was very rude and disrespectful.

> Hawkers and *esnaf* are very tending to cheat you. If they understand that you are a stranger on the street like us [military men] they immediately try to cheat on you. They put fancy prices. It is very rude of them.
>
> (21-year-old, male)

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[13] With the 5326/37 numbered decision of the Law of Offences, which is entitled as 'disturbing' by referring to hawkers and *esnaf*, it is declared to apply official fines (69 TL)

While talking about incivility of the hawkers and *esnaf* in Sakarya, *Zabıta Müdürü* also underlined the danger of streets for young people due to dangerous groups of 'others' and unruly gangs as it is indicated by Punch (2000) and Matthews et al. (2000).

> Newcomer *esnaf* and hawkers are, maybe, the biggest problem of the municipal police. They are big threats for the user group of the street in two respects. Firstly, they are disturbing and insisting which make the users uneasy. Secondly, this is one of the faces of these guys that users see. Under their counters, they conceal drugs. Some of them are in fact drug dealers who are camouflaged as hawkers. They are coordinated with each other. If you want to buy drugs you go to one of them that sends you another one and at the end you reach the guy who sells the drugs, *torbacı*. Especially young people are their victims. We have learnt and differentiated among hawkers through years and with experiences. Again, we are restricted in terms of legal fines that necessitate lots of bureaucracy. Yet, we can intervene immediately and make them frightened.

In addition, *Sivil Zabıta Ekipler Amiri* pointed out that:

> I have a team of 150 civilian officers. We are dealing with these hawkers who deal drugs, sell porno CDs, etc. Besides, we control the quality of products they are selling. However, the major problem is to make the citizens understand our task. When we are intervening to a hawker who are selling drugs or porno CDs, citizen gets angry with us by arguing that we are preventing 'those miserable guys' who try to earn their life and blame us to prevent the citizens getting cheap services. We cannot make them realize that those guys are intoxicating their children and they are potential or real criminals. Almost all of our officials have got wounded at least once while dealing with those people. Our only intention is to clean up the streets from these groups of individuals.

Another unconforming and dangerous group that was mentioned and observed in Sakarya was drug addicts, intoxicated individuals and street drunks. Dixon et al. (2006), by emphasizing on the activity of street drinking, state the complaints of citizens regarding how their movements on the street are restricted by the presence of street drinkers who deter some vulnerable groups such as women and elderly from using public services. In this study, the presence of such individuals on the street was also asserted in a similar manner.

There are dangerous people around such as *tinerci*, *şarapçı*. They are potential troubles. You cannot guess what those people can do. They can give you harm.

(21-year-old, male)

Those drugged individuals, *baliciler* and *şarapçılar* are terrifying. They are dirty in look and totally faint. I directly change my way when I see one of those guys but unfortunately you might come across one of those individuals very often here in Sakarya.

(15-year-old, female)

During the observations, it was noticed that although the number of those drug addicts, *tinerci, balici* and *şarapçı* were not very considerable during the day time, when it gets dark their number increased immensely. They use the corners of the streets and dark areas, especially Tuna Street and Selanik Street and exit of subway. They light a fire to get warmed and use inside of some buildings to spend the night. Two of the young respondents stated their experiences with those people during the night as follows:

When you look around or walk through the street you will encounter lots of drug addicts, *tinerci, balici* and *şarapçı*. Since they are not aware of their behaviors they can do everything. They can attack you. Especially, during nights they suddenly come out of their holes. You cannot dare to walk alone.

(17-year-old, female)

Once I had to spend a night here in Sakarya. The area becomes totally a different place at nights. Those homeless individuals, *tinerci* and *balici* individuals start to appear. That night I understood that Sakarya is their home and I felt myself as if I entered someone else's house without permission. I was looking for a closed place to spend the night and I tried some buildings entrances. But wherever I entered, I saw that it was occupied one of those people. I was scared a lot but I did not make them understand this. Inevitably, I spent that night in one of the buildings entrances in Tuna Street with one of those guys. Fortunately, he was faint and did not even notice me. It was a terrifying experience. After that I prefer to avoid staying till late hours in Sakarya.

(21-year-old, male)

Moreover, those drug addicts, homeless individuals, beggars and hawkers seemed to be also concern of *esnaf*. One of the *esnaf* stated that:

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> Drug addicts and beggars are big problems of the owners of shops, bars and restaurants as well as the users of Sakarya Street. They enter the restaurant to beg for money or force individuals to buy roses, handkerchief, etc. Sometimes you feel pity but you also know that they are freaked-out and drugged most of the time. I cannot dare to warn them. It is the responsibility of the municipality to get rid of these beggars and drugged individuals.

Malone and Hasluck (1998) by referring to the project of Growing up in Cities (1997) point out that young people perceive the street and associated spaces as the most dangerous places because of adults and adult activities such as drug use and violence. In May 2004 four people died and two were wounded in a fight in front of a bar in Sakarya. Among four people, three of them were indicated to be '*şarapçı*' and '*balici*' (*Akşam*, 2004, May 08). After the event, with the cooperation of Police Headquarters in Ankara, the Major and the Municipality of Çankaya have decided to increase security precautions in Sakarya with an increase in the number of police officers and collected drugged and intoxicated individuals. Moreover, pool on the street was demolished in order to prevent the grouping of alcohol consumers around it (face-to-face interviews with *Zabıta Müdürü*). This is an indicator of how physical context of Sakarya was influenced and reshaped by perceived and experienced social and crime-related incivilities. The municipality officer, *Sivil Zabıta Ekipler Amiri* asserted that:

> Even if intervention to beggars or some criminals is not declared under the definition of our task, we work really hard to tackle with those guys. With 150 civilian municipal police officers we ceased hit-and-run-attacks here in Sakarya and Yüksel [another pedestrian area in Kızılay]. We do not have the authority to arrest or interrogate those guys like state police. However, we have the experience and personal relations which the police forces lack. We can differentiate a real thief from a man who steals due to hopelessness. There was a gang of hit-and-run-attacks here in Kızılay. We found the leader of the gang. He told us that he was looking for a job and promised us to quit the gang if he finds a permanent job. We gave him a counter to stand as a hawker on Sakarya Street. Now, you cannot see any hit-and-run-attacks since the gang he belongs to scattered.

During the field visits, the patrolling of *zabıta* and civilian police officers was witnessed (see Appendix B, Figure 10). Even after a demonstration which was held in Kızılay was ended, a group of young people, between the ages of 15 and 18, who were shouting slogans just for fun, were conducted by civilian officers without even being questioned and making themselves understood. Although 40.2 % of the respondents pointed out that the conditions of and precautions for safety in Sakarya were sufficient, 57.3 % of the respondents stated that they were not sufficient and Sakarya was dangerous for them due to some social incivilities and crime-related incivilities (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 15). The main reason behind this evaluation was observed as the statements of some young people about security forces such as policemen or *zabıta* who were not visible on the streets. In other words, they justified their perception of insecurity on the street with lack of security forces which were out-of-sight. In addition, some other group of young people indicated some behaviors, events and some unconforming individuals such as people fighting on the street, hit-and-run-attacks, verbal and sexual harassment, hawkers, beggars, drunks and some suspicious people (including *kıro, serseri,* etc.) as the justification of their assertion about insufficiency of security in Sakarya. There were not observed significant relationships between evaluation of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya and age and gender (see Appendix E4).

> We encounter with lots of *serseri* and *kıro* here. They are abusing us. There are lots of verbal and sexual harassment around. Begging children are increasing in number everyday. It is very obvious. But where are the security men? Can you see any police officer around? I cannot.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

Sakarya Street is one of the most dangerous streets in Ankara. Due to my job [working on a mobile Turkcell stand], I am standing several hours on different streets in Ankara. According to my observations, Sakarya Street is lack of security. When an event happens here, you call the police and the police come after several hours. I observed lots of security guards and policeman beguiling girls here in Sakarya. You tell me, how we can trust those guys for our security.

(24-year-old, male)

I do not think that police forces are needed to provide the security on the street. I think it is related to individual behaviors. If every individual behave respectively, then security has been provided without the intervention of police forces. However, individuals are very rude and behave disrespectfully. Therefore, we cannot say that Sakarya is a safe place.

(17-year-old, female)

Moreover, except 6 respondents who stated that police forces were not needed due to several reasons, the rest of the respondents, by highlighting the insufficiency of security in Sakarya, pointed out some events, conditions and individual groups that needed the intervention of police and *zabıta* (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 16). Most commonly stated incivil conducts were fighting on street, some big events like riots, demonstrations and meetings (27.4 %), burglary and hit-and-run attacks (22.6 %), presence of some unconforming, suspicious and dangerous individual groups (including, beggars, drunks, hawkers, intoxicated individuals, *serseri, kıro* and *Ankaragücü* fans) (14.5 %) (see Table 4.4 for the incivil conducts that necessitated the intervention of police forces in Sakarya). As it was expected, the problems/incivilities that necessitated the intervention of police forces or *zabıta* were mostly related to the social environment of Sakarya.

Table 4.4. The incivil conducts that necessitate the intervention of police forces in

Sakarya

The incivil conducts	# of Cases	%
For everything and always	5	4.0
Burglary/hit-and-run attacks	28	22.6
Fighting/arguing on the street/demonstration/riots	34	27.4
Physical damage	7	5.6
Environmental problems (e.g. noise, pollution, smoking)	5	4.0
Hawkers	5	4.0
Sexual/verbal harassment and abuses	16	12.9
Unconforming groups of individuals	18	14.5
No police	6	4.8
Total	124*	100.0

* Total of multiple counting for the incivil conducts that necessitate the intervention of police forces in
 Sakarya

> Police intervention is strictly necessary because of fans of *Ankaragücü*. I think
> that some security forces should be kept ready here in Sakarya before every
> football matches.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

> I do not need any police force to tackle with problems. I can deal with them by
> myself.
>
> (17-year-old, male)

> The hawkers should be strictly controlled by *zabıta*. They are very disturbing.
> Besides, police forces should increase their control over bars, especially after 10
> p.m.
>
> (22-year-old, male)

Besides, some exceptions were brought out concerning the presence of police forces

such as demonstrations and illegal entrance to bars. Police presence was observed to be a

big threat for young people who are under the age of 18 and legally prohibited to enter

the bars and consume alcohol. During the observations, a group of young people under

the age of 18, who were noticed to be drunk, seemed to be strictly opposing to the idea

of police control in Sakarya. According to them, Sakarya and activities they engaged in

the district were related to their freedom. As Valentine (1998) and Lieberg (1994) asserted, it is the only place that they can express their feelings without the control of adults and parents. Therefore, the presence or intervention of police in Sakarya is a threat to their freedom and expression of themselves. On the other hand, they argued that police intervention and control was necessary to protect them from the dangers of the street and unconforming groups of individuals. In sum, in this statement of young people, it is possible to grasp two negative discourses regarding street use of young people: street as a space of expression (see Malone, 2002; Lieberg, 1994) and street as a dangerous and unsafe place (see Breitbart, 1998; Matthews et al., 2000), which were also noticed by young people themselves.

> We do not want see to police around here. Otherwise, we cannot enter the bars and get drunk. This is the only place where we can enjoy in the way we want without the control of our parents. If police forces come here, then all our freedom will be lost. However, police is necessary to protect us from those *serseri* guys who seem to be very enthusiastic to take us away. As you see, the situation is very complicated.
>
> (15-year-old, female)

> Presence of police forces and their intervention are necessary for all the time, especially for sexual harassment. One exception is demonstrations and meetings. We do not want to see police intervention while we are defending our rights.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

The illegal permission of bar owners to the entrance of young people who are under-age was criticized by some other and indicated as the problems/incivilities and dislikes related to Sakarya.

> I hate bar owners who let young people under the age of 18 to their bars. Those people cannot know how to drink and cannot control how much drink they should take and may cause lots of trouble around. They are shouting, arguing and fighting on the street and make you feel uneasy.
>
> (18-year-old, male)

In addition to this, another criticism regarding the bars was directly related to alcohol consumption which results in more serious forms of problems/incivilities.

> I do not use alcohol. Therefore, I do no like bars and find those places very dangerous and disturbing. The ones who use alcohol and go to these places are dirty people. They are main troublemakers on the street. They are fighting, arguing and abusing other individuals. They can even attack you when they got drunk.
>
> (17-year-old, male)

During the interviews with *Zabıta Müdürü*, it was observed that bar owners who let young people who are under the age of 18 to bars and let them drink alcohol were one of the serious problems of the municipality. Dixon et al. (2006) emphasize the importance of 'locatedness' of drinking activity which may lead it to be perceived as incivil due to its realization on the street. They add that drinking as an activity may have a negative impact on the character of the street or of the city where it is inappropriate to be engaged in. In the light of this argument, an overlapping assertion can be developed through what *Zabıta Müdürü* underlined. According to him:

> It is not appropriate to serve cheap alcohol in a place where lots of students and young people are attending to *dershane*. Or as responsible parents you cannot send your children to get education to such a place where cheap alcohol is served. After their course hours, those children are going to bars. They drink two beers and get drunk. New bar owners are not as concerned as old *esnaf* who would never let a child enter to their bars and serve him alcohol. However, the main goal of these new bar owners is just to earn money without considering young people. For instance, they give free beer to some high school girls and after that by using those young girls who got drunk they try to attract some older men as customers. This is something like child trade. We can intervene such kind of events in a limited manner since it s under the responsibility of state security forces. I think the whole problem is about the location of activities. To deal with this problem, you should either carry the bars to somewhere else or those *dershane* to somewhere else, both of which seem to be impossible.

When the complaints, problems/incivilities and dislikes of young people related to physical context of Sakarya were investigated, it was noted that they were not very

concerned with the physical environment and incivilities resulting in some negative environmental consequences compared to their concern on the social environment and social problems. This confirms the first hypothesis. As it was indicated in the preliminary research (see Appendix A) and in some earlier researches (see Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999; Muğan and Erkip, 2009; Pain, 2001), the number of respondents who underscored some problems/incivilities and dislikes concerning the environmental consequences was very low as well. Out of 82 respondents, only 26 mentioned some physical incivilities and environmental problems that they did not want to encounter in Sakarya and 39 individuals touched upon similar issues as their dislikes. Nevertheless, the number of respondents who directly referred to physical environment was even below (only 31 individuals in sum) (see Table 4.3).

Previous researches indicate that young people are more environmentally concerned than older people (Gifford, 2002; Klineberg et al., 1998) who perceive environment more positively without paying much attention to environmental stressors and annoyances (see Carp and Carp, 1982; Robin et al., 2007). Perceived and experienced environmental problems and stressors in the field survey were declared as environmental pollution (including litter or trash on the sidewalk, littering the street, spitting), bad smells, failures of environmental planning, disorder and decline (including, environmental deterioration, run-down buildings and living environments, difficulty in moving around on the pavements, inappropriate layout of shops and bars, etc.), noise and crowding.

As several scholars indicated (see Banerjee, 2001; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Robin et al., 2007; Skogan, 1990; Valentine, 2001), litter and trash on side walks, bad smells, crowding, noise and ill-kept buildings are important indicators of the disorder of the streets. These indicators were also commonly perceived and experienced by the young people.

> The noise coming from bars is disturbing. You cannot sit on a bench and feel in peace. I think there should be some bans to control the volume of that sound.
>
> (15-year-old, female)

> Run-down look of some buildings, especially SSK *İşhanı* is scary. It seems that it would collapse soon. Besides, litters on the sidewalks and in front of the bars are very messy and unpleasant.
>
> (20-year-old, male)

> The drainage smell which spreads from the very near of SSK *İşhanı* is intolerable. When you walk through the streets, you feel that the smell of drain that surrounds you from everywhere. Worse than that is the mixture of the drain smell with raw fish. It is really disgusting.
>
> (17-year-old, male)

> The composition of sidewalks and pavements are really decayed. They should be reconstructed. Someone can fall down and get injured. It is dangerous. Besides, there are those pigeons which contaminate the environment but I am not sure what should be done to deal with them.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

Some of the young respondents underlined cleaning problems of Sakarya with a reference to the litter and trash on sidewalks and inadequacy of the municipality in collecting them. Moreover, when young respondents were asked to evaluate the services of the municipality, out of 52 respondents, who stated that municipality services were insufficient in Sakarya, 32 of them indicated some physical incivilities and environmental problems (such as run-down living environment, ill-kept pavements and sidewalks and some failures of environmental planning and disorderly lay-out of the

street) by mostly highlighting the environmental pollution and cleaning problem that were not paid enough attention by the municipality (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 26).

> I guess there is a cleaning problem in Sakarya. As far as I observed, they do not collect the trashes very often. The litters and trashes of bars, restaurants and cafés are polluting the environment.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

The interviews with municipality officers and observation that were done in the site indicate that cleaning of the street is fulfilled with 55 personnel between 5 a.m. and 9 p.m. (see Appendix B, Figure 11.1 and Figure 11.2). In addition, it was observed that the garbage trucks strolling around to collect the garbage which should be taken out within large litter bags (see Appendix B, Figure 11.3 and Figure 11.4) which were pointed out as an indicator of environmental pollution by some of the young respondents. Regarding physical incivilities and environmental problems *Zabıta Müdürü* argued that:

> We are concerned with environmental cleaning in Sakarya. Our garbage truck is continuously present there. The litter and trash of bars should be taken out at the latest 9 p.m. Garbage truck collects those large litter bags. However, the bar owners should also be concerned. They take out the garbage by draining off the dirty water on the sidewalks. If *esnaf* is not concerned, what can our cleaning team do? All these issues necessitate cooperation. *Esnaf*, users and municipality should work together. I see lots of things in Sakarya. There are users who destruct the street furniture. Vandalism is very common in Sakarya. There are individuals who broke the utility poles to use illegal electricity.

Moreover, one of the cleaning personnel asserted that:

> There are individuals who vandalize the benches and statues. We cannot warn these guys because there are no any legal sanctions. We work here in two teams. We collect the litter on the sidewalks, empty the trash-cans and change the litter bags. We clean up everywhere but then individuals are especially littering the cleanest areas. They throw out their litters and cigarette buts instead of using the trash cans. They are spitting. We mostly collect litters of food and cigarette buts.

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Furthermore, during the observations that were done in June, it was seen that some pavements and sidewalks in Sakarya have been repaired and renovated by the municipality (see Appendix B, Figure 11.5). However, the construction site seemed to be leading to more serious physical incivilities and environmental problems concerning the cloud of dust in the air and noise of construction machines.

The concerns of some young people and some additional physical incivilities related to the environmental problems were also witnessed and observed as actual physical incivilities in Sakarya. The trash, litter and cigarette buts on the sidewalks, the smell of drainage and raw fish, the lack of green spaces, badly lit areas, run-down living environments and buildings (especially outlook of SSK *İşhanı*), the hindering location of flower shops and kiosks that are located on walking paths, distorted sidewalks and pavements, disordered and lack of street furniture, loud music, electric shortages and graffiti on statutes can easily be noticed while walking through Sakarya (see Appendix B for Figures between 12.1 and 12.10 inclusive). Moreover, during the interviews with the *esnaf*, it was observed that they had similar concerns regarding the physical environment of Sakarya. As one of them declared:

> There is an infrastructure problem for Sakarya. It is impossible for someone does not notice the smell of drainage. *Esnaf*, especially, the owners of flower shops, fish shops and greengrocery let their dirty water to the sidewalks and since the infrastructure is not working well the dirty water is accumulated and makes it difficult to walk on the streets.

Furthermore, the other *esnaf* added that:

> I think that the lighting of Sakarya is insufficient. Especially, when it gets dark cross streets seems very deserted due to the insufficiency of lighting. Besides, there are lots of water and electric shortages. Infrastructure is another major problem that makes the streets very messy and dirty since the unclean waters and

litter are accumulated on the sidewalks. The sidewalks should be cleaned up with suds. Moreover, green areas are lacking in Sakarya. Greenery makes a space attractive. These are visible signs of environmental problems in Sakarya which can be tackled with easily. In addition to these, there are individuals who throw out their litter, cigarette buts on sidewalks and who spit around. I am not sure about the solution for these rude and impolite behaviors. Maybe it is better to apply strict fines.

In addition to the complaints of some young people and *esnaf* regarding physical incivilities and environmental problems in Sakarya, some municipality officers brought out similar criticisms. An officer in the Directorate of Press, Publication and Personal Relations of the Municipality of Çankaya argued that:

As a municipality officer, I have lots of complaints about Sakarya. As it is on my way, I walk through the district everyday and I do not find it as fitting to Kızılay. One of the major problems is the smell of drainage. However, it is important to note that it is not under the responsibility of Çankaya Municipality but rather, the responsibility of Ankara Municipality. Yet, due to some political tensions, they ignore this fact. The cleaning problem of Sakarya is also obvious. Even if the municipality is working hard to tackle with this problem, it is difficult to manage it perfectly in a place where there are lots of restaurants, fast food stores and bars. Besides, I do not think that SSK *İşhanı* befits with Sakarya. Its ill-kept look causes visual pollution in the area. Yet, some of the municipality departments are located within that building. I wish there were some individuals working to enhance the outlook of this building and the general appearance and layout of Sakarya.

The disorderly, rude, impolite behaviors and manners that had negative environmental consequences such as pollution were also announced by the respondents.

There are those men around who are spitting on the street and blowing their nose. I do not understand how individuals can be so insensitive to the environment. We are walking through that dirt and then go to our houses. It is a miracle that we do not get sick more often.

(19-year-old, female)

The nature of the relationship with the physical environment and environmental matters is argued to be influential on the way that individuals perceive and experience

problems/incivilities as well as environmental objective condition (Moser and Robin,

2006). The statements of some young people marked that some of the environmental

problems and physical incivilities that they pointed out such as crowding, noise,

inappropriate layout, failures of environmental planning etc. were directly related to the

way that they engaged with the street.

> The demonstrations and meetings cause crowding and noise.. They are trying to
> protect their rights but on the other hand they infringe upon the rights of other
> individuals.
>
> (15-year-old, male)

> I think the organization and layout of cafés, bars and shops are very randomly. It
> does not seem to me that they are clustered according to a certain arrangement. It
> sometimes makes it difficult to find the places you are looking for.
>
> (16-year-old, female)

> The layout of the street is very crowding and disorganized. It is very
> complicated. One day, I spent one hour to find a xeroxing center. Their visibility
> and organization should be restructured.
>
> (18-year-old, female)

Moreover, some environmental problems and physical incivilities were associated with

the 'locatedness' of those activities (e.g., noise due to demonstrations/meetings, loud

music coming out of bars, litter and trash of bars, etc.). Some of the young people

highlighted how the noise of demonstrations/meetings and loud music of bars

undermined the "very publicness" of the street as a "site not only *of* but also *for* the

expression of civil liberties" (Dixon et al., 2006, p. 200). For instance, the noise was

indicated to be problematic for Sakarya because of *dershanes* for many students that

necessitate silence. Students attending *dershane* pointed out this factor.

> The noise in Sakarya is not endurable. People in the bars and the music coming
> from the bars do not let you recreate yourself during the breaks of the classes.
> Besides, you cannot concentrate during the exams or while you are studying. I do
> not have to tolerate that noise.
>
> (16-year-old, male)

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4.4.2.1.2. The Reasons and Explanations of Incivilities in Sakarya

After the investigation of incivilities and environmental problems, young people were expected to discuss the reasons of those incivilities (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 19). It was observed that they were mostly related to the social and physical contexts of Sakarya (44.2 %). Within the context of Sakarya, the reasons which were explained with a reference to the social environment of the street were more common (30.3%) compared to the reference to the physical environment of Sakarya (13.9 %). Following the responses related to the context of Sakarya, other reasons of incivilities and environmental problems were declared in relation to the social deprivation and social and political restraints that led to inappropriate behaviors of certain groups (34.4 %). Besides, as Philips and Smith (2003; 2006) and Félonneau asserted, 16.4 % of the responses explained incivilities and environmental problems at the individual level by giving reference to impolite and rude manners, behaviors, gestures and bodily managements and display in daily encounters with strangers in public spaces (see Table 4.5 for the categorization of the reasons of incivilities and environmental problems).

Table 4.5. The categorization of the reasons of incivilities and environmental problems

     in Sakarya

Categorization of the reasons	# of Cases	%
Reasons at the individual level	20	16.4
Reasons related to physical context of the street	17	13.9
Reasons related to social context of the street	37	30.3
Reasons related to social deprivation and some social and political restraints	42	34.4
Not applicable	6	4.9
Total	122*	100.0

* Total of multiple counting for the reasons of incivilities and environmental problems in
  Sakarya

Context dependent embodiment of incivility in the urban realm should be considered to

analyze incivilities and environmental problems that are specific to that context

regarding the 'locatedness' of incivil situations. The context of the street is pointed out

to be an important field of inquiry due to its contradictory image in which acts of civility

and incivility exist together (see Fyfe, 1998; Jackson, 1998; Lee, 2006; Valentine 2001).

While defining the street as an open public space, some characteristics related to the

context of street are highlighted such as being boundary-free, easy-access, outdoor

physical structure and multiple values, difference and diversity (see Banerjee, 2001;

Dixon et al., 2006; Malone, 2001; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). It is also noted that the

extent to which individuals tolerate and celebrate these differences and diversities on the

street is associated with the argument of perceived and experienced incivility of streets.

Most of the young respondents have variety of complaints and dislikes related to the

context of Sakarya. Besides, the explanations that they brought out for the sources and

reasons of these problems/incivilities were mostly associated with the context as well. Within the context of Sakarya, social environment and its related features were highlighted as the major sources of incivilities and environmental problems. The highlighted features of the social environment of Sakarya that led to different problems/incivilities were diversity of individuals with diverse life-styles and variety of needs, diversity of activities and places, low-priced and poor-quality places and activities (especially, food and beer), bars located on the street and lack of security on the street.

> There are a diversity of activities and places in Sakarya that attracts the diverse groups. This heterogeneity and cosmopolitan atmosphere lead to problems on the street.
>
> (20-year-old, male)

> Low-priced and poor-quality entertainment places and facilities are attracting diversity of individuals to this street and too much diversity is leading problems/incivilities.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

> Lack of security and placement of *dershane* and bars within the same area are leading lots of troubles. Young people as they go out from the courses go to bars and get alcohol.
>
> (24-yearl-old, female)

During the interviews, it was observed that some of those reasons were explained as indirect reasons of incivilities and environmental problems. For instance, low-priced and poor-quality places and activities were interpreted as attracting diverse groups of individuals that led to crowding and environmental pollution. In addition, some dangerous and unconforming 'others' such as low-income, uneducated people and inhabitants of *varoş* were labeled as the sources of problems due to low-priced and poor-quality places and activities located in Sakarya. Besides, bars and some entertainment places, especially SSK *İşhanı,* were seen as the major sources of incivilities and

environmental problems by attracting unconforming 'others' (*serseri, kıro, hanzo*, etc.)

due to cheap sale of alcohol and by leading to excessive noise.

> SSK *İşhanı*, as being the most dangerous and ugly place in Sakarya, is attracting lots of *kıro* and *amele* individuals to those *türkü* bars. Those people are dangerous and create a visual pollution. Besides, the noise coming out of those *türkü* bars are unbearable.
>
> > (16-year-old, male)

> Low-priced places which are located in Sakarya are invaded by individuals coming from *varoş*. Those people and their behaviors are annoying and disturbing for the rest of the user group.
>
> > (24-year-old, female)

Moreover, some problems/incivilities were explained in relation to the physical

characteristics of Sakarya. The location of Sakarya, which is at the center of the city and

at hubs of mass transports and the characteristic of the region as a pedestrian area for

transit paths (see Levent, 1999 for the argument of the importance of pedestrian

activities in evaluation of individual encounters on streets) were pointed out as a

problem (see also Yetkin, 2004 for a similar discussion). In other words, some young

people mentioned the location and pedestrianized feature of Sakarya as indirect reasons

of incivility in the social context by leading the easy access of various groups of

individuals (including some unconforming people) who became the sources of different

kinds of incivilities and environmental problems.

> Sakarya is at the center of Ankara and easily accessible through mass transportation. This makes the street vulnerable to many threats due to the presence of strangers and suspicious individuals.
>
> > (18-year-old, male)

> For pedestrians, it is very probable to pass through Sakarya. Every individual can use it to shorten distance while trying to reach several intersecting roads. However, easy access of everybody is dangerous. You cannot control who enters. That person might be a psycho and give harm to other users of the area.
>
> > (15-year-old, female)

The interviews that were conducted with *esnaf* and municipality officers revealed that they also brought out similar explanations for the reasons and sources of problems/incivilities. One of the bar/restaurant managers underscored that:

> Sakarya is a very diverse place concerning the activities and groups of individuals coming here. You can see an individual from *varoş* and a rich person at the same restaurant drinking together. Their reason of coming here is different. Some of them come here since the prices are suitable and some others come due to the multicolored environment of the district. Of course, in such a cosmopolitan environment it is very probable to encounter with problems.

Zabıta Müdürü underlined the significance of the location of Sakarya that made the region readily sensitive for incivilities and problems. According to him:

> The location of Sakarya is collecting diversity of individuals to the space. Individuals from different districts of Ankara visit Sakarya for very different purposes. Since Sakarya is located at the hubs of mast transportation, the chance on passing through it is very high. Besides, Sakarya is famous with low-priced facilities. Lots of *serseri* from Sincan and Çinçin come here to drink cheap beer and they are leading to problems in the area.

Moreover, the findings of the field survey pointed out that some of the young respondents perceived overcrowding, run-down and ill-kept living environments, urban planning failures and environmental design ineptitudes as the sources of individual inattentiveness and disrespectful, anti-social, impolite and disorderly behaviors and lack of environmental concern.

> The outlook of Sakarya is very shabby. There is a lack of environmental planning and design. I think such an outlook and ill-kept appearance of the region cause individuals not take care with the physical environment. They think that, it has been already polluted and decayed, so if I throw my cigarette buts on the sidewalk, no one cares and it does not matter for the context of the street as well.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

In addition to these context dependent explanations for incivilities and environmental problems in Sakarya, a majority of respondents brought out some explanations related to the social deprivation and some social inequalities that led to inappropriate behaviors of individuals. In other words, 'otherness' of certain groups were highlighted in reference to disadvantageous position of those groups of individuals in the society. Accordingly, by confirming the results of previous researches that studied the values of Turkish youth (see Armağan, 2004; Boratav, 2005; Erder, 2002; Kazgan, 2002), lack of education, illiteracy, economic deprivation and unemployment were underlined as the main sources of inappropriate and disrespectful behaviors and lack of environmental concern. Besides, social and political restraints and lack of sanctions were implied as the reasons and sources of incivilities and environmental problems.

> Lack of education and increased rates of illiteracy result in lack of concern and lack of attention for other individuals and for nature. The less educated individuals are, the ruder they become.
>
> (20-year-old, male)

> I do not think that legal sanctions regarding environmental concern is sufficient. Moreover, I do not see municipality officers or policemen patrolling around to control and detect the problematic behaviors.
>
> (16-year-old, female)

> Individuals are uneducated. They do not read any books. They also do not have any chance to get education from their families, since they are illiterate as well. The programs on TV are making those individuals sleep, like football. As a result, we cannot even walk through the street safely.
>
> (17-year-old, male)

Previously, it was revealed that inequality and discrimination in the society were the indirect reasons of incivility in the urban realm (see Appendix A). Similar explanations were obtained in this field survey as well. Some of the respondents underscored that excluded and marginalized positions of certain individuals led to behaviors of

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disenchantment and antagonism as it is noted in the literature (see Boyd, 2006; Pain, 2001; Watson, 2006). According to the responses, geographically or economically excluded and marginalized individuals, who were disrespected and ignored in the society in terms of benefiting public services and rights of living due to their disadvantageous positions were expected to disrespect and ignore the appropriate norms of the society as well.

> There are those individuals who live in squatter housing areas. They are coming from low-income families. They are always badly treated and ignored by the rest of the society. Their disadvantageous position in the society makes them angry. Therefore, they reflect their anger to their behaviors. They are rude and impolite. They try to prove themselves to the rest of the society and take their revenge.
>
> (16-year-old, male)

However, even though some of the young respondents indicated exclusion and marginalization of certain groups of individuals as the sources of incivilities and environmental problems, they themselves try to sanitize the street to tackle with incivility by excluding certain groups of individuals. When they were asked whether there were any individual groups whom they did not want to see in Sakarya, almost all of them (87.8 %) responded positively by marginalizing certain individuals according to their unconforming outlook and behaviors (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 11). Moreover, among the incivil conducts that necessitated the intervention of police forces in Sakarya 'presence of certain groups of individuals' was the third most commonly stated item (see Table 4.4). Unconforming individuals (*serseri*, *kıro*, *şarapçı*, *tinerci*, drunks, beggars, hawkers, etc.) were announced as unwanted groups of individuals on the street and as groups that necessitated police and security regulations and interventions. However, individuals who have low-income and education level and who

live in *varoş* were also declared as unwanted group of individuals on the street due to their disturbing behaviors and unconforming outlook. In other words, they marginalize and try to discriminate certain groups of individuals by highlighting their 'otherness' and by suggesting zero-tolerance policing such as security guards and police officers which are assumed to come up with more 'promoted forms of incivilities' (see Bannister et al., 2006; Boyd, 2006; Cohen, 1985; Collins and Kearns, 2001).

> I think that low-income group of individuals do not know how to behave in public spaces. Therefore, it is better not to allow the access of these kinds of individuals to everywhere.
>
> (23-year-old, male)

> It would be better if military men and fans of *Ankaragücü* were not accepted to enter and use Sakarya. They are abusing us and harassing the girls. Besides, they are leading lots of noise and environmental pollution by spitting and smoking.
>
> (18-year-old, male)

> I think permanent police control on the street is necessary to struggle with some dangerous groups of people such as *serseri, kıro*, beggars, etc. Besides, policemen should intervene any individual who seems suspicious. If policemen suspected from someone due to the way he dressed up, they should immediately take him away. I trust in the experiences of the police officers.
>
> (16-year-old, female)

In addition to the reasons of incivilities that were explained in relation to the context of Sakarya and in reference to the social deprivation and political restraints, a limited number of respondents mentioned, being too self-centered, seeing oneself as superior, devaluation of other individuals and physical environment, being deceitful, trying to prove oneself and being careless and ill-mannered as the reasons and sources of incivilities at the individual level.

> The *esnaf* working in Sakarya is too selfish. They are very rude and try to cheat you. They pollute the environment. Besides, young people try to prove themselves so they can engage any kind of disrespectful behavior.
>
> (16-year-old, male)

> I believe that all forms of inappropriate behaviors including lack of
> environmental concern are related to some manner and politeness problems.
>
> > (17-year-old, female)

Sexual and verbal harassment is a notable incivility that is most commonly perceived and experienced in the urban realm as well as on the street context. It was mostly explained with the 'sexual hunger' of individuals (see Appendix A). In this field survey, some of the respondents (especially, female respondents) associated sexual and verbal harassment with sexual hunger of males as well. Besides, some of them explained the reasons of harassment with some other manner problems of males, with the presence of beautiful girls in Sakarya that excites the males and some economic disadvantages of those groups of males.

> Some male groups, who do not have enough money and who are mostly
> unemployed and uneducated, abuse and harass the girls. It is a way of making
> their voices heard and taking the attention.
>
> > (16-year-old, male)

> There are lots of beautiful and attractive girls around. Males are aware of the fact
> that girls who care themselves are coming to the street. Therefore, those *abaza*
> males [males having sexual hunger] are coming to abuse and verbally harass
> those girls.
>
> > (17-year-old, female)

In sum, the analysis of the perceived and experienced problems/incivilities and dislikes of young people regarding Sakarya revealed that young people mostly described incivility with a reference to the social context as it was declared in the first hypothesis. Moreover, their explanations about the sources and reasons of the problems/incivilities and dislikes were also at the societal level and in relation to the social environment of Sakarya. The physical environment, problems/incivilities concerning the physical environment and explanations that were brought out in reference to physical

environment did not seem to be prevalent in the statements of the most of the young people.

4.4.2.2. The Analysis of the Impact of Patterns of Street Use and Time on Perception and Experience of Incivility in Sakarya

Loader et al. (1998) state that people's sense of place and their relationship to a particular place including the spent time, the arrival and departure, etc. are influential on the identification that individuals make with fear of crime. Moreover, the nature of the relationship that individuals engage with street and environmental matters is influential on the meanings attributed to them (Jackson, 1998; Macnaghten, 2003). Within this framework, it is also argued that individuals' relationship with street and their patterns of street use are significant to explain the perceived and experienced everyday incivility within the street context (Dixon et al., 2006; Moser and Robin 2006). One of the objectives of this study was mentioned as figuring out the influence of patterns of the street use on the perceived and experienced incivilities by the urban youth who engages with different patterns of street use as a predominant group among street users (see Table 4.2 for young people's patterns of use of Sakarya).

For analyzing the impact of patterns of street use on the perception and experience of incivility, correlations were conducted between variables that are related to patterns of the street use (familiarity and duration of use, frequency of use, the time spent, the aim of use and whether they are pleased to be using the street) and variables that are related to incivility perceptions and experiences of young people (whether there are any problems/incivilities that they do not want to encounter on the street, evaluations of

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security conditions and precautions on the street and evaluations of municipality

services) (See Appendix D for the variable list and Appendix F1, F2 and F3 for the

results of correlations). According to the findings, the perception and experience of

problems/incivilities that young people did not want to encounter in Sakarya was

observed to have a slight negative correlation with the familiarity and duration of use of

Sakarya ($r = - 0.268$ $df = 80$, $p < 0.05$) (see Appendix F1). This can be explained by what

Félonneau (2004) argued as place identity and feeing attached to a place (she prefers to

use 'topological identity) have a tendency to underestimate the incivilities in everyday

urban life. In other words, individuals who have positive attitude towards a place

perceive incivilities within that place as less salient. In this respect, the young people

who had not much experience and familiarity with Sakarya might perceive it as more

incivil and problems/incivilities as more salient due to observed actual signs of disorder.

Moreover, the perception and experience of problems/incivilities that young people did

not want to encounter in Sakarya are negatively correlated again slightly with being

pleased to be using Sakarya ($r = - 0.318$ $df = 79$, $p < 0.01$) as expected (see Appendix

F1). In addition, the evaluations of sufficiency of safety in Sakarya was discerned to

have a slight positive correlation with being pleased to be using the street ($r = 0.280$ $df =$

79, $p < 0.05$) (see Appendix F2). Hence, patterns of street use seemed to be somehow

related to young people's perception and experience of Sakarya as problematic, incivil

and unsafe place.

In the literature, the impact of time is highlighted as an important factor on the

perception and experience of incivility on streets. Nights and evenings are denoted as the

period of time when fear of crime on streets increased due to the darkness and reduced number of people on streets (see Erkip, 2003; Lieberg, 1994; Valentine, 2001). Moreover, during the observations on the site, it was noticed that there were some daily and seasonal variations in Sakarya that may affect the perception and experiences of different incivilities. For instance, when it gets dark, visibility for the certain areas of Sakarya and the number of individuals on the streets decreases (see Appendix B, Figure 12.8). In addition, during autumn/winter, due to the rain and snow, water seems to be accumulated on sidewalks and pavements which are decayed and broken (see Appendix B, Figure 12.5, Figure 12.6 and Figure 12.9). Besides, during spring and summer times, due to the warm/hot weather, Sakarya gets crowded and the number of individuals using the outer spaces of the region increases (see Appendix B, Figure 5, Figure 8.1 and Figure 8.3). Thus, it seems to be important to question whether these variations are influential on perceptions of incivility. Accordingly, it was hypothesized that perception and experience of incivility on the street vary according to time of the day and season. In order to interpret the impact of variations of time including day and night differences and seasonal variations, young people were asked to mention whether there were any time periods in which they avoided or were reluctant to use Sakarya (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 14). According to the findings, 65.9 % of the respondents answered positively by highlighting the evenings and the nights which were seen as dangerous and may lead to many incivil conducts (such as sexual and verbal harassment and burglary) due to deserted appearance of Sakarya, reduced visibility and emergence of unconforming groups of individuals including some unwanted groups of males (such as *serseri*, *amele*, *kıro*, fans of *Ankaragücü* etc.), drunks, suspicious individuals and intoxicated individuals. When the respondents' tendency to avoid Sakarya for certain

time periods (evenings and nights as it was declared) was tested along their gender, a significant relationship was observed between the tendency to avoid to use Sakarya for certain time periods and the gender ($\chi^2 = 21.693$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$) (see Appendix E5). Confirming the previous researches which argue that streets are dangerous and fearful places for women, especially at nights (see Blöbaum and Hunecke, 2005; Erkip, 2003), the findings of the field survey also pointed out that many female respondents stated evenings and nights in Sakarya as the most dangerous times. Some examples of the responses regarding the influence of evenings and nights on their perception and experience of incivility can be given as follows:

> When it gets dark, the number of *kıro* individuals in Sakarya increases. My parents do not allow me to come here after a certain hour. Yet, I do not prefer either.
>
> (15-year-old, female)

> Starting the evenings onward, user profile of Sakarya starts to change. Those individuals who want to get alcohol and entertain in poor-quality bars start to emerge. I think, after then Sakarya should be avoided.
>
> (24-year-old, female)

> At nights, some dangerous individuals come to Sakarya. *Baliciler, tinerciler*, etc. emerged out when it gets dark. Besides, the probability to get harassed and abused in Sakarya increases at nights.
>
> (16-year-old, male)

The respondents were also asked about whether the problems/incivilities that they had indicated varied according to the seasons (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 17). During the interviews, which were conducted at two different seasons (winter and spring), it was not observed any notable differences in the responses that was expected to show variations according to seasons. According to the findings it was seen that 88.1 % of the respondents did not mention that seasonal variations were influential on the

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problems/incivilities. In addition, according to 93.9 % of the respondents, there was not any affect of seasonal variations on the things that they disliked in Sakarya (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 9). However, it was observed that all 5 respondents who declared that the things that they disliked in Sakarya changed according to seasons were females. In other words, a significant relationship was obtained with the statements about the impact of seasonal variations on the things that the young people disliked in Sakarya and their gender ($\chi^2 = 5.325$, $df = 1$, $p = .021$) (see Appendix E6).

As Robin et al. (2007) and Moser and Robin (2006) stated, women perceive more environmental annoyances with high scores of stress regarding environmental concern. Consistent with this argument, according to the female respondents, the impact of seasonal variation was explained in terms of increased environmental pollution during summers due to increased number of users in Sakarya. Besides, one of the respondents highlighted the negative influence of winter on the streets due to the accumulation of muddy water between the broken parts of pavements and sidewalks.

> I think in the winter, Sakarya appears to be more dirty and polluted due to muddy water of rain and snow. Since the pavements and sidewalks are broken and distorted that muddy water is accumulated between the broken parts. I hate walking on the streets during the winter time since my boots get muddy.
> (17-year-old, female)

In addition to the explanations for the impact of seasons on emergence and intensity of environmental pollution on the streets, increased number of unconforming individuals and intensified sexual and verbal harassment during summer times were also highlighted by the female respondents as the impact of season.

The number of criminal acts such as sexual and verbal harassment or hit-and-run attacks increases in summer times due to the good weather that leads to increased number of individuals in Sakarya.

(17-year-old, female)

Male respondents who considered that there were seasonal variations in emergence and intensity of incivilities and environmental problems in Sakarya had similar explanations such as increased environmental pollution, fighting and noise in summers due to the overcrowding. To sum up, the variations in time of the day seemed to influence the most of the young people's perception and experiences of incivility: during evenings and nights, Sakarya was attributed as more dangerous and terrifying. However, the impact of seasonal variations on the perceptions and experiences of incivility seemed to be underestimated by young people, even if there were some young people who talked about the impact of seasonal variations.

4.4.2.3. The Analysis of the Actors and Targets of Incivil Conducts in Sakarya

Previously, two important arguments were highlighted concerning the street use of young people: 1- young people are potential targets of incivility on streets (see Malone and Hasluck, 1998; Pain, 2001), 2- young people are actors of incivility on streets (see Collins and Kearns, 2001; Matthews et al., 2000; Valentine, 2001). At this point, it was underscored that it is crucial to figure out how young people consider themselves and their peers and the rest of the society within the discussion of actors/targets of incivil conducts. Therefore, the aim of making young people's voices heard as critics and engaged citizens (see Checkoway et al., 2003; Daiute and Fine, 2003) was followed to examine their point of views about actors and targets of incivility in Sakarya.

According to the respondents, the actors of the incivil behaviors and events, i.e., main troublemakers of Sakarya, were mostly belonging to the group of unconforming others (including s*erseriler, ameleler, tinerciler, şarapçılar*, drunks, beggars and fans of *Ankaragücü*) with a percentage of 25.9 (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 18). Individuals belonging to the youth group followed with a very close percentage (24.1 %). Concerning the fact that unconforming others were described as young, male, uneducated, low-income and inhabitants of *varoş*, it is possible to argue that the main actors of problems/incivilities in Sakarya were announced as 'youth'. When the young respondents were asked to state the individual group(s) of which they considered as the most common user group of Sakarya, youth and students were observed as the most frequently indicated groups with a percentage of 52.2 which were followed by low and middle income groups of users (13 %) (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 10). Therefore, according to the young respondents, their peers as being the dominant user group of Sakarya are the main troublemakers of the district as well. In other words, most of the young respondents attributed 'being youth' as the main characteristic of the actors of incivility. Moreover, while indicating young people as the troublemakers of the street, apart from their age, their gender, level of education and place of residence were also pointed out as determinants (see Appendix A for similar findings). Hence, young males, uneducated youth, uneducated young males and young people who live in *varoş* were highlighted as conducting incivil acts in Sakarya. Besides, being male (12.5 %) and being uneducated (15.2 %) were also featured as separate characteristics of troublemakers in Sakarya (see Table 4.6 for the characteristics of actors of problems/incivilities in Sakarya). It was observed no significant relationship between

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young people's statements about the characteristics of actors of incivility in Sakarya and their age and gender(see Appendix E7).

Table 4.6. The characteristics of actors of problems/incivilities in Sakarya

The characteristics	# of Cases	%
Being a male	14	12.5
Being a low-income individual	9	8.0
Being an uneducated individual	17	15.2
Being an unconforming individual	29	25.9
Being a youth	27	24.1
Having some other characteristics (being inhabitants of *varoş*, being a bar/shop owner and being unemployed)	16	14.4
Total	112*	100.0

* Total of multiple counting for the characteristics of individuals as being actors of incivility in Sakarya

Furthermore, young respondents were asked about whether they themselves were engaging or had ever engaged with any kind of incivil conducts in Sakarya in order to investigate whether they declared themselves as the actors of incivility on the street (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 23). According to the results, although they indicated 'being youth' as the main characteristic of troublemakers, 86.6 % of the respondents did not consider themselves as the actors of problems/incivility in Sakarya claiming that they did not engage any kind of incivil conduct. However, during the observations, it was noticed that some young respondents who had complaints about littering, throwing cigarette buts on the sidewalks and spitting were themselves engaging with those behaviors. Moreover, some groups of young respondents were observed to be disturbing some other users of Sakarya by hanging out as being drunk, by shouting and by abusing females (male respondents). In other words, even if most of them did not admit that they

were engaging with incivil conducts in Sakarya and had complaints about problems/incivilities related to the social and physical environments of Sakarya, they themselves were observed to be one of the main actor groups of those kinds of incivilities. Some examples of the statements of ten respondents who admitted that they were engaging with some incivil conducts in Sakarya and their additional observed incivil behaviors can be given as follows:

> We abuse girls. It is an unavoidable part of Sakarya.
> (18-year-old, male *who was observed to hang out with friends as a disturbing and noisy group*)

> While walking through Sakarya we also shout, throw out litter on sidewalks, smoking and throwing our cigarette buts on sidewalks. We also drink on the street and probably disturb adults.
> (15-year-old, female *who was observed to be drunk, hanging out with friends as a noisy group*)

> While I was hanging out with the fans of *Ankaragücü*, I had shouted and cheered in Sakarya. We had been swearing as well. From then on, I have not been doing such things.
> (18-year-old, male *who was observed to be spitting and throwing the cigarette buts on the sidewalk*)

The interviews conducted with the municipality officers and *esnaf* also pointed out young people as the main actor group of incivility in Sakarya. The bar/restaurant managers, indicated youth as the main troublemaker group for Sakarya. According to them, the youth, who gets drunk easily, swears, fights, shouts, screams and disturbs other people in the district. In addition, *Zabıta Müdürü* claimed that:

> The main troublemaker group that we should pay extra attention is the youth who belongs to the age group of 15 to 24. They can get alcohol easily in Sakarya. After midnight at 3-4 a.m. we observe many high school uniformed young people who has got drunk and been playing with balls in front of bars. They are shouting and screaming and abusing other individuals drinking in bars.

The cleaning personnel of the municipality also stated the youth as the troublemaker group of Sakarya. The headman of the cleaning team asserted that:

> We have lots of complaints about the younger age groups. They are polluting the environment more compared to adults. Especially, young males throw their litter and cigarette buts on the sidewalks, they spit around etc. in order to prove themselves to their peers or to the girls. It seems to me that they think that using trash cans do not fit to the norms of 'being a young man' (*delikanlı*). They are mostly coming from *varoş*. There are also students of those *dershane*. They want to prove that they are all grown up by throwing the litter on the pavements. They give damage to the benches and statues. I think, according to those young people, being polite enough to use trash cans is something to be ashamed.

In this field survey, even if the age was determinant for attributing 'being youth' as the characteristic of the main actors, concerning the target group of incivility gender seemed to be more influential (see Appendix A for a similar finding). In other words, 'being a female' was ascribed as the characteristic of the group who would be mostly affected by incivil conducts in Sakarya (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 18). The reason of this attribution is likely to be related to the unconforming others who are mostly composed of young and uneducated males from *varoş* and who mostly abuse and harass the females on the street. In addition, sexual and verbal harassment and abuses, especially against females, as being one of the most commonly perceived and experienced incivility by the young respondents on the street, it is again likely that females were declared as the main target group of incivilities in Sakarya. When the statements of the young people about the target group of incivilities were analyzed along their socio-demographic characteristics, it was not observed any significant relationships (see Appendix E8). However, females were mostly observed as attributing 'being a female' as the characteristic of the group who was mostly affected by incivil conducts in Sakarya. Following females as the main target group of incivilities in Sakarya, they also

declared that 'everyone can be potential targets of incivility in Sakarya'. On the contrary

to what is stated in the literature about the potential of young people indicating their

peers as the group who are mostly affected by incivil conducts on the street (see Malone

and Hasluck, 1998; Pain, 2001), a very limited number of young respondents ascribed

'being youth' as the main characteristic of target groups of incivil conducts (see Table

4.7 for the characteristics of the potential targets of incivil conducts in Sakarya).

Table 4.7. The characteristics of potential targets of incivil conducts in Sakarya

The characteristics	# of Cases	%
Being a family in Sakarya	5	5.7
Being a female	37	42.0
Being an educated individual	7	8.0
Being a youth	8	9.1
Everyone	20	22.7
Having some other characteristics (being an adult, being a bar/shop owner and exceptional cases)	11	12.5
Total	88*	100.0

* Total of multiple counting for the characteristics of individuals as being targets of incivility in
  Sakarya

4.4.2.4. The Analysis of the Behavioral/Verbal Responses to Incivility and the

Interventions to Tackle with Incivility in Sakarya

The encountered incivilities and danger are discussed as leading either a progressive

retreat and avoidance of young people from the street through some legal or parental

restrictions (Jackson, 1998; Malone, 2002) or a resistance of them for approaching the

disorderly and dangerous streets (Valentine, 2001). In other words, as it was mentioned

before, young people's perception of incivility and unpleasurable experiences on the

street affect the patterns of street use with a tendency of either avoiding or approaching

to the street (see Mehrabian and Russell, 1974 for the pleasure-arousal hypothesis and also Wooley et al., 1999). In this respect, it was hypothesized that perception and experience of incivility on street affect the tendency of street use and behaviors of young people in terms of avoidance and approach to the street. Moreover, the behavioral and/or verbal responses that young people give to incivil conducts on the street as an individual intervention were questioned.

Accordingly, 43 young respondents, who stated that their feelings and their tendency of approach to the street were affected by problems/incivilities in Sakarya, highlighted a negative influence and a tendency to avoid using Sakarya (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 20).

> Coming to Sakarya make me feel distressed. Before coming here I have to think twice since I cannot guess what will annoy me while I am walking through the street.
>
> (23-year-old, female)

> Those fans of *Ankaragücü* make me feel irritated. Sometimes, in order not to see them I do no want to hang out in Sakarya.
>
> (18-year-old, male)

According to the findings, the percentage of the respondents who claimed that problems/incivilities in Sakarya affected their feelings and their tendency of approach to the district (52.4 %) was very close to the percentage of the respondents who did responded in the opposite direction (47.6 %) (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 20). The reason of these contradictory responses can be explained with the use of Sakarya for compulsory reasons (24.4 % of the respondents) which made Sakarya an unavoidable place to conduct certain activities like attending *dershane* (see Appendix C, Part 2

Question 3) (see Table 4.2 for young people's patterns of use of Sakarya). As one of the

respondents stated:

> My *dershane* is on the street. I have to come to Sakarya. Therefore, even if there
> are a lot of things that I hate regarding Sakarya, I do not have any chance to
> avoid using it.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

Likewise, a male respondent, who inhabits in a suburban gated community (Ümitköy),

underlined that sometimes they had to come to Sakarya to meet their friends, whose

dershane is in Sakarya.

> I prefer to use Tunalı Hilmi or Bahçelievler for hanging out. I do not like
> Sakarya but our friends' *dershane* is here. Therefore, in order to see them we are
> hanging out here.
>
> (17-year-old, male)

However, 78 % of the respondents stated that they did not prefer the movement of the

same activities in Sakarya to another place/district (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 12).

When the reasons of this preference was examined, it was obtained that the habituation

to the use of Sakarya, its central location, diversity of activities and places, the easy

access and its uniqueness in Ankara were mentioned as the reasons. In other words, they

seemed to be dependent on Sakarya due to various features of it which made the

tendency of avoidance difficult for young people.

Moreover, the young respondents were also asked whether there were any places or

specific parts of Sakarya which made them terrify and avoid using (see Appendix C, Part

2 Question 13). Out of 82 respondents, 54 of them responded negatively by indicating

that they were not reluctant or did not avoid using any place or any part of Sakarya due

to insecurity or any kind of danger. However, when it was tested along their gender it

was observed significant relationships between their feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya and their gender (χ^2 = 5.917, *df* = 1, *p* = .015) (see Appendix E9) as well as their statements about whether there were any places or specific parts of Sakarya which made them terrify and avoid using and their gender (χ^2 = 10.630, *df* = 1, *p* = .001) (see Appendix E10). Females' feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya seemed to be affected more compared to males. They seemed to be more reluctant and avoid using some places and some parts of Sakarya due to insecurity or any kind of danger. Some examples of young female respondents' statements about fear of crime, especially fear of sexual and verbal harassment, and reluctance of using Sakarya can be given as follows:

> I hesitate to come to Sakarya after it gets dark. In addition even during day time I pay attention to my clothes by avoiding some attractive clothes. I am afraid to be abused and sexually harassed.
>
> (16-year-old, female)

> One of my friends has been sexually harassed in Sakarya. She was scared a lot and has rejected to come to Sakarya for a long time even if her *dershane* is located here. We have been also very reluctant to use Sakarya for a long time but it is on our way and we have to walk through it. But, I am still afraid of some men walking around. They seem terrifying and potential dangers.
>
> (15-year-old, female)

Furthermore, correlations were conducted between the variables that are related to the young people's perception and experience of incivility in Sakarya (whether there were any problems/incivilities that they did not want to encounter, evaluations of security conditions and precautions and evaluations of municipality services) and variables that are related to young people's behaviors and tendency of street use (whether problems/incivilities affected their feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya, their preferences regarding the movement of the activities to another place/district and

whether there were any places or specific parts of Sakarya which made them terrify and avoid using) (See Appendix D for the variable list and Appendix F4, F5 and F6 for the results of correlations). As it was expected, the statements of young people about whether problems/incivilities on the street affected their feelings and tendency of approach to Sakarya were found to have a negative correlation with their evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya (r = - 0.333 *df* = 80, p< 0.01) (see Appendix F4). In addition, their attribution of some places and some parts of Sakarya as terrifying and avoiding to use was observed to be negatively correlated again with their evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya (r = - 0.318 *df* = 80, p< 0.01) (see Appendix F6). Likewise, the respondents who preferred the movement of the activities in Sakarya to another place/district were found to evaluate the municipality services in Sakarya negatively. In other words, their preferences regarding the movement of the activities in Sakarya to another place/district were found to have a negative correlation with the evaluations of municipality services (r = - 0.232 *df* = 79, p< 0.05) (see Appendix F5). Thus, it is possible to argue that feelings of young people and their tendency of use of Sakarya seemed to be influenced negatively by the perceived and experienced incivility in the district.

The behavioral and/or verbal responses of the young people in the form of individual interventions were questioned as well (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 21). Accordingly, 69 of them stated that they ignored incivil behaviors and avoided warning individuals who conducted incivil acts due to the fact that it is dangerous and insecure to warn someone who behaves disorderly (see Appendix A for a similar finding). When the

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behavioral and/or verbal responses of the young people in the form of individual

interventions were tested along their age and gender there were obtained no significant

relationships between the variables (Appendix E11).

> I prefer to move away when I encountered with someone who is behaving inappropriately because I think trying to warn such an individual is foolish due to the potential danger.
>
> (21-year-old female)

> In Turkish society, it is hard to guess the reactions of individuals. They can even kill you. Therefore, it is better to walk away.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

The other 13 respondents stated different levels and forms of individual interventions

including mostly verbal warnings and warnings through look and gaze. However, there

were respondents who noted to intervene to incivil conducts through violence including

the acts of fighting, beating the disturbing individuals and swearing. In other words, to

tackle with problems/incivilities in Sakarya, they preferred to engage incivil conducts as

actors through which the incivility on the street is intensified.

> Without being scared, I directly swear. This is the only way to warn an ill-mannered individual.
>
> (19-year-old, female)

> First of all, I verbally warn the rude individuals. If they do not care then it is necessary to apply brute force and even fight.
>
> (18-year-old, male)

> The intensity of my warning and my reaction changes according to the intensity of disorderly act. It may start with a verbal warning and goes up to fighting.
>
> (23-year-old, male)

Moreover, some of them stated that decision, intensity and severity of warnings were

influenced by their gender and age as well as whether they were alone or not and

whether the incivil act was disturbing for themselves or for other individuals

> If I am alone as a female, I cannot dare to warn someone who is disturbing.
>
> (23-year-old, female)

> I usually prefer to walk away from the place where disturbing events are going on. Yet, if the ill-mannered person is younger than me, then I can warn him/her and try to correct his/her disorderly behavior.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

> If it is my concern, I can warn the person verbally, but if it is not, I prefer to ignore and not to involve.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

The respondents were also asked about whether they considered the individual interventions in the form of warnings that they made or that were made in general as effective (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 22). Accordingly, 86.6 % of the respondents expressed that they did not believe that individual interventions in the form of warnings would be effective to hinder the problems/incivilities in Sakarya. The reason of this result was mostly explained through the incapacity and inadequacy of individuals who conducted incivil acts. Besides, there were respondents who believed that warning someone was counteracting by leading to more severe forms of incivil acts such as violence and assault. Furthermore, young people's statements about effectiveness of individual warnings were observed to have significant relationships with their age ($\chi^2 = 7.872$, $df = 2$, $p = .020$) (see Appendix E12). Considering the fact that the mode was obtained to be in the 15-17, it seems reasonable to find out mostly this age group as stating the ineffectiveness of individual warnings.

> I think warning someone does not make some ill-mannered individuals change since it is related to some personality problems. In other words, they cannot be treated.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

> I believe that warning leads to assault and violence. In other words, it is counteractive. So, it is not effective, even worse, it is dangerous.
>
> (19-year-old, male)

In these respects, the young respondents highlighted increasing the intensity of warnings through individual intervention of every citizen by immediate warning when encountered with an incivil act instead of a warning by only one individual. Besides, interventions of police and security forces were underlined as the way of increasing the intensity of warning.

> I think individual warnings are not effective. Every individual should take the responsibility of being a citizen and should warn the disorderly individuals. If it becomes a collective action and if behaviors of every individual become consistent with others' than maybe effective outcome can be reached.
>
> (22-year-old, female)

> I believe that some powerful individuals and police should intervene to disturbing and annoying behaviors. Otherwise, nothing changes.
>
> (18-year-old, male)

Within the scope of this field survey, it was aimed to focus on youth perspectives to figure out their engagement with different urban public spaces and to make their voices heard as active participants involving in social, political and environmental affairs (see Daiute and Fine, 2003; Frank, 2006). McIntyre (2000, p. 126) underscores that youth within the contexts of violence should be positioned as agents of inquiry and as "experts" about their own lives. By listening to their stories about their lives and by involving them in plans of action which is related to their concerns it is possible to gain detailed information about young people's understanding of incivility and urban life. Hence, it is possible to learn how young people view themselves within different discourses and how their participation in decision making affect their lives, community well-being and a true transformation of the city for the benefit of all citizens (see

Checkoway et al., 2003; McIntyre, 2000; Tonucci and Rissotto, 2001). Besides, involving young people in environmental design and urban planning process by listening to their suggestions is argued to be significant in terms of finding out new solutions to environmental problems and new ways of interventions related to their own safety (Frank, 2006; Parkes, 2007). In this respect, young people were demanded to recommend some policy and social implications to intervene incivil conducts and environmental problems (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 24). Likewise, they were asked about the things that they would change, supplement and withhold in Sakarya regarding the encountered problems/incivilities, if they had the authority on design, planning and regulation of Sakarya (see Appendix C, Part 2 Question 25). Concerning the fact that a majority of respondents who considered social deprivation and some social inequalities (including lack of education, illiteracy, economic deprivation and some social and political restraints and lack of sanctions) as the major reasons and sources of incivility and inappropriate behaviors of individuals, most of the young respondents emphasized the importance of increasing the education level of individuals and enhancing economical and social deprivations. Besides, legal and state interventions in the form of increasing the effectiveness of social and policy implications through enhancement in legal sanctions, penalties and police control were suggested as more effective compared to individual interventions in the form of warning.

> The root causes of inappropriate behaviors should be discovered. It is mostly related to education. You should educate individuals in order to correct their behaviors. The other solutions or individual interventions have temporary effects.
> (15-year-old, female)

> You cannot expect individuals to behave orderly in a society where there are no effective legal sanctions. Legal sanctions and penalties should be enhanced.
> (16-year-old, female)

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> Unemployment and economic deprivations should be tackled with. Some policy and legal interventions are necessary. First of all, you should make individuals feed themselves, and then you can expect them to behave orderly.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

The increase in legal sanctions and penalties were even extended to the level of zero-tolerance policies. Location of surveillance cameras and permanent patrolling of policemen and civilian officers were recommended for detecting and monitoring incivil conducts and unwanted groups in order to exclude them and keep them out of the street (see Crawford, 2006; Koskela, 2000; Wooley et al., 1999 for the exclusionary practices to tackle with incivility).

> All those disorderly individuals, especially, those drug addicts and intoxicated people including *tinerciler, baliciler*, etc. are hopeless and they are losers. Therefore, it is better to collect and send them to reformatories or prisons.
>
> (15-year-old, male)

> I do not want to see the low-income individuals around. I think they are not permitted to use the street.
>
> (17-year-old, female)

> If there is enough security cameras around, those disturbing individuals cannot behave in that manner. They are afraid of being caught up. The civilian officers are also another way to make those problematic individuals to be frightened. If there are some individuals who are caught up by those officers, then other troublesome individuals cannot dare to act disorderly.
>
> (21-year-old, male)

> If you hang some *serseri* and annoying individuals in Taksim Square, then there will not be any other troublesome individuals around. You should give some examples to the rest of the society to make them understand that if they do not behave accordingly, they will be punished.
>
> (16-year-old, male)

In addition, related to the social context of Sakarya, some young respondents highlighted the significance of the improvement of quality of places in order to provide a good image of Sakarya by making it attractive for the customer profile other than

'unconforming others'. Some respondents suggested abolishing some bars and entertainment places - especially SSK *İşhanı* regarding bars and entertainment places such as *türkü* bars which are located inside of the building - due to their bad image with a potential of attracting unwanted groups of males who are coming from *varoş* and belonging to low-income groups (including *serseriler, kırolar*, etc.).

> I want to burn SSK *İşhanı*. It attracts all those *serseri* men. Besides, all those bars and cafés where *serseri* group of individuals are gathered should be destroyed.
>
> (15-year-old, female)

> If I have the chance to control over Sakarya, the first thing that I will do is increasing the prices of bars and cafés to make troublesome individuals keep away from the street. Places which are good in terms quality attracts well-behaved individuals.
>
> (20-year-old, male)

Furthermore, some young respondents recommended the abolishment of bars completely by emphasizing the illegal permission to the entrance of young people who are under the age of 18 and by complaining about the inappropriate 'locatedness' of drinking activity on the street where lots of *dershane* for young people are located. Alternatively, increasing the number of leisure places, which are appropriate for young people to spend time such as *Fantasyland* and well-quality cafés, was suggested.

> I believe that legal permission of selling alcohol should be strictly controlled. Bars selling cheap beers to young people who are under the age of 18 should be closed. Moreover, I prefer abolishing all bars in Sakarya where lots of *dershane* are located since I do not think that control over the bars and entertainment places are that strict.
>
> (24-year-old, male)

When you look at Sakarya, you cannot see many places which are appropriate for young people and students. Even if Sakarya is dominated by those groups of individuals, places which are considered to be used for young people are very limited in number. Therefore, if I had the chance and authority, I would locate lots of internet cafés and entertainment places such as *Fantasyland*. I believe that they are more appropriate for our development than bars.

(15-year-old, male)

Concerning the environmental problems and deficiencies of the physical context of Sakarya, mostly environmental design and urban planning suggestions were brought out by the young respondents. Shaffer and Anderson (1985), in their research on the factors that affect the attraction and safety of parking lots, point out that parking lots are attributed as attractive and safe when vegetation and greenery is well-maintained and is appeared to be a part of the landscape design. Besides, the improved street lighting and good prospect are indicated to be negatively correlated with the perception of danger and crime (Blöbaum and Hunecke, 2005; Loewen et al., 1993). Consistent with these arguments, young respondents mostly underscored the improvements in landscape architecture of Sakarya by enhancing and increasing the green spaces and good maintenance of the street furniture including sufficient street lighting elements and well-kept and increased number of benches and statues and repaired and renewed pavements. In order to tackle with the problem of environmental pollution due to litter and trash on the sidewalks, increasing the number of trash-cans and improving the cleaning arrangements of the municipality were suggested. Moreover, due to the permanent drainage smell in Sakarya, some young respondents highlighted the repair and renewal of infrastructure.

I think there is an infrastructure problem in Sakarya since there is a permanent drain smell. As a director, my first action would be bringing a solution to the drainage problem.

(18-year-old, male)

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Sakarya lacks environmental planning and design. My first action would be bringing some regulations and arrangements about the layout of the area. I would prefer to separate fish shops and flower shops from each other. Secondly, I would clean up the region by dealing with this litter problem.

(18-year-old, female)

I do not like the location of the garbage truck. It looks very shabby and dirty on the street. There has already been litter and environmental pollution problems in Sakarya and that truck is sharpening that image. First of all, a solution should be brought out for the dirty image of the district through better cleaning actions.

(24-year-old, female)

I think the pavements and sidewalks should be repaired. They are very old and ruined. You cannot walk through the street when it is rainy. Besides, the litter on the sidewalks should be collected more often and regularly. The bad smells that are diffused from restaurants should be controlled and some penalties should be given.

(17-year-old, male)

It is important to provide seating arrangements that make individuals freely sit in the open air. Therefore, I would locate benches that have a sunshade and awning to provide a shelter during sunny and rainy days. Besides, increased greenery, a park and trees are important elements that I would prefer locating to Sakarya.

(21-year-old, female)

The inappropriate and disorderly layout of shops and bars were recommended to be replanned and reorganized as well. Some young respondents suggested abolishing flower shops and kiosks - due to their location in Sakarya that hindered the walking paths - and fish shops - due to the bad smells that they evoked (see Appendix B, Figure 8.3 and Figures between 13.1 and 13.3 inclusive). Moreover, again SSK *İşhanı* was highlighted to be renovated or totally be abolished due its ill-kept and run-down appearance.

I think something should be done concerning the smell of fish shops. I prefer abolishing them and turning the street into Karanfil Street like place.

(15-year-old, female)

I do not like the location of flower shops. They are hindering your way. I think they should be located somewhere else instead of Sakarya.

(16-year-old, male)

> I think the run-down appearance of SSK *İşhanı* is very irritating. I would abolish it and build a new modern building which is more attractive and good looking.
>
> (20-year-old, male)

4.5. Concluding Remarks

Lieberg (1994) highlights the importance of location and safety of places while describing ideal settings for young people. In general, Sakarya as an entertainment place is assumed to be addressing for the lower middle class group of people including the youth from this income group (Yetkin, 2003). Moreover, this image seemed to be confirmed by the municipality officers, who underlined the location of Sakarya - which is at hubs of mass transportation - and its low-priced activities and shops that make the district as an attraction center for low-income groups in Ankara. Nevertheless, it is not possible to talk about a single identity and meaning for Sakarya since it is composed of diverse meanings for different groups of individuals with its diversity of activities and places (see Gürçel, 2003; Levent, 1999; Mahmut, 1996; Yetkin, 2003 for the discussion of different aims of use of Sakarya). Different groups of urban youth having different sense of place were observed to attribute different meanings to Sakarya. For some of them, Sakarya is a leisure place where they feel secure and independent, for some others, it is a dangerous place that they have to avoid as much as possible and for some others, it is a place which they have to pass through as a transit path or have to go for some compulsory activities such as attending *dershane*. In short, Sakarya, as a significant street in Ankara with its location and variety of services and leisure activities on offer for the urban youth, was observed to be an important social space for different groups of young people. Even if they have dislikes and complaints about Sakarya, young people enjoy a range of leisure activities as well as compulsory activities that make them

habituate and feel attached and appraise the street as a preferable place where they are pleased to be (see Gifford, 2002 on this issue).

To a great extent, the analysis of the findings of this field survey consisted of understanding the perceived and experienced incivilities by the Turkish urban youth within the street context. Besides, the interviews that were conducted with five municipality officers and two *esnaf* and observations that were done in the site assisted to support the arguments that were brought out by young respondents. Hence, all-embracing information about the perceived and experienced incivilities that were based on personal experiences and official records were grasped as well.

In the light of the young people's views about events/behaviors/conditions/situations/ individuals that they disliked, complained about and attributed as problematic/dangerous/ disorderly/terrifying/disturbing/deficient/ inappropriate/insufficient, it is possible to argue that Turkish urban youth have different perceptions and experiences of incivility in Sakarya. By confirming the first hypothesis, when young people's perceived and experienced incivilities and their dislikes were categorized into groups, it was observed that incivility was mostly described with a reference to the social context. They mostly highlighted intolerance and fear due to face-to-face encounters with 'unconforming' and dangerous groups in relation to the social context of Sakarya.

As being consistent with previous researches (see Konrad, Adenauer Foundation, 1999; Muğan and Erkip, 2009; Pain, 2001), most of the young people were observed as not

being very concerned with the physical environment and incivilities having some negative environmental consequences. The perceived and experienced environmental problems and stressors in Sakarya as being the observed actual physical incivilities of the area were mostly related to environmental pollution, bad smells, failures of environmental planning, disorder and decline, noise and crowding. According to these, it is possible to point out Sakarya as a disorderly street as several scholars indicated regarding the incivility of streets (see Banerjee, 2001; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Robin et al., 2007; Skogan, 1990 on this issue). Even if the number of respondents who stated incivilities and dislikes concerning the physical environment was very limited, the statements about environmental problems and physical incivilities that some young people pointed out gave important clues about the nature of the relationship that they engaged with the social and physical contexts of Sakarya and its environmental matters as well as the 'locatedness' of its activities. In other words, as it was discussed in the literature, some environmental problems and physical incivilities were declared 'incivilities' since they were perceived to be either inhibiting the development of ongoing human relations within the social context of the street (see Macnaghten, 2003; Moser and Robin, 2006) or denying and violating the appropriate way of behaving what is owed to the street (see Dixon et al., 2006; Goffman, 1966), i.e., Sakarya.

Moreover, by confirming the previous researches which indicated that environmental and urban design failures and physical incivilities might be the sources of more serious forms of incivilities in the social context (see Brown et al., 2004; Erder, 2002; Perkins et al., 1992; Skogan, 1992), some young people explained incivil conducts and behaviors in the social context of Sakarya through failures of environmental planning, disorder and

decline in the physical context of the street. Within this framework, it is possible to talk about a vicious circle in which ongoing disorderly and careless human relations in the social environment of the street deteriorates and distorts the physical environment that leads to more serious disorderly acts and lack of environmental concern. Hence, the role of space with a reference to a specific 'location' including its physical and social environments was emphasized in grasping more detailed and varied information on perceived incivilities and environmental problems and their sources.

As being the second evidence that confirms the first hypothesis, the explanations that most of the young people brought out for the sources and reasons of the incivilities in Sakarya, which were at the societal level and in relation to the social context of Sakarya, can be shown. Concerning the context of Sakarya, 'openness' of the social environment that celebrates difference and diversity and that supports multiple values (see also Malone, 2002 on this issue) through diversity of activities and places as well as the boundary-free, easy-access and pedestrianized physical structure were featured as attracting diverse groups that may involve the 'unconforming' individuals. Those individuals were mentioned as the potential troublemakers for the street and described as young, male, uneducated, belonging to low-income and inhabitants of *varoş*. Besides, low-priced and poor-quality places and activities were also underscored by referring to potential of attracting those stigmatized group of 'unconforming individuals'. However, while some young people were bringing out explanations related to social deprivation and inequalities, they highlighted the 'otherness' of these 'unconforming' individuals concerning their disadvantageous position in benefiting equal rights of education and public services (see Boratav, 2005; Erder, 2002; Kazgan, 2002) that led to behaviors of

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antagonism and tendency of disrespect and ignorance of the appropriate norms of the society (see also Boyd, 2006; Pain, 2001; Watson, 2006 on this issue). In other words, even though some young people accepted the fact that triggered exclusion and inequality resulting from 'otherness' of individuals would promote incivilities (see Amin, 2006; Bannister et al., 2006; Collins and Kearns, 200; Crawford, 2006), they themselves stigmatized and marginalized certain groups of individuals as 'unwanted' and 'unconforming'. Besides, they seemed to prefer the cleaning off difference, removal of 'otherness' and ignorance of diversity and tolerance as a way to conceive civility on the street as it was discussed by several scholars (see Alexander, 2008; Kasson, 1990; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006; Turner, 2008). In other words, on the contrary to the literature that talks about the unjust and marginalized position of young people in the society and adult spaces (see Matthews and Limb, 1999; Sibley, 1995; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006) which can only be permitted and accepted when they behave in 'appropriate adult ways' (see Valentine, 1996), some young respondents of this study tried to put forward definitions for 'appropriate ways of behaving' on streets for other people.

As a way to achieve such a sanitization, young people mostly emphasized the interventions of state and legal forces through enhancement in legal sanctions, penalties and police control rather than individual interventions in the form of warning which was declared as ineffective. State interventions and increase in penalties were even extended to zero-tolerance policies through which enforced respect to promote civility (Bannister et al., 2006) was tried to be realized through location of surveillance cameras, permanent patrolling of policemen and civilian officers as it was mostly actualized in Western

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societies (see Crawford, 2006; Koskela, 2000; Wooley et al., 1999). At this point, one of the important consequences of this study emerged as some young people preferred more controlled, sanitized and defensible environments (see also Davis, 1992; Newman, 1972 on this issue) and had a tendency to attribute meaning to street life within this framework. They appear to suggest a kind of fortress and militarized way of street life that is assumed to be more 'civilized' within which strict regulations and 'keep out' and 'zoning' strategies are promoted as in the case of shopping malls and gated communities that have walled themselves with a concern of security and have given clues to social groups on 'appropriate' ways of behaving (see Davis, 1992; Erkip, 2005; Miao, 2003; Muğan and Erkip, 2009; Newman, 1972; Skogan, 1992). By this way, the acts of exclusion and discrimination against certain groups of individuals which lead to the loss of tolerance, increase in fear and overreaction and in turn to more serious forms of incivil conducts and crime become fostered (see Bannister et al., 2006; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Pain, 2001;Watson, 2006). Thus, it seems that street life which is romanticized with its history of openness, democracy, freedom and equality is lost in the some young people's descriptions and meaning attributions for streets. This appears to be very consistent with the arguments of Malone (2002) and Jackson (1998) who state that street spaces were never entirely free, democratic, equal and available to all due to the history of spatial and social organization of the city life that is based on the exclusion and intolerance of difference.

Interestingly, although they suggested permanent patrolling of policemen and civilian officers as a way to tackle with incivility and to protect them from the dangers of the street, young respondents who are under-age were observed to be bringing some

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exceptions concerning the illegal entrance to bars. Moreover, some of them also highlighted demonstrations, meetings and riots to which police intervention is not necessary. Accordingly, some young people seemed to describe the street and street activities in relation to their freedom and identity construction without the gaze and control of parents (see Lieberg, 1994; Malone, 2002; Matthews et al., 2000; Valentine, 1996 on this issue) as well as to the freedom and right of expression of civil rights and civil obedience of other citizens (see also Boyd, 2006; Banerjee, 2001; Kirby, 2007; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007). Within this framework, street can be argued to be conceptualized along the term 'diffuse civility' (Fyfe et al., 2006) which is related to everyday social intercourse, citizenship, moral equality and rise of democratic public sphere. Accordingly, it is directly associated with diversity, tolerance of difference, community norms and values and shared commitment to one another through finding ways of not being strangers (see Alexander, 2008; Boyd, 2006; Crawford, 2006; Flint and Nixon, 2006; Habermas, 1989; Kasson, 1990; Shils, 1991; Turner, 2008). Thus, two contradictory arguments can be developed concerning the meaning attribution to street by the youth and their conceptualization and preferences regarding street life. On the one hand, they seemed to prefer a more controlled, sanitized, militarized and tamed street life by cleaning off difference and diversity due to the dangers and incivility of the streets. On the other hand, concerning their freedom and identity construction as well as expression of civil rights of other citizens, what they preferred seemed to be a more democratic and equalitarian street life that allows diversity and tolerance of difference.

Another finding in relation to some young people's tendency to stigmatize certain groups other than themselves displayed itself in their statements about potential actors

and targets of incivilities on the street. 'Being youth' was attributed as the main characteristic of the actors of incivility on the street by most of the young respondents as well as by *esnaf* and officers and personnel of the municipality. Apart from the age, gender, level of education and place of residence were also indicated while describing the troublemakers of Sakarya. However, even though some young respondents were observed to be engaging with some incivil behaviors on the street, they differentiated themselves from the 'labeled troublemakers' of the street by not admitting that, they were also the actors of incivility in Sakarya as well as other young people. Accordingly, it is possible to claim that on the perception of being the actor of the incivil conducts on the street, age seems to be more influential. Whereas, gender seems to be more influential on the perception of being the target of incivilities. As it was indicated in the literature, young females compared to young males experienced more physical and verbal abuses by strangers (especially males) in public spaces, so that they perceived and experienced danger in those spaces more commonly (see Malone and Hasluck, 1998; Parkes, 1997 on this issue). Supporting this argument, 'being a female' was asserted as the characteristic of the individuals who were considered to be mostly affected by incivil conducts concerning the sexual and verbal harassment and abuse against females by unwanted and uncomforting groups of males.

The second hypothesis of the study tested the influence of perceived and experienced incivilities on the tendency of street use and behaviors of young people in terms of approach and avoidance. Most of the young people were noticed not to be reluctant or not terrified to use Sakarya. Moreover, they indicated that they did not prefer to visit another street instead of Sakarya. In other words, even if they had dislikes, complaints,

perceived and experienced incivilities, they seemed to show a resistance to approach the disorderly and dangerous street (see also Valentine, 2001 on this issue), the reason of which can be explained through habituation and being attached to it due to some compulsory reasons. Nevertheless, correlations between the variables (that were related to perceived and experienced incivilities and to their behaviors and tendency of street use) indicated that young people's feelings and their tendency of street use seemed to be influenced negatively by the perceived and experienced incivilities in Sakarya. Furthermore, as it was stated in the literature, young people's relationship with the street context and their habits and patterns of use were found to be somehow influential on their perception and experience of Sakarya as problematic, incivil and unsafe place (see also Dixon et al., 2006; Loader et al., 1998; Moser and Robin, 2006 on this issue). Accordingly, it was revealed that young people who had not been very familiar with Sakarya for a long time and who were not pleased to be using it, were found to perceive and experience the street as problematic, incivil and insufficient in terms of security conditions.

Concerning the third hypothesis of the study through which the impact of daily and seasonal variations on the perception and experience of incivility within street context was tested, it was found that Sakarya was attributed as more dangerous, terrifying, unsafe and avoidable place during evenings and nights due to its deserted appearance, reduced visibility and presence of unconforming groups of individuals as it was discussed in the literature (see also Erkip, 2003; Lieberg, 1994; Valentine, 2001 on this issue). Moreover, parental restrictions on youth in terms of using Sakarya was declared to be more predominant for evenings and nights regarding parents' fear of increased

potential dangers and threats when it gets dark. Yet, the second part of the third hypothesis which was about the impact of seasonal variations was not confirmed despite the fact that the experience of some incivilities was affected by weather conditions.

By accepting Turkish youth as a heterogeneous social category (Armağan, 2004; Boratav, 2005; Kazgan, 2002) at the level of their identity formation (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999), in the fourth hypothesis, it was declared that the perceived and experienced incivilities on streets differ along their socio-demographic characteristics. According to the findings, contrary to what was expected, the perceived and experienced incivilities and their dislikes in relation to social and physical contexts of Sakarya were found to be independent from their socio-demographic characteristics except dislikes of female respondents regarding sexual and verbal harassment. Yet, some differences were observed in relation to their value systems, family backgrounds and peer relations which indicated their diverse social grouping and the richness of their perception of the social and physical world around them (see also Amit-Talai, 1995; Matthews and Limb, 1999; Silbereisen and Todt, 1994 on this issue). A further social implication of this study was that perception and experience of incivility in street context differ mostly along the gender of the Turkish youth.

5. CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

In this dissertation, regarding the increasing concern about dangerous and disordered image of cities and dilemmas of city life such as freedom-control, desire-fear and tolerance-intolerance (see Amin, 2006; Boyd, 2006; Robins, 1995; Watson, 2006), which are related to face-to-face encounters with strangers and their diversities in urban public spaces, a research was conducted to investigate the variety of meanings, perceptions and experiences of incivility within the Turkish urban context. The main goal was to explore the perceived and experienced incivilities by urban youth and to make their voices heard as a labeled social category concerning the incivility argument. Firstly, (in)civility was discussed within the framework of urban context by giving emphasis to city life and its experiences together with the different meanings of civility and incivility (Boyd, 2006; Fyfe et al., 2006; Moser and Corroyer, 2001; Watson, 2006). Secondly, different types of incivility and perceptions about them were examined by concentrating on reasons and explanations of them. While explaining the context dependent embodiment of incivility, the role of physical environment within the discussion of incivility was highlighted to understand the relationship between 'physical environment' - built or natural - and 'every day life of citizens' (Moser and Robin, 2006; Robin et al., 2007) and to comprehend the impact of environmental problems and physical incivilities on realization of serious forms of incivilities and crime (Brown et al., 2004; Erder, 2002; Skogan, 1992). Within the urban context, the significance of urban public spaces concerning the discussion of incivility (Collins and Kearns, 2001; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999) was mentioned by focusing on different conceptualizations of urban public spaces (see Banerjee, 2001; Dixon et al., 2006;

Kirby, 2007; Malone, 2002). Among urban public spaces, street as the open public space in the urban realm was emphasized underlining the fact that (in)civility concerns in the city context is bounded up with street behaviors of diverse and different social groups and the extent to which this difference and diversity are celebrated and tolerated (see Banerjee, 2001; Fyfe et al., 2006; Jackson, 1998; Malone, 2002). Moreover, the importance of social and physical environments of the street context in investigating physical incivilities and environmental problems were discussed considering the relations of diversity of individuals with the diversity of environmental matters as well as strangers (Macnaghten, 2003; Moser and Robin, 2006).

After discussing different experiences and perceptions of incivility by different citizen groups depending on their socio-demographic and socio-economic characteristics (see Airey, 2003; Carp and Carp, 1982; Pain, 2001; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004), place of residence they live in the city and how they identify themselves with the city life (see Félonneau, 2004; Franzini et al., 2008; Robin et al., 2007), the differences in perceptions of incivility in relation to age was underscored. In this context, firstly, the differences between adults and youth in terms of perceived and experienced incivilities were examined (see Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Covington and Taylor, 1991; Pain, 2001; Robin et al., 2007). Then, general views regarding youth as dangerous, violent, disrespectful, disturbing and threats to the adult order of the society and as the main sources of incivility were discussed (see Amit-Talai and Wulff, 1995; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Loader et al., 1998). Besides, by underlining their marginalized and excluded position in adult world and adult spaces (see Matthews and Limb, 1999; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006; Valentine, 1996), the necessity to question the

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'youth' as a heterogeneous category who are mostly assumed to be engaging with incivil conducts was pointed out. Within this framework, the significance of investigating how young individuals perceive and experience incivilities as a labeled and stigmatized group (see Sibley, 1995) and the way they considered adults/elderly and their peers within the discussion of incivility was asserted (see Pain, 2001). Hence, the contradictory position of young people as both potential actors and possible targets of incivility was emphasized (see Breitbart, 1998; Valentine, 1996; Yumul, 2002). Moreover, the aim of making youth's voices heard and involving them in community and environmental affairs as competent citizens was mentioned concerning the importance of their perceptions and experiences of spaces and the way they attribute meaning to different settings for the enhancement of the various fields of the society (Checkoway et al, 2003; Frank, 2006; Pain, 2001). The significance of participation of children and youth in the planning of urban environments as active agents was argued as well (see Francis and Lorenzo; 2002; Frank, 2006). Furthermore, in addition to necessity of understanding youth's common socio-demographic characteristics of their generation, their experiences, perceptions and expectations, the necessity of considering the differences among them such as gender, age education, income, place of residence etc. (see Armağan, 2004; Boratav, 2005; Kazgan, 2002; Parkes, 2007) was featured.

Then, the importance of understanding the relationship of young people with their physical environment and environmental problems in order to bring out solutions for planning and design or social and policy implications for different types of incivilities was stated. In this respect, street as an important outdoor environment and a 'hang out' place for the everyday lives of young people (Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Konrad

Adenauer Foundation, 1999; Matthews et al., 2000) was discussed within the framework of the two-sided argument about street use of young people and discussion of incivility: streets as dangerous and unsafe public spaces for young people which have the potential of making youth as the targets of incivility (see Breitbart, 1998; Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Matthews et al., 2000; Pain, 2001; Punch, 2000) and street use of young people has a polluting presence and is the main source of disorder and incivility which indicates youth as the actors of incivility on streets (see Félonneau, 2004; Franzini et al., 2008; Matthews et al., 2000; Robin et al., 2007; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006). Finally, the general assessment of Turkish youth was elaborated by depending on the literature and previous researches. In the light of the literature concerning the Turkish youth, studying 'incivility and youth' in the Turkish context was found significant since there was no particular research that directly focuses on the relationship of Turkish youth with the term incivility.

Within this framework, a field survey was conducted in a street context, i.e., Sakarya. In this field survey, the relationship between young people's patterns of street use and their perception and experience of incivility was emphasized. Concerning the description of incivility, its sources and ways to tackle with it, Turkish youth seemed to focus on the importance of 'respecting the norms and rules of the adult order of the society' and the role of education and the family. Moreover, they seemed to have different meanings and experiences of incivility in the street context, mostly in relation to its social environment. In addition, their explanations about the sources and reasons of incivilities were also at the societal level and in relation to the social environment of the street. This might indicate that Turkish youth as having less environmental concern and interest

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about environmental problems and their physical environments makes socio-economic and political problems more predominant in their lives as it was indicated in previous researches (see Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999; Muğan and Erkip, 2009). The reason of this might be the parental restrictions on youth that prevent them to engage with physical outdoor settings such as streets with a concern of security (see Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Hendry et al., 1993; Punch, 2000). A further reason might be specific to the predominant social structure of Turkey as youth faces with the problems of unemployment, illiteracy, terrorism and socio-economic inequalities (see Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Furthermore, the interviewed adults were also observed as not being interested in and concerned with the physical environment (see Appendix A). This might be explained by 'age effect' as Gifford (2002) discussed through the assumption that aging makes some other problems related to economics, society and politics become much more prevailing compared to environmental problems. Therefore, it seems that this aspect needs further analyses to understand the lack of environmental concern and lack of interest about physical environment and overemphasis and predominance given to the societal issues and social environment. Besides, further studies are needed to figure out the generational discrepancies and similarities between the youth and the adults in terms of perceived and experienced incivilities. Hence, it becomes possible to figure out different concerns of Turkish urban youth as well as adults in different contexts and develop policy implications to tackle with their problems. Moreover, additional researches are also needed to compare the lack of interest and concern in the Turkish society with the interests and perceptions of the physical environment in other societies.

One important social implication of the study was about the tendency of some young people in discriminating and stigmatizing certain groups of individuals as potential troublemakers and actors of incivility on the street. Moreover, they were not only stigmatizing certain people other than themselves but also suggesting zero-tolerance policies and exclusionary practices as a way to sanitize the street and clean it off from the incivility of these individuals. The policies and practices that they suggested to sanitize the street involve the actualization of continuous surveillance and monitoring as it was realized in more controlled and fortressed environments of shopping malls and gated communities. Similar findings concerning the discrimination patterns that some young people put forward for other people were obtained with Turkish teenagers in the case of a shopping mall (see Muğan and Erkip, 2009). Thus, it is possible to argue that Turkish youth has a tendency to differentiate and exclude some people through discrimination patterns not only in open urban public spaces but also in controlled and privatized urban spaces, the reason of which seems to be a concern for a more secure and civilized urban space. This aspect necessitates further analysis concerning the unintended consequences of discrimination and intolerance of difference that might lead more serious forms of incivility and disorder in the urban context. Therefore, attention should be given to analyze the short-term success of exclusionary practices together with their long-term impact on social and policy implications which would be enhanced through legal and state interventions.

Even though some young people were appeared to be favoring a fortress and militarized street life within which difference and diversity were tried to be cleaned off, some other also highlighted the importance of freedom and rights of expression on the streets which

were mentioned together with democracy, equality, sense of inclusivity and tolerance of difference (see also Amin, 2006; Boyd, 2006; Banerjee, 2001; Kirby, 2007; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2007 on this issue). In this respect, further attention should be given to understand the way that young people attribute meaning to different urban contexts, create new urban spaces and challenge their representations (Neyzi, 2001) as well as the representations of other individuals in those spaces. Thus, it opens the path towards the investigation for the ways of 'politics of living together' and 'civilized contemporary city', i.e., 'good city' as Amin (2006) defined.

Within the scope of the field survey, the context of the street was indicated as an important field of analysis due to its contradictory image for the (in)civility argument as well as its meaning for the urban youth. Investigation of incivility in reference to a specific location assisted to understand the role of space and physical environment in shaping the everyday lives of young people as well as having detailed information on different experiences of incivility and their 'locatedness'. Moreover, one of the social implications of this study emerged as the mutual interference between perception and experience of incivility and patterns of space use within which perceived and experienced incivility on the street assisted to understand young people's behaviors and patterns of street use and vice versa, as it was expected. Likewise, variations in time of the day appeared to be influential on perception and experience of incivility on the street, which in turn affected the feelings about and tendency of street use. As this field survey focused on 'one street context' within the urban realm, this aspect is accepted as a limitation of this study and invites further field studies on the perceived and experienced incivilities in different street contexts as well as in different urban settings

in general. By this way, it would be possible to make a comparison of different relationships that young people engaged with different spaces and their different patterns of space use which have a mutual interference with the perceived and experienced incivilities and environmental problems.

Another social implication of this study was to demonstrate the significance of differences among urban youth in understanding how each encounters with the everyday incivility of the streets. Even if they have common characteristics of their generation, their perception and experience of the social and physical environments varied according to their multiple realities (see also Matthews et al., 2000). Gender differences among urban youth seemed to be influential on their perceptions and experiences of incivility. Yet, researches with larger sample groups are needed to investigate further differences among them including ethnicity, religious beliefs, sect etc. that have the great potential of influencing the description of incivility.

Several scholars underscored the significance of engaging young people in the planning of urban environments in order to understand the way young people attribute meanings to the spaces and how spaces shape the lives of youth (see Daiute and Fine, 2003; Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Frank, 2006; Talen and Coffindafer, 1999; Vanderbeck and Johnson, 2000). According to Neyzi (2001), "Turkish youth are torn between hopes of constructing a more participatory public sphere and disillusionment with the nation-state as the embodiment of modernity. The process of transition of Turkish youth from object to subject is still in the making" (p. 412). Turkish youth was observed to be responsive to politics and social issues as well as individual differences in face-to-face interactions.

They suggested and recommended plans of action in terms of various policy and social implications to intervene incivilities on the street and transform the street and even the city for the benefits of themselves as well as the benefits of all citizens (see also McIntyre, 2000; Tonucci and Risotto, 2001 on this issue).

Erkip (2005) claims that lack of infrastructure, maintenance and cleaning facilities are important indicators of incivility of Turkish cities. With harsh criticisms about lack of maintenance, cleaning and infrastructure facilities as well as security precautions in Sakarya, Turkish youth seemed to be conscious about and sensitive to the failures of the municipality and state policies. Furthermore, they were aware of the problems and deficiencies of environmental design and urban planning. This study also indicated that when they were given the chance of participating and being heard, they were enthusiastic about involving in the process of design and regulation of public spaces as competent and sensitive citizens.

In sum, a further implication of this study was to make young people's voices heard as competent and participating citizens by engaging them in the field of incivility research as a neglected group and involving them in community and environmental affairs. Nevertheless, further studies are needed to explore the tools of a more active involvement of young people in the design and the planning of urban environments in order to create more child-friendly and sustainable cities (see Francis and Lorenzo, 2002; Malone, 2001 on this issue). Thus, it becomes possible to trace the role of 'active citizenship' (Brannan et al., 2006) in the creation of more civilized and democratic cities.

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APPENDIX A
THE PRELIMINARY SURVEY

Introduction

As Hart (1995) underscored, what is required is "a more radical social science [in which] children themselves learn to reflect upon their own conditions, so that they can gradually begin to take a greater responsibility in creating communities different from the ones they inherited" (cited in Matthews and Limb, 1999, p. 79). With the consideration of the unjust position of young individuals concerning the incivility argument, the way incivility is perceived by this group within the urban public realm is required for an in-depth analysis. Therefore, a preliminary study was designed in order to investigate different perceptions and experiences of incivility from the point of view of the urban youth who are mostly labeled and stigmatized as the main incivil encounters and conductors of incivility.

The study of Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1999), by distinguishing identity and personality formation briefly, argue that individuals position themselves with respect to the society through these two distinct processes. Identity formation is distinguished from personality formation as follows:

> Identity formation is distinguished by a sense of belonging in a specific collectivity, which may be a nation, race, religious community, sect, class, political party, etc. The collective identity develops around such a feeling of belonging together and invariably requires a conception of 'other' collectivities different from or opposed to itself […]. The collective identity […] also eliminates internal differences or fuses and replaces all inner variation in people's sense of identity. Thus, the collective identity becomes as powerful as the tendency to keep personal differences is weakened (p. 79).

When the description of personality formation is examined, it is stated that:

Personality formation, on the other hand, involves not an identification with a collectivity, but rather a specific combination of personal attributes and social roles (sex, family, occupation, ethical, etc.) that the individual acquires as a social being. Thus, self defining terms that refer to personality formation reflect this specific combination of the individual's physical, psychological and socio-cultural attributes (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, pp. 79-80).

Within this framework, this study aimed to analyze perception and experience of incivility in the urban realm from both perspectives; identity and personality formation of Turkish youth. By identity formation of youth, what is referred, is their belonging to the collectivity of 'youth' by distinguishing themselves from 'older generations', i.e., 'other'. Hence, it is possible to compare two different collectivities - youth and adults - in terms of their different perceptions and experiences of incivilities. Moreover, by analyzing youth, who inhabit in different neighborhoods of Ankara and assumed to belong to another collectivity at social class level, it was proposed to grasp the differences among youth who are having different identity formation due to their social class as well as their age. At the personality formation level, personal attributes of youth such as their gender are taken into consideration. In other words, heterogeneity of youth was analyzed through this formation.

We are in a time in which identities are constituted when they are penetrated into social class (Yeni Yüzyıl, 1995). Erder (2002) by underlining the relationship between social stratification and spatial stratification within a city, argues that individuals belonging to different social strata inhabit different neighborhoods and hence experience different characteristics of those neighborhoods. Ultimately, those daily experiences affect quality of daily life and life chances of the inhabitants. In other words, socio-economic characteristics that dominated neighborhoods and the way they are integrated to the

configuration of the city are determinant in the every day life and everyday encounters of individuals. In this respect, for instance, the description of morality of a squatter can become 'just the opposite morality understanding of the dwellers that live in the gated communities which are constructed next to the squatter settlements' (Yeni Yüzyıl, 1995) due to huge differences in gaining access to social and economic opportunities. As a result, for individuals who inhabit in disadvantaged neighborhoods with lacking adequate access to main public services, educational and occupational opportunities, the meaning of assimilation to the city life and gaining justification as 'citizens' of the same city has become very struggling and combative, especially for the youth (Boratav, 2005; Erder, 2002). Therefore, it is evident that youth growing up in such different environments possess very different characteristics, life styles, perceptions and experiences even if they are inhabitants of the same city. Moreover, as Robin et al. (2007) stated, quality of residential conditions is closely associated with the perception and experience of incivilities and feeling of insecurity. In this framework, this study aimed to identify whether the youth who inhabit in different neighborhoods of Ankara also have different perceptions and experiences of incivility within the city. It was expected that Ankara case might represent Turkey in a limited, yet strong manner. If patterns of incivility vary with neighborhood characteristics and settlement types in Ankara, this would provide a strong case for Turkey with more variety of population and settlement types.

As a result of rapid urbanization in Turkey after World War II, social and economic changes going hand in hand with changes in physical realm have been observed. Researches on urban districts mainly indicate that the spatial stratification in a city varies

according to the social stratification within the same city. In other words, it is possible to divide a city spatially along social stratification of that city such as high-income districts, middle-income districts or low-income districts (see Erder, 2002; Erkip, working paper).

Like most of the metropolitan cities of the developing countries, Ankara encounters serious problems of housing and residential land as in the case of all big cities in Turkey due to unexpected number of migrants occupying the city since the mid 1960s (see Erman, 1997; Tekeli, 1998). Ankara has also witnessed the changes in urban centers of Turkey with increasing number of apartment blocks in city centers and squatter settlements at the outskirts of the city. Besides, in recent years, Ankara also is the beholder of gated communities as a rising suburban development in Turkey (Akçal, 2004; Erkip, working paper).

Ankara, as the capital city of Turkey with a population of 4,466,756 (TURKSTAT, 2008) is spatially divided according to different social classes living in the city. In the light of these arguments, some settlement types were selected for this research, concerning their connection with the city and the urban way of living. Settlement types were classified as suburban gated communities, traditional apartment blocks and squatter housing. A gated community in Ümitköy district, which is the oldest suburban development where the first gated communities in Ankara appeared, was chosen. Traditional apartment blocks were chosen from Küçükesat, which is one of the oldest and central districts of Ankara.

Since the number of squatter housing areas in Ankara has been decreasing gradually due to the increasing number of urban transformation projects (see Türker-Devecigil, 2005 for an example of urban transformation projects in Ankara and also Erman, 1997), it is not feasible to select a certain district. For this reason, inhabitants from different squatter housing districts of Ankara were approached as respondents. Moreover, old squatters who have moved to apartment blocks were also chosen as respondents of this study. As a result, most of the respondents are inhabitants of Mamak and Altındağ districts which are still inhabited partly by squatters. In addition, some of the respondents are from Sincan which was a squatter housing district before the area converted into apartment blocks. As it was mentioned before, while deciding on the districts, the relationship between spatial stratification and social stratification in the city (see Erder, 2002 on this issue) were considered. The selected settlements of Ankara were also assumed to be inhabited by different income groups. Following sections elaborate on main research questions, objectives and main methods of the preliminary study.

The Research Questions and Objectives

In this preliminary research, the issues to be analyzed were categorized under three headings: 1- Perception of incivility by young people, 2- Context within which incivility is perceived and experienced in urban settings, 3- Actors of incivil behaviors/events. In this respect, the relevant research questions for each issue can be stated as follows:

1- Perception of incivility by young people:
- How do young people perceive and experience incivility within the city context?
- Do young people perceive themselves as a part of the incivil behaviors?
- How do young people perceive adults/elderly within the discussion of incivility?

- What are the different meanings and descriptions of incivility for urban youth?
- What are the main physical and social incivilities?
- What are the main reasons of incivilities?
- Does urban youth make a differentiation between incivility and crime? Which behaviors are entitled as criminal acts?
- What are the main behavioral and/or verbal responses of young people to incivil encounters?
- How do perceptions and experiences of incivility by urban youth differ along neighborhood characteristics?
- How do perceptions and experiences of incivility by urban youth differ along gender?

2- Context within which incivility is perceived and experienced in urban settings:

- Do the perception and experience of incivility change with space?
- Do the perception and experience of incivility change along the generational differences?
- What are the different experiences of incivility in different urban settings?
- Which urban settings are mostly perceived as incivil?
- What are the convenient situations and conditions that young people consider as triggering incivil conducts within different urban public settings?

3- Actors of incivil behaviors/events.

- How does age influence the perception, description and experiences of incivility in the city context?
- Which individual group(s) are the main target groups of incivil behaviors in the urban realm?
- Which individual group(s) are the main actors who mostly engage in incivil behaviors?

The objectives of this preliminary survey can be gathered under major topics as follows;
1. to understand different perceptions and experiences of incivility by urban youth.
2. to determine behaviors and events that are indicated as incivil for young people.

3. to compare and contrast young people's perceptions and experiences of incivility with the views of adults.

4. to differentiate incivilities related to physical environment, interpersonal relations and social environment.

5. to identify the reasons for different types of incivilities .

6. to detect different urban settings that are declared as incivil behaviors/events mostly appear.

7. to identify individual groups who are perceived as the main actors/targets of incivil behaviors.

8. to indicate main behavioral and/or verbal responses to incivility.

9. to explore the perception and experience of incivility by urban youth with respect to their neighborhoods and gender.

The Methods of the Preliminary Survey

In the following sections, the sample selection of the research, the data collection method and issues that are included in the survey instrument are discussed.

The Sample Selection

In the study, the main aim was to collect qualitative data, so that quota and convenience and/or snowball sampling methods were used. Although the group selected for the survey was somewhat homogeneous, their perception of incivility was explored against neighborhood characteristics and gender.

Yumul (2002), by highlighting the Kuştepe case, states that even if their age are comparable, individuals live their youth in very different environments. For this reason, since the conditions of those environments are different, the way youth perceive those conditions show variations as well. In this respect, how the perception and experience of

incivility by urban youth vary according to the young people's relationship to the neighborhood they belong to[14] was aimed to be grasped. Correspondingly, the sample group of the study was selected from the districts of Ümitköy, Küçükesat and different squatter housing district(s) of Ankara. In determination of these districts, their socio-economic characteristics and backgrounds and the way these elements are integrated to the configuration of the city were considered.

The Instruments

In this preliminary survey, it was planned to grasp what different groups of urban youth can understand from the term 'incivility' through semi-structured interviews. This survey instrument was capable of seizing the depth and variety of incivil events and different meanings of incivility that young people can perceive and experience in the urban realm. This included asking urban youth to determine meaning and description of incivility, the events/behaviors that they mostly consider as incivil, the tolerable and intolerable incivil behaviors/events, the incivil behaviors/events that they mostly encounter in their everyday life within the city of Ankara, the individual group(s) that they consider as the main actors and main targets of incivility, the urban settings that they think most of the incivil events/behaviors appear and their personal experiences of incivility in those settings, the reasons of incivility, the suitable conditions and situations that trigger incivil behavior/events to happen, whether they think perceived and experienced incivil behaviors/events change according to generational discrepancies and behavioral and/or verbal responses to incivilities.

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[14] For a similar emphasis see the research of Loader et al. (1998), through which they assessed how the intensity of adult responses against teenage incivilities in the locality of a town varies according to people's relationship to place.

To compare and contrast young people's perceptions and experiences of incivility with the views of adults and to have a more comprehensive understanding of the youth's experiences semi-structured interviews were conducted with adults as well. Adult group for the interviews was selected from the inhabitants of the same neighborhoods; parents, family members and neighbors of the young people or simply inhabitants of the same settlements were used as the respondent group.

The Procedure

In the light of the objectives and the issues to be analyzed in the study, a preliminary survey which was limited in terms of the size of the sample group, but as comprehensive as possible in terms of the scope and the content of the interviews was conducted. The aim was to construct an all-embracing argument of incivility perceptions and experiences of urban youth and adults. It was expected to form a basis for a much more focused study which was shaped around the discerned responses of this preliminary work.

Within the scope of the preliminary survey, a semi-structured interview was prepared by adhering to the objectives and the issues that were categorized as perception of incivility by young people, context within which incivility was perceived and experienced in urban settings, and actors of incivil behaviors/events (see the end of the text for the interview questions). Following the questions that aimed to collect socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, the interviews were applied by the researcher. Each interview took approximately 30 minutes. In this qualitative phase of the research, convenience and snowball sampling methods were used to reach 39 individuals; 22 of

whom belong to the age group 15-24 and 17 to 41-60, i.e., they were classified as youth and adults respectively. The sample group was determined according to the variables that were aimed to include: gender, income and characteristics of inhabited neighborhoods.

The research gives special emphasis to the impact of characteristics of different neighborhoods on the perception and experience of incivility. To understand the differences in perception and experiences of incivility in different urban settings, it was proposed to select respondents from different urban neighborhoods of Ankara which are mainly called together with different settlement types; gated communities in Ümitköy, traditional apartment blocks in Küçükesat and (a)squatter housing district(s) of Ankara. Since the sample size was small in this preliminary survey, qualitative analyses and comparisons were preferred to be used when it necessitated underlining the differences among individuals. In other words, within the scope of this preliminary research, qualitative evaluation was basically relied on and statistical analyses to show correlations between variables were avoided.

The Preliminary Findings and Discussion

As it was mentioned before, the interviews were conducted with 39 individuals covering youth and adult respondents. Out of 39, 22 of them fall between the ages of 15-24. Out of these 22 young individuals, 10 of them are females and 12 of them are males. Seven were selected among inhabitants of gated communities in Ümitköy district and assumed to belong to high income group. Another 7 of them are the inhabitants of traditional apartment blocks of the middle income district Küçükesat. Finally, 8 of them were

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selected from squatter settlements in Mamak which is a low-income neighborhood. Adult respondents of this study fall into the age range of 41 to 60. Out of 17 adult respondents, 12 are females and 5 are males. In this group of respondents, 8 of them inhabit in Ümitköy, 5 of them inhabit in Küçükesat, 3 of them inhabit in squatter settlements in Mamak and Altındağ and 1 of them is an old squatter who moved to Sincan after several years in a squatter housing in Altındağ. In the following sections, the findings and the discussion regarding this sample group is revealed along the predefined issues which are categorized under three headings: 1- Perception of incivility by young people, 2- Context within which incivility is perceived and experienced in urban settings, 3- Actors of incivil behaviors/events. Moreover, under each heading, the perception and experience of incivility by youth and adults are compared and contrasted.

Perception of Incivility by Youth and Adults

It is difficult to study the term 'incivility' in Turkish context due to the fact that there is no exact translation of the word that overlaps with the meaning in English. In addition, complex variations and blurred definitions of the concept make the analysis of the perception of the term difficult as well. By referring to the description of civility which is about rules, norms, codes, rituals, moral obligations, behaviors of living together and concern for the benefit of a whole society that regulate social interaction and generate a sense of inclusivity, equality and responsibility for individuals and for the shared spaces of a society (see Amin, 2006; Boyd, 2006; Fyfe et al., 2006; Shils, 1991 for the definition of civility), respondents were asked to bring out a description for the individuals and behaviors that stayed out of this argument of civility. In other words, by giving the definition of civility, respondents were asked to define and describe the

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opposite of it, i.e., incivility. According to the results, among the youth group, incivility and incivil individuals were described as being disrespectful, impolite, ill-mannered, rude, uneducated, thoughtless, arrogant, self-centered and rustic. Young people mostly explained these adjectives together with self-interest, disregard for others and erosion for empathy as Philips (2006) and Pearson et al. (2000) used while describing incivility. Moreover, some young people defined incivility as being disobedient, rebellious, radical and independent from family. In other words, they considered incivility as being different and having a different and contradictory life style compared to rest of the society. This can be explained by the financial and emotional dependence of Turkish youth to their families. Almost all of the respondents of this preliminary survey were living with their families. Hence, they were financially and emotionally dependent to their families as most of the Turkish youth (see Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Therefore, they identified being independent from family as a disobedient, rebellious and radical act and use it to exemplify incivility since living independent from family is contradictory with the embraced norms of the Turkish society. Nevertheless, this explanation of some young people does not mean that they are happy with this situation. As researches indicated, dependency to older generations are not necessarily declared by youth as an indication of good communication between parents and young people (see Armağan, 2004; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Contrarily, as one of the respondents claimed, even if living independently from family is not approved by the rest of the society and is named as incivility, living with family is a threat to the freedom of young people:

> The individuals, who prefer a life style which is not approved by the norms of living together in a society, are the ones having freedom. They have a much more comfortable life than ours. They do not live with their families like we do. They are independent.
>
> (17-year-old, female, squatter housing in Mamak)

The incivil behaviors that were mentioned by some young respondents as examples of these descriptions are mostly entitled under the heading of social incivilities including the behaviors of spitting, swearing, sexual harassment and inappropriate ways of dressing. The responses of adults were not very distinct from youth. Adult respondents described incivility together with being disrespectful, impolite, ill-mannered, rude, thoughtless, uneducated and offender. These terms were explained mostly by emphasizing behaviors that threaten the wholeness of a society and destroy the regulations of living together. Incivil individuals were mentioned as self-centered and disrespectful for the shared environment and for the rights of other individuals in the society. The behaviors that were used by adults to explain these social incivilities were spitting, using mobile phones in public spaces such as public transportation vehicles, loud talking, smacking while eating and inappropriate way of sitting in public spaces.

In addition to the definitions that were brought out for incivility, respondents were also asked to define all the terms that match with incivility including rudeness *(kabalık)*, unmannerliness *(görgüsüzlük)*, thoughtlessness *(düşüncesizlik)*, not being civil *(medeni olmamak)*, disrespect *(saygısızlık)*, uneasiness *(huzur kaçırmak)* and disobedience *(kurallara uymamak)*. According to the answers of the youth, the terms rudeness, unmannerliness, disrespect and uneasiness could not be very much differentiated as in the case of various researches that designate incivility together with the terms disregard,

disrespect, rudeness, impoliteness, unmannerliness, thoughtlessness and disorder (see

Bannister et al., 2006; Boyd, 2006; Kasson, 1990; Skogan, 1992) by avoiding harsh

distinctions among the concepts. Nevertheless, there were some distinctions among the

terms that can be highlighted. For instance, 'not being civil', which is the exact literal

meaning of incivility in Turkish, was defined as being conservative, traditional,

hidebound and not belong to a part of city life as indicated by Boyd (2006), Félonneau,

(2004), Hume (1987) and Kasson (1990).

Moreover, the description for disrespect was also mainly differentiated from the other

given concepts. For Turkish youth, respect for customs and tradition is indicated as one

of the most important virtues. "The concept of 'tradition' occupies a privileged status

among the youth's system of values" (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999, p. 70). The

young respondents denoted disrespect together with being disrespectful to elderly and

adults. On the contrary to foreign counterparts, who are designated as disrespectful and

threats to the adult order of the society (see Collins and Kearns, 2001; Loader et al.,

1998), Turkish youth emphasized the importance of being respectful to adults and

elderly and generated a definition of disrespect along this understanding. This can be

explained by high percentage of confidence and trust of Turkish youth in older

generations and need for their advices (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Some

highlighted definitions of the related concepts of incivility by different young

respondents can be exemplified as follows:

> I think that rudeness is being self-centered at a maximum level. Thoughtlessness
> is about consciousness of individuals. Disrespect is lack of love; fascism.
> Disorder or disobedience to rules matches with being a Turk. Individuals who are
> not civilized are traditional and conservative.
>
> (24-year-old, male, gated community in Ümitköy)

I believe that rude individuals are disrespectful and being disrespectful is being disorderly and unmannerly to adults and elderly. Whereas, not being civil, according to me, is owning a *Şahin* model of car and listening to loud music while driving that car.

(15-year-old, male, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

I consider unmannerliness as equal to disrespect and rudeness which is about being disrespectful to older generations.

(21-year-old, female, squatter housing in Mamak)

I think rudeness is not offering one's seat to an elderly in buses. Disrespect is about not caring environment; lack of environmental concern. Uneasiness is about listening loud music in the car.

(24-year-old, male, squatter housing in Mamak)

The definitions of adult respondents for the concepts that were related to the incivility were not even as distinct as the definitions of young respondents. Adults mostly entitled all the terms under the heading of 'threats to social order and wholeness of the society'. According to them, all these concepts had almost the same definitions and commonly related to the disobedience of social rules, norms and value systems. They indicated that all these concepts were not approved by the society in general; these concepts were related to being self-centered or having lack of education.

Different Types of Perceived and Experienced Incivilities

After investigating the definitions and descriptions of incivility, respondents were asked to exemplify incivil acts, behaviors, conditions and circumstances by which they were disturbed or with which they did not want to encounter in the daily urban life of Ankara. At first, the incivilities that were declared by the respondents were categorized into two main headings: physical and social incivilities by referring to literature (see Crawford, 2006; Franzini, et al., 2008; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1999; 2004 for the categorization of incivilities). Physical incivilities are related to the perceived

problems and inconveniences about physical environment and environmental stressors. Whereas, social incivilities are related to the social environment and interpersonal relations. However, since the social incivilities are a broad category, incivilities which are related to impolite and rude behaviors, manners or bodily management and display in face-to-face interactions within public realm were grouped separately by referring to proximate incivilities. Besides, crime-related incivilities were also accepted as a different category other than social incivilities. Hence, incivilities were grouped under four headings: physical incivilities, social incivilities, proximate incivilities and crime-related incivilities. According to the responses of youth, they were mostly disturbed by social incivilities and proximate incivilities. Under the heading of social incivilities, most commonly, sexual and verbal harassment, especially, against females, fighting and arguing on streets, beggars, drunks and homeless individuals on streets and public drinking were indicated by the young respondents. Sexual and verbal harassment were also featured as behaviors about which some young respondents could never show tolerance or endurance. Moreover, inconveniences related to public transportation such as crowding, bad smells and dirt, breaking and disrespecting the rules (e.g. traffic rules), violence, aggressive and nervous people in public spaces, impulsive and provocative behaviors, gang activities, insecurity of wandering at night, smoking in public spaces and migrants living in cities were other kinds of social incivilities that were noted by the youth.

> I mostly disturbed by individuals who have been migrating to the cities. They cannot adapt to the city life and they change the structure of the society. In addition, I feel restless about the gang activities in ghettos.
> (18-year-old, male, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

> I think a male and a female should not get in close relationship and physical contact in places apart from their house. I do not encounter with people who fight and argue on streets and drink in public spaces. I think alcohol consumption is a bad habit.
>
> (18-year-old, female, squatter housing in Mamak)

> People who ignore the traffic rules are dangerous. These kinds of behaviors are big threats for the security of the society and individual rights.
>
> (24-year-old, male, gated community in Ümitköy)

Public drinking and sexual contacts with the opposite sex were declared as incivil acts by the young respondents living in squatter housing districts. Konrad Adenauer Foundation (1999) underlines the negative relationship between conservative, traditional, tamed and dependent way of living of youth and their socio-economic status. This relationship was also observed during the interviews of this study; young people who are inhabiting in low-income, squatter housing areas were much more tamed, traditional and conservative about alcohol consumption, gadding and intimate relationships with the opposite sex.

When the social incivilities which were noted by the adults were examined, it was observed that they were not as much and as various as the responses of the youth. Unlike the youth, the adults mainly highlighted breaking and violating the traffic rules as incivil, insecure and dangerous. This difference between two generations in perception of the problems encountered in traffic as the major incivility can be explained through having freedom of owning a car and the chance of driving of the adults and also lack of emotional and financial freedom of the youth almost all of whom are living with their parents and has the parental allowance as the main source of personal income. Another interesting finding was, 'breaking and violating traffic rules' was mostly indicated as the

major incivility by the high-income group of respondents living in gated communities of the suburban district Ümitköy. Accordingly, there seemed a correlation between socio-economic status and owning a car and these are correlated with the perception of problems encountered in traffic as the major form of incivility in the city. Fighting and arguing on streets was the second most frequently declared incivility by the adults, which was followed by the insecurity of wandering at night and beggars, drunks and homeless individuals on streets. Sexual and verbal harassment which were perceived as the major incivilities by the youth, were noted only one adult respondent.

Another difference between two age groups in perception and experience of social incivilities was about perceiving mobile phone use in public spaces as incivil as previous researches underlined (see Montgomery, 2008; Robin et al., 2007). Two of the adults pointed out that they were disturbed very much by the public mobile phone use and they found it very rude. On the contrary to the study of Martha and Griffet (2007), which expresses that young people perceive mobile phone use as impolite and incivil inherent to noise, preliminary findings of this study announced that none of the youth related public mobile phone use with incivility. Moreover, according to the findings of a preliminary study on the perception of public mobile phone use by Turkish youth, it is indicated that, even if some of the young people have some complaints about the volume and private content of mobile phone conversations in public spaces, they think using mobile phones in public spaces are acceptable at various levels (Muğan and Erkip, 2008). And the reason of this perception is explained by adoption and highly prevalent use of mobile phones by the youth (see Muğan and Erkip, 2008; Özcan and Koçak, 2003). Some adult respondents emphasized another significant point by confirming past

researches which are about disorderly and misbehaving groups of youth as potential threats to the adult order of the society, bearers of many incivil and disorderly acts and the main sources of incivility in public spaces (see Amit-Talai and Wulff, 1995; Collins and Kearns, 2001; Loader et al., 1998; Philips and Smith, 2006).

> I find groups of youth wandering around dangerous, especially at nights. Besides, youth cannot control the way they behave in public spaces; they are violent. I am very scared of young people in traffic. They behave unmannerly, but they cannot carry the responsibility of their behaviors.
> (52-year-old, female, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

Among proximate incivilities which were commonly pointed out by some young respondents following the social incivilities, spitting, swearing, loud talking, loud music, uninvited touch and invasion of personal space and unnecessary horning were highlighted. In addition, following verbal harassment, swearing and spitting were the second and third most perceived incivilities that young people encountered in their everyday life respectively. Besides, belching, to be fanned, to pick one's nose, smacking while eating, long hold gazes, insulting or arrogant gestures, talking in movie theatres, inappropriate way of sitting and dressing in public spaces and not offering one's seat in public transportation for elderly were also mentioned by the youth. There was not much difference between adult and young respondents in terms of proximate incivilities. According to the adults, spitting, loud talking, swearing, unnecessary horning, picking or blowing one's nose, inappropriate way of sitting in public space, pushing into queues and bumping into each other were impolite, rude, ill-mannered and disorderly acts as well.

As categorized under proximate incivility, one of the young respondents stated the prejudicial or political comments. Still, most of the young respondents brought harsh criticisms for the working of municipality of Ankara, inconveniences in the state and military mechanisms and deficiencies and failures of the police forces which can indicate that the level of political activism of Turkish youth was not as low as it was considered in previous researches (see Armağan, 2004; Kentel, 2005; Özgün, 2005). Adult respondents also revealed their political attitude and position during the interviews by complaining about the increase in the number of minarets in the city and women wearing scarf, inconveniences in the state, failures of the municipality and police forces. On the contrary to the previous researches (see Honnold, 1984; Klineberg et al., 1998), which indicate that younger people are more environmentally concerned than older people, most of the young respondents of this preliminary survey seemed not to be very much concerned with the physical environment and physical incivilities. The number of physical incivilities which were expressed by the youth was very limited. The most commonly perceived physical incivilities for some young respondents were litter or trash on sidewalks or on the street, traffic jam, noise pollution due to traffic, bad smells and water shortage in the city. In addition to these, air pollution, insufficiency of the number of trash-cans and dustbins, difficulty in moving around on the pavements due to some design failures and lack of green spaces were expressed by a limited number of respondents. However, environmental pollution, air pollution, water shortages, traffic and distorted urban planning strategies were featured as the environmental concerns specific to Ankara. One interesting environmental concern for Ankara was brought out by a squatter housing inhabitant who perceives squatter settlements in Ankara positively (see Erman, 1997 for the argument regarding the positive perception of *gecekondu*

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housing by rural migrants) and criticized the formation of gated communities as leading

to spatial and social segregation in the city through their visible physical boundaries;

gates and walls (see Erkip, working paper, for the argument regarding spatial and social

segregation through gated communities in Ankara):

> All squatter settlements in Ankara are transformed into *site* (gated communities)
> or apartment housing. The walls between two groups of individuals are
> increasing and becoming thicker. I do not like those transformation projects that
> aim to get rid of squatters. I like living in squatter housing. We have green areas
> and gardens. They are making everywhere stone and concrete.
>
> <div align="right">(17-year-old, female, squatter housing in Mamak)</div>

The responses of the adults were not very different than those of the youth, but

obviously they were more diverse and varied. In addition to the physical incivilities that

were perceived and experienced by young respondents, adult respondents expressed

gradual road constructions, lack of parking spaces, visual pollution due to some design

failures such as use of various colors in building facades and antenna towers, water

pollution and threat of transmitter towers as well.

As it was claimed in previous researches (see Bannister and Fyfe, 2001; Pain, 2001),

adult respondents seemed to be more fearful against crime rather than younger people.

Crime-related incivilities that were perceived by two age groups were almost the same:

hit-and-run attacks, overspeed, rape, sexual harassment and offensive behaviors. Unlike

young respondents, the adults, as being 'minding parents' who have control and

autonomy on their children, highlighted the increase in drug use at schools as a threat

and danger for their children (see Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005 for the discussion on the emotional

interdependence between parents and their child). Use of guns in wedding ceremonies,

which is a crime-related incivility as well, was also pointed out by adults as dangerous

and disorderly. In addition to the incivilities which were categorized under the heading of crime, respondents were asked about which incivil behaviors that were mentioned by them should be considered as crime. First purpose of this question was to understand whether respondents could make a differentiation between incivility and crime and the other was to see how some incivilities could be ranked and considered as serious as criminal acts that needed the police intervention and legal penalties. According to the findings, most of the young respondents were aware of which incivilities they had noted were real criminal acts that needed police intervention and legal penalty. Moreover, some young respondents stated that incivilities such as spitting, not offering one's seat in public transportation for elderly, reckless behaviors, intimate relations with opposite sex in public spaces, verbal harassment and loud music should also be considered under the heading of crime and all these behaviors should be given legal punishments. The adults could also easily differentiate crime-related incivilities from other kinds of social incivilities. Compared to the number and types of incivilities which were considered as crime by young respondents, the incivilities which were addressed as crime by the adults were much more limited and realistic. According to them, polluting the environment, using and carrying gun for any purpose and all kinds of traffic problems should be accepted as crime. Nevertheless, it is important to note that almost all of the adults and young respondents did not believe that police intervention was sufficient and efficient even for real crime cases, so that it was not possible for expecting it to work for daily incivilities either.

The Reasons and Explanations of Incivilities

After investigating incivilities in the city, the reasons of the incivilities were sought. According to the most of the young respondents, major reasons of incivility and incivil behaviors were lack of education, economic disadvantages, too much self interest, seeing oneself as superior, disregard and acts of aggression towards others respectively. What was referred by lack of education includes the lack of education given by family and by school. By confirming previous researches (see Armağan, 2004; Kazgan, 2002; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999), most of the young respondents stated that education and family were the most meaningful values to hinder incivility. The second reason of the incivilities following the lack of education, was the economic deprivation that was claimed to be negatively correlated with the education level. Concerning the significance of money and material values in the lives of the Turkish youth (see Armağan, 2004), it was very likely them to explain the reasons of incivility and the lack of education through economic insufficiencies. This explanation of the youth was also consistent with previous researches which stated the reason of incivil behaviors as lack of chance in benefiting the equal right of education due to economic disadvantages (Boratav, 2005; Erder, 2002; Kazgan, 2002). In other words, according to the youth, economic disadvantages by leading to inequality and discrimination in having access to the public services and institutions resulted in incivil behaviors and events. As it is mentioned by Boyd (2006) and Pain (2001), geographically or economically excluded groups in the society are apt to become more uncivil since they are isolated and ignored in terms of the benefits and the rights of living in a society. In this respect, inequality and discrimination in the society were mentioned as indirect reasons of incivility by some of the urban youth. Some examples of the reasons of the incivilities which were

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related to lack of education, economic disadvantages and inequality in the society can be

given as follows:

> Some material deficiencies deprive individuals of having chance of education.
> This results in illiteracy which in turn leads to incivility. In other words, at first
> money and then education is the solution to tackle with incivility.
> <div align="right">(24-year-old, female, apartment housing in Küçükesat)</div>

> The reasons of all rude, impolite, incivil and anti-social behaviors are related to
> the economic conditions in the country. Economic conditions should be well
> enough to provide opportunities for education and well-being of individuals.
> Otherwise, individuals who feel angry, uncomfortable, stressful and unhappy due
> to poverty and economic disadvantages cannot think of the way they should
> behave.
> <div align="right">(19-year-old, male, squatter housing in Mamak)</div>

> There is inequality in our society due to economic resource allocation. Every
> citizen cannot have the chance of benefiting the services and institutions
> provided for the whole society. The groups who have not the chance of equal
> access to these services such as education gets angry to everything. They become
> rude, impolite and even dangerous. In order to meet civil individuals, first of all,
> you should teach them how to be civil through education. For equal chance of
> education for everyone you should be a welfare state.
> <div align="right">(21-year-old, male, gated community in Ümitköy)</div>

In addition to the 'otherness' due to economically disadvantaged position of some

individuals in the society, the 'otherness' of the migrants was also emphasized by some

young respondents as the source of incivilities in the city context. The past researches

argue that rural migrants that come to cities try to adapt themselves to the city life.

However, meeting of rural culture with the urban culture may lead to the experience of

degeneration which hinders rural migrants to assimilate and integrate to urban life. Thus,

they have become the main sources and the reasons of incivilities, crime and urban

tension (see Aksoy, 2007; Armağan, 2004; Erder; 2002). Some young respondents of

this study featured rural migrants as the main sources of incivilities due to these

problems of assimilation and integration to the urban life.

> Rural migrants coming to the big cities, like Ankara and İstanbul, try to continue with their life in their village. However, it is not possible in the urban context. The problem is that they are not aware of this, so they do not do anything to adapt to new urban culture. Individuals who are mostly affected from these migrants and their rusticity are urban people. We have to encounter all those incivil, rude, impolite, disorderly and rustic behaviors and situations.
>
> (23-year-old, female, gated community in Ümitköy)

In addition to the reasons of incivilities, which were related to social deprivation, some of the young respondents also emphasized the reasons of incivilities which were at the individual level that result from manners, behaviors, gestures and bodily managements and display in daily encounters with strangers in public spaces (see Philips and Smith, 2006; Félonneau, 2004). In other words, some incivilities were explained by everyday routine of individuals in urban experience instead of attributing the reasons to the behaviors of certain groups or to the social issues. Some young respondents declared being too self-centered, seeing oneself as superior compared to other individuals and devaluation of the strangers as the reasons of incivil events in face-to-face interactions. Besides, excess stress, overload, rush and sleeplessness due to urban way of living were indicated to be the causes of some incivilities such as invasion of personal space, bumping into each other and incidental touch.

The reason of verbal and sexual harassment as the incivilities which were mostly perceived and experienced by the urban youth was explained by the 'sexual hunger' of individuals, especially of males. Some of the respondents related the reason of sexual hunger with the social structure of the Turkish society. According to them, the 'forced' conservative, conventional, traditional and religious way of living, which is specific to

the Turkish society, led to sexual harassment and abuses in the everyday encounters of urban life.

The reasons of incivilities that were perceived by adult respondents were not very different than the perceptions of the youth. According to the adults, lack of education, inappropriate family environment and failures in the working of municipalities and the state control were the major reasons of incivilities which were related to social deprivation. In addition, too much self interest, friendship with wrong people, insensitivity to other individuals and to the environment, overload, psychological disturbances and excess stress were told to be the sources of incivilities at the individual level.

The feelings that incivilities evoked on the respondents and the behavioral and/or verbal responses to incivil encounters were also investigated. For both young and adult respondents, encountering incivil conducts in the urban context led to the feelings of anger and irritation. Moreover, most of the adult respondents noted that they feel uneasy due to incivilities; whereas most of the youth claimed that they felt very sorry and defenseless as a result of encountering with lots of incivil conducts in the city.

Out of 22 young respondents 13 of them pointed out that they avoided warning individuals who were engaging in incivil acts for the fact that warning someone in Turkey was dangerous and insecure. Those respondents stated that they preferred to ignore incivil behaviors and individuals. The other 9 respondents stated different levels and forms of warning either verbally or behaviorally. The intensity of warning for some

young respondents varied within the range of 'warning through look and gaze' and 'beating uncivil individuals'. Some of the young respondents also made differentiation among uncivil individuals who could be warned and who could not be warned. They noted that they warned uncivil individuals but avoided warning drunks, drug addicts and homeless people since they were dangerous and behave unexpectedly. In addition, some of them stated that context in which the incivility and uncivil individuals were encountered was determinant for the decision of warning and for the intensity and severity of warning.

> I warn rude and impolite individuals. If I am in a crowding place, the intensity of my warning is more harsh. I can even shout. One day, while I was wandering in *Mango*, a man came and touched me and I started to shout at the man. He ran away. But, if that event happened in a silent and abandoned place, I would be the one who runs away. I cannot dare to warn someone while I am alone.
> (22-year-old, female, gated community in Ümitköy)

> I react and give verbal response to ill-mannered and disorderly behaviors. I even do not care whether that individual is older than me or not. In my neighborhood our big brothers (*ağabeylerimiz*) engage in some disorderly behaviors such as making acrobatics through cars. They disturb the neighbors with noise and amusement. I show my reaction to them as well.
> (15-year-old, male, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

> There are individuals who can be warned and who cannot be warned. If you warn a drug user, it is not possible to expect it will work. Moreover, he can harm you. One of my friends was wounded by a drug addict. Those individuals are day-dreaming. So you should not be messed with those guys.
> (19-year-old, male, squatter housing in Mamak)

> I am afraid of warning someone as a female. I prefer to ignore all kinds of disturbing events and behaviors.
> (21-year-old, female, squatter housing in Mamak)

When the young respondents were asked about whether they thought the warnings they made or that were made in general were effective, almost all of the respondents expressed that they did not believe that warning and even police intervention were

effective to hinder those incivilities and incivil acts. They mentioned a temporary effect of warning on the uncivil person, but a permanent effect could not be achieved through warning. At this point, they suggested increasing the intensity of warning by fighting, beating and violent acts.

> The warning or verbal responses are not a solution for those disorderly individuals. You should beat them. Police forces or legal intervention is also unnecessary and ineffective. We can give the punishment through our fists.
>
> (24-year-old, male, squatter housing in Mamak)

> They broke bottles in the neighborhood. I slapped one of the guys and the others also quit behaving in that manner. So, sometimes warning someone intensely works, but sometimes it does not. Individuals are put in prison and when they are out, they continue to engage in criminal acts.
>
> (15-year-old, male, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

The number of adult respondents who preferred to respond to incivil conducts was almost equal to the number of adults who prefer ignoring the incivil behaviors and individuals. The reason of avoiding warning or ignoring incivil acts was stated as preferring to keep away from involving fighting or arguing. Adults also mentioned different intensity levels and forms of warning. They differentiated intensity and form of warning according to the incivil act, instead of the incivil individual as young respondents did. Besides, as in the case of young respondents, adult respondents did not believe the effectiveness of warning or even police intervention to tackle with incivility.

> I usually find myself in arguing after warning someone. I do not believe that warning, verbal responses or reactions are effective. But as a solution I can bring out that the intensity of warning should be increased in every turn starting with verbal response and continuing with changing the tone of your voice and finally a serious penalty.
>
> (47-year-old, male, gated community in Ümitköy)

> I avoid arguing with disrespectful individuals. I verbally warn once, if it does not work, I prefer leaving that place. Otherwise, my children can intervene with the situation and it will probably end up with a fighting.
>
> (54-year-old, female, squatter housing in Altındağ)

> I forcedly ignore incivil acts and individuals. I try to warn them through my looks or gazes. But, actually I feel scared and prefer to leave the environment. The individual can attack me.
>
> (52-year-old, female, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

After collecting data on verbal or behavioral responses to incivilities, respondents were asked to suggest interventions to tackle with incivility. Since both young and adult respondents considered lack of education and inappropriate family environment as the major reasons of incivility, the major intervention suggested by both respondent groups was consistent with these reasons: increasing the education level of individuals through state and municipality policies such as social centers or family interventions. In addition, some adult and young respondents highlighted the importance of individual intervention of every citizen by immediate warning when encountered with an incivil act.

Moreover, both young and adult respondents featured the importance of policy implications through increase in legal sanctions, penalties and police control. Some of the young respondents carried this control and autonomy for intervening incivility one step beyond. They suggested surveillance cameras that were located in various urban settings to observe and detect incivil acts (see Koskela 2000; Staeheli and Mitchell, 2006; Wooley et al., 1999 on this issue) and neighborhood wardens (see Crawford, 2006) who were expected to patrol and monitor every neighborhood and had the right to intervene when it is necessary. Zero-tolerance policies were at the very extreme point among some young respondents. Two of them emphasized that in order to get rid of incivilities, incivil individuals should be slaughtered since legal and state interventions were not working efficiently. In addition to these individual interventions and policy implications, two of the young respondents emphasized the role of design implications

for tackling with incivility by increasing the number of dustbins and trash-cans on the street and by making changes in the design of public transportation vehicles to increase their passenger carrying capacity. Besides, adult respondents, by taking attention to the traffic problem in Ankara, stated the importance of increasing the number of public transportation vehicles through municipality interventions.

Context within Which Incivility Is Perceived and Experienced in Urban Settings

While analyzing the context that influenced the perception and the experience of incivility, the urban settings and the situations in which incivil behaviors/events mostly appeared were investigated. The impact of generational differences on the perception and the experience of incivility was also questioned. According to the findings, young respondents mostly pointed out open public spaces as the urban settings where incivil behaviors and events mostly appeared. The open urban public spaces in Ankara where young respondents mostly had perceptions and experiences of incivility were parks (such as Kurtuluş and Güvenpark), Kızılay, streets and their neighborhoods (squatter housing areas) respectively. Besides, crowding places, quiet and abandoned places and all places that were open to the use of public were perceived as appropriate for incivil behaviors. In addition to these spaces, traffic, city centers, stadiums, the bus station *(AŞTİ)*, supermarkets, shops during sales, bus stops, public transportation vehicles, shopping malls were indicated to be the appropriate places for incivil acts due to their crowding environments. The perception and the experience of incivilities in these contexts can be related to the social dimensions of living in metropolitan cities and a metropolitan way of life (see Robin et al., 2007). Furthermore, out of 22 young respondents 16 mentioned that perceiving or experiencing incivility in urban settings

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affected their feelings about and their tendency of approach to those settings negatively.

They indicated that they preferred avoiding those incivil and dangerous places due to

unpleasurable experiences (see Mehrabian and Russell, 1974 for the pleasure-arousal

hypothesis and also Wooley et al., 1999). Some young respondents did not differentiate

urban settings according to different incivilities but rather they specified their

experiences of specific incivilities in specific urban settings.

> Disorderly acts or dangerous individuals were used to be encountered in abandoned places. However, now, they moved to the crowding environments. You can even encounter with such an incivil individual in a shopping mall. But of course I am still scared of quiet and abandoned places and avoid going to such places.
>
> > (23-year-old, female, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

> Supermarkets, bus stops and all shops during sale times are incivil and disturbing. One day I was shopping in *TepeHome* when it was very crowded. There is that red line to make individuals stay away while someone is making the payment in order to prevent personal space invasion. But suddenly a woman bumped into me. I got crazy and started to shout. After that day, I prefer going *TepeHome* in tranquil days.
>
> > (22-year-old, female, gated community in Ümitköy)

Erkip (2003) underlines the fact that some open public spaces such as streets and urban

parks are not very secure for certain groups of individuals like women and elderly,

especially at nights. In this study, some young people, in both gender, were also

observed to be feeling insecure in urban parks and streets owing to their perception and

experiences of different incivilities in those urban settings.

> I hate parks and wandering around Kızılay. It is disgusting and very insecure. We used to hang out in Güvenpark with my friends. Then, last year, my friend was wounded in Güvenpark by a drug addict. After that we quit hanging out in Güvenpark especially at nights.
>
> > (19-year-old, male, squatter housing in Mamak)

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> Parks are very insecure and dangerous places, especially for women. There are lots of men who wander around to beguile women. Actually, they are the only places that you can hang out without paying any money but unfortunately we cannot go there.
>
> (22-year-old, female, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

Another interesting finding was the perception of inhabited neighborhood as the most incivil and dangerous urban setting by the young respondents living in squatter settlements. This claim of squatters seemed to support previous researches (see Morenoff et al., 2001; Robin et al., 2007; Sampson and Raudenbush, 2004) which associated poor quality of residential conditions and socio-economic disadvantages of the neighborhoods with the perception of incivilities and feeling of insecurity. Another explanation that can be brought out for ascribing incivility with the inhabited neighborhood is the relationship between lack of positive bonds between places and people and their perception and experiences of incivility and crime. Place attachment is noted to be influential on the perception and the experience of incivilities within the neighborhood. Weak place attachments are indicated to be the reasons of run-down neighborhoods and physical incivilities that result in experience of social incivilities and crime within those communities (see Brown et al., 2004; Loader et al., 1998). Moreover, place attachment is assumed to be affective on the appraisals of beauty, quality and preferences of places (see Gifford, 2002). In this respect, the young respondents who ascribed their neighborhoods with incivility and crime might have weak social ties with their neighborhood and a weak place attachment.

> I encounter with verbal harassment or any kind of rude individual, mostly, in my own neighborhood, *Boztepe Mahallesi*. It is very sad that I do not like the place I live in. The environment is dangerous and insecure. There are some construction fields around mostly occupied by drug addicts.
>
> (17-year-old, female, squatter housing in Mamak)

> It is possible to see all kinds of disorderly acts while sitting in front of your apartment in our neighborhood or wandering around. I do not like very much living in this district or wandering or hanging out here. But I have to because my mother does not always allow me to go somewhere else.
>
> (15-year-old, male, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

Certain districts, such as Kızılay, Sıhhıye, Ulus, Keçiören, Çinçin and Sincan were indicated as the most dangerous and the most unlikely places to go due to incivil acts and individuals which were either experienced or heard to be experienced by some young respondents. Even though Keçiören, Çinçin and Sincan were not visited even once by the young respondent group, prejudices regarding these districts due to their disadvantaged and economically deprived socio-economic position in Ankara and 'otherness' of individuals living in those districts seemed to lead the youth ascribe these districts together with incivility and crime. According to these findings, Ankara seemed to be spatially segregated as Erkip (working paper) claimed as well. However, the perceptions and the experiences of the urban settings did not differentiate according to neighborhood characteristics that young respondents inhabit. In other words, on the contrary to what Erder (2002), Robin et al. (2007) and Yeni Yüzyıl, (1995) expressed by featuring the negative correlation between the perception and the experience of incivilities and socio-economic level of the neighborhood, in the perception of certain districts in Ankara as dangerous there was no observed difference among respondents according to the characteristics of neighborhood that they inhabit due to common concerns about insecurity.

> Çinçin is the most dangerous place in Ankara. They used to call it 'heaven'. Do you know the reason of it? Because, they say everyone in Çinçin flies due to overdose. I have never been there and I do not want to be either in the future.
>
> (19-year-old, male, squatter housing in Mamak)

I usually do no like being in Ulus. If I am alone, it is very likely to be verbally or sexually abused and harassed. Also, at nights, Sakarya and Kızılay become dangerous.

(23-year-old, female, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

Keçiören, Ulus and Kızılay are dangerous and insecure places in Ankara. I change my way in order not to be in Kızılay even if it takes longer. There are lots of beggars and homeless around. The education and income level of individuals are very low. They are ill-mannered individuals.

(21-year-old, male, gated community in Ümitköy)

The adults' responses for urban settings in which incivil behaviors and events mostly appeared were more varied compared to younger respondents', but the urban settings that were featured show similarities. Adult respondents indicated bars, restaurants, streets, Ulus, Kızılay and public transportation vehicles as settings where incivilities were mostly encountered in Ankara. Besides, traffic, crowding places, quiet and abandoned places were noted as providing the appropriate situations that triggered incivil acts. Moreover, some of the respondents pointed out that it was not possible to make a differentiation among urban settings. According to them incivility was spread to all urban settings in Ankara.

Unlike young respondents, some of the adult respondents mentioned squatter housing and slum areas as the urban settings within which incivil conducts mostly appeared. However, it was not possible to talk about differences among the respondents according to the neighborhoods that they inhabit. Franzini et al. (2008) argue that inhabitants of disadvantaged neighborhoods perceive disorder as salient since they got used to it. However, in this survey, adult respondents like young respondents, who inhabit in squatter housing, had complaints about their own neighborhoods by ascribing them as the most incivil and dangerous urban settings that should be avoided but had to be

inhabited due to economic reasons. Furthermore, adult respondents, like young respondents, announced certain districts of Ankara as more incivil and disorderly. However, unlike young respondents, neighborhood characteristics of adult inhabitants had an impact on the perception of certain districts in Ankara as dangerous and incivil. Correspondingly, all respondents, living in high-income, suburban gated communities in Ümitköy identified Kızılay, Ulus, Sıhhıye and Sakarya as the urban settings within which incivilities were mostly encountered so that they should be avoided. Whereas, for the inhabitants of middle-income apartments in Küçükesat and for squatter housing inhabitants, the districts that were asserted to be dangerous and incivil are Çinçin and Bentderesi.

The impact of generational differences on the perception and the experience of incivilities was another determinant for the context within which incivility was analyzed. More than half of the young respondents indicated that perception and experience of incivilities changed as the generations changed. According to these respondents, the number of incivil events encountered in the urban daily life was increasing as the society changed. Besides, by giving reference to their parents' and grandparents' time and generation, they declared that incivil conducts in the present time was more intense and they felt unluckier than their parents (for a counter argument see Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Concerning the evaluation of the future of the society and future generations, previous researches (see Armağan, 2004; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999; Yeni Yüzyıl, 1995), which point out that Turkish youth are not optimistic about the future and the future generations, seemed to be confirmed. In other words, young respondents stated that individuals were getting used to incivil ways of living with the

changes in value system of the society and with changing understandings, which led to

the demolition of the value system that result in further incivilities (see Armağan, 2004).

> The individuals in the past were told to be more respectful and polite. Today, individuals become thoughtless and self-centered. My parents seem to be luckier.
> (17-year-old, male, squatter housing in Mamak)

> The norms of the society are changing in a negative manner. It started to degenerate. I believe that this was not the case for previous generations. But, everything has changed. We are hearing bad words on TV all the time. They are imposing all bad manners as normal to us. We are getting used to the rudeness.
> (22-year-old, female, gated community in Ümitköy)

> As the structure of the society changed, perceptions of all values and norms change as well. Since the number of disorderly and ill-mannered individuals was increased, we get used to live with them. I am very sorry for the future generations, they have to encounter increased number of those individuals but probably they will accept them as normal and maybe they will become one of those disgusting individuals due to the deteriorated values and norms.
> (18-year-old, male, apartment housing in Küçükesat)

The young respondents, who believed that the perception and the experience of

incivilities was not changeable according to generational discrepancies, interpreted that

incivil conducts should always be considered as unacceptable for every individual in the

society; they were not tolerable in the past and will not be either in the future.

The number of adult respondents who indicated that perception and experience of

incivilities changed according to time, was almost equal to the number of respondents

who did not think in that manner. The adults who expressed that perception and

experience of incivilities changed according to time identified the present time as worse

compared to the earlier times in terms of encountered incivilities (see Philips, 2006).

Like young respondents, they believed that it will get worse in the future by indicating

the increase in the number and the intensity of incivilities in daily life. On the other

hand, the responses of the adults, who did not consider the perception and the experience of incivilities as changeable, were alike the responses of young respondents who thought in the same manner; incivil conducts should be considered as unacceptable regardless of the changing conditions of the time.

Actors of Incivil Behaviors/Events

In order to have a comprehensive understanding of the perception and the experience of incivility, it was crucial to investigate the main actors who mostly engaged in incivil behaviors and target individual(s) who were considered to be mostly affected by incivil behaviors in the urban realm. According to the most of the young respondents, the actors of the incivil behaviors and events mostly belonged to the younger age group. In other words, confirming previous researches (see, for example Airey, 2003; Boyd, 2006; Franzini et al., 2008; Loader et al., 1998) which identified young people as the main sources and the actors of incivility, most of our young respondents also ascribed their peers as the actors of incivil conducts. However, different than some prevailing foreign researches (see Amit-Talai and Wulff, 1995; Collins and Kearns, 2001), in which adults identified young groups as potentially dangerous, disturbing, violent and disrespectful, in our case, young individuals themselves had complaints about their peers. Moreover, among young actors of incivility, young males were featured as a group who mostly engaged in incivil behaviors (see also Pain, 2001). In addition, some respondents emphasized that level of education of young people was also a determinant apart from their age and gender by indicating that mostly young people who had a low level of education conducted incivil acts. Contradictorily with the literature, adult group of this study did not consider youth as the main actors of incivil conducts. Even if they had

some complaints about young individuals in terms of their disorderly acts, main actors of incivility in the urban realm were the non-educated and the low-income groups according to them. In addition, some of the adults expressed that it was not possible to make a differentiation among disorderly and incivil individuals since every individual in the society had the potential of engaging in incivil conducts.

In the literature, it is emphasized that young people as a labeled group of incivil conducts, can be the main targets of incivility at different situations (see Pain, 2001; Yumul, 2002). However, according to the findings, young respondents who ascribed youth as the main actors of incivility did not consider them as the main target group of incivil acts. Put it another way, while indicating the perceived target group for incivility they did not consider age as a determinant. According to them, females were the group who were mostly affected by incivil conducts and the main targets of incivilities. Considering the fact that sexual and verbal harassment, especially against females, as mostly perceived and experienced incivility by the youth, it was likely that females were stressed as the main target group who was mostly affected by the incivil conducts. Moreover, some respondents formed a link between the actors and the targets of incivil conducts by stating that since the actors of incivil conducts were mostly males (by referring to young males), it was very likely that females were the targets of them. Besides, adults' responses regarding the target group of incivil acts were also consistent with their responses about the actors of the incivility. According to the adults, the educated groups and the individuals who behaved orderly and respected the rules and the norms of the society were mostly affected by the incivil conducts.

Concluding Remarks

In this preliminary survey, a basis for a more focused study on the perceptions and the experiences of incivility by urban youth living in Ankara was provided in the light of predefined objectives and issues. Accordingly, the perceptions and the experiences of incivil conducts, the context in which incivility was perceived and experienced and the main actor groups of incivilities were investigated through interviews with the urban youth. In addition, interviews with adults were also conducted to have a comparative understanding of generational differences.

As it was stated in the literature (see Daiute and Fine, 2003), the main emphasis of this study was to make young people's voices heard by focusing on their standpoints regarding the issue of incivility. While describing incivility, Turkish youth focused on the importance of 'respecting the norms and rules of the adult order of the society' by privileging the tradition and the customs (see Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Most commonly perceived and experienced incivilities by the urban youth were indicated as social incivilities and proximate incivilities such as sexual and verbal harassment, especially against females, fighting and arguing on the streets, beggars, drunks and homeless individuals on the streets, spitting, swearing and invasion of personal space.

One of the social implications of this preliminary survey was the emphasis given to the role of education and the family in the discussion of incivility by the youth as being consistent with previous researches (see Armağan, 2004; Kazgan, 2002; Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). Both age groups stressed lack of education and inappropriate family environment as the major reasons of incivilities. In accordance with

this statement, increasing the education level of individuals was suggested as the major intervention practice in order to tackle with incivil conducts in the society. Moreover, it was observed that young individuals were very responsive to politics and social issues as well as individual differences in face-to-face interactions. As in the case of adult group, they brought harsh criticisms for the failures of state policies and police forces. Hence, they suggested more severe policy implication such as increase in legal sanctions, penalties and police control. Likewise, group of youth was found to be aware of the importance of individual interventions to hinder incivility in the form of immediate warning when encountered with incivil acts. As a contradictory statement, they expressed that they did not believe in the permanent effect of warnings and even police intervention on incivil individuals. Moreover, by going one step further, they stressed that warning someone in Turkey was dangerous and insecure as it may cause further incivil encounters in the urban realm. Therefore, concerning the decision of warning, some factors such as the appearance of uncivil individuals and the context within which incivil conducts appeared were indicated to be influential.

Weller (2003) highlights some places such as neighborhoods and parks as the major spaces of 'hang out' and as the spaces of citizenship for many young people. According to our findings, open urban public spaces including parks, streets and neighborhoods were perceived by the young respondents as the settings within which incivil conducts mostly appeared in Ankara. More controlled and defensible environments (see Davis, 1992; Newman, 1972; Skogan, 1992; Wooley et al., 1999) such as shopping malls, which are pointed out as one of the mostly preferred leisure spaces by the youth (see Muğan and Erkip, 2009) were not perceived as incivil. In addition, inhabitants other than

those of gated communities identified their own neighborhoods as incivil settings. This can be explained with the private character of gated communities within which a more controlled environment is provided by giving clues to social groups on how to behave with a concern for security. Hence, individuals within those settings behave in a conditioned way which will prevent them to engage in incivil conducts. However, the controlled and private environments of those spaces involve the acts of exclusion and discrimination against certain group of individuals (see Amin, 2006; Muğan and Erkip, 2009; Sennett, 1996; Skogan, 1992; White and Sutton; 2001). Thus, this aspect needs further analyses and explanations concerning design and policy implications to tackle with incivilities and their unintended consequences such as exclusion and discrimination in the urban realm.

Another important finding of this study was observed in the investigation of the actors and the targets of incivil conducts. Due to the unjust position of young people in the adult world, (see Sibley, 1995) they are assumed to have the potential of indicating their peers as the group which is mostly affected by incivil conducts in the urban realm (see Pain, 2001). However, Turkish youth ascribed their peers as the actors of incivil conducts in the urban realm. This can be explained by the overemphasis given to the respect for customs and traditions and the family by Turkish youth (Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1999). The young people, who are brought up with the doctrine of the rigid social structure of Turkey that does not accept disrespectful behaviors of youth towards adults and elderly seemed to associate disorderly and disrespectful behaviors with youth. However, adults or elderly were not indicated as the target groups for the incivil conducts. Instead, females were ascribed as the group who were mostly affected by

incivil conducts. In other words, gender seemed to be more influential on the perception of being the target of incivil behaviors than age. This attribution of females as the main targets of incivil acts was related to the indication of sexual harassment as the most commonly perceived and experienced incivility by the youth. Nevertheless, further attention should be given to the relationship between perceived actors and targets of incivil conducts in the urban realm. Besides, the reasons of ascription of different groups of individuals to these categories should be analyzed thoroughly.

A further social implication of this study was the comparison of the youth and the adults in terms of the perceived and the experienced incivilities. Some differences were observed between the two age groups due to the generation gap. As Robin et al. (2007) claimed, the adults were noticed as being more sensitive to certain incivilities in public spaces such as the use of mobile phones. Moreover, incivilities in traffic appeared to influence adult group rather than the youth. On the other hand, unlike the adults, the youth stressed sexual harassment as the most commonly perceived and experienced incivility. In addition, some differences were also observed in the perception and the experience of incivil urban settings, in the perception of crime-related incivilities, in ascribing some incivilities under the heading of crime and in the perception of actors and targets of incivil conducts. Regarding physical incivilities, both groups appeared as not being interested in and concerned with the physical environment on the contrary to what was expected, especially from the youth (see Honnold, 1984; Klineberg et al., 1998). Further analysis is needed to determine the reasons of this lack of concern regarding physical incivilities and the overemphasis on social and proximate incivilities.

The differences between two age groups can be explained by generational discrepancies (see Philips, 2006). Furthermore, some specific characteristics of Turkish youth such as financial and emotional dependence to family and older generations can manifest the similarities between two age groups as well. Besides, the similarities in the perception and the experience of incivilities, in the suggestions of policy implications and in the interventions to tackle with incivility between two age groups indicated that complaints about and solutions for incivility was not unique to young people, rather many issues raised by young people should concern all citizens (see Muğan and Erkip, 2009; Wooley et al., 1999). Further and more detailed explanations can be brought to these differences and similarities between adults and youth through additional studies.

In this study, through the perceptions and the experiences of different types of incivilities in different urban contexts, the interconnection between social dimensions of living in metropolitan cities (see Robin et al., 2007) and the incivility arguments of urban youth was explored. However, further analysis about the impact of different urban settings and the influence of socio-demographic characteristics of the urban youth on their perception and experience of incivility are needed. Within the scope of this study, some differences in the experience of certain incivil conducts and certain incivil urban settings along socio-economic status of the urban youth and the characteristics of the inhabited neighborhood were observed. Yet, the size of the sample group which was very limited and not representative for a quantitative analysis was the main limitation of this study.

Questionnaire Forms on which the Semi-structured Interviews of the Preliminary Study Were Based

Turkish Version of the Interview Questions

'Medeniyetsizlik' Algısı ve Deneyimleri için Akademik Araştırma Formu

1- Demografik bilgi

1- Yaş:

2- Cinsiyet: K ☐ E ☐

3- Oturduğunuz Semt:

4- Eğitim durumunuz: İlköğretim: ☐ Lise: ☐ Üniversite: ☐

5- Kendinizi/ailenizi aşağıdaki gelir gruplarından hangisine yerleştirirsiniz?

    a) alt   b) orta   c) üst

2- 'Medeniyetsizlik' Algısı ve Deneyimleri

1- Toplum içinde yaşama kurallarına uymayan insanlara ne ad verirsiniz? Bu sıfatı hak etmek için bu insanlar ne gibi davranışlar sergiliyorlar?

2- Size göre   nedir?

- Kabalık
- Görgüsüzlük
- Düşüncesizlik
- Medeni olmamak
- Saygısızlık
- Huzur kaçırmak
- Kurallara uymamak

3- İnsanların evleri dışında kalan mekanlarda, yerlerde yapmaması gereken davranışlar, sizin görmek, karşılaşmak istemeyeceğiniz durumlar, koşullar nelerdir?

4- Yaşadığımız şehir içinde sizi en çok rahatsız eden, huzurunuzu kaçıran durumlar/hal/hareket/davranışlar nelerdir?

5- Yaşadığınız şehir içinde tehlikeli bulduğunuz durum/hal/hareket/davranışlar/özellikler nelerdir?

6- Belirtmiş olduğunuz maddelerden, günlük hayatınızda en sık rast geldiğiniz hangisi(leri)?

7- Belirtmiş olduğunuz maddelerin nedenleri nelerdir? Bu tip davranışlar nelerden kaynaklanır? Bunların oluşmasına ortam hazırlayan ve/veya oluşmasını tetikleyen durumlar koşullar nelerdir? İnsanlar hangi durumlarda bu davranışları yapmaya veya gerçekleştirmeye daha çok meyillidirler?

8- Belirtmiş olduğunuz maddelerle en çok nerelerde karşılaşıyorsunuz?

9- Bu tip davranışlarla karşılaştığınız mekanları algılayışınız, o mekanlara bakışınız etkileniyor mu? Bu konuda bir deneyiminiz var mı?

10- Belirtmiş olduğunuz maddeleri sizce en çok kimler/hangi gruptan insanlar yapıyor?

11- Belirtmiş olduğunuz maddeler sonucu en çok kimler zarar/hangi gruptan insanlar zarar görüyor, mağdur oluyor? Bu davranış/hal/hareket/tutum/durum ların özel olarak belli insanları mağdur etmek için yapıldığını düşünüyor musunuz?

12- Bu tip davranışlarla karşılaşmak ya da bu tip davranışları yapan insanlarla karşılaşmak siz de ne gibi duygular oluşmasına neden oluyor? Neler hissediyorsunuz?

13- Bu tip davranışlardan hangilerine asla katlanamıyorsunuz? Hangileri daha tolere edilebilir?

14- Sizce bu tip davranışlardan hangileri suç başlığı altında değerlendirilir? Bu tip davranışların suç olarak kabul edilmesi için ne olması gerekir, ne zaman polis güçlerinden yardım istenmelidir?

15- Belirtmiş olduğunuz davranışların algılanışı kuşak farklılıklarına göre değişir mi?

16- Gündelik hayatınızda belirtmiş olduğunuz davranış/hal/hareket/tutum/durum larla karşılaştığınızda nasıl tepkiler veriyorsunuz?

17- Yaptığınız uyarıların veya genelde yapılan uyarıların etkili olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? Neden?

18- Bu tip davranışları ortadan kaldırmak için neler yapılmalıdır?

19- Ankara'da bulunmaktan hoşlanmadığınız sevmediğiniz bir yer var mı? Neden?

20- Ankara'da bulunmaktan korktuğunuz bir yer var mı? Neden?

21- İçinde yaşadığımız şehirle ilgili en büyük endişeleriniz neler? Nasıl giderilebilir?

English Version of the Interview Questions

Questionnaire Form for the Research of Perception and Experience of Incivility

1- Socio-demographic information

1- Age:

2- Sex:　　　　　　　　　F ☐　　　　　　　M ☐

3- Place of residence: …….. (settlement type)

4- Education level: Primary School ☐　High School ☐　University ☐

5- How would you rate your/your family's income level?

　a) low　　　　　　　　b) middle　　　　　　　c) high

2- Perception and experience of incivility

1- How do you call the individuals that stay out of the norms and behaviors of living together? In what manner do they behave? How would you describe those behaviors?

2- How would you define
- Rudeness
- Unmannerliness
- Thoughtlessness
- Not being civil
- Disrespect
- Uneasiness
- Disobedience

3- What are the incivil acts and behaviors that individuals should not engage with out of their home? What are the conditions, situations and circumstances that you do not want to encounter with in your everyday life?

4- What are the things you disturbed mostly in Ankara?

5- What are the things that you have attributed as dangerous in Ankara?

6- Which incivil behaviors/events do you encounter with most commonly in the daily urban life? Would you exemplify?

7- What are the main reasons and sources of incivilities that you have mentioned? What are the suitable conditions and situations that trigger incivil behaviors/events to happen?

8- In which urban settings do you mostly encounter with problems/incivilities? Where incivil behaviors/events mostly appear?

9- Do perceived and experienced incivilities in urban settings affect your pinions and your tendency of approach to those settings? Do you have any experience about this issue?

10- Who are the actors/troublemakers of problems/incivilities that you have indicated?

11- Whom do you think would be mostly affected and disturbed by incivilities? Do you think that incivil behaviors/events are conducted intentionally in order to make certain individual group(s) victim of those acts?

12- How do you feel when you encounter with incivil behaviors/events and individuals?

13- What are the tolerable and intolerable incivil behaviors/events?

14- Which incivil behaviors that you have mentioned should be considered as crime? Under what circumstances police intervention is necessary?

15- Do you think that perception and experience of incivil behaviors/events change according to generational discrepancies?

16- How do you behave or respond in your daily life when you encounter with incivilities?

17- Do you think that your behavioral/verbal responses in the form of warning or individual interventions in general are effective? Y ☐ N ☐ Why?............

18- What do you suggest and recommend in order to tackle with incivilities?

19- Are there any places in Ankara that you are reluctant to use? Why?

20- Are there any places in Ankara which make you terrify to use? Why?

21- What are your major concerns about Ankara? What are the ways to tackle with them?
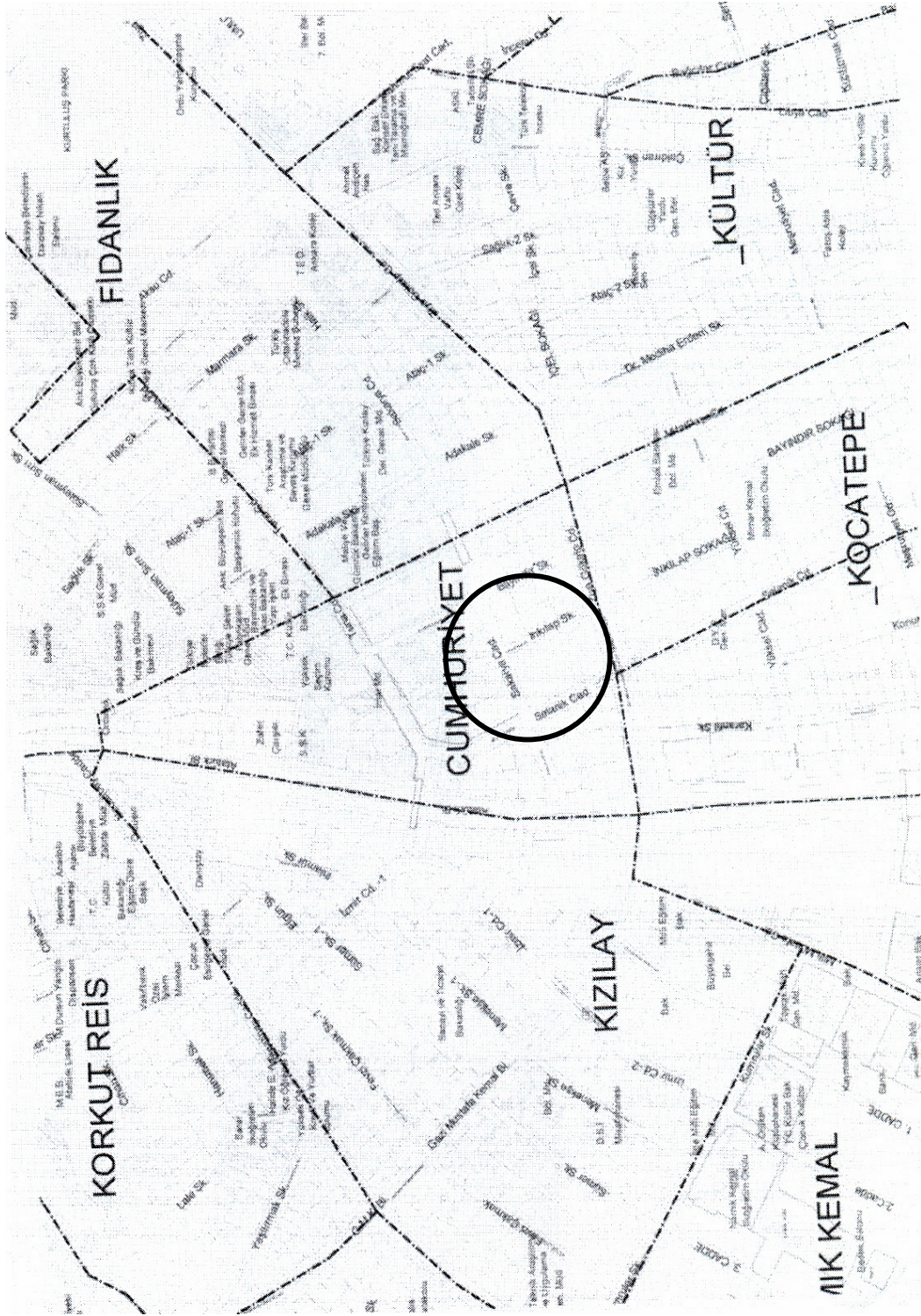
Figure 1. Location of Sakarya Street within the context of Ankara

Figure 2.1. Subway exit in Sakarya (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 2.2. General view of the path towards subway exit (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

SAKARYA STREET

Figure 3. Sakarya Street as the main arterial area and its street furniture and their functional distribution on the street

Source: Mahmud (1996), p. 105.

Figure 4.1. The sign that indicates the decision of City Traffic Commission about the vehicle entrance and exit hours to the region (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 4.2. The barriers located on Tuna Street to prevent the vehicle entrance to Sakarya (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 5. General view of a bar in Sakarya (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 6. General run-down outlook of side frontage of SSK *İşhanı* and garbage
truck (February, 2009, weekday afternoon)

Figure 7. General view of SSK *İşhanı* where global and local entertainment facilities are seen together (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 8.1. Variety of places and facilities in Sakarya (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 8.2. *Fantasyland* and variety of other places and facilities in Sakarya (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 8.3. Crowding and variety of places and facilities in Sakarya (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 9. A hawker who is trying to sell currency on the street (January, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 10. Municipal police vehicle on patrolling (January, 2009, weekday afternoon)

Figure 11.1. Cleaning personnel of Çankaya Municipality while cleaning the street (February, 2009, weekday morning)

Figure 11.2. Trash cans with litter bags on the street (January, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 11.3. Garbage truck strolling around Sakarya to collect the litter bags
(February, 2009, weekday midday)

Figure 11.4. General view of large litter bags on sidewalks (February, 2009, weekday
evening)

Figure 11.5. The renovation and repair of pavements and sidewalks in Sakarya (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 12.1. Ill-kept outlook of buildings (SSK *İşhanı*) (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 12.2. Graffiti on statue (February, 2009, weekday evening)

Figure 12.3. Statue and sidewalks with graffiti and trash (January, 2009 weekend afternoon)

Figure 12.4. Limited number of benches which are randomly located
(June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 12.5. Ill-kept and randomly located benches on the street (January, 2009,
weekend afternoon)

Figure 12.6. Accumulated dirty water of fish shops on distorted sidewalks
(March, 2009, weekday evening)

Figure 12.7. Use of inappropriate lighting on the street (February, 2009, weekday
night)

Figure 12.8. Badly lit areas in Sakarya (February, 2009, weekday evening)

Figure 12.9. Distorted and broken sidewalks with accumulated rain water (January, 2009 weekend afternoon)

Figure 12.10. Distorted and broken sidewalks and pavements

Figure 13.1. Hindering location of flower shops on walking paths with their litter on sidewalks (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 13.2. Hindering location of kiosks on walking paths and disorderly layout of shops (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Figure 13.3. Hindering location and disorderly layout of fish shops (June, 2009, weekend afternoon)

Questionnaire Forms on which the Semi-structured Interviews of the Field Survey Were Based

Appendix C.1 Turkish Version of the Interview Questions

Sakarya için Akademik Araştırma Formu

1- Demografik bilgi

1- Yaş:

2- Cinsiyet: K ☐ E ☐

3- Oturduğunuz Semt: …….. (konut çeşidi)

4- Eğitim durumunuz: İlköğretim: ☐ Lise: ☐ Üniversite: ☐

5- Kendinizi/ailenizi aşağıdaki gelir gruplarından hangisine yerleştirirsiniz?

    a) alt   b) orta   c) üst

2- Sakarya Caddesi'nde 'Medeniyetsizlik' Algısı ve Deneyimleri

1- Sakarya Caddesini ne zamandır biliyorsunuz?

2- Sakarya Caddesine ne sıklıkla geliyorsunuz?
a) haftada birkaç kez   c) iki haftada bir   e) ayda birden az
b) haftada bir kez   d) ayda bir   f) diğer(…)belirtiniz
Bu mevsime göre değişiyor mu? E ☐ H ☐ Ne şekilde?

3- Sakarya Caddesine ne için, ne amaçla geliyorsunuz?
Bu mevsime göre değişiyor mu? E ☐ H ☐ Ne şekilde?

4- Sakarya Caddesine ulaşımınızı nasıl sağlıyorsunuz?

5- Sakarya Caddesinde ortalama ne kadar zaman harcıyorsunuz?
    a) yarım saatten az.   c) 1-3 saat
    b) yarım-1 saat   d) 3 saatten fazla

Bu mevsime göre değişiyor mu? E ☐ H ☐ Ne şekilde?

6- Haftanın hangi günleri ve günün hangi saatleri Sakarya Caddesine gidiyorsunuz?

	Hafta içi	Hafta sonu
Sabah		
Öğle		
Akşam		

Neden? (lütfen belirtiniz)………………………
Bu mevsime göre değişiyor mu? E ☐ H ☐ Ne şekilde?

7- Sakarya Caddesine gelmekten memnun musunuz? E ☐ H ☐ Neden?......

8- Sakarya Caddesiyle ilgili en çok sevdiğiniz şeyler nelerdir? (Nedenleriyle belirtiniz)

9- Sakarya Caddesiyle ilgili sevmediğiniz şeyler nelerdir? (Nedenleriyle belirtiniz)
Bu mevsime göre değişiyor mu? E ☐ H ☐ Ne şekilde?

10- Sizce Sakarya Caddesini daha çok kimler, hangi gruptan insanlar kullanıyor? Ne amaçla kullanıyorlar?

11- Sakarya Caddesinde görmek istemediğiniz insanlar var mı? E ☐   Kimler, Neden?.....H ☐ Neden?.........

12- Sakarya Caddesinde geldiğiniz mekanların, yerlerin, başka bir yere taşınmasını ister misiniz? E ☐
H ☐   Nereye? Neden?

13- Sakarya Caddesinde bulunmaktan özellikle çekindiğiniz, korktuğunuz bir yer var mı?
E ☐   H ☐   Neden? (lütfen belirtiniz)

14- Sakarya Caddesinde bulunmaktan çekindiğiniz zamanlar, zaman aralıkları (günün belirli saatleri, belirli mevsimler) var mı? E ☐ H ☐   Neden? (lütfen belirtiniz)

15- Sakarya Caddesindeki güvenlik koşullarını ve önlemleri yeterli buluyor musunuz? E ☐H ☐ Neden? (lütfen belirtiniz)

16- Sizce hangi durumlarda polis veya zabıta müdahalesine ihtiyaç duyulabilir? Bu konuda bir deneyiminiz var mı?

17- Sakarya Caddesinde sizi rahatsız eden durumlar, koşullar, sizin görmek istemediğiniz şeyler, uygunsuz davranışlar, eksikler, sizi rahatsız eden unsurlar var mı? E ☐   Neler? (lütfen bunlara yönelik problemleri de belirtiniz)   H ☐
Bu mevsime göre değişiyor mu? E ☐   H ☐   Ne şekilde?

18- Yukarıda bahsetmiş olduğunuz türden davranışları daha çok kimler, hangi gruptan insanlar yapıyor? Bu davranışlar sonucu daha çok kimler/hangi gruptan insanlar zarar görüyor, rahatsız oluyor?

19- Bahsetmiş olduğunuz, problemlerin, eksikliklerin, sizi rahatsız eden durumların temel neden(ler)i nedir? Sakarya Caddesindeki olumsuzluklar nelerden kaynaklanıyor?

20- Sakarya Caddesinde gözlemlediğiniz olumsuzluklar, Sakarya Caddesine bakış açınızı, buraya karşı hissettiklerinizi etkiliyor mu? E ☐   H ☐   Etkiliyorsa, ne şekilde?
Bu konuda bir deneyiminiz var mı?

21- Sakarya Caddesinde karşılaştığınız her türlü olumsuz, sizi rahatsız eden, huzurunuzu kaçıran davranış/hal/hareket/tutum/durum larla karşılaştığınızda nasıl tepkiler veriyorsunuz?

22- Yaptığınız uyarıların veya genelde yapılan uyarıların etkili olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? E ☐
H ☐   Neden?

23- Siz bu mekanın kullanıcısı olarak bahsetmiş olduğunuz olumsuz birtakım davranışlarda bulunuyor musunuz veya hiç bulundunuz mu? E ☐   (Ne gibi lütfen belirtiniz)   H ☐

24- Bu tür problemler, eksiklikler, rahatsız edici durumları ortadan kaldırmak için neler yapılmalıdır?

25- Sakarya Caddesinin düzenlemesinde söz sahibi olabilseydiniz, neleri değiştirirdiniz, neler ekler, neler çıkartırdınız? Nedenleriyle belirtiniz.

26- Sakarya Caddesinde, belediye hizmetlerinin yeterli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz? E ☐H ☐
Neden?

Appendix C.2 English Version of the Interview Questions

Questionnaire Form for the Field Survey in Sakarya

1- Socio-demographic information

1- Age:

2- Sex: F ☐ M ☐

3- Place of residence: …….. (settlement type)

4- Education level: Primary School ☐ High School ☐ University ☐

5- How would you rate your/your family's income level?

    a) low   b) middle   c) high

2- Perception and experience of incivility in Sakarya

1- Since when do you know and use Sakarya?

2- What is your frequency of using Sakarya?

    a) several times in a week   c) once in two weeks   e) less than once a month
    b) once a week   d) once a month f) other (…) please state

Does it change according to the season? Y ☐   N ☐   How?....

3- What is your aim of using Sakarya?

Does it change according to the season? Y ☐   N ☐   How?....

4- What is the transportation mode you use when visiting Sakarya?

5- How much time do you spend on the average in Sakarya?

    a) less than half an hour   c) 1-3 hours
    b) half an hour – 1 hour   d) more than 3 hours

Does it change according to the season? Y ☐   N ☐   How?....

6- In which days and in which hours of the day you prefer to use Sakarya?

	During week times	At the weekends
Morning		
Afternoon		
Evening		

Why? (please state)………………………
Does it change according to the season? Y ☐   N ☐   How?....

7- Are you pleased to use Sakarya? Y ☐ N ☐   Why?.......

8- What are the things you liked mostly in/about Sakarya? (Please state together with reasons)

9- What are the things you disliked mostly in/about Sakarya? (Please state together with reasons)
Does it change according to the season? Y ☐   N ☐   How?....

10- Which individual group(s) of do you consider as the most common user group of Sakarya? What is their aim of using Sakarya?

11- Are there any individual group(s) that you do not want to see/encounter with in Sakarya? Y ☐
Who are they?...... Why?............ N ☐ Why?.........

12- Do you prefer the movement of the activities/places in Sakarya to another place/district? Y ☐
To where?............. Why?............. N ☐

13- Are there any places or specific parts of Sakarya which make you terrify and avoid using? Y ☐
N ☐ Why?......................

14- Are there any time periods in which you prefer to avoid or are reluctant to use Sakarya? (daily variations, seasonal variations) Y ☐ N ☐ Why?.........

15- Do you evaluate the security conditions and precautions in Sakarya as sufficient? Y ☐ N ☐
Why?...............

16- When do you think police or *zabıta* intervention is necessary? Do you have any experience about this issue?

17- Are there any things/events/behaviors/conditions/situations that you attribute as problematic/dangerous/disorderly/terrifying/disturbing/deficient/inappropriate/ insufficient and do not want to encounter in Sakarya? Y ☐ What are they?...... (please state together with the problems in relation to them) N ☐
Does it change according to the season? Y ☐ N ☐ How?....

18- Who are the actors/troublemakers of problems/incivilities in Sakarya? Whom do you think would be mostly affected and disturbed by problems/incivilities in Sakarya?

19- What are the main reasons and sources of problems/incivilities in Sakarya?

20- Do perceived and experienced problems/incivilities in Sakarya affect your feelings and your tendency of approach to the district? Y ☐ In what ways? N ☐
Do you have any experience about this issue?

21- How do you behave or respond when you encounter with problems/incivilities in Sakarya?

22- Do you think that your behavioral/verbal responses in the form of warning or individual interventions in general are effective? Y ☐ N ☐ Why?............

23- Have you been engaging or had ever engaged with any kind of incivil conducts in Sakarya as a user of the district? Y ☐ (What kind of incivil conduct? please state) N ☐

24- What do you suggest and recommend in order to tackle with problems/incivilities in Sakarya? What are the things that should be done?

25- What are the things that you would change, supplement and withhold in Sakarya regarding the encountered problems/incivilities, if you have given the authority on design, planning and regulation of it? (Please state together with their reasons)

26- Do you evaluate the municipality services in Sakarya as sufficient? Y ☐ N ☐ Why?.......

APPENDIX D

Variable List

Question No.	Variable No.	Description
Part 1		
1	-	Age
2	-	Gender
3	-	Inhabited district and settlement type
4	-	Education level
5	-	Income level
Part 2		
1	q1	Familiarity and duration of use of Sakarya
2a	q2a	Frequency of use
2b	-	The seasonal variation of frequency of use
3a	q3a	Aim of use (compulsory or leisurely)
3b	-	The seasonal variation of aim of use
4	-	The mode of transportation
5a	q5a	The time spent
5b	-	The seasonal variation of the time spent
6a	-	The preferred time of use
6b	-	The seasonal variation of the preferred of use
7	q7	Whether young people are pleased to be using Sakarya
8	-	The things young people liked in Sakarya
9a	q9a	The things they disliked in Sakarya in relation to its social and physical contexts
9b	-	The seasonal variations of dislikes
10	-	The most common user group of Sakarya
11	-	Individual groups whom young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya
12	q12	Young people's preferences regarding the movement of the activities in Sakarya to another place/district
13	q13	Places or specific parts of Sakarya which make them terrify and avoid using
14	q14	Tendency to avoid and be reluctant to use Sakarya for certain time periods
15	q15	Evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya
16	-	Conditions and individual groups that necessitate the intervention of police and *zabıta*
17a	q17a	Perception and experience of the problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya
17b	q17b	The problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya in relation to social and physical contexts of the street
17c	-	The seasonal variation of the problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter
18a	q18a	The characteristics of actors of incivility in Sakarya
18b	q18b	The characteristics of targets of incivility in Sakarya
19	-	The reasons of incivilities in Sakarya
20	q20	Young people's feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya
21	q21	Behavioral and/or verbal responses of the young people in the form of individual interventions
22	q22	Evaluation of effectiveness of individual warnings
23	-	Whether young people themselves are engaging or have ever engaged with any kind of incivil conducts in Sakarya
24	-	Suggestions for some policy and social implications to intervene incivil conducts and environmental problems
25	-	The things that young people would change, supplement and withhold in Sakarya regarding the encountered problems/incivilities
26	q26	Evaluations of municipality services

E1: The problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in
Sakarya vs. age (q17a vs. age)
The problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in
Sakarya vs. gender (q17a vs. gender)

E2: Categorization of the problems/incivilities vs. age (q17b vs. age)
Categorization of the problems/incivilities vs. gender (q17b vs. gender)

E3: Categorization of the dislikes in Sakarya vs. age (q9a vs. age)
Categorization of the dislikes in Sakarya vs. gender (q9a vs. gender)

Crosstab

		GENDER		Total
		Female	Male	
Q9a	1,00	8	12	20
	2,00	20	15	35
	3,00	12	7	19
	4,00	1	7	8
Total		41	41	82

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,330	3	,062
Likelihood Ratio	7,916	3	,048
Linear-by-Linear Association	,130	1	,718
N of Valid Cases	82		

a 2 cells (25,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4,00.

E4: Evaluation of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya vs. age (q15 vs. age)
Evaluation of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya vs. gender (q15 vs. gender)

E5: Tendency to avoid and be reluctant to use Sakarya for certain time periods vs.
age (q14 vs. age)
Tendency to avoid and be reluctant to use Sakarya for certain time periods vs.
gender (q14 vs. gender)

Crosstab

		Q14		Total
		Yes	No	
GENDER	Female	37	4	41
	Male	17	24	41
Total		54	28	82

---

[15] The results were given only for the significant relationships.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	21,693	1	,000		
Continuity Correction	19,578	1	,000		
Likelihood Ratio	23,437	1	,000		
Fisher's Exact Test				,000	,000
Linear-by-Linear Association	21,429	1	,000		
N of Valid Cases	82				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14,00.

E6:   The impact of seasonal variation on the things that the young people dislike
          in Sakarya vs. gender (q9b vs. gender)

Crosstab

		Q9b		Total
		Yes	No	
GENDER	Female	5	36	41
	Male		41	41
Total		5	77	82

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5,325	1	,021		
Continuity Correction	3,408	1	,065		
Likelihood Ratio	7,256	1	,007		
Fisher's Exact Test				,055	,027
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,260	1	,022		
N of Valid Cases	82				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 2 cells (50,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,50.

E7:   The characteristics of actors of incivility in Sakarya vs. age (q18a vs. age)
          The characteristics of actors of incivility in Sakarya vs. gender (q18a vs. gender)

E8:   The characteristics of targets of incivility in Sakarya vs. age (q18b vs. age)
          The characteristics of targets of incivility in Sakarya vs. gender (q18b vs. gender)

E9:   Young people's feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya vs.
          gender (q20 vs. gender)

Crosstab

		GENDER		Total
		Female	Male	
Q20	Yes	27	16	43
	No	14	25	39
Total		41	41	82

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5,917	1	,015		
Continuity Correction	4,890	1	,027		
Likelihood Ratio	5,991	1	,014		
Fisher's Exact Test				,026	,013
Linear-by-Linear Association	5,844	1	,016		
N of Valid Cases	82				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19,50.

E10:   Places or specific parts of Sakarya which make them terrify and avoid using
        vs. gender (q13 vs. gender)

Crosstab

		GENDER		Total
		Female	Male	
Q13	Yes	21	7	28
	No	20	34	54
Total		41	41	82

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10,630	1	,001		
Continuity Correction	9,165	1	,002		
Likelihood Ratio	10,997	1	,001		
Fisher's Exact Test				,002	,001
Linear-by-Linear Association	10,500	1	,001		
N of Valid Cases	82				

a Computed only for a 2x2 table
b 0 cells (,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14,00.

E11:   Behavioral and/or verbal responses of the young people in the form of
        individual interventions vs. age (q21 vs. age)
        Behavioral and/or verbal responses of the young people in the form of
        individual interventions vs. gender (q21 vs. gender)

E12:   Evaluation of effectiveness of individual warnings vs. gender (q22 vs.
        gender)
        Evaluation of effectiveness of individual warnings vs. age (q22 vs. age)

Crosstab

		AGEGROUP			Total
		15-17	18-21	22-24	
Q22	Yes	1	6	4	11
	No	37	16	18	71
Total		38	22	22	82

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7,872	2	,020
Likelihood Ratio	8,755	2	,013
Linear-by-Linear Association	3,960	1	,047
N of Valid Cases	82		

a 2 cells (33,3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2,95.

APPENDIX F

List of correlations[16]

F1:   Problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya
        vs. familiarity and duration of use (q17a vs. q1)

Correlations

		Q1	Q17a
Q1	Pearson Correlation	1	-,268
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,	,015
	N	82	82
Q17a	Pearson Correlation	-,268	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,015	,
	N	82	82

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

> Problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya
> vs. frequency of use (q17a vs. q2a)
> Problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya
> vs. the time spent (q17avs. q5a)
> Problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya
> vs. the aim of use (q17a vs. q3a)
> Problems/incivilities that young people do not want to encounter in Sakarya
> vs. whether they are pleased to be using Sakarya (q17a vs. 7)

Correlations

		Q17a	Q7
Q17a	Pearson Correlation	1	-,318
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,	,004
	N	82	81
Q7	Pearson Correlation	-,318	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,004	,
	N	81	81

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

F2:   Evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya vs. familiarity
        and duration of use (q15 vs. q1)
        Evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya vs. frequency
        of use (q15 vs. q2a)
        Evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya vs. the time
        spent (q15 vs. q5a)
        Evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya vs. the aim of
        the use (q15 vs. q3a)
        Evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya vs. whether
        they are pleased to be using the street (q15 vs. q7)

---

[16] The results were given only for the significant relationships.

Correlations

		Q15	Q7
Q15	Pearson Correlation	1	,280
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,	,011
	N	82	81
Q7	Pearson Correlation	,280	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,011	,
	N	81	81

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

F3: Evaluations of municipality services vs. familiarity and duration of use (q26 vs. q1)
Evaluations of municipality services vs. frequency of use (q26 vs. q2a)
Evaluations of municipality services vs. the time spent (q26 vs. q5a)
Evaluations of municipality services vs. the aim of use (q26 vs. q3a)
Evaluations of municipality services vs. whether they are pleased to be using Sakarya (q26 vs. q7)

F4: Young people's feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya vs. problems/incivilities that they do not want to encounter in Sakarya (q20 vs. q17a)
Young people's feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya vs. evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya (q20 vs.15)

Correlations

		Q20	Q15
Q20	Pearson Correlation	1	-,333
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,	,002
	N	82	82
Q15	Pearson Correlation	-,333	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,002	,
	N	82	82

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Young people's feelings and their tendency of approach to Sakarya vs. evaluations of municipality services (q20 vs. q26)

F5: Young people's preferences regarding the movement of the activities in Sakarya to another place/district vs. problems/incivilities that they do not want to encounter in Sakarya (q12 vs. q17a)
Young people's preferences regarding the movement of the activities in Sakarya to another place/district vs. evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya (q12vs. q15)
Young people's preferences regarding the movement of the activities in Sakarya to another place/district vs. evaluations of municipality services (q12 vs. q26)

Correlations

		Q12	Q26
Q12	Pearson Correlation	1	-,232
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,	,037
	N	81	81
Q26	Pearson Correlation	-,232	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,037	,
	N	81	82

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

F6: Places or specific parts of Sakarya which make them terrify and avoid using vs. problems/incivilities that they do not want to encounter in Sakarya(q13 vs. q17a)

Places or specific parts of Sakarya which make them terrify and avoid using vs. evaluations of security conditions and precautions in Sakarya (q13 vs. q15)

Correlations

		Q13	Q15
Q13	Pearson Correlation	1	-,318
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,	,004
	N	82	82
Q15	Pearson Correlation	-,318	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,004	,
	N	82	82

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Places or specific parts of Sakarya which make them terrify and avoid using vs. evaluations of municipality services (q13 vs. q26)

APPENDIX G

Relevant numbered decisions of '*Kabahatler Kanunu*' about the interventions of *zabıta*

T.C.
ÇANKAYA BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI
Zabıta Müdürlüğü
ANKARA

03 12 2008

38-04-S.   /08
Kabahatler Kanunu uygulaması,

......./....../200...

SAYI   :

KONU   :

..................................AMİRLİĞİNE

03.07.2005 tarihinde yürürlüğe giren 5393 sayılı Belediye Kanununun, Zabıtanın görev ye yetkileri başlıklı 5l.maddesi; **"Belediye Zabıtası beldede esenlik, huzur, sağlık ve düzenin sağlanmasıyla görevli olup bu amaçla, Belediye Meclisi tarafından alınan ve Belediye Zabıtası tarafından yerine getirilmesi gereken emir ve yasaklarla bunlara uymayanlar hakkında mevzuatta öngörülen ceza ve diğer yaptırımları uygular"** hükmü ve 01.04.2005 tarihinde yürürlüğe giren 5326 sayılı Kabahatler Kanununun emre aykırı davranış adı altındaki 32.maddesi gereğince;

25.09.1992 tarih ve 229 sayılı Belediye Meclis Kararında belirtilen yasaklar listesi; (Listede belirtilmeyen maddeler kanunun diğer maddelerini ilgilendirdiğinden çıkarılmıştır.)

4. Apartman, pasaj ve işhanlarının otomat, merdiven ve asansörlerinin çalışır durumda bulundurulmaması,

7. Binaların balkon ve pencerelerinden halı-kilim vb. eşyalar silkelemek, çamaşır asmak,

8. Şehir içerisinde boş bulunan arsaların etrafının nizami tahta perde ile çevrilmemesi,

9. Şehir içerisinde bulunan kuyu ve sarnıçların üzerlerinin kapatılmaması,

10. Binalardan sokaklara duman ve koku yaymak,

13. Belediyelerce hizmet için yapılan sokak lambaları, levha, bina numaraları, tesis ve yangın musluğu işaretlerini bozmak, kırmak, kirletmek ve yerlerini değiştirmek,

14. Cadde ve sokak kenarlarına konular bordür taşlarını, ızgara kapaklarını kırmak ve sökmek,

15. Bina yıkan ve yapanların etrafı rahatsız etmemek ve zarar vermemek için her türlü tedbiri almaları zorunludur.

16. Yeşil alanların parklar ve çocuk bahçelerinde ağaçları, fidanları, çiçekleri koparmak ve kesmek, sökmek ve varsa meyvelerini toplamak,

17. Yeşil alanlar, parklar ve çocuk bahçelerinde;
   a) Hayvan otlatmak, dövüştürmek, avlanmak,
   b) Çamaşır yıkamak, temizlenmek,
   c) İçki içmek,
   d) Motorlu, motorsuz taşıt araçları ile girilmesi yasaktır.

18. Anıtları kirletmek, çizmek, kırmak, bozmak,

20. Ticarethane, işyeri ve inşaatların isim ve unvan levhası asmaları zorunludur.

21. Asılan isim ve unvan levhalarının yüksekliği 2,5 metreden aşağı olamaz,

22. Her türlü duvar ilanları, levhalar, reklamlar, ışıklı ışıksız, sabit ve hareketli yazıların düzgün imlalı ve güzel hatlı yazılmaları zorunludur.

24. Büfe, bakkal ve benzeri yerlerde alkollü içki içmek ve içirmek yasaktır.

27. Bulvar, cadde, meydan ve taksi duraklarında araç yıkamak,

28. Şehir içinde seyreden taşıt araçlarının hava kirliliğine sebep olacak şekilde kirli duman çıkarması,

29. Araçların maksat dışı klakson çalması,

30. Toprak, kum, cüruf, moloz vs. taşıyan araçların,
   a) Üzerlerini branda ile kapatmaları,
   b) Tekerleklerini temizlemeleri,
   c) Cadde, sokak vb. yerleri kirletmemeleri,
   d) Belirtilen yere döküm yapmaları zorunludur.

32. Demir tekerlekli araçların, tornet, el arabası, kızak, paten vs. şeyleri şehir içinde kullanılmaları yasaktır.

33. Şehir içinde sürü halinde hayvan geçirmek,

34. Hayvanların oynatılması, dövüştürülmesi ve teşhir edilmesi,

Not: Karşılık yazılarda ilgi tutulması.

Zabıta Müdürlüğü: Ziya Gökalp Cad. İnkılap Sk.
SSK İşhanı B-2 Blok Kat.6 Kızılay / ANKARA

Tel: 0.(312) 431 05 56 - 435 51 35
Tel: 0.(312) 431 05 93 Fax: 0.(312) 431 05 41

.. Bu madde, ancak ilgili kanunda açıkça hüküm bulunan hallerde uygulanır.

3. 01.03.1926 tarihli ve 765 sayılı T.C.K.'nun 526.maddesine diğer kanunlarda yapılan yollamalar bu ...deye yapılmış sayılır, hükmü gereğince 1608 sayılı kanunda belirtilen fiiller 5236 sayılı kanunda yer ...mayan 1608'e göre suç sayılan kabahatlerin 25.09.1992 tarih ve 229 sayılı Belediye Meclis kararı ile kabul edilen maktu ceza talimatnamesindeki suç unsurlarının 5326 sayılı Kabahatler Kanunun 32.maddesinde kabahat olarak kabul edilerek aynen uygulanması şeklinde anlaşıldığından maktu ceza talimatnamesinde kabahat olarak kabul edilen bir cezanın 100.-YTL Maliye Bakanlığının her yıl sonu açıklamış olduğu yeniden değerlendirme oranına göre artırımında;

100.-YTL x 9.8 % = 9.80 --109 x 7,8 = 8,5 -- 109 + 8,5 = 117,5 ---- 117 x 7,2 = 8,4 + 117 = 125.4 ---- 125 x 12 = 15 + 125 = 140.-YTL olarak artırılmıştır.

20.11.2008 tarih ve 27060 sayılı Resmi Gazetede yayımlanan Maliye Bakanlığı Vergi Usul Kanunu Genel Tebliği (377) ile 2008 yılı için yeniden değerlendirme oranı % 12 belirlenmiş olup 2008 yılı içerisinde yazılacak para miktarındaki artış oranı **% 12 olarak artırılarak uygulanacaktır.**

Buna göre 2008 yılı içerisinde;

- 5728 sayılı Temel Ceza Kanunlarına uyum amacıyla çeşitli kanunlarda ve diğer bazı kanunlarda değişiklik yapılmasına dair kanunun 66.maddesine göre 1608 sayılı yasa uyarınca uygulanacak para cezası - 125 x % 12 = 15 + 125 = 140.-YTL

Dilencilik - MADDE 33.-

1. Dilencilik yapan kişiye 50.-YTL idari para cezası verilir, ayrıca dilencilikten elde edilen gelire el konularak mülkiyetin Kamu'ya geçirilmesine karar verilir.

2. Bu kabahat dolayısıyla idari para cezasına ve el koymaya kolluk veya Zabıta görevlileri, mülkiyetin kamuya geçirilmesine mülki amir veya Belediye encümeni karar verir, hükmüne göre kanunda dilenciye yazılan ceza 50.-YTL olarak belirtildiğinden

62 x % 12 = 7.44 + 62 = 69.44 = 69.-YTL olarak,

Gürültü - MADDE 36.-

1. Başkalarının huzur ve sükûnu bozacak şekilde gürültüye neden olan kişiye 50.-YTL para cezası verilir.

2. Bu fiilin bir ticari işletmenin faaliyeti çerçevesinde işlenmesi halinde işletme sahibi gerçek veya tüzel kişiye 1.000.-YTL'den 5.000.-YTL'ye kadar idari para cezası verilir.

3. Bu kabahat dolayısıyla idari para cezasına kolluk veya Belediye Zabıta görevlileri karar verir, hükmü gereğince kanunda belirtilen kişiye verilen ceza 50.-YTL olarak belirtildiğinden,

62 x % 12 = 7.44 + 62 = 69.44 = 69.-YTL olarak,

Bu fiili ticari işletmenin yapması halinde alt sınırın 1.000.-YTL'den üst sınırın ise 5.000.-YTL'den belirtildiğinden,

1374 x % 12 = 164.8 + 1374 = 1538.8 = 1538.-YTL olarak,
6344 x % 12 = 761.2 + 6344 = 7105.2 = 7015.-YTL olarak,

Rahatsız etme - MADDE 37.-

1. Mal veya hizmet satmak için başlarını rahatsız eden kişi 50.-YTL para cezası ile cezalandırılır.

2. Bu kabahat dolayısıyla idari para cezası vermeye kolluk veya Belediye Zabıta görevlileri yetkilidir, hükmü gereğince belirtilen suç unsuru 50.-YTL olarak belirtildiğinden,

62 x % 12 = 7.44 + 62 = 69.44 = 69.-YTL olarak,

İşgal - MADDE 38.-

1. Yetkili makamların açık ve yazılı izni olmaksızın meydan, cadde, sokak veya yayaların gelip geçtiği kaldırımları işgal eden veya buralarda mal satışı arz eden kişiye Belediye Zabıta görevlileri tarafından 50.-YTL para cezası verilir.

2. Yetkili makamların açık ve yazılı izni olmaksızın meydan, cadde, sokak veya yayaların gelip geçtiği kaldırımlar üzerine inşaat malzemesi yığan kişiye Belediye Zabıta görevlileri tarafından 100.-YTL'den 500.-YTL'ye kadar idari para cezası verilir.

3. Özel kanundaki hükümler saklıdır, hükmü gereğince,

- 62 x % 12 = 7.44 + 62 = 69.44 = 69.-YTL olarak,
- 125 x % 12 = 15 + 125 = 140.-YTL olarak,
- 634.- x % 12 = 76.08 = 710.08 = 710.-YTL olarak,

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