Explaining Urban Violence and the Lived Experience of Citizens in Tehran

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Abstract: *Today, all societies are involved in violence, but what is concerning is its extent and prevalence. Accordingly, the present study aims to analyse the causal, contextual and intervening conditions, strategy action and consequences of the urban violence phenomenon, to explain the causes of urban violence and the lived experience of citizens in Tehran. The present study was conducted qualitatively using the underlying theoretical method in terms of research approach. In this research, after examining each sentence, we obtained 70 open codes, based on which, finally, 35 axial codes were obtained, from which 23 important categories were made Can be said that the existence of violence in the urban environment leads to distrust and insecurity of citizens, and this can turn people in the community into gloomy, dissatisfied, sad people who are devoid of love and intimacy in the long run. They will make passive people who will not have a role in social life and the formation of a creative and prosperous society as active and creative actors, and will only be spectators. Also, social indifference will be formed in these people, which will lead to factors such as social incoherence, lack of interactions, disorder, irresponsibility, etc. Based on the components of our research, these will be the underlying factors in the occurrence of violence and will form a cycle that results in increased and pervasive violence.*

Keywords: *Violence, Urban Violence, Lived Experience.*

Introduction

The increasing growth of urban population and the expansion and development of cities has led to the formation of some phenomena, of course, with positive and negative consequences. The negative consequences in the city may include various types of urban violence (theft, rape, etc.). Today, all societies are involved in violence, but what is concerning is its extent and prevalence. Studies show that aggression and violence could occur at micro, intermediate and macro levels with a set of interrelated conditions. In recent years, the results of international polls in different countries show that the experience of anger is more among Iranians than many other countries, and even in 2015, Iran ranked first in the experience of anger among all countries (Salamat News, 2016).

Since violence is formed in the context of human relations, tensions and violence increase in societies where human relations are more complex and subculture interactions occur more widely. On the other hand, due to the fact that violence is a concept that varies with time, place, conditions and relationships, so to better understand it, it is necessary to study this harmful phenomenon in the context of time and place, and given that violence is a social phenomenon and a traumatic issue, it's consideration has a significant role in reducing the rate of social harms. Accordingly, the present study aims to analyze the causal, contextual and intervening conditions, strategy action and consequences of the urban violence phenomenon, to explain the causes of urban violence and the lived experience of citizens in Tehran.

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Conceptual Framework

In qualitative studies, instead of using a theoretical framework to formulate and test hypotheses, we use a conceptual framework to extract research questions (Mohammadpoor, 2011). In this study, theories of sociological domains and urban environment design have been used to explain violence. Sociologists consider violence as one of the most prominent behaviors executed by human beings in various ways throughout history towards themselves, those around them, and other beings (Eftekhari, 2018). In the liberal views of Boton and Tyler, violence is inevitable in some conditions, and when the unemployment and inequality rise, violence is a natural phenomenon (Rabbani, 2006). Chicago school sociologists have studied the relationship between the physical structure of a city and its moral system, and with the aim of understanding the impact of social and ecological factors on disorganization and violent behaviors, they investigated the relationship between violence and urban space (Lahsaeeizadeh, 2012). Emile Durkheim believes that the boundaries of the individual's desires in society are subject to certain norms, and if the norms of society are broken, the person will no longer be able to establish a logical relationship between himself and the society. Under these conditions, the person has no limits to his and is in a disordered status. So, he is likely to act such that is considered norm-breaking and deviant by society (Mohseni, 2004).Bandura and Berkowitz believe that violence is an imitation and is acquired through observation. Elsewhere, Berkowitz points out that even observing violence instruments can provoke violence in the observer (Sharafi, 2006). According to Sutherland, violence, like other crimes, is the result of learning criminal behavior. On the other hand, education causes man to learn to control himself, that is, to limit the instinctive tendency to violence and to refrain from violent action (Batist, 2014).

On the other hand, there is a lot of emphasis on supervision of any kind in the theory of social supervision, because in fact, in order to commit a crime, there is no need for external pressure (unemployment, poverty, etc.), but the lack of social supervision causes such behavior. Supervisory bodies such as law enforcement and parents can directly monitor an individual's actions. (Niyazi, 2017) Pressure theory thinkers believe that most people have similar values and aspirations but only a few have the ability or tools to achieve social and economic success. The pressure arises from the fact that legitimate ways of success are almost blocked for young people, and because socially and legally acceptable means of achieving success are not available, people may use perverted methods to achieve their goals or deny socially acceptable means to achieve them(Sigel, 1997). According to this view, people resort to violence because they do not have the legitimate means to achieve their goal. Resource theory also emphasizes the socio-economic deprivation of individuals and asserts says that individuals with socioeconomic deprivation are more prone to learn violent behavior (Ahmadi, 2008). In other words, the only sources of power for the individuals with economic and social weakness are physical force and using it. (Azazi, 2001)

The theory of social and economic status states that social and economic differences between people in society are effective in their violence (Ahmadi, 2005). The relative deprivation approach also believes that wants and comparisons are the factors that cause relative deprivation. This theory traces the roots of maladaptive behaviors in the personality of individuals. (Bostani, 2017) Theory of crime prevention through environmental design: According to this theory, by designing the residence, work and life environments properly, crimes can be prevented in the built environment (Rajabi, 2015). If the environment is designed to improve oversight on people, criminal opportunities will be reduced (Kozen, 2005). According to this theory, some environments have the ability to create opportunities to commit crime, so the design should be such that a distinction is made between public and private space and increase the level of residents' control over the surrounding space and instill a positive image of the environment in others. Experts in the theory of defensible spaces also state that violent and risky behaviors in urban environments are sometimes due to physical spatial conditions and urban design (Sheikhaleslami, 2017). Proposing the theory of broken windows, Wilson and Cling also argue that violent street crime is growing in areas where behavioral disorder is evident (Aliverdiniya, 2016 and Wilson & King, 1982). Existence of urban violence is one of the abnormalities in urban communities, and ignoring it can lead to the prevalence of other abnormalities.

In a study entitled "The role of relative deprivation on increasing urban violence in marginalized areas", Lahestaizadeh (2012) showed that inequality can lead to violence. In the study "Comparative analysis of the relationship between poverty and urban violence", Mohammadi (2014) showed that low income and unemployment have the greatest impact and access to services have the least impact on increasing poverty and urban violence, and that the spread of poverty and increasing violence reduce the feeling of security in Yazd neighborhoods. Bayat (2014), in his study entitled "Analysis of harms and Crimes in the Suburbs of Tehran", states that the variables of inequality, municipal services, amenities, social control and local crowds are related to harms and crimes. In his study, entitled "Sociological explanation of the relationship between urban indefensible spaces and urban violence", Mohseni (2015) states that the incidence of urban violence is not equal in different urban spaces and some of them are bedrocks for violent activities due to their physical and social characteristics. In a study entitled "Low tolerance threshold and the onset of violence with beatings, injuries and conflict", Aparviz (2018) showed that various factors such as hereditary, psychological, educational, family, cultural, social, economic and political ones reduce the tolerance threshold and increase immediate violence against individuals. Shaykh al-Islami (2017), in his study "The relationship between urban violence and indefensible urban spaces in the city of Kerman", showed that violent behavior of Kerman citizens in defensible areas is less than the violence rate in indefensible spaces.

Talebpour (2017), in the study entitled "The relationship between indefensible urban spaces and the feeling of social security in Tehran", noted that the feeling of security of Tehran citizens in defensible spaces is more than indefensible spaces. In his study "Migration and violence in the occurrence of criminal behaviors", Mokhtari (2017) showed that migration is effective in the occurrence of criminal behaviors in such a way that it reduces access to political, social, economic and cultural opportunities. In the study "Etiology of violent robberies in Shiraz", Siavashi (2017) showed that there is a positive relationship between committing violent robberies and family breakdown, crime-prone environment, experience of violence and humiliation in childhood. Talebi (2018), in the study entitled "Study of violent crimes and suicide in Iran", showed that the highest number of violent crimes cases related is to the provinces of Tehran, Chaharmahal Bakhtiari and Qom and the lowest rates are related to Ilam, Kermanshah, Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad. Amini (2018) in his study "Criminological study of the causes of violent thefts" showed that factors such as aggression, economic, cultural and geographical poverty are involved in committing violent thefts.

In Asghari's (2018) research, entitled "The feeling of relative deprivation among the Baluch people and its impact on political violence", data analysis showed that there is a significant relationship between the feeling of relative deprivation and violent behaviors among citizens. In the study entitled "Social factors affecting the incidence of violence in the public space of Tehran", Khanalizadeh (2018) showed that there is a positive and direct relationship between social deprivation and the incidence of violence. In the study "Roots of Urban Violence", Shepperd (1990) showed that alcohol consumption, unemployment and a previous history of violence can influence the formation of urban violence. In the article "Urban Violence and Security," Moser (2004) states that urban violence has reached significant levels in many countries and has devastating effects on the health, livelihoods, and economic prospects of many cities. In a study entitled "Urban violence is the leading cause of death in Brazil", Ricardo (2017) found that 3.4% of deaths in 2015 were caused by urban violence. In a study on psychotropic substances and violent crime, Evangelia (2018) found that substance abuse has been reported in relation to violent crimes." In Brazil, approximately 1.3 percent of the Brazilian population has been a victim of some form of urban violence, and cocaine use can be a factor in predicting violent behavior," Ricoxy Abdullah (2018) said in a study on the link between drug use and urban violence. In a retrospective study, Brett (2019) examined the relationship between socio-economic anxiety levels and the incidence of gun violence in adolescents, and his research showed that social anxiety significantly predicts gun violence in children. In his study "Preventing violence through urban development," Richard Matt (2020) said that urban development, along with social programs and social participation can reduce exposure to violence by 34% in the South African city of Khayelitsha, as one of the poorest and most violent cities in this country.

Method

The present study was conducted qualitatively using the underlying theoretical method in terms of research approach. In grounded theory, three coding steps are used for data analysis, which are open, axial, and selective coding, respectively. Coding is the process by which a researcher segregates, conceptualizes, merges and integrates data. In open coding, as the first stage of coding, the data can be coded line by line or in paragraphs. In the next stage, these concepts are put together and integrated based on semantic similarities or overlaps in the form of central categories that are placed on a more abstract level than the previous two stages. At this stage, the most important theme or topic of the research is selected. This final extracted concept must have analytical power and its semantic inclusion is to the extent that it includes other categories (Mohammadpoor, 2011). Given that in the fundamental theory method approach, theoretical saturation determines the sample size, sampling continues until no new features or concepts are acquired. In the present study, the sampling continued until it reached theoretical saturation. It was finally finished with interviews with 21 people living in District 8 of Tehran who had experienced some form of urban violence (mugging) in their place of residence. Data collection tools were library studies and interviews with individuals who had experienced violence (mugging) over the past year. At the beginning of the interview, an informed consent form was provided to the individuals and their consent was obtained for participation in the research. Individuals were assured that all their conversations are confidential only to the researcher. The interviews began with general questions about violence in the urban environment and the experience of this type of violence in the living environment. All interviews were carefully recorded with the permission of the participants. After transcribing the interviews, all the sentences were coded level by level. As a result of this process, we achieved the main concepts.

Results

From among 21 participants in the interview, 10 (47.6%) were females and 11 (52.4%) were males. Twelve of them (57.1%) were single and 9 (42.9%) were married. The average age of the interviewees was 35.43 and the most frequent incidence time was between 5 to 8 in the morning and 6 to 9 at night.

Table (1): Profiles of the interviewees

number	name	age	sex	marital status	education	job	Time of occurrence
1	Homa	45	Female	single	P.H.D	Lecturer	6 Am
2	Khosro	40	Man	Married	B.Sc	Employee	7pm
3	hasan	22	Man	single	B.Sc	-	9pm
4	boshra	40	Female	Married	P.H.D	researcher	8pm
5	azadeh	28	Female	single	Diploma	Employee	6 Am
6	hasan	25	Man	single	B.Sc	Employee	7pm
7	leyla	48	Female	Married	B.Sc	Retired	12pm
8	Zahra1	57	Female	Married	Elementary course	housewife	8pm
9	atiyeh	33	Female	single	MSc	Employee	5:30 Am
10	daniyal	24	man	single	MSc	University student	9pm
11	yazdan	20	Man	single	Diploma	Soldier	5:30 Am
12	hosein	30	Man	Married	Diploma	Employee	6 Am
13	Zahra2	46	Female	Married	Associate Degree	housewife	6:30 Am
14	tara	42	Female	single	B.Sc	teacher	8pm
15	maryam	39	Female	Married	B.Sc	Employee	6 Am
16	farzad	37	Man	single	MD	University student	8pm
17	mohammadreza	50	Man	Married	Diploma	Lecturer	10pm
18	mohhamad	28	Man	single	B.Sc	Employee	5:30 Am

19	ahmadreza	23	Man	single	Diploma	jobless	10 pm
20	nafise	28	Female	Married	B.Sc	housewife	7pm
21	mohsen	39	Man	Married	MSc	Employee	6 Am

In this research, after examining each sentence, we obtained 70 open codes, based on which, finally, 35 axial codes were obtained, from which 23 important categories were made.
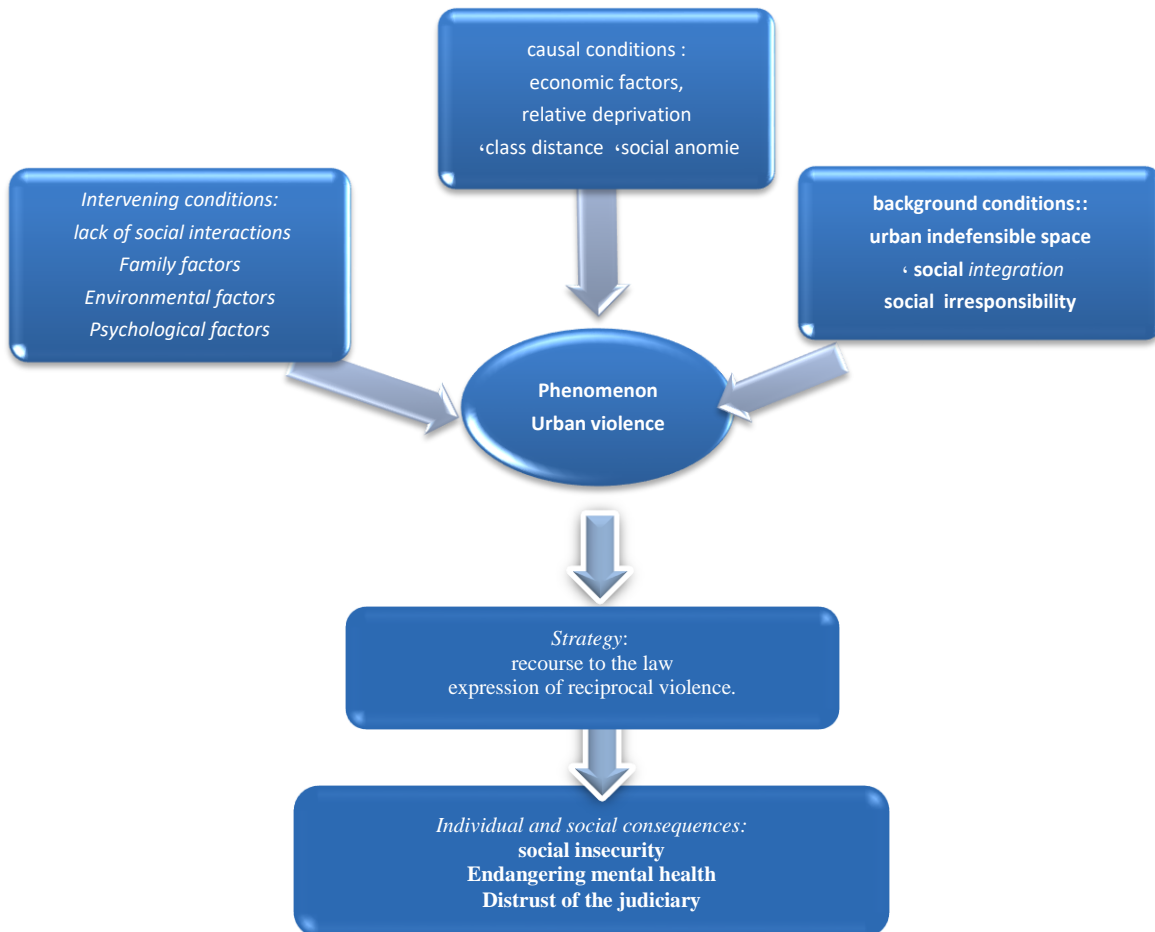
Figure (1): The model obtained from the study by categories

Conclusion

As sociological studies emphasize the impact of environment on human behavior, in this study, what was obtained as an important component of the data is the impact of various factors, environment and appropriate context in which the violent behaviors occurred. According to the results of the study, urban violence is a multidimensional phenomenon and for its explanation, it is necessary to examine the conditions, consequences and solutions. The causal conditions that play a role in the emergence of urban violence include economic factors, relative deprivation, class distance and social anomie. *Economic factors:* Social and economic conditions affect the tolerance threshold of the individuals and the tolerance threshold is associated with the occurrence of violent behaviors, so economic factors can be involved in the occurrence of violence (Aparvis, 2018). Economic factors are influential in the occurrence of a behavior directly and indirectly, so that in the researches, it has been determined that economic factors (low financial status) have the greatest impact on the occurrence of crime (Amini Khaneh Bargh, 2018). Poverty can be a paving ground for many social harms (Hekmati, 2018).

Criminologists believe that poverty is the main cause of violence and all kinds of conflicts in urban areas (Mohammadi1393). In our study, one of the components obtained was unfavorable economic conditions.

Zahra:
"He took my purse. There was only 10 thousand Tomans in cash, which he took away. I also had gold in the purse, but he did not have any mercy and even took that ten-thousand-Toman-note. I told him to give me at least some money so that I could go home. They are so dejected that they don't even ignore a 10 thousand Toman note".
According to resource theory, people with socioeconomic deprivation are prone to learning violent behaviors and their only source of power is their (arm) power and they use it to achieve their goals. In the present study, all those who were mugged stated that they had been beaten and subjected to some form of physical violence, so that in cases where people refrained from giving money or properties to the muggers, they were attacked with dagger, and the mugger used his physical strength.

Yazdan:
"I told them to give my mobile phone back so that I could delete some private photos, but one of them hit me hard on the back with the handle of the dagger and used vulgar words and said, 'Thank God, we will not take off your clothes.' At last, they throw me out and started to beat me".
On the other hand, the views of social and economic status also state that the commission of a crime is related to the social and economic status of individuals. In our research, considering that the person was attacked with the aim of taking his/her properties, according to the citizens, the aim has been to obtain money.

Danial:
"The miserable man who has no job, someday he gets so angry that he commits such a crime. He does not steal thing out of happiness. The economy is ruined, lady. That's what it is until it gets sorted."

From a liberal point of view, violence is sometimes unavoidable. According to this view, violence will be a natural phenomenon when the unemployment rate as well as inequality rises. According to a report by the International Labor Organization, the unemployment rate in Iran in the first quarter of 2019 has increased to about 12.20% from 11.70% in 2018. The average unemployment rate in Iran from 2001 to 2019 was 11.72%. According to liberals, we can conclude that in the current economic situations, the existence of violence in the urban environment is predictable. Our research showed that one of the important factors in the occurrence of violence is the economic conditions prevailing in the society, which is in line with the results of Moradi (2011), Mohammadi (2014), Aparvis (2018), Mohammadi (2017), Amini et al (2017)., Amini Khaneh Bargh (2018), Meloni (2014), Khan et al (2015). The study also noted the impact of poverty and economic inequality and the role of economic factors in the occurrence of violent behaviors.

Relative deprivation: In relative deprivation, a person compares himself with others, and if he perceives the situation unfairly in this comparison, he will feel relative deprivation. The emergence of this feeling on a large scale among individuals causes many social problems and harms on the one hand, and on the other, increases the potential for violence. So, deprivation and feelings of inequality can cause violence. Feelings of relative deprivation create latent anger in people that, if not properly controlled, can lead to violence. (Asghari, 2018)
According to the theory of failure-aggression, failure can be the cause of aggression, in other words, if a person fails to achieve his goals, this failure increases the likelihood of his aggressive response. In our research, based on what has been extracted from the results of the interviews and from the citizens' point of view, one of the reasons for the violence is the lack of access to resources. Money, wealth, cars, etc. are some of the factors that can play a role in the occurrence of behaviors such as coercion.
For example:

Boshra40-year-old, believes:
"The discrimination that you can see on the streets may have an impact. After all, they are young. They see high-end cars on the street driven by other youth. They say to themselves, 'Why don't I have such facilities? So I have to get it anyway.' When they caught the mugger who robbed me, he said 'my friends have much more money to spend than me, how I earn that much money? My father does not have anything. I have to steal it, so I steal it. And people of course do not give me their money without force, so I use stabs."

Numerous studies have pointed to the impact of relative deprivation on violence. (Solivan 2013, yousefvand, 2015, Bayat, 2015, beygi, 2017, pin 2016, khanalizadeh, 2018)
Social anomie: Today, social disorders are becoming more and more widespread and its dimensions have become extensive. This social problem has led to an increasing rate of crimes. Numerous researchers have investigated the role of anomic conditions in the development of violent behaviors and the increase in violence (Amini, 2017). The structural conditions of Iranian society are such that it is in a state of transition and is in anomic conditions due to the active gap between tradition and modernity. Anomic conditions cause people to be frustrated and disappointed toward meeting their needs, and on the other hand, the upward trend of people's expectations system deepens this gap. One of the most important manifestations of anomie is the disproportionate enjoyment of various assets by members of society. Every institution and society that suffers from an anomic status observes its constituent elements to become weak and disintegrated and the ground is paved for social harms. On the other hand, researchers state that the emergence of anomic feelings in society hinders the relational interaction which increases deviant behavior (serajzadeh, 2007). Durkheim states in his theory of anomie that if the norms are lost, the person has no criteria for his behavior and is in a state of disorder. In such cases, it is very likely that the person will engage in deviant behavior. In our research, citizens stated that there is a disorder and chaos in their living spaces and the city can be a ground for behavioral violence.

Khosrow, 40: "Tehran is like Texas. Everything seems crowded and cluttered. It seems that there is no law in the city. The country seems to have no supervisors at all, nothing is in its right place."
According to the theory of broken windows, in areas where behavioral disorder is evident, informal social control is lost and violent street crimes increase, so abnormalities and disruptive behaviors provide the basis for the prevalence of crime. In the investigated area, non-compliance with traffic laws, driving in the opposite direction on one-way streets, disorder in construction and lack of supervision have caused muggers to feel free to perform their activities. Among the background conditions that were observed in the formation of urban violence in this study, we can refer to the categories of urban indefensible space, social incoherence and irresponsibility.

Social integration: Various studies emphasize the relationship between social integration and violent behaviors (Garvay, 2011, Moeeidfar, 2010). Cohesion refers to a sense of mutual responsibility between several individuals or groups. Changes in the construction arrangements of cities and the reduction of spatial and neighborhood affiliation have created sorts of social indifference among citizens in the face of social norms. The growth of individualism, the reduction of face-to-face relationships and, consequently, the reduction of social solidarity, that is evident in large cities, are the consequences of this situation of reduced social responsibility of citizens towards each other. When citizens believe that deprivation exists and the possibility of access to facilities is not equal for everyone, a feeling of social injustice is formed among individuals, and as a result, the level of social cohesion decreases. Indicators such as crime, offense, unemployment rate, income inequality, and access to social benefits affect the degree of social cohesion (Rajliton et al, 2007). Scarman also acknowledges that one of the reasons for the increase in the crime rate in residential neighborhoods is alienation, meaning that neighbors do not know each other, communication is superficial, and people may live in close proximity to others for years without knowing each other. In our research, according to citizens' opinions, people's indifference to scenes of conflict and violence in the environment, irresponsibility towards each other and the lack of communication network between residents of the region has played an important role in the occurrence of violence. According to citizens, if there is cohesion and social bond between the inhabitants of an area, the incidence of violence in the environment will be controlled and reduced.

Atieh: "We found out that the same thing that happened to me has happened in the same alley for some other girls, but no one told others about that. Well, if the neighbors knew each other, they would be in touch. The incidence that happened once would have been prevented for the next times ...."

Indefensible urban space: Newman states in the theory of defensible spaces that the urban environment should be monitored and controlled and designed in such a way that a point is not hidden from public view. Various studies have also shown the relationship between indefensible space and the incidence of urban violence. In our research, the mugging places included small and secluded environment without escape route, narrow sidewalks and dead-end alleys, dark areas, lack of adequate lighting and streets with turned off lamps and tree-covered spaces.

Azadeh: "It was early in the morning. Winter, it was still twilight."
According to CPTED (crime prevention through environmental design) theory, urban environments can be designed to take away opportunities for criminal behavior. In other words, some environments are safer for the criminals. According to this view, space should be fully visible. There were cases of mugging in the car, in which, according to the citizens, the car had tinted windows, and the interior of the car could not be seen. It created a safe space for the attacker.

Ahmad Reza: "The car had completely tinted windows. Behind the red light, there was a police car next to us, but there were two knives on either side of me. I could not react at all. Probably they did not see us either."

Intervening conditions: Other conditions were found in our study as intervening conditions that make or break the effects of one or more change factors. Categories of lack of social interactions, environment, family and psychological factors are among these conditions.

Family factors: As a person's first living environment, the family plays an important role in shaping personality and acquiring social life skills (Deker 2000). If a person's family environment is healthy, especially in childhood, the person is more likely to be immune to abnormal behaviors. In terms of socialization approach, the family has an important role in socialization of individuals. If the family does not do its job in the socialization of the individual and cannot teach the individual how to connect to the society, the likelihood of deviant behavior increases.

Bashari: "In my case, the mugger told that he has no mother. His father has nothing to do with him and is only in contact with his friends, who unfortunately were not good friends, addicts and thieves, and some rich devil children. This child is alone, anything is possible".

Research has shown that parental supervision is lower in delinquent families than in normal adolescents. This point has also been mentioned in the present study.

Hasan: "My own friend has been expelled from the family. His parents have nothing to do with him. He hangs out with his friends and sometimes commits crimes."

Environmental factors: According to the results of extensive researches, the environment has a significant role in the formation of human behavior, and in all behavioral studies, the role of the environment is quite obvious (MirzaBeigi, 2017, Siavashi, 2017). Research has shown that theft is a function of geographical factors, in such a way that, in winters that nights are long, thieves take this opportunity to commit more thefts (Ghorban hosseini, 2013). In the present study, muggings occurred in autumn and winter between 5 and 6.30 in the morning and 6 to 12 at night, and this time period was the best time for mugging in terms of darkness and empty places. On the other hand, according to Bandura and Sutherland, violence is an aspect of imitation and learning. In our research, the existence of a crime environment, communication with criminals and a group of friends have been among the codes that played a role in achieving this category. According to citizens, the existence of numerous coffee houses and the presence of criminals in the area can play an important role in the occurrence of

violence. Citizens believe people who are in touch with criminals learn both the tricks of stealing and ways to circumvent the law and avoid getting caught by the police.

Farzad: "The police officer told me that they usually hangout in the coffee house. Go and find him in the local coffee houses. If you recognized him, let us know so we can catch him."
Hasan: "There were 4 of them attacking me together. They work in a gang and spend time together".

Psychological factors: Research has shown that psychological factors can play a role in the occurrence of behavioral violence. According to the psychological pathology viewpoint, the abusive personality traits are the main determinants of violence and factors such as mental illness, personality weakness, psychological pathology and other abnormal factors are effective in the occurrence of violence in the individual (Akbarzadeh, 2005, Amini, 2018). According to the citizens we interviewed, the people who commit violence and mugging with cold weapons are those who do not have psychological stability and it is clear from their behavior that their personality is not balanced. Aggressive and violent people, in some cases, humiliate the victims because of their inner feelings. Swearing, humiliation and the use of vulgar sexual words have been common among attackers.

Yazdan: "He was shouting at me: 'why you should have these devices? Are you not a provincial soldier? Unless you give them to me, I will undress you in the street".

Strategy: It is a mechanism and a measure that is used in dealing with the phenomenon. Practitioners take measures to realize the phenomenon and take a strategy based on the existing conditions and possibilities. Strauss and Corbin define strategy as how people manage problems (Strauss and Corbin, 2013). In our study, the categories obtained were recourse to the law and the expression of reciprocal violence.
One solution was to go to the legal authorities to complain, as stated by the interviewees. After filing a complaint with the police, all individuals believed that the law enforcement officers' treatment was not appropriate and credible, and that their complaint will not go anywhere, which will lead to distrust in the judiciary.

Zahra, married: "Why should I call the police? Where should I file my complaint? What do the police do? They detain the criminals and release them in only two days. They also learn other criminal tricks".
Other strategies that citizens used in our research in the face of violence include screaming, using physical force, and shouting at the attacker.
Atiyeh: "I was just screaming and scratching his face, I could not do anything else, I did not think about anything. Even if I was hurt, I just wanted to get rid of him. There was no room for deciding, just cursing."
According to the researcher, expressing anger is a kind of reproduction of physical, verbal and behavioral violence.

Consequences: In the present study, the individual and social consequences of the investigated concepts were obtained and included social insecurity, endangered mental health and distrust of the judiciary service. The existence of violence in the urban environment can lead to social insecurity and psychological stress and may endanger mental health. Social human beings need security to achieve growth, but the existence of violence in the living environment, whether at home or in the city, can pave the grounds for insecurity in society (Bakhshi, 2013). Research shows that there is a significant relationship between people's trust in the police and social security, so that with increasing people's trust in the police, social security also increases (Dastranj, 2018). Dissatisfaction and the presence of behavioral stress, social disruptions, poor social cohesion, economic crisis, poverty and deprivation all affect security (Mohseni, 2010). Also, feelings of insecurity cause anxiety in humans and endanger the mental health of people (Tavakoli, 2015).

According to social oversight (supervision) theory, oversight of any kind is necessary because the lack of social oversight leads to delinquent behaviors. Supervisory bodies can directly monitor an individual's

actions and behaviors. One of these institutions is the police. Our research showed that people in the area in question do not trust the police and law enforcement forces and their performance and look at this institution with suspicion and do not consider their presence to guarantee security in the neighborhood because they do not perform their role in monitoring and control. According to Scarman, the lack of oversight makes the neighborhoods completely safe for criminals (Modiri), which has led to an increase in crime rate in residential neighborhoods.

According to the citizens in the study area, the lack of trust in the police and judicial institutions has caused a feeling of insecurity among the residents.

Homa: "I called 110 ten times until the officer came. The (criminal) boy was just begging at the police station. When we went to court, he denied it altogether. The officer told me that in the house of detention, they tell the criminals to deny the offense".

Conclusions

The present study aimed at analyzing the causal, contextual, mediating and intervening conditions, strategies, and consequences of urban violence. For this purpose, the causes of urban violence and the lived experience of citizens in Tehran were studied and explained. In a study that has examined the layers of major social harms in Iran, violence is one of the social harms (Mohseni, 2010). Violence is an extreme form of aggression. According to Allen Pasen, violence is a social phenomenon and has inappropriate functions such as undermining values and creating insecurity at different times and places. The present study was conducted by interviewing 21 individuals who had been subjected to violence in the urban environment (mugged by cold weapons) in the past year. From among 21 interviewees, 47.6% were women and 52.4% were men, and their mean age was 35.43 years. 57.1% were single and 42.9% were married and the most frequent time of the incident was between 5 to 8 am and 6 to 9 pm (38.1%). According to the data obtained, there is no difference between attacking women and men and the probability of being exposed to violence is the same for both genders. Our research shows that there are various reasons for the study of violence, especially in the urban environment, and the existence of violence in the urban environment cannot be investigated with one or two factors.

Based on the results, unfavorable economic conditions, social anomie, social incoherence, class difference and relative deprivation, along with other factors such as addiction, lack of social interaction, group of friends, lack of anger management skills, migration and anonymity and also, the existence of a suitable crime-prone environment such as darkness and empty places, all paved the ground for urban violence. Due to the existence of violence in the urban environment and when exposed to it, people first try their hands at screaming and physical conflict due to the fear and shock caused by the exposure, which is in fact a kind of mutual anger. In other words, they take some kind of action which is an expression of anger. So, the reproduction of violence occurs at this stage, which manifests itself verbally, physically and behaviorally. In the next stage, by referring to the legal authorities, they try to sue the legal authorities, but according to the results of the investigation, they fail and lose their trust. As set out by the citizens, the regulatory bodies and the police do not perform their main jobs. The type of response of the supervisory forces to the incident (robbery and mugging) is the most important reason for the citizens' distrust in the supervisory institutions.

In other words, according to studies, the existence of violence in the urban environment leads to mutual violence, lack of trust and security, as well as endangering individual and social mental health. Since one of the most important human needs in life is the feeling of security, and according to Maslow's pyramid of needs, in order to achieve self-actualization and human creativity, it is necessary to go through stages, one of which is feeling security and calmness in life, in case such a need is not satisfied, love, satisfaction and creativity will not emerge. In other words, it can be said that the existence of violence in the urban environment leads to distrust and insecurity of citizens, and this can turn people in the community into gloomy, dissatisfied, sad people who are devoid of love and intimacy in the long run. They will make passive people who will not have a role in social life and the formation of a creative and prosperous society as active and creative actors, and will only be spectators. Also, social indifference will be formed in these people, which will lead to factors such as social incoherence, lack of interactions,

disorder, irresponsibility, etc. Based on the components of our research, these will be the underlying factors in the occurrence of violence and will form a cycle that results in increased and pervasive violence.

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