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Anomie-Social Class Linkage Among a Sample  
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**ANOMIE-SOCIAL CLASS LINKAGE AMONG A SAMPLE  
OF ADJUDICATED PERSONS IN IZMIR, TURKEY**

**By**

**Nuran Erol**

**A THESIS**

**Submitted to  
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## ABSTRACT

### ANOMIE-SOCIAL CLASS LINKAGE AMONG A SAMPLE OF ADJUDICATED PERSONS IN IZMIR, TURKEY

By

Nuran Erol

Discovering the linkage between socio-economic status and the nature of deviant behavior in a changing society and comparing it to the theoretical frames of reference which guide the relevant U.S. studies constitute the major objective of this study.

In other words, the purpose of this study is to examine the links between social status and deviance as equivalent in the U.S. studies and a survey.

It was observed that the differences between social control mechanisms, especially legal systems, entail new formulations for analyzing any crime-related phenomenon.

The findings of the survey disclosed a linear correlation between the nature of deviancy and the social status of respondents. While the survey on social class-crime linkage is an attempt to analyze the linkage in a changing society, the U.S. studies shaped by different theoretical approaches tend to use various kinds of indicators of the social class and crime types. The study aims at looking at these separate theoretical orientations in a descriptive way.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

*Deviant behavior embraces all sorts of conduct outside the limits of 'normality' and is embedded in the social and moral fabric of each society. Crime, as the end-point of a continuum of disorder, is determined by proscriptions of criminal law of macro contexts. i.e., contexts of wider social structures. 'Deviancy' provides a way of discovering the regularities and patterns of continuum of disorder.*

*Sociological explanations are concerned with how the structure of a society or institutional practices or its persisting cultural themes affect the conduct of its members. Therefore, any social analysis of crime-related problems cannot be based entirely upon informational bases of institutional framework of criminal justice. Instead, a sociological analysis of deviant behavior should use conceptions revealing the patterns of social arrangements that is considered to be both 'outside' the actor and 'prior' to him/her. Since crime is a symbol for a greater problem stemming from social structure and their ability to normatively repress antagonistic world views, it is worthy topic for sociological investigation.*

Viewing crime as a form of anomie enables us to understand the process through which subjects employ "deviant premises" concerning the nature of social institutions and individual conduct in constructing the reality of everyday life.

Considering deviant behavior in a macro-context necessitates relating offender, victim, and criminal, their definitions of crime to changes in the wider world of income differentials, employment, family structures; in short, material factors. The major premise behind this argument is that social changes have predictable effects on patterns and forms of crime. Socio-economic status (SES) or class, for example, is one of the ways for the operationalization of these material factors. Material factors in a social structure function as variables that motivate individuals to 'drift' away from using hegemonic principles as "a priori" presuppositions in constructing social reality. Moreover, analyzing the effects of SES in a different macro-context provides an opportunity to explore how the patterns of crime are 'constructed' or 'mediated' by one of the relevant dimensions of deviant behavior.

Therefore, the purpose of this study is to compare and investigate the links between social status and deviance as equivalent in studies in the U.S. and a survey which was done in a developing society, Turkey.

The major questions will focus on the relationship between socioeconomic status (SES) and types of crimes. Also, the level of social integration is considered to be an indicator of deviancy because of its nature as a noneconomic consequence of social status. Comparison of approaches in the U.S. studies and the study described provides a key to understanding what kinds of 'deviant behaviors' are taken as units of analysis in studies done in different cultures.

In order to enlighten the problematic of this study, first, the recent U.S. studies on anomie / crime-SES / social class relationship will be reviewed to point out the nature of variables which stem from different perspectives. A comparison between theoretical frame of interpretations and research procedures will be made by describing the characteristics of data explored.

The survey can be interpreted as one attempt to display empirical groundings of anomie theory.

NOTE:

1. Social status (SES) is used interchangeably with social class in this study. Although 'class' is a concept that has cultural implications, it is accepted that the indicators of SES for the operationalization of social class is an efficient way of linking class with deviancy.

## CHAPTER 1

### THE CHARACTERISTICS OF RELEVANT U.S. STUDIES ON ANOMIE/CRIME-SOCIAL CLASS/SES LINKAGE

In order to understand the nature of the linkage between deviancy, anomie and socioeconomic status, studies analyzing the association between deviancy and variables 'external' to deviants will be reviewed in this chapter. Rather than looking only at the criminological studies, studies on anomie and deviancy will be explored because of the central importance of the concept of 'deviant' in a sociological perspective. A short history of deviance sheds light on how different perspectives resolve the problem of discovering epistemological tools for the etiological character of crime related issues.

Sociologists in the U.S. have developed at least three major perspectives on the problem in question: 1) social pathology; 2) functionalism; 3) conflict perspective. The earliest one, popular till about the forties, is that of social pathologists (Thio, 1973). They were interested in studying a variety of social deviants such as criminals, juvenile delinquents, prostitutes, drug addicts, the physically defective, and the poor. Deviant acts were all subsumed under the rubric

of social disorganization or social pathology "practical problems", "disorganization", "abnormality", and "maladjustment" are some of the key concepts in the framework of social pathologists. They adopted a fragmentary, individualistic perspective.

The dominant criminological perspective in the post-war period was that of functionalism which succinctly brought about a value-free behavioral perspective. Crime and delinquency were seen as a result of 'poor' social conditions. Social reform would reduce the crime rate. Functionalism focused on absolute deprivation. Yet relative inequality persisted and even increased within a wealthy society that gave rise to deviancy (Young, 1987). Within this theoretical perspective, two major theories of anomie were those of R. Merton and of Leo Srole. They shared common theoretical bases and their works have been the foundation for much of the anomie research.

In the 1960's, the labeling perspective emerged. Labeling theorists considered deviant behavior not as intrinsic to the act but merely a consequence of labeling by superordinate parties of behavior of subordinates in a power structure (Becker, 1967). Deviance was equated with powerlessness.

The three perspectives on deviancy are interrelated with the specific theories of anomie/crime-

social class relationship. Merton's anomie theory attempted to provide a rationale for a negative anomie-status hypothesis. His functional theory of deviance postulates that behavior is a function of the relationship between culturally defined goals and the culturally prescribed means to achieve those goals within a given social system. Individuals are said to be under strain when the relationship between goals and means is discrepant (Merton, 1968). If the goals and means are both absent, such discrepancy can exist. These strains motivate individuals to cope by adopting one of several modes deviant behavior. The most significant form of mode of adaptation for the class / crime linkage is "innovation". According to Merton, the strain toward innovation is strongest among those of lower socio-economic status because their means to achieve success goals are so limited that they often tend to employ culturally proscribed means (such as crime) to realize success goals.

However, Merton does not accept the strain of a goal / means discrepancy as a sufficient cause of innovation. He emphasizes that individuals in all social strata experience such strains, although all of them are not equally likely to innovate. The key factors that explain differences in innovation is really moral commitment to the law. To illustrate this point, Merton



*discusses the lower middle class individual who faces a severe strain between goals and means because he/she also internalizes unattainable goals (Merton, 1968).*

*Merton's theory moves away from the transcendental moral philosophy of Durkheim and situates itself in the mainstream of a scientifically-oriented inquiry. This instrumental revision of anomie is based on two major assumptions: (1) that a society's population collectively embraced in the same cultural values, and (2) that culturally prescribed means for obtaining these values were differentially distributed throughout the population by a class mechanism (Harvey, 1982).*

*An important point which should be emphasized is that the Mertonian approach of deviance bears some barren arguments. Consensus on ends is not an analytic given, as Merton would claim, but an ideological condition which is shaped by micro and macro contexts of each society. Further, it is questionable to accept the assumption of consensus on ends or the homogeneity of groups in a heterogeneous and ethnically diversified society such as the one analyzed in this study. Although it assumes differentially distributed means to obtain values, it neglects the diversity in each society in terms of the operation of social control mechanisms such as the legal system. Starr, in her ethnographic study of law in a Turkish village, observes the way disputes are*

settled and the perception of the legal system by individuals in a rural area. There seems to be some certain informal mechanisms between individuals to settle the disputes (Starr, 1978).

Srole's theory, which aims at identifying of specific traits of anomie at the individual level, distinguishes between the social and psychological dimensions. He coins the term 'anomia' to describe, at the very general level, a psychological condition of "self-to-others alienation" (Srole, 1956). The background assumption of his scale is that the desirable condition of social systems is characterized at the macrosocial level by the "integratedness" of different systems or subsystems, and at the microsocial level by the functional integration of individuals in relation to the social normative situation. When Srole's psychological dimensions are combined with Merton's theory of anomie, a structural analysis of anomie is provided. In sum, the apparent notion in Merton and Srole's works is that anomie is a "structural condition" of modern social life.

There are various studies analyzing anomie-status relationship which also provides formulations to study crime-class hypothesis in the functionalist perspective. Since deviancy is an outcome of a process of judgement and evaluation that distinguishes certain forms of behavior as rule-breaking and attaches penalties

to them, any sociological investigation of criminals should focus on the 'social act' rather than the definition of deviancy written in law. Studies on anomie do take into account relevant variables of 'social act' by accepting it as though it is a social construct. For example, Phillibes and Fox (1982) analyze the effects of affluence perception of anomia and the importance of affluence perception as an intervening variable interpreting the effects of race, education, and income on anomia.

Rushing (1971), in his study on the relationship between aspiration-perceived opportunity disjunction and normlessness refers to 'cultural interpretation' as a crucial factor in normlessness. In another study that attempts to measure the linkages between numerous factors (e.g., occupation, education, income, age, class identification, etc.) of SES and anomia, a significant relationship was found (Meier and Bell, 1959). Agnew (1980), on the other hand, examines the effect of variations in the goal of success on anomie. His central question appears to be the associations between different amounts of emphasis on the goal of success and different levels of anomie. Other studies on anomie are summarized in the table . As it can be observed, they tend to comprehend different dimensions of the relevant variables. The studies either

use self-reported data or U.S. survey results, or official records of criminals. Various indicators of SES are used including especially race (Green, 1970; Eliot and Ageton, 1980).

In contrast to the functionalist propositions, other studies generate a hypothesis of an inverse relationship between SES and crime. One of these theories, for example, postulates that individual of lower SES have distinct cultural characteristics encouraging deviant behavior. In this context, Miller suggests that criminal behavior is motivated by positive efforts "to achieve status, conditions, or qualities valued within the actor's most significant cultural milieu" (Miller, 1958). Cohen's theory differs from the others of this school of thought in that he attempts to explain the presence of a presumed distinct lower class subculture which encourages law violation. He argues that deficiencies in childbearing as well as the presence of considerable elements in the lower class culture make it difficult to meet the expectation of a middle class dominated society (Cohen, 1955).

A closely related theoretical formulation that one could assume to generate a negative class / crime hypothesis is Sutherland's differential association theory. It does not attempt to explain why some individuals associate with primary interaction groups

which lead sufficient conditions in which individuals learn criminal norms. The fact that people who have high exposure to the criminalistic influences will have the highest probability of criminal behavior is accepted as given (Sutherland and Cressey, 1978).

The Chicago ecological tradition also held that criminal behavior is inversely related to social class. The major theme in this theory emphasizes that social and environmental characteristics of low income inner city areas combine to produce higher than normal rates of crime. For example, when he examines status-delinquent behavior, Johnstone (1978) employees two types of status (area status and family status). Shaw and McKay (1969), too, focus on two significant features of the areas where low income urban people reside. Although they avoid the usual preconception concerning inherent negative trait of lower status people by providing a plausible theoretical account of how crime rates in lower status, inner city areas come to exceed, assuming that all or most lower class individuals in the U.S. seems to be an overgeneralization.

Another approach that is used to explain crime is reflected in a body of ideas identified as conflict theory. Conflict analysts postulate that deprivation of material goods and of access to the means of production will lead to criminal behavior. However, some

formulations of conflict perspective go beyond the idea of deprivation and crime. For example, Bonger (1969) maintains that a capitalist economic system is necessarily based on competition and exploitative exchange. Capitalist economic organization creates disproportionate amounts of crime among the proletariat because desperate economic circumstances provide strong incentives for committing criminal acts. Harvey, who considers Mertonian theory of anomia as an attempt to reconcile the structural-functional problematic with a form of Marxist theory, suggests a way to reconstitute the concept of anomia in order to more fully take into account the class antagonisms which generate anomia in contemporary capitalist settings (Harvey, 1982). Williams and Drake (1980) attempt to examine the relationship between economic inequality, the relative size of historically subordinate groups, and criminalization by using a Marxist perspective.

The utilitarian / deterrence approach is another perspective using a negative class / crime hypothesis. It posits that humans rationally weigh the potential costs and benefits of behaviors and act promises more reward than cost. Zimring and Hawkins, Tittle have all suggested that the cost / benefit ratio varies directly with class. Although they differ in some certain points, the basic idea is that higher status

people benefit more from their positions in the social structure than do lower status people (Tittle, 1969). The study of Zimring and Hawkins (1973) implies that even if actual costs of criminal behavior were equal for all classes, the socioeconomic groups would nevertheless differ in the extent to which cost is translated into inhibitions, with the lower class ending up deterred.

The scope of studies on anomie/crime and status/class relationship go beyond the limits of a short summary. The common denominator of all studies seems to be employing external assumptions, most of which are themselves embodiments of preconceived notions that lower class people are plagued with undesirable characteristics which cause or imply criminal or deviant behavior.

Among these studies, there are some attempts to analyze the problem by reviewing the relevant review. For example, Tittle and Villemez (1977) examined associations between social class and social mobility and some indicators of criminality under a variety of control conditions. They extracted data from a large survey conducted in 1972 of the populations aged 15 and over. They concluded that SES may be important only in interaction with other variables.

In another study, done by Tittle, Villemez, and Smith (1978), thirty five studies examining the relationship between social class and crime delinquency

were reduced to comparable statistics using instances where the relationship was studied for specific categories of age, sex, place of residence, race, data type, or offense as units of analysis. The overall results revealed only a slight negative relationship between class and criminality, with self-report studies reflecting lower associations than official statistics studies. They assumed that official statistics used in studies on class/crime relationship tended to verify the inverse relationship between two variables. As contemporary data do not support the conclusion of a negative relationship between social class and crime / delinquency, some shift in theoretical forms is called for.

Braithwaite, in his review of the relevant studies, argues that 53 studies of official records consistently show notable class differences in criminality. It has been demonstrated, with a degree of consistency that lower class people, and people living lower class areas, have higher official crime rates than other groups (Braithwaite, 1981).

In another study Eliot and Ageton (1980) state that the relationship between class and self-reported delinquency is totally a consequence of the difference in delinquency between the lower class group and the rest of the sample. They conclude that there is no difference



between the working and middle class groups.

Williams and Drake (1980) examined the empirical validity of arguments maintained by conflict theorists about the interrelations among economic inequality, the incidence of crime, and the official criminalization of people through arrest when an alternative unofficial measure of criminal activity (i.e., the victimization rate) is used. No evidence was found that the arrest rate is merely a function of the incidence of criminal behavior. The relationship between economic inequality and the arrest rate for aggravated assault held when the victimization rate was controlled.

Another important study was done by Thornberry and Farnworth (1982) who attempted to verify a strong relationship between status and adult criminality. In order to assess more adequately the status / crime linkage, they proposed a measurement approach in which a number of central dimensions of the concept of social status is included. Both self-reported and official data produced the same overall conclusions about the relationship between criminality and status for white adults: (1) the relationship is inverse; (2) it is stronger than the relationship found for juveniles; and (3) it is not as strong as the relationship found for black adults.

The range of U.S. studies on deviancy, anomie and crime seems so wide that categorizing into one category, or understanding what theoretical framework they use is difficult. Although they employ qualitatively and quantitatively different research formats, it can be argued that 'scientific' studies of crime generally reflect the organizing principles of one of three major perspectives summarized above. Of the three major perspectives for studying deviancy and crime, the functionalist framework emphasizes the orderliness of social life. The interactionist perspective which gives shape to approaches such as labeling theory tend to focus on the social-psychological complexity of human life. The last one, conflict perspective, pinpoints the capitalist economic system as the source of social conflict, and suggests that conflict is not a necessary condition of human social life.

The theoretical scope in which the problem of deviancy and anomie seems to be stemming from the polymorphous characters of deviancy (Sagarin and Kelly, 1987). If deviance is integral to social structure, if it is an aspect of social organization, then as societies change, as social values and structures evolve and adjust, deviance will manifest itself accordingly: it will take on different forms and characteristics. Though the perspectives in question are helpful to formulate

*these theoretical problems of deviancy, grasping its essential character conceptually and definitionally in a manner that transcends historical and realities at a time may be too optimistic.*

**TABLE 1: STUDIES OR THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CRIME/ANOMIE  
AND SES/SOCIAL CLASS IN THE U.S.**

| <b>AUTHOR(S)</b>                   | <b>VARIABLES</b>   | <b>IS THERE ANY<br/>SIGNIFICANT<br/>RELATIONSHIP</b> |
|------------------------------------|--|--|
|                                    | <b>DEPENDENT-INDEPENDENT</b>   |  |
| Agnew (1980)                       | Status variables -<br>anomie   | Yes  |
| Braithwaite<br>(1981)              | Crime-Social Class   | Yes  |
| Dodder and<br>Astle (1980)         | Dimensions of anomie   | Yes  |
| Eliot and<br>Ageton (1980)         | Crime - race, class  | Yes  |
| Erickson (1973)                    | Official delinquency-<br>SES   | No   |
| Frease (1973)                      | Juvenile delinquency-<br>social class                                      | No   |
| Green (1970)                       | Crime - SES  | Yes  |
| Harvey (1982)                      | Degree of anomie- class  | Yes  |
| Johnstone (1978)                   | Delinquent behavior -<br>area/family status                                | Yes  |
| Meier and<br>Bell (1959)           | Anomie - SES   | Yes  |
| Robins, Gynand<br>& O'neal (1962)  | Deviance - Class   | Yes  |
| Rushing (1971)                     | Deviant behavior -<br>malintegration of cultural<br>goals and social norms | Yes  |
| Thornberry and<br>Farnworth (1982) | Crime - SES  | Yes  |
| Tittle and<br>Villemez (1977)      | Criminality -<br>Social class  | No   |
| Voss (1966)                        | Crime - SES  | No   |
| Williams and<br>Gold (1973)        | Delinquent behavior  | No   |

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **SOME ASSESSMENTS ON TURKISH LAW SYSTEM AND TURKISH CRIMINOLOGY**

*As a combination of the old and new, Turkey is a worthy subject of sociological investigation. Turkish society is ancient, but the Turkish Republic was established only in 1923. As a developing society, contemporary Turkey is experiencing the effects of modernization. Yet traditional values are deeply rooted in its people, with the consequence that crimes associated with industrialization and urbanization have not been as evident in Turkey as in other developing societies. Criminology and sociological investigation of crime are relatively new, but as is discussed below, the combination of the old and the new already has stimulated the creation of a body of sociological and criminological research on crime.*

#### **TRANSITION AND TENSION:**

*Founded in 1923, the Republic gained its constitution in 1924 under the guidance of the military bureaucrats, founders of the new Turkish state.*

*Continuous cultural change has had impact on Turkish society, beginning in the 19th century, through*

the effects of many changes that may be summarized under the terms of "Westernization". New schools, new state organizations, and institutions were modeled mostly after French institutions.

The rate of change was intensified throughout the nineteenth century when the 'Sultan', the head of the state, was not only an absolute Secular authority but also the caliph, supreme chief of the religion. His double role must be taken into account in assessing every attempt to adapt Western institution, based on a Christian culture, to Turkish traditions. Formidable obstacles had to be overcome to adjust these institutions to the centuries-old Turkish traditions, customs, and mores deeply rooted in Islamic values.

In an effort to create a rule of law, the French Penal Code of 1810 was accepted almost in its entirety, but even in the first article it was specified that the preservation of the rights of citizens emanates from "Sharia", that is, rules of Islam. This duality of criminal law was clarified during the foundation of the new Republic; the constitution expressed the principle that secularization would be one of the most significant characteristics of the state. The Criminal Code Article 163 supports the same principle by prohibiting all sorts

of propaganda against the principle.

After the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, radical reforms were introduced in the legal matters as in other spheres of life. The adoption of the Swiss Civil Code of Obligations which contain the law of persons, family law, succession, property, contracts, torts and unjust enrichment, both of which were adopted in 1926 with some minor alterations, represented a profound change in society.

The main source of the Turkish Criminal Code is the Italian Code of 1889 (Code Zanardelli) which is based on the ideas of liberalism and individualism. Codes of administrative law were mainly adopted from France as a result of the strong influence on the administrative system of Turkey which began just after the reform of 1839.

The individualistic character of the Italian Code does not correspond to the dominant attitude of the Turkish people, but the Italian Penal Code was evaluated at the end of the nineteenth century as a progressive judicial creation, well grounded in logic and technique and consistent with the democratic traditions of the century. The Italian Code was not oriented to the principles of scientific criminology and is not

consistent with the requirements of today's criminal policy. Even today the purposes and concepts of the Italian Code are an uncertain platform for conducting research in light of the complexities of accommodating the diverse theories of our era (Pinatel, 1980).

The Turkish Penal Code also has had no such particularity, and it departs from the Code Zanardelli in the general severity in the style of applying sanctions. Penalties, especially prison sentences, are much heavier than provided for by the Italian code and codes of other European countries. The Turkish Code grants only a minimum level of discretion to judges. The courts' imposition of harsh penalties is usually not enforced, since laws of amnesty are periodically passed. Under these conditions, reliable evaluation of deterrent sentencing is almost impossible (Dönmezer, 1983).

Since 1965, progress has been made toward mitigating the severity of the sanctioning system and providing an improved setting for criminological research as a resource for criminal policy. The new Act on the Enforcement of Penalties, Number 647 (Dönmezer, 1967), published in 1967 by the parliament, modified almost all the prescriptions concerning sanctions of the Penal Code. This act gave rather large discretionary power to the



courts for substituting fines for prison sentences, employing security measures, and using probation and parole.

**DEVELOPMENTS IN THE POLITICAL SECTOR:**

A system of one-party politics was practiced from the early days of the Republic until 1946. "Westernization" implied political and social changes producing clashes between traditional and emergent values, culture conflicts, and antagonisms between groups supporting new ideas and groups loyal to traditional values. Those processes contributed to the appearance of deviant behavior among members of the new society. From the early days of the republic until 1950, those processes were operating, but, within the framework and under the pressure of a disciplined one-party system and limitations on freedoms, formal control mechanisms were rather strong and effective. In 1950, a new era of political liberties emerged, culminating in the constitution of 1961. The formal control mechanisms have become less effective in maintaining compliance, and the processes of normative dissensus have increased the visibility of deviant behavior.

Beginning particularly with the 1950s, rapid industrialization and urbanization took place in Turkey.

The many effects on a traditional society undergoing profound changes began to appear. The migration from rural areas to the cities continues at an explosive pace. Transition from a rural village economy to a market economy has accelerated this process. The unplanned growth of certain cities exceeds their capacity to absorb new residents and aggravates the inefficiency of public utilities and other public services.

Criminal areas in big cities, in the form of shanty towns erected by newcomers from villages, may be considered important sources of crime. Excessive unemployment and decreased management of children must also be considered.

#### **CRIMINOLOGY: ITS NATURE AND ACTIVITIES:**

Criminology is a young science in Turkey, compared to its development in Western Europe and the United States. In the last sixty or seventy years, this sphere of scientific activity has been a part of the curricula of Western universities, but its teaching in Turkey as a university discipline only began in 1953 in the Law School of the University of Istanbul.

#### **Criminology and Instruction in Law:**

Previous to 1953, a well-rooted tradition was established to give considerable attention to the

problems of theoretical criminology in the teaching of criminal law. In the course of studying different notions and institutions of law, criminological matters and problems also are explained. The tradition was consistent with the proposal expounded by Gabriel Tarde at the First International Congress of Anthropology that the teaching of criminal law be completed by dealing with criminology. The tradition is still followed in various law schools of Turkey.

In 1943, an institute of criminology was founded first in the law school of Istanbul University and another later in the law school of Ankara University. Since then, the institute of criminology of Istanbul has been particularly active in research within the limits of its budget and the capacity of its staff and resources. Conferences and symposia are sponsored at the national and international levels. A rather satisfactory library of criminological literature has been assembled. The institute may be considered the center of the science of criminology in Turkey.

#### **A Conception of Criminology:**

Since 1953 the only textbook of criminology used in the higher education institutions of Turkey was written by Donmezer. Criminology is defined as a science

of synthesis: its subject matter is directed toward explanation of deviant behavior. It has to be an applied science - a science of "social defense" - that studies criminal behavior and responses to crime in action. The police, courts, prisons, and other institutions reacting to crime are investigated in action as facets of social control.

Textbook materials are oriented primarily to students of criminal law; hence, a single theoretical approach is not likely to be followed. The functional approach to criminal behavior in the Mertonian sense is the most desirable one. Crime is considered unavoidable in any ideological and social system, and, strangely, it is an aspect of system maintenance and survival.

Publications in Criminology:

Scientific articles on criminological matters are published in the "Review of the School of Istanbul", in the journals of the bar associations of Istanbul and Ankara, and in the "Review of the Ministry of Justice" which is concerned with law but also publishes articles on criminological topics. The "Review of the Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology" specializes in reports of research undertaken by that institute. "Annals of the School of Law of the University of Istanbul", gives space

to criminological articles.

Publications in theoretical criminology - pure theory, methodology, and model building - are quite rare. The tendency is to be concerned only with empirical data, with readers left largely free to draw their own interpretations from the data. There are publications concerning the volume of crime, crime statistics, prison populations, specific types of crimes, especially traffic accidents, recidivism, and the functioning of criminal justice as a control system. Legal scholars have been predominant among the authors, but since 1970 sociologists have shown greater interest in crime problems, particularly juvenile delinquency.

#### **REVIEW OF SELECTED AREAS OF RESEARCH:**

In reviewing the criminological literature of Turkey, the discussion is limited to works issued since 1950. Furthermore, the review concentrates on the areas of juvenile delinquency, the criminality of Turkish "guest workers" who migrated temporarily for jobs in foreign countries, traffic offenses, and murders and vendettas. Because of the diverse topics relevant in Turkey, it may be said that the chief characteristics of Turkish research is that the authors are chiefly from academia and the reports are mostly descriptive and

comparative. Research of Western countries, particularly that of the U.S., is usually the basis for comparison with the situation in Turkey.

Juvenile Delinquency:

Studies of juvenile delinquency have always been a favorite subject of scholars in Turkey. Even though the rate of juvenile delinquency is not high, any upsurge in the rate excites concern in a country where the family institution is particularly strong. But some research follows the psychological and cultural points of view.

For example, in 1977, Yavuzer studied 214 young male convicts in the treatment schools of Ankara, Izmir, and Elazig to determine their level of intelligence and factors concerning the environment and personality traits. They measured the effects of psycho-pedagogical, socioeconomic, and cultural factors in developing deviant behavior (Yavuzer, 1977).

In another study, Saran dealt with the sociocultural particularities of the children under eighteen years of age who involved with the police of Istanbul in the years 1958-1963 (Saran, 1968). Theft, violence, sexual crimes, smuggling, and pickpocketing were the most prevalent crimes. According to the author, the

delinquency of members of the sample was associated with crowded families, poor housing, unemployment, and culture conflict.

Criminality of Turkish Migrant Workers in Foreign Countries:

The criminality of "guest workers" has been the subject of research in the last twenty years. Emigration from Mediterranean and Eastern Europe raises problems that differ from those of Canada and the U.S. in earlier decades.

Research published by Tuna is an example of the investigations carried out in Turkey (Tuna, 1966). He deals with the problem of criminality of the Turkish migrant workers in West Germany. In evaluating the offenses of Turkish migrants, one has to take into account the severe and discriminatory attitude of local authorities against the "guest workers". Anomie appears to be an apt theoretical explanation because the Turkish migrant workers constitute the "new Negroes" of Europe.

Murders and Vendettas:

Upon its establishment in 1944, the Institute of Criminology and Criminal Law of Istanbul took up investigations of murder as the first item on its research agenda. The study, published in 1948 in Turkish

and French, covered 6386 persons convicted of murder, and it is still considered a main source in that subject.

In his study, Tezcan deals with the problem of the vendetta (Tezcan, 1972) and tries to explain it in terms of sociological factors present in some parts of Turkey.

#### Traffic Offenses:

Turkey has a very high rate of casualties resulting from road accidents. Among the many publications on this topic is the paper of Yarsuvat (1973). His research covers 2260 judgements of the district court, traffic court, and justices of the peace of Istanbul for 1968.

#### **FUNCTIONING OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE:**

Public opinion in Turkey has expressed increasing dissatisfaction with the criminal justice system in the last 20 years. Several scholars have applied themselves to the assessment of and proposing solutions for the shortcomings of the system.

In a study of the criminal justice system, among the facets of the crisis of justice in Turkey, attention was given to the delay in justice administration (Donmez, 1972). Nine major causes of delay were summarized, and twelve policy measures were



proposed to correct the problem.

Concentrating on the criminal justice system of Istanbul, the largest city in Turkey, Yarsuvat presented the hypothesis that urbanization in Turkey has not yet a noticeable effect on the functioning of the criminal justice system, although it is not as efficient as one would desire from social control institutions (Yarsuvat, 1973).

Until the 1960s, criminality was not considered a serious nuisance in Turkey. Thereafter and especially in 1968, due to rapid social change reflected by industrialization, migration, and social mobility, the situation began to deteriorate. There is increased awareness of the crucial role criminological research can play in lending substance and direction to the framing of criminal justice policy. It is important to tie those aspects of policymaking activities with the broader efforts toward economic development that are dedicated to meeting the needs of Turkish society.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **THE SURVEY**

#### **A) OBJECTIVE AND HYPOTHESES**

*The data of a Turkish study titled "Changing meaning of the concept of crime and social status of the offenders and criminals in relation to the new rules of the changing society" provides an opportunity to compare U.S. studies described above and an empirical study of anomie theory. In order to make the comparison, first of all, examining the research design of the survey is necessary.*

*The purpose of the study was to question how the definitions of crimes by social institutions tend to change because of a new emergency, complex and heterogeneous social structure in the process of social change. The relationship between the types of crimes and SES of criminals and offenders were explored through the following hypotheses:*

*1) The more individuals internalize the way contemporary society, its institutions, the sets of rules operate in urban life; the less they tend to become 'deviants'. In other words, there is an inverse relationship between the internalization, or, understanding, being consciousness*

of the internal logic of the operation of the whole social system, and becoming a criminal.

2) There is a correlation between the degree of internalization, or being consciousness of the system and committing certain types of crimes.

**THE TYPES OF CRIMES INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY:**

1) Crimes against persons (drunkenness, assault, etc.)

2) Crimes against property (burglary, vandalism, larceny, etc.)

3) Traffic violations.

4) Misdemeanors (e.g., rejection of police regulations, disobedience against rules, etc.)

5) Embezzlement and corruption

6) Illegal service crimes (bribery, forgery, disobedience against the regulations of business law)

Since it is doubtful that legal categories provide an adequate base on which to develop typologies of offenders, a typology of behaviors seemed to have a good deal of utility. Yet, rather than attempting to employ certain type of classifications such as "organized crimes", "violent crimes", the classification of offenses was considered to be functional in terms of being a heuristic device for organizing forms of illegality into groupings.

The deviant behavior, which was interpreted as punishable action in the eyes of law, would be considered as the core characteristics of the individuals to be analyzed in this study. In order to obtain the data on "deviants", three civil courts in the city of Izmir were selected as information sources. Before reviewing the procedure of sampling it is necessary to briefly describe the court structures in the Turkish law system.

Criminal acts, in the terminology of Turkish law system, are separated into two categories such as felonies against the state and felonies against public decency and family order.

The courts are divided into civil, criminal, and administrative courts. The civil court of First Instance is the basic trial court with general and residual jurisdiction covering everything not specifically assigned to other tribunals. Civil courts are established to hear certain cases including those where the amount of controversy does not exceed a certain amount of money, eviction cases, claims of support, and request for permission to marry.

Criminal courts are divided into three categories: peace courts, courts of Criminal jurisdiction and Aggravated Felony Courts.

*The official records of Peace Courts, and Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction provided necessary information from which the data were obtained. Due to the difficulties in the procedures to gain access to the records of the Aggravated Felony Courts, the sample size was limited to the population of two types of criminal courts in a sub-province (Bornova) which is the most crowded province of the city of Izmir. Since these were one peace courts and two criminal jurisdiction courts in the province; the sample was planned to be drawn between offenders who were judged at these courts. Also, the nature of the suits in each court provided a reason for selecting these courts. After a preliminary research, it was observed that the official records of the peace court, and two criminal jurisdiction courts included the information about offenders who were judged due to committing the types of crimes which were planned to be included in the study.*

*The major difference between three courts in question was the nature of crimes subjected to suits of each court. For example, it was observed that offenses, which were grouped as crimes against persons, disorderly conduct of traffic regulations, constituted the suits judged at the trials of the peace court. Offenses such*

as burglary, larceny, auto theft, and some illegal service crimes were subjected to the trials of its criminal jurisdiction court. 2nd criminal jurisdiction court were happened to be dealing with aggravated assault, rape, and other illegal service crimes which required punishment of imprisonment and heavy fines. The degree of punishment in each court was tended to increase between the peace court and 2nd criminal jurisdiction court. Also, the degree of violence was another criterion determining the position of offense among three courts.

The process of sample selection followed those steps: Firstly, in order to increase the representativeness of the sample, 2000 trials or cases, the relevant information about the offenders and criminals were recorded or reclassified. The number of the suits in three courts were as follows: 1240 suits in the peace court; 370 suits in the 1st criminal jurisdiction court; and 390 suits in the 2nd criminal jurisdiction court. These suits consisted of the trials which have been judged between March 1985 and May 1986. The proportion of the numbers of suits among 2000 cases was determined by the proportion or the number of suits within a certain period of time.

In each of the official files of the three courts, it was possible to find some kind of detailed information that included the number of victims in the 'criminal' action, the age, occupation, addresses of offenders, the place of action, and related information about the legal procedure and prosecution. The conceptual gap between the terminology of law and the operational definition of the units of analysis in the research necessitated the reclassification of the source of the data. The data had to be reclassified on the basis of six types of crimes to draw a sample from the population of the offenders and criminals. For the next step, among 36 types of crimes, those provided a proportion over 2% (among the total number of crimes) were selected and the list of the respondents in each group were completed. The crimes that provided a proportion less than 2% among others were grouped as the other types of crimes. Since the ratio of the units of analysis in each crime group was different, the sample could be drawn by a weighting procedure. After the new list of criminals was prepared, the sample was drawn among these different types of criminal groups by using simple random sampling. The offenders who were in a jail during the survey research whose suits were dismissed were excluded from the sample.

Since it was planned to make interviews with 100 offenders and criminals, the selection of the numbers of the respondents in each group was made on the basis of the proportion of each crime group among the total numbers of crimes. In sum, both stratified random sampling and simple random sampling were used together in the sampling procedure.

After the lists of respondents were made, interviews were started. The geographical area of the survey research consisted of different neighborhoods of the city of Izmir. Before the interviews were started, the introductory letters about the survey research were sent to the respondents. A total of 73 criminals and offenders had been asked questions related to their SES and criminal status, as well as their level of social integration. The interviews were completed at the end of October 1986.

Although the criminal population in the city of Izmir can be seen as a representative aggregation of all Turkish population, the sample used in this study is narrow in the sense that it does not represent a sample of deviant population in Turkey. Furthermore, the factors which may be influential on the rate of arrests were not considered in the analysis.



**B) DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS:****1) SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT:**

The indicators displaying the degree of internalization of social order by individuals also function as the characteristics of the respondents in the survey research. The descriptive characteristics such as age distribution, the birthplace (urban/rural), the occupation of father, the frequency of unemployment, the type of family individuals lived in, the level of education of respondents, provide a picture by which we can understand the variables that could be influential in internalizing the sets of values characterizing the urban life style. In other words, certain descriptive characteristics have an important role in the sense that they help us to infer the way individuals internalize some sets of values emerging in urban life.

The individuals in the sample can be accepted as a representative aggregation of Turkish population as it is documented in the age distribution of the whole population (see Table 2). Those whose ages range between 15-64 constitute 60.3% of the general population. Although the sample cannot be interpreted as the representative of the whole female-male population, it is a representative sample of the general offenders and

criminal population (Table 3).

**Table 2: The age distribution of Turkish population (%)**

| <i>Age groups</i> |               | <i>1986</i> |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>0-14</i>       | <i>Total</i>  | <i>35.4</i> |
|                   | <i>Male</i>   | <i>17.9</i> |
|                   | <i>Female</i> | <i>17.5</i> |
| <i>15-64</i>      | <i>Total</i>  | <i>60.3</i> |
|                   | <i>Male</i>   | <i>30.5</i> |
|                   | <i>Female</i> | <i>29.8</i> |
| <i>65+</i>        | <i>Total</i>  | <i>4.3</i>  |
|                   | <i>Male</i>   | <i>2.0</i>  |
|                   | <i>Female</i> | <i>2.3</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>      |               | <i>100</i>  |

Source: State Statistics Institute (1986)

**Table 3: The age distribution among respondents.**

| <i>Age</i>              | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|-------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Less than<br/>20</i> | <i>7</i>      | <i>9.5</i>  |
| <i>21-25</i>            | <i>8</i>      | <i>11.0</i> |
| <i>26-30</i>            | <i>9</i>      | <i>12.3</i> |
| <i>31-40</i>            | <i>23</i>     | <i>31.5</i> |
| <i>41-50</i>            | <i>17</i>     | <i>23.3</i> |
| <i>51+</i>              | <i>9</i>      | <i>12.4</i> |
| <i>Total</i>            | <i>73</i>     | <i>100</i>  |

**Table 4: The birthplace distribution among respondents.**

| <i>Birthplace</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>URBAN</i>      | <i>35</i>     | <i>47.9</i> |
| <i>RURAL</i>      | <i>33</i>     | <i>45.3</i> |
| <i>OTHER</i>      | <i>5</i>      | <i>6.8</i>  |
| <i>TOTAL</i>      | <i>73</i>     | <i>100</i>  |

*It is well known fact that migration characterizes the structure of population in urban areas in developing societies. The percentage of individuals born in rural areas seems to be a verification of this fact. Also, if we compare the birthplace distribution among respondents to the general distribution of urban-rural population in Turkey, the representativeness of the sample units could be clarified.*

**Table 5: The general distribution of urban-rural population in Turkey (%).**

| <i>Years</i> | <i>Urban</i> | <i>Rural</i> |
|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>1975</i>  | <i>41.8</i>  | <i>58.2</i>  |
| <i>1980</i>  | <i>49.2</i>  | <i>50.8</i>  |
| <i>1985</i>  | <i>53.0</i>  | <i>47.0</i>  |

*Source: State Statistics Institute (1986)*

**Table 6: The level of education among respondents.**

| <i>The level of education</i>  | <i>#</i>  | <i>%</i>    |
|--------------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>Illiterate</i>              | <i>4</i>  | <i>5.5</i>  |
| <i>Literate</i>                | <i>7</i>  | <i>9.6</i>  |
| <i>Elementary school grad.</i> | <i>37</i> | <i>50.6</i> |
| <i>High school drop-out</i>    | <i>13</i> | <i>17.8</i> |
| <i>High school graduate</i>    | <i>4</i>  | <i>5.5</i>  |
| <i>Others</i>                  | <i>2</i>  | <i>2.7</i>  |
| <i>College Grads</i>           | <i>6</i>  | <i>8.2</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>                   | <i>73</i> | <i>99.9</i> |

The data on another important characteristic of the respondents revealed that their level of education is relatively higher than the level of education of their parents, although 5.5% of them consist of illiterate respondents which is not the general characteristic of Turkish population. The majority of respondents are drop-outs as it can be seen from the figures in question. College graduates are observed to be those who own their own business (petty bourgeoisie). The category of others consists of the respondents who attended different type of schools rather than the categories written above.

*It is possible to relate the level of education to the starting age of working life such that almost 50% of respondents who are elementary school graduates is a consistent figure with the proportion of those (34.1%) who started working at the age of 11-12. Also, the percentage of university graduates (8.2%) seems consistent with the proportion of respondents who started working after the age of 22. 35% of respondents started working at the ages of 13-15.*

*If we describe the frequency of unemployment among respondents, the data reveals that the majority of respondents (61.6%) never been unemployed. However, if the percentage of people working in informal sectors is considered, this figure should not lead to conclude that the majority of respondents had stable occupations. It was inferred from the interviews that respondents tended to forget the frequency of unemployment since they started to work; or, they tended to avoid give clear answers related to their unemployment periods. However, it was observed that 21.4% of the respondents certainly had unemployment experiences. Those who had never worked (5.5%) consist of housewives in the sample.*

**Table 7: The unemployment status among respondents.**

|   | #  | %    |
|---|----|------|
| <b>No<br/>answer</b>                    | 1  | 1.4  |
| <b>Never<br/>Worked</b>                 | 4  | 5.5  |
| <b>Always<br/>unemployed</b>            | 2  | 2.7  |
| <b>Has been<br/>unemployed (1)</b>      | 10 | 13.6 |
| <b>Has been<br/>unemployed (2)</b>      | 4  | 5.5  |
| <b>Unemployed<br/>more than 2 times</b> | 7  | 9.6  |
| <b>Total</b>                            | 73 | 99.9 |

## 2) CHARACTERISTICS OF FAMILIAL BACKGROUND

The familial background of the respondents could be analyzed in terms of delineating certain characteristics of the individuals in the sample.

**Table 8: Father's occupation.**

| <i>Father's occupation</i>      | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|---------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Agriculture</i>              | <i>19</i>     | <i>26.0</i> |
| <i>Craftsmen</i>                | <i>5</i>      | <i>6.8</i>  |
| <i>Tradesman</i>                | <i>18</i>     | <i>24.6</i> |
| <i>Blue collar worker</i>       | <i>14</i>     | <i>19.2</i> |
| <i>White collar worker</i>      | <i>8</i>      | <i>11</i>   |
| <i>Merchant (owns business)</i> | <i>4</i>      | <i>5.5</i>  |
| <i>Other</i>                    | <i>5</i>      | <i>6.8</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>                    | <i>73</i>     | <i>100</i>  |

The respondents whose fathers working had worked in agriculture sectors constituted 26% of the whole sample. This proportion is consistent with the percentage of the respondents born in rural areas. 24.6% of the respondents is a group whose fathers had small scale trade jobs. Tradesman is a typical occupation of rural communities. The difference between tradesman and craftsmen stems from whether someone owns a production unit no matter what kind of product they market. Merchants constitute 5.5% of the sample size. They can

also be called petty bourgeoisie. 19.2% of respondents had fathers working in a factory, in short, selling labour. White collar jobs, those who used to work in a government office, are in the 4th place.

The characteristics about the level of education among the respondents' fathers are as follows:

The proportion of the respondents whose fathers graduated from an elementary school is 31.5%. A group who had little or no education, coming from rural families constituted 23.3% of the respondents' fathers. In the third place, there is a group (21.9%) who did not any institute of education, who know how to read and write. The proportion of high school and college graduates are too low because of the birthplace of fathers of respondents. The level of education among respondents' mothers seems lower than the level of education of fathers. The percentage of illiterate mothers is 43.8%.



**Table 9: The level of education among respondents' fathers.**

| <i>The level of education</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Illiterate</i>             | <i>17</i>     | <i>23.2</i> |
| <i>Literate</i>               | <i>16</i>     | <i>21.9</i> |
| <i>Elementary school gr.</i>  | <i>23</i>     | <i>31.5</i> |
| <i>High school drop-out</i>   | <i>7</i>      | <i>9.6</i>  |
| <i>High school gr.</i>        | <i>4</i>      | <i>5.5</i>  |
| <i>College grad.</i>          | <i>2</i>      | <i>2.7</i>  |
| <i>No answer</i>              | <i>4</i>      | <i>5.5</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>                  | <i>73</i>     | <i>100</i>  |

Another important familial background variable is the type of family the in which the respondents lived. As it can be observed from the table, majority of the respondents (79.4%) lived in nuclear families which can be interpreted as the most important characteristic of urban social environment.

**Table 10: The types of families.**

| <i>The type of<br/>the family</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Extended<br/>family</i>        | <i>11</i>     | <i>15</i>   |
| <i>Nuclear<br/>family</i>         | <i>58</i>     | <i>79.4</i> |
| <i>Separated<br/>family</i>       | <i>2</i>      | <i>2.8</i>  |
| <i>Others</i>                     | <i>2</i>      | <i>2.8</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>                      | <i>73</i>     | <i>100</i>  |

*In general, if we interpret the data above the general picture regarding the hypotheses happens to be as follows: If individuals interact with the sets of institutions which were characterized by urban life style, or if they experience the operation of formal organizations resulting from institutional patterns; it can be expected that individuals may internalize and understand this special features of institutional mechanisms so as to act in an urban environment. Through the internalization of this special sets of values, patterns, individuals can evaluate their actions such that they could fit into the necessities of urban*

society. Therefore, we should look for some parameters which stem from the structure of contemporary society; in this case, special characteristics of an urban society in transformation.

First of all, there seems little difference between the respondents who come from urban areas and those who were born in rural areas. The general trend about the nature of places displays a geographical mobility towards cities. In other words, the proportion of individuals who were born in urban dwellings explains the fact that respondents did experience an urban culture.

### 3) SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS (SES)

Studies on SES-crime relationship tend to employ three kinds of indicators: the level of education, income, and the occupation which were also used as indicators of SES in this study.

The proportion of the respondents who had never had any training of specialization, or expertise knowledge was 23.3%. Those who started working to invest some kind of small scale business constituted 16.4% of the respondents. Another category of the occupations, technical jobs, consisted of individuals whose proportion was 15% in the whole sample. These individuals had a

special period of training before starting the job career. A small percentage (12.3%) of the respondents started working, or they were trained to become tradesmen. The least crowded group of occupations (10.9%) were those who had a training period to have jobs related to handicrafts. The rest of respondents had different education backgrounds that cannot be classified under the categories written above.

However, there seems some differences between jobs of respondents and their current occupations. The individuals whose occupations are small scale tradesman and handicraft constitute 26% of the sample. This reveals a discrepancy between jobs and occupations of the respondents. For example, approximately 6% of the respondents who have been attended high school have occupations such as small scale merchandise which generally do not require special training. In other words, the level of education among respondents appears not to correspond to the requirements of their current occupations. The individuals who own their own businesses (petty bourgeoisie) comprise a group of merchants, jewelry store owner, bankers, etc.

**Table 11: Current occupation of respondents.**

| <i>OCCUPATION</i>            | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Not working</i>           | <i>12</i>     | <i>16.4</i> |
| <i>Technical jobs</i>        | <i>6</i>      | <i>8.2</i>  |
| <i>Agriculture</i>           | <i>1</i>      | <i>1.4</i>  |
| <i>Handicraft</i>            | <i>19</i>     | <i>26.0</i> |
| <i>Workers (blue collar)</i> | <i>5</i>      | <i>6.8</i>  |
| <i>White collar</i>          | <i>1</i>      | <i>1.4</i>  |
| <i>Owns business</i>         | <i>22</i>     | <i>30.1</i> |
| <i>Others</i>                | <i>7</i>      | <i>9.6</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>                 | <i>73</i>     | <i>99.9</i> |

**Table 12: Income Distribution Among Respondents  
(Per Month)**

|                        |           |             |
|------------------------|-----------|-------------|
| <i>No answer</i>       | <i>8</i>  | <i>10.9</i> |
| <i>Unemployed</i>      | <i>6</i>  | <i>8.2</i>  |
| <i>Less than 40000</i> | <i>6</i>  | <i>8.2</i>  |
| <i>41-60000</i>        | <i>8</i>  | <i>10.9</i> |
| <i>61-100000</i>       | <i>13</i> | <i>17.8</i> |
| <i>101-150000</i>      | <i>9</i>  | <i>12.3</i> |
| <i>151-350000</i>      | <i>14</i> | <i>19.2</i> |
| <i>351000+</i>         | <i>9</i>  | <i>12.3</i> |
| <i>Total</i>           | <i>73</i> | <i>99.8</i> |

In October 1986, when the survey research was done, the exchange rate of U.S. dollar was equal to 900 Turkish lira. Hence, the income levels of respondents do not seem high. However, if we consider the fact that someone earning above \$100 can be considered as a middle class person, 31.5% of respondents have moderate incomes. Almost half of the individuals (45.1%) have low level incomes. An important proportion of the respondents (10.9%) did not answer the questions related to their monthly incomes. The other important point is that 5.5% of the respondents are individuals whose incomes are above 1 million Turkish liras per month that corresponds to a living standard of someone who earns at least \$50,000-60,000 a year. In sum, it can be argued that a group which constitutes 12.3% of the sample size can be interpreted as upper level of the sample size.

#### 4) CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS' FAMILIES

The majority of the respondents (93%) were male, while only 6.8% of them turned out to be female.

**Table 13: The characteristics of respondents regarding their marriage status.**

| <i>Marital status</i> | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>Single</i>         | <i>17</i>     | <i>23.3</i> |
| <i>Married</i>        | <i>52</i>     | <i>71.2</i> |
| <i>Divorced</i>       | <i>3</i>      | <i>4.1</i>  |
| <i>Other</i>          | <i>1</i>      | <i>1.4</i>  |
| <i>Total</i>          | <i>73</i>     | <i>100</i>  |

*Besides their marriage status, the respondents were asked questions on the way they got married, because as it happens in other developing societies marriages through arrangements are quite common even among urban dwellings. It was observed that 39.7% of the respondents got married through arrangements inspite of the nature of social environment (urban) in which they were born.*

**Table 14: The types of families the respondents lived in.**

| <i>Type of family</i>   | <i>#</i> | <i>%</i> |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|
| <i>No answer</i>        | 2        | 2.7      |
| <i>Extended family</i>  | 9        | 12.4     |
| <i>Separated family</i> | 3        | 4.1      |
| <i>Living alone</i>     | 2        | 2.7      |
| <i>Nuclear family</i>   | 57       | 78       |
| <i>Total</i>            | 73       | 99.9     |

*The data on the most important characteristic of the families relevant the criminality status of other family members revealed that 68.5% of the respondents consist of offenders and criminals who had never have any relative or friend who had been prosecuted and judged.*

**Table 15: The distribution of respondents who have friends/relatives prosecuted.**

|                  | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i> |
|------------------|---------------|----------|
| <i>No answer</i> | 4             | 5.5      |
| <i>Yes</i>       | 19            | 26       |
| <i>No</i>        | 50            | 68.5     |
| <i>Total</i>     | 73            | 100      |



C) THE DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF CRIME, OFFENSE,  
AND THE RELEVANT VARIABLES

The general classification in the literature of criminology seems to be changing according to the type of theory researchers employ. Although the general trend in criminological studies emerges as emphasizing the gap between the terminology of law and criminology, the studies on offenders and criminals are dispense with the attempts to find out a general, universal typification about the act of 'deviance', or 'crime'. The conception of crime determines how crime is analyzed and categorized. The etiology of crime is realized through analysis of the rules criminologists employ to characterize behavior as criminal, not the characteristics of the behavior they describe (Hartjen, 1981). The terminology of law cannot be a reference source to classify the type of offenses, because the apprehension, prosecution, or judgement of a person as a "criminal" requires that the actors involved have some knowledge of understanding of what it is they are doing. Describing an action, the reason of action is not the only question relevant to criminology. An equally relevant question should focus on a different mode of analysis.

Thus, any typification about offenders and criminals necessitates neglecting to assume that there are certain universal rules to analyze the act of 'deviance'. Rules do not determine the way we characterize a criminal act. Instead, the characteristics of behavior is the most significant factor in classifying criminal acts. Labeling activities of police and judicial personnel could be informative as to who is likely to be labeled and 'why' people are or are not formally criminalized. But it does not help us to explain 'how' labeling could be done as a sensible act of conduct. Through determining the characteristics of behavior on a continuum, it is possible categorize criminal behavior into types which are different forms of deviance. These types, in this study, were classified as though they constitute a continuum that oscillates between violent crimes and property crimes. As the study was limited to the data of 3 civil courts, some types of crimes were excluded from the survey research.

Five types of crimes on this continuum were determined according to the criterion of the level of organization or sophistication of the action, which is related to the level of integration of the contemporary urban life and its operation. Those who are integrated

with the operation of the social system tend to deviate by utilizing their consciousness about the system itself. Whereas individuals whose integration is low are not capable of using the knowledge or consciousness of the system so as to find ways of deviance which would provide some means to realize their ends. In order to analyze the relationship between levels of integration resulting from SES of the respondents and the types of crimes, the following forms of crimes were selected:

I. CRIMES AGAINST PERSONS (drunkenness, assault, etc.): The majority of respondents (35.6%) have been prosecuted because of violence offenses.

II. CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY (Burglary, vandalism, larceny, auto theft): Those who committed this type of crimes constitute 19.2% of the respondents.

III. TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS: One of the typical form of crimes in developing societies turned out to have a high rate in this study (8.2%).

IV. MISDEMEANORS: These are various crimes that could not be classified into the rest of the categories. They consist of a group who committed crimes such as rejection of police regulations, disobedience against rules, etc.

V. EMBEZZLEMENT AND CORRUPTION: Disobedience against rules include crimes, relevant to the regulations of

small scale business owners. The proportion of individuals in this group is 27.3% and the offenses in question stem from the regulations of law to protect the efficiency of social organizations. During the process of economic production, there is always a necessity to impose criteria by which the operation of social and economic organizations can be regulated.

#### VI. Illegal service crimes

**Table 16: The distribution of offenses included in the study.**

| CRIME TYPES                 | Number | %    |
|-----------------------------|--------|------|
| Crime Against Persons       | 26     | 35.6 |
| Crime Against Property      | 14     | 19.2 |
| Traffic Violations          | 6      | 8.2  |
| Misdemeanors                | 1      | 1.4  |
| Embezzlement and Corruption | 20     | 27.3 |
| Illegal Service Crimes      | 6      | 8.2  |
| Total                       | 73     | 99.9 |

As it is emphasized above, the forms of crime in developing societies necessitate analyzing them by employing a different perspective than the approaches used in examining class-related problems in developing societies. However, this assumption must not lead us to

*conclude that the degree of sophistication in criminal acts is parallel with modernization. The emergence of new types of crimes and changing meaning of crime in the law system should be explained through considering specific structural features of each society, because processes behind the criminal acts do not basically emerge as outcomes of the attempts to realize 'ends' by using certain 'means'. While 'deviant' acts in a traditional society are resolved through within the community itself, the complexity and the nature of social organization do not allow a self-regulatory system to function as a control mechanism in urban society.*

*The types of crimes in developing societies, which are determined to constitute a continuum of deviance, should not be analyzed as though they have the same characteristics of crimes that occurred in 19th century. The 'deviant' acts are attached to a meaning such as crimes, because in a changing society there is a certain period of time between the emergence of new regulations in the legal system and the internalization process of this new meaning of 'deviance' by the members of society. Individuals who internalize and understand the way the system operates also have the opportunities, for example, to utilize the loopholes in the legal system*

for their own benefits. The more individuals have opportunities to utilize the loopholes in the legal system; the more new types of crimes (e.g., V and VI types of crimes) would occur.

The reason of combining different forms of crimes into the same categories stems from the fact that the criterion employed to create such typifications should be sociological variables instead of legal sanctions defined by the institution of law.

An important point that should be emphasized is that new forms of crimes might be occurring in rural areas exposed to social change due to their vulnerability to rapid development and change. Furthermore, it seems simplistic to classify types of crimes according to the nature of geographical place which could lead to ecological fallacy. Instead, starting analyzing 'actions' which relatively constitute specific groups that may both occur in rural and urban areas. The differentiation between forms of crimes in urban and rural life styles is determined by the nature of sanctions, and the level of rationality in legal sanctions. Namely, if the rationality level which is functional in legal systems is high, the differentiation in the emergence of new forms of crimes can be expected to be high.

The impact of the increasing rationality in legal systems on crime is often to increase the consciousness of citizens of crime which leads in turn to an increase in crime. That is, since more crimes are noted, more criminals are followed.

Modernization theorists, by emphasizing the same process, attempt to analyze impacts of social and economic development on value systems of individuals in societies. For Lerner, for example, modernity comes about through changes not only in institutions but also in persons (Lerner, 1958). Values are embodied in culture and culture frequently blocks development; it then follows that if barriers to development could be removed, growth would occur. If societies are to develop, the main focus of remedial attention would be internal characteristics, somehow they would be adjusted to bring about a greater 'fit' with industrialization and modernity (Inkeles, 1983; Banfield, 1958).

The respondents in the survey research have been asked questions about the causes of action in dispute. As it can be seen in table 17, answers range between different answers among which misjudgment of the defendant turned out to be the highest rate (27.3%). Some respondents (21.9) accepted that the action emerged

*because of their own faults. Innocent misinterpretation of rules were accepted as excuses by 15.6% of the respondents. The individuals who gave answers so as to accuse their social environment in general constitute 10.9% of the sample size.*

**Table 17: The causes of action in dispute according to respondents.**

|  | Number | %    |
|--|--------|------|
| <i>No answer</i>                           | 4      | 5.5  |
| <i>Personal fault</i>                      | 16     | 21.9 |
| <i>Innocent misinterpretation of rules</i> | 10     | 13.6 |
| <i>Biased attitudes of officials</i>       | 4      | 5.5  |
| <i>Misjudgment of a relative</i>           | 3      | 4.1  |
| <i>Misjudgment of a friend</i>             | 4      | 5.5  |
| <i>Misjudgment of defendant</i>            | 20     | 27.3 |
| <i>Fault of society</i>                    | 8      | 10.9 |
| <i>Others</i>                              | 4      | 5.5  |
| <i>Total</i>                               | 73     | 99.0 |

*It has been observed that the offenders and criminals who accused the defendant in the case tended to be those who committed the crimes in the first category. The respondents who have been prosecuted due to crimes in the 5 and 6th categories (illegal service*



crimes) told that the reason of the prosecution was the fact that they did not know well the regulations in the business law. Ironically, they also mentioned about how fast the legal regulations change, and conclusively it was their excuse not to be able to follow the changes in the legal regulations. They tended to accuse the unpredictability of legal system, the gaps between the socio-economic change and 'protectionist' policies of the state, and so on.

The offenders and criminals with whom the interviews were made consisted of the individuals who have been acquitted (30.1%), punished (49.3%) and the offenders and criminals whose trials have been deferred (8.2%). (see Table 18)

**Table 18: The Distribution of Decisions (execution -deference).**

| <i>DECISIONS</i>  | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i> |
|-------------------|---------------|----------|
| <i>No answers</i> | 3             | 4.1      |
| <i>Acquittal</i>  | 22            | 30.1     |
| <i>Deference</i>  | 6             | 8.2      |
| <i>Punishment</i> | 36            | 49.3     |
| <i>Others</i>     | 6             | 8.2      |
| <i>Total</i>      | 73            | 99.9     |

**Table 19: The Conviction Status of Respondents.**

|                        | Number | %    |
|------------------------|--------|------|
| No answer              | 3      | 4.1  |
| Has not been convicted | 58     | 79.4 |
| Has been punished      | 12     | 16.4 |
| Total                  | 73     | 99.9 |

Those who could not describe the type of decision made after their trials constituted 4.1% of the sample. Their lawsuits were still in procedure during the survey research. In general, if we assume that only the decision of acquittal is interpreted as non-criminal, then the rest of individuals who constitute the sample are 'criminal' (57.5%). For in the terminology of law an individual whose trial is postponed is accepted as 'criminal'. In other words, offenders are conceived as having a 'potential' to commit crime.

The questions about the types of convictions made in trials revealed that 79.4% of the respondents have not been sentenced before (see Table 19). Only 9.6% of them convicted by punishments of fine. 6.8% of the offenders and criminals have been sentenced before the

*survey research was started.*

*The data on the pre-status of offenders and criminals do not seem contradictory (see Table 19). 62.9% of the respondents have not been prosecuted before. Total percentage of the respondents who have been prosecuted due to different types of offenses is 35.5%. It was observed that 9.6% of the respondents consisted of the individuals who have been prosecuted once. The members of petty bourgeoisie are among this group, and they were prosecuted by disorderly conduct of traffic regulations and illegal service crimes.*

*The distribution of the convictions revealed that (see Table 20) 46.5% of the respondents were convicted by fines in different sums. Only 4.1% of the offenders were sentenced; 8.2% of the trials were deferred and the last decision of the trials turned out to be punishment of fines. It was observed from the interviews with the judges of three civil courts that they tend to use their discretion in changing the decisions of sentence into punishments by fine.*

**Table 20: The distribution of convictions.**

|   | #  | %    |
|---|----|------|
| <i>No answer</i>                                    | 3  | 4.1  |
| <i>Acquittal</i>                                    | 22 | 30.1 |
| <i>Punishment by fine</i>                           | 34 | 46.5 |
| <i>Sentence</i>                                     | 3  | 4.1  |
| <i>Sentence and<br/>punishment of fine</i>          | 1  | 1.4  |
| <i>Deference of sentence<br/>punishment of fine</i> | 6  | 8.2  |
| <i>Others (appeal,<br/>preemptory nonsuit)</i>      | 4  | 5.5  |
| <i>Total</i>  | 73 | 99.9 |

**Table 21: Attitudes of Respondents about Decisions.***(Were the decisions fair enough?)*

|                    | #  | %    |
|--------------------|----|------|
| <i>No answer</i>   | 3  | 4.1  |
| <i>Do not know</i> | 5  | 6.8  |
| <i>No</i>          | 35 | 48   |
| <i>Yes</i>         | 30 | 41   |
| <i>Total</i>       | 41 | 99.9 |

**Table 22: The Attitudes of Respondents About the Legal System.**

*(Is there anything wrong with the law system?)*

| <i>Categories</i>  | <i>Number</i> | <i>%</i>    |
|--------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>No answer</i>   | <i>4</i>      | <i>5.5</i>  |
| <i>Do not know</i> | <i>7</i>      | <i>9.6</i>  |
| <i>No</i>          | <i>32</i>     | <i>43.8</i> |
| <i>Yes</i>         | <i>30</i>     | <i>41</i>   |
| <i>Total</i>       | <i>73</i>     | <i>99.9</i> |

The respondents were also asked questions about the way they perceive the legal system (see: Table 21). About 50% of offenders and criminals told that the decisions to which they were exposed were not fair or reasonable, and 41% of them agreed with the fairness of the decisions. If we consider the percentage of acquittals (30.1%) these figures do not seem surprising.

Some respondents (41%) thought that there were some loopholes in the legal system. On the other hand, 43.8% of the respondents told that they did not have any negative experience with the legal system (Table 22).

If two types of answers on the fairness of the decisions and the legal system are to be interpreted, the conclusion would be respondents tended to criticize the

legal system only on the matters related to their own problems. The proportion of the respondents who criticized the legal system in general did not turn out to be as high as those complained about their own experience with the legal system. Hence, most respondents viewed the legal system concretely rather than in general abstract terms.

D) THE RESULTS OF SOME STATISTICAL MEASURES

In order to analyze the nature of the relationship between SES and crime types, a Chi-Square test was used by employing 3 indicators of SES: the level of occupation, education, and income.

Table 23: The Significance Levels of  $F$  for each Variable in Chi-Square Analysis:

| Variables | $X_i$ |
|-----------|-------|
| $X_2$     | .0971 |
| $X_3$     | .2473 |
| $X_4$     | .4047 |

where  $X_1$  = Crime Types  
 $X_2$  = Occupational Level  
 $X_3$  = Education Level  
 $X_4$  = Income Level

As it can be observed from the  $F$  values of each variable, since significance levels of  $F$  for all indicators exceed .05, it can be concluded that there is no significant statistical relationship between crime types and other independent variables. However, if alpha

is accepted as .10, we can conclude that there is a significant correlation between the level of occupation and crime types ( $X^2 = .09$  which is less than 0.10). The only conclusion from  $F$  values of occupation and crimes could be assuming a tendency of those who were unemployed towards committing violent crimes. The reason of the insignificant relationships found at the end of Chi-square statistics measures stems from the nature of categories combined for each variable. In other words, the categories of each indicator were combined and reduced into two or three classes in order to meet the assumptions of Chi-square. Conclusively, different groups of SES (occupation, education, and income) were obtained and this would lead to different consequences than interpretations of basic correlation tables. Therefore, the results of statistical measures do not constitute contradictory interpretations of data.

1) THE LEVEL OF INTEGRATION AND THE TYPES OF CRIMES:

THE SCALE OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The scale of integration basically displays the level of integration on a scale which consists of two poles: eunomia and anomia (Srole, 1969). Eunomia refers to a well ordered condition in a society or state. Anomia is the opposite of eunomia. The 'continuum of 'eunomia'

and 'anomia' is on analytical reference scale by which the 'integratedness' of different social systems or sub-systems can be explained. These sub-systems can also be applied to the parallel continuum of variations seen from the 'microscopic' or molecular view of individuals as they are integrated in the total action fields of their interpersonal relationships and reference groups.

The molecular approach has the advantage of being fitted to the established operational apparatus of the sample survey. With the molecular approach, the immediate analytical objective would be to place individuals on a eunomia-anomia continuum representing variations in interpersonal integration with their particular fields as 'global' entities. More concretely, this variable is conceived as referring to the individuals generalized, pervasive sense of 'self-to-other belongingness' at one extreme compared with 'self-to-others distance' and 'self-to-others alienation' at the other pole of the continuum. The terms eunomia-anomia are used to refer to this socio-psychological continuum. Individual eunomia-anomia is viewed as a variable contemporary condition having its origin in the complex interaction of social and personality factors, present and past.



Social malintegration (anomia) in individuals is associated with a rejective orientation toward out-groups. To test this hypothesis, it is necessary to devise a measure of interpersonal alienation or 'anomia'. This could be constructed in opinion-poll format to represent the respondent's definition or perception of his own interpersonal situation. To this end, there is a need to set down the ideational states or components that on theoretical grounds representing internalized counterparts or reflections in the individual's life situation, of conditions of social dysfunction.

## **2) THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN (SES) AND THE LEVEL OF INTEGRATION**

The way individuals perceive the social world, his/her perception of the what is concrete and abstract, also gives an analytical key to understand his social and economic status. By analyzing his position of material conditions (SES), we can discover whether there is a consistency between his status and his/her abstract thinking, or ideational system which is normally a consequence of his (SES). It is also helpful to understand the ways in which individuals internalize some certain parts of belief system. These arguments are based on the idea that normative system and social consciousness of individuals emerge as a result of a

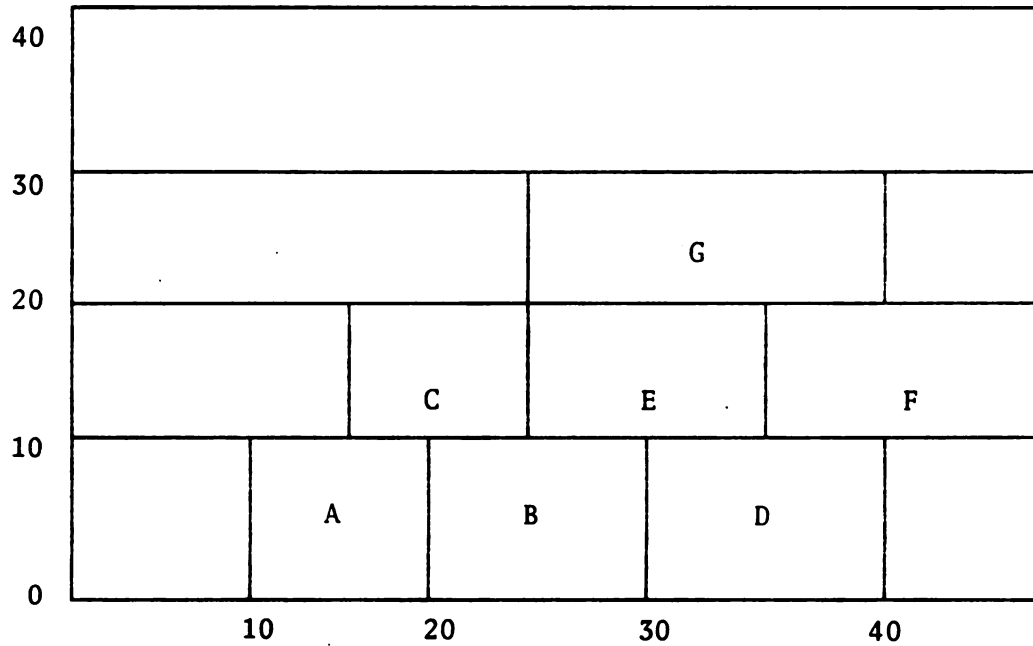
process in which each individual learns how to perceive the world.

The perception of individuals is related to their SES. As their SES rises, their perception or consciousness about the social world, the way they explain the operation of the social system, tends to be differentiated so as to have an ability to eliminate any hindrance between their objective being and the social world they live in. Therefore, if there is no relationship between his position of material conditions and his abstract thinking, we can argue that his internalization of normative system, at least some part of it, is not supported by the material conditions he/she lives in.

In order to understand the nature of the relationship between the normative system of individuals which is used in understanding the social world and his (SES, the respondents have been asked statement type questions to obtain a scale of integration which would display the composition of (SES) groups. Opinion-poll format could represent the respondents' definition of perception of his own interpersonal situation. The scale, for example, would reflect whether the individuals perceive that community leaders are detached from the

*indifferent to his needs, whether individuals perceive the social order as fickle and unpredictable.*

**FIGURE 1: SCALE OF NORMS**



*The scale was created through evaluating the answers of questions on both concrete and abstract level. The respondents were asked 20 statement type of questions to which they gave answers such as "I agree", "I disagree", and "No answer". While 10 of the total questions or statements represented concrete thinking which emphasize the importance of material conditions, 10 Questions reflected ideal situations. An example for the statements reflecting the abstract level of thinking would be: "Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself". By*

calculating average point of each individual, their positions on the scale were determined so as to discover their level of integration with the normative system. The highest consistency between concrete and abstract levels was discovered to be the group G. The individuals who are in group A can be interpreted as individuals whose level of integration with the dominant value system is the lowest, because as it can be seen from the figure 1 their answers for concrete and abstract level of statements are the most contradictory in the sense that they display an inconsistency in using abstract and concrete level of consciousness. Therefore, the groups between A and G constitute a continuum which ranges between eunomia and anomia in Sroel's scale. The individuals in the group G tended to internalize a type of value system which contradicts with the dominant normative system because of the material conditions they experienced.

If we consider the fact that the variables which constitute SES have a certain amount of influence over the characteristics of normative systems individuals have; it is expectable that position of individuals against the dominant normative system is tended to be determined by these variables. For example, individuals who have higher education would have a different level

TABLE 24: The Correlation of Occupations of the Respondents and Levels of Integration (Percentage)

| Levels of integration | Do not work | Tradesman | White collar worker | Entrepreneur | Blue collar worker | Technical jobs | Others | Total |
|-----------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|--------|-------|
| A                     | 25          | 5.8       | -                   | 15.3         | -                  | -              | 28.5   | 8.2   |
| B                     | -           | 23.5      | -                   | 7.7          | 23.5               | 27.2           | 14.2   | 17.8  |
| C                     | -           | -         | 25                  | 15.3         | 11.7               | 18.8           | -      | 9.5   |
| D                     | 50          | 41.1      | 25                  | 23           | 41.1               | 18.8           | -      | 30.1  |
| E                     | 25          | 17.6      | 50                  | 23           | 5.8                | 18.8           | 14.2   | 17.8  |
| F                     | -           | 11.7      | -                   | -            | 11.7               | 9.0            | 14.2   | 8.2   |
| G                     | -           | -         | -                   | 15.3         | 5.8                | 9.0            | 28.5   | 8.2   |
| T                     | 100         | 99.7      | 100                 | 99.6         | 99.6               | 99.6           | 99.6   | 99.8  |

**Table 25: The distribution of norm groups according to types of crimes (%)**

| Norm groups | Types of Crimes |      |      |     |     |      |      |
|-------------|-----------------|------|------|-----|-----|------|------|
|             | 1               | 2    | 3    | 4   | 5   | 6    | T    |
| A           | 7.7             | 7.2  | 16.6 | -   | 10  | -    | 8.2  |
| B           | 19.2            | 21.4 | -    | 100 | 15  | -    | 16.4 |
| C           | 11.5            | 14.4 | -    | -   | 10  | 16.6 | 10.9 |
| D           | 23              | 28.5 | 50   | -   | 40  | 16.6 | 30.1 |
| E           | 15.3            | 21.4 | 16.7 | -   | 20  | 16.7 | 18   |
| F           | 7.7             | 7.14 | 16.7 | -   | 5   | 16.7 | 8.2  |
| G           | 15.4            | -    | -    | -   | -   | 33.4 | 8.2  |
| T           | 100             | 100  | 100  | 100 | 100 | 100  | 100  |

As it can be seen from the correlation Table 24 above, our expectation on the relationship between the level of occupation and social integration was not verified. There is no clear correlation between the low level of occupation groups (blue collar worker, technical jobs) and the level of integration. For example, those who are in the groups B, C, D among blue collar workers constitute 76.3% of the whole category. On the other hand, 23.3% of blue collar workers position in the groups E-F-G. In other words, there was no correlation that indicates a relationship between the low level of integration and the occupation groups.

The second variable related to the level of social integration was the types of crimes. As it was revealed in the correlation Table 25, 61% of those who were prosecuted due to the offenses in the 1st group of crimes position in the groups between A through D. We can roughly infer that the respondents in the 1st group of crimes tended to internalize sets of norms so as to conform the dominant normative system in society. If being a member of groups A-B-C-D is considered as a criterion which implies internalization with the normative system, it can be argued that the members of IInd type of crimes (71.2%) have higher level of internalization compared to offenders of 1st type of crimes. The percentage of the respondents who constitute the first four groups of the internalization scale in the IIIrd type of crimes is 66.6%, whereas the proportion of the same groups in IVth type of crimes goes up to 75%. Almost half of the respondents (49.9%) in VIth type of crimes are also the members of the groups 7 and 6, which were considered as categories whose members tend to have sets of norms which are consistent in terms of correspondence between the SES of members and the level of integration. Therefore, the conclusion would be arguing that although there is a relative increase

TABLE.26: THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE TYPES OF CRIMES ACCORDING TO THE LEVEL OF EDUCATION (Percentage)

| The distribut.<br>of norm<br>scale | The Level of Education |          |                          |                         |                      |                  |      |
|------------------------------------|------------------------|----------|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------|------|
|                                    | Illiterate             | Literate | Elementary<br>School gr. | High School<br>drop-out | High School<br>grad. | College<br>grad. | T    |
| I                                  | 11.5                   | 15.3     | 46.1                     | 19.2                    | 3.8                  | -                | 99.9 |
| II                                 | -                      | 7.1      | 71.4                     | 21.4                    | -                    | -                | 99.9 |
| III                                | 100                    | -        | 50                       | 33.3                    | 16.6                 | -                | 99.9 |
| IV                                 | 100                    | -        | -                        | -                       | -                    | -                | 100  |
| V                                  | -                      | 5        | 50                       | 15                      | 10                   | 20               | 100  |
| VI                                 | -                      | 16.6     | 33.3                     | -                       | -                    | 33.3             | 99.9 |
| T                                  | 5.4                    | 9.5      | 50.6                     | 17.8                    | 5.4                  | 8.2              | 99.9 |



*between 1st and Vth type of crimes in terms the groups of norms corresponding to them, it seems very clear that the respondents of VIth type of crimes internalize the highest degree of norms contradicting with the dominant normative system.*

*If the relationship between the level of education and the level of integration can be analyzed, the whole picture of SES-integration problem would be completed.*

The majority of those who were judged due to offenses in the first category of crimes constitute illiterate individuals (11.5%), and primary school graduates (46.1%). Individuals who committed crimes against property are observed to have low level of education such that 71.4% of them only completed an elementary school. The level of education of those who judged because of traffic violations seems relatively higher compared to the individuals in Ist and IInd types of crimes. In this group, 33.3% of the individuals are high school graduates. The respondents who constitute the VIth crime group have higher level of education such that 33.3% of them consists of college graduates.

In sum, there is a clear correlation between the level of education and the types of crimes individuals committed.

## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

*Crime, a symbolic action of anomie, is socially built in each society. Etiological studies have a tendency to explore the dimensions through which criminal action is constructed. Especially variables 'external' to individuals are always on the agenda of studies on class-crime relationship.*

*As is noted above, the method of the U.S. studies is based upon two propositions uncritically taken from Durkheimian empiricism (Beirne, 1983). One of them is that the aim of comparative research is the cross-cultural generalizations about social behavior. The second one is that generalizations about social behavior can and must be constructed without reference to the values, motives and intentions of those agents, or groups of agents, whose behavior is the raw material of a study. In other words, studies aim to make comparative analyses of statistical data belong to the second kind of approaches. The unit of analysis, in the first type of generalizations is accepted as 'deviant' behavior of individuals. In their attempt to study the problem of*

anomie-status relationship, U.S. studies consist of two major frames of interpretation: 1) Natural, and 2) Social frame of interpretation (Hulsman, 1986). In a natural frame of interpretation, explanations are attributed to biological features of individuals. For example, social pathologists conceive crime as though it stems from biological nature of individuals. Also, ecological tradition, using the same frame of interpretation, consider environmental factors directly related to deviant behavior. There is always a tendency towards perceiving the status of a dependent variable as pathological when it comes to discovering factors 'external' to it. Approaches using the natural frame of interpretation accept crime as a form of ontological reality.

Studies employing a social frame of interpretation attribute 'causes' of deviancy to variables connected to organizational settings of social structure as well as personal characteristics of individuals. A structural explanation of anomie, for instance, considers interpretive acts which are always 'socially mediated'.

One can place U.S. studies on a continuum ranges between consensus and conflict traditions (Scott

and Zatz, 1981). While comparative research within the first tradition requires a comparison of nations, cultures, or societies in an attempt to identify universals or to test the generality of certain theoretical propositions across units of analysis, studies within the second tradition focus attention on possible differences between the units by investigating the historical and cultural relativity of certain theoretical propositions. Conflict theorists shift the focus from assessing the generalizability of consensus-based theories to specifying their temporal and spatial coordinates. They argue that reporting and sanctioning practices associated with certain acts vary within and between societies (e.g., labeling perspective).

Given the conflict tradition's assumption that deviance and crime are subjected to variation both within and across cultures, a different approach and procedure was used in the study described above. The major premise was that definitions of deviant acts tend to differ in a changing society. Therefore, the differences in the nature of crimes require new formulations. The types of crimes, for example, were not limited to certain typifications in the literature. Instead, the classification of crimes were made according to the

nature of deviant behavior. Qualitative differences between crimes were thought to be key elements to create the categories. Rather than relying on measuring the complex distribution of the data, the interpretations were limited to descriptive characteristics of dependent and independent variables. For example, measuring the psychological dimension of anomie - "the level of internalization of hegemonic principles in the normative system necessitates a control group who are not 'offenders' or 'criminals'. There was no control group in the study to measure the reliability of the sample. However, as it can be observed from the tables, social integration levels of individuals and the indicators of SES support a linear correlation between the nature of deviancy and social status of the respondents. It was argued in the second hypothesis that, as the level of integration increases, types of crimes tend to be violent crimes. In sum, although there is no linear relationship between "the level of integration" and "deviant behavior", the data verify a clear linkage between violent crimes and the level of integration.

Though the data revealed a positive linkage between the SES of offenders and the nature of criminal behaviors, it should be noted that this does not lead to

an argument that assumes an identification between criminals and rebellions as Marxists would claim. The frame of reference that follows the vantage point of class-related phenomena in analyzing criminal behaviour is not used although it was indirectly assumed that 'value content' is stratified in a manner similar to the stratification of means in society. It was not expected that all classes, or SES groups, to a major extent, to embrace the ruling class perspective as 'the' "natural" paradigm for constituting what is "real". These arguments can be supported by some of the data mentioned in the previous pages. For example, as it can be observed from the Tables 21 and 22, the perceptions of the respondents regarding the legal system and the case they got involved seems to differ. In other words, although the majority (48%) of the respondents do not accept the fairness of the decisions regarding their cases, they do not reveal an outstanding rebellion against the legal system. Almost half of them (43.8%) did not think that there were major problems in the operation of the legal system.

The major cleavage between the U.S. studies and the particular study mentioned above is the nature of variables used. The U.S. studies which are shaped by certain perspectives tend to use different indicators of

social class. Most of them employ a scale to measure SES comparing them to dimensions of anomie. Depending on the perspective used in each study, they tend to emphasize the need for operationalizing relevant dimensions of crime. Whereas, in the particular study done in a developing society, major focus is on discovering the nature of the relationship between a situation of material deprivation and committing a crime. The level of integration is used to mitigate analyzing the dual linkage between dependent and independent variables.

The Durkhemian paradigm followed in this study should not allow one to argue that the study bears implications of a naive American way of looking at Turkish life. This study can be accepted as an attempt at illuminating the impact of development on the nature of deviant behavior in a developing society. Although the empirical grounding of the study was based on Srole's scale, the typifications in the literature were not used as frames of reference.

In short, no variable is subjected to more controversy concerning its relation to crime. Much of the confusion stems from the apparent simplicity of the theoretical proposition that social status and crime are inversely related. Assumptions underlying this



proposition are more complex than often realized, and that proper assessment of the relationship between crime and class requires moving beyond the assumption of a linear relationship between social class and criminality. In order to realize this objective, adoption of a structural approach seems necessary including a methodological and epistemological relativism. Though the objective of social science is to make generalizations about criminal behavior, it must refer to the cultural and subjective values of those who engage in it. Moreover, the necessity for an equivalency between the actions or behavior within its scope is an important criterion for an intelligible generalization. Instead of employing an excuse such as different belief systems as barriers to comparative research, these normative structures should be understood as an additional dimension of research. Therefore, a criminologist or sociologist should ask: within the scope of other cultures, how and why is deviant behavior defined as it is? This study is an attempt at solving the arduous puzzle with which contemporary discourse of criminology and sociology confront.

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