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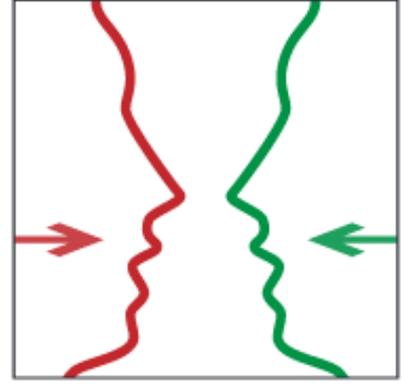
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THE POSSIBLE USE OF BOTH ECOLOGICAL THEORY OF CRIMINOLOGY AND BRONFENBRENNER'S ECOLOGICAL THEORY FOR UNDERSTANDING CRIME

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ABSTRACT

Social disorganization theory is considered as one of the most important theories in criminology in terms of its focus on the affect of social environment on delinquency or crime. However, it ignores the impact of child development and family management on juvenile delinquency which are crucial on juveniles' life trajectories. Hence, extended version of the social disorganization theory (ecological theory in criminology) considered mediating effects of child development and family management. Bronfenbrenner's Ecological theory also seeks to explain human development by emphasizing environmental along with individualistic factors because human ecology theory perceives humans as both biological organism and social beings who have interaction with their environment. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explain the ways that Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory increase our capacity to understand or do research on delinquency or crime by comparing similarities and differences with ecological theory in criminology.

Keywords: Crime, community structure, ecological theory, social control, social disorganization

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**SUÇU ANLAMADA KRİMİNOLOJİK EKOLOJİK TEORİNİN
BRONFENBRENNER'İN EKOLOJİK TEORİSİ İLE BİRLİKTE OLASI
KULLANIMI**

ÖZET

Sosyal düzensizlik teorisi sosyal çevrenin sapma davranışları ve suça etkisine odaklanması açısından önemli bir teoridir. Ne varki çocuk suçluluğu açısından çocukların hayatlarında önemli unsurlar olan çocuk gelişimi ve ebeveynliğin suç üzerindeki etkisi üzerinde durmamaktadır. Bundan dolayı teori, 'kriminolojide ekolojik teori' adı altında geliştirilmiş ve çocuk gelişimi ve ebeveynliğin suç üzerindeki etkilerini gözönünde bulundurmuştur. Bronfenbrenner'in ekolojik teorisi ise insan gelişimini çevresel ve kişisel faktörler ile değerlendirmekte ve insanları sosyal bir varlık ve canlı bir organizma olarak değerlendirmektedir. Bundan dolayı bu makalenin amacı Bronfenbrenner'in ekolojik teorisinin kriminolojide bulunan ekolojik teoriyle birlikte düşünüp bu iki teorinin suçu anlamamızda nasıl katkılarının olacağını her iki teorinin benzerlikleri ve farklılıklarını ortaya koyarak anlatılmaya çalışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Suç, toplumsal yapı, ekolojik teori, sosyal kontrol, sosyal düzensizlik

INTRODUCTION

There is an increased attention to the macro-level explanation of the crime which emphasizes the effects of community structures and community cultures on differential rates of crime. However, the effects of community may not show the influence on individual decisions to break the law. Therefore, in order to determine the impact of social context on patterns of delinquency or offending (also longitudinal), there have been studies which integrated micro-macro level theories of crime in particular, social control, differential association, life course, and social disorganization. It is believed that neighborhood contextual factors have influence on antisocial behavior, delinquency and crime. It is also generally believed that juvenile delinquency is concentrated in disadvantaged neighborhoods and neighborhood adversity has been linked to different forms of delinquency such as violent offenses, presence of gangs which are characterized by poverty, racial segregation of minority groups, and single-parent families; high residential mobility (Kroneman et al, 2004; Morenoff et al, 2001; Simcha-Fagan & Schwartz, 1986). Extended version of social disorganization considered mediating effects of child development and family management. Therefore, Sampson (1993) stated that criminologist recognized that two levels of analysis were not incompatible in order to understand crime.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory seeks to explain human development by emphasizing environmental along with individualistic factors because human ecology theory perceives humans as both biological organism and social beings who have interaction with their environment (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). Bronfenbrenner (1977, 1988) proposed a conceptualization of contexts of development in terms of hierarchy. Individual concept of the theory represents individual characteristics of the person without social context such as genetics, temperament, and so on. Microsystem refers to the people and communities with whom

an individual comes into direct contact such as family, classroom, neighbors, and other people that operates for the child as a daily activity (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1988). However, Bronfenbrenner (1989) extended this concept with considering the potential importance for development of the personal characteristics (temperament, personality, or beliefs) of significant others in the immediate environment. According to Bronfenbrenner, family is the most intense microsystem for the child because emotional, psychological, and other statutes of the family will have influence on the child. For example, parents with poor adjustment, lower income, low education, parent's ethnicity, and single-parent can be considered as some characteristics of family microsystem which is a gateway to the world for children (Garbarino, 1992). Mesosystem, which is the third concept of the theory represents interconnections between the different microsystems containing the developing person such as communication between teacher and parent. The fourth concept, Exosystem includes social and institutional structures that do not involve the individual but exert influence. It represents the settings that do not directly involve the person, but which exert influence on the person such as financial, emotional, or physical situations of their parents. For example, unemployment may affect children indirectly through their effects on parents. Individuals in other exosystems may influence children's microsystems by some decisions such as public policies. Bronfenbrenner (1979) defined exosystem as settings which have an impact on youth but in which youth do not themselves have a role. Macrosystem refers to cultural values, beliefs systems, societal norms, race relations. Bronfenbrenner defined this system as, "The macrosystem consists of the overarching patterns of micro-meso-, and exosystems characteristics of a given culture, subculture, or other broader social context. The macrosystem may be thought of a social blueprint for a particular culture, subculture, or other broader social context. However, Bronfenbrenner (1989) extended this definition by considering some issues such as developmentally instigative belief systems, resources, hazards, life styles, opportunity

structures, life course options, and patterns of social interchange that are embedded in each of these systems. The last concept, Chronosystem was conceptualized as the development of interconnections among individuals and their environments over time, that is, development across the various contexts is likely to shift over time. For example, risk factors or stressors at one age period may not be stressor or risk group in another period. Each system in ecological theory may have different risk or protective factors in it. Moreover, Bronfenbrenner emphasized the chronosystem which mostly focused on life transitions. That is consistent with life-course theory which is also used in ecological theory of criminology. People's development is influenced over time in the environments in which person live. Bronfenbrenner (1986) identified two types of transitions which were normative (school entry, marriage, employment, retirement) and non normative transitions such as divorce, death or severe illness in the family, moving. Or experiences may have their origins either in external environment such as entering school, or within the organism such as puberty, severe illnesses. These transitions both affect person's development and also indirectly affect family processes. For example, divorce of the parents will affect mother-child relationship and the child's behavior in the school.

Overall, we can consider Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory which focuses on human development as mediating effects on neighborhood-crime relationship. Now, I am going to explain how both approaches were used in social research and how they are not different from each other.

BOTH APPROACHES CONSIDER MULTIPLE LEVELS OF INFLUENCES

Sampson and Lauritsen (1994) identified multiple levels of analysis in ecological theory of criminology by using individual, situational, and community terms. Individual-level risk factors refer to age, sex, race/ethnicity, marital status, lifestyle, and SES. Situational-level risk factors refer to type of weapon, use of alcohol, drugs, victim-offender relationship, etc. The macro or community level risk factors refer to community structures and cultures such as residential mobility, heterogeneity, income inequality, population density, and so on. This theory focuses on organization of neighborhoods, interaction among residents, and their relation to delinquency. Theory proposes that residential mobility, low SES, segregation, isolation weakens the social network in the community which allows criminal activity. Extended version of social disorganization considered mediating effects of child development and family management. Therefore, Sampson (1993) stated that criminologists recognized that two levels of analysis were not incompatible in order to understand crime.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological model is a contextualized theory of human development. It posits that individual human development does not occur in isolation, but within multiple, embedded ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989). The context impacts the individual and the individual impacts their context. Therefore, in order to understand behavior, we must know personal and environmental factors which may contribute to the behavior. We can see that both theories take into account multiple levels of influences on crime and delinquency.

EXAMINATION OF DIRECT EFFECT OF COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS ON DELINQUENCY

With regards to ecological theory of criminology, some studies primarily focused on the direct effect of social effects of community characteristics to explain variations in behavior among youth and families in different communities. These studies have attempted to estimate neighborhood effects on individual development outcomes or behaviors. For example, Crane (1991) argued why social problems of ghettos were so bad; therefore focused on neighborhood effects on social problem. He analyzed the pattern of neighborhood effects on dropping out and teenage childbearing. He found that dropping out and childbearing increased in bad neighborhoods for both whites and blacks.

Social address model of Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory is consistent with the direct effects of community characteristics on delinquency concept of ecological theory of criminology. Bronfenbrenner (1989) reformulated his theory and defined development as, "set of processes through which properties of the person and environment interact to produce constancy and change in the characteristics of the person over the life course" (p. 191). The author criticized previous studies on development for some reasons. For example, development was viewed solely as the product of environmental factors through some processes which were unspecified. The research design was defined as social address model and the environmental factors were such as social class, family size, rural vs. urban residence, differences by ethnic group, one vs. two parent families, etc. It was the first way of assessing the impact of environment on development. Bronfenbrenner and Crouter (1983) stated that environment should not be understood in its simplistic way when studying. They mentioned social address model which was used in the study of environmental influences on development. However, they mentioned the limitations of the social address model as, "No explicit consideration is given... to intervening structures or processes through which the environment might affect the course of development. One looks only at the social address-that is, the environmental label-

with no attention to what the environment is like, what people are living there, what they are doing, or how the activities taking place could affect the child” (p. 382-383). In this regard, we can say that this understanding is consistent with ecological theory of criminology. However, there is no broad articulation of what is going on in the environment and its mediating effects are not well considered.

Ceballo et al’s (2001) study can be given as an example of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological theory to examine the impact of environment on children’s development. They studied the psychological impact of children’s exposure to violence and the influence of mother’s knowledge about their children’s encounter with violence. They found that children’s exposure to violence in terms of victimization or witnessing the violence in the neighborhood was associated with greater psychological distress. It was consistent with Bronfenbrenner’s (1986) ecological perspective which emphasized on the impact of contextual variables on family processes and children’s development.

Bronfenbrenner et al (1984) assessed general community effects on child development in terms of urban-rural differences due to its possible effects on intellectual developments of the child. They first criticized some studies which only considered urban-rural difference without controlling other variables such as family characteristics, SES, race. While those studies found significant effects on intellectual development of children who lived in urban areas than children in rural areas, after controlling other variables, the results were almost the same. When rural children moved to urban areas, some studies found that, they gradually improved. However, if we believe that urban areas foster cognitive growth, then how can we explain some studies which found that psychological problems were much more common in urban areas than rural areas? We can see that studies which consider the impact of neighborhoods as a whole may have some inconsistent findings when looking at from different perspective. Therefore, there needs to be focus on that there must be something about living in

the city which predispose people into less cognitive development, deviance, or crime. The authors stated that, based on the literature the effect was to some extent ecological as well as individual.

CONSIDERATION OF EFFECTS OF COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS THROUGH INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS

In terms of ecological theory of criminology, sometimes neighborhoods have effect on individuals through individual's characteristics. Gottfredson and Taylor (1986) examined the influence of neighborhood context on the likelihood of recidivism after release from the prison. They found that neighborhood aspects had effect on the likelihood of recidivism but also that effect occurred through an interaction with individual characteristics. For example, if person released from prison, had an extensive past criminal record, he would be more likely to be arrested if he was released into socially disorganized neighborhoods. Kubrin and Stewart (2006) also found similar results. For example, when individual level variables such as black, history of prior arrests, received new criminal sanctions, enter in areas with high levels of disadvantage and inequality, they more likely to recidivate than entering in affluent or resource rich communities.

Characteristics of the neighborhood have influence on people for risk and their development. Brooks-Gunn et al (1993) found that children growing up in affluent neighborhoods did better than children growing up in low income neighborhoods. However, they also indicated that while neighborhood characteristics were important, family level factors were also important as moderating effect such as warmth and receptiveness of mother. They stated that neighborhood influences on child and adolescent development was moderated by family level variables such as supervision, monitoring children.

Simcha-Fagan and Schwartz's (1986) study was a good example which examined both individual and community level variables to measure delinquency. They conceptualized community effects as residential stability, economic level, community organization/participation, and criminal subculture. They run their model to see the effects of those variables on three measures of delinquency such as aggregated measures of official delinquency, self-reported delinquency, and severe self-reported delinquency. They found that these variables accounted for community variance in different percentages and stated that, "level of organizational participation and residential stability has unique effects in predicting survey-reported delinquency" (p. 683). However, when individual levels of offending were examined, the amount of variance explained by those community level variables were reduced and the authors contended that community effects of delinquency were mediated by other individual-family level variables.

Person-Context model of Bronfenbrenner is consistent with ecological theory of crime which emphasized the effects of community characteristics through individuals' characteristics. Second way of assessing the impact of external environment on particular family process was defined as person-context model in which both characteristics of person and the environment were taken into account jointly. He stated that while this way had the same limitation as the previous one had, its strength was its capacity to identify ecological niches (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Bronfenbrenner (1988) defined some locations which are favorable or unfavorable to the development of individuals with particular characteristics such as single-parent, mothers of low income and low education with two or more children for psychological development are called as ecological *niches*. For example, Bronfenbrenner (1989) gave one of his studies as an example in which he found pregnant mother was more likely to have low-birth-weight baby if she is under 19, black, had education less than high school, lived in central section of large metropolitan city, or unmarried. On the other hand, pregnant woman was less likely to have

low-birth-weight baby if she was white, college educated, living in the middle-class neighborhood, married, in their middle or late 20s. However, the author stated that information was only informative and did not tell us much more about mothers' education, place of residence, marital status, and race that affected the weight of the baby. In other words, we do not know how those personal and environmental characteristics operated to influence human development. Therefore, process element was added into the model.

Bronfenbrenner (1988) stated that there are variations in both context and personal characteristics; therefore, "various combinations of environmental and personal characteristics can produce developmental effects that cannot be predicted from knowledge about either of these domains of influence examined independently of each other" (p. 31). He stated that this understanding was rarely applied in research; therefore, little is known about environments can have different effects on humans who have different characteristics.

INTERVENING DIMENSIONS OF COMMUNITY SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

For ecological theory of criminology, culture of the neighborhood and formal/informal social organizations which are structural dimensions of the community social organization are mediating effects on relationship between neighborhood disadvantage and crime/delinquency. For example, Elliott et al (1996) mentioned that although there were several studies analyzed the effects of living in certain neighborhoods on individuals, families, peer groups, and other social networks, there were not many studies which considered the mediating effects of neighborhood organization and culture. Their primary focus was on that why some youth managed to be successful to be in the legitimate way and productive in spite of social and economic adversity of these neighborhoods. In this respect, they viewed neighborhoods as a transactional setting that influences individual behavior and development both directly and

indirectly which was conceptualized as ecological-developmental perspective. Therefore, both individual and contextual influences should be considered together.

Community social organization may be defined as the ability of community structure to realize common beliefs and values of its residents and maintain effective social control. The prevalence and interdependence of social networks in the community can be used to measure structural dimensions of community social organization in both informal (such as density of friendship ties, local friendship ties, and density of acquaintanceship) or formal (organizational participation, organizational density, local participation in formal and informal voluntary organizations). There should be also collective supervision toward local problems. In this respect, we can see the local communities as a complex system of friendship/kinship networks, formal and informal associational ties rooted in family and ongoing social processes (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1994). If there are structural barriers among residents in the neighborhood or community, family disruption, and urbanization they will affect formal networks and informal networks such as friends monitoring children negatively which means social control will disappear and consequently lack of collective supervision will lead to higher rates of delinquency. Local friendship networks which were considered under informal social organization was found having significant inverse effects on robbery and assault (Sampson & Groves, 1989).

Bronfenbrenner's *context-person-process* model is consistent with the intervening dimensions of community social organization in ecological theory of criminology. Bronfenbrenner (1988) extended the person-context model and added *process* domain. In this regard, context represents in which development takes place; personal characteristics represent biological or psychological characteristics of the person in that context; and process represents development is brought about. He also claims that process is subject to the interactive moderating effects of both person and context. The author stated that conceptualization of the

environment (micro-meso-exo-macrosystem) “makes possible the analysis of the mediating and moderating processes that constitute the linkages between and within the environmental systems shaping the course of human development” (p. 39). For example, Konester and Haynie (2005) examined the effect of neighborhood on adolescent violence. They found that living in neighborhoods with lower proportion of single-parent families increases adolescent violence. They also found that adolescents living in neighborhoods with lower proportion of single-parent families and who report higher levels of family integration commit less violence. Family integration is moderating effect which influence adolescent violence.

Bronfenbrenner et al (1984) examined the impact of informal community structures on children and families under two types of informal structures. The first is social networks and interconnections between community members, and the second is a behavior setting; that is, places in the community in which people engage in particular activities. Social networks were examined by considering informal relations of family members, relatives, friends, neighbors, and co-workers. In terms of exosystem, the authors stated the importance of those primary ties for family well-being and child development. They emphasized the importance of evaluating the structure (size, density), content (type of linkage), and function (what networks are used for). These networks provided emotional support (interpersonal source) or providing information and access to more formal organizational aid (practical source). Emotional support and providing exchange of goods and services were considered as important aspects of interpersonal source for family members. Friends were also found as having significant impact beyond the relatives in terms of intimacy and support. In sum, informal social supports provided families with a sense of integration into the community and buffered against child abuse.

Bronfenbrenner et al (1984) examined the impact of formal community organizations and institutions on child development and family lives under five categories which were health,

welfare, social services to school, day-care facilities, and religious institutions. They found that, after examining data on geographic distribution, they found that several services were block-booked by neighborhood and the community. People's access to those services depended on where they lived. They stated that quality and quantity of the services were stratified in the same way as communities were stratified by income. While ecological theory of criminology focuses on the community social organization's role of realizing the common values of its residents and maintains effective social control; Bronfenbrenner's ecological model focuses on the role of formal/informal networks of people on human development. In this regard, we can say that while they focused on the same issue, their emphasis was different while the former focused on effective social control, the latter focused on human development. Ecological theory of criminology focuses on crime and its associated factors whereas Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory focuses on human development. Martens (1993) stated that Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory focused on development of 'normal' behavior. However, while main ingredients of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model are child's emotional and cognitive development and considering child's development in its everyday contexts, he said that this theory can be considered in terms of delinquency, because Bronfenbrenner is more interested in with whom the child interacts in day-to-day situations and characteristics of these interactions.

RECIPROCAL RELATIONSHIP IN BOTH RESEARCH

Elliott et al (1996) pointed out reciprocal relationship between neighborhood/community context and formal/informal social control. They stated that while disadvantaged neighborhoods can discourage exercise of social control, lack of social control may contribute the increasing level of disadvantage in the community/neighborhood. Byrne and Sampson (1986) argued there would be reciprocal relationship between ecological change and

delinquency rates. In terms of reciprocal relationship, Bursik and Grasmick (1993) stated that, "low level of systematic control increase the likelihood of crime, high levels of crime decrease the effectiveness of systematic control, and the entire process spirals onward" (p. 58).

One of the assumptions of the Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory is that it assumes bi-directionality. There are reciprocal relations among multiple systems of influence on person's behavior. For instance, public policy affects individual lives but also individuals influence public policies. Individuals and their environment are continually interacting and exerting mutual influence and as a result, are constantly changing. The environment influences individual development and in turn, the individual changes the environment.

RACE-GENDER EMPHASIZE OF BOTH APPROACHES

Studies in ecological theory of criminology that examine relationship between disadvantaged neighborhoods and delinquency are based on predominantly male adolescent samples. Although interventions in these neighborhoods target males and females equally, there are few studies which examine contextual influence on females. For example, Kroneman et al (2004) mentioned those differences as experiencing a later onset of delinquency than boys, desistance from violence more rapidly, demonstrating less aggression, less involvement in gangs, gun carrying, or street fighting and more likely to victimize family members rather than strangers based on the literature. Females are also more supervised than males; tend to play often at home than outside. While there are many differences between males and females, it is important to question whether or not there is different influence of neighborhoods on girls. In this respect, after examining literature on this issue, the author found that girls showed more problems, exposed to more risk factors as well as boys in disadvantaged neighborhoods than those in advantaged neighborhood. Jones (2010) published an interesting book about black girls

in a bad neighborhood which conveyed not only pathways to crime for girls but also realities of life such as structural inequality, drug use, exposure to gun violence, and societal pressure to subscribe to traditional femininity perception. She focused on issues girls confront, which are different than those of boys in such neighborhoods. She showed intersection of different factors such as race, class, neighborhood, and age.

Bronfenbrenner (1992) stated that in ecological studies which focus on human development should provide differences in processes and outcomes that were associated with gender, race, or age. Therefore, there are studies in Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory which emphasized on gender and race. For example, Small and Luster (1994) developed an ecological model of selected risk factors for adolescent sexual activity. Low intellectual ability, drug use, and history of sexual abuse were considered as individual level risk factors. Single parent household, poor parental monitoring, and low SES were considered as familial level risk factors. Having sexually active peers, having few positive school experiences, living in low quality neighborhood and living in low neighborhood monitoring were considered as extra familial risk factors. Perkins et al (1998) extended Small and Luster's (1994) study and examined risk factors for female adolescents' sexual activity on three ethnic groups. They evaluated risk factors under personal, familial, and extra familial factors. Individual risk factors were lack of school success, age, using alcohol, low religiosity, physical and sexual abuse. They did not find significant effect of parental monitoring as found previous studies. They found also significant effect of school climate on sexual activities.

NEIGHBORHOOD EFFECTS ON FAMILIES

Hay et al (2006) argued that while there were many studies which examined relationship between criminal involvement and parental supervision, discipline, little attention was given to social context of families in which they live. Therefore, they examined some family

characteristics such as parent-child attachment, parental monitoring, parental reinforcement of prosocial behavior, use of physical punishment, and parental coercion would depend on poverty in the neighborhood or perceived inadequacy of the neighborhood to raise children as rated by parents. They found that when community disadvantage increased (poverty and perceived inadequacy of the community to raise children), the effects on crime of family problems became stronger.

Gorman-Smith et al (2000) used Bronfenbrenner's ecology theory to study how different family patterns affect different patterns of offending and how these relations vary as a function of community setting. In other words, developmental ecological theory was used to examine how the relation of community characteristics, social processes, and organization within the neighborhood influence increased child risk through moderation of family functioning. They examined parenting practices such as discipline and monitoring and family relationship characteristics such as cohesion, beliefs. They examined community and neighborhood in two ways. First, social organization of neighborhood defined as social support and cohesion among neighbors, supervision of children by other adults, participation in formal and voluntary organizations; and second, structural characteristics of community such as poverty, residential mobility, economic investment, crime rates. They contended that those community and neighborhood had influence on family functioning and its relation to the risk. They found some interesting findings. For example, while functioning families were protective effect for their children in those neighborhoods, poverty and crime rates of the neighborhoods might negatively impact the effect of those families which means that sometimes good parenting may not be enough in those neighborhoods. On the other hand, neighborhoods with high social organization may be protective factors for youth from susceptibility to serious and violent offending coming from nonfunctioning families. Then, based on the findings, the

authors stated that, “the relation of family functioning characteristics to delinquency patterns is dependent, to some extent, on the characteristics of the neighborhood in which family resides” (p. 189). Tolan et al (2003) found similar findings. They proposed that the impact of parenting skills and peers which are major developmental influences were influenced by structural characteristics of the environment in which children and families lived. They found that structure of the neighborhoods predicted neighborhood social processes in which neighbors received less support in disadvantaged neighborhoods which was thought to buffer against risk. Parenting practices fully mediated in its relation to peer violence by gang membership.

HOW FAMILY FACTORS WERE STUDIED IN BOTH APPROACHES

Family factors in ecological theory of criminology were examined at least three ways. First, marital status of the offenders was examined in terms of its association with offending. Second, family structure and intervening family processes were examined in terms of its association with aggression and other delinquency or criminality such as broken homes or single parent families, parental neglect, punishment styles, punitiveness, marital conflict, parental criminality. Third, intergenerational transmission of violence which refers to violence breeds violence assumption such as child abuse (Sampson & Lauritsen, 1994). Moreover, ecological theory of criminology focuses on how lack of parental practices, supervision, and monitoring may lead to delinquency in aggregate level by the mediating effect of negative peer influence. That is, delinquency is consequence of families’ lack of formal/informal social organization in their neighborhoods which lead to lack of cohesion, then, lack of control and leads to delinquency/crime.

In terms of Bronfenbrenner’s ecological theory, there are some similarities between criminological approach and Bronfenbrenner’s approach. For example, In Bronfenbrenner’s (1984) conceptualization, single-parent families tend to be more isolated in the community and

therefore, had less social support. The authors stated that single-parent families in particular women tend to use less community resources such as community centers. In this regard, single parent families were considered with their function. However, Anderson (2002) states that in ecological theories of criminology this notion are extended to collective level in which single-parent families are considered with their proportion in the social setting and used to explain delinquency or criminality. However, in Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, families are examined more broadly with its dynamic. Families are the primary context for child development and exist within the contexts of development which are nested within other contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). We can learn what is really happening in the family when we look at from the mesosystem perspective. The ecological model assumes that an individual's development is enhanced if the mesosystem- that is the relationships among the microsystems is consistent and positive. It can be perceived as a system of microsystems. In both microsystems and mesosystems, children are active participants. Interaction of a child with a family member, the school environment describes mesosystem. Mesosystems can be a source of conflict. That is, family microsystem may promote conventional values, norms and discourage delinquent behaviors while peer microsystems may encourage delinquent behaviors. In this regard, any of those microsystems may have the most influence on the child or adolescence. Bronfenbrenner (1979) stated that, for integrated personality to develop in a child, "enduring reciprocal relationships, and larger and more complex mesosystems as a function of the child's age mean enhanced development" (p. 25).

DIFFERENCE IN INFORMAL SOCIAL CONTROL

Ecological theory of criminology examines informal social organization in terms of social cohesion, collective efficacy in order to control neighborhood and community. When

residents establish local social ties, local friendship networks, and the density of acquaintanceship, their capacity for community social control will increase because they will be able to engage in guardianship against victimization by easily recognizing strangers (Sampson, 1993; Sampson & Lauritsen, 1994). The emphasis is on the control over the neighborhood. Similarly, Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory considers informal social organization in terms of its effect on children/adolescents' development under the exosystem. For example, psychological development of the children is affected not only by what is happening in other environments in which children spend their time, but also in other settings in which their families live. Children do not need to be present in this environment such as parent's world of work, parent's friends, their social network which affects children indirectly. Three types of exosystems were mentioned which were more likely to affect the development of the child through their influence on family processes such as family and work, parental support networks, and the family and the community. For example, husband's unemployment may result in loss of status in family, increase tensions and disagreements, decrease social life outside the home; maternal employment may have negative influence on boys. In terms of parental support networks, most of the studies showed positive effects of kinship/friendship decreased stress, depression, had more positive attitudes toward themselves (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

CHANGE IN TIME

When Bronfenbrenner (1989) mentioned chronosystem which focused on life transitions, he mentioned that dimension of time was missing element and change in the characteristics of people and environments were treated as fixed entities observed only at a single point of time and presumed to remain constant. For example, social class and family composition were treated as if they never changed. The studies may be short term or long term.

For example, in short term studies data may be collected before and after the life experience or life transition. Long term studies may take years to examine life course of the people. However, one of the essential features of the ecological model in criminology is the focus on neighborhood change over time and its consequences for crime (Bursik, 1988). Ecological theory of criminology had many studies which were longitudinally designed and showed change in the features of individuals and environment in particular Sampson and Laub's studies.

CONCLUSION

This study examined the use of ecological theory of criminology and Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory in human research. Discussions demonstrated that ecological theory of criminology mostly focused on the influence of neighborhood characteristics on crime whereas Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory mostly focused on human development along with the influence of mesosystem, macrosystem, and the chronosystem which can be considered as macro level influences. Therefore, both approaches can be integrated when studying crime. That is, individual level explanations and macro level explanations in both approaches would be used in this contextual analysis in an end-to-end integration. Disadvantaged neighborhood (disadvantaged neighborhood refers to socioeconomic variables and reflects the theoretical contributions of ecological theory of criminology, and Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory) characteristics lead to crime through mediating effects of formal/informal social control, social cohesion, and peer influences. Moreover, adding Bronfenbrenner's ecological model to explain how disadvantaged neighborhood characteristics lead to children/adolescent development through the mediating effects of individual-school-family level variables, reduced control, and lowered self esteem can be explained under the macrosystem and used it as a mediating effect on self control. The reason for using Bronfenbrenner's ecological model as mediating effect is

because the ecological model proposes that individual development is influenced by the ongoing qualities of the social settings in which children participates. Therefore, it provides us broad explanation about what is happening in social settings of the child development such as family. Therefore, both approaches can be used together in future criminological research on juvenile delinquency in particular.

SONUÇ

Bu çalışmada kriminolojik ekolojik teori ile Bronfenbrenner'in ekolojik teorileri birlikte incelenmiştir. Sonuçta kriminolojik ekolojik teorinin daha çok çevresel faktörlere odaklandığı buna karşın Bronfenbrenner'in ekolojik teorisinin ise insan gelişimini mezosistem, makrosistem ve kronosistem olarak adlandırılan ve makro seviyede çevresel faktör olarak ta değerlendirilen sistemler üzerinden ele aldığı görülmüştür. Bundan dolayı suç araştırmalarında her iki teori birbirlerine entegre edilebilir. Yani, kişisel değerdeki veriler ile makro seviyedeki veriler 'sondan sona' (end to end integration) yöntemi kullanılarak birleştirilebilir. Kriminolojik ekolojik teorinin ve kısmen Bronfenbrenner'in üzerinde durduğu kötü çevresel faktörlerin suç üzerindeki etkisinin resmi veya gayri resmi sosyal kontrol mekanizmaları, ebeveynlik, çocuğun gelişimi ve arkadaş etkisi üzerinden değerlendirilmesi her iki teorinin birleştirilmesi neticesinde elde edilebilir. Bunun yanında kötü çevresel faktörlerin çocuk gelişimi üzerindeki olumsuz etkilerinin birey, okul, ve aile faktörleri ile birlikte değerlendirilerek incelenmesi Bronfenbrenner'in ekolojik teorisinin kriminolojik çalışmalara katkısı olacaktır. Bunun sebebi ise bu teorinin bireyin her iletişime girdiği çevreyi kapsayan bir sistemler bütünü ifade etmesidir. Bundan dolayı her iki teorinin birleştirilmesi suçun açıklanmasında daha kapsamlı çalışmalara öncülük edebilecektir.

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