

# Analyzing Tobacco, Alcohol, and Substance Use among Kurdish Adolescents in South Eastern Turkey: A Test of Hirschi's Social Bonding Theory

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## Abstract

*The proposed study contributes to our understanding of social bonding theory's explanatory power among Kurdish teenagers by focusing on its applications in a non-western, Turkish Islamic society. There is no literature testing the relationship between social bonding theory and delinquency among Kurdish teenagers. Involvement in minor delinquency is dependent variable for this research project. Findings suggest a strong relationship between the Gülen movement and Kurdish adolescents' probability of involvement in minor delinquent activities. Several directions for future research on Hirschi's social bonding theory are recommended and some implications are drawn for deterring Kurdish adolescents from becoming involved in delinquent actions.*

**Keywords:** Hirschi; social bonding theory; the Gülen movement; delinquency; Turkey

## 1. Statement of the Problem

Minor delinquency includes smoking cigarettes, snuffing, and drinking alcohol. These three acts are considered as less severe delinquent actions by the Turkish Penal Code. According to Turkish health department findings (2003), approximately 9.1 percent of Turkish juveniles younger than 18 years of age tend to use cigarettes. On the other hand, according to Rehn, Room, and Edwards (2001), Turkish juveniles' alcohol use has increased approximately 175% over the last decade and this is the highest rate among European countries.

The purpose of this research is to test Hirschi's social bonding theory to examine the mediating effect of social bonding on delinquent behavior among Kurdish teenagers. Kurdish teenagers were used as a case study to test the usefulness of this theory. Participants were selected from one Gülen movement affiliated school and one public or non-Gülen affiliated school. There is a lack of research regarding how Kurdish adolescents are involved in delinquent behavior as portrayed in the popular Turkish media. Thus, it also helps to explain Turkish society's chaotic conditions in south-eastern Turkey particularly with respect to Kurdish teenager's involvement into the Kurdish Worker's Party (PKK). Despite academic disagreements on the definition of terrorism, the PKK has been designated as a terrorist organization by Turkey, the United States, and the European Union (Koc, 2013).

### 1.1 Research Questions

This study addresses the following questions:

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

Nevertheless, the amount of empirical studies testing the relationship between social bonding and delinquency remains insufficient (Delikara, 2002; Kaner, 2002; Ögel et al., 2003; Ögel et al., 2004; Ögel, Tamar, Evren, & Çakmak, 2001; Ögel, Taner, & Eke, 2006; Taşçı, Atan, Durmaz, Erkuş, & Sevil, 2005). In addition, the sociological literature on social bonding has focused exclusively on attachment -one of the four components of social bonding theory- (Delikara, 2002; Kaner, 2002; Özbay, 2004, 2008; Özbay & Özcan, 2006, 2008).

## 2. Theoretical Origin of Social Bonding Theory

Hirschi (1969) began to study this issue because he questioned the motivations for committing crimes. According to Hirschi, when individuals are weakly attached to society, criminal activity, and deviance emerges. Hirschi's concern was based on the view of an individual's involvement as this correlates to their society.

In this respect, a teenager's strength of commitment to conventional society becomes a central variable. The stronger the commitment, the lower the likelihood of committing deviant acts. When commitment is higher, the individual has more to lose in terms of acceptance and social capital. In turn, the person with less commitment to society has less to lose, and therefore is more likely to commit crimes or carry out deviant acts. In addition to one's emotional commitment to society, another factor is the teenager's association with a business or economic activity. A person who is less engaged with meaningful activities may engage in deviant behavior. Finally, Hirschi (1969) believed societies had rules and each person in society was obligated to follow these rules.

Social bonding theory was developed in an American cultural context. However, Kurdish culture reflects different norms, values and beliefs. It was my expectation that this study would reveal how the Kurdish culture promotes strong social bonds. Based on the past literature, it was thought Kurdish teenagers who were found to be more attached to conventional Turkish society would be less likely to engage in delinquent acts.

The attachment part of this theory is critical in view of the fact that children do not always forge positive influential bonds with their parents and instead rely on peers to avoid deviating from society's norms. Hirschi (1969) also proposed that schools play an important role in influencing society's conventional values. Middle-class children see themselves as better than lower-class children, and are taught in schools (schools, being a normative middle- or upper-class institution) that they must strive to be smarter than those less fortunate than themselves so as to not fall to that lower level. Middle-class children also tend to demoralize lower-class children who already experience poorer academic-readiness skills and lower levels of school achievement (Mcloyd & Duke, 1998). This attitude is learned from the school environment and can even dictate how teachers act. Mcloyd and Duke (1998) reported that these negative effects can render attempts at education beyond high school more difficult for lower-class students by making lower-class students believe they are not worthy of higher education and by increasing their experience of acute and chronic stressors. This standard of living that results from an interaction of all these factors can be passed down from one generation to the next (Hirschi, 1969).

Nevertheless, available evidence proposes there is a significant relationship of drug addicted friendships and the initiation of drug use (Simons-Morton & Chen, 2006). Simons-Morton and Chen, (2006) found that among students who attended 6th and 9th grades who were involved in social networks with delinquent peers were more likely to be associated with substance use. In illuminating the relationships between peer attachment and delinquency, they also reported that drug-addicted minors tend to assemble with drug users' friends. According to the findings from data from a 21 year longitudinal study of a birth cohort of New Zealand children, it should also be noted that juveniles who reported greater attachments to deviant peers were more likely to be abuse nicotine, marijuana, and alcohol, and be involved in violent crimes and property crimes (Fergusson, Swain-Campbell, & Horwood, 2002).

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

Ögel, Tamar, Evren, and Çakmak (2001) conducted a study using a sample of 18,599 Turkish tenth grade students in 15 Turkish cities in 1998. Their findings revealed that variation rates of delinquent acts such as tobacco, alcohol, and drug use was different among cities of Turkey among high school students.

Ögel, Taner, and Eke (2006) also used data collected from 3,483 students in 43 high schools in Istanbul, Turkey in 2004 to study tobacco, alcohol, and drug use among the tenth grade high school students. Their findings revealed that the participation rate in delinquent acts varied among high schools in Istanbul. Approximately 40% of high school students had used marijuana between two and five times within their lifetime. Similar to the previous literatures' replicated findings, gender and age were significantly related to the probability of delinquency. Male students were more likely to engage in delinquent acts than female students.

### **3. Data, Methods and Methodology**

The sample consisted 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 or non- Gülen school (The Public High School in Diyarbakır, Turkey). This served as a comparison group. Schools were selected through availability sampling and personal contacts of the researcher. Diyarbakır and Şanlıurfa are one of the largest and major cities in eastern Turkey. Overall, crime rates in Diyarbakır and Şanlıurfa are higher than that of other cities in the eastern part of Turkey. This study has been reviewed and approved by the University of North Texas Institutional Review Board (IRB) in 2012.

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

A student is classified as minor delinquent if he or she reports having been involved in any minor delinquent action within the past thirty days. The inspected data are non-normal since the distributions of dependent variable are highly skewed. The log transformation technique is employed but positive skewness remains in the distribution of both dependent variables.

The dependent variable was measured at the interval-ratio level. Response categories to minor delinquency index range from “3 occasions” to “18 or more.” It was dichotomized then it was coded as 0-1. Thus, it is set to 1 (1=one or more times) if the respondent indicates involvement in any minor delinquent action and zero (0=never) otherwise. For minor delinquency, three potential scale items are set including: smoking cigarettes (Q31), snuffing (Q33), and drinking alcohol (Q32). These three acts are considered as less severe actions by the Turkish Penal Code and are not subject to investigation by Turkish law enforcement agencies. Detailed information regarding minor delinquency is shown in the following Table 1.

In this project Cronbach’s coefficient alphas were engaged in order to measure the reliability of each index independently. According to the literature Cronbach’s alpha values of .70 or higher are commonly recognized as acceptable values. The dependent variable minor delinquency has acceptable reliability (reliability coefficient value of .706) for all three items of the composite measure score when using the conventional threshold of .70.

#### **3.1.1 Control Variables**

To analyze the effects of each of the social bonding components, gender, age, father’s education level and mothers’ education level are included as a control for their moderating effects on likelihood of minor delinquency among Kurdish teens who have attended the Gülen affiliated school in Şanlıurfa and the public school in Diyarbakır, Turkey. The respondent’s gender is dichotomized. The respondent’s age is measured in years. The minimum participation age is 16 for this study. Therefore, age ranges between 16 and 18.

### **3.2 Descriptive Statistics**

Table 2 illustrates the descriptive information of the mean, standard deviation, and minimum and maximum value of predicted variables for all social bonding variables and control variables used in the regression analysis. The sample consisted of 200 cases and the data did not include any missing values.

The mean of the likelihood of involvement in major delinquent activities (.140) as presented in Table 2 indicates that only 14% of Kurdish teenagers reported being involved in any major delinquent action within the past twelve months. On the other hand, the probability of any teenager being involved in any type of minor delinquent action within the past thirty days was 8.5%, comparatively less than that of major delinquent actions.

The teenagers’ mean scores on attachment measures were accordingly somewhat unsurprising. The sample of Kurdish teenagers had on average a high level of parental attachment in the mean index scores. For example, Table 2 displays that Kurdish teenagers scored an average of 3.4 or “rather easy” on the index of “parental support.” These points out that Kurdish teenagers “often” received such actions as caring, warmth, advice concerning school and other issues, and assistance with tasks from their parents. According to the mean score on the index measuring parental monitoring, Kurdish teenagers scored an average of 3.6 as the level ranged from 1 to 4. Kurdish teenagers accordingly reported that their parents tended to notice “where they were” and “who they were within the evenings.”

Moreover, Kurdish teenagers reported high levels of attachment to school, religion, and peers. Table 2 shows that Kurdish teenagers scored an average of 4.2 on a 5-point scale, or “applies seldom to me,” on the five-item school attachment index. The results indicate that Kurdish teenagers are less likely to have negative feelings toward their schools, fellow students, and teachers such as wanting to quit or change schools and not getting along with fellow students or teachers. Kurdish teenagers’ mean scores on the religious attachment index 5-point scale was 3.9 or “applies often to me,” indicating a great sense of religion attachment. It therefore appears that Kurdish teenagers regularly pray to God, read the holy writs of their faith, attend religious services, and take part in religious activities. Kurdish teenagers scored an average of 3.35 on the 4-item index or “rather easy” on the index of “peer attachment.” This indicates that Kurdish teenagers “often” received such responses as caring, warmth, advice concerning school and other issues, and assistance with tasks from their friends.

These results indicate that “involvement in conventional activities” tends to vary depending on the activity. The table shows that Kurdish teens’ participation in going to the movies is consistently infrequent across all activities with a mean score for participating in this activity of 2.69. This indicates that going to the movies occurred on average between “less than once a month” and “two or three times a month.” I observed similar patterns for participation in sport clubs; Kurdish teens tended to participate in such clubs between “once a week” and “twice a week” (mean = 2.55). The mean score for activities such as partying and participating in entertainment with live music were 1.92 and 1.98 respectively, indicating that the teens reported only attending these activities “a few times a year” on average. Finally, time spent downtown during the evening or on the weekends was teens reported on average as between “a few times a year” and “a few times a month,” or mean = 2.56).

The table shows that the “involvement in the GM” variable is dichotomous; its mean score indicates the proportion of cases is coded 1. The mean of the likelihood of involvement in the Gülen movement (.54) therefore shows that a slight majority of Kurdish teenagers reported that they had been involved in the Gülen movement in any way (54%).

Kurdish teenagers tended to score moderate on the “commitment” measures. For “time spent on homework” Kurdish teenagers scored an average of 4.2, revealing that the teens spent between “about one hour” and “about two hours” per day on their homework where the level ranged from 1 to 8. The mean score for grades in native language and in mathematics were 3.7 and 3.3 respectively on a 5-point scale, showing that Kurdish teens tend to have better grades in language.

Kurdish teens scored an average of 3.49 where the level ranged from 1 to 5, or between “not sure” and “disagree” for the four-item index of legal norms; this was somewhat surprising. These results display that Kurdish teens’ approval levels toward legal norms surpassingly tended toward a lesser belief in conventional moral order. Kurdish teens scored an average of 4.86, or between “somewhat against” and totally against” for the two-item indexes of parental reaction. This index measures the probability of parents’ reactions against teens’ deviant actions concerning stealing something worth more than four pounds baklava and drinking alcohol. Kurdish teens tend to think that their parents would be utterly against their deviant behaviors.

Table 2 illustrates that the majority of the Kurdish teens (56%) in the study were male. Kurdish teen ages ranged from 16 to 18, and their average age was 17. Furthermore, an average score of fathers’ education levels was 2.33 on a 6-point scale. Kurdish teens reported their fathers’ education levels were between “graduated from primary/secondary high school” and “started vocational high school but has not finished” on average. On the other hand, Kurdish teens reported that their mothers’ education levels were 1.93 on a 6-point scale, indicating that their mothers’ education levels tended to be lower and averaging between “no schooling” and “graduated from primary/secondary high school.”

### 3.3 Bivariate Correlation Coefficients

Table 3 presents the bivariate correlation coefficients ( $r$ ), calculated from a study of the mediating effects of social bonding variables on minor delinquent behaviors among 200 Kurdish teenagers in grades 10 through 12 from public school in Diyarbakır, Turkey and private school in Şanlıurfa, Turkey.

There is a weak, negative, and significant relationship between Minor Delinquency and all Attachment items ( $p \leq .05$  and  $p \leq .01$ ). Beginning with column one Minor Delinquency, each correlation coefficient was observed using the following values to indicate strength,  $< .30$  = Weak,  $.30 \sim .69$  is Moderate, and  $\geq .70$  is Strong (Allison, 1999; Knoke, Bohrnstedt, & Mee, 2002). Moving across the Table to each remaining column, there is a moderate, positive, and significant correlation between School Attachment and Parental Attachment ( $r = .584$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ). Table 3 portrays a similar significant, positive and moderate correlation for Religion Attachment and Teenager’s Grades in Native Language ( $r = .591$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ). In addition, there is a moderate, positive, and significant correlation between Going to listen to Live Music and Participation in the Gülen movement ( $r = .621$ ,  $p \leq .01$ ). It appears that consistently a Kurdish teenager with a higher level of school attachment tends to have a higher level of attachment to their parents, their religion, involvement in conventional activities, and approval of the legal norms, as well as more participation in the Gülen movement.

The strongest associations in Table 3 are between School Attachment and Religion Attachment ( $r = .621$ ) and Participation in the Gülen movement ( $r = .656$ ). The remaining results are similar and the results are shown in the appendices. Table 3 shows that there is no strong relationship among the variables since the values are not greater than  $.70$ . (Allison, 1999; Knoke, Bohrnstedt, & Mee, 2002).

### 3.4 Binary Logistic Regression: Results for Minor Delinquency

Table 4 presents results of the logistic regression assessing the probability of minor delinquency. In Model 1, Kurdish teens' report of having been engaged in any minor delinquent acts within the past thirty days (coded 1 = yes; 0 = no) was regressed on the social bonding variables.

As illustrated in Table 4, Model 1 includes all social bonding items: 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), the three commitment items (time spent on homework, language score, and math score), the two belief items (parental reaction and legal norms), and involvement with the Gülen movement. Model 1 is statistically significant (Model  $\chi^2 = .211$ ,  $p < .05$ ), accounting for approximately 48% of its variation in the likelihood of minor delinquency (Pseudo  $R^2 = .478$ ).

In Model 2 (Table 4) all social bonding items and control variables were regressed on the likelihood of minor delinquency. Model 2 is statistically significant (Model  $\chi^2 = .261$ ,  $p < .05$ ). The model explains approximately 59.2% of the variation in the likelihood of involvement in minor delinquency among Kurdish teenagers, with a Pseudo  $R^2$  of .592, which was 11% greater than the first model without the control variables. Moreover, Model 2 is better fitting compared to Model 1 based on the -2 log likelihood ratio (55.820,  $p < .05$ ), showing that the addition of the sociodemographic or control variables improves the ability of the model to explain variation in Kurdish teens' probability of participation in minor delinquency.

### 3.5. Hypotheses for Minor Delinquency Scale

Hypothesis 1: Hypothesis 1 is that Kurdish teens who report greater attachment to parents, peers, school, religion and conventional others are less likely to report involvement in minor delinquency than Kurdish teens who are less attached to parents, peers, school, religion and conventional others. Surprisingly, the five attachment items (school attachment, religious attachment, parental monitoring, parental support, and peer attachment) were not supported. Similar to Model 1, Table 4 shows that none of the attachment items affects probability of minor delinquency in Model 2. Hypothesis 1 was not supported even after introducing the control variables.

Hypothesis 2: Hypothesis 2 concerns the impact of Kurdish teens' involvement in conventional activities. However, unpredictably, 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) were not supported in Model 1. In addition, only going to the movies had a statistically significant, negative effect on the probability of minor delinquency, when the controls were added to Model 2 ( $B = -.278$ ,  $p < .05$ ). More specifically, all else being equal, Table 4 shows that the likelihood of Kurdish teens' involvement in any type of minor delinquent actions decreased by 44.4% with each level of increase in going to the movies. Hypothesis 2 is therefore partially supported in Model 2.

Hypothesis 3: Hypothesis 3 states that Kurdish teens who report greater commitment to conventional activities are less likely to report involvement in minor delinquency than Kurdish teens who report a lower degree of commitment to conventional activities. Table 4 indicates that this hypothesis is partially supported ( $p < .05$ ). Specifically, in Model 1, controlling for other variables, the probability of Kurdish teenagers' involvement in any kind of minor delinquent activities is reduced by 38% ( $[\.625 - 1] * 100 = -37.5\%$ ) with a one-level increase in how much time the Kurdish teens spent daily on homework.

Table 10 shows that, when control variables were introduced, the amount of time Kurdish teens spent on homework every day remained statistically significant and essentially greater in magnitude ( $p < .05$ ). In Model 2, all else being equal, the probability of Kurdish teenagers' involvement in any kind of minor delinquent actions decreased by 45% with a one-level increase in the amount of time Kurdish teens spent on homework every day. Hypothesis 3 is partially supported in Model 2 ( $p < .05$ ).

Hypothesis 4: Hypothesis 4 states that Kurdish teens who report greater belief in the conventional moral order are less likely to report involvement in minor delinquency than Kurdish teens who report a lower degree of belief in conventional moral order. Similarly, belief in conventional moral order has a significant, negative effect on Kurdish teens' engagement in minor delinquent activities in Model 1. Table 4 indicates that the likelihood of minor delinquency dropped by 55% with a one-unit increase in the approval of legal norms. However, parental reaction was not found to affect probability of minor delinquency.

Thus, hypothesis 4 is partially supported in Model 1. In addition, after adding control variables, neither parental reaction nor the approval of legal norms was supported in Model 2.

**Sociodemographic variables:** In Model 2 the control variables (being male, age, and paternal and maternal education levels) were introduced to predict the probability of involvement in minor delinquency among Kurdish teens. Contrary to expectations, the odds of involvement in minor delinquency were higher among Kurdish teens whose mothers have higher levels of education ( $B = 1.613$ ,  $p = .05$ ). Specifically, Kurdish teens whose mothers have higher levels of education were 5.016 times likelier than Kurdish teens whose mothers have lower levels of education or no schooling to commit any type of minor delinquent actions (odds ratio = 5.016). This result will be discussed in-depth in Chapter V.

The remaining sociodemographic or control variables variables– sex, age, and father’s education– are all not significantly related to Kurdish teens’ likelihood of involvement in minor delinquency ( $p > .05$ ).

Finally, participation in the Gülen movement was also inspected as an independent variable in Model 1. Table 4 indicates that involvement with the Gülen movement has a significant negative effect on Kurdish teens’ participation in minor delinquent activities. More specifically, all else being equal, affiliation with Gülen movement for at least one year, reduced Kurdish adolescents’ likelihoods of engagement in minor delinquent acts by 96%. The results in Model 2 indicate that the effects of engagement with the Gülen movement on the probability of minor delinquency, continued to be supported when controlling for sociodemographic characteristics. With each level increase in Kurdish teenagers’ involvement with the Gülen movement the probability of minor delinquency decreased by 99.5%, which was essentially greater in magnitude.

#### **4. Discussion**

Although some studies have studied both delinquent actions and marijuana use among Turkish juveniles, this study was the first to examine the mediating effect of social bonding on delinquent behavior among Kurdish teenagers while testing Hirschi’s social bonding theory. This study made a particular effort to examine the complexity of beliefs of respondents, and to use this information to explicitly understand why Kurdish teenagers located in southeastern Turkey engage in delinquent activities.

Hypotheses 1 through 4 attempted to substantiate whether or not the probability of Kurdish teenagers’ involvement in any type of minor delinquent action including less severe delinquent actions such as smoking cigarettes, using snuff, and drinking alcohol would be negatively associated with the four elements of Hirschi’s social bonding theory.

On the other hand, Hypothesis 1 relating to greater attachment to school and minor delinquency did not obtain any significant support. Hypothesis 1 was unsupported after adding sociodemographic and control variables.

Contrary to the previous literature (Buisse, 1997; Donohew et al., 1999), schools also provide an atmosphere for increased minor delinquency. This is because teenagers can easily access tobacco products while hiding in the school toilet, even more so than in public places. It is virtually impossible for adolescents to be invisible in the public realm, particularly during after school hours. Parents and neighborhood friends and family always keep an eye on teenagers’ actions, such as when they are walking home, yelling, or using foul language, and making antisocial inferences through their joking behaviors. If they are not well behaved within the community, students know they would be immediately reported to their parents and relatives. However, this close extended family and neighborhood attachment does not prevent youth from participating in minor crimes. Teenagers who engage in minor delinquency secretly use public restrooms to perform their delinquent behaviors, such as smoking cigarettes. As long as they have a loyal and trusted watchful peer, their delinquent activities will not easily be found out. Even school activities cannot inhibit students from delinquent behaviors. School activities actually provide the means for boys and girls to interact, whereas they might otherwise refrain from delinquent behaviors under the more watchful eyes of the family.

On the other hand, it is expected that Turkish parents are more controlling and authoritarian than parents in Western society (Taylor & Oskay, 1995), and the Turkish community is considered to be a collective community. Some scholars define the Turkish community as a combination of collective and individualistic features that may be linked to delinquent tendencies (Sunar & Fizek, 2004). In terms of the socialization process in the Turkish community, for example, at present, adolescents are becoming more independent and more individualistic according to Sunar (2002), and less subservient to their parents.

It should be noted however, that as regards delinquent Kurdish adolescents' parental, peer attachment and parental monitoring practices, the data did not reveal much of a statistical variation, so the findings are not conclusive.

Unlike Western societies, individualism is not predominant in Eastern cultures. It should be acknowledged that throughout history, Turkish culture has been connected to both the West and East. Although the Kurdish people, as well as the Turkish people typically value a culture comprising an extended family structure and every member in the family monitors and supervises everyone else, especially the younger family members, attachment to parents is decreasing and an individualistic tendency is increasing among some adolescents in Turkey. This means that some youth are becoming more autonomous and individualistic in the Turkish community and this process may possibly reduce the influence of attachment.

However, teenagers with a greater attachment to religion were less likely to be involved in delinquency. However, this study did not confirm the results of previous research. A possible reason for this inconsistency could be associated with the idea that within the past decade, it has been shown that religiosity may not inhibit anti-traditionalist, anti-Islamic and extreme leftist ideologies. For example, blood feuds are banned by Islam, yet blood feuds are quite common in this territory, suggesting that traditional practices may appear more valued in resolving conflicts than any religious viewpoints or rulings. On the other hand, people involved in the Gülen movement are also considered religious, and the present findings indicate that religious attachment and involvement in the Gülen movement are moderately correlated ( $r = .501$ ). Instead, the PKK and Hezbollah have killed civilians within the region on the basis of their principles. In addition, during the 1990's the PKK and Hezbollah abused the concepts and practices of religion in southeastern Turkey, it may be that persistent social factors are at the basis of their actions.

As predicted, going to the movies had a negative relationship with the likelihood of minor delinquency among Kurdish adolescents. After adding the control variables the relationship between going to the movies relationship and minor delinquency continued to be significant. However, my data yielded opposing results. Partying does not necessarily provide opportunities for teenagers to engage in delinquent behaviors in Turkey, where family members and neighbors get together at the social events. Their collective identity becomes stronger, not weaker, while being together in social events such as going to the movies or attending wedding parties of their relatives. Contrary to previous research, the study found that partying has a negative relationship with delinquent behaviors. As proposed, Kurdish adolescents who spent more time on homework were less likely to become involved in minor delinquent activities than those who spent less time on homework. The findings are consistent with previous research reporting a negative association between time spent on homework and delinquency (Sigfusdottir, Thorlindsson, & Bjarnason, 2007; Thorlindsson, Bjornson, & Sigfusdottir, 2007; Thorlindsson & Vilhjalmsson, 1991).

Adolescents' approval of legal norms was the only significant and negative predictor for the probability of either minor delinquent behaviors across the three estimated models. Contrary to expectations, these findings revealed that the likelihood of participation in minor delinquency acts was higher among Kurdish teens whose mothers had higher levels of education. This result could be due to the fact that educated and more liberated mothers may neglect teenagers' minor delinquent actions such as viewing smoking cigarettes as a very common activity in Turkish conventional communities. It is possible, however, that more educated mothers might have had less opportunity to supervise their adolescents than less educated mothers since more educated women might have greater job responsibilities and less time to supervise their children. They might also be focused more on their own activities than those of their child, or feel less restrictive towards their child, compared to the stay at home mother who is not exposed to education, and as a result, they might spend less time as a whole on issues such as directing their adolescents' behavior.

The direction of the relationship was negative for teenagers whose fathers had a high school or lower level education. These teenagers were more likely to be involved in minor delinquency than those whose fathers had some college or higher education. Conversely, father's education level did not receive any significant support from the analyses in all models. In turn, fathers in Turkish society play a secondary role in the socialization process of juveniles, so they are not likely to focus directly on setting social behavioral boundaries for their children. In terms of the socialization of Turkish adolescents, in general, the father usually maintains a distant relationship with his children, and relying on the mother for most socialization (Özbay & Özcan, 2008; Sunar, 2002).

According to researchers, the major reason for teen involvement in delinquent activities and the PKK is that Kurdish adolescents or local people have no opportunities to benefit from the Gülen movement's cultural and educational activities. The majority of Kurdish adolescents who become involved in delinquent activities did not attend such Gülen movement activities either at all or attended infrequently.

The Gülen movement's educational, cultural, and charitable activities are critical factors that should be considered in solving delinquency problems among Kurdish adolescents living in southeastern Turkey. Both adolescents and adult residents become involved in a particular social setting by building collective actions and trust in local authorities (Kalyoncu, 2008). Social media and the Turkish parliament both desperately seek an answer for solving the Kurdish problem and how to inhibit youth involvement in the PKK in southeastern Turkey. Yavuz (2003) claims that the Gülen movement has opened so many schools, tutoring centers, and organized numerous aid campaigns to thousands of Kurdish people by bringing funding from western part of Turkey, but more attention is needed in order to solve the Kurdish problem.

Major limitation in this study is that its results cannot be generalized to all Kurdish adolescents living specifically in southeastern Turkey since the available sample does not simply characterize all southeastern adolescents within Turkey. In addition, the study only includes Kurdish adolescents attending public school in Diyarbakır and a Gülen-affiliated school (Private Çağlayan Murat Anatolian Science High School) in Şanlıurfa, Turkey. There is a possibility of missing sampling many delinquent teens who may be more likely to skip school, as well as adolescents held in legal custody. Moreover, opinions given by teenagers not enrolled in school were not included or represented. This concern also constrains the influence of the analyses and richness of the data.

Future studies could also include teenagers who were not enrolled in school due to financial difficulties, since the poverty issue is a serious problem in southeastern Turkey. A child may not attend school in order to work on the family farm, or work to become a breadwinner at an early age in order to maintain the extended family's financial life. A larger sample including adolescents not enrolled in school would enable the study to better represent the population. Data confirming higher rates of delinquency in students who are in custody or do not attend school for various reasons should also be included.

Further studies might use Hirschi's social bonding theory to test the impact of participation in the Gülen movement organization on terrorist organizations such as the PKK and Hezbollah among Kurdish teens. Future studies might then accordingly support the Gülen movement's collective action as well as its sustained struggle against terrorism, poverty, and lack of education in southeastern Turkey.

## **5. Conclusion**

This study is the first to test Hirschi's social bonding theory in order to understand delinquent activities among Kurdish adolescents in southeastern Turkey. This study underlines the importance of social bonding theory in explaining delinquent behaviors among Kurdish adolescents in southeastern Turkey. This study proves that the social bonding theory developed in western society is applicable to Turkish society in understanding adolescent delinquent behaviors, regardless of the subjects' geographical locations, norms, values, and beliefs.

I sought to find a clear relationship between social bonding components and minor delinquency in order to understand the effect of social bonding elements on Kurdish teenagers' delinquent actions. I hypothesized that the relationship between the social bonding components -attachment, involvement, commitment, and belief- and delinquency should be stronger in the case of Kurdish adolescents who are more attached to conventional Turkish society.

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**Table 1: Dependent Variable: Minor Delinquency**

<i>QUESTIONS</i>	<i>RESPONSE CATEGORIES</i>
<i>Minor Delinquency</i>	
How many times have you have smoked cigarettes in the last 31 days? (Q31)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 1= Never</li> <li>● 2= 1 time</li> <li>● 3= 2 times</li> </ul>
How often have you drunken alcohol during the last 30 days? (Q32)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 4= 3 times</li> <li>● 5= 4 times</li> </ul>
How often have you snuffed in the last 30 days? (Q33)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 6= &gt;5 times</li> </ul>

**Table 2: Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables (Full Sample)**

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
<i>Dependent Variables</i>				
Minor Delinquency	.085	.279	0	1
<i>Independent Variables</i>				
School attachment	4.221	.844	1.80	5
Religious attachment	3.902	1.001	1.25	5
Parental monitoring	3.632	.718	1	4
Parental support	3.407	.669	1	4
Peer attachment	3.350	.715	1	4
Going to the movies	2.690	1.570	1	6
Participation in sport clubs	2.550	1.259	1	6
Time spent downtown on the weekends	2.560	1.290	1	5
Going to a party	1.920	1.056	1	5
Participating entertainments with live music	1.980	1.082	1	4
Involvement in the Gülen movement	.540	.499	0	1
Time spent on home work	4.280	1.554	1	8
Languagescore	3.740	1.028	1	5
Mathscore	3.320	1.207	1	5
Parental reaction	4.865	.579	1	5
Legal norms	3.490	1.147	1	5
Male	.565	.497	0	1
Age (16-18)	2	.740	1	3
Father's education level	2.335	1.241	1	6
Mother's education level	1.930	.876	1	6

Table 3

Pearson Bivariate Correlations (N = 200)

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Minor delinquency	---										
2. School Attachment	-.228**	-.371**	---								
3. Parental Attachment	-.179*	-.195**	.584**	---							
4. Parental Monitoring	.214**	0.124	-.335**	-.357**	---						
5. Peer Attachment	-.230**	-.233**	.581**	.557**	-.382**	---					
6. Religion Attachment	-.192**	-.200**	.621**	.497**	-.423**	.499**	----				
7. How often do you go to the movies?	-0.13	-0.024	0.131	0.118	0.052	0.1	0.052	---			
8. How often do you play sports (such as soccer or basketball) in a sport club or team?	-0.103	-0.093	.508**	.367**	-.196**	.423**	.482**	.288**	---		
9. Spend time downtown during the evening or on the weekends	-0.022	-0.048	.193**	.290**	-0.128	.323**	.198**	.173*	.303**	---	
10. Go to a party	-.147*	-.225**	.366**	.322**	-.232**	.324**	.392**	.368**	.466**	.440**	---
11. Go to entertainments with live music	-0.101	-.194**	.497**	.383**	-.189**	.433**	.495**	.211**	.435**	.291**	.434**
12. How much time do you usually spend on homework every day?	-.149*	-0.034	.145*	.225**	-0.115	.160*	0.066	-0.011	0.042	.168*	-0.011
13. What have your grades been in native language this semester?	-.251**	-0.091	.479**	.432**	-.434**	.471**	.591**	-0.007	.395**	.197**	.311**
14. What have your grades been in mathematics this semester?	-0.116	-.213**	.400**	.337**	-.214**	.386**	.507**	-0.045	.410**	.196**	.240**
15. Approval of Legal Norms	-.231**	-.251**	.559**	.420**	-.363**	.465**	.586**	0.108	.458**	.218**	.400**
16. Parental Reaction	-0.114	-.146*	.190**	0.032	0.005	.234**	.183**	0.136	.224**	0.001	0.094
17. Gülenmovement	-.252**	-.282**	.656**	.499**	-.409**	.481**	.501**	.176*	.520**	.261**	.506**
18. Male	0.085	0.107	-0.048	-0.099	0.056	-0.004	.159*	0.032	0.083	-0.01	-0.053
19. How old are you?	-0.009	-0.011	.230**	0.09	-.164*	0.137	.274**	.170*	.170*	.150*	.219**
20. Father Education	-0.085	0.009	.221**	.246**	-.223**	.237**	.354**	0.038	.215**	-0.036	.257**
21. Mother Education	0.027	-0.056	.322**	.269**	-.230**	.278**	.414**	0.126	.254**	0.07	.358**

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).  
 \* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

(table continues)

Table 3 (continued).

Variables	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
1. Minor delinquency											
2. School Attachment											
3. Parental Attachment											
4. Parental Monitoring											
5. Peer Attachment											
6. Religion Attachment											
7. How often do you go to the movies?											
8. How often do you play sports (such as soccer or basketball) in a sport club or team?											
9. Spend time downtown during the evening or on the weekends											
10. Go to a party											
11. Go to entertainments with live music	---										
12. How much time do you usually spend on homework every day?	0.04	---									
13. What have your grades been in native language this semester?	.392**	.232**	---								
14. What have your grades been in mathematics this semester?	.364**	0.108	.579**	---							
15. Approval of Legal Norms	.443**	0.019	.479**	.428**	---						
16. Parental Reaction	.143*	-0.002	0.097	.253**	.194**	---					
17. Gülenmovement	.602**	0.073	.558**	.549**	.521**	.218**	---				
18. Male	-0.039	-0.04	0.004	0.086	-0.041	-0.004	0.101	---			
19. How old are you?	-0.019	.208**	.239**	0.021	.312**	0.019	.319**	0.074	---		
20. Father Education	.235**	-0.065	.195**	.155*	.256**	0.028	.347**	0.042	0.009	---	
21. Mother Education	.327**	-0.026	.264**	.250**	.385**	0.026	.465**	0.022	0.132	.576**	---

\*\* . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).  
 \* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**Table 4: Logistic Regression Estimates Predicting the Odds of Minor Delinquency, Kurdish Adolescents, 2012, (N=200)**

Predictor	Model 1			Model 2		
	B	S.E.	Exp(B)	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
School attachment	-.140	.523	.869	.088	.626	1.092
Religious attachment	.803	.483	2.233	.802	.576	2.229
Parental monitoring	.518	.370	1.679	.514	.427	1.672
Parental support	.382	.572	1.466	.728	.702	2.071
Peer attachment	-.365	.573	.694	-.802	.702	.448
Going to the movies	-.278	.228	.757	-.588*	.289	.556
Participation in sport clubs	-.118	.313	.889	-.616	.424	.540
Time spent downtown on the weekends	.170	.270	1.185	.307	.334	1.359
Going to a party	-.570	.563	.565	-.984	.732	.374
Participating entertainments with live music	.617	.514	1.853	1.233	.719	3.431
Involvement in the Gülen movement	-3.306*	1.649	.037	-5.288*	2.094	.005
Time spent on homework	-.469*	.220	.625	-.591*	.261	.554
Language score	-.546	.432	.579	-.711	.547	.491
Math score	.216	.336	1.241	.336	.401	1.399
Parental reaction	-.258	.437	.772	.037	.514	1.038
Legal norms	-.702*	.324	.496	-.723	.464	.485
Male				1.233	.959	3.431
Age				.790	.586	2.202
Father's education level				-.529	.886	.589
Mother's education level				1.613*	.710	5.016
Constant	1.743	3.206	5.712	-2.592	3.975	.075
-2 log likelihood	68.973			55.820		
Model X <sup>2</sup>	.211			.261		
Degrees of freedom	16			20		
P-Value	<.05			<.05		
Nagelkerke Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>	.478			.592		

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