Article

Crime Reporting Behavior Among Syrian Immigrants in Istanbul

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Mine Özaşçılar[1], Nilüfer Narli[1], and Osman Öztürk[1]

Abstract

Research suggests that immigrants are reluctant to report crimes to the authorities. Turkey has recently witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of Syrian immigrants, who mostly reside in urban areas, particularly Istanbul and its surrounding cities. To rectify the complete lack of research on Syrians' crime reporting, this study uses survey data collected from 380 Syrians in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul, to investigate Syrian immigrants' willingness to report crime and the determinants of their crime reporting behavior. The findings suggest that Syrians are very willing to report crime to the police. In addition, satisfaction with the police and household size were positively correlated with crime reporting behavior.

Keywords

crime reporting behavior, Syrians, immigrants

Introduction

In almost all cases, the criminal justice process starts with a citizen reporting a crime to the officials. Thus, a citizen's decision whether to report criminal victimization plays a critical role in gathering information on crimes for the criminal justice system. Police effectiveness in crime control, accuracy of

[1]Bahçeşehir University, Istanbul, Turkey

Corresponding Author:
Mine Özaşçılar, Faculty of Economics, Administrative and Social Sciences, Sociology Department, Bahçeşehir University, Çırağan caddesi No: 4, Beşiktaş, Istanbul, 34538, Turkey.
Email: mine.ozascilar@eas.bau.edu.tr

crime statistics, and community safety cannot be attained without the citizens' cooperation (Baumer & Lauritsen, 2010; Skogan, 1984). This cooperation may be even more critical in a country receiving a huge number of people fleeing their country due to conflict. This is the case in Turkey, where the number of Syrians fleeing the civil war that began in 2011 reached more than 3.5 million in May 2018 (UNHCR, 2018a) so that Syrians now constitute almost 5% of Turkey's population (D. Erdoğan, 2018).

This article reports the first empirical investigation of Syrian refugees' crime reporting behavior in Turkey. The study uses survey data collected from 380 Syrians residing in Zeytinburnu, an inner-city neighborhood of Istanbul, which has one of the city's highest concentrations of Syrian refugees,[1] chosen as the micro context to assess Syrians' crime reporting behavior. The study includes various factors to understand the predictors of the pattern of Syrians' crime reporting behavior, including socio-demographic factors, social integration, contact with the police, satisfaction with police services, and safety perceptions. The study aims to answer the following research questions:

Research Question 1: What is the general pattern of Syrians' crime reporting behavior?
Research Question 2: What are the determinants of Syrian refugees' crime reporting behavior?

A large body of research has shown that citizens' trust in the police increases the probability of crime reporting (e.g., Silver & Miller, 2004; Warner, 2007), with several studies highlighting the general importance of citizens' favorable views of the police (e.g., Mastrofski, Parks, Reiss, & Worden, 1999). Although the number of studies is limited, research in the United States has consistently suggested that minority group members tend to perceive the police more negatively than others, particularly Whites and native-born Americans (e.g., Browning, Cullen, Cao, Kopache, & Stevenson, 1994; J. C. Davis & Henderson, 2003). Similarly, U.S. studies based on data from criminal justice professionals indicate that immigrants are more reluctant to report being victims of crime to officials (e.g., R. C. Davis, Erez, & Avitabile, 1998).

The literature on citizens' crime reporting behavior has grown substantially in recent decades to examine many aspects of crime reporting behavior. Researchers have identified various determinants of crime reporting behavior, including trust in the police, perceived severity of crime, perceived damage, fear of police, victim–offender relationships, and fear of prejudice (e.g., Anderson, 1999; Finkelhor & Ormrod, 2001; Kubrin & Weitzer, 2003;

Skogan, 1984; Slocum, Taylor, Brick, & Esbensen, 2010). Studies have also assessed how individual characteristics, particularly age, gender, educational attainment, race, or ethnicity, affect people's willingness to report crime (e.g., Bachman, 1998; Skogan, 1984).

Being a member of immigrant group is found to be associated with greater reluctance to report crime to officials (e.g., Coleman & Moynihan, 1996; R. C. Davis, Erez, & Avitabile, 2001; Griffiths, 2018). Although immigrant groups are more vulnerable to crime (e.g., Khondaker, Wu, & Lambert, 2017), underreporting of crime is high, particularly in inner-city neighborhoods with different immigrant groups (Anderson, 1999; R. C. Davis et al., 2001). As discussed in the next section, there are a multitude of reasons (e.g., immigrants' cultural background, language barriers, fear of deportation, and fear of the police) that explain why immigrants are reluctant to report a crime (Bui, 2003; R. C. Davis et al., 1998; Herbst & Walker, 2001; Khondaker et al., 2017; Theodore, 2013).

Crime Reporting Among Immigrants and Refugees

Existing studies on immigrants' willingness to report crime provide some insights into the determinants of their crime reporting behavior. A majority of these studies were conducted in the United States among particularly African, Muslim, Hispanic, Bangladeshi, Ghanaian, and Chinese immigrants (e.g., Pryce, Johnson, & Maguire, 2017; Sun & Wu, 2015). Recently, there has been a growing interest about immigrants' cooperation with the police in European countries (e.g., Jackson, Bradford, Stanko, & Hohl, 2013; Röder & Mühlau, 2012; Van Craen, 2013). Given this background, the present study can valuably contribute to the literature by understanding the crime reporting behavior in Turkey of Syrians, as an immigrant group that have been scattered across Europe due to the Syrian civil war and resulting refugee crisis.

Generally, most studies on immigrants' cooperation with the police focus on perceived procedural justice (e.g., Tyler, Schulhofer, & Huq, 2010). For example, Muslim Americans who believe that the police discriminated against Muslim residents are less likely to report crime to the authorities (Tyler et al., 2010). Although in well-established Western democracies, particularly the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia (e.g., Hinds & Murphy, 2007; Sunshine & Tyler, 2003), a normative process model is applicable, in non-Western settings, such as Ghana, Israel, and Bangladesh (e.g., Jonathan-Zamir & Weisburd, 2013; Khondaker et al., 2017; Tankebe, 2009), an instrumental model is more appropriate, whereby residents' cost-benefit calculations of cooperating with the police determine their willingness to cooperate (e.g., Tankebe, 2009). The perceived effectiveness of the police

and fear are commonly used to assess immigrants' willingness to cooperate with them.

Regarding immigrants' social integration into the host society, length of stay, association with compatriots, and English proficiency are the most frequently used indicators of immigrants' crime reporting (R. C. Davis, 2000; Herbst & Walker, 2001; Massey, 1985; Wu, 2010; Wu et al., 2011; Yun & Mueller, 2011). In addition, immigrants' perceived social integration is also linked to crime reporting (Griffiths, 2018; Lind & Tyler, 1988; Murphy & Cherney, 2012). Studies of the United States indicate that Chinese and Hispanic citizens, and immigrants who are fluent in English, associate with American friends, and have lived in the United States longer are more likely to cooperate with the police (Skogan, Steiner, DuBois, Gudell, & Fagan, 2002; Y. Wu & Sun, 2010; Yun & Mueller, 2011). In contrast, recent studies in the European Union (EU) of Polish immigrants find that interaction with Belgians is not associated with greater trust in the police (e.g., Van Craen & Skogan, 2015). It is predicted that Syrian immigrants' length of stay in Turkey may play an important role in their crime reporting behavior.

Studies with Latinos have reported inconsistent results regarding the language barrier as for a deterrent to reporting crime (Herbst & Walker, 2001). Lack of proficiency in the host country's language is associated with lack of knowledge in the criminal justice system (Yun & Mueller, 2011). Length of stay is also related with the characteristics of the immigrants' neighborhood in terms of higher collective efficacy and less crime and disorder (Massey, 1985; Van Craen, 2013). A recent study in Belgium among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants highlighted the importance of social ties for trust in the police (Van Craen, 2013).

Past contact with the police and previous victimization have also been considered as predictors of crime reporting among immigrants (e.g., Chu & Huey-Long Song, 2008), with both direct and indirect contact with the police shaping crime reporting (e.g., Y. Wu & Sun, 2010). For instance, Y. Wu and Sun (2010) found that contact with the police by Chinese immigrants' friends and family members affected their crime reporting behavior. Despite inconsistent results regarding the determinants of crime reporting among Latinos, a few studies have found that Latinos previously stopped by the police are less likely to report crime to the authorities (e.g., Vidales, Day, & Powe, 2009) while Y. Wu and Sun (2010) also found that immigrants' previous negative experiences with the police make them less willing to report crime. This may be because immigrants perceive that the police in their own community discriminate against immigrants (Van Craen, 2013). Satisfaction with the police is also associated with willingness to contact them: Immigrants who are dissatisfied with the police are less likely to cooperate with them (Khondaker et al., 2017).

Syrians' satisfaction with the police is therefore included in the current study as one of the potential determinants of crime reporting.

Studies of immigrants show that one of the most important determinants of police trust, which increases immigrants' willingness to cooperate with them, is perceived discrimination and police fairness (Van Craen & Skogan, 2015). Immigrants in the United States who are victimized by the police lose their trust, and are hence less likely to cooperate with them (Yun & Mueller, 2011). Similarly, Latinos in the United States who are concerned about declining safety in their own neighborhood are less likely to cooperate with the police (Theodore, 2013).

Beyond all these police-related variables, socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, educational level, and income, are also important in determining immigrants' willingness to report crime to the police. Regarding immigrants' age, results are inconsistent. In line with research on the general population (e.g., Skogan, 1984), studies on Latinos (Messing, Becerra, Ward-Lasher, & Androff, 2015) and Ghanaians (Pryce et al., 2017) in the United States find that older immigrants are more likely to report crime to the police. On the contrary, for Bangladeshis (Khondaker et al., 2017), Chinese (Yun & Mueller, 2011), Blacks and Asians (Rennison, Gover, Bosick, & Dodge, 2011), and other immigrants (J. C. Davis & Henderson, 2003), age is not associated with willingness to report crime. Among the general population, women are more likely to report crime. However, for immigrants, gender does not generally predict crime reporting (e.g., Khondaker et al., 2017; Pryce et al., 2017). Regarding educational level, only one study among Latinas found a significant effect of educational level on crime reporting, while the other studies did not (e.g., Khondaker et al., 2017; Pryce et al., 2017).

Another factor is the interaction between the political cultures of the home and host countries. Immigrants from societies with a low trust in the government and strong police control may be less likely to report crime to officials (Y. Wu & Sun, 2010). Due to the fear of deportation, undocumented immigrants are also reluctant to contact the police (Erez, Adelman, & Gregory, 2009; Theodore, 2013). Immigrants from societies that reinforce social cohesion at the expense of remaining silent are more likely to keep criminal incidents within the family rather than reporting them to the authorities (Bui, 2003). All these factors pertinent to the life of immigrants heighten the dark figures of crime in the inner-city immigrant neighborhoods (Skogan, 1984).

Syrian Refugees in Turkey

Following the outbreak of the Syrian civil war (2011), the number of registered Syrians under Temporary Protection (SuTPs) in Turkey rose from

around 9,500 in the first months of 2012 to 300,000 in April 2013, before escalating to 2 million in late 2016 and 3,593,864 by May 17, 2018 (UNHCR, 2018a). This is a dramatic increase with significant socio-political implications.

The size of the registered Syrian refugee population living in 25 government-run camps across 10 provinces in Turkey dropped from 12% of the total population in 2014 to 8% in early 2018 (UNHCR, 2018).[2] More than 90% of the camps' population have access to health and education services (Disaster and Emergency Management Authority [AFAD], 2017). The rest are settled in urban areas, with a majority living in cities bordering Syria, including Şanlıurfa, Gaziantep, Kilis, Mardin, Malatya, Hatay, Adana, and Mersin, as well as Turkey's major metropolises, particularly Istanbul, which hosts 20% of SuTPs; Ankara; and İzmir (AFAD, 2013; M. Erdoğan, Kavukçuer, & Çetinkaya, 2017; İçduygu, 2015; Özden, 2013). Turkey's urban Syrian refugee population has grown since 2015 (M. Erdoğan et al., 2017), which has created an urban challenge given that more than 50% are children needing care and education. Indeed, around 62% of school-age children were integrated into the formal education system for the 2017-2018 year (UNHCR, 2018b, 2018c).[3]

Syrian families have difficulties in meeting the needs of their children. Lack of money is one of the challenges that limits their ability to pay for transport, supplies, and tuition fees in temporary education centers. As the majority of Syrian children only speak Arabic, the language barrier is often a challenge for school-age children (Biçer & Alan, 2017; Bölükbaş, 2016; Kanat & Üstün, 2015), as well as for young Syrian adults looking for work (BETAM, 2018). For this reason, the Turkish government has prioritized Turkish language learning for Syrian students and adults. Syrian women living in the camps were found to be educationally disadvantaged with a 20% illiteracy rate (AFAD, 2017). This situation is partly linked to gender-based problems faced by Syrian women (Freedman, Kivilcim, & Baklacıoğlu, 2017), particularly child marriage, which involves forcing a girl, even as young as 10, to marry an adult male, even an elderly man, as a path to security and an escape from poverty (Dykstra, 2016; Nawa, 2017). Such marriages, which are common in the Middle East and typically the result of religion and cultural norms as well as poverty, and which suppress girls' school enrollment, have increased due to the Syrian refugee crisis.

Severe material challenges characterize the living conditions of displaced Syrians living outside the camps in Turkey. For example, 27% of Syrian women live in unfinished or rundown buildings (16%), or in temporary or plastic shelters (10%) while the rest rent flats that are far below the basic standards regarding size, comfort, and warmth (AFAD, 2014). Such hardship

increases Syrian young girls' vulnerability to risky marriages and in turn to become crime victims.

Syrians in Zeytinburnu

Zeytinburnu, which has one of the largest Syrian refugee populations in Istanbul, experienced rural–urban migration in the 1970s with different waves of irregular migrants from a diverse geography for the last six decades, often migrants of Turkish ethnicity. In the second half of the 20th century, Bulgarian Turks arrived (Bosswick, 2009), followed by Turkmens and Ozbeks from Afghanistan in the 1980s, who formed diasporas in the district (Özservet, 2013, 2014). Zeytinburnu also accommodates two other important immigrant groups of Turkic origin: the Uyghurs from China's Xinjiang region and Kazakhs from Afghanistan (Shichor, 2003). The Law on Settlement of 1934 provides immigrants of Turkish origin, who are often called "kindreds" (*soydaşlar*), with the right to migrate to Turkey because of their "Turkish descent and culture" (Öner & Genç, 2015, p. 26).

Since the outbreak of the Syrian war in 2011, many Syrians fleeing to Turkey have found their way to Zeytinburnu, a working-class neighborhood that has been attractive to the immigrants with low income, who have found work in textiles and manufacturing. Almost all (96.8%) of the 380 Syrians in the sample had not stayed in any of the refugee camps but made their way to Istanbul, specifically Zeytinburnu. Over a third had already lived there more than 3 years (39.5%) while 48.5% had lived there between 1 and 3 years. Household sizes ranged from three to 40 people, with an average of 7.99. Despite having large families with many children and extended family members, they often live in small flats (around 100 m^2) that are cheaper basement or top-floor apartments, of which the majority do not provide sufficient facilities for sleeping, personal hygiene, food preparation and storage, or an environment for comfortable relaxation. Almost all were renting their flat (99.5%).

To afford the rent, which varied from 900 to 1,500 TL (in 2017), male children work and contribute to the household budget with their fathers. Syrian adult men, often undocumented, constituted the majority of the area's *textile* workforce,[4] while women contribute to the garment and textile industries by home-based work. Those working in textiles are often paid below the minimum wage (1,404.06 TL in 2017),[5] leaving them unable to meet all the household expenses.

Poverty and the lack of knowledge of Turkey's legal framework, which is common in the sample (43%), make Syrian women vulnerable to risks from frequent early marriage among young Syrian females, who married off in unofficial ceremonies to become second wives with no legal marital status or

rights, and hence vulnerable to abuse and violence (Nawa, 2017). In addition, crime reporting is likely to be limited because a majority of Syrians only speak Arabic (Kanat & Üstün, 2015). Consequently, SuTPs in Turkey are vulnerable to become crime victims and to face difficulties asking for help from official sources. In addition, public perceptions in Turkey have changed from considering displaced Syrians as "guests" to "threats" (D. Erdoğan, 2018; M. Erdoğan et al., 2017; Narlı & Özaşçılar, 2017), which has created tensions resulting in violent incidents in Syrian populated neighborhoods like Zeytinburnu.

Focus of Present Study

In line with previous studies, the present study examined socio-demographic characteristics of gender, age, educational attainment, household size, and employment. Social integration was measured by length of stay in Turkey and Zeytinburnu specifically, plans to stay in Turkey rather than move to another country, and holding a temporary protection ID card. Because previous studies have highlighted the impact of immigrants' satisfaction with the police on their willingness to report crimes, the present study also measured Syrians' satisfaction with the police. Their satisfaction with previous police contact and police presence in their neighborhood were also included to explore their effects on Syrians' crime reporting. Finally, the Syrians' perceived safety was included as a potential predictor of crime reporting behaviors.

Method

Data Collection

This study drew on a cross-sectional survey conducted from August 2016 to November 2017 in Zeytinburnu district, Istanbul, Turkey. The population of interest was Syrian families living in Zeytinburnu in 2017. Participants were selected by multistage, probability cluster sampling, resulting in 380 face-to-face interviews. In the first stage, due to the lack of address-based data on Syrians in Zeytinburnu, the researchers first conducted interviews in May 2016 with 13 *Muhtars* (ward headman), who are the gatekeepers in Zeytinburnu, to gather information on the concentration of Syrians in each district. Based on this information, two wards were excluded from the study as one is an industrial area while the other one is a luxury residential area (Kazlıçeşme) with few Syrian families.[6] This yielded 11 wards that were divided into clusters by random sampling. In the second stage, proportional to the population of the wards in 2016,[7] the number of clusters from each

ward was decided, giving a total 39 clusters including 305 streets. In the third stage, using systematic random sampling based on a block map of the clusters prepared by the research team, including both researchers and professional interviewers, all buildings on the streets in each cluster were visited to find out if there were Syrian families living there. Among 2,208 households initially contacted, 380 were Syrian family. When found, contact was established by Syrian interviewers who entered the flat. If that family accepted, then a Syrian interviewer and a Turkish professional interviewer entered the home to conduct a face-to-face interview with one Syrian resident older than 18 years. In some flats, more than one family were living, with two or three brothers and their wives and children. All interviewers were Syrians while each team of interviewers was coordinated by a professional Turkish field assistant. 380 Syrians initially contacted, agreed to participate in the study, yielding a response rate of 100%.

The survey questionnaire was developed in Turkish and translated into Arabic. To check the accuracy of the translation, the Arabic questionnaire was back-translated into Turkish by a native Syrian. Special attention was paid to unique Arabic grammatical issues and cultural meanings of words in developing the survey instrument. All survey interviews took place in a Syrian's home and lasted about 60 min on average. Prior to the survey, a pilot study was conducted in early June 2016 with five Syrian students at Bahçeşehir University and two Syrians living in Bağcılar to test if the questions were clearly understood. After this pilot study, minor changes were made to the questionnaire, which was again tested with six Syrians living in Bağcılar.

Measures

The dependent variable was measured by respondents' agreement on a 5-point scale where 5 represented *strongly agree* with the statement "If I see crime or criminal incidents in my neighborhood, I will report it the police."

There were four groups of independent variables. The first group, demographic characteristics, included age, gender, educational level, employment status, and household size (number of family members). Gender was dummy-coded variable (0 = female, 1 = male). Age was measured in continuous years. Educational level was an ordinal variable (1 = illiterate, 2 = literate, 3 = elementary school degree, 4 = high school degree, 5 = university degree). The number of family members was included in the statistical models as a linear variable. Date on employment were dichotomized to identify those currently working or not (1 = full-time or part-time employed).

The second group of independent variables, social integration, consisted of length of stay in Turkey, length of stay in Zeytinburnu, having a temporary

ID, and planning to stay. Length of stay in Turkey and Zeytinburnu specifically were recoded separately into seven categories: 1 = below a month, 2 = 1 to 3 months, 3 = below 6 months, 4 = 6 months to 1 year, 5 = 1 to 2 years, 6 = 2 to 3 years, 7 = 3 years or more. Having a temporary ID in Turkey was coded 0 = no and 1 = yes. Participants were also asked "Do you plan to stay in Turkey now rather than moving to other country?" (0 = no, 1 = yes). These two items were treated as dummy variables.

The third group of independent variables, police–citizen relations, included satisfaction with police, police patrols frequency, and personal contact with the police. Syrians were asked if they had personal experience of police contact in the last 12 months (0 = no, 1 = yes). Respondents were also asked about their level of agreement with the statement "My neighborhood is a safe place regarding crime" (1 = *strongly disagree*, 2 = *disagree*, 3 = neither agree nor disagree 4 = *agree*, 5 = *strongly agree*). The low agreement on this measure reveals a stronger perception of the neighborhood's safety.

Analysis

Data analysis was conducted in parallel with the research questions. First, the general pattern of Syrians' crime reporting behavior was analyzed, then to determine the predictors of Syrians' crime reporting behavior, ordinal logistic regression was used. Each of the four groups of independent variables entered the regression equation step by step. Model 1 included socio-demographic characteristics while Model 4 contained all variables to be the full model.

Results

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the variables in the regression analysis. The majority of participants were married (90%), 62.6% were male, and 82.6% had children. In terms of education, 37.1% were illiterate, 20.3% were literate but with no schooling, only 8.9% held a high school degree, while 30.3% had an elementary school degree. Over half (56.8%) were full-time workers while 19.5% were housewives. A majority (57.9%) had entered Turkey without a passport, 18.9% had entered illegally, and only 16.1% with their passport. Most (82.6%) held a temporary ID in Turkey, and 85% reported that they planned to stay in Turkey.

Only a few participants (11.8%) had contacted the police in the last 12 months. Among those who had, only a few (17.7%) were victims of any crime. Regarding the police presence in the neighborhood, 29.5% of participants reported seeing the police every day, 26.3% once a week, and 36.3% two or 3 times a month.

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Variables in Regression Analysis ($N = 380$).

	M	*SD*	Minimum	Maximum
Crime reporting	3.1	1.67	1	5
Age	35.4	13	18	82
Educational level	2.22	1.16	1	7
Household size	7.99	4.77	1	40
Length of stay in Turkey	5.8	1.38	1	7
Length of stay in Zeytinburnu	5.25	1.67	1	7
Satisfaction with police services	2.59	1.63	1	5
Police patrol frequency	2.22	0.95	1	4
Perception of safety	3.5	1.42	1	5

Table 2 presents the relationships between the items included in the regression models. The highest correlation was .70 for length of stay in Turkey and Zeytinburnu, followed by .58 for employment and gender.

Table 3 presents the results of four ordinary least squares regression models. In Model 1, which included only the socio-demographic variables, gender, educational level, and household size exerted a significant effect on crime reporting. Syrians with higher educational attainment and more family members were more likely to report a crime to the police. In addition, Syrian women were more likely to report a crime to the police. Educational level had the greatest effect ($\beta = .25$). Model 2 included both the socio-demographic characteristics and social integration variables. While the socio-demographic variables remained significant, planning to stay in Turkey exerted an additional significant effect on crime reporting. That is, Syrians who planned to stay in Turkey rather than move to another country were less likely to report crimes to the police ($\beta = -.10$).

In Model 3, which added police–citizen contact into the regression, the significant effect of gender disappeared whereas the effects of educational level, household size, and planning to stay in Turkey on the probability to report a crime remained. In addition, having higher levels of satisfaction with the police services was associated with greater likelihood to report crimes. That is, Syrians who saw the police in their neighborhood less frequently were more likely to report a crime. In this model, R^2 increased to .42. In Model 4, which included all the variables, the significant effects of all the variables in Model 3 remained unchanged while perceived safety added no significant effect on crime reporting.

Overall, Models 1 and 2 explain a small part of the variance (10% and 12%, respectively) whereas Models 3 and 4, which add police–citizen contact and

Table 2. Correlation Matrix.

	Gender	Age	Educational level	Household size	Employment	Length of stay—Turkey	Length of stay—Zeytinburnu	Temporary ID	Plan to stay	Satisfaction with police	Police patrol frequency	Police contact	Perception of safety
Gender	1												
Age	.12*	1											
Educational level	−.11*	−.02	1										
Household size	.04	.04	−.09	1									
Employment	.58**	−.24**	−.00	−.07	1								
Length of stay—Turkey	−.05	.07	.06	−.05	−.02	1							
Length of stay—Zeytinburnu	−.03	.11*	.04	.01	.00	.70*	1						
Temporary ID	−.01	.10*	.13**	.04	−.10*	.31	.25**	1					
Plan to stay	−.03	−.00	.02	.04	.01	−.00	.01	−.05	1				
Satisfaction with police	−.15**	.09	.08	−.06	−.16**	.14**	.20**	.19**	−.11*	1			
Police patrol frequency	.23**	.02	−.25**	.00	.10*	−.05	−.08	−.00	−.08	−.26**	1		
Police contact	−.08	−.00	.05	−.00	−.10*	.13**	.03	.08	.01	.33**	−.09	1	
Perception of safety	−.23**	.01	.30**	.07	−.17**	.14**	.18**	.13**	−.04	.45**	−.31**	.12*	1

*Correlation is significant at the level .05. **Correlation is significant at the level .01 (2-tailed).

Table 3. Ordinary Least Squares Regression Models Predicting Crime Reporting Behavior.

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
Variable	β[a]	*p*	β	*p*	β	*p*	β	*p*
Constant		.00		.00		.00		.00
Socio-demographic								
Age	.06	.21	.06	.22	.03	.43	.35	.42
Gender	−.17*	.00	−.18*	.00	−.07	.18	−.06	.20
Educational level	.25*	.00	.24*	.00	.14*	.00	.14*	.00
Household size	.11*	.01	.12*	.01	.14*	.00	.14*	.00
Employment: full—part-time	.02	.75	.04	.54	.06	.25	.06	.24
Social integration								
Length of stay in Turkey			.01	.86	.04	.42	.04	.43
Length of stay in Zeytinburnu			−.02	.73	−.14*	.01	−.14*	.01
Temporary ID (Yes)			.07	.17	.02	.55	.02	.55
Plan to stay (Yes)			−.10*	.02	−.07*	.05	−.07*	.05
Police–citizen relation								
Satisfaction with police					.43*	.00	.42*	.00
Police frequency					−.31*	.00	−.30*	.00
Police contact (Yes)					−.01	.81	−.00	.83
Safety								
Perception of safety							.02	.59
R^2	.10		.12		.42		.42	
N	380		380		380		380	

[a]Standardized coefficients.
*Significant at the .05 level.

perceived safety, explain 42% of the variance. Among the socio-demographic variables, educational level and household size remained significant predictors in all models. The results of the regression models predicting crime reporting among Syrians indicate that the most significant predictor of crime reporting behavior is satisfaction with the police services ($\beta = .43$), meaning that as satisfaction with as police increases, Syrian immigrants in Zeytinburnu become more likely to report crimes to the police.

Discussion

This study, which is the first empirical study of Syrian immigrants' crime reporting in Turkey, provides important insights into the determinants of this

group's crime reporting. It examined the determinants of Syrian immigrants' crime reporting in Istanbul based on a survey of 380 Syrians settled in Zeytinburnu. Consistent with the literature, Syrian women were found to be more likely to report crime to the police (see Yun & Mueller, 2011). In addition, in line with other studies on crime reporting and police satisfaction, Syrian women were more satisfied than men with the police (see Wents & Schlimgen, 2012). Age, however, had no statistically significant effect on their crime reporting, similar to J. C. Davis and Henderson (2003), who also found no association between age and crime reporting, although Messing et al. (2015) reported that older Latinas were more likely to report crime to the police.

Syrian's with higher educational attainment were more likely to report crime, which is consistent with Messing et al. (2015). Contrary to the literature, however, our sample lives in Zeytinburnu's poor neighborhoods where rent is lower. As family size increases, the probability to report crime also increases. Previous studies have also found that the number of family members in a household is positively related to the poverty of the neighborhood, which may therefore lead to underreporting of crime (Comino, Mastrobuoni, & Nicolò, 2016). One possible explanation is that Syrians' household size is not only related with the number of children but is also linked with the form of extended family where male siblings specifically live together with their wives and children to reduce living costs. In line with the literature, this implies that Syrians living with their extended families may have strong perceived social ties that encourage them to report crimes to the police (see Van Craen, 2013).

Similar to Yun and Mueller's (2011) study of Chinese immigrants in the United States, employment has no effect on crime reporting. Consistent with the findings (Khondaker et al., 2017), the length of the Syrian's stay in Turkey is also not associated with crime reporting. On the contrary, the longer Syrians reside in Zeytinburnu, the more reluctant they are to report crimes to the police. This trend could be related both to Syrian cultural codes and contextual factors. Religious norms may encourage a culture of silence generally and in the context of being powerless as a refugee specifically. To investigate this further, a young Syrian engineer[8] was interviewed to gain insight into remaining silent and cultural norms. He mentioned several verses of the Quran that advise silence rather than saying bad things[9] and that teaches the norm of resilience against "hardship testing" and against "fear," "losing loved ones," and "possessions."[10] This culture of silence can be observed in the association between Syrians' plan to stay and crime reporting. That is, Syrians who plan to stay longer rather than move to another country tend to underreport crimes.

In parallel with previous studies, Syrians who were satisfied with the police were more likely to report crime (see Khondaker et al., 2017). Although having contact with the police had no effect on crime reporting, which conflicts with previous studies (see J. C. Davis & Henderson, 2003), in the context of Turkey's refugee protection regime designed for Syrian refugees, an immigrant needs to contact the police for several reasons, like registering for access to temporary protection benefits.[11] In many police stations, there are Arabic speaking police officers to assist the registration process, as observed in Zeytinburnu. Thus, police officers not only are responsible for public security but also contribute to social assistance for Syrian refugees who might contact them soon after entering Turkey. This might explain why the trust in police is high in our sample. Indeed, Turkish citizens generally show high trust in the police, with levels typically higher than 70% (see Cao & Burton, 2006; Delice & Duman, 2012; Roche, Özaşçılar, & Bilen, 2017; Taslak & Akın, 2005). In short, either these Syrians are imitating the host society or their contact with the police for social assistance has created positive feelings.

Interestingly, perceptions of safety were not associated with crime reporting, although previous studies reported that immigrants who perceive their neighborhood as safe are more likely to report crimes to the police (see Khondaker et al., 2017; Theodore, 2013). Syrians' crime reporting behavior is also shaped by how frequently they see the police in their neighborhood in that the less they see the police in their neighborhood, then the more likely they are to report crimes. Parallel to this finding, Syrians who see the police in their own neighborhood less frequently perceive their neighborhood as safer. Thus, our findings indirectly support previous findings on the association between immigrants' perceptions of neighborhood safety and crime reporting (see Khondaker et al., 2017; Theodore, 2013).

The Syrians in our sample reported high levels of perceived safety in their neighborhood (3.51 on a 5-point scale). One possible explanation is that, despite all the losses of family members, property, and status due to displacement and resettlement, several respondents mentioned feeling good about their life in Turkey and Zeytinburnu. Likewise, M. Erdoğan (2014) showed that more than half of Syrians living outside the camps feel happy in Turkey despite suffering from dire conditions of war and displacement. Their happiness and satisfaction with life in Turkey can thus be understood in terms of contextual factors. One is being a refugee, fleeing a war, losing family members and loved ones in the war, and displacement, and facing poverty, grief, and various types of material hardship. Syrians fled to Turkey because they feared for their lives, walking days to reach safety and being left physically and psychologically exhausted. Now, in Turkey, they are "happy to be far

from the fear for our lives" and "safe," as mentioned by the majority in response to the open-ended survey question asking them to narrate their life in Turkey. This makes them "grateful to Turkey" (as expressed by their saying "Shukran Türkiye"—thank you Turkey). Previous research emphasizes the importance in building a positive perception of the police and willingness to report crimes of immigrants' feeling freed from their past troubles in their home country after settling in a host country (e.g., Pogrebin & Poole, 1990).

This study has several limitations. Although the current study is unique in its examination of Syrians' crime reporting in Istanbul, we were unable to compare crime-specific reporting behavior and its determinants among Syrian refugees in Turkey. Some Syrians may choose not to cooperate with the police due to incident-level factors. In this regard, further research should include such factors, such as victim–offender relationship, type of crime, or loss. One of the strengths of this study is that it was conducted in one specific site—Zeytinburnu, Istanbul. However, this also means that further research is needed to examine crime reporting among Syrians in other districts of Istanbul and in Turkey's eastern cities and those bordering Syria.

Certain findings ran contrary to the literature on immigrants' crime reporting behavior. As discussed above, predictors of crime reporting for one immigrant group do not necessarily hold for other immigrant groups. Therefore, the results of the study should be interpreted with caution. Yet, despite these limitations, our study demonstrates the importance of crime reporting in this Zeytinburnu sample of Syrian refugees as this group has grown to represent 4% of Turkey's total population.

Turkish citizens have noted the rapid increase in Syrian refuges in a short period of time (2013-2017) and have felt various effects of the changes created by them, such as "the increasing number of Arabic signs" in the urban space and "frequently hearing Arabic," mentioned by many Turkish people. Consequently, some have begun to perceive Syrians as a "threat" to public safety (M. Erdoğan, 2014; Erdogan et al., 2017). The former humanitarian approach of the Turkish citizens has changed toward more negative feelings, which is also observed in the media's increased reporting of the criminal behavior of Syrians in Turkey (Narlı & Özaşçılar, 2017).

Other studies have reported growing resentment toward Syrian refugees among Turkish citizens in border cities and major metropolises (Kirişçi, 2014; Özden, 2013). Özden, for example, recorded the complaints of Turkish people in border cities because they could no longer gain access to immediate hospital treatment and economic problems resulting from Syrian immigration, including unemployment and "inflation in rents." Similar problems were also mentioned by the *muktars* interviewed in Zeytinburnu (May 2016). Another source of resentment is that Syrian culture and community is

perceived to be "very different" from Turkish culture (D. Erdoğan, 2018; Özden, 2013). In the Turkish dailies and social media, one can find many examples of reports on tension and fights between Syrians and Turkish citizens (M. Erdoğan et al., 2017). Such reciprocal negative feelings may lead to further incidents and tensions with the host society and with institutions, including the police. Further research should therefore examine Syrian immigrants' perceptions of the police in Turkey.

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Notes

1. Out of 3.2 million Syrians in Turkey as of May 2017, 540,000 were living in Istanbul, concentrated in Esenyurt, Başakşehir, Sultangazi, Küçükçekmece, Bağcılar, Zeytinburnu, and Fatih districts (Erdoğan, 2017).
2. Out of 5,627,781 registered Syrians in March, 2018, only 458,131 were living in the camps (UNHCR, 2018a).
3. UNHCR (2018b).
4. The UNHCR study assumes that a large number of Syrians are engaged in the informal labor market, while "19,000 refugees have been issued with work permits since the adoption of the Regulation on Work Permits of Foreigners under Temporary Protection in January 2016."
5. The basic salary figure was obtained from the Ministry of Work web page: https://www.csgb.gov.tr/media/4152/2017_onikiay.pdf
6. This information was obtained from the *muhtar* of Kazlıçeşme in May 2016.
7. The Zeytinburnu ward population figures were obtained from TUIK Address Based Population Registration, dated December 31, 2015.
8. Fayez was interviewed in early May 2018 by Narlı. An in-depth technique was used to discuss relations with police, authority, and cultural/religious norms.
9. Quran, 4: 114 "Speak a good Word or remain silent."
10. Quran, 2:155 "And We will surely test you with something . . . "
11. Until the beginning of 2016, Syrians were registered by the Turkish authorities (Foreigners' Police). Then a pre-registration process was introduced requiring all Syrian family members seeking protection to provide biometric data, contact details, fingerprints, and photos to the Foreigners' Police. They have to apply to the Foreigners' Police for the Provincial Directorate of Migration Management of the province where they reside.

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Author Biographies

Mine Özaşçılar is asscoiate professor of sociology at Bahçeşehir University. She is interested in fear of crime, police perception among adolescents, the role of situational factors; and victimization.

Nilüfer Narlı is professor of sociology at Bahçeşehir University. Her current research interests include the social inclusion of Syrians, media representation of the refugees; and political memory.

Osman Öztürk is the head of City Security Group.