

# Foreign Juvenile Delinquency: The Case of Istanbul

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There are many factors that make “illegal migration” become one of the greatest problems of the contemporary world. The most significant ones of these factors are economic inequality, states’ incompetence in securing their peoples’ lives, political turmoils and acts of violence. No matter they are the source or target countries, all nations are in search of possible national and multinational solutions against the issue of illegal migration, illegal immigrant and refugee that chronically deliver great deal of problems. In conjunction with illegal immigration, another problematic phenomenon is revealed: Foreign juvenile delinquency. Both illegally entered a country and involved in criminality, foreign juvenile delinquency is like a double edged dagger stabbed in the very heart of metropolitan areas. In this regard, foreign juvenile delinquency can be defined as a social problem which is affected by large-scale social events and transformations such as economic crisis, wars and political conflicts. The aim of this study is to introduce a general profile of the foreign juveniles that entered Turkey either legally or illegally and committed a crime and arrested by law enforcers in Istanbul. Files of 1130 juveniles who committed judicial or administrative crimes are compiled and examined from 2007 to the first four months of 2009.

*Keywords:* Juvenile Delinquency; Illegal Employment; Illegal Entry; Migration

## Introduction

With regard to social patterns of rapidly changing societies, one of the most significant topics that are frequently discussed is crime and delinquency. More specifically, communication, transportation, urbanization and migration have become basic factors leading to an increase in the rate of crime. Some types of crime appear to make societies more restless. Therefore, wealth and social order are subject to significant threats. Particularly, juvenile delinquency is a considerable case. A person who committed a crime, whether a juvenile or an adult, may lead to the existence of many aggrieved. However, it can not be denied that impacts and distortions in a society resulting from juvenile delinquency would be deeper. Given that youngsters are the future adults of a society, the results of juvenile delinquency must be more comprehensively examined.

There are many factors that make “migration” become one of the greatest problems of the contemporary world. The most significant ones of these factors are economic inequality, states’ incompetence in securing their people’s lives, political turmoils and acts of violence. When people come across such events, they may tend to migrate to have better lives.

The collapse of the USSR led to the emergence of new independent states and therefore a new Euroasia map in the 1990’s. Emergence of these new states was among the significant reasons of mass migration waves towards the European countries. In recent years, many people from the Asian countries that experienced a long period of poverty particularly because of the cold war and from the African countries that faced civil wars and thus poverty, have migrated legally or illegally to developed and safe countries that retain higher standards of living.

Problems that foreign people experience in the countries where

they have migrated may cause them to commit crimes. Related countries and international institutions have initiated a series of actions in order to overcome both negative attitudes towards foreign people who are perceived as “*uninvited guests*” in the host countries and to deal with their delinquency. Some host countries attempt to overcome “foreign people’s delinquency” by using rigid policy measures. One such policy measure is Germany’s new migration code that came into effect in 2005 which raised the criteria of integration. Britain on the other hand encourages foreign people, even the ones that committed crimes, to return to their country of origin through the attempts of International Organization for Migration (IOM). In other words, Britain financially support migrants to go back to their countries. Such a practises have also been implemented in Istanbul, Turkey.

Lemieux and Felson (2008) conceptualize foreign people’s delinquency as “visitor crimes”. This concept can be formulated as follows:

- 1) Every foreign person is not a tourist.
- 2) Every tourist is not delinquent.

In this context, this study defines the concept of foreign person who;

- 1) Is delinquent,
- 2) Is not a citizen of Turkey,
- 3) Has entered the country legally or illegally,
- 4) Breaks the national laws within the borders of the country.

Therefore, we do not follow the concept of visitor crime in our study; instead, we deal with the delinquency of those who have temporary residence permission, legally work in Turkey and came to this country in order to live here. Thus, the terms of “foreign delinquency” or “foreign delinquent” are used in the study.

The case of a foreign-originated person can occur in one of the following four situations:

- 1) A foreign-originated person commits crime against a citizen.
- 2) A foreign-originated person commits crime against another foreign-originated person.
- 3) A foreign-originated person commits crime against the state.
- 4) A citizen commits crime against a foreign-originated person.

This study deals with the first three of the above mentioned categories in which foreign-originated persons are the perpetrators of the criminal behaviors. Within this framework, the case of foreign-originated juvenile delinquents are discussed and several suggestions are offered with regard to prevention of these crimes. Although juvenile delinquency has been frequently analysed in related literature, what increases the significance and originality of this study is that foreign juvenile delinquency has not been studied up to date. More specifically, this study analyses both delinquency types committed by foreign juveniles and their reasons for migration.

### Studies on Juvenile Delinquency

Juvenile delinquency is defined as violation of penal code implemented within the state-controlled areas by a person who is legally defined as a child (Günşen-İçli, 2009: p. 5). Age range of a person to be defined as a child is from seven to eighteen years in Turkey as in many other countries.

The Code of Child Protection came into force in Turkey in 2005. It defines juveniles who tend to commit a crime as those who are aggrieved and who are in need of protection. Juveniles who are inclined to commit a crime are defined as those who are legally investigated or prosecuted or subject to security measures because of charge of crime. Juveniles who are in need of protection are defined as those "whose physical, mental, ethical, social and emotional development as well as personal security is under threat or those who are neglected or abused or those who are aggrieved because of criminal behaviour committed against them" (Günşen-İçli, 2009: p. 5). This code interrelates the terms of delinquency and victimization. Furthermore, this code requires the use of the measures in line with the control, protection and reintegration principles rather than the use of criminal sanctions. The point in this approach is that either victimization of juveniles or their inclination to crime are social problems caused by social conditions.

Juvenile delinquency is a social problem which is affected by large-scale social events and transformations such as economic crisis, wars and political conflicts. For instance, the industrial revolution, the world wars as well as 1929 Great Depression are among transformations that have effects on all countries throughout the world. As a result of these transformations modern societies experienced similar conflicts and break downs that caused serious challenges for juveniles (Fişek et al., 2008: p. 19). International migration waves stemming from regional inequalities and globalization is another large-scale transformation.

Depending on international migration movements, many regions of host countries have experienced cultural conflicts and these conflicts are still being experienced. The European Union (EU) countries have developed systems of integration towards migrant people to overcome such problems.

The migrant population is particularly located in urban areas or near to urban areas that are economically developed. Since areas in which foreign-originated people live are different from those areas of citizens in terms of physical appearance, language,

and religion, such areas can be labelled. Furthermore, foreign-originated people might be subject to several reactions as a result of this labelling process. Therefore, migrants usually prefer to live with the natives. However, there are other reasons for migrants to live together. Brewer and Yüксеker (2007) reported that only 4.8% of their African participants living illegally in Istanbul had negative relationships with the Turkish citizens. For them, the reasons for migrants to live together are their common culture and strong cultural bonds.

Brewer and Yüксеker (2007) also stated that 42.4% of these illegal migrants in Istanbul live with their fellow citizens, 16.2% with their ethnic fellows, while 19.2% lives with those sharing the common religious origin in the migrant-intensive areas that are at the borderline areas to the affluent districts.

One of the results of unsystematic and heterogen urbanization is the gap between native inhabitants of the city and the migrants not only cultural but also in economic means. There are poor migrants and rich natives in the same city. Kruger (2008) stated that districts of rich natives and poor migrants are separated by a borderline in South Africa and in order to protect their properties rich natives live in highly protected places called 'gated communities'. Moreover, Kruger emphasized that migrants committed crimes and employed intensive violence leading to the fear of crime.

Bui (2009: p. 412) states that the relationship between migration and crime has frequently been analysed beginning by the 20th century in the scholar debates and researches. For Bui, tendency of migrant juvenile to exhibit deviant behavior and criminal behavior is higher because of their adaptation problems.

Bui (2009) deals with the relationship between migrants and crime in terms of migrants' inhibition to achieve their legitimate aims in urban areas as well as in terms of their inability to adapt to host country's economy and culture. The other two significant comprehensive studies on this topic are that of Shaw and McKay (1942) concerning social disorganization and of Merton (1938) concerning inhibition of objectives.

Shaw and McKay (1969) relate juvenile delinquency with urban disorganization in their study "Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas" (Wong, 2009). Shaw and McKay argue that crime develops as a reaction to the spatial organization and characteristics of social environment, and deal with the details of urban ecology of crime. In their city model, organized urban areas are represented by nested circles with middle ones representing disorganized areas that have not completed the process of transformation and at the process of transition. The characteristics of these areas with regard to criminology are as follows: high levels of ethnic differences, frequent move of migrant groups as well as the existence of gang-like crime organizations.

Merton, regards delinquency as a result of social structure (Merton, 1938: p. 680). His deviance theory is based on typical factors of functionalism such as cultural objectives and institutionalized norms (Merton, 1938: p. 673). Like Durkheim, he relates crime with anomaly (Merton, 1938: p. 673; Günşen-İçli, 2007: p. 94). It is for sure that his perception of anomaly is completely different than Durkheim's definition.

Delinquency is an individual reflection of anomaly which exists in the social structure. Hoffmann, states that structurally occurring opportunities lead to the adaptation of common cultural objectives such as earning more money (Hoffman, 2003: p. 756). However, determining structural opportunities also means that individuals or groups are at different distances to these cultural objectives. Although all people are given the same

objectives such as earning money, being successful at schools, and having a high-status occupation, the number of the individuals who can achieve these objectives are limited structurally.

For Merton, objectives and the ways to achieve these objectives are harmoniously integrated in the well-organized societies. When objectives and the related ways are unproportionally affected, distortion of integration occurs (Merton, 1938: p. 674; Günşen-İçli, 2007: p. 95), and it leads to the unequal distribution of structural opportunities. Therefore, certain individuals or certain groups of individuals become disadvantageous with regard to achievement of these culturally valued objectives. Ultimately, distinct adaptation forms such as deviation, crime and juvenile delinquency appear in such societies where opportunities are highly differentiated (Hoffman, 2003: p. 756).

Many researches, based on Merton's approach, deal with tension and its connection with delinquency (Agnew et al., 2002; Agnew & White, 1992; Bao et al., 2004; Baron, 2004; Broidy, 2001; Hoffmann & Miller, 1998; Jang & Johnson, 2003; Mazerolle, 1998; Mazerolle & Maahs, 2000; Mazerolle, et al., 2003; Moon et al., 2008; Piquero & Sealock, 2000). Agnew (1992) developed the theory of tension that is based on Merton's view on structural incoherence between objectives and the related ways and regards some communities as "devoid of opportunities". Some examples of such communities are people living in slum areas and illegal migrant groups. Culturally valued opportunities are blocked by several social conditions and therefore, such groups cannot achieve them. Agnew thinks that such an inhibition leads to anger and disappointment in these groups and ultimately, conditions of these groups prepare the tendency of committing crimes (Hoffman, 2003: p. 757).

Research also provides another account of relationships between migration and crime, namely cultural conflicts or disharmony (Miller, 1958; Sellin, 1938). Miller states that migrants have their own culture in which criminal values are legitimated and he identifies the words that are used to value the crime. One of such words is "intelligence" that means earning money without any effort in his culture. Furthermore, the words "excitement" and "trouble" are not used in their conventional meanings and have other meanings. Sellin (1938), on the other hand, talks about cultural conflict. For Sellin (1938 cited in Martinez & Lee 2000: pp. 490-491) laws reflect the values of dominant interest groups. Interests, cultural codes, values and norms of various social groups including migrant groups are not included in these laws. Therefore, marginalized groups such as migrants are always potential criminals.

Ubah focuses on the processes of marginalization and alienation experienced by migrant groups. Ubah following Hirschi's (1969) containment theory states that alienation may weaken the social bonds. This "crisis experience" of migrants may push them to participate in criminal circles in order to overcome their alienation (Ubah, 2007: p. 110).

Martinez & Lee (2000: p. 486), on the other hand, argue that although there are several theoretical perspectives given above that make us believe that migrants much more tend to commit crimes, recent researches indicate that the rate of migrant delinquency is much less than it is thought to be (Bui, 2009; Dinovitzer & Hagan, 2009; Hagan & Palloni, 1998; Martinez & Lee, 2000; Sampson et al., 2005). Martinez & Lee state that migrants often work in informal sectors and in blue-collar occupations in the host countries (2000: p. 515). Although their wage is lower, they cannot be regarded as chronic unemployed but as much-working poor people. One of the reasons of their

not taking part in delinquency is that they have jobs.

Bui (2009) investigates the reasons for migrants to commit crimes and argues that migrants do not constitute homogenous groups. For Bui, each migrant group experiences a unique process and furthermore, there are generation differences within a migration group. Bui's study (2009: p. 435) reveals that first-generation migrants are less inclined to criminal behaviors such as substance abuse, property crimes and violence in contrast to the second- and third-generation migrants.

## Methodology

This study investigates a total of 1130 foreign juveniles who have been arrested because of judicial or administrative crimes in Istanbul during the period of 2007-2008 and the first four months of 2009. The reason for choosing Istanbul as a study area is that Istanbul is the most crowded city with the highest crime levels in Turkey. Turkish Penal Code states that juveniles younger than 12 years old have no penal responsibility and that those juveniles between 12 years old and 15 years old may benefit punitive reductions. Thus, the participants of the study are divided into three age groups as follows: <12, 12 - 15 and 15 - 17.

The files on juveniles who committed judicial or administrative crimes are compiled and investigated from 2007 to April 2009, including 1130 juvenile files. Those juveniles that entered Turkey legally or illegally were not with their parents when they were arrested. In other words, during investigations, juveniles reported that their families are not in Turkey. Therefore, all juveniles participated in the study are unaccompanied juveniles.

Juvenile Police deals with the procedures of the juvenile delinquents. The speciality of this unit is to analyse the crimes committed by juveniles. These juveniles are sent to Institution of Social Services Children Protection (SHÇEK) in order to acquire state protection. Therefore, all participants of the study are being protected by the state.

Obtained data are first given in tables of frequency and percentage, then cross-tables are given to indicate the relationship between juvenile delinquency and related variables.

## Results

Turkish Penal Code states that juveniles younger than 12 years old have no criminal responsibility and that those juveniles between 12 years old and 15 years old may benefit punitive reductions. Thus, participants of the study are divided into three age groups as follows: <12, 12 - 15 and 15 - 17. Therefore, as seen in **Table 1**, 3.3% of the participants have no criminal responsibility. 82.2% of them are in the age group of 15 - 17. 43.8% of them are 17, 25.2% are 16 and 13.2% are 15 years old. It is seen that older the child, higher the delinquency rate.

**Table 1.**  
The distribution of age of foreign juvenile delinquents.

Age	Frequency	Percent
15 - 17	929	82.2
12 - 15	164	14.5
Under 12	37	3.3
Total	1130	100.0

As seen in **Table 2**, majority of the participants are males (81%). Juvenile citizens of forty-two countries committed judicial or administrative crimes in Istanbul during the study period. The rate of juvenile delinquents from Asian countries (89.3%) is much higher than those from European countries (9.2%) and from African countries (1.5%).

Afghan juvenile delinquents forms nearly half of the participants (41.2%). Pakistani and Azerbaijani juvenile delinquents constitute the second and third major groups among participants of the study (13.9% and 9.9%, respectively).

As seen in **Table 3**, more than the half of the participants committed illegal entry crime (66.3%). Although they enter the country legally, 14.4% of the participants committed visa violation. 7.5% of them were illegally employed in Istanbul. 6.3% of the juveniles committed the crime of fraud. All of these juveniles committed passport or visa fraud. Very small portion of the group (1.7%) committed the crime of prostitution. Again, 1.7% of them committed robbery. 2.1% of the participants committed other crimes such as smuggling, extortion, murder, drugs, injury, jugglery and attack to police.

**Table 2.**

The distribution of sex, mainland and the countries of foreign juvenile delinquents.

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Male	915	81
Female	215	19
Total	1130	100.0
<b>Mainland</b>		
Asia	1013	89.3
Europe	101	9.2
Africa	16	1.5
Total	1130	100.0
<b>Country</b>		
Afghanistan	466	41.2
Pakistan	157	13.9
Azerbaijan	112	9.9
Turkmenistan	77	6.8
Iraq	72	6.4
Moldavia	45	4
Iran	32	2.8
Total	961	85

**Table 3.**

The distribution of juveniles' crime types.

Crime Types	Frequency	Percent
Illegal Entry	750	66.3
Visa Violation	163	14.4
Illegal Employment	85	7.5
Fraud	71	6.3
Prostitution	19	1.7
Robbery	19	1.7
Other	23	2.1
Total	1130	100.0

The majority of the participants were seized by police (91.9%), while only 8.1% of them were arrested by gendarmerie (**Table 4**).

Istanbul has 39 districts. Foreign juveniles that committed crimes are found to be in 30 districts. As seen in **Table 5**, 88.1% of the juveniles participated in the study were arrested on the European side of Istanbul. Those districts in which the participants frequently committed crimes are Fatih (28.1%), Zeytinburnu (14.8%) and Bakırköy (10.3%).

In terms of frequently committed crimes by country of origin (**Table 6**), it is found that illegal entry is mostly committed by Afghan and Pakistani juveniles (60.9% and 20.9%, respectively). Fraud is frequently committed by juveniles from Iraq (49.3%) and Iran (16.9%), while robbery is common among the juveniles from Azerbaijan (42.1%), Iran (21.1%) and Georgia (10.5%).

As seen in **Table 7**, 35.5% of the juveniles who illegally worked in Istanbul are from Azerbaijan, while 29.4% of them are from Turkmenistan and 8.2% of them are from Georgia. Visa violation is most frequently committed by juveniles from Turkmenistan (26.4%), Azerbaijan (23.9%) and Moldova (19%). Furthermore, juveniles committed the crime of prostitution are from Moldova (26.3%), Uzbekistan (15.8%) and Turkmenistan (15.8%).

In terms of frequent crime types based on districts (**Table 8**), it is seen that the crime of fraud is mostly committed in the following districts: Bakırköy (81.8%), Fatih (7%) and Pendik (5.6%). The crime of illegal entry is found to be mostly committed in the districts of Fatih (30.8%) and Zeytinburnu (20.5%). On the other hand, the crime of illegal employment is frequently committed in the districts of Fatih (21.2%), Bayrampaşa (18.8%), Küçükçekmece (9.4%) and Büyükçekmece (7.1%). The crime of visa violation is found to be frequently committed in the districts of Fatih (25.8%) and Gaziosmanpaşa (9.2%). Another crime type, prostitution appears to be frequently committed in Fatih (57.9%).

**Table 4.**

The distribution of law enforcement agencies that seize foreign juvenile delinquents.

Seize	Frequency	Percent
Police	1038	91.9
Gendarmerie	92	8.1
Total	1130	100.0

**Table 5.**

The distribution of scenes where foreign juvenile delinquents commit crimes.

Crime Scene Continent	Frequency	Percent
Asian side (of Istanbul)	133	11,9
European side	997	88,1
Total	1130	100,0
District	Frequency	Percent
Fatih	318	28,1
Zeytinburnu	167	14,8
Bakırköy	116	10,3
Gaziosmanpaşa	59	5,2
Küçükçekmece	58	5,1
Eyüp	56	5
Bayrampaşa	52	4,6
Other	304	26,9
Total	1130	100,0

**Table 6.**  
The relationships between crime types and the juveniles's countries.

Country/Crime types	Fraud		Illegal entry		Robbery	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Afghanistan	1	1.4	457	60.9	-	-
Azerbaijan	-	-	29	3.9	8	42.1
Georgia	3	4.2	1	0.1	2	10.5
Iraq	35	49.3	29	3.9	-	-
Iran	12	16.9	6	0.8	4	21.1
Pakistan	-	-	157	20.9	-	-
Other	20	28.2	71	9.5	5	26.3
Total	71	100.0	750	100.0	19	100.0

\*Column percent.

**Table 7.**  
The relationships between the country of origin and crime types.

Country of origin/ Crime types	Illegal Employment		Visa violation		Prostitution	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Azerbaijan	30	35.5	39	23.9	1	5.3
Armenia	-	-	10	6.5	-	-
Georgia	7	8.2	-	-	-	-
Moldavia	2	2.4	31	19	5	26.3
Uzbekistan	2	2.4	5	3.1	3	15.8
Romania	-	-	7	4.3	2	10.5
Russia Fed.	6	7.1	2	1.2	2	10.5
Turkmenistan	25	29.4	43	26.4	3	15.8
Other	13	15	26	15.6	3	15.8
Total	85	100.0	163	100.0	19	100.0

\*Column percent.

**Table 8.**  
The Relationships between the Districts and Crime Types.

District/ Crime Types	Illegal Entry		Illegal employment		Visa Violation		Prostitution	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Bakırköy	46	6.1	-	-	7	4.3	1	5.3
Bayrampaşa	26	3.5	16	18.8	5	3.1	-	-
Büyükdere	6	0.8	6	7.1	11	6.7	1	5.3
Eyüp	42	5.6	3	3.5	10	6.1	-	-
Fatih	231	30.8	18	21.2	42	25.8	11	57.9
Gaziosmanpaşa	37	4.9	4	4.7	15	9.2	-	-
Küçükçekmece	42	5.6	8	9.4	5	3.1	-	-
Pendik	-	-	-	-	3	1.8	1	5.3
Ümraniye	38	5.1	2	2.4	3	1.8	-	-
Zeytinburnu	154	20.5	2	2.4	7	4.3	1	5.3
Other	128	17.1	26	30.5	55	33.8	4	20.9
Total	750	100.0	85	100.0	163	100.0	19	100.0

\*Column percent.

In terms of frequently committed crimes based on country of origin, it is seen that illegal entry is mostly committed by those from Afghanistan (60.9%) and Pakistan (20.9%). Juveniles from both Iraq (49.3%) and Iran (16.9%) are found to be frequently committed fraud, whereas those from Azerbaijan (42.1%), Iran (21.1%) and Georgia (10.5%) are found to be mainly committed robbery. The distribution of the juveniles who illegally worked in Istanbul is as follows: 35.5% of them are Azerbaijani, 29.4% Turkmen and 8.2% Georgian. Further more, the juveniles from Turkmenistan (26.4%), Azerbaijan (23.9%) and Moldova (19%) are found to be frequently committed visa violations. On the other hand, juveniles committed the crime of prostitution are from Moldova (26.3%), Uzbekistan (15.8%) and Turkmenistan (15.8%).

In terms of crime types based on gender (Table 9), it appears that females committed the crimes of prostitution and 50.3% of visa violations. The remaining crime types are found to be mostly committed by males. The distribution of crime types committed by males is as follows: 67.6% of fraud; 91.2% of illegal entry; 71.8% of illegal employment; 89.5% of robbery and 91.3% of serious crimes (smuggling, extortion, murder, drugs, injury, jugglery and attack to police).

## Discussion and Conclusion

The data obtained reveal that 81% of the juveniles arrested because of committing crimes are males. The most frequently committed crimes by males are as follows: illegal entry (91.2%) and robbery (89.5%). Those frequently by females are visa violations (50.3%) and fraud (32.4%).

As stated earlier, although there are several theoretical perspectives given above that make us believe that migrants much more tend to commit crimes, recent researches indicate that the rate of migrant delinquency is much less than it is thought to be (Martinez & Lee, 2000). Migrants often work in informal sectors and in blue-collar occupations in the host countries leading to prevent them from committing crimes (Martinez & Lee, 2000: p. 515).

Since some of the juveniles who committed crimes have no criminal responsibility according to the Turkish Penal Code, it may be envisaged that these juveniles are encouraged to enter Turkey.

**Table 9.**  
The relationships between the country of origin and gender.

Crime Types/Gender	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Fraud	48	67.6	23	32.4	71	100.0
Illegal Entry	684	91.2	66	8.8	750	100.0
Illegal Employment	61	71.8	24	28.2	85	100.0
Visa Violation	81	49.7	82	50.3	163	100.0
Robbery	17	89.5	2	10.5	19	100.0
Serious Crimes	21	91.3	2	8.7	23	100.0

\*Row percent.

Juveniles between 15 and 17 years old that are not accompanied by their parents are found to commit various types of crimes (82.2%). Migrant juveniles find themselves in a cultural structure with different values and norms. At the same time, they feel that they are aliens to this new cultural structure. Since they cannot be legally employed, they tend to commit various crimes, particularly those against property. In the study, it is found that 1.7% juveniles committed the crime of robbery against private property. As stated earlier, 6.3% of the participants of the study committed the crime of fraud. More specifically they dealt with passport fraud and visa fraud. 1.7% of the juveniles who could have necessary living finance are found to commit the crime of prostitution. Furthermore, 2.1% of the juveniles are found to commit various serious crimes such as smuggling, extortion, murder, drugs, injury, jugglery and attack to police. Hirschi (1969) developed containment theory and states that alienation may weaken the social bonds. This theory appears to account for the case of juveniles sampled in the study. Ubah focuses on the marginalization and alienation processes experienced by migrants. Ubah following Hirschi's (1969) containment theory states that alienation may weaken the social bonds. This "crisis experience" of migrants may push them to participate in criminal circles to overcome their alienation (Ubah, 2007: p. 110).

Foreign juveniles who could not achieve the cultural objectives and purposes of the host culture attempt to achieve these objectives by using illegal means and ways leading to participating in criminal activities. At this point Hoffman's view (2003) on poor groups, slums and migrant illegal workers in which these groups are regarded as "devoid of opportunities" appears to be relevant. For Hoffman, since the access of these groups to culturally valued objectives, their disappointment and anger may cause them easily to deal with illegal activities.

Differences in socio-economic status may be risk factors for foreign juveniles as for adults with regard to having deviant behaviour. Foreign juveniles who come to disadvantaged regions may learn the criminal behaviour as a result of their experience in these regions as discussed by the learning theories.

Additionally, since they are not accompanied by their parents or other significant relatives, they are subject to exploitation by adults and therefore, encouraged to involve in criminal behavior.

Bui (2009) investigates the reasons for migrants to commit crimes and argues that migrants do not constitute homogenous groups. For Bui, each migrant group experiences a unique process and furthermore, there are generation differences within a migration group. For Bui some generations of migrants are much more inclined to commit crimes than other generations of migrant groups. Differences between various generations of migrant groups should be examined in future studies.

66.3% of the juveniles sampled in the study, like adults, illegally entered Turkey in order to have better lives and find jobs. Additionally, 14.4% of them committed visa violations although their entry is legal. 7.5% of the participants illegally worked in Istanbul. As stated earlier, juveniles from forty-two different countries committed various crimes in Istanbul. Majority of them (89.3%) came from the Asian countries. Those from the European countries form the second group (9.2%) and those from the African countries form the last group (1.5%). Foreign juvenile delinquents are mostly from Afghanistan and rarely from Pakistan. Given that these two countries have been experiencing serious economic and political instability for a long period of time, the reasons of their migration to Turkey can be better

understood.

Afghanistan's population is 32.738.376 as of July 2008. The distribution of population based on age groups are as follows: 44.6% 0 - 14 years old, 53% 15 - 64 years old and more than 2.4% older than 65 years old. Mean age is 17.6 years old. Net Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is not known because of intensive terrorist activities, although the rate of unemployment is 40% (CIA, 2008). Therefore, the reasons for migration of people are very clear.

In Pakistan, 35% of the population have been living under poor conditions. Its population is 172,800,048 as of July 2008. The distribution of population based on age groups are as follows 37.8% 0 - 14 years old, 58 % 15 - 64 years old and 4.2% older than 65 years old. Mean age is 20.5 years old (CIA, 2008). Of the Afghan ve Pakistan illegal migrants, 68.7% earn nearly 40.87 (±31,43) USA dollars per month in their country of origin. Therefore, more than half of the community is poor and 58.4% of has no property (Sever, 2009).

Crime types committed by migrant juveniles based on their country of origin are as follows: 60.9% of the juveniles who illegally entered Turkey are Afghan juveniles, while 35.5% of them who worked illegally are Azerbaijani and 29.4% of them are Turkmen. The percentages of the foreign migrant juveniles who violate the visa rules are as follows: Turkmen (26.4%), Azerbaijani (23.9%) and Moldovian (19%).

Furthermore, juveniles committed the crime of prostitution are from Moldova (26.3%), Uzbekistan (15.8%) and Turkmenistan (15.8%). The reasons for such a deviant behavior may be that host countries do not legally allow juveniles to work and earn necessary money for their everyday life.

The data indicate that 91.9% of the participants were seized by the police. Therefore, the crimes committed by juveniles in the study mostly occurred in urban areas. Istanbul has 39 districts. Foreign juveniles committed crimes in 30 of these districts. Those districts in which the participants frequently committed crimes are as follows: Fatih (28.1%), Zeytinburnu (14.8%) and Bakırköy (10.3%). Since different crimes are committed at different rates in different districts of Istanbul, a district's security measures, dominant economic activities carried out and population structure have effects on these outcomes.

One of the most significant findings is that 66.3% of the participants were arrested due to illegal entrance to Turkish borders.

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