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Interaction of A New Type of Gang and New Media in Turkey: Daltons Street Gang Social Media Content Analysis

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Abstract

The study aims to explain, describe and explore the content produced by the Dalton Gang through new media and communication tools. As a result of the preliminary examination, it was seen that the social media platform that the Dalton Gang used most actively and reached the largest audience was the TikTok Application. For this reason, the case study was limited to the accounts and content on the TikTok application. The 6 most active gang member accounts (158 TikTok content) were determined as a sample. The MAXQDA program was used in the analysis of the data. The prominent results of the study are as follows. The Dalton street gang is the first representative of the third-generation gang type which produce their own image and publish it directly through social media. The gang is aware that the physical power in the social networks and the symbolic power in social media amplify each other. The gang are following strategies to disrupt the existing field of power in the criminal habitat by producing written, visual and audio content on the subject of challenge and determination. Even though the gang cannot dominate the crime habitat, it has managed to gain enough capital to be an actor. The gang has created a unique and autonomous criminal culture (area, capital, habitus) by using symbolic and physical power together. Therefore, it is understood that Dalton gangs are not a temporary phenomenon but indicate a new period (street gangs' period) in Turkey's criminal history.

Keywords: *Social change, new media and communication, street gangs, crime habitat, content analysis*

Öz

Çalışmanın amacı, Dalton Çetesi'nin yeni medya ve iletişim araçları aracılığıyla ürettiği içerikleri açıklamak, tanımlamak ve keşfetmektir. Ön inceleme sonucunda Dalton Çetesi'nin en aktif kullandığı ve en geniş kitleye ulaştığı sosyal medya platformunun TikTok Uygulaması olduğu görülmüştür. Bu nedenle vaka çalışması TikTok uygulamasındaki hesaplar ve içeriklerle sınırlandırılmıştır. Örneklem olarak en aktif 6 çete üyesi hesabı (158 TikTok içeriği) belirlenmiştir. Verilerin analizinde MAXQDA programı kullanılmıştır. Çalışmanın öne çıkan sonuçları şunlardır. Dalton sokak çetesi, kendi imajını üreten ve bunu doğrudan sosyal medya aracılığıyla yayımlayan üçüncü nesil çete tipinin ilk temsilcisidir. Çete, sosyal ağlardaki fiziksel güç ile sosyal medyadaki sembolik gücün birbirini büyüttüğünün farkındadır. Çete, meydan okuma ve kararlılık konusu hakkında yazılı, görsel ve işitsel içerikler üreterek suç ortamındaki mevcut güç alanını bozmak için stratejiler izlemektedir. Çete suç habitatına hakim olamasa da bir aktör olmak için yeterli sermayeyi elde etmeyi başarmıştır. Çete, sembolik ve fiziksel gücü birlikte kullanarak kendine özgü ve özerk bir suç kültürü (alan, sermaye, habitus) yaratmıştır. Dolayısıyla Dalton çetelerinin geçici bir olgu olmadığı, Türkiye'nin suç tarihinde yeni bir dönemi (sokak çeteleri dönemi) işaret ettiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Sosyal değişim, yeni medya ve iletişim, sokak çeteleri, suç habitat, içerik analizi*

Introduction

Globalization, especially communication technologies, provide revolutionary changes for local organized crime gangs (Arsovska, 2008). However, how these global opportunities are used varies according to local crime groups. Because the structural characteristics and activities of organized crime gangs vary according to the geography, political and cultural structure of each country (Kocasakal, 2002). These cultural contexts determine how organized crime will form and develop, what kind of quality and volume it will have (Siegel- Nelen, 2007). Turkey's individual phone ownership (95.4%- 81.68 million), active social media usage (83.4%- 71.38 million), and time spent on the internet and social media are above the world average. It is particularly noteworthy that active social media usage is well above the world average (Wearesocial, 2023). In this context, social media has an important place in shaping the nature and volume of the formation and development of new generation organized crime gangs in Turkey.

Organized crime gangs can create a social phenomenon effect by using social media technologies. This effect is mostly effective on digital natives today. The only exception of this situation is Sedat Peker, one of the famous mafia bosses of Turkey. Peker's 10 videos, especially published in 2021, were watched by a total of 108.6 million people (as of July 26, 2024) on his own channel alone, apart from the extraordinary interaction he created (Peker, 2021). Thus, as a criminal organization leader, he manages to attract the attention of all digital natives and digital immigrants. Therefore, content that reaches millions of people on social media is an important threshold for criminal gangs to make themselves heard.

The internet entered Turkey in 1993. Internet infrastructure services started in 1996. (Gönenç, 2003). In this case, digital natives born in 1993 will be 31 years old in 2024. When we look at the 2023 data of the Turkish Statistical Institute, those between the ages of 0-29 are 44.2% of the total population (37,726,733 people) (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2024). For this reason, the population's news and social media habits differ.

The Peker case demonstrates the impact of the democratization of media technologies in the criminal context. It is understood that organized crime gangs no longer need institutional, traditional press and broadcasting organizations to manage their own image and perception. Crime gangs have gained the opportunity to deliver the content they produce directly to the masses. This situation reveals the need to discuss the media and crime relationship in a different context. The literal context of this necessity is discussed in the conceptual and theoretical framework section.

Therefore, the subject of this article is to analyze the content published on social media applications of the Dalton Gang, a new generation criminal gang. Thus, it is aimed to describe, explain and discover the message of a criminal group that now produces its own broadcasts to the public through new media channels without the need for traditional media outlets, and the effect of this message.

When articles on crime are scanned in the TR INDEX abstract section between the years 1996-2023 (July 22, 2024), a total of 2289 articles are seen (Figure 1). When these articles are examined one by one, it is seen that there are 69 articles that analyze written, visual and digital media. Of these 69 articles, only 5 of them analyze digital media. Most of the written analyses are analyses of crime elements in books and stories. Most of the visual analyses are analyses of television series and programs. In digital media analyses, marginalized neighborhoods (Söğüt, 2020), social media use in the police force (Karakaya- Uz, 2021), news about children who are dragged into crime (Doğan, 2022), news about women (Acar et al., 2023), and crime news (Baki- Budayıcıoğlu, 2023) are analyzed. However, none of these studies address the communication styles and content of criminal groups such as the Mafia and gangs.

When the WOS INDEX Topic section is written as "crime and Turkey" and the years 1997-2023 are scanned (July 22, 2024), a total of 9 articles are seen (Figure 2). When these articles are examined one by one, it is seen that there are 4 articles analyzing written, visual, and digital media. Most of the written analyses are analyses of crime elements in books and stories.
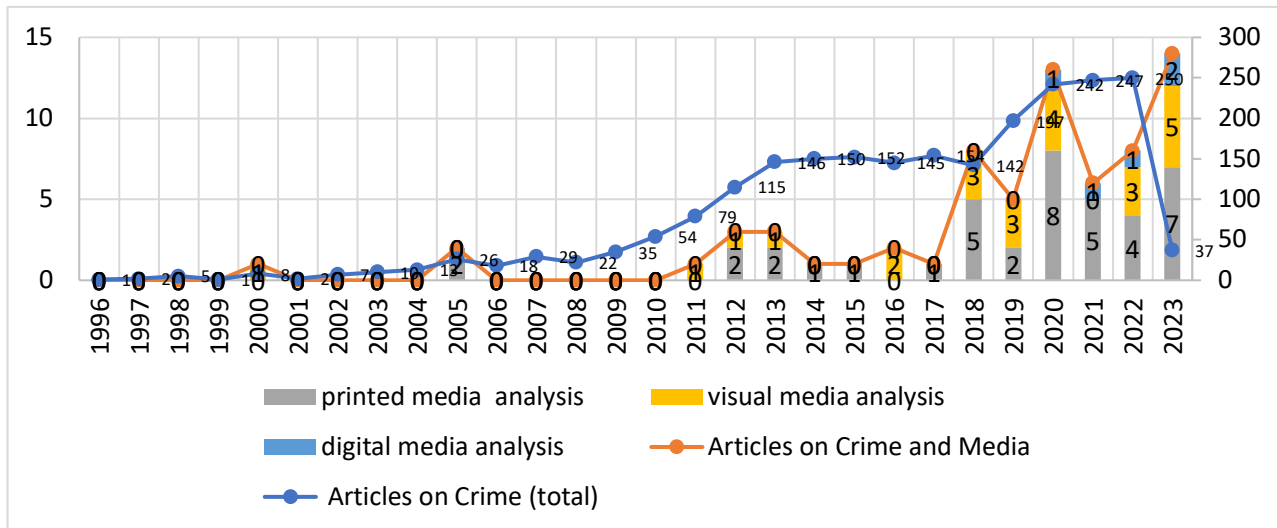
Figure 1. TR INDEX – Distribution of articles on crime and crime/media by year (written, visual and digital media)

Most of the visual analyses are analyses of television series and programs. In digital media analyses, news targeting Muslims (Nickerson, 2019; El-Nawawy- Elmasry, 2017), classified crimes (Savaş-Topaloğlu, 2019), and immigrants (Gulmez, 2019) are analyzed. In none of these studies are the communication styles and contents of criminal groups such as the Mafia and gangs addressed.

Crime Perpetrators and Social Representation Periods in Turkey

In order to determine the conceptual and theoretical basis on which the study will be addressed, it is necessary to briefly touch on the history of criminal perpetrators and their social representations in Turkey.
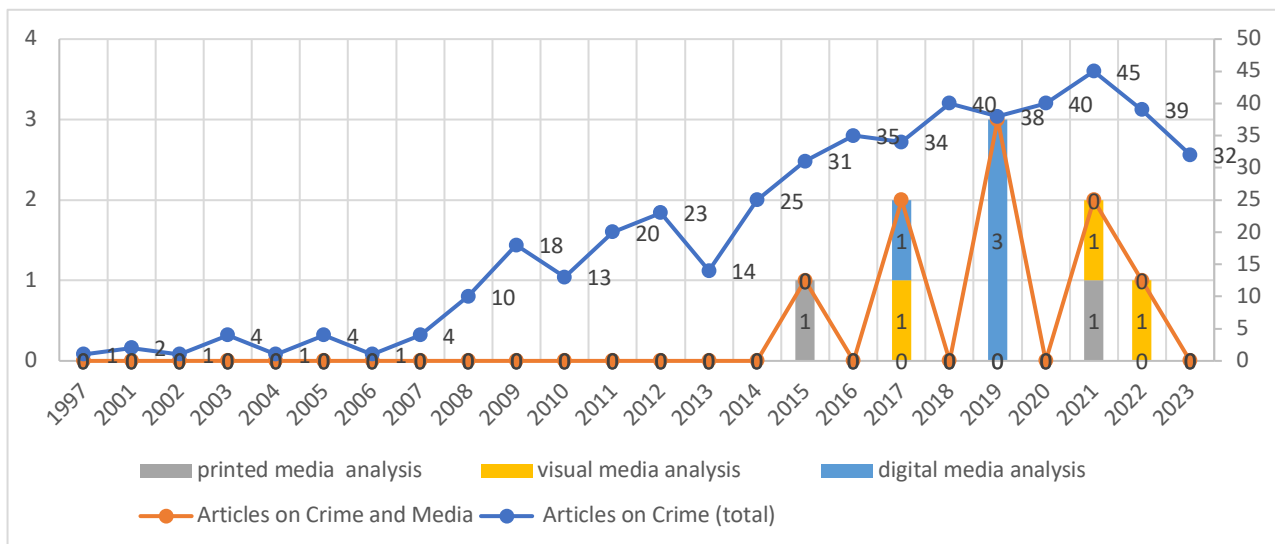

Figure 2. WOS INDEX – Distribution of articles on crime/Turkey and crime/media by year (written, visual and digital media)

As understood from the literature review, there is no publication that includes the subject and purpose of the article study. In this respect, the study will be a first in the literature. It is aimed that the study will be encouraging for other researchers, especially in these contexts.

When the literature is examined in this context, it is possible to evaluate the ways in which crimes and criminal groups in Turkish history produce consent in the context of changing communication technologies in three periods (Table 1).

Table 1. Crime Perpetrators and Social Representation Periods in Turkey (created by the authors)

Periods	Number of perpetrators	Representatives	Compliance with state and social values	Interest	Content Producer	Communication Technologies
1.Verbal representation period (1920-1980)	One-man crime	Big bully	Compatible	Make a name	Himself	Bush telegraph
2.Written and visual representation period (1980-2011)	Organized crime	Mafia boss > Gang	Hypocritical	Make money to protect a name	Traditional technologies> Himself	Traditional technologies (newspapers and radio/television)
3.Digital representation period (2011- continues)	Organized crime	Street Gang > Street gang'boss	İncompatible	Make a name to protect money	Himself>Digital technologies	Digital technologies (social media)

Verbal Representation Period (1920-1980)

It is possible to date the beginning of the Verbal Representation period back to earlier times. However, since the foundation of the Turkish State was in 1920, the first period began on this date.

When looking at the works of Twelves (Alus, 2019), Numbered Storms (Ulunay, 2017), Old Istanbul Life, Wives, and Bullies (Hiçyılmaz, 1996), and Once Upon a Time in Istanbul (Balıkhane Nazırı, 1995) tell the story of bullies in Istanbul's history and when looking at the works of History in Ankara, Bullies (Özmen, 2009), and Ankara Bullies (Soyuer, 2015) tell the story of criminals who made a name for themselves in the capital city of Ankara in the early years of the Republic of Turkey. In modern Türkiye, the urban population surpassed the rural population for the first time between 1980-85 (Koyuncu, 2012). It is understood that the Ottoman criminal typology persisted until this period.

In the light of the sources listed above, it is possible to summarize the actors of this period as follows. These notorious criminals are called big bullies. These people are calm and slow-moving people with their jackets on their shoulders, shirts open on their chests, and knives and weapons visible from their belts. Their appearance and reputation are enough to generate consent in their surroundings. Bullies tend to protect their reputations at the cost of dying in society, as they know that every move they make will be whispered to the public. For this reason, when they have a conflict of interest with another bullies, they turn into yelling, fast and angry people, unlike their previous states.

During this period, on the one hand, the criminal typologies in the Ottoman State continued, while on the other hand, modern criminal typologies developed. It is the period when criminals produced their own images using their bodies, clothes, and voices. The bullies of this period were in line with the values of the state and society. Big bullying is a one-person affair. For this reason, they do not give any importance to economic capital. All they care about is their name, that is, their social capital. A second person, and often even using a gun or knife, means tarnishing their reputation. Because the real bullies are the ones who can handle everything without ever reaching for their guns or raising their voices. During this period, conflicts of interest between bullies take place like a pitched battle, in the form of a rupture, and end where they started. It spreads by word of mouth through eyewitness accounts.

Written and Visual Representation Period (1980-2011)

It is seen that urbanization in Turkey accelerated after the 1950s (Koyuncu, 2015) and only in 1980 did the urban population exceed the rural population (Koyuncu, 2012). The period between 1908 and 1980 was the maturation phase of organized crime in Turkey (Gingeras; 2010; 2014). In parallel with all these processes, newspaper and television technologies were developing. Television broadcasting activities in Turkey began in 1968 under the roof of TRT (İlaslan, 2014, 484). In 1990, the number of channels on TRT increased to five and the first private television broadcast took place. In 1999, it was seen that 36 local and 11 foreign channels were

actively broadcasting (Özçağlayan, 2014, 42). Parallel to these developments in communication technologies, it is seen that the 1980s were the maturation period of organized crime in Turkey (Gingeras, 2014). During this period, bullying was no longer a one-man affair. Since they also had to provide for the people around them, money was now as important as reputation. Bullies now knew that their reputations were spread not by whispers but through newspapers (we would have to wait until the 1990s to find a place on state television). It is seen that almost all of those who wrote about bullies during this period were journalists (Çulcu, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c; Yurdakul, 2012, 2001; Cem, 2004; Kılıçbay vd., 2010; Alamdar, 2015; Devrim 2014, Parlar, 2006; Türk, 2005; Seyrek, 2018; Mansur, 2019). At this stage, the writers have a one-sided narrative. The perpetrators of crimes have no direct effect on their own images. With the spread of private televisions in the late 1990s, it is seen that the perpetrators of crimes, who used to be the subject of newspaper pages, have become a part of television broadcasting. However, unlike newspapers, they now have a little influence on their own voices and images. The respected television broadcasters of the nineties, Mehmet Ali Birand (2021), made television broadcasts that became trending in 1993 with Mehmet Nabi İnciler, known as İnci Baba, Savaş Ay (A Takım, 2023) with Dündar Kılıç in his hiding place in 1994, and Günel (2002) with Sedat Peker. Despite passing through the filter of broadcasting ethics and constructs of the organizations, the broad masses watched and listened to the perpetrators of crimes for the first time.

In the light of the sources listed above, it is possible to summarize the actors of this period as follows. In this period, big bullies began to be called mafia bosses. These people were careful to dress and act like respectable business people. They kept themselves in the legal field and committed crimes against the members around them. For this reason, those who fought in the struggles were not the cats of the bullies but their gangs and their images. For this, their economic capital had to be enough to finance the gang and the media. They did not carry guns or knives if it wasn't necessary. Their images in newspapers and televisions rather than their appearances created consent. They no longer entered into struggles at the cost of dying. Because what really mattered was not the struggle but the image they would create in newspapers and televisions afterwards. The bullies of this period appeared to be in line with the values of society and the state in order to protect their names. However, due to their need for money to protect their names, they could easily commit many shameful crimes (drug dealing, etc.) that did not comply with the values of society and the state. What was important was that shameful crimes did not find enough space in the written and visual media to damage their social image. The conflicts in this period were not momentary but strategic.

Digital Representation Period (2011- continues)

This period begins one generation after the introduction of digital technologies, of which the internet is the locomotive, to Turkey, with the first generation of digital natives becoming adults.

This is the period when criminals reproduce their own images and images. Opportunities created by globalization cause revolutionary changes for criminal perpetrators who have now become organized crime groups (Galeotti, 2014). One of the most important elements of this revolution is that criminal groups can now directly transmit their own images and voices to the masses. In the new media era, the cheap, widespread and high-quality broadcasting that digital technologies provide allows for issuance of direct representation in the digital arena is democratizing.

Studies from this period focus on the impact of the internet and social media on gang dynamics (Melde & Weerman, 2020); the impact of social media and urban ethnography on gang culture (Urbanik & Roks, 2020); and the impact of tools like social media on organization in the physical world (Reid, Valasik, & Bagavathi, 2020). Like many things in daily life, violence is also becoming digital (Özgür & Özkul, 2022). Criminal organizations use social media as a tool for promotion (Kara, 2024). Today, street gangs actively use social media (Densley, 2020; Storrod & Densley, 2017; Patton, Eschmann, & Butler, 2013). Each gang adapts to social media according to their own developmental processes (Whittaker, Densley, & Moser, 2020).

In the light of the sources listed above, it is possible to summarize the actors of this period as follows. In this period, criminal groups do not represent the tradition of bullying. The rules of the tradition and culture of big bullying/ mafia boss are seen as a burden in economic competition. Competition in the crime habitat has become so intense that making money has become a priority. Therefore, organized crime is turning into a kind of commercial enterprise. Therefore, charismatic leadership gives way to institutionalization where economic interests are at the center. In this period, the gang is famous. It is important for the gang to make a name for itself. The gang creates its own institutional culture. The gang leader derives his legitimacy from the gang culture. Social or state values are unimportant, the values created by the gang are sacred. The gang makes a name for itself to make money. And the name is only kept alive as long as money is made.

Sedat Peker is the most important criminal perpetrator representing the transition from the 2nd Term to the 3rd Term with the videos he published. The first criminal gang representing the 3rd Term is the Daltons. According to the indictment of Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor's Office Terrorism and Organized Crimes Bureau with the investigation number 2022/165629, the main number 2024/16342 and the main number 2024/3370, person who founded the Daltons group is Berat Can Gökdemir, who was born in Büyükçekmece, Istanbul in 1997. At the beginning of his criminal career, Gökdemir was a thief with a long record and even got into the news (Aksoyer- Varol, 2020). For this reason, he was nicknamed Dalton. However, he later became one of the managers of the armed action group of the organized crime gang led by a person named Barış Boyun, born in 1984. It became autonomous after the capture of Barış Boyun on 22.05.2024 (Ali Yerlikaya, 2024).

The first sensational assassination of the Dalton Gang was on January 14, 2023. The Daltons killed the leader of the rival Anucur Gang, whom they had placed a tracking device on with the help of a woman used as an agent, by a group of motorcycles with AK-47 machine guns on the Golden Horn Bridge, right in the middle of Istanbul, as he was leaving a nightclub. The group was so relaxed that the tracking device placed on the vehicle was removed before the police arrived. Moreover, this entire assassination was decided on in meetings held over Facetime, and the instructions were given over the Facetime application. (Saymaz, 2024).

After this incident, rival gang leader Halil Ay, who disappeared, was shot dead in a farmhouse in the Chatonnay region of France on August 6, 2023 (Şekeroğlu, 2023). Before the issue was reported in the traditional media, on August 6, 2023, the leader of the Dalton Gang posted the following picture on his own TikTok account and the song "Uslan Be Halil İbrahim", a very famous folk song in Turkey, in the background (can.dalto34, 2023). Rıdvan Aslan, a friend of the same Gül Halil Ay, was killed in an armed attack in Georgia (medyabar, 2023). As of today (August 12, 2024), the leader of the Daltons Beratcan Gökbakır (Figure 3), who is sitting in the middle in the image below, has been captured in Russia and the extradition process to Turkey has begun. Since there is no asylum mechanism in Russia, Gökdemir's extradition is considered certain (Gökçe, 2024).

Figure 3. The Dalton gang leader's post on his own TikTok account after he had his rival gang leader killed in France
Source: *Dalton gang leader's tiktok account: Gökdemir (@can.dalto34) (2023).*
Note: *The leader hat is a reference to the Daltons.*

At this point where the Turkish organized crime tradition has evolved, we have a new generation gang whose leader was born in 1997, which is a digital native, does not recognize any of the rules of the established crime tradition, holds assassination meetings on FaceTime, can kill people in different countries and announces this through new media communication tools such as TikTok accounts. In fact, it would not be wrong to say that

the Dalton Gang is the first both influencer gang of the new media in Turkey.

Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

The issue of what kind of theoretical framework the study should be based on was clarified only after the literature review on crime perpetrators and their social representations in Turkey. Because, as can be understood from the relevant section, new media technologies have given people the privilege of being democratized to the extent that they can represent themselves directly. In this context, perpetrators of crime can produce their own public representations. Therefore, Bourdieu's and Baudrillard's perspectives make it possible to analyze the new generation of gangs from a broader and clearer perspective.

Bourdieu's conceptual framework has three pillars. These are field, habitus and capital (Calhoun, 2004). Capital types (economic, social, cultural, etc.) differ according to the degree of value assigned to them in a field (Swartz, 2015). For Bourdieu, symbolic capital is very important. People who dominate with symbolic capital ensure that forms of domination that will create dependency on the people dominated are formed. In this context, symbolic violence produces the consent that the dominated cannot refuse to give to the doer. Symbolic violence creates a toxic submission. When this consent is produced, symbolic power is established.

All actors mobilize/bet all their capital to possess symbolic power (Bourdieu, 2014, 66). The limits of the persuasive power of symbolic power are always drawn by power relations. For this reason, habitus enables actors to produce strategies to reach their interests and cope with the problems they will experience in this regard. The notion of strategy does not imply a planned achievement of calculated goals. It expresses the action choices that must be made to reach interests within the "feel for the game". Those in dominant positions pursue a protection strategy, new entrants to the field pursue a follow-up (admission) strategy, and those who want to be in power pursue subversion strategies (Swartz, 1997). The field creates the possibility of evolving in different directions with the

change of the social conditions that create it. In such cases, the game creates opportunities for actors with intuition and capital who have a strategy of subversion.

The struggle is continuous. Therefore, every field is a temporary state of power relations that are constantly reproduced and re-produced (Emirbayer, 2014).

Symbolic power seizes the privilege of establishing and structuring reality within the field. Thus, dominant actors ennoble habitus that are suitable for their own interests while stigmatizing/degenerating habitus that conflict with their interests (Bourdieu, 2015; Bourdieu, 2016). Even the most intolerable conditions of existence can now be seen as natural (Bourdieu, 2014). For this reason, every field that is formed tends to become autonomous (Bourdieu, 2013).

The article sees gangs as sub-fields and actors struggling for power in the crime field. Social changes and new media technologies offer new opportunities to actors pursuing a strategy of subversion in the crime field.

Foremost among these opportunities is the ability to create their own reality through the use of new media technologies. According to Baudrillard, reality in postmodern societies has been displaced through simulacra. Simulacra are not merely representations of reality; on the contrary, they are fictions that replace reality, creating "hyperreality" by superseding it (Baudrillard, 2010). In this context, the content produced by the Dalton Gang on Tik-Tok is not merely a manifestation of a criminal organization; it is also a hyperreal spectacle perceived by the masses as the very essence of "real" crime. The images constructed by new-generation gangs in their visual, auditory, and written messages, in Baudrillard's sense, are not a representation of real street violence, but rather a simulation that replaces it. While not a direct physical threat to the audience, this content produces a mental and cultural reality through media. This allows the gang to become an object of symbolic power and fear, even independent of its physical presence.

Ritzer (1997), establishing Baudrillard's theory of simulation on a sociological basis, emphasizes that simulacra, which replace reality in postmod-

ern society, transform the way individuals perceive the world. In this context, crime is no longer a mere act; it becomes a consumer object that is displayed, organized, and aestheticized. Therefore, the content of new-generation gangs is crucial not only in its production but also in its consumption. Baudrillard (2021) speaks of the "silent majority" relationship between media and audiences. Children and young audiences, in particular, are able to silently internalize the hyperreal gang content produced.

Consequently, the Daltons exist as a simulacrum not only in the criminal realm but also in the digital cultural realm, creating a hyperreal gang identity. By producing TikTok content, new-generation gangs not only position themselves within the criminal sphere, but also legitimize and normalize themselves in the minds of new media users.

Method

The subject of the research is street gangs which are the new types of violent groups produced by the changing sociology of Turkey. The aim of the research is to describe, explain and discover what kind of representation and message street gangs try to give in the content they produce about themselves in the third period, which is called the digital representation period, in the section where the perpetrators of crime and their social representations in Turkey are examined.

to be described (Creswell and Creswell, 2021; Creswell, 2019; Creswell, 2021). The data collection method of the study is document review. As a result of the preliminary review study, it was seen that the social media platform that the Dalton Gang used most actively and reached the largest audience was the TikTok Application. For this reason, the case study was limited to the accounts and content in the TikTok application. In order to determine the research sample, it was determined as a result of the impact analysis study whose accounts would be analyzed in the TikTok Application. In this context, it was seen that there were hundreds of accounts on the TikTok application about the Dalton Gang. By examining the number of followed accounts, number of followers and message contents, it was understood that most of the accounts were bot accounts.

In the impact analysis study conducted on the accounts between April 12 and May 28, 2025, it was seen that 5 accounts shared on behalf of real persons and 1 account shared on behalf of the Daltons, and that they had a very wide interaction network in the TikTok area. The accounts that belong to real people belong to the 5 most prominent names of the gang. These are (Table 2): i) Beratcan Gökdemir (Founding leader of the gang (Caught in Russia), Nickname: Can Dalton). ii) Nickname: Timocan Dalton. iii) Nickname: Tatar Ahmo. iv) Uğurcan Gündoğumuş. Nickname: Zaza v) Doğukan Kırık.

Table 2: Tiktok interaction analysis of the sample group

Nickname	Account	Following	Fallower	Total likes	Total views
Can Dalton	olabilir.dalto34	776	74.7k	694.5k	50 million
Tomocan Dalton	timocann7234	11	20.5k	177.8k	11 million
Tatar Ahmo	akrep7nn	2	572	13.6k	770 thousand
Zaza	ug3462	459	1280	19.8k	1.2 million
Doğukan	doğukan.krkk	164	185	758	200 thousand
Sum of overall interaction				1.169.058	102.170.000

For these reasons, qualitative study methods were used in the research. The research design is a case study. It is important to select the most appropriate case for a qualitative case study that is i) current, ii) spatially and temporally limited, iii) multiple information sources can be used, iv) detailed and in-depth data can be collected from information sources, v) allows the formation of themes related to the situation, and vi) allows the situation

It was understood that the current content of the gang was made by the account named vi) 34Daltonlar34 (34 is the license plate code of Istanbul). The analyzed situation is limited to six accounts. The detected accounts have a total of 158 content, respectively: i) 48 videos, ii) 33 videos, iii) 9 videos, iv) 4 videos, v) 8 videos, vi) 56 videos. The gang's production of intense content and the pres-

ence of people and accounts capable of representing the gang allow the use of multiple information sources and the collection of in-depth data.

The MAXQDA program was used in the analysis of the data. In determining the themes, three main themes were determined which included only visual, auditory and written messages using the theoretical framework. During the analysis, the titles of Illusio, slogans and elements used to create a multiplier effect in messages were added to these main themes. Thus, a total of 5 themes were formed at the end of the analysis (Table 3). A total of 47 subthemes were determined, including 4 subthemes of the theme of elements used to create a multiplier effect in messages, 10 subthemes of the theme of auditory messages, 25 subthemes of the theme of visual messages and 8 subthemes of the theme of written messages. A total of 474 coding was made.

Table 3: Theme, Major Sub-theme and Code Frequencies

Theme	Sub Theme	Code Frequency
Slogans		6
Elements used for multiplier effect in messages	Music preferences	108
	Quotes from TV series	43
	Quotes from Movie Stars	6
	Sedat Peker aphorisms	3
Audio messages		36
Visual messages	Location preferences	116
	Clothing	115
	Haircut	5
	Video	5
Written messages	Photo captions	29
	Video captions	2

Findings

Illusio

The living space of criminal youth is the crime habitat. It is seen that young people who actively participate in the crime habitat care a lot about the neighborhoods they live in. They establish the emotional bond that is normally expected to be established with their homes or families with the neighborhood they live in. The slogan "the house is rented, but the neighborhood is ours" is frequently used on the walls of the photos showing the neighborhood. It is understood that young people have two motivations with the neighborhood: repulsive and attractive. The fact that young people do not share anything about their families shows that family ties have almost no place in their daily lives. The severing of family ties pushes young people to the streets. However, when we look at the posts of gang members, it is seen that the members were born in the same neighborhood, faced the same situational contexts (age, economic and social) and developed the same perception, understanding and action schemes (habitus) in terms of solving the problems they face. The members see the neighborhood as a home and the friends they grew up with as family members. This bond draws them to the streets.

There is no woman in the posts shared about the everyday life of the crime habitat (even in the posts about their nightlife). It is seen that this crime habitat is a male-dominated area and women don't take place in their contents even as decoratively.

Slogans

It is seen that certain slogans are highlighted in the posts. It is understood that some slogans are voiced as if they are the trademark of the gang. The main slogans are as follows:

- One bullet is enough for the king
- Daltons are everywhere
- Money is useless give your life take the bet
- I am not a king but I never bow down to an empror
- We came to this world to lose. Who cares about winning?
- Only if you can stand to lose everything do you deserve to win.
- No matter where death comes from. I would be sad if I died in bed. It suits a man to die like a man.

It is understood from the basic slogans that the gang uses their lives as capital in the power bets they are engaged in rather than economic, cultural and social capital. Because they do not yet have the economic, cultural and social capital to create an impact in the crime habitat. However, as will be expressed in the analyses below, it is understood that

the gang has started to gain volume in terms of economic and social capital.

Elements Used for Multiplier Effect in Messages

In the analysis, it is seen that at least one of the following is used in each video to increase the effect of the verbal message: music with lyrics, background music, rhythm, TV series quotes, movie quotes, and Sedat Peker quotes (Figure 4).

folk songs that have lyrics that "criticize the treacherous". Finally, it is seen that folk songs that include lyrics that include.

Rap music: Rap music is used to increase the effect of the verbal message. In rap music, Turkish, German and English rap music are preferred, respectively. Especially German rap music is seen to be the songs of Turkish musicians living in Germany.
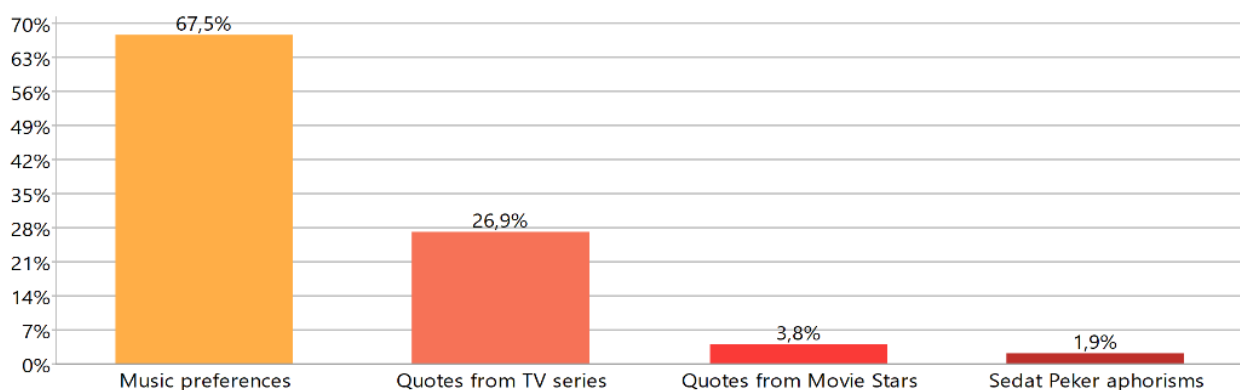

Figure 4.Elements Used for Multiplier Effect in Messages

Music Preferences

Figure 5.Music Preferences Code Cloud

Music preferences vary (Figure 5).

Preferences for music with lyrics: In the context of music with lyrics, three categories of music are preferred. The categories are as follows in order of intensity:

Folk music: Among the music whose lyrics are used to increase the effect of messages, folk music is clearly the leader. Among folk music, the most common ones are folk songs that include lyrics praising bravery and brave men. Then come the

Pop music: There is almost no use of pop music. It is only used in a context with melodies similar to folk music and in a way that fosters a sense of "longing".

Rhythm music: It is seen that a rhythmic musical substructure is placed in almost every video in accordance with the content. When the musical rhythms are analyzed, it is seen that 2 types of rhythm are preferred. In the first, slow rhythms maintained with violin, saz or kaval are used in emotional content. In the second, fast rhythms maintained with drums and bass are used in exciting content. The fact that the gang members get excited with Anatolian instruments such as saz, kaval and davul is consistent with their folk music and lyrics preferences.

Background music: Background music is used extensively in the content. Background music is not created on a single background but by editing many background music in a collage way. It is seen that almost only the background music used is created by giving an epic sound to regional music

with modern sounds and rhythms. In addition, there are also background music that contain mystery or folk music melodies, although very few.

Quote From TV Series

It is understood that it is common to produce messages by presenting lines taken from series together with content belonging to gang members (Figure 6). The gang edits the good character dialogues in the most watched crime series in Turkey for themselves and the bad character dialogues for their opponents. In this way, they use the admiration shown to the series' characters which are already watched and respected intensively in the crime habitat, to label themselves with these characters and direct the hatred to label their opponents. A visual section from the series is never used in the quotes. This is important. Because the sounds taken from the series are given with the visuals of the gang members. In this way, it is expected that the effect that the series leaves on the audience will be transferred to the gang members. The lines taken from the series were analyzed according to their subjects. The series lines in the content are as follows according to their frequency of use.

Figure 6.Quotes from TV Series Code Cloud

The valley of the wolves series: For the members, the Valley of the Wolves series and its characters are epic personalities. It is seen that they are quite willing to compare themselves to the noble characters in the series and to compare their enemies to the despicable characters in the series. When the lines quoted from the series are sorted according to their content; it is seen that the lines with the content of challenge are shared the most. It is seen that the lines that include messages such as determination in the struggle, being honorable and not trusting anyone are shared afterwards. The quotation of

lines that give a clear message of challenge is consistent with the subversion strategies expected of the groups that are new to the field. (The series deals with state and mafia relations.)

01 Adana series: Among the quotes taken from the 01 Adana series, the excerpts containing the message of defiance are clearly in the forefront. The message of defiance is followed by the subjects of revenge and not being greedy for money. (01 is the license plate code of Adana province. The series deals with street gangs in Adana province)

Ezel series: The quotes from the Ezel series again mostly include messages of defiance. This message is followed by messages about being selfless towards loved ones and loyalty/solidarity. (The series deals with the relations between former big bullies and the mafia bosses in Istanbul)

Scowrer can't rule the World: There are very few quotes from the series. These quotes include messages about loyalty/solidarity and bravery (The name of the series is the same as the name of a famous folk song. The series deals with state and mafia relations.).

Quotes from Movie Stars and Sedat Peker

Figure 7.Quotes from Movie Stars and Sedat Peker Code Cloud

In Quotes from Cinema Stars and Sedat Peker, determination is at the forefront (Figure 7).

Sedat Peker quotes: It is seen that they share aphorisms that Sedat Peker who is famous in the crime habitat of the gang said with his own visuals. Although these shares are very limited, it is seen that they are strategically important shares in terms of showing who the gang respects in the crime habitat and therefore showing its own side. When the aphorisms quoted from Peker are analyzed, it is seen that there are equal amounts of content on the

subjects of having courage, living honorably and solidarity.

Yilmaz Güney and Cuneyt Arkin quotes: It is seen that Yilmaz Guney and Cuneyt Arkin's lines in their big bully roles are used to increase the effect of the message to be given. It is seen that the members mostly prefer Yilmaz Guney lines. When the subjects of the lines are examined, it is seen that they contain a message of determination and once a message of ruthlessness. In fact, Guney and Arkin's bully movies are about the bully who try to gain power and money by risking their own lives in the misery they experience during the period when Turkey migrated from rural to urban areas. In this respect, it is similar to gang members who risk their lives and try to enter the crime habitat.

Audio Messages

It is seen that almost all audio messages are presented to the audience as pictures or video images flow on the screen, edited with movie quotes, spoken music, rhythm and background music (Figure 8).

Quotes, spoken music, rhythm and background music create a multiplier effect on the audio message. In this way, all the emotions of the audience, who are still teenagers or young, are touched. The distribution of the topics of the gang members' audio messages in the posts is as follows, from the most intense to the least.

Figure 8.Audio Messages Code Cloud

Challenge: The most common message given in the gang's discourse is challenge. Those who are new to the field use a follow-up strategy, while those who want to be in power use a subversion strategy. In this respect, it is consistent that the message constantly given by the Dalton Gang who are new to the field in the crime habitat, is challenge.

There are also certain rituals for challenging. When we look at the content on the subject of challenging, the most common ritual is to drive around the regions of opposing gangs and announce this to the crime habitat with "live broadcasts" or "pictures taken in the most secure areas of the rival gang". In one of the audio messages, we see content such as "it is not cubs but hunter wolves that roam at night, come if you are a man", "many people want to be big bullet but none have the courage to confront us", "come on challenge", "where are you ullaaaa!", "if they were brave they would confront us, we have God behind us, it does not matter who is against us", "aha! we are coming, fuck the mothers and sisters of those who confront us and those who do not. Enmity does not work like that, let's fight".

Threat: There are two types of threatening statements. One is threats directed at the crime habitat in general. These are: "let everyone know, those who wrong us will not live", "you may think you are going home but you can fly, you can be made to fly", "our friends live, our enemies die". The other is directed at specific rival gangs. "Halil, you will die".

To give up on life: Young people do not have the economic, social and cultural capital to reach wealthy and powerful positions. Therefore, their greatest capital to gain the power field is their lives. Therefore, in their discourses, it is constantly emphasized that they do not care about living and that what is important is virtues such as honor and dignity. Not caring about life is not indifference to the crime habitat or life. As analyzed in the slogan title, it actually means putting one's life on the table in bets entered for money and power easily. For this reason, young criminals aim to get as much as they can by putting their lives on the line. In one dialogue, it is said, "I want everything. The world. And everything in it." In a verbal message quoted from a movie about a big bully, the situation is expressed more clearly.

- So, everyone is looking for me. I'm going to the city tonight
- Are you crazy, brother?
- I'm not crazy, I'm very cheap. I need to raise my price. Don't I?

- Of course, if you're really a big bully.
- I'd rather be an expensive dead man than a cheap fool.

Violence is the only way: Gang members legitimize their violence by claiming that if they do not use violence, they will use violence against them. They present themselves as opposing injustice. They state that politics and those who do politics are hypocritical in making a profit.

The humiliation of betrayal and ıngratitude: Gang members want to be sure of each other in these power struggles that they have invested their lives in. Therefore, in their discourses, they produce content such as "betrayal is the worst thing in the world. There is forgiveness for everything except honor, but there is no forgiveness for betrayal", "A bullet does not kill a person, betrayal does" along with emotional background music.

Loyalty/devotion/solidarity: Members value loyalty to each other. The content produced conveys the message that they will come to the aid of their friends in need immediately, even in the most difficult times. It is emphasized that there is no war they cannot win if they are together. For this reason, the messages that are given are especially like "We will not forget those who are with us on our bow in bad times", "The world is full of jackals. I cannot deal with so many jackals on my own. I need a lion. That is you".

Humiliation: Members frequently use derogatory expressions in their rhetoric wars with rival gangs. There are two reasons for humiliation. The first is to gain reputation in the criminal habitat by humiliating weaker rival gangs. The other is to humiliate stronger rival gangs in the criminal habitat. "Those who say they stand tall have sat on the laps of their big bosses. They have become landmine donkeys".

Vigilance: Gang members are aware that they may lose their lives at any moment because they want to risk their lives to gain money and power. For this reason, they produce content such as "This is Istanbul, there is no need for the enemy to be there. You never know what will happen", "A wolf does not trust even the step it will take in foggy weather".

Revenge: Gang members can lose their lives or property during the fights they engage in. Therefore, revenge for their losses is very important for the gang's reputation in the crime habitat. They produce content such as "No matter what anyone says, revenge is everything", "I promise you that your brother will not leave this world without finding those responsible for this".

Jokes within the Gang: There are statements that include jokes made among the members. Messages including the words "Bravo to you, death machine outside, washing machine inside" are given to the videos of their friends who are involved in armed actions on the streets while washing the dishes. Thus, contrary to the tough appearance on the street, the message is given how fun and understanding they are with each other within the group.

Visual Messages

In visual messages, it is seen that single or multiple photo collages are the majority. Video content is very limited. In visual messages, it is seen that one video is about disloyalty from the movie Kolpaçino, which is about a big bully, and the other is about loyalty from the series Scowrer Can't Rule the World.

Apart from TV series and movies, gang members re-circulate on social media the main news bulletins that include events they are involved in by editing them in their favor. In this way, they reach the youth who are far from the news channels of traditional media by distorting the news in their favor.

Videos that include members are videos where edited music is used instead of very short external voices in closed or rural areas. The reason for this is thought to be that the content in the photographs can be controlled more easily than in videos. Because there are many photo frames in the video and a detail that the gang may miss could already endanger the life and property of the members living illegally. This situation makes the messages

given in the photographs even more important. Bourdieu states that the habitus of the actors in the field creates a set of preferences that affect their clothing and even their bodies. For this reason, the clothing, body and location preferences of the gang members indicate their criminal habitus. Therefore, it reinforces the perception they want to give to the crime habitat.

When visual messages are analyzed, it is seen that members' clothing and location preferences convey the messages they want to give (Figure 9).

Figure 9. Visual Messages Code Cloud

Haircut and Tattoo Preferences: From the content analysis, it is seen that almost all members have exactly the same haircut. It is a hairstyle that is short on the sides and relatively long towards the top of the head. Since most of the members are younger, the number of members who have moustaches is quite limited. In addition, it is seen that most members are shaved or have stubble. It is seen that the tattoos of the members are mostly on the left wrist to the elbow or on the left foot. It has not been understood from the visual analysis whether this has any meaning.

Clothing Preferences: It is seen that casual clothes are preferred by far in their clothing preferences. After that, it is seen that they prefer tracksuits and very few suits without ties. It is seen that their casual clothes are quite ordinary unlike the luxurious glasses, watches and vehicles they mostly pose with. The reason for this may be that the members who are always on the alert have the opportunity to disappear from sight when they mix with the people in their neighborhoods. In this sense, casual/street clothes are also "camouflage clothes".

Accessory Preferences: It is seen that the accessory preferences are as follows in order of intensity. It is

seen that they are sunglasses, watches, hats, small lapdogs, ski masks, prayer beads, bracelets, guns, medallions/necklaces. Especially sunglasses and watches are chosen from exaggerated and luxury brands. While the old bullies preferred very stylish suits, they disdained accessories such as hats, medallions, and small pet dogs. The trademark of the old bullies is the egg-heeled leather shoes worn under a stylish suit, but stepped on the back. In contrast, the fact that the gang does not prefer suits and confidently carries the accessories that the old bullies disdained (hats, medallions, sneakers, sweatpants, etc.) is the manifestation of the defiance strategy on clothing preferences. The only accessory that continues its tradition is the 33-bead prayer beads. Young gang members can carry prayer beads even in places like pools. In addition, the gang does not hesitate to share their hitmen's faces by wearing ski masks. In this way, they want to reinforce their aim of "giving trust to friends and fear to enemies", which they express in their audio messages.

Location Preferences: The locations preferred by the gang in their video content are as follows in order of density. Car, house/car/street collage, hotel, prison, rural area, house, workplace, streets, motorcycle, cafe/restaurant, table, gym. Gang members share videos and photo collages taken from inside and outside the car by far. This is followed by video sharing using collages of photos taken in different parts of the neighborhood. Videos taken while driving, video collages consisting of photos taken at home/car/street, and photos taken on the streets are visuals with a challenging content. The gang seems to mark its own place in Istanbul. Especially the photos given from the regions of rival gangs from time to time include challenges that take the risk of conflict. These video contents in particular create a sense of expedition and excitement with the music, rhythm and background music that create a multiplier effect. An interesting shooting technique is used especially in videos taken inside the car. All of these videos are shot from the right rear. In this way, the audience feels as if they are inside the car driven by the gang leader and experiencing it with him.

The pictures shared from homes and rural areas are usually images of people on the run after the

crime. These pictures give the message that the crime habitat is being prepared for a new crime. Places such as hotels, workplaces, tableside, cafes-restaurants, and gyms consist of images taken during entertainment. The gang creates the impression that they are safe and gives a message of power against other criminal actors in the crime habitat.

Motorcycle: Motorcycle posts by gang members are important. It is understood from the posts that motorcycles are a threat element. The identities of the members who post from motorcycles are definitely not understood. These people represent the motorcycle assassination teams, which have recently become a new form of assassination in Turkey. While motorcycles provide speed and agility, they also make it very difficult to identify people due to the helmets used. In the heroic folk songs selected for motorcycle posts, words such as "Let the barrels be pointed, let the troubles be called." are given. On another picture, the message "Even God cannot notice us. If he notices, let him take our lives." is given.

Written Messages

Compared to visual and audio messages, written messages are quite rare. Most of the written messages are given with photos, and there are also written messages in videos, albeit rarely. All of the written messages in the videos consist of insulting messages directed at the ungrateful people (Figure 10).

Figure 10. Written Messages Code Cloud

There are two types of written messages. The first and most common reason is to circulate the message on social media, using appropriate photos and music, as if they were throwing a card, and writing their slogans. The second reason is that they publish a "public opinion announcement" as a kind of public relations effort, especially when

they think that a perception is being created against them. When written messages are examined, it is seen that in order of density, there are messages about threats, determination, commemoration of dead friends, announcements, and mocking enemies.

Discussion

Social media offers new opportunities for street gangs to recruit members, engage in criminal activity, and maintain control of their territories (Whittaker, Densley, & Moser, 2020). There is growing concern about youth violence and social media, but empirical studies explaining this relationship are limited (Patton vd., 2014). Language serves as a medium of communication. Gangs are illegal groups. Therefore, communication among themselves is often conducted through symbols, rituals, and metaphors (Quinn & Forsyth, 2009). The videos gangs upload to social media are not only ordinary content but also provide information about gang organization, internal rules, and so on (Storrod & Densley, 2017; Wijeratne et al., 2015).

The first point to emphasize in this context is the slogans that gangs use to identify themselves. A slogan is an image marker of an organization (Noviyanti, Nur, & Huda, 2017). This is confirmed in the context of research. The Daltons gang uses their own slogan in almost every post. The Daltons present the audience with a hyperreality of the gang through the slogans they produce.

In many countries, the internet is rarely used to achieve gangs' instrumental goals. Instead, it serves more of the symbolic needs of gang members (Pyrooz, Decker, & Moule, 2015). The Daltons recklessly use the internet for their criminal activities. However, this appears to be to protect the gang's real and virtual reputations. Consequently, the Daltons use the internet for symbolic rather than instrumental purposes.

Rap music plays a significant role in gang identity formation (Kubrin, 2005). More research is needed on how gangs exploit music for their various needs. Rap music is particularly important for building resistance identities, facilitating antisocial behavior, and reflecting the violence experienced

in the ghetto (Lozon & Bensimon, 2017). Some rappers also respond to this need and contribute professionally to the creation of gang culture (Harkness, 2013). The Daltons gang also appears to utilize the power of music to amplify their messages. The Daltons gang uses rap music. However, unlike other countries, they appear to prefer regional music with heroic and dramatic content.

Research shows that gang members insult each other on social media using lyrics enhanced by hip-hop music. This exchange of insults has led to deaths in real life. This phenomenon is called internet banging (Patton, Eschmann, & Butler, 2013; Ilan, 2020). This phenomenon has been frequently observed in content produced by the Daltons. There are instances of internet banging leading to deaths, particularly during their gang war with the Redkits (Lucky Lukes).

Gang membership often implies wearing certain clothing (Burke, 1991; Etter, 1998; Garot & Katz, 2003) or having tattoos (Korman, 1995; Phelan & Hunt, 1998; Riley, 2006). However, when looking at the Daltons, it appears that they have not developed distinctive clothing or tattoos. This is thought to be because the gang phenomenon is still in its infancy in Turkey. Despite being one of the most well-known gangs, even the Daltons have not yet established a sustainable subculture. However, it is anticipated that gangs in Turkey will have distinctive clothing or tattoos in the not-too-distant future.

Conclusion

As can be understood from the research, we see that the Daltonlar gang has been widely covered in the media and has carried out actions that will make a name for itself with international activities. We can say that this situation supports the importance of the research and creates an open area worth researching. Indeed, the image of the Daltonlar gang that we aim to reveal with TikTok videos emerges as a new type of gang. In addition, it is seen that the gang members have created a unique criminal culture in terms of the perception they want to create in their target audience with the posts they make through their TikTok accounts. The Daltonlar gang follows a destructive

strategy in the criminal habitat, unlike its successors. In this respect, it is understood that it targets power statuses, unlike the traditional criminal culture in Turkey. The gang's struggles based on its own capital, interests, habitus and strategies have created an autonomous area in its own criminal habitat. The actions of the gang members within this area reveal similar practices.

As a result of the content analysis conducted on the accounts and the content on these accounts of the Dalton gang's TikTok pages, we see that folk music is the most preferred type of music. However, background music and series/movie music are also used extensively. In the gang members' TikTok videos, references to characters in violent series and references to series characters are particularly striking. It is seen that while using violent language, series lines are used to legitimize violence. In this sense, it is seen that they use forms of discourse such as humiliation, stigmatization and contempt against the side they see as their enemy, while they reflect the sides they see as allies and friends with exalting, strong and justified discourses. When we look at the density of discourse, we see messages of defiance the most. When we look at the image of the Daltonlar gang in Tiktok videos, we see that they have their own lifestyles in terms of clothing, accessories and use of space.

In the conjuncture where digitalization and urbanization intersect in Türkiye, the rules of the game played in the illegal sector are changing. In this context, the Dalton gang is one of the most striking examples of gangs that, through their "feel for the game," have recognized the opportunities created by the changing game and developed successful strategies accordingly.

Therefore, this study on the Daltons provides important data for understanding new types of gangs. From this point on, the research results offer the following suggestions: It should be understood that street gangs are not a temporary social pathology. Street gangs are a new type of organized violence. The places where street gangs are most active are social media outlets. In this context, patrol services provided for the safety of the streets can also be provided for social media security as "digital patrol" services. It is understood that much

more academic and institutional studies from different disciplines are needed for a better understanding of new types of gangs in Turkey.

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