

THE IMPACT OF MIGRANT-RECEIVING STATES' POLICIES ON CRIME RATES AND DRUG ABUSE AMONG IMMIGRANTS: THE CASES OF JAPAN, SWEDEN, USA, AND TURKEY

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Özet

Göç Alan Devletlerin Politikalarının Göçmenler Arasındaki Suç Oranları ve Uyuşturucu Kullanımı Üzerindeki Etkileri: Japonya, İsveç, ABD ve Türkiye Örnekleri

Göçmen toplulukları ile ev sahibi topluluklar karşılaştırıldığında göçmen toplulukların suça daha fazla karıştıkları birçok ülkede görülmektedir. Bu makalede göç ile suç ve uyuşturucu kullanımı arasında gözlemlenen bu ilişki üzerinde, ev sahibi devletlerin/bölgelerin göçmen politikalarının etkili olup olmadığı üç farklı kıtadan dört ülkenin tecrübelerine bakılarak analiz edilmiştir.

Türkiye, ABD, İsveç ve Japonya'daki göçmen toplulukları arasındaki suç oranları ve ilgili devletlerin genel göçmen politikaları karşılaştırılmıştır.

Sonuç olarak görülmüştür ki daha kucaklayıcı, çok kültürlülüğü esas alan, ekonomisi göçmenlere daha açık olan devlet veya bölgelerde göçmenler arasındaki suç oranları daha düşüktür. Çalışmanın temel tezi; yüksek suç oranları ile ilgili olarak doğrudan göçmenleri hedef gösteren anlayışın yanlış olduğu, suça etki eden önemli faktörlerden

biri olarak ilgili devletlerin kendi politikalarını da gözden geçirmeleri gerektiğidir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Göçmen, Suç, Uyuşturucu, Madde Bağımlılığı, Göçmen Politikaları, Uyum, Entegrasyon.

Abstract

When receiving and immigrant communities compared, higher crime rates are being observed among the immigrant groups more commonly than the native ones. This paper concentrates on the connection between receiving state's "Migration policies" (as a cause) and "drug abuse/crime rates" (as an effect/result) and seeks to answer if there is a correlation between them? In this article this correlation is attempted to be reviewed by looking at the experiences of four countries; USA, Sweden, Japan and Turkey.

The results show that in states, which have well-designed immigrant adaptation policies, crime rates and drug abuse decrease among immigrants. Analysis of the cases of the aforementioned states showed that living conditions and migration policies of receiving states/regions/cities have a great impact on crime rates. This article posits that properly-designed; democratic, multicultural-migration policies with the support of an open economic system, helps the immigrants to improve their social capital and establish an order in new 'home'.

Keywords: Migration, Immigration, Immigrant, Migrant, Migrant Adaptation Policies, Immigration Policies, Crime Rates, Drug Abuse.

Kurte

Bandora Siyaseta Dewletên Mazûvan li Ser Sûcdariya Tiryakkêşî û Firotna wê 'di Nav Koçeran de': Mînakên Japonya, Swêd, DYA û Tirkîyeyê

Wexta civakên koçer û civakên niştecih bi hev re tîn muqayese kirin li pîrî welatan tê dîtin ku civatên koçber zêdetir tevli sûc dibin. Di vê gotarê de tesîra siyasetên dewletên mazûvan derbarê koçeran de hatiye niqas kirin. Gelo siyaseta mazûvanan çî bandorê dike li ser sûcdariya koçeran? Ji bo ku ev bandor zelal be ji sê parzemînan, tecrubeya çar dewletan, hatiye analîzkirin.

Nîsbeta sûcdariyê di nav koçeran û siyasetên dewletên Tirkîye, DYA, Swêd û Japonyayê derbarê koçeran de bi hev re hatin muqayese kirin. Bi vî şeweyî hat xwestin ku têkiliya nav sûc û siyaseta giştî ya dewletên mazûvan bê nîrxandin. Di dawî de hat dîtin ku nîsbeta sûcdariyê di nav koçeran de di dewletên ku siyaseta pirçandiyê dajon, aboriya wan ji koçera re vekiriye û koçera bi rehetî digrin nav civata xwe kêmtir e.

Tesbîta bingeîn a vê lêkolînê ew e ku baweriyê, ji ber nîsbetên sûcdariyên zêde koçeran bi xwe sûcdar dike, çewt e. Dewlet yan civatên mazûvan divê berê siyasetên xwe yên derheqê koçeran de ji nû ve bînin ber çavan, ji nû ve binîrxînin.

Peyvên Sereke: Koç, Koçerî, Koçberî, Sûc, Tawan, Entegrasyon, Siyaseta Koçerî, Tiryak.

المخلص

سياسات الدول التي تستقبل المهاجرين و تأثير نسبة الجريمة و إدمان المخدرات فيها: اليابان، سويد، أمريكا وتركيا.

إذا قارنا بين الجاليات المهاجرة وبين المجتمعات المضيفة في كثير من البلدان يلاحظ أن الجاليات المهاجرة أكثر انخراطا في الجريمة ، وقد تم في هذه هذه المقالة تحليل من خلال النظر في تجربة أربعة بلدان في ثلاث قارات مختلفة من حيث العلاقة بين الهجرة والجريمة وتعاطي المخدرات و تأثيرها على سياسات

المهاجرين. لقد قورنت نسبة الجريمة بين الجاليات الموجودة في تركيا وأمريكا و السويد و اليابان مع سياساتهم تجاه الجاليات.

ونتيجة لذلك، كانت الدول التي أكثر شمولاو على أساس التعددية الثقافية، و حالة الاقتصاد أكثر انفتاحا على المهاجرين هي أقل جريمة بين المهاجرين.

الرسالة الرئيسية للدراسة هي أن فكرة ربط معدلات الجريمة بالمهاجرين خطأ وأن تلك الدول لابد أن تعيد النظر في سياساتهم.

كلمات البحث: المهاجرون، الهجرة، المدرات، الإدمان، سيايات المهاجرين، الاندماج. تقييم آراء المعلمين لمدارس التنمية المهنية بناء على بعض المتغيرات.

1. INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION IN GENERAL

Currently, it can be said, population of urban areas had exceeded the population of rural areas globally. More people have started to live in urban areas rather than the rural areas.

Along with urbanisation, over the past few decades a lot of low-income or developing countries have experienced a rapid population growth but the state apparatus did not respond in time to this growth with sufficient public services. Due to the growth in urban population, today many cities in developing countries lack the infrastructure necessary for the 'new' parts of the cities. According to some projections presently around one billion people live in informal settlements or urban slums. An important part of them live where they can find a shelter; railway terminals, bus stations, ports, rivers, empty markets, parks, abandoned buildings, stairways and so on.

Therefore, migration is one of the important problems of the world and generally it is associated with substance/drug use or as generally speaking with "crime". This paper attempts to review this association by looking at experiences of four different countries. Three states had been chosen from three different continents; America, Europe and Asia. Turkey is positioned on the crossroads where three continents of old world meet and as a result has a great experience of both internal and international migration, it had been chosen as the fourth state. **USA** is chosen because she has a great experience of migration. USA is a state established by migrants and now currently experiences great problems related to migration. **Sweden** is chosen from Europe because immigrant communities in Sweden relatively live under good conditions and the experience of

Sweden can be a good case study for states' immigrant adaptation policies. **Japan** is chosen as it is a developed state like the first two but has little experience about immigrants. Japan's migration policies can be helpful to see how a state, which was close to foreign communities till recent times, tries to tackle with problems stemming from migration.

1.1. The Use of “Migrant” in this Article

In this paper mainly **international migration**, from one state to another, will be in concern, but not all types of international migration are targeted. For example Germans living in Alanya/Turkey mentally are not considered as ‘migrants’; they are ‘settled foreigners’ (Bahar, 2008). Or if it is spoken about businessmen who migrate from Izmir (developed) to Diyarbakir (developing), they will not be considered as migrant. The term “migrant” will be used for disadvantaged people who migrate from a less developed location to a more developed location, and who seek for job, security, shelter, in general a better new life.

1.2. The Causes of Migration in General

What makes people to migrate? The reasons/the motives behind the migration can be various; economic, social, environmental, political, personal, religious, security reasons and so on. In a lot of cases, most of the causes can exist in the same time and space. The basic motive/s behind the migration has great effect on the result/s of migration.

The factors which force people to move to a new place are called “*push factors*”. Civil wars or revolts in the homeland or political/religious oppression against certain groups are some of push factors. Along with these factors, climate changes, lack of job opportunities or poverty can be counted among other important push factors that compel people to emigrate. The factors which encourage people to move into the target country are called “*pull factors*”. These include peace and safety, a chance of getting a better job, better education, social security, and a better standard of living in general, as well as political and religious freedom.

1.3. The Effects of Migration and its Impact on Drug Addiction/Substance Use and Crime

In some cases, some of the migrants live under poor-living conditions and some else commits crime, but in some other cases,

some of them become distinguished members of the new community. What is the determinant factor in this result?

What happens, when people migrate?

There are a lot of effects of migration. As above-mentioned this article focuses on “**drug addiction/substance use**” and “**crime rates**” among immigrants.

The problem of drug abuse cannot be handled separately from ‘**crime**’, whether organised or not. Thus some negative aspects of migration on crime and drugs will be emphasized. The first and maybe the most important of negative effects is **the loss of self-esteem**. When a person does not have self-esteem, if he/she does not respect and believe in his/her power to be able to achieve something, he/she cannot be successful in the new life. Especially it is the case when the migration is not pre-planned and persons cannot achieve to establish a new order for themselves. In such instances some of the parents lose self-confidence as they could not supply even basic needs of their household and consequently children lose respect to their parents (Altıntaş, 2003:53, 73 and 92). Another negative aspect is the increase in “**juvenile delinquency**”. To illustrate, after enormous internal migrations during '90s in Turkey, a great increase in juvenile delinquency was observed. Some of the poor, negligent and uncaring children begin to violate the laws, some just for ‘innocent’ needs of their families and some else as part of crime gangs. Another result is prevalence of **use of drugs/substances** among dissatisfied, mostly young people: “*Enforced migration is likely to cause a loss of social, cultural and economic ties with one’s country of origin and, in extension, lead to the encounter with and the acculturation into a culturally and socially different society. These dramatic life changes could lead to psychiatric illness and intake of psychotropic drugs among vulnerable persons*” (Bayard & Sundquist & Johansson, 2001:662).

Moreover, as it is seen in very different parts of the world **migrants can face with kidnappings** too. Especially women, young girls and children are targets of kidnappings. Diyarbakir¹ has been suffering from child kidnappings by crime gangs, to use them as thieves and force them to prostitution in western cities of Turkey (TBMM, 2010). In a lot of places migrants are subject to **ill**

¹ The biggest Kurdish populated city in southeast of Turkey and affected highly from internal clashes and forced migration.

treatment, discrimination, exposure of violence, sexual harassment, unemployment, extortion and so forth. Under such bad conditions, migrants are exposed to important psychological problems (Ichikawa & Nakahara & Wakai. 2006:341–346). There is also a connection between suicide tendency and family problems stemmed from migration (Karadeniz, 2006).

After migration, a person begins to live in a different social, demographic environment and hence when a person lacks necessary means to adapt himself to new society, his **life satisfaction expectations probably will not be met**. Migrants' basic aims are to provide shelter, food, education, healthcare and employment for themselves. Some suffers from homelessness, some lives at slums, squatter houses. In Turkish the word “gecekondu” is used for such houses which means “built overnight”. And as a result of negative discrimination migrants begin to live in **isolated “islands”** at disadvantaged neighbourhoods. These small “islands” are mostly economically deprived and socially semi-closed. They have fewer resources of income compared with the native settlers of the city and have limited access to life in the city centre. Most are working in low-skill/low-wage jobs. The basic feeling is **insecurity**. Migrants are vulnerable to abuse from both inside and outside of the migrant community.

2. THE CASE OF JAPAN

Drugs were not very common in Japan in the past. In the mid 1980s, Japanese officials were worried that “*their country was experiencing a major drug epidemic when the number of cases of suspected heroin possession nationwide jumped from 29 cases to 36 cases. An official embarrassed by the “high” numbers pointed out that the numbers only represented suspected cases, not arrests or convictions, which were much fewer.*” But after 30 years, it is now a problem of whole society. In 2010, the Japanese Ministry of Health estimated that 2.76 million Japanese (2.9 percent of the population) had used illegal drugs. Many of Japan's drug users are young people who first tried drugs, especially marijuana (Hays, 2011).

Since late 80s, opponents of immigration in Japan have argued that the price of greater openness to foreigners is the collapse of Japan's social order. From this standpoint, Japan's growing problems of drug trafficking are portrayed as direct results of the increase in the numbers of foreign immigrants. This connection has appeared as the

special theme on governmental policy papers. *“Moreover, with few exceptions, the linkage has been repeated at face value in Japan’s popular press as well as by members of Japanese political parties.”* (Friman, 1996:964). Addressing problem of illegal drugs from the standpoint of an immigrant threat neither is a new phenomenon nor a practice limited to Japan. Similarly, both the USA and EU have even longer history of focusing on immigrants in wars against drugs. For governments as well as press and political parties, it is an easy ‘job’ to **target the immigrants and foreigners as the source of ‘all’ problems**. To target the real reasons behind the problems needs a great effort and detailed, sophisticated economic, social and political programs. However, immigrants are vulnerable and can be targeted easily. Since mid-80s, the image of the “foreigner” as “criminal” has been a dominant theme in Japanese national discussions over the threats to social order posed by rising immigration. Indeed, sometimes officials ‘played’ with statistics to ‘prove’ a connection between immigrants and drugs: *“Official crime statistics are insufficiently disaggregated to lend clear to such a linkage and are often presented by authorities in such a way as to over-exaggerate the foreign threat”* (1996:976).

As aforementioned, Japan is relatively a latecomer to issue. Drug related problems in Japan are lower than those in other advanced industrial countries. The drug related problems are also different, according to the research conducted by Friman, between 85 and 93 percent of drug arrests in Japan involving the stimulant methamphetamine², not cocaine or heroin (1996:964-965).

As a popular discourse, migrants are being held responsible from drug related problems. On the other hand no notice is taken to the approval and support of local crime groups. Without local patronage foreign groups cannot be active in an illegal world. Illegality needs good knowledge and network of the streets and bureaucracy. Friman, in another research stresses this point and claims that immigrant entrepreneurship patterns in the drug trade appear to be shaped by the resources of different migrant groups and, more importantly, by the nature of **blockage in the formal, informal and**

² “Methamphetamine is a highly addictive stimulant that affects the central nervous system. The drug is easily made in small clandestine laboratories, with relatively inexpensive over-the-counter ingredients. These factors combine to make methamphetamine a drug with high potential for widespread abuse.”

“What is methamphetamine?”, National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA), USA, 2006, <http://www.drugabuse.gov> Retrieved 06.12.2012

criminal economies (2001:314). The ways of taking place in the formal or illegal economy is closed or conditionally/semi-opened for immigrants. They must acknowledge the supremacy of native mafia or employees and obey the rules of the game laid down by them. For instance, during 90s as wage labour opportunities in the informal economy decreased with the collapse of the general economy of state, a growing number of Iranians entered to the criminal economy. Japanese organised crime had led to openings for subcontract relations with foreign street-level retailers in the *yakuza* distribution networks. However, the Iranians were conducting drug transactions with a product, and in areas, traditionally controlled by Japanese organised crime (Friman, 2001:330).

Furthermore, another aspect of migration is **ill treatment**. A survey conducted on Afghan asylum seekers in Japan showed that, the symptom scores of anxiety, depression among those detained, during asylum process, were higher than among those not detained. Firstly, comparing the detained and non-detained asylum seekers, the survey showed the definite impact of the detention on their mental health. This means that the post-migration detention of asylum seekers exacerbates their mental health (Ichikawa & Nakahara & Wakai, 2006:341–345).

After asylum seeking process, migrants also face **discrimination**. It is hard to find even a house to rent or a job to work. Onishi and Shigematsu tell a story of a Muslim immigrant: *“Ali arrived in Japan in late August. He figured that he would get an apartment and then call his family to join him. But Ali’s well-laid plans went up in smoke on 11 September. In the ensuing chaos in Pakistan his wife finally managed to obtain a visa on the last working day of the Japanese embassy before they closed operations indefinitely. In Tokyo, Ali began to look for a place to live. He quickly found out that some apartments are simply unavailable for foreigners. At some offices, he could not even get in the door. When he did get inside, he was rejected when the realtors realized that he could not speak Japanese. So the next time he went with a Japanese friend. But when they found out where he was from, one realtor told him directly, ‘Oh no, not Pakistan! Too dangerous!’”* (2003:224).

Migration policy in **Japan focuses only on economic aspects** of whether foreigners are necessary to fulfil the impending shortage in the labour force or not, and on their ‘potentially disruptive power’ to society. However, the absence of a perspective regarding migrants as part of the society and possible Japanese citizens is widening the gap

between reality and policy. Japanese policy-makers neglect the fact that migrants are ‘human’ not ‘robotic workers’. When a ‘human’ called for a long term job, after a while he/she will demand to have a family or family reunion. And it is inevitable that families bring their local culture, local identity to new society and these might cause new tension areas.

The responsibility of the media for **creating more positive images of foreigners** is also another important issue to focus. Media has a great effect on the regards of ordinary people. If media does not establish a connection between migrants and drugs and crimes, this will have a great effect on people’s perception. For example, the language used to describe the detainee can be cleaned from the ethnic and religious affinities of the suspect. However, the opposite of this observed; media depicts foreigners as the ones who disrupt their ‘happy’ life: *“During the day, Nagoya’s Central Park may seem like a nice place to take one’s kids. However, according to word of the street, at night it becomes a place where “rough-looking” Middle Easterners deal drugs. ... Later, FTV joins a group of cops as they arrest an Iranian drug dealer. The 37-year-old man sells stimulants on the street”* (Japan Probe, 2010). Nevertheless, as can be seen from other news it is not just “rough-looking” Middle Easterners who are dealing drugs. *“... drugs are around as American and British dealers doing factory labour in Japanese prisons will testify”* (Hays, 2011).

3. THE CASE OF SWEDEN

Sweden, till recent years, like Japan, was relatively a homogenous state, probably due to its climate and farness, people of other parts of the world did not prefer to migrate to Sweden. Nonetheless, over the past few decades Sweden has been transformed to a more complex society where international influences have become much more obvious. It is a consequence of direct contacts in trade, tourism, immigration and so on. There are also indirect cultural influences. *“In 1999, 1 million of Sweden's 9 million inhabitants were born abroad. A third were born in Scandinavia (mainly Finland), and a third in the rest of Europe. In the 1980s and 1990s, around 250,000 immigrants arrived from Asia (mainly Iran, Iraq, and Turkey), and 50,000 from South America and Africa each”* (Lenke & Olsson, 2002:77). Consequently, Swedish society now is not so long the old ‘homogeneous’ society and Sweden also has begun to suffer from migration related problems.

With the expansion of international trade and relations, various types of drugs have been introduced to Sweden, some of which have been aimed at youth (Knutsson, 2000:198). In fact, migrants in Sweden also suffer from negative conditions stemming from migration, but state tries to respond these problems relatively in time and with appropriate tools. Therefore unlike Japan and other states, Sweden can be regarded as a successful example of migrant adaptation policies.

According to findings of a survey conducted by Bayard, Sundquist and Johansson, problems observed among immigrants from five different ethnic groups (Iranians, Turks, Polish, Kurds and Chilean) can be listed as: *“living alone, poor acculturation, unemployment ...and low sense of coherence.... Compared with Swedes, all immigrants had an **increased risk of self reported longstanding psychiatric illness and for intake of psychotropic drugs**”* (2001:657). Evidence gathered from survey indicates a strong correlation between ethnicity and psychiatric illnesses and intake of psychotropic drugs and also shows under which circumstances situation can change positively: *“This association is weakened by marital status, acculturation status, employment status, and sense of coherence. International studies have shown that foreign born migrants have an increased risk of psychiatric admission and of suicide. Recent Swedish studies have also showed that foreign born migrants have a higher risk of psychiatric admission, of attempted suicide, and of suicide, when compared with native Swedes”* (2001:657).

Some **basic key points** which derived from this survey can be listed as follows (2001:661-662):

- A strong association exists between ethnicity and self reported psychiatric illness/mental health among migrants. Migrants from Iran, Chile, Turkey, Kurdistan (Iraq) and Poland, who arrived in Sweden in years 1980–89, showed substantially increased risks of self reported longstanding **psychiatric illness**, when compared with native Swedes of comparable sex and age. When the Poles used as a reference group, Iranians and Chileans showed an increased risk of self reported psychiatric illness.
- Moreover, all five groups of immigrants showed increased **risks for intake of psychotropic drugs** when they were compared to native Swedes. Overall, Iranians showed an

increased risk of intake of psychotropic drugs more than other groups.

– The association between ethnicity, self reported psychiatric illness, and intake of psychotropic drugs is **weakened** by marital status, acculturation, employment, and sense of coherence.

Especially the last point shows the approach to resolve the problems. Marital status, employment, integration all are weakening the risks deriving from a disordered life. When life has an order in itself migrants' life gets closer to native ones', especially after family reunions or marriages and sufficient income for household.

This survey also stresses another aspect of migration, the difference between voluntary and enforced migration and the effect of these on migrants. *“Enforced migration is likely to cause a loss of social, cultural and economic ties with one's country of origin and, in extension, lead to the encounter with and the acculturation into a culturally and socially different society. These dramatic life changes could lead to psychiatric illness and intake of psychotropic drugs among vulnerable persons”* (2001:662). The researchers conclude by remarking: *“the need for improved mental health care and intervention programmes for adult migrants from Iran, Chile, Turkey, Kurdistan and Poland, who arrived in Sweden between 1980–89, especially among the Iranians and Chileans”* (2001:663).

Another research also supports this point of view. Marten's research illustrates that Sweden's policies are successful in adaptation of immigrants. Indeed, the clues of success can be seen just in two generations. *“Immigrants generally have higher crime rates than do indigenous Swedes, particularly for violence and theft, and are likelier to be victims of violence. Both first- and second-generation immigrants have higher crime rates than indigenous Swedes, but second-generation immigrants have lower rates than first-generation immigrants-a finding contradicting results in other countries. These lower rates may be a consequence of Swedish social welfare policy. The offending pattern of second-generation immigrants is similar to the pattern of native Swedes. Groups with a high total crime rate in the first generation tend to have a relatively high total crime rate in the second generation and vice versa”* (1997:183).

Furthermore, another survey conducted by Virta, Sam and Westin about the adaptation of Turkish adolescents living in Norway and Sweden. The results *“of this study suggest that adolescents with a*

Turkish background in Norway have a poorer psychological adaptation than their Turkish counterparts in Sweden. Specifically, Turks in Norway reported significantly lower self-esteem and more mental health problems than the Turks in Sweden,... The two host national groups did not differ from each other, either...The results also suggested that the poorer psychological adaptation (lower self-esteem and more mental health problems) of the Turks in Norway can be partly explained by the fact that they have a weaker Turkish identity and experience more discrimination than their Turkish peers in Sweden” (2004:20-21). The difference between Turks living in Norway and Sweden is providing a valuable data about immigrant policies of concerned states. As can be seen Turks in Norway experiencing less Turkish identity, but on the contrary more marginalized, and suffering more discrimination. The researchers established a connection between this finding and immigrant policies of states in question: “we believe an explanation may be found in differences between Norway and Sweden with respect to immigrant policies and attitudes among host nationals towards immigrants. Norwegian immigrant policy may not have quite wavered from a stand in favor of assimilation, whereas Swedish immigrant policy has in a higher degree geared towards multiculturalism and supporting ethnic minority cultures, in spite of the fact that integration is the official national policy in both countries ... Regarding the role of the acculturation strategies (assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization) in the psychological adaptation of immigrants, the results of this study are also consistent with previous research. It has been shown that integration (combining both ethnic minority and host majority culture) is the most adaptive strategy, while marginalization (rejecting both cultures) is the least adaptive. Perceived discrimination was in this study strongly related to poor psychological adaptation among the Turkish adolescents” (2004:22).

The case of Sweden suggests that if migration policies based on multi-culturalism and respect to the native culture of migrant -along with proper economic, social measures- migration will not so be a “huge” problem for receiving states and societies any more.

4. THE CASE OF USA

USA is a state which established by its immigrants and still is a target state for many migrants. However, after hundreds of years, first immigrants regard themselves as ‘native’ and call newcomers as

'immigrant'. Another concept used in USA is "foreign born". Some of the foreign borns are citizen and some are not. When a foreign born became citizen of USA the process is called as '**naturalization**' that is to say he/she is '*naturalized*'. The logic behind this concept is to confer a foreign the rights and privileges of a citizen. Than it can be presumed that if you are citizen you are *natural* if not, you are *unnatural*. This type of use in itself can be regarded as a disdain for the 'foreign' people.

The rate of foreign born in total population is increasing every year: "*The foreign born are relatively small in absolute terms—38 million people representing 12.5% of the total U.S. population of 304.1 million in 2008—they are growing far more rapidly than the native-born population. Between 2000 and 2008, the foreign born contributed 30% of the total U.S. population increase and almost all of the prime 25-54 working age group increase. Close to 30% of the foreign born arrived in the United States since 2000, and roughly 29% were residing illegally in the United States in 2009... Geographic origins of the foreign born have shifted from Europe (74% in 1960) to Latin America and Asia (80% in 2008)*" (Kandel, 2011).

Above mentioned data indicate that the **source of migration shifted** from Europe (the homeland of founder communities and ruling elites) to Latin America. Slowly European culture replaces with the Hispanic culture. With regard to the substance use or drugs, every group brings her own culture. "*These diverse immigrant populations bring with them the cultural norms related to substance use that exist in their respective countries of origin. As they adapt to life in the United States, they also may be differentially exposed to substance use norms and social challenges (i.e., language barriers, unfamiliar customs, and discrimination). One of the consequences of adapting to new circumstances may be an increased rate of substance use*" (Brown & Council & Penne & Gfroerer, 2005:3).

Like Japan and Sweden, also in USA problems of adaptation have increased substance use and crime among immigrants. In a research, two cities of USA, San Diego and Miami are compared and to understand the dynamics shaping the violence and drug use in those cities. In this study the claim which regards ethnic origin of immigrants as the cause of violence and drug use is tested. When job opportunities and living conditions of migrants compared, both cities do not have many differences. In both cities immigrants have not so many job opportunities and access to the city life. "*It is no surprise that economic deprivation emerges as a key factor in shaping*

violence, even in relatively well-off San Diego, where ethnic minorities encounter fewer resources and limited access to life outside the center city than the native-born white majority. Immigrants tend to converge in a limited number of places where co-ethnics reside and low-skill jobs are available. ... Thus, economic deprivation is an important and consistent influence in both cities, despite the different contexts and immigration histories” (Martinez & Lee & Nielsen, 2004:152). Nevertheless, in Miami conditions differ a bit because of USA's state policy towards migrants, namely Cubans, is positive and thanks to this **positive attitude** the first migrants achieved to establish **social solidarity networks**. This networks and state aids to Cubans make their adaptation/integration to the new society easier. “Turning to Miami first, we suggest that Cubans have done well in part because of the federal government assistance they received and the benefits of social capital deriving from the resources possessed by the initial group of Cuban immigrants. This has contributed to the Cuban domination of economic, cultural, and political institutions in Miami that provided advantages to later waves of Cuban and some non-Cuban Latino immigrants” (2004:153).

Researchers suggest that it is not the immigration but the social conditions which immigrant group faces in hosting country increase drug use or violence. Their ability to adapt to a new society and **social capital** provided for them by hosting state or earlier comers are determinant factors: “This research agenda should carefully consider the conventional wisdom and counterclaim, discussed earlier, on the immigration and drug homicide relationship, as our findings provide some support for each perspective. The conventional wisdom was more evident among immigrant groups in San Diego and native-born African Americans in Miami - those with low levels of social capital - while the counterclaim was better reflected for high social capital groups such as Cubans in Miami. This suggests that the adaptation of immigrants is shaped to a large extent by the local conditions a given group faces in the host country, such as whether there is a well-developed enclave economy and whether the city is majority minority” (2004:155).

One other factor is the **'time' spent** by migrant in the hosting country. The research conducted by Brown & Council & Penne & Gfroerer showed that the type of drug used by migrants change by the time they spent in USA. Newer ones are using heavy drugs less but using substances more. When they remained longer they face with new drugs or can afford more expensive ones. “Although a

preliminary examination of the data appears to indicate that the rates for substance use across all immigrants were higher among immigrants who had been in the United States for a shorter amount of time, this finding is complicated by the variability in age and the gender composition of groups of persons immigrating fewer than 5 years ago or 5 or more years ago. .. On the other hand, the risks for alcohol, marijuana, and any illicit drug use were significantly lower among newer immigrants, a finding that is not as apparent when examining direct estimates” (2005:17). The findings of Borges & Medina-Mora & Breslau & Aguilar-Gaxiola’s study also support this phenomenon: “Epidemiological studies have found that among immigrants in general and Mexican immigrants in particular, longer duration of residence in the United States is associated with higher risk for substance use disorders” (2007:1847).

And the study from Borges et al. shows another aspect of migration. They focused on the effects of substance use among immigrants and the **effects on home country**, especially on their relatives. According to the researchers, transnational migration is likely to have an effect on substance use disorders among Mexicans both in native and destination countries. “*Result: respondents who had family members who migrated in the United States were more likely to have used alcohol, marijuana, or cocaine at least once in their lifetime; to develop a substance use disorder; and to have a current (in the past 12 months) substance use disorder than were other Mexicans. ... International migration appears to play a large role in transforming substance use norms and pathology in Mexico...Our findings suggest that the risk for substance use disorders in Mexico is closely related to the flow of migrants between Mexico and the United States” (2007:1847). Moreover, Borges et al cite some studies on patients who are receiving treatment for drug use in Mexico which “have found that those with migration experiences consumed a greater quantity and variety of drugs than did patients without migration experience” (2007:1850).*

As a conclusion the case of USA also indicates that positive state policies towards migrants are very important for migrant integration. In fact, studies conducted in or about USA have showed that social capital is another important factor to keep migrants away from drugs and crime. The research has also shown that migration is not a one-way phenomenon. It has effects on home country via migrants or their families. Therefore, policies toward migrants might

also take conditions in the homeland into consideration and if possible be in cooperation with the home country.

5. THE CASE OF TURKEY

The first three cases were about international immigrants but in the case of Turkey both international and internal migrants are taken into consideration. Thus, it will be possible to see if there is a difference between international and internal migration when the drug use and crime rates are in concern.

In the last 60 years, Turkey has witnessed a huge urbanisation. From 1950 and onwards migration has been accelerated with increasing industrialization and urbanisation. Job opportunities in cities were the major pulling factor and mechanization in the rural areas, in agriculture was the major pushing factor. In developed states rural population does not exceed 10% of general population. TUIK, (Turkish Statistical Institute-TURKSTAT) defines locations which have less than 10.000 people as 'rural'. During the first years of the republic, rural population was considerably higher than urban population. According to 1927 census 75.78% of general population was living in rural areas. The rural character of Turkey's population continued till 80s. In the 1985 census, for the first time, urban population exceeded rural population by 53.03% to 46.97%. In the year 2000, the rates were 64.9% (urban) to 35.1% (rural) (Güreşçi, 2010:80), and in year 2010 the rates were 76.26% urban to 23.74% rural (TUIK, ADNKS-National Data Release Calendar, 2011).

As abovementioned, in Turkey during the transformation process from agrarian society to industrial society the basic motive was economic. As it is the case in all other societies, persons who migrated to industrialized cities faced some fundamental changes. Industrialization directly influenced working conditions, behaviours, structure of familial relationships. Big families of rural areas mostly converted into the 'nucleus' families of cities.

Migrants, with the aim to tackle with problems in cities, tend to gather in 'hemşehri'³ (hometown) districts. *"In great cities, especially in Istanbul, 'citizen ghettos' appear, making it possible to stand and to resist against being absorbed. Although an infant is born in Istanbul,*

³ Hemşehri: Fellow countryman. Migrants who migrate from the same city or district to the hosting city called as hemşehri of each other. For example migrants who are originally from Diyarbakir are "hemşehri" of each other in Istanbul.

his or her state register is belongs to the city where the family comes from...These people are not from or belong to Istanbul although they live in Istanbul. Migrating individuals are adapted into the community into which they have entered. The adaptation occurs by the way of learning the behavioural patterns, moral values, the capability to use communication tools and adopted social roles of the migrated community. The full adaptation into all social and cultural aspects the migrated community is called assimilation” (Balcıoğlu & Doksat & Tan, 2001:185-186).

The Effects of Migration in Turkey

There are a lot of effects of migration in Turkey as she faces a lot of types of migration; internally displaced persons, asylum seekers, human trafficking, international immigrants (Africans, Turkic origins, Afghans, Iranians, Arabs, Kurds and etc.) and economic internal migration, but this paper will focus just on some selected points to be able to concentrate on drug use, crime and adaptation problems derive from migration.

• Substance Use and Crime

Intense and irregular migration flows to cities render migrants vulnerable to violence and crime. This is a general finding from surveys conducted in different states. This type of fast ‘urbanisation’, in another word ‘pseudo-urbanisation’ (Gönültaş, 2009:22)⁴ deteriorates living conditions in city centres. The disorder in the infrastructure and superstructure of a city makes it easier to become organised for crime groups. Hence crime groups can play an effective role as much as other variables in transitioning or developing societies. In stable, settled societies formal/informal institutions, local or central, do not allow so much free space for crime groups (Dinçkol, 2002:126).

One of the main operation areas of crime groups is drug trafficking and using children for crimes. Migrants are target group in both sides of traffic, as consumers and dealers. Children are the main focus for the case of Turkey children. *“When family changes its living place and moves in a different social environment children can live adaptation problems... (Even migration is not in the life time of children) This situation makes one to think that parents’ adaptation*

⁴ ‘Sahte kentleşme’ of original paper translated as ‘pseudo-urbanisation’.

problems can directly have reflections on children” (TBMM, 2010:383).

- **Substance Use and Crime among Children/Juvenile**

According to data provided by DIE⁵ in years 2002 and 2003 **juvenile delinquency doubled**. Those juveniles commonly live in big cities and some other cities affected by migration. The structure of family, parallel to deformations in social tissue of society and unhealthy urbanisation, also was affected by migration. Besides the economic poverty and cultural clash, some families pushed away from social life (TBMM, 2010:4-12).

Another problem is the shift in the social values within the family. After migration, second generation who grow in new environment begin to have different social values other than their parents'. As the time goes, this causes **a cultural clash** between generations and in some cases among genders. Under such conditions especially juveniles, along with formerly mentioned reasons, tend to use inhalants, substances and drugs. Drug addiction firstly starts with bally⁶ and thinner and in time it turns to marijuana (cannabis), heroin and similar drugs (Gönültaş, 2009:23).

Some researches posit that there is a connection between migration and juvenile delinquency. Gönültaş, for example, (2009:23) refers to a survey conducted by Hancı on 3327 cases concluded in Children's Court of Izmir in 1991-1993. According to findings of Hancı, 53.1% of the children who were tried in these cases came from rural areas to Izmir. The rate of children from Izmir and around, namely Aegean region is 35.5%. Another survey conducted in Izmir among parents of adolescents with substance use disorders also suggests that there is a similarity between migration histories of families.

In a survey conducted by Gönültaş in Adana province (one of the important target cities for Kurdish migrants from east of Turkey) through oral interviews with 470 juvenile delinquents showed that more than half of the juvenile delinquents are children of migrant families. The findings showed that: “% 77.7 are 16-17 years old, % 96.4 are male, % 70.7 uses or used any substance or drug, % 64.9 has

⁵ Former name of the official statistical institute of Turkey. DIE (State Statistical Institute) changed its name on 18.11.2005 to TUIK, Turkish Statistical Institute.

⁶ Bally is the brand name of a certain type of inhalant glue used as an inhalant substance mostly among street children.

low income and % 53.8 are migrants". Gönültaş states that in Diyarbakir 28%, in Adana 54.3% and in Istanbul 86% of juvenile delinquents are migrants or children of migrants. He states that the findings of these researches on children delinquency and migration movements are parallel (2009: vii, 66-67).

Observations about internal migrants who migrate to Istanbul from Anatolia can be applied to other parts of the world: "*Children who have advanced capability for imitation and adaptation begin to be alienated to their family and culture. They search new possibilities for identification in the external environment but cannot find. Substance abuse is kind of therapeutic effort to relieve the identity conflict, by repressing dissatisfactory feelings and the 'panic' which would result in dissociation of the personality. It is estimated that the prevalence of substance addiction is lowest in the first generation, highest in the second generation, and moderate in the native people of the city. Increasing tendency to commit crime is observed if low income and low education level are associated with substance addiction*" (Balcioglu & Doksat & Tan, 2001:185-186).

Children (and women) are mostly subject to an internal migration because international migration is predominantly migration of adult men without families. These pioneer adults after establishing an order in target country try to reunite with their families or if they are single, they get married with someone from the home country.

- **Child Labour**

Adaptation problems deriving from migration and industrialization in agriculture made the child labour a part of the agenda of Turkey. Families who live under poor conditions in cities let their children to work on streets or make them to undertake difficult works with very low wages and bad working conditions (TBMM, 2010:18). In a lot of migrant families, child labour is the basic source of family livelihood. It has been seen that parents who were able to send their children to school for education before migration, were not able to send them to school but instead they were made them work (Aydın & Gündüz, 2010:15), because the child in school turns to a mere 'consumer' from being a 'producer' and thus becomes a great economic loss for the family in an 'urgent' need to survive. These juveniles' labour is exploited by employers by giving very low wages, mostly a rate under the official minimum wages determined by the government. They work 10-12 hours a day without any social security and benefits (Kasatura, 2002:215).

- **Missing and Exploited Children**

Another aspect of vulnerability of migrants is kidnappings. Especially women and children are subject to kidnappings to force them prostitution or to be used for the various aims by crime gangs. According to official statements, there were 1.592 missing children in Turkey in year 2009. A report prepared by the Parliamentary Committee of Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) for Missing Children showed that, in Istanbul 259, Izmir 194, Ankara 95, Mersin 63, Diyarbakir 55 and Sanliurfa 50 children were missing. This report clearly shows most of the missing kids are those who live in areas faced important flow of migration. Commission remarked 'migration' as one of the main reasons for missing and exploitation of children (2010:36, 178).

A survey conducted by Turkey network of international group of "End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes" (ECPAT) in 2006 in Istanbul and Diyarbakir showed that these two cities are coming first in child prostitution rates. It has been observed that children from South-East of Turkey kidnapped and forced to prostitution in Istanbul. Most of the exploited children are 12-18 year old girls but male children also are subject to prostitution (2006:9). In fact, even more research has established a close relation between having been forced to prostitution and drug addiction (TBMM, 2010:442).

Turkey is also target of international networks trafficking children for sexual purposes. It has been recorded that children from Moldova, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Bulgaria, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Romania kidnapped to Turkey and forced to prostitution. Some victims said that they were kidnapped to TRNC (Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus) for sexual purposes (TBMM, 2010:440).

- **Low Skilled Workers, Economic Integration Problems**

If the migration is not pre-planned and done urgently to save the life and properties of family members, this causes the accumulation of an unskilled or low-skilled work power in the city centres. When the number of forced migrants reaches tens of thousands and even millions of people within a short period of time, in most cases hosting cities' technical, social and institutional infra- and superstructure collapses. Cities get bigger but as aforesaid, it is a 'pseudo-urbanisation', like a bulging balloon, bulging but there is nothing except air in it.

In the survey conducted by Gönültaş, it has been seen that 71% of fathers have a job, 48.9% of these fathers who has a job are working in temporary works like gardening and seasonal jobs and 12.1% of fathers are workers (2009:60). These data show that fathers who were employers in rural areas or at least not “employees” who do not have any “boss” turned to “unqualified workers”. As indicated before, this situation causes a shift in the role model of fathers and it becomes another source of internal family problems.

• Internal Family Problems

In cities relations among family members are looser than rural areas, and traditions of rural areas praising communality is being replaced by urban values praising individualism. This and other factors cause deformations in family structure of migrants. Migrant family is ‘on its own’ in city. Social control mechanisms of villages are out of order in cities. Parents who suffer from heavy conditions cannot be a proper role model for their children. Surveys done on women also support this view. Yaşan and Gürgen analysing findings of a survey done with women who applied to an Education and Psychological Information Centre for Women in Diyarbakir, emphasize that the participants determined migration as one of the main causes of internal family disputes (2004b:19). A survey which was conducted to see “the effects of forced internal migration on mental health” also supports this view: *“Our results suggest that forced migration affects mental health negatively and female immigrants experience more emotional distress than male immigrants”* (Sır & Bayram & Özkan, 1998:83).

In the last two decades South-East of Turkey along with migration has witnessed an increase in suicides. A correlation between suicide tendency and internal family problems has been observed. Suicide tendency observed mostly among young women in this region. Migration and family disputes deriving from migration-related problems have been evaluated as major causes of these suicides (Karadeniz, 2006).

• Forced/Unplanned Migration

Forced migration affected mostly South-East of Turkey. Due to clashes between Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) and Turkish Security Forces some villages were evacuated because of security reasons. According to data supplied by Diyarbakir Bar Association, between the years 1990-1997, 3.211 village or hamlets were evacuated and approximately three million people migrated from rural areas to urban

centres. According to report of The Human Rights Inquiry Committee of Turkish Parliament, 3.688 villages and hamlets were evacuated (Aydın & Gündüz, 2010:16). This huge flow of migration caused a lot of problems which affected whole Turkey, some of which were mentioned above.

Yaşan and Gürgen in another research state that they had observed inhalant abuse in region frequently. They held interviews with 113 juveniles who use substances/drugs in Diyarbakir. 62.3% of juveniles were born out of Diyarbakir city centre, and families of 75.6% of them were forcibly migrated (2004a:77-79). Moreover, another survey has shown that almost half of the street children, 44.1%, in Istanbul came from this region (Aydın & Gündüz, 2010:15).

Social instability in the region affects also students of universities. A survey done with 2040 students of Dicle University has shown that 6% of students at least one time used drugs, generally cannabis. The participants indicated that there is a close relation with general situation in the region and substance use among students. Indeed, as it was case in other surveys, again migration seen as one of the main causes (Yalçın & Eşsizoglu & Akkoç & Yaşan & Gürgen, 2009:133).

6. EXPERIENCES OF SOME OTHER STATES

In order to see if the connection between migration and substance use and crime exists or not in other states too, some additional cases will be analyzed very shortly from different states.

The relatively high crime rates of (certain groups of) immigrants within European societies have attracted considerable attention in recent years. *"In many countries, the number of migrants responsible for certain forms of crime exceeds their share in the total population. According to detention statistics, 'migrants', 'minorities' or 'foreigners' are over-represented in prisons. Their absolute and relative numbers have been increasing during the last decade and imprisonment rates are well above those of the general population"* (Leun, 2003:60).

6.1. HOLLAND

In Holland for a long time migration was not on the agenda, but after 90s the migration also became part of the agenda in Holland. Joanne van der Leun conducted a survey and collected findings in a

book called "*Looking for Loopholes: Processes of Incorporation of Illegal Immigrants in the Netherlands*" in year 2003. Van der Leun based that survey primarily on quantitative police data, collected in the city of Rotterdam, combined with data derived from the interviews with 170 illegal immigrants. As it was stressed in other cases findings of this survey also support the view that if migrants have a place in economy, this reduces crime rates. However, when migrants lack these opportunity they tend to, or obliged to, compensate this by other ways, whether legal or illegal. One of the findings of Leun is very important. This finding highlights the **importance of social capital** for migrants. Leun says "*An exception that has attracted considerable attention, is the relatively low level of arrests of Turkish youngsters in crime statistics, who grow up under circumstances that are to a large extent similar to those of Moroccan youngsters... Turkish illegal immigrants are less involved in registered crime. These differences can be at least partly explained on the basis of differential access to the resources that immigrant communities offer. Turkish illegal immigrants in Rotterdam have relatively good access to the 'ethnic economy' and receive more support from their family members and co-nationals in other respects (Staring 2001). At the other side of the spectrum, illegally residing Moroccan and Algerian immigrants are much more left to their own devices. They have more difficulties in finding jobs, housing and financial support and can fall back to a lesser extent on family members*" (2003:61, 163).

6.2. GERMANY

In the case of Germany some findings about role of women and social-political organisations of migrants will be presented. First Turkish migrants who went to Germany in 1961 were almost exclusively men and were received as 'guest workers'. However, **women**, who arrived later largely due to family re-unification, now play a central role in the framing of the integration debate. All sides of debate regard women a symbolic representation of this or that: "*In defining socio-cultural ethnic boundaries, women, their bodies and their social status become highly visible symbols in Germany society*" (Hinze, 2010:73).

Hinze conducted her field research in Berlin from August 2008 to September 2009. She spoke with several representatives from Turkish immigrant community in Berlin. Hinze's study emphasizes Turkish immigrants' under-representation in the German political arena. Turkish migrant organisations and migrant politicians play an important role in the process of being represented in political decision

making processes. Hinze analyzed Turkish Union Berlin-Brandenburg as the case study. Hinze remarks the difficulties migrant organisations have faced and points the success of Turkish Union: *“Because the number of Turkish community organisations that have the credibility to influence mainstream politics in Germany is limited, the role of the ones that have a say in the public debate is twofold: They have to speak with one voice in representation of the Turkish immigrant community as a whole while also doing justice to the community’s diversity. As this study illustrates, the desire of the Turkish Union to speak for the whole community has managed to overcome the divisions within the Turkish immigrant community along the lines of religion and ethnicity”* (2010:150, 151). The success of Turkish community in Germany in such areas shows its effects on adaptation of second generation.

Additional, another matter which needs to be mentioned is **child-care problems** of migrants. Adult migrants are often forced to take low-status and difficult jobs and which means that their work can keep them away from home and their children. Especially caring of children during non-school hours is a great problem. It is very hard to find someone to take care of children because migrants lack the opportunity of having an “extended family” in native country and usually they cannot afford to hire someone for babysitting. This causes stress among children due to inconsistency parental absence. *“A study of immigrant children in Germany showed that % 57 of Turkish children under the age of 15 years were cared for by people other than their mothers. Almost % 20 of pre-schoolers were looked after by siblings, some of them were not much older than the children they were caring for; and over half of all children between the ages of 7 and 14 took care of themselves. A study in Mannheim also revealed that % 69 of the children of Greek immigrants had lived the first years of their lives separated from their parents”* (Council of Europe, 2010).

6.3. HONG KONG

A field research done by Tomazinis in Hong Kong on refugees and asylum seekers from Sub Saharan Africa also supports the views have been presented in this paper. Findings of Tomazinis show that refugees and asylum seekers suffer important psychological problems. Tomazinis notes that Hong Kong's government cannot be described as “inhospitable” towards those seeking asylum. However, the process of making asylum claims *“can be extremely lengthy and has a reported average of 2 to 3 years in Hong Kong. And until official refugee status is achieved many social services are denied for asylum seekers”*

(2009:3-4). Tomazinis presents some general points observed in this and other studies as follows: “*refugees and asylum seekers bear precarious social status, facing impressive psychological and social challenges. ... Refugees are also likely in the midst of acculturation and its associated stress-facing the loss of their country and culture of origin, in addition to a recognizable social network. Anxiety over the challenges of living in a new culture, with a new language, and navigating a new and sometimes inhospitable legal system and community can be very difficult for refugees, asylum seekers, and survivors of torture*”. (2009:4-5). According to results of Tomazinis research, high rates of depression 71%, anxiety 67% and PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress Disorder) 46% observed among asylum seekers from Sub Saharan Africa (2009:45).

6.4. BANGLADESH

Bangladesh has experienced one of the highest urban population growth rates (around 7% per year) over the past three decades. Dhaka, the capital city, is unable to provide shelter, food, education, healthcare, and employment for its rapidly-expanding population. An estimated 3.4 million people live in the overcrowded slums of Dhaka. According to findings of a survey conducted by Koehlmoos and friends, on violence, sexual harassment and drug abuse among homeless in Dhaka: “*Eighty-three percent of female respondents were assaulted by their husbands, station masters, and male police officers. They were subjected to lewd gestures, unwelcome advances, and rape. Male respondents reported being physically assaulted while trying to collect food, fighting over space, or while stealing, by police officers, miscreants, or other homeless people. Sixty-nine percent of the male respondents (n=309) used locally-available drugs, such as marijuana and heroin, and two-thirds of injecting drug-users shared needles*” (2009:452). Women especially suffer from physical and sexual violence at the hands of both their husbands and outsiders, such as law-enforcement officials, local miscreants, and boyfriends.

The Dahaka study also reveals the **vulnerability** of migrants with very concrete data.

CONCLUSION

Overall, most of the studies have suggested that the adaptation of immigrants is shaped to a large extent by the **local conditions**, the

given group faces in the host country, such as a well-developed open economy or a strictly closed economy. There is a positive correlation between openness of hosting states economy and migrant crime rates. Displacing from hosting country's formal and informal economy, decrease in wage and self-employment opportunities causes growing number of immigrants to access into the criminal economy.

Another important point is the **social capital** of the migrants. The policies to strengthen the social capital of immigrant groups will help keeping them away from over-involving in drugs and possibly other types of crime. Cases of Turkish adolescents in Sweden, Cubans in Miami, and Turkish youngsters in Holland all support this view. The strength of social capital renders it easy for immigrant to adapt the new society.

Furthermore, some surveys have showed that migrants are not involving in every type of crime. These studies showed that migrants involve in certain types of crimes which are mostly related to their survival. Therefore, if the fears concerning the basic instinct of all humans, survival, can be met, than it can be said that there will be no significant difference between migrants' and native people's crime rates and types.

Moreover, as it has been observed in Turkish adolescents living in Sweden, welfare state provisions, well designed integration policies or job opportunities can decrease use of drugs and other substances among migrants.

All in all, income-generating activities, targeted education, gender-friendly community programmes, public shelters and crises/support centres, greater community involvement and other programmatic interventions to raise the quality of life of the migrant communities can be suggested for adaptation policies.

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