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## **HİRSCHİ'NİN SOSYAL KONTROL TEORİSİ BAĞLAMINDA TÜRKİYE'NİN GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU BÖLGESİNDE KÜRT GENÇLERİNDE SUÇUN ANALİZİ**

*EXAMINING DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR AMONG KURDISH ADOLESCENTS IN  
SOUTHESTERN TURKEY: A TEST OF HIRSCHI'S SOCIAL BONDING THEORY*

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### **Özet**

Bu çalışma sosyal kontrolün aracılık eden etkilerini Kürt gençlerin de suça yönelik hareketleri incelemektedir. Hirschi'nin sosyal kontrol teorisi bağlamında kendini algılama ve çocuklar da suç işleme çalışmalarının başlıca ana etkileri yeniden gözden geçirildi. Data Gülen okulu olarak kabul edilen Özel Çağlayan Murat Anadolu Fen Lisesi (Şanlıurfa, Türkiye) okuluna devam eden Kürt gençlerinden 100 tane örneklem ve devlet okuluna (Diyarbakır Türkiye) devam eden Kürt gençlerinden 100 tane örneklem olarak toplanılmıştır. Bu proje için başlıca ana suçları işlemek bağımlı değişken olarak kabul edildi. Son 12 ay içerisinde öğrenci başlıca ana suçları işlediği rapor edilmişse, o öğrenci suç işlemiş olarak sınıflandırılır - ikikilo baklava değerinden az bir şey çalmak, iki kilo baklava değerinden fazla bir şey çalmak, başka birisine fiziksel şiddet uygulamak, kavga yapmak, hırsızlık yapmak ve araba soymak, size ait olmayan bir şeye ya da halka ait mallara zarar vermek, vegraffiti yapmak. Sosyal kontrol teorisinin kompon antları bağlılık, katılım, taahhüt, and itimat bağımsız değişken olarak kullanıldı. Katılımcıların yaşı 16 ile 18 yaşları aralığındadır. Geleneksel Türk toplumuna bağlılıkları olan Kürt gençlerinin konumu göz önünde bulundurularak sosyal kontrol elementleri ve çocuklarda bu çışleme arasındaki ilişkinin kuvvetli olacağı hipotezini kurdum. Binarl lojistik regresyon analizinden çıkan bulgular bağlılığın yoklugunda, Kürt gençleri suç işleme eğiliminde olduklarını işaret ediyor. Daha ileri araştırma ve sonuçla için, Gülen hareketi bağımsız bir değişken olarak test edildi.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Çocuklarda suç işleme; Hirschi; sosyal kontrol teori; Kürt gençleri; Gülen hareketi; Türkiye

### **Abstract**

This study examines the mediating effect of social bonding on delinquent behavior among Kurdish teens. Major influences to the study of self-concept and delinquency based on Hirschi's social bonding theory are reviewed. The data was collected from a sample of 100 Kurdish teens attending a Gülen affiliated school (Private Çağlayan Murat Anatolian Science High School in Şanlıurfa, Turkey) and 100 Kurdish teens attending a public (non-

Gülen) school (The Public High School in Diyarbakır, Turkey). Involvement in major delinquency is dependent variable for this research project. A student is classified as a major delinquent if he or she reports having been involved in any major delinquent action - larceny equal to less than the cost of four pounds of baklava, larceny equal to more than the cost of four pounds of baklava, physically injuring another person, getting into a physical fight, breaking and entering a car, damaging property, and painting graffiti within the past twelve months- within the past twelve months. The components of social bonding attachment, involvement, commitment, and belief were used as independent variables. Participants' age ranged between 16 to 18 years. I hypothesize that the relation between the social bonding elements and delinquency should be stronger in the case of Kurdish adolescents who are more attached to conventional Turkish society. Results from binary logistic regression analysis indicate that in the absence of bonding, Kurdish teenagers tend to engage in major delinquent activities. For further exploration and results, the Gülen movement was examined as an independent variable.

**Key Words:** Delinquency; Hirschi; social bonding theory; Kurdish teenagers; the Gülen movement; Turkey

### Statement of the Problem

Major delinquency among adolescents in Turkey consists of acts such as serious fights, illicit substance use, robbery, hooliganism, theft, damaging government property, vandalism, or painting graffiti (Johnston, O'Malley, Bachman, & Schulenberg, 2009; Rehn, Room, & Edwards, 2001; TBMM, 2008). To a certain extent the effects of anti-social behavior are considered a primary source of negative influence on both parents and adolescents, particularly concerning psychological and emotional stress (TBMM, 2008).

National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) data in the United States from 1998 to 2008 reveal that 45 percent of all violent crime and 56 percent of all property crime arrests are committed by persons younger than 25 years of age. Similarly, in Turkey findings from 3,435 juvenile convicts indicate that Turkish juveniles are mostly engaged in property crimes, while 40 percent of adolescents committed the crime of robbery (TURKSTAT, 2010). It is noteworthy to recognize one-third of the Turkish population is comprised of youth under 18 years of age. Southeastern Turkey has the highest levels of both poverty and inequality (Keyder, 2005). The perpetrators of delinquent acts are typically the poor, uneducated, and unemployed residing in southeastern Turkey (Today's Zaman, 2012).

### Research Questions

1. Which social bonding components have effects on the likelihood of major delinquency among Kurdish teenagers in southeastern Turkey?
2. To what extent does social bonding impact the likelihood of major delinquency among Kurdish teenagers when controlling for age, gender, religious preference, father's education and mother's education?

Social bonding theory, developed and mainly tested in an American and western European context, needs additional exploration of its efficiency in a non-western, especially Islamic society. For that reason, social bonding theory should be tested in non-western societies to better understand the factors that influence crime and delinquency in developing, culturally diverse social structures. No studies have focused on the impact of social bonding on the likelihood of antisocial

behavior by Kurdish teenagers. This would contribute to the social bond theory by focusing on the development of Kurdish teenagers' attachment to Turkish conventional society.

### **Theoretical Origin of Social Bonding Theory**

Developed by Hirschi in 1969, social bonding theory has sparked much research (Akers & Sellers, 2008). Hirschi (1969) claimed that deviance arising from inadequate social bonding could serve as a positive force for reinforcing ideas of right and wrong within a society. As a result of the costs of deviance to society, it has become essential for society to understand the social bonding theory, and the impacts of inadequate bonding on deviance. In this regard, a social bonding analysis of deviance beginning with society as a whole, rather than examining or focusing on the individual, is recommended. In other words, in this perspective, one identifies the source of deviance within the context of the nature of the society. Yet, in doing so, the investigator applying this perspective must disregard individual and biological explanations.

The most important attachments are based on how an individual's parental figures influence and shape their lives. This helps to shape a person's values relative to those held in society, and may influence how they choose to view their individualistic lives as "normal." Since parents often exert the greatest amount of influence on the child, parents or other role models can have a most significant impact on the nature of the child's upbringing and his or her eventual roles in society.

In study employing the National Youth Survey, Wright et al. (2001), found that juveniles who spent more time with their parents and received more parental efforts for their educational success were less likely to report lower levels of delinquency than those who spent less time with their parents and received less parental support. Likewise, Salmi and Kivivuori (2006) found consistent similar findings regarding the negative association between parental support and juvenile delinquency. Furthermore, in relation to the effects of stronger parent-child interactions (or relationships) on delinquency, Wright and Fitzpatrick (2006) found that teenagers with stronger parent-child relationships and school affiliations tended to exhibit lower levels of delinquency including engaging in serious delinquent activities.

Chamlin and Cochran (2007) confirm that when noneconomic institutions such as the family, schools, and polity are strong then the effects of economic pressure on both property crimes and violent crimes are weaker. A child's home life is not the only place where he or she will learn what behaviors are deemed socially acceptable. A major place of moral development is the educational environment, particularly for adolescents. They build both positive and negative connections with their peers and teachers, and constantly observe the actions of others in order to determine how they should act. This effect is also somewhat biased based on class, although usually not intentionally. Lower-class students are often "picked on" by their classmates and teachers from more financially successful families, building a negative connection with the ideals of individuals who tend to have more conventional lives.

### **Previous Social Bonding and Patterns of Juvenile Delinquency Studies in Turkey**

Özbay and Özcan (2008) compared male and female delinquency by examining the role of social bonding components. Addressing the issue of the association between social bonding components and male and female delinquency in the context of Turkey, Özbay and Özcan (2008)

used data collected from 1,710 high school students from the central districts of Ankara, Turkey. Özbay and Özcan (2008) found that male adolescents were more likely to engage in delinquent acts than female adolescents when concerning attachment to teachers, attachment to conventional others, school commitment, and spending 15 or more hours on homework per week. Their findings support the view that the social bonding variables of attachment, commitment, involvement, and belief accordingly have a greater impact among male high school students than female high school students. However, this information may not be suitable for understanding crime and delinquency in the context of Kurdish structures. In this present study, I addressed this gap by examining the mediating effect of social bonding on delinquent behaviors among Kurdish teenagers.

Research related to high school students is consistently reported regarding apprehension, theft, and robbery in order to examine delinquent behavior in high school and its effect on society. Ögel et al., (2003) and Ögel et al. (2004) found that marijuana usage was higher in private schools. Students from private schools are expected to come from well-educated and higher social economic status families. The relationship between delinquent peer affiliations, parental income, and delinquent behavior in the private schools resulted in serious delinquency.

#### **Data, Methods and Methodology**

The relationship between social bonding and the likelihood of major delinquency among Kurdish teenagers was tested. Data on the nature/degree of social bonding and self-reported major delinquencies were collected from a sample 100 Kurdish teens attending a Gülen affiliated school and 100 Kurdish teens attending a public (non- Gülen) school. Data measured the four elements of the social bond, self-reported major and minor delinquency, and also included demographic information such as gender, age, ethnicity, education, and parents' education level.

#### **Informed Consent**

This research was approved by the University of North Texas IRB. The researcher obtained permission from each school principal before quantitative data collection began. At the completion of the study time, the surveys were collected by the teacher at one point in time during November 2012 and placed in a signed and sealed envelope. The envelope was given to the school administrator and then mailed securely to the researcher. The researcher will maintain the data in a locked cabinet at the University of North Texas. The data is only available to those involved in the research. The surveys will be destroyed after three years from the completion of the study.

#### **Instruments**

The survey consisted of 57 multiple-choice questions. The question format was patterned after previous studies, such as Kristjansson (2008) and the original questionnaire developed by Travis Hirschi (1969).

#### **Measurement of the Variables**

The dependent, independent, and control variables are measured by employing either five single or eleven composite measures which rely on the social bonding theory developed by Travis Hirschi and previous research by Kristjansson (2008). One hundred ten variables are coded in the same direction in order to analyze the research hypotheses. Nominal variables such as gender and involvement in the Gülen movement (variable label) were dichotomized. Internal consistency is employed to evaluate the consistency in response to seven items. Cronbach's (1951) coefficient alpha ( $\alpha$ ) is the most common technique for measuring internal consistency.

A student is classified as a major delinquent if he or she reports having been involved in any major delinquent action within the past twelve months. The second dependent variable is measured at the interval-ratio level and coded as 0 to 1. This variable is set to 1 (1=one or more times) if the respondent has been involved in delinquent action, and zero (0=never) otherwise.

Seven potential scale items are set covering major delinquency within the past 12 months including: Larceny equal to less than the cost of four pounds of baklava (Q39), larceny equal to more than the cost of four pounds of baklava (Q40), physically injuring another person (Q34), getting into a physical fight (Q35), breaking and entering a car (Q38), damaging property (Q36), and painting graffiti (Q37). These six offenses are determined as major crimes by the Turkish Penal Code and Turkish law enforcement agencies will investigate the case if any of these delinquent crimes occur. Detailed information regarding major delinquency is shown in the following Table 1.

The dependent variable major delinquency has acceptable reliability (reliability coefficient value of .721) for all seven items of the composite measure score when using the conventional threshold of .70.

All five attachment indexes have at least an acceptable level of internal consistency. The Cronbach's alpha for parental attachment has acceptable reliability coefficient values of .797, for parental supervision .818, for school attachment .798, and for religion attachment and peer attachment .851 and .846 respectively. The Cronbach's alpha for the parental reaction index was highly reliable ( $\alpha = .903$ ), and the Cronbach's alpha for the legal norm index was sufficient ( $\alpha = .785$ ).

### Respondent Characteristics

As indicated in Table 2, there were a total of 200 Kurdish teenagers in the study, with 57% of them being male and 43% being female. Kurdish teenagers' ages ranged from 16 to 18 years and the average age was 17 years. The majority of fathers' education levels were "graduated from primary/secondary high school" (74.5%), whereas approximately 62% of the mothers' education levels were "graduated from primary/secondary high school." Respondents indicated 11% of their fathers and 28% of their mothers did not attend school.

Table 1

Dependent Variable: Major Delinquency

QUESTIONS	RESPONSE CATEGORIES
<i>Major Delinquency</i>	
In the last 12 months, how often did you physically injure someone else? (Q34)	● 1= Never
In the last 12 months, how often did you get into a fight in which someone was hurt? (Q35)	● 2= 1 time
In the last 12 months, how often did you damage property on purpose that did not belong to you? (Q36)	● 3= 2 times
In the last 12 months, how often did you paint graffiti or signs on someone else's property or on a public building? (Q37)	● 4= 3 times
In the last 12 months, how often did you break into a car to	● 5= 4 times

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steal something? (Q38)

In the last 12 months, how often did you steal something worth less than four pounds of baklava? (Q39) • 6=> 5 times

In the last 12 months, how often did you steal something worth more than four pounds of baklava? (Q40)

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Table 2 shows 14% of Kurdish teenagers reported major delinquent action within the past twelve months. Additionally, 8.5% of respondents reported minor delinquent action within the past thirty days. The majority of Kurdish teenagers reported a high level of parental attachment. The items ranged from one ("very difficult") to four ("very easy"). For example, approximately 90% of Kurdish teenagers responded "rather or very easy" on the item indicating caring and warmth from parents. Similar results were evident for advice regarding school. Eighty-six percent responded "rather or very easy" regarding parental advice about school. Seventy-five percent of surveyed teenagers responded "rather or very easy" to the item measuring parental advice regarding other issues. Likewise, 75% of Kurdish teenagers responded "rather or very easy" on the item related to parental assistance with any concerns or tasks. These scores suggest that Kurdish teenagers tend to feel supported by their parents in terms of caring, warmth, advice concerning school and other issues, and assistance with tasks.

Table 2 includes the percentages for items measuring parental monitoring of teenagers. We see that approximately 90% of Kurdish teenagers reported "applies rather well to me" or "applies very well to me" in response to the item indicating whether their parents were aware of "where they were." Likewise, 91% of Kurdish teenagers stated that their parents were aware of "who they were with in the evenings."

Moreover, Tables 2 shows that Kurdish teenagers reported high levels of attachment to school, religion, and peers. The majority of teenagers (78.5%) responded "applies often or always" to the item pertaining to whether they liked their school. This result was consistent with the remaining school attachment items. When asked if they intend to quit school, 83.5% of teens replied "applies seldom or almost never" Again, a majority of teenagers (78.5%) responded "applies seldom or almost never" in response to whether they intend to change schools. Seventy three percent responded "applies seldom or almost never" when asked whether they did not get along with other students. Finally, 73.5% of Kurdish teenagers responded "applies seldom or almost never" in response to whether they did not get along with teachers. Overall, Kurdish teenagers do not tend to have negative feelings toward their schools, classmates, and teachers. Additionally, they do not want to quit or change schools.

The majority of teenagers (78%) responded "applies often or always to me" to the item indicating that they prayed on a regular basis. The majority of teenagers (74%) responded "applies often or always to me" in response to the item asking whether they regularly read the holy texts of their faiths. Furthermore, 60% of Kurdish teenagers responded "applies often or always to me" when asked about attendance at religious services. Finally, over one-half (58.5%) of participants responded "applies often or always" in response the item asking if they regularly took part in religious activities other than services. It appears that Kurdish teenagers regularly pray, read the holy writs of their faith, attend religious services, and take part in religious activities.

The largest percentage of Kurdish teenagers reported a high level of peer attachment. All of the peer attachment items ranged from one ("very difficult") to four ("very easy"). For example,

approximately 91% of Kurdish teenagers responded "rather or very easy." on the item that asked if they could receive caring and warmth from their peers. Similarly, 82% of Kurdish teenagers responded "rather or very easy" regarding their ability to get advice concerning school from their peers. About 80 percent of Kurdish teenagers responded "rather or very easy" to the survey item measuring their ability to receive advice regarding other issues from their friends. Finally, approximately 87% of respondents responded "rather or very easy" on their ability to receive assistance with any concerns or tasks from their friends. These scores on the items related to peer attachment demonstrate Kurdish teenagers "often" receive caring, warmth, advice concerning school and other issues, and assistance with tasks from their friends.

The results in Table 2 indicate "involvement in conventional activities" tended to vary depending on the activity. Approximately 53% of Kurdish teenagers go to the movies between "less than once" and "two or three times" a month. Similar patterns emerged for participation in sport clubs. Forty-seven percent of Kurdish teenagers tended to participate in such clubs between "once and twice" a week. Approximately 37% of participants spend time downtown during the evening or on weekends, between "a few times a year" and "a few times a month." This suggests the majority of Kurdish teenagers do not tend to spend time downtown during the evening or on weekends. Approximately 44% of Kurdish teenagers acknowledged partying "a few times a year" or "a few times a month" while approximately 48% indicated they are almost never involved in partying. Likewise, approximately 49% of Kurdish teenagers almost never go to listen to live music, while approximately 41% of Kurdish listen to live music "a few times a year" or "a few times a month". Finally, just over half (54%) of Kurdish teenagers had been involved in the Gülenmovement in some manner.

According to the data shown in Table 2, Kurdish teenagers tend to score more moderately on "commitment" measures. Approximately 51% of survey respondents spent "about one or two hours" per day (on a 1 to 8 hour scale) on homework. For grades in their native language, 59% of Kurdish teenagers scored three or four (on a 5 point scale) when indicating their native language grades during the semester. For grades in mathematics, 56.5% of Kurdish teenagers scored three or four when indicating their mathematics grade. These results suggest participants tend to have better grades in Turkish.

As indicated in Table 2, approximately 66% of Kurdish teenagers either disagreed or strongly disagreed that one could break most rules if they do not seem apply to you, and approximately 67% of respondents either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement that they follow whatever rules they want. Similarly, 58% of Kurdish teens either disagreed or strongly disagreed that sometimes someone needs to break rules in order to succeed. Finally, 46% of Kurdish teenagers either disagreed or strongly disagreed that following the rules does not guarantee success. Two items measured parental reactions to teenagers' deviant actions, with one item concerning stealing something worth more than four pounds of baklava and the other item pertaining to drinking alcohol. Approximately 96% of Kurdish teenagers said their parents would be "somewhat or totally against" their teenagers' stealing something worth more than four pounds of baklava. Also, approximately 97% of Kurdish teenagers said their parents would be "somewhat or totally against" the teens' drinking alcohol.

### Data Screening

The data were examined for multicollinearity. To address multicollinearity issues, the variance inflation factor (VIF) was estimated for each variable in all models, since binary logistic regression is greatly sensitive to high intercorrelation among the variables. A widely used cutoff for the variance inflation factor is 5 (Menard, 2010, Mertler&Vannatta, 2005 & 2010). According to Menard, (2010), Mertler and Vannatta, (2005) and (2010), a tolerance value of less than 0.1 indicates the presence of multicollinearity. Tolerance values for the predictor variables included in the regression were assessed through linear regressions. For all models, the tolerance values for each variable included in the regressions were higher than .1 and variation inflation factor values were less than 5, which resulted in no observed multicollinearity problem among the predictor variables (Menard, 2010; Mertler&Vannatta, 2005 & 2010).

### Binary Logistic Regression: Results for Major Delinquency

Table 3 presents the logistic regression models assessing the probability of major delinquency. Two models were estimated. In Model 1, the variable indicating whether or not Kurdish teens have been engaged in any major delinquent action within the past twelve months (1 = yes; 0 = no), is regressed on the social bonding variables.

In Model 1 the five attachment items (school attachment, religious attachment, parental monitoring, parental support, and peer attachment), the five involvement items (going to the movies, participation in sport clubs, time spent downtown on the weekends, and participating in entertainment with live music) involvement with the Gülen movement, the three commitment items (time spent on homework, language score, and math score), and the two belief items (parental reaction and legal norms) were used to predict the outcome variable. Model 1 is statistically significant (Model  $\chi^2 = .274$ ,  $p < .05$ ), explaining approximately 49% of the variation in the likelihood of major delinquency (Pseudo R2 = .493).

In Model 2 the control variables male, age, and paternal and maternal education levels were added in order to predict the outcome variable. Model 2 is statistically significant (Model  $\chi^2 = .297$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The model accounts for approximately 54 % of the variation in Kurdish teenagers' probability of involvement in major delinquency with a Pseudo R2 of .535, which was 5% greater than the first model, which did not include the control variables. Furthermore, Model 2 is a better fitting model compared to Model 1, based on the -2 log likelihood ratio (91.575,  $p < .05$ ) indicating that the addition of the sociodemographic variables improves the ability of the model to account for the variation in the Kurdish teens' likelihood of involvement in major delinquency.

### Hypotheses for Major Delinquency Scale

Hypothesis 1: Hypothesis 1 states that Kurdish teens who report greater attachment to parents, peers, school, religion and conventional others are less likely to report involvement in major delinquency than Kurdish teens who are less attached to parents, peers, school, religion and conventional others. Table 3 indicates that Kurdish teens who report greater school attachment are less likely to report major delinquency than Kurdish teens who report a lower degree of school attachment ( $p < .05$ ). More specifically, all else being equal, the likelihood of teenagers' involvement in any major delinquent actions decreased by 72% with each one-unit increase in Kurdish teenagers' school attachment. However, parental attachment was not found to affect probability of major delinquency. Similarly, neither peer attachment nor religious attachment was supported in Model 1.



Table 2

Descriptive Statistics (N = 200)

Response Categories	Like my school Recoded	Quit school	Change school	Not get along with fellow students	Not get along with fellow teachers	Pray on a regular basis	Read the Holy writs	Attend Religious Services	Take part in Religious activities
Applies always to me	134 (67%)	2 (1%)	11 (6.5%)	18 (9%)	11 (5.5%)	113 (56.5%)	102 (51%)	82 (41%)	61 (30.5%)
Applies often to me	23 (11.5%)	7 (3.5%)	5 (2.5%)	13 (6.5%)	21 (10.5%)	43 (21.5%)	46 (23%)	38 (19%)	56 (28%)
Applies sometimes to me	33 (16.5%)	25 (12.5%)	27 (13.5%)	23 (11.5%)	42 (21%)	37 (18.5%)	37 (18.5%)	27 (13.5%)	34 (17%)
Applies seldom to me	7 (3.5%)	41 (20.5%)	37 (18.5%)	42 (21%)	126 (63%)	7 (3.5%)	13 (6.5%)	26 (13%)	25 (12.5%)
Applies almost never to me	3 (1.5%)	125 (62.5%)	120 (60%)	104 (52%)	126 (63%)	0	2 (1%)	27 (13.5%)	24 (12%)
Response Categories	Minor delinquency	Major delinquency	Age	Gülen Movement	Play Sports	Downtown	Party	Live Music	
0 (No)	183(91.5%)	172(85.1%)		92(45.5%)					
1 (Yes)	17(8.5%)	28(13.9%)		108(53.5%)					
1 ( 16)			54(27%)						
2 ( 17)			91(45.5%)						
3 (18)			55(27.5%)						
Almost never					52 (26%)	61 (31%)	95 (47.5%)	97 (48.5%)	
A few times a year						36 (18%)	46 (23%)	33 (16.5%)	
A few times a						37	41	48 (24%)	

month	(18.5%)	(20.5%)	
Once a week	52 (26%)		
One-two times a week	58 (29%)	15 (7.5%)	22 (11%)
Twice a week)	42 (21%)		
Three times a week	42 (21%)		
Three times a week or more	7 (3.5%)	3 (1.5%)	
Four-six times a week	11 (5.5%)		
More than six times a week	1 (.5%)		

(table continues)

Table 8  
(continued)

Response Categories	Caring and warmth	Advice about school	Advice about other issues	Assistance with things	Caring and warmth	Advice about school	Advice about other issues	Assistance with things
Very Difficult	9 (4.5%)	10 (5%)	16 (8%)	10 (5%)	4 (2%)	7 (3.5%)	13 (6.5%)	11 (5.5%)
Rather Difficult	9 (4.5%)	26 (13%)	25 (12.5%)	17 (8.5%)	17 (8.5%)	17 (8.5%)	37 (18.5%)	21 (10.5%)
Rather Easy	52 (26%)	66 (33%)	55 (27.5%)	58 (29%)	46 (23%)	52 (26%)	45 (22.5%)	42 (21%)
Very Easy	130 (65%)	98 (49%)	104 (52%)	115 (57.5%)	133 (66.5%)	124 (62%)	105 (52.5%)	126 (63%)
Response Categories	parents know who I am with	parents know where I am	Grades in native language	Grades in mathematics	Attend Movies			
Applies very poorly to me	8 (4%)	10 (5%)						
Applies rather poorly to me	13 (6.5%)	8 (4%)						
Applies rather well to me	26 (13%)	25 (12.5%)						
Applies very well to me	153 (76.5%)	157 (78.5%)						
Almost everyday			2 (1%)	18 (9%)	11 (5.5%)			
Less than 1			22 (11%)	34 (17%)				
About 2			60 (30%)	48 (24%)				

About 3	58 (29%)	65 (32.5%)
About 4	58 (29%)	35 (17.5%)
One-two times a week		19 (9.5%)
Two or three times a month		36 (18%)
About once a month		30 (15%)
Less than a month		39 (19.5%)
Almost never		65 (32.5%)

(table continues)

Table 8 (continued)

Response Categories	Sex	One can break most rules if they don't seem to apply to you Advice about other issues	I follow whatever rules I want to follow	one needs to break rules in order to succeed	Following rules does not guarantee success
0 (Female)	87(43.15%)				
1 (Male)	113(55.9%)				
Rather Easy		32 (16%)	21 (10.5%)	23 (11.5%)	33 (16.5%)
Very Easy		22 (11%)	28 (14%)	49 (24.5%)	59 (29.5%)
Very Difficult		17 (8.5%)	18 (9%)	12 (6%)	32 (16%)
Rather Difficult		20 (10%)	56 (28%)	35 (17.5%)	29 (14.5%)
Rather Easy		109 (54.5%)	77 (38.5%)	81 (40.5%)	47(23.5%)
Response Categories	parents reaction against stealing	parents reaction against drinking alcohol	Time spend on homework	the highest level of schooling father completed	the highest level of schooling mother completed
Very satisfied	2 (1%)	2 (1%)			
Somewhat satisfied	4 (2%)	3 (1.5%)			
They would not care	3 (1.5%)	2 (1%)			
Somewhat	1 (.5%)	6 (3%)			

against			
Totally against	190 (95%)	187 (93.5%)	
I never do any homework		5 (2.5%)	
Less than half an hour		18 (9%)	
About half an hour		36 (18%)	
About one hour		64 (32%)	
About two hours		37 (18.5%)	
About three hours		19 (9.5%)	
About four hours		15 (7.5%)	
More than four hours		6 (3%)	
No Schooling		22 (11%)	55 (27.5%)
Graduated from primary/ secondary/ high school		149 (74.5%)	123 (61.5%)
Started vocation high school but has not finished		4 (2%)	11 (5.5%)
Graduated from vocation high school		4 (2%)	5 (2.5%)
Started university but has not finished		7 (3.5%)	4 (2%)
Graduated from a university		14 (7%)	2 (1%)

Once the control variables were added, Kurdish teens who report greater school attachment were less likely to report involvement in major delinquency than teens who report a lower degree of attachment to school: This variable remained both statistically significant and essentially smaller in magnitude ( $p < .05$ ). Specifically, all else being equal, for each level of increase in school attachment, the probability of major delinquent actions decreased by 67.3%. However, similar to Model 1, the effects of attachment to parents (parental monitoring and parental support) are not supported in Model 2.

Hypothesis 2: Hypothesis 2 states that Kurdish teens who report greater involvement in conventional activities are less likely to report involvement in major delinquency than Kurdish teens who report a lower degree of involvement in conventional activities. Table 3 indicates that the likelihood of major delinquency decreased by 71% with each one-unit increase in Kurdish teenagers' partying involvement. However, the effects of going to the movies, participation in sport

clubs, listening to live music, and time spent downtown during the evening or on the weekends had no statistically significant influence in the same model. Hypothesis 2 was therefore partially supported in Model 1. This result will be discussed in-depth in Chapter V.

Comparing the results in Model 2 to those in Model 1, the effects of the partying involvement item on the probability of major delinquency remain the same when controlling for sociodemographic characteristics. With each one-unit increase in Kurdish teenagers' partying involvement, the likelihood of major delinquency decreased by 73.4%, essentially greater in magnitude.

Hypothesis 3: Hypothesis 3 states that Kurdish teens who report greater commitment to conventional activities are less likely to report involvement in major delinquency than Kurdish teens who report a lower degree of commitment to conventional activities. However, Table 3 indicates that research Hypothesis 3, regarding the effects of time spent on homework, language score, and math score, were not significant. In addition, commitment to conventional activities had no significant effect on Kurdish teens' engagement in major delinquent activities in Model 2. Hypothesis 3 was therefore not supported.

Hypothesis 4: Hypothesis 4 states that Kurdish teens who report greater belief in the conventional moral order are less likely to report involvement in major delinquency than Kurdish teens who report a lower degree of belief in the conventional moral order. Table 3 indicates that belief in the conventional moral order has a significant negative effect on Kurdish teens' participation in major delinquent action in Model 1. For example, the odds of involvement in major delinquency decrease 50% with each one-unit increase in approval for legal norms. Model 2 (Table 3) shows that the effects of legal norms remained negatively and significantly associated with the outcome variable, as in Model 1. Specifically, all else being equal, for each one-unit increase in approval for legal norms, the likelihood of major delinquent actions decreased by 50% in Model 2. Hypothesis 4 is therefore partially supported in Model 2.

Table 3  
*Logistic Regression Estimates Predicting the Odds of Major Delinquency, Kurdish Teenagers, 2012, (N=200)*

Predictor	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
School attachment	-1.287*	.417	.276	-1.119*	.430	.327
Religious attachment	.515	.377	1.674	.227	.420	1.255
Parental monitoring	-.261	.332	.770	-.393	.350	.675
Parental support	.023	.448	1.023	.038	.476	1.039
Peer attachment	.113	.447	1.119	-.018	.487	.982
Going to the movies	.167	.162	1.181	.046	.171	1.047
Participation in sport clubs	.179	.261	1.196	-.008	.297	.992
Time spent downtown on the weekends	.127	.229	1.135	.131	.242	1.140

Going to a party	-1.244*	.514	.288	-1.323*	.538	.266
Participating entertainments with live music	.412	.463	1.510	.693	.505	2.000
Involvement in the Gülen movement	-2.919*	1.349	.054	-3.494*	1.403	.030
Time spent on homework	-.101	.155	.904	-.097	.170	.907
Language score	-.042	.332	.959	-.055	.367	.945
Math score	-.045	.247	.956	-.072	.273	.930
Parental reaction	-.162	.360	.851	.044	.391	1.045
Legal norms	-.702*	.324	.496	-.700*	.347	.497
Male				1.416*	.661	4.119
Age				.196	.476	1.216
Father's education level				.199	.368	1.221
Mother's education level				.404	.459	1.498
Constant	5.413	2.814	224.216	3.555	3.058	35.005
-2 log likelihood	98.055			91.575		
Model X <sup>2</sup>	.274			.297		
Degrees of freedom	16			20		
P-Value	<.05			<.05		
Nagelkerke Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.493			.535		

\* $p \leq .05$  One-Tailed Test.

Sociodemographic variables: Holding all else equal, being male had a statistically significant effect on the likelihood of Kurdish teenagers' involvement in major delinquent actions. Kurdish male teens were more likely to be engaged in major delinquent actions than females ( $B = 1.416$ ,  $p = .05$ ). As predicted, the odds of being involved in major delinquent actions are 4.119 times greater for Kurdish males than Kurdish females (Odds ratio = 4.119). Finally, age does not appear to be significantly related to Kurdish teens' likelihood of involvement in major delinquency ( $p > .05$ ). Neither the mother's nor father's educations had a statistically significant effect on the probability of major delinquency ( $p > .05$ ).

Finally, participation in the Gülen movement was analyzed as an independent variable in Model 1. The results show that Kurdish adolescents who reported that they had been affiliated with the Gülen movement organizations for at least one year are significantly more likely to self-report lower levels of involvement in major delinquency, than those who are non-Gülen affiliated ( $p < .05$ ). All else being equal, affiliation with the Gülen movement for at least one year, reduced Kurdish

adolescents' odds of engagement in serious delinquent actions by 96%.

In Model 2 the impact of affiliation with the Gülen movement remained similar to its effect in Model 1. All else being equal, affiliation with the Gülen movement for at least one year, decreased Kurdish adolescents' likelihoods of involvement in serious delinquent acts by 97%, which is a slightly stronger association.

### **Discussion**

The findings of the study display support for the originally proposed research hypotheses and overall, they are consistent with the findings of previous research, although there are a few exceptions. More specifically, the findings regarding religious attachment and involvement in partying differ from previous research.

Hypotheses 1 through 4 proposed that Kurdish teenagers' likelihood of involvement in any type of major delinquent actions including serious criminal offences such as larceny equal to or less than the cost of four pounds of baklava, physically injuring another person, getting into a physical fight, breaking and entering a car, damaging property, and painting graffiti would be negatively linked with four components of Hirschi's social bonding theory.

The findings also showed that Kurdish adolescents affiliated with the Gülen movement organizations for at least one year were significantly more likely to self-report lower delinquency rates in the predicted direction for all models compared to those who were non- Gülen affiliated.

Hypothesis 1 stating that Kurdish teenagers who report greater school attachment are less likely to report involvement in major delinquency than Kurdish teenagers who report a lower degree of school attachment therefore received significant support. Hypothesis 1 continued to be supported after introducing sociodemographic and control variables in the model. Among the social bonding components school attachment had the most robust effect on major delinquent activities, whereas involvement had the strongest effect on major delinquent activities after adding sociodemographic and control variables.

The findings concerning school attachment can be used to help explain major delinquency. These findings revealed that having students spend a considerable amount of their time in school is valuable. After-school programs, additional tutoring, and other activities that are particularly prevalent in Gülen-affiliated schools may help support this relationship.

On the other hand, the effect of school attachment is significant for explaining major delinquent actions, which are activities considered to be very serious acts according to the law, school administrators, and families. If an adolescent is attached to their school, they may not want to ruin their future by being involved in a serious fight or damaging school property. Finishing school is considered an important step to save themselves and their parents from poverty. Major delinquent activities are not be tolerated by school administrators. Most of the youth involved in delinquent activities have a very low school attachment however, and they are likely to work as a daily worker, or laborer on someone else's farm (Özcan, 2012).

This study found that the remaining attachment items such as parental support, parental monitoring, and peer attachment did not effectively deter Kurdish adolescents from becoming involved in delinquent activities. Parental support did not have a significant effect on explaining the present findings. This might be due to the fact that all students, including those who became

involved either in major or minor delinquents actions had received parental support, as well as close monitoring by their parents. That is, a similar degree of monitoring and support occurred for all Kurdish teenagers. This may mean that delinquent juveniles are still close to their parents as well as their friends, but may also mean that a delinquent adolescent's parents and peers may have a criminal background that influences their behavior.

Somewhat surprisingly, there were inconsistent findings concerning the effects of religious attachment on the likelihood of major delinquency. Contrary to previous findings, the direction of the relationships between religious attachment and involvement in major or minor delinquency is positive. However, the hypothesized relationship was not confirmed. This could be due to the fact that Turkish conventional society is very discretely conservative in southeastern Turkey. The findings showed that religion is positively related, but had no significant effect on either major or minor delinquency among Kurdish adolescents. Further research is clearly required to resolve this issue.

According to previous research, teenagers involved with partying are more likely to be involved in delinquent activities (Eccles & Barber, 1999; Wong, 2005). Social events in Islamic countries, like Turkey, especially for conservative Kurdish groups, are events where alcohol is forbidden by parents and the community. Children are allowed to participate in local cultural folk dances. However girls and boys are not allowed to dance with each other. Teenagers' partying activities are highly restricted. Some teenagers disregard conventional activities, family and neighborhood partying, and spend recreational time with family members. These teenagers disregard the society's values and show less participation in social events. As noted above, partying in Turkey has a different meaning from that used in the West. For Turkish society, parties are considered family-focused and open social events that involve all members of the community, such as weddings and other important social events for entertainment. Unlike other cultures where hanging out with groups of people or spending time drinking alcohol and socializing with selected friends is a more prevalent form of entertainment. As a result, going to parties appeared to have a negative effect on delinquency rates among adolescents in Turkish conventional society.

Parental reaction did not receive significant support in any of the models. This result might be due to the fact that Kurdish parents living within Turkish conventional societies have strong relationship ties with their teenagers. The level of perceived parental reaction to a teenager's stealing something worth more than four pounds of baklava or drinking alcohol was therefore categorized as ranging between somewhat against and totally against for all teenagers as well as those involved in delinquent behaviors. This result is likely due to the fact that regardless of restrictive parental reactions, juveniles received warm support from their parents, and those who bring home poor math scores may not be receiving the support they seek, even though, at present, parental control of adolescents' activities is constantly declining in the Turkish community. In addition, if, Kurdish adolescents are becoming more individualistic (Sunar, 2002), and as such they may look down on class mates who do not do well in their studies, and make them feel less wanted. Those who do poorly in school may be less attached to the school, which is a predictor of delinquency.

Among all items compared, including the social bonding elements, involvement in the Gülen movement had the most robust effect on involvement in either major or minor delinquent activities.



The Gülen movement appears to have had a strong impact on Kurdish teenagers' delinquent actions. First, the Gülen movement addresses the principles of justice and universal values instead of ethnic differences. Second, by establishing many charitable organizations that focus on reducing poverty and improving education in the territory, the Gülen movement volunteers are provided with the means to pursue solutions to society's ills by focusing on eradicating poverty and improving education. Finally, the Gülen movement's voice has gained widespread acceptance in southeastern Turkey.

Overtly, gender had a significant relationship with the probability of major delinquent behaviors. Findings support the view that Kurdish male teenagers are more likely to be engaged in major delinquency acts than female teenagers. Smoking and alcohol are gateway behaviors for serious drug use, and for more opportunities to lose self-control and carry out delinquent behaviors. Males also tend to be more prone universally to acting out their emotions, or asserting themselves in more violent ways if they feel deprived of social or emotional resources, as well as physical resources, and this behavior is more accepted among men than it is among women, in general.

The research hypotheses, in general, indicated that the likelihood of Kurdish adolescents' involvement in major delinquent behaviors was higher for those who were less attached to parents, peers, school, religion and conventional others, and for those who had reported a lower degree of involvement in conventional activities, those who had reported a lower degree of commitment to conventional activities, and those who had reported a lower degree of belief in conventional moral order.

Replicating earlier research, these findings suggest a greater attachment to school plays a major role in deterring Kurdish adolescents from engagement in delinquent acts (Ford, 2009; Lin & Dembo, 2008). School involvement improves students' productivity in a positive way and employs their socialization processes positively rather than having schools be viewed as disciplinary institutions (Osgood & Anderson, 2004). Student's school bonding is most importantly associated with teacher performance and their roles in student success.

Kalyoncu (2007) highlights the fact that thousands of Kurdish people are involved in the Gülen movement's activities. Cetin (2010), Ebaugh (2010), Kalyoncu (2007), Koc (2013), and Kirk (2008) argue that the Gülen movement has helped hundreds of Kurdish adolescents from southeastern Turkey's villages, town, and cities be accepted to university by providing early education; the role of the Gülen movement therefore appears to undermine local support for the PKK. Social media in Turkey harshly critiques the Turkish government's decision to close centers that provide additional potential university entrance support. After terminating these educational activities, social media were scared of experiencing delinquent Kurdish adolescent willingness to join the PKK in the absence of the Gülen movement.

This study has several limitations related to the data collection process, potential bias, cultural applicability, and generalizability. Since the data were collected by each school principal from public schools in Diyarbakır and a Gülen-affiliated school (Private Çağlayan Murat Anatolian Science High School) in Şanlıurfa, Turkey at one point in time during November 2012, this study's findings cannot identify changes over time.

Further studies should seek to increase the sample size in order to minimize the potential bias and reliability issues. A sample could also be drawn from a population that represents Kurdish adolescents not only from Turkey, but also from Syria, Iran, and Iraq since significant Kurdish populations also reside in northern Syria, northern Iraq, and south-western Iran. This would also enable researchers to draw conclusions concerning how delinquent activities and rates differ in these countries in terms of cultures, political systems, and ethno-religious identities.

Although this study failed to find a clear relationship between religion attachment and involvement in delinquent activities, future research should undertake a more detailed examination of the relationship between religion and involvement in delinquent activities carried out by Turkish adolescents.

### Conclusion

This study verified that Kurdish teens' greater attachment (to school, parents, peers, and religion), involvement in conventional activities, commitment, and belief were all negatively correlated with the probability of engaging in major delinquent behaviors when controlling for gender, age, and paternal and maternal education levels. Finally, the Gülen movement was also examined as an independent variable; these findings demonstrated a strong relationship between the Gülen movement and Kurdish adolescents' probability of involvement in either major or minor delinquent activities.

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