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Juvenile Delinquents and Society

A study of the fundamental values, institutions and juvenile delinquency in Greece

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Introduction

1. Since the time of Durkheim and other pioneers of so-called *"traditional criminology"*, crime has been perceived as a distinct violation of society's basic values: the values[1] generally recognized by its citizens as maintaining and promoting social coexistence. As early as the sixties, however, supporters of the so-called *"criminology of social reaction"* and of the Marxist orientated *"critical criminology"* had begun to ques-

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[1]   See *E. Durkheim*, De la division du travail social, Paris: P.U.F., 1960 (1893), 35-39, 43-48, 64-68, republished under the title "Définitions du crime et fonction du châtiment", by *D. Szabo (ed.),* Déviance et criminalité, Paris: A. Colin, 1970, 88-99: 90. In the discussion that follows, the term "value" is used in the traditional sense to mean the way a person or group of persons perceive something as desirable, which in turn influences them in their choice of available methods, means and goals of action. See in particular *C. Kluckhohn,* Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification, in *T. Parsons/ E.A. Shils* (eds.), Towards a General Theory of Action, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1951, page 395, mentioned by: *Jan W. Van Deth/ Elinor Scarbrough,* The Impact of Values, Oxford/ New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995, page 27.
According to a different definition, values are the criteria with which a person or/ and group select their aims, as well as the methods and the means to realize them. See *Athan. E. Gotovos,* Youth and social change. Values, experiences and prospects, Athens: Gutenberg (Pedagogical Series), 1996, p.172 and (from a philosophical point of view) *Greg. F. Kostaras,* Philosophical Propedia, Athens 1994, p. 158. For the meaning and structure of values, I would suggest the following works: *Karl E. Scheibe,* Beliefs and Values, New York/Chicago etc.: Holt, Rinehart and

tion the existence of commonly held values in modern societies, maintaining instead that the rules of criminal law constitute, simply, an expression of a certain class or group of individuals' superiority over others, usually of lower financial standing. These theoretical contradictions have, of course, given the science of criminology fresh vigour, since they have revealed a series of important questions that had been formerly overlooked; such as the factors influencing the criminalization or de-criminalization of behaviour and the discriminatory judicial response observed towards certain socioeconomic groups. At the same time, these contradictions have proved largely unproductive and groundless in final analysis, mainly for two reasons: First, because the two theoretical approaches in question have been rejected as utterly incompatible[2] - although, as I have endeavoured to show since 1985[3], *the antithesis between them is not insurmountable*; and secondly, because the respective recognition or rejection of the values allegedly comprising the basis of criminal law has been applied in abstracto *to the whole*

Winston, 1970, mainly p. 40 cont., also *Milton Rokeach,* Beliefs, Attitudes and Values. A Theory of Organization and Change, San Francisco/ Washington/ London: Jossey-Bass Inc., 1972, *Ben Reich / Christine Adcock,* Value, Attitude and Behaviour Change, London: Methuen, 1976, *Dennis C. Foss,* The Value Controversy in Sociology, San Francisco/ Washington/ London: Jossey-Bass Publ., 1977, mainly p. 112 cont., also, *Brenda Almond/ Bryan Wilson* (eds.), Values. A Symposium, Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1988, mainly page 75 cont., also, for an interesting comparison of the system of values in the USA, Europe and Japan, *Gottlieb Brunner,* Grundwerte als Fundament der pluralistischen Gesellschaft, Freiburg/ Basel/ Wien: Herder, *Steven Lukes,* On Trade-Offs Between Values, Florence: European University Institute, 1992, *Eric Carlton,* Values and the Social Sciences. An Introduction, London: Duckworth, 1995.

[2] For the relative scientific discussion, see, for example, *Thomas J. Bernard,* The Consensus-Conflict Debate. Form and Content in Social Theories, New York Columbia Univ. Press, 1983.

[3] *N.E. Courakis,* The contemporary perspectives of Criminology, "Armenopoulos", 38: 1985, 924-928 and re-published in: *by the same,* Criminological Horizons, I, Athens/ Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 1991, 161-169.

set of these values, without specific research into their particular type, practical applicability or effect on the life of a society. The same applies to the particular *socialising institutions* that constitute a manifestation of those values; mainly those centred around family, school and work. Examination of their importance to criminality has usually been fragmentary, without providing a general connection between the way in which these institutions actually operate and the values they were originally built on.

2. Although there have been some interesting proposals in recent years regarding so-called *integrated approaches towards crime*[4], the above-mentioned problem still persists since these approaches do not attempt to achieve the harmonious reconciliation between the views of "traditional" criminology and those of the "criminology of social reaction"/ "critical criminology" that the multi-faceted and complex reality of the criminal phenomenon[5] demands (usually several theory based models of traditional criminology are merely connected); nor is the relation of these approaches to the value structures and institutions of each country and society in particular examined, and this, *in spite of the differences that naturally exist from country to country and from society to*

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[4]   See for example, *Donald J. Shoemaker,* Delinquency Theory: An Integrative Approach, in *by the same*: Theories of Delinquency, New York/ Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1996, 251-267, *Rich. F. Catalano/ J. David Hawkins,* The Social Developmental Model: A Theory of Antisocial Behavior, in: *J. David Hawkins (ed.),* Delinquency and Crime. Current Theories, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996, 149-197 and *Rich. E. Tremblay/ W.M. Craig,* Developmental juvenile delinquency prevention, in: the European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research, 5.2:1997. 33-49 (N.B. the whole of this issue is devoted to matters of prevention of juvenile delinquency).

[5]   See, however, *David Downes/ Paul Rock,* Understanding Deviance, Clarendon Press, 1995, mainly p. 369 cont., who follow an approach that corresponds with the one supported here.

society. Consequently, in the discussion that follows, I will undertake, as far as possible, to (i) propose such a multilateral theoretical approach towards juvenile delinquency, emphasizing the importance of utilizing the positive points of each theory, notwithstanding the fact they may contradict each other; (ii) to present the basic values and the way of life espoused by these youngsters; as well as (iii) delineating the deficiencies displayed by certain socializing institutions in Greece such as the family unit, school, and work; and finally (iv) to evaluate the available data pertaining to the aforementioned delinquents in order to arrive at some basic conclusions about the relationship of delinquency to the framework of values and their institutionalization in contemporary Greece in what could be considered a sample of *"applied criminology"*. Where it is necessary, these arguments will include elements belonging to the value systems and life styles of Western European youngsters whose cultural traditions coincide to a large extent with their Greek counterparts.

I. The theoretical (integrated) approach towards juvenile delinquency

3. The main axis of the theoretical or integrated approach which is attempted here, supports the idea that the exhibition of deviant or non-deviant behavior *is the result of a series of conflicting motives, some of which drive the individual to delinquency and others which conversely act as inhibitors.* It is evident that those motives responsible for staving off delinquency belong to a way of thinking that either spontaneously (through a sense of shame) or intellectually (the result of reasoned thought and decision) compels conformity to criminal law; while on the other hand, the motives that lead to delinquency (though these may assume unreasonable forms, such as vandalism), consist in essence

of an attempt to escape from real or imaginary pressing personal problems of various kinds, usually of a *psychological* nature, such as the need for relaxation or pleasure; or *social* problems, such as the desire for self-assurance and acceptance by others; or *financial* considerations, such as the acquisition of basic and additional material goods. Obviously, the greater the power of the socializing motives and/or the smaller the power of opposing motives, the smaller the chance that someone will break the criminal law, and vice-versa[6]. However, the final outcome of this struggle of whether one will arrive at the point of taking action by actually committing an offence or not, depends to a certain degree, both on the existence of opportunities, and availability of victims to ensure the success of criminal endeavour (situational crime prevention), and on factors that may affect its outcome in a particular way, such as security system installations[7].

4. The motives that impel an individual towards delinquency are influenced and shaped by three main groups of factors that are in explicit interaction with each other. These are: (a) the offender's personal characteristics, (b) the socio-psychological conditions under which the individual

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[6]   The importance of the role played by emotional impulses in containment, or conversely, the execution of criminal acts, has already been clarified (starting in the sixties) by the American *Walter C. Reckless,* mainly in his book The Crime problem, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967. See also *D.J. Shoemaker,* Theories of Delinquency, 1996, p. 158 cont., *Jac. Pharsedakis*, Elements of Criminology, Athens Library of Law, 1996, p.109, note 241 and *Anth. Chaidou,* Positivistic Criminology, Athens: Library of Law, 1996, p. 206. See also the similar approaches by *D. Abrahamsen* (1945) and *O. Kinberg* (1960) which are presented in the work of *Al. Giotopoulou-Marangopoulou,* Lectures of Criminology, I, Athens: P. Sakkoulas, 1979, p. 154 cont. In the same context, the elaborative discussions contained in the following are important: *Joh. M. Daskalopoulos,* Elements of Criminology, vol. A, issue A, Athens: D. Tzaka Bros., 1972, mainly p. 60.

[7]   On this subject see e.g. *R. Clarke,* Situational Crime Prevention: Theory and Practice, in: British Journal of Criminology, 20: 1980. 136 cont.

lives, and (c) the wider values and institutions of the society in question.

A number of important theories have been posited in the past relating to these factors, whose basic elements, in spite of their apparent contradictions, can be placed within a more general framework. More particularly:

(a) *The offender's personal characteristics*

5. Personal characteristics refer to biological particularities and the offender's inherent personality: age, sex, possible childhood traumas or sexual anomalies that lead to psychological problems, possible drug addiction and so forth. It is evident that these particular features have a profound effect on the shaping and emergence of criminal behaviour. Under normal circumstances, however, an individual's biological characteristics play their most significant role during *adolescence*, due to the radical changes taking place in the physical structure, the psychological / intellectual faculties, and, by extension, the teenager's socio - cultural development. (The remarks that follow are based *on the premises of developmental psychology*). Between the years of about 12 to 16, which in the terminology of Piaget and Kohlberg's[8] "moral judgment" is habitually referred to as the "second stage of pre-conventional level"[9], teenagers *do* have relationships of mutual understanding with others. Namely, they can understand the viewpoints or positions

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[8] See, for example. the following collaborative work: *F. Clark Power/ Ann Higgins/ Lawrence Kohlberk* (eds.), Lawrence Kohlberg's Approach to Moral Education, New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1989.

[9] For the discussion that follows, see *Nicholas Emler/ St. Reicher,* Adolescence and Delinquency. The collective management of reputation, Oxford/ Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1995, p. 32 cont., 52 cont., 99 cont., 205 cont., where there are further references to be found.

maintained by other people, despite the fact that their socioethical leanings tend to have a primarily egocentric bias, which, in turn, makes them more likely to overlook any punishment they may receive when the hoped-for benefits of their delinquent behaviour appear greater. In this case, the benefits they would receive are not primarily materialistic, but are related to a more general desire to acquire some kind of identity and to carve out their own independent and individual path, in which processes they question every kind of authority and power.[10]

6. During this period, the support given to adolescents by their *families* and *peers* is of decisive importance. However, the teenager's reaction to these two groups usually involves a balancing of different and largely contradictory roles. Indeed, to some degree teenagers wish to detach themselves from the family hearth, which represents the most direct form of control in their environment. This is why the phenomenon of teenagers coming into confrontation with their parents and leaving home, albeit temporarily, is a frequently observed occurrence. In such situations, teenagers seek emotional refuge in their friends, who act as a substitute for the family. Yet these youngsters do not desire total de-

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[10] In the current frame of discussion, the work of *E.H. Erikson,* Identity: Youth and Crisis, New York: Norton 1968 continues to be seminal. According to Erikson, adolescence comprises the fifth stage of a person's evolution and is characterized by the person's liberation from the protective shell of childhood, the taking of decisions regarding his future roles and the shaping of a code of necessary values, in order that the young person can overcome the crisis of identity and communicate with his environment. See *Reimer Jensen,* The development of identity during adolescence, at *I. Tsiantis et al.* Adolescence. A transitional stage in a changing world, Athens: Kastaniotis, 1994, 35-46, where there are further pertinent studies on the same subject to be found, as well as *John N. Paraskevopoulos,* Developmental Psychology. Emotional life from conception to adulthood, Vol. 4: Adolescence, Athens, page 153 cont. In general, as Aristotle pointed out in his «Rhetoric», adolescents are characterized as having an attitude towards life that is more optimistic and idealistic, as well as more morally and emotionally complete (see *Aristotle* Rhetoric, 1389a 4 cont., and the interesting comments on this subject by *Joanna Lampiri- Dimaki in* her study "The generation gap. Its time-transcending tenets, based on a quotation from Aristotle" (1981), in her collection of essays "The concept of the crisis", Athens / Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 1989, page 149-164).

tachment from their parents: they still retain an awareness of the extreme importance of the parental bond. In this way, *teenagers are forced to balance precariously between two diametrically opposed roles*; first, the role of the submissive or at least non-confrontational teenager, who, in fact, loves his or her parents and is sensitive to their reactions, and, secondly, the role of the rebel, the "tough nut" of his or her particular peer group. For conventional reasons, this holds less with girls, although it is equally important for them to balance these opposing roles. By assuming the first role, teenagers follow a pattern of mild behaviour, fulfilling their parents' expectations for their education and professional success, believing that by so doing, they are securing their own futures as well; a consideration that they see as a concern of special importance. On the other hand, by assuming the second role, teenagers gain acceptance and acquire emotional support from their friends, thus developing a larger sense of self - confidence.

7. If, at this point, parents confront teenagers with unjustifiable violence or neglect, depriving them of the attention they need and of the socioethical models and psychological support parents are expected to offer, and/or their friends have a particular leaning towards delinquency, then it is not unusual for the first situation outlined to provoke a reactionary response to the second. This will probably result in the adolescent dismissing the thought of potential punishment: the reasoning prevailing in this "second stage of conventional level" being that; why, after all, should teenagers fear or be concerned with their parents' reactions when the parents do not exhibit real concern or involvement to their offspring. This train of thought can, in turn, lead these teenagers to commit a criminal act: indeed, *it is during these years that the greatest proportion of delinquent activity is recorded*. Moreover, it must be emphasized that the restless or delinquent behaviour exhibited by teenagers indicates more a game of setting their own terms of freedom rather than a conscious and wholesale rejection of social norms, and

under normal circumstances will not extend past the age of sixteen[11]. Naturally, the exact duration of this stage is influenced by the factors governing the particular psychological properties of each youngster, as well as the family and more general social environment. Consequently, teenagers move on to the next stage of their moral judgment. In the first stags of "conventional level" they attempt to reconcile their own demands with society's ideas of what is right and proper. Then, in the second stage of this development, teenagers endeavour to align themselves, as far as is possible, with the existing social structure and its rules. Finally, at a later stage known as the stage of "post-conventional reasoning", which will not necessarily be reached by every teenager, the adolescent, after a period of intense questioning, undertakes to supersede the existing social structure, adopting more liberal and generally recognised ideas: ones that give greater consideration to the individuality and complexity of particular social groups and interests.

(b) The socio - psychological conditions

8. These conditions refer to the teenagers' immediate environment, i.e. their relations with family, school, neighbourhood and employer (if they work) on the one hand, and their relations with friends of their own age and peer - group[12] on the other. As a rule, the first of these categories,

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[11] See the relevant findings of research conducted by *G. Schneider/ P. Sutterer/ T. Karger,* Cohort Study on the Development of Police-Recorded Criminality and Criminal Sanctioning, Parts I & II, in: Crime and Criminal Justice, 1988, 72-88, 89-114, mentioned by *Christina Zarafonitou* in her work Empirical Criminology, Athens: Law Library, 1995, page 95 cont.

[12] For what follows, see mainly *David Downes/ Paul Rock,* Understanding Deviance, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, passim, where there are more specific critical observations on the works of authors mentioned here. See also the deliberations in my work "Criminological Horizons", II, Athens/ Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas,1991, mainly page 52 cont., as well as the comments made by *Nicholas Elmer/ Stephen Reicher* in

so long as it does not present any deviations, exerts strong social control over the adolescent, acting as a deterrent to delinquent behaviour. This is why the study of delinquency is usually placed within the frame of *"social control theories."*[13]. However, it should be noted that the meaning behind this concept is treated in a different way by the various social control theories. Some simply amount to the idea of *"external supervision"* and surveillance of the adolescent in question. Harriet Wilson and G. Herbert, 1978, for example, give emphasis to the question of whether or not teenagers should be allowed to roam the streets and come home late at night. Others, on the contrary, give importance to the "social bond" developed (or not) between the adolescent and other members of society, the adolescent's employer and society's rules in general (Hirschi, 1969). As a result, the social bond has, in this frame, a more basic tenet and depends on the teenagers' *"self-control"*, so that the former, feeling that they have emotional support from those around them or from their work, as well as having faith in the social regulations that they implicitly abide by, can conform to the rules of

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the above-mentioned (note 9) work of Adolescence and Delinquency, 1995, mainly pages 36-47. A review of the basic sociological theories of crime is also made in various criminological works, such as *Marshall B. Clinard/ Robert F. Meier*, Sociology of Deviant Behavior, Chicago/ Montreal etc.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1989 and from the Greek bibliography: *Jac. Farsedakis*, The Criminological Thinking, issue A, Athens: Law Library, 1990, mainly pages 394 cont., *by the same*, Elements of Criminology, [note 6], 1996, page 100 cont., *Christ. Zarafonitou*, Empirical Criminology, [note 11], 1995, page 120 cont., and *Anth. Chaidou*, Positivistic Criminology, o.c. [note 6], 1996, page 146 cont. In view of this rich bibliography to which one can easily refer, the following paragraphs do not attempt an analytical presentation of the basic social theories of crime, but simply to remind the reader of their existence in order to indicate their importance and position in the wider framework of an integrated approach.

[13]   For theories of social control see *Linda B. Deutschmann*, Deviance & Social Control, Scarborough, Ontario/ Canada: Nelson, 1994, p. 263 cont., and *Katherine S. Williams*, Textbook on Criminology, London: Blackstone 1994, p. 320 cont.

social coexistence with greater ease. Conversely, lack of affection and parental supervision, especially that of the mother's, a more general lack of unity within the family (according to the results of the Glueck couple in 1950, which are still relevant today), as well as failure at school and at finding work[14] are considered to have negative repercussions on the formation of relations between adolescents and society in general, and to gradually predispose them towards delinquency, although in this case it is not necessarily inevitable that they will commit a criminal act.

9. As previously outlined, the main factor responsible for this negative outcome is *the adolescent's adherence to a group of similarly-aged friends who pursue delinquent patterns.* Usually, the more particular role played by this group of young people in the development of juvenile delinquency is examined within the framework of *"subculture theories"* (Albert Cohen 1955, Wolfgang and Ferracuti 1967), *"Culture conflict theory"* (Sellin, 1938), *"Differential Association theory"* (Sutherland, 1924/1979), and *"Differential Opportunity Structure theory"* (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960), all of which use the particular group within the subculture that one belongs to as a base. More specifically, it is thought that *subcultures* form in reaction to the problems generated by a society's official culture. This reaction can begin from being simply a variant of the official culture, escalating into a direct opposition of it. Therefore, subcultures do not necessarily have delinquent tendencies, nor do they align themselves with the political values of a particular socioeconomic order or group. Most usually these subcultures consist of *boys* (who, after all, comprise the majority of juvenile offenders) who give central importance to ideas such as the pursuit of intense emotion, the abhorrence of routine and the exhibition of "macho" masculinity which is especially directed against weaker social groups, such as minorities (W. Miller, 1958, D.Matza,1964, P.Willis,1978).

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[14] See *David Downes/ Paul Rock,* Understanding Deviance, op.cit. [note 5], 1995, p. 178 cont., and *Chr. Zarafonitou,* Empirical Criminology, op.cit. [note 11], 1995, p. 131 cont.

Therefore, the actions of these teenagers, rather than being ruled by a desire for material gain, are governed by a leaning towards pleasure-seeking and unscrupulousness, and are oversensitive to real or imaginary insults (Albert Cohen). Naturally, this does not exclude the possibility that this delinquency will not, at a later stage, develop into some other more self-serving activity (Janet Foster, 1990). In these groups, teenagers are confronted with a common way of thinking and gradually become part of the group and utterly dependent on it: to the point where it becomes very difficult for one of its members to act differently, even when the group's activities take on a deviant aspect (such as vandalism, petty theft, fighting and drug-involvement)[15]. On the other hand, as previously mentioned (para., 7), involvement in these activities is, as a rule, *only temporary, and does not constitute a conscious questioning* of the society. For this reason, the State's judicial response to less serious juvenile offences must not involve media publicity or sentences that may stigmatise the offender; the only criterion should be the re-integration of these delinquents into the social body as quickly as possible. Should this fail to happen, there is a real danger that these adolescents will be driven towards following an irrevocable path leading to a criminal career (E. Lemert, 1964 and theory of symbolic interaction). Besides, research has shown that adolescents who commit petty theft and whom the State consequently deals with in ways other than institutionalization, possibly even deviating from laws already in place, rarely run into further legal problems over the next ten years[16].

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[15] See *Nich. Elmer/ St. Reicher,* Adolescence and Delinquency, op. c. [note 9],1995, p. 58.

[16] See mainly *Fr. Schulenburg,* Minderjährige als Täter von Kraftfahrzeug-Diebstahl und Kraftfahrzeug-Mißbrauch, Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1973, as well as the other references mentioned in my work "The prevention of juvenile delinquency in Greece", in: *Agl. Tsitsoura,* Criminal policy and Human Rights, Athens/ Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 1997, 63-76: 64 and footnote 2.

(c) The general values and institutions in society

10. The values and institutions of a society comprise what Hippolyte Taine[17], as early as the nineteenth century, perceptively called the "all-pervading atmosphere": namely the economy, politics, culture and religion. This evidently refers to those factors that concern the adolescent's wider social environment, as well as those that have a direct correlation to his own adopted values and his attitude towards socialising institutions such as the family, school and work. More specifically, the problems associated with these factors belong chiefly to the area of *"modernisation theories"*, (Clinard/Abbott,1973, Shelley, 1981), and *"theories of anomy"*, (Durkheim, 1893/7, and Merton,1938 and 1949/ 57). These theories support the view that the radical industrialisation and urbanisation that took place at the end of the nineteenth century and later, overturned the traditional social structures and moral "virtues" of the Victorian period, allowing considerable social mobility and accumulation of wealth, which in turn became a basic criterion for judging social success and fulfillment. In both Europe and America, the former to a far lesser degree than the latter, the idea that one could have humble beginnings yet still reach the top of the socio-economic pyramid became the "dream" and goal of whole generations. However, it becomes obvious that even the "inbetween" stages of the pyramid have a limited amount of rungs that can be occupied, and that consequently, modern societies exhibit an evident *discrepancy between the goals that are set and the available legal means by which they can be achieved* (Merton). Whichever people, the young in particular, adopt these goals and show originality in their aims and the means by which to realise them, are extremely likely to succeed. The remainder of the population will either be driven to illegal activities, invoking henceforth a number of excuses attempting to "rationalise" their criminality (Matza, 1964),

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[17]   *H. Taine,* Philosophie de l' Art, Paris 1872, p. 16 cont.

or they will be forced to give up the fight altogether, driven out to the margins of society. People belonging to lower income classes are more likely to grow weary of this attempt to succeed, thereby suffering society's economic inequalities more profoundly than other groups, as well as enduring the discriminatory attitude of the laws and their application. Therefore, the only long-term, plausible solution for the problem of delinquency, according to the connected *theories of "radical criminologists"* (Taylor, 1973), would be to change the actual social structures themselves.

11. However, all these theories were posited during a period where the opposition between capitalism and the communist socioeconomic system was at its peak, during which the economic and ideological differences seemed insurmountable. It is my belief that these theories are now due for an overhaul, in view of the emerging new reality of the 1990's, with the downfall of socialism and the loudly-proclaimed "end of ideologies", as well as the attempted eradication of economic inequality on a European and national level. The desire to uphold certain basic values, out of a sense of duty or for the realisation of specific social changes through lofty aims and ideals, which was characteristic of past decades to some degree, seems to be giving way *to a feeling of moral slackness and fatigue, eudemonism and an egocentric desire for an easy life*[18], whose prevalent concept is that one can think or do what-

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[18] The consolidation of this attitude has, of course, been facilitated during the last years by the decrease of working time and the corresponding increase of relaxation and recreation time, on a daily or weekly basis as well as during retirement. See *Owen Nankivell*, Economics, Society and Values, Aldershot (UK)/ Brookfield (USA) etc.: Avebury, 1995, p. 7. The de-personalisation and standardisation of work, the disconnection of the object of work from its creator, have also contributed to this phenomenon, a fact which led a decrease in emphasis of the importance of values such as the "yearning" one feels towards work, the creative spirit and sense of responsibility -see *Bryan R. Wilson,* Morality in the evolution of the modern social system, in: The British Journal of Sociology, 36: 1985, 315-332: 320 cont., and already, since 1966: *Arnold J.*

ever one wants, as long as this does not disturb other people. On the one hand, the result of this way of thinking is that society displays a tolerance towards every kind of "differentness" (which, to a certain degree is a positive thing), while on the other, people become more and more concerned with their rights[19], chiefly pursuing what pleases them and tires them the least[20]. Therefore, what prevails in their activities is a *utilitarian perception of quick and easy success*. The key criteria of

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Toynbee, Change and Habit, The Challenge of Our Time, London/ New York/ Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966, mainly p. 213 cont., and p. 217, where he makes the following interesting remarks: "it is not surprising that the bored factory-worker's recreation in his leisure hours sometimes takes the form of anti-social violence and destructiveness. This irrational behaviour can be explained rationally, even if the victim of mechanization is himself unaware of the reason why he is running amok. He is taking his revenge on society for an injury that society has done to him; and this injury is a serious one. In mechanizing his work, society has made the salt of his life lose its savour for him (…) When society is thoroughly well regulated, life becomes dull and uninspiring" .

[19] It is of course a great conquest of contemporary civilization that the concept of Justice has been enriched following the years of the Enlightenment, and even more so since the second World war, by the vastly important stipulations of Human Rights -see *Jacques Borricand,* La criminologie face à la crise des valeurs. Victimes et criminels, in: Revue internationale de criminologie et de police technique, 1996, 217-227:218 and note 7. However, it is reasonable to question whether or not there has been, in recent years, a tendency to abuse the exercise of rights and freedoms, i.e. an individualistic identification of the concept of freedom with the concept of personal right, stripping the latter of the relative obligations of humanism and solidarity it stipulates.

[20] A characteristic feature of this way of thinking is the fact that in the face of whatever difficulty, the easy way out is to seek 'assistance' from the Welfare State (even if this includes using extortion), which in turn becomes an alibi for the citizen's lack of execution or intensification of his abilities and initiatives. For the vertical rise of expenses of social support in the countries of Western Europe in the period 1950-1980 and the tendency towards a less Welfare-oriented State that was later observed, see for instance *Jan W. Van Deth/ Elinor Scarbrough,* The impact of Values, Oxford/ New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1995, see p. 67 cont., 73.

social worthiness are seen to be, respectively, the speedy acquisition and accumulation of consumer goods in accordance with the constant barrage of messages communicated by the media, for example, owning one or more cars of increasingly superior horsepower[21].

12. Conversely, other ideological or political goals do not appear to be resolutely promoted either by the media, the political parties and other social organisations, or by basic socialising units (mainly those centred around family, school and work). Indeed, the two survey-questionnaires that were conducted in member-states of the then E.E.C.[22] (15,500 people participated in the second survey, though Greece did not), showed that *the Western Europeans of today present the following picture:* They have faith in themselves; they love their families (although they display a certain reluctance to extend this affection to third parties); they show a lively interest in securing economic/financial ease; enjoy a sense of responsibility at work; recognize the primacy of private initiative (but advocate equal participation of employees in the managing of companies); express sensitivity towards the disadvantaged; display general distrust for the State and its institutions, the media and politicians; and they love their countries, while showing an increasing tendency to-

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[21] For the role of the media in shaping roles and "values", see for example Social control of Crime, by *Efi Lampropoulou,* Athens: Papazisis, 1994, p. 89 cont., and *Chr. Zarafonitou,* Empirical Criminology, o. c. [note 11], 1995, p. 270 cont.

[22] For the results of this research, see mainly: *Mark Abrams/ David Gerard/ Noel Timms,* Values and Social Change in Britain, Basingstoke/ London: Macmillan in association with the European Value Systems Study Group, 1985, *Stephen Harding/ David Phillips,* Contrasting Values in Western Europe. Unity, Diversity & Change, Basingstoke/ London: Macmillan in association with the European Value Systems Study Group, 1986, *The European Values Group,* Report published by the Gordon Cook Foundation, *Sheena Ashford/ Noel Timms,* What Europe Thinks, A study of Western European Values, Aldershot/ Brookfield USA etc.: Dartmouth, 1992, *Hel. Riffault,* Les valeurs des Francais, Paris: P.U.F., 1994.

wards religion. Finally they admit to upholding strict moral ideas and wish to abide by the law. Naturally, this is a somewhat embellished picture, whose details *differ according to each country, and the age, education, political and religious leanings of those questioned.* Thus, the young people aged 18-24 years old who were questioned differed in that they voiced criticism of established institutions such as those concerned with organised religion and political parties, as opposed to their more tolerant and liberal attitudes towards questions of morality such as extra-marital relations, prostitution, abortion and divorce. Furthermore, in response to a survey conducted by MTV in October and November of 1996, involving a sample of 1600 persons aged between 16 and 24, as to how far they would go in order to escape from a financial impasse, 26% of European youngsters questioned confessed they would make love to a stranger; 18% would betray their country and 6% a friend; and a few - 2% - claimed they would commit murder. In response to the question of what crime they would commit if there was no chance of getting caught, one in four (38%) would rob a bank (!); one in eight (12%) would kill; but only one in thirty-three (3%) would commit rape[23]. It is a fact however, as

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[23] The summarised results of this investigation, which was organized by the television channel MTV in cooperation with the European Youth Forum and the Department XXII for Education, Exercise and Youth, were published on 6.2.1997 in an eight page news bulletin. The results have also been presented amongst others in the "Vima" of 16.2.1997, p. 10 (*Lena Papadimitriou*) and in the "Kathimerini" of the same day, p. 21 (*George Tsiros*). It would, however, be dangerous and over- simplistic to postulate from such findings more general conclusions regarding the relation of the "crisis of values" and delinquency, as e.g., that the possible increase of criminality in recent decades may be due to the potential decline of traditional values. This point of view is supported, for example, by *Christie Davies,* Moralization and Demoralization: A Moral Explanation for Change in Crime, Disorder and Social Problems, at: *Digby Anderson* (ed.), The Loss of Virtue. Moral Confusion and Social Disorder in Britain and America, London: a National Review Book, published by the Social Affairs Unit, 1992, Chapter One and *Gertrude Himmelfarb,* The De-moralization of Society. From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values, London: IEA Health and Welfare Unit, 1995, mainly p. 225 cont.

the surveys above indicate, that Europeans (older ones in particular), have become so absorbed by the well-tuned "functional rationality" of everyday activities pertaining to house and work that *they have lost, to a considerable degree, any other interest in pursuits of a wider range,* that constitute, after all, the very core of a society's culture.

13. However, maybe it is precisely this lack of other pursuits, as well as the ideological confusion and anomic "pluralism" of the 1990's, that is responsible for making normally sensitive and concerned youngsters question their existence and develop a hedonistic way of thinking: emphasising intemperate gain and even displaying the type of psychological fatigue that can lead either to active delinquency or to "withdrawal" (drug-taking). Without a doubt, a part of this delinquency is due to the fact that many Western European countries have severe economic problems, caused by *continuing underemployment and unemployment.* The feeling of insecurity fostered by this situation and the unyielding competitiveness for the truly few available positions in the economic and social pyramid, or even the achievement of a rudimentary existence, drives a lot of young people to adopt illegal or not commonly accepted means in order to survive. *Lack of values other than those of a self-serving nature;* namely the absence of stable socioeconomic norms that would arm young people with the ideological weapons to fight their way out of often explosive financial culs de sac also seems to play an important role in this development. As a matter of fact, it is saddening that the crucially important question of juvenile delinquency and its relation to the existing value structure is still addressed by pre-war theories and research. In view of the consistently unsettling turmoil of contemporary life, it is becoming increasingly evident that a fresh approach to this critical problem is urgently needed. The arguments that follow

devote themselves to such an approach, paying particular attention to the values and institutions in which Greek youth is active.

II. The basic values and way of life of youngsters in Greece

(a) The findings of a follow-up Pan-Hellenic survey

14. In recent years, some rather interesting scientific research has been conducted in Greece regarding public opinion, as well as *survey-questionnaires centred mainly around the way of life, attitudes and viewpoints of Greek youngsters,* enabling a fairly clear picture of the current situation and that which is still emerging. It is my belief that the Gallop conducted by the newspaper "Eleftherotypia", coordinated by *Maria Dede* and *Ioanna Sotirchou*[24], is of particular importance. These two journalists collected data from 400 15 to 24 year olds of both sexes, including schoolchildren, students and those in employment, both in Athens and in the provinces, using a system of anonymous completion of a questionnaire consisting of 42 questions[25]. The main ad-

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[24] See the newspaper "Eleftherotypia" 13.1.1997, pp. 15-18, 14.1.1997, pp. 27-29, 15.1.1997, pp. 24-25, 16.1.1997, pp. 26-27, 17.1.1997, pp. 32-33, 18.1.1997, pp. 22-23 and 20.1.1997, pp. 16-18.

[25] It would however be an omission not to mention here the earlier research done by the National Centre of Sociological Research (a research team comprising: *A. Mouriki, G. Myrizakis, Th. Paradellis, O. Gardiki* and *A. Teperoglou*), whose subject was: "The disposal of Time, Personal Relationships and Values in Young People", which was carried out in 1983 and presented briefly in my work "Modern civilization and the Anomy of Youth" in: "Studies in Honour of Professor George Michaelides-Nouaros", vol. II, Athens/ Komotini: 1987, 117-139: 123 cont. For *relevant research abroad,* see also *Adrian Furnham/ Barrie Gunter,* The Anatomy of Adolescence. Young People's Social Attitudes in Britain, London/ New York: Routledge, 1989, *James S. Coleman/ Torsten Husen,* Becoming Adult in a Changing Society, Paris: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1985, which concern perceptions of modern youths in different countries. See also the comparative results of surveys [World Values Survey 1990-1991] in wider age-group samples of the population from European countries, America, Japan etc. (e.g. the extent of "national pride" in each country) in: *Goran Therborn,* European Modernity and Beyond. The

vantage of this survey is that it was conducted recently, and people from all over Greece participated. Furthermore, it offers interesting comparisons, since similar population samples (youngsters) were asked the same questions at different times: initially in 1990[26] and again in 1996. The surveys under discussion showed that the majority of young Greeks claimed to be "sufficiently" (51,9%) to "extremely" (15,9%) satisfied with their lives (question 29 - the analogous results in 1990 were 48,3% and 12,8% respectively). Yet while their main priority in 1990, which expressed their attitude towards life, was "to fight for a better society" (25%); in 1997, in view of competitiveness and unemployment, the majority (38,6% as oppose to 16,35% in 1990) declared that "expression through creative means" was of paramount importance (question 1)[27]. In other words, *it seems that youngsters are conforming somewhat to the existing social reality and are mainly concerned with improving their own personal situation and securing their professional future.* This applies especially to students, for whom the problem of professional integration is more immediate. On the other hand, schoolchildren, who are of particular interest for our study since they are more likely to be the victims of juvenile delinquency or become delinquents themselves, consider the "fight for a better society" to be their first priority.

Trajectory of European Societies 1945-2000, London/Thousand Oaks/ New Delhi: Sage Publ., 1995, p. 272 cont.

[26] The results of the 1990 survey have been published in "Eleftherotypia" under the supervision of *Maria Dede* and *Dimitris Koumantaros* especially in the following issues: 12.11.1990, pp. 23-25; 13.11.1990, pp. 20-21, 14.11.1990, pp. 20-21, 15.11.1990, pp. 20-21, 16.11.1990, pp. 20-21, 17.11.1990, pp. 20-21, 18.11.1990, pp. 56-57, 19.11.1990, pp. 20-21.

[27] This development was identified in 1990 by *Petros Moralis,* whose article in the "Vima" of 29.7.1990, communicated the following: "Politics are now clearly considered by the young to be a an adult or rather, elderly - concern and in each case, their scorn matches the fervor we exhibit for the "art" of politics. However, the vital force which is the future of our society, our youth, is becoming denatured, losing its fighting spirit and seems without vision, without ideals, without hope. "

15. Furthermore, schoolchildren who have a particularly gruelling schedule to cope with juggling, for example, school, supplementary lessons, foreign languages and so forth, state that they lack spare time (37,8% and 30,3%, boys and girls respectively, as oppose to 17% and 15,2% in 1990: question 3). The same *need for spare time* is displayed by all the young people that were questioned, but the percentage is lower (26,5 % against 16,1 % in 1990). Conversely, money fell from the lead position it had in 1990 (22,9 %), to second position in the survey of 1996. What is more, in response to the question of what youngsters wanted most, out of eight possibilities: emotional stability, mutual love, intelligence, "best friends", wealth, fame, pleasant pastimes or an attractive city to live in, the overwhelming majority opted for *"emotional stability"* (44,2% as oppose to 20,8% in 1990, although amongst the schoolchildren, having "best friends" scored an equally high percentage), while the second preference was for "mutual love" (question number 2). This seems to indicate an attempt on the part of these young people to find a way out of their overloaded schedules, and simultaneously, to achieve greater communication and affection with those around them. Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that the films most "teenagers could imagine themselves acting in" were "Dead Poets' Society" (39,9%, proving especially popular with schoolgirls and students of both sexes), with "Braveheart" in second place (21,7%; most popular amongst schoolboys), representing two conflicting poles of emotion - between tenderness on the one hand and heroic feelings of justice and freedom on the other. However, *pugnacity no longer seems to be the prevalent feature of today's youngsters,* although they still believe that by participating in public concerns, they can change society "somewhat" or even "a lot" (74,6% as oppose to 59,8% in 1990: question 25), schoolchildren being the most optimistic group. As far as education is concerned, today's youngsters appear more satisfied with the way they are taught: 56,9% opted for "moderately satisfied" (question 6) as opposed to a resounding "completely dissatisfied" from 53,7% in 1990. Furthermore, *teenagers' relations with their parents seem to have improved:* relations with both the mother and the father were deemed "good" (81,9%, against 70,8% in 1990, and 71,4% against

63,9% in 1990 respectively), possibly because they perceive good relations with their parents as a support for the difficulties that lie ahead. However, it seems that teenagers are lacking in receiving parental understanding (20,6% against 27,1% in 1990), as well as feeling that their parents do not show trust in them (18,8%, against 4,5% in 1990). An equally large proportion stated emphatically that they would not expect "anything more or different from their parents" (19,3% against 22,9% in 1990: question 10).

16. Moreover, it should be noted that out of five more specific categories concerning society (namely people's life-styles and way of thinking; education; the economy; and the environment; traditions and customs), the category that was considered to have the *"greatest negative impact on the personal life of adolescents"* was precisely *people's life-styles and ways of thinking* (66,7%: question 24). This, I believe, makes it clearly evident that not only is there a lack of satisfactory communication between youngsters and others, but also a strong resistance to the eudemonic, money-chasing and uninspiring, dull way of life they perceive their elders to lead. On the other hand, there were not many who seemed prepared to make sacrifices for the good of society as a whole: 50,8%, with schoolgirls and boys scoring somewhat more (56,0% and 54,4% respectively). Conversely, in 1990, despite the fact that the proportion of those who said they were disturbed by people's life-styles and way of thinking was smaller overall (55,2%), a much greater percentage said they would make sacrifices (72,8%). Consequently, these findings would seem to support the opening observation that today's adolescents, even if they are intensely aware of the shortcomings of society (especially where the standard of values and way of life are concerned), and although they themselves do not align themselves with it, *would not be prepared to shoulder the heavy burden of changing society for the better by making personal sacrifices.* This withdrawal into themselves, this introspection, seems to constitute an answer to con-

stantly occurring problems [28]. From this point of view, it should not appear strange that more and more adolescents confess to having tried drugs (19% against 11,4% in 1990; hashish more than anything else: question 9). Conversely, many admit to having neither creative pursuits (61,6 %, against 60,4% in 1990: question 18), nor active participation in sports (44,2% do none at all, as opposed to 50,0% in 1990: question 17), nor interest in reading books (50,3% read "a little" while 20,6% "never" do: question 16). If, however, they had to choose a book to read, they stated that they would prefer books about the effect of drugs on humans (35,4%), love and sex (29,1%), and books about "mysteries from the Ancient Times to the present day" (29,1%). However, the teenagers stated that they "regularly" read magazines (59,5%), and read newspapers on a "regular" to "daily" basis (50,2%: questions 22 and 23).

Finally, as the coordinators of the survey have highlighted, in relation to politics young people "do not trust political parties and openly express their doubt and disappointment towards politicians" (13. 1 1997, p. 16, see also 17. 1 1997, p. 33).

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[28] The journalist *Kostas Tsarouchas* (writing for the newspaper "Mesimvrini", 8.1.1991, p. 12), has accurately pointed out in his relevant research, "the young, [being] realistic and pragmatic, prove themselves to be exceedingly able in their efforts for professional progress and social upgrading. However, one should not overlook the fact that their collective personality is blank and has many faults. Inside, the young feel empty. From their behaviour rises their insecurity...". (it should be noted that K. *Tsarouchas'* interesting research of the young was published in the above newspaper on 7-14.1.1991). In addition, he points out that "today's young 'have learnt their lesson': Ideas and dreams are divisive. One is better off without them. In a society tired of 'social upheaval', they desire and seek a conformist life style, characterised by apathy and lack of innovation (...). They have realized that every body is 'free' to look for the small pleasures in his own limited world, as long as this is done in the climate of indifference borne out of the 'pluralism of views', and does not 'disturb' those 'around' him", ("Mesimvrini" 14.1.1991, p. 25).

(b) The results of other more specific surveys.

17. Two other recent surveys conducted in areas of Northern Greece present a similar picture of the way young Greek people think and behave.

18. The first of these surveys consists of two "sub-investigations" that targeted both households and schools respectively, in the prefecture of Thessaloniki in 1996. The main body responsible for this survey was the National Centre of Sociological Research under the scientific guidance of *Dr. Aphrodite Teperoglou*, and so far the results of the survey have appeared in abbreviated version only [29]. The principal aim of the first survey was to find out about "the identity and particular characteristics and needs of young people in Thessaloniki". A questionnaire for the first sub-survey was subsequently completed by 1000 young people of both sexes aged between 15-29. Of particular interest to the subject under discussion are the three following points [30]: First, a significant percentage of those asked responded that *politicians disappoint people* (88%), that they seek to promote themselves and fulfill their own personal aspirations (67,0%) and, to a lesser degree, that politicians are only interested in money (48,0%). Secondly, regarding how young people would rank the *"unsolved" or most important issues of their generation,* those questioned judged unemployment to be of pri-

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[29] See the summarising paper issued by the *Prefecture Administration of Thessaloniki,* the *National Centre of Sociological Research* and *the Institute of Social Policy* under the title "The identity, the special characteristics and the needs of young people in the Prefecture of Thessaloniki", Athens, 1996. It should be noted, however, that Dr. Teperoglou, who was in charge of the research, was kind enough to bring the complete analytical results of the two sub-investigations to my attention. The findings of her research team comprise two massive volumes. The research team, besides *Afr. Teperoglou,* consisted of *Dionisis Balourdos, Giannis Myritakis and Maria Tzortzopoulou.* For a presentation of the results of the first sub-investigation, see the writings of *Desp. Kontaraki* in the newspaper "Apogevmatini on Sunday", 15.6.1997, pp. 72-73.

[30] See conclusions of Chapter 11, pp. 28-29 of above-mentioned summary issue (Part I).

mary importance, followed by drugs and alcoholism, with education and vocational training in third place. Finally in response to the question of *what was required in order to succeed;* education and a knowledge of foreign languages was thought to be most important, while in second and third place respectively were connections and money. The above answers show a mistrust of the way power is managed by politicians, fear for the future (mainly because of the problems caused by unemployment and drugs), and an attempt by young people to distinguish themselves educationally in order to be able to respond to the difficulties that lie ahead. The second sub-investigation, which had the same objectives and asked the same questions as the first, focused on 400 schoolgirls and boys of Thessaloniki High Schools [31]. They reiterated the mistrust of political parties: it was even thought that such parties are "pitiful"; that "they do not desire the good of the country" and that all politicians are "self-seeking". They identified the evils of their age as being drugs, the generation gap and AIDS, and emphasised that the main credentials a young person needed for success are, in order of importance; education, a strong personality, and a sense of morality. Thus, the same trends found among the first, older group of questionees are in evidence here as well, though the younger group places more emphasis on "morality", trust in one's personal qualities as well as those that can be developed through education.

19. The other recent survey that deserves to be briefly examined here was one conducted by *Athanasios Gotovos*, Professor of Children's Education at the University of Ioannina, using a questionnaire that was completed in three consecutive phases (1992, 1993 and 1994) by 3143 schoolchildren (mainly aged 11-16 years) attending schools in Ioannina and Corfu. The findings of this survey also include relevant comparisons with ten other European cities (mostly of former Communist coun-

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[31] See above mentioned summary (Part II), p. 9 cont.

tries) and were published in a complete volume in 1996 [32]. The following points are of particular interest: as far as *the means for achieving social progress and success are concerned,* the schoolchildren placed *work and efficiency* particularly high, while seeming to give less importance: "not too much, but not too little", to money and connections [33]. Furthermore, they expressed positive attitudes towards values such as religion and harmonious relations between themselves and their families [34], a point, according to the coordinator of the survey, that "suggests an alternative attitude towards the powerful ideology of success and enjoyment of consumer goods that is prevalent in modern societies" (p. 189). The attitude of these young people towards values concerning their position in society [35] is also somewhat idealistic. They took a dim view of both individualism and the rationale for and achievement of self-serving interests; regarding with disapproval the idea that it doesn't matter what is done to achieve one's ends, as long as they are achieved; yet it should be added that these sentiments were not intensely expressed. Conversely, these youngsters maintained a positive attitude towards the values of Socialism, such as the idea that personal success should be aligned with more general social factors and with the social politics practised by the State; solidarity, again in the sense that a State provides for its weaker citizens, (although of course the term "solidarity" has a much wider spectrum of meaning); and a borderline acceptance of competitiveness as a motive for action, based on socioeconomic differences [36]. However, the attitude that is revealed by these statements

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[32] *Ath. E. Gotovos* Youth and Social Change. Values, Experiences and Prospects, Athens: Gutenberg (Pedagogical Series), 1996. As for the methodology, goals and execution of this investigation, see esp. p. 19 cont.

[33] See *Ath. E. Gotovos,* ibid., p. 176

[34] *Ath. E. Gotovos,* ibid., p. 184

[35] *Ath. E Gotovos,* ibid., p. 199 cont.

[36] Ibid., p. 191 cont.

is not necessarily a spirit of solidarity but is rather a *paternalistic perception that the State should strive to assist its citizens*. Finally, as far as the future is concerned, intense anxiety was expressed for the shape economic developments would take, as well as for developments on a more general political, cultural and national level[37].

20. From what has been noted above, and in light of the internationalisation of life-styles communicated by the media, *Greek youth presents a picture that achieves considerable contiguity with that of other Western European youngsters:* one that can be summed up by the following tendencies: a "down-to-earth" and not particularly combative desire for social improvements or support for others; feelings of mistrust and disappointment towards both political parties and the generally eudemonic way of thinking prevalent in society; fairly good family relations; the prioritisation of personal pursuits with special emphasis on education and character (and not so much on money, self-interest and connections); a lack of emotional stability and, in part, an introspection or temporary "withdrawal", and finally, a feeling of pessimism for the future, especially in view of unemployment and the more general problems facing the country. From the pieces of this mosaic, *a picture of a world of youngsters who reject the eudemonic structure of values maintained by their elders, but who shun taking responsibility for promoting other "post-materialist" values*[38] *emerges: youngsters who prefer to devote themselves primarily to the pursuit of their own personal goals, amidst, however, a feeling of anxiety and insecurity for the future.*

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[37] Ibid., p. 264.

[38] To use the well-known terminology of *Ronald Inglehart* (in particular see his books The Silent Revolution. Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977, and Culture Shift in Advanced Industrial Society, Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990), post-materialist values are related to non-material aims such as a less impersonal society in which one can be involved, that has space for the development of ideas, self-expression and emotional growth.

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS AND SOCIETY

The family, educational environment and work comprise the primary factors that determine a young person's value system, and more general attitude towards existing social values and consequently, the degree to which he or she is incorporated into society as a whole. In the discussion that follows, it is my intention to elucidate the way socialising institutions work in practice so that the role they play in creating difficulties and/or delinquency in young people can be evaluated.

III. The particular (dys)function of socialising institutions in Greece

21. In my earlier work (1987, 1991)[39], I was able to expose the dysfunction of socialising institutions in Greece in detail, and, using said observations, to *emphasise the need to develop a theory that could explain juvenile delinquency by means of emphasising "institutional dysfunctioning"*. The following is mostly a summary and elaboration of these points with new ideas and fresh evidence:

(a) The family

22. The institution of the family in Greece has undergone major changes since the post-war years, the most noticeable features being a reduction in the number of children (from 2.1 children on average in 1980, down to 1.4 today !)[40], and an increase in the number of elderly people

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[39] See *N.E. Courakis*, Modern Civilization and the Anomy of Youth, in: "Studies in Honour of Professor George Michaelides-Nouaros", vol. II, Athens: A. N. Sakkoulas, 1987, pp. 117-139 and republished in: *by the same*, Criminological Horizons, vol. II, Athens/Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 1991, esp. pp. 59 cont.

[40] See the *ESYE*, (National Service for Statistics), Brief Statistical Annuary 1995, Columns II. 2 and II. 5, pp. 31-32. See also the impressive piece published in the newspaper "Eleftheros Typos", 28.6.1997, p. 29, where according to 1991 statistics per-

above the age of 65 (from 8% in 1961 and 13% in 1981 to 15,2% in 1994), a more general decrease in the size of the family from the point of view of other relatives (such as grandmothers and uncles), who previously played a more active role in the upbringing of children [41], and the often simultaneous employment of both parents in some profession (although according to the evidence provided by the National Service for Statistics in 1989, out of a total of 2.609.800 married women, 38,6% had some kind of job or were unemployed, while the rest belonged to the non-working part of the population, in other words they were housewives, pensioners or students [42]). As a result of these developments, *a conflict between the new roles of spouse and parent and the different responsibilities each encompasses, as well as between the different goals each sets within the family* can be observed. It should be noted that in a survey carried out by the National Centre of Sociological Research (EKKE) under the guidance of sociologist

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taining to the Europe 12, Greece is included in the list of 6 countries with the highest percentage of elderly citizens, and 23,5% of the population is aged above 65 years. Furthermore, according to the findings of the EKKE's Research Unit under the supervision of *Haris Symeonidou,* entitled "Definitive Socio-economic Factors in Rates of Fertility in Greece, Vol. I, Analysis of the Athens area", Athens, EKKE, 1992, p. 26, "fertility has been on the decrease in our country since 1981, the average number of children being lower than 2,1, and for the first time, it is not certain that generations will continue to replenish themselves, since there has been such a decline that by 1989, the average number of children per woman was 1,50 (Eurostat 1991). The same is concluded in an interesting study by *Fani Palli-Petralia,* "The childless country. Demographic Developments and Perspectives", Athens: I. Sideris, 1997, p. 22 cont., where there are comparative figures from other member-states of the E. U.

[41]   The survey conducted by Prof. *Chrysa Tzoumaka-Bakoula,* who is mentioned above (in para. 23), showed, however, that in 1990, out of families with a seven-year old children that were asked, 21% were living with their grandmothers and fathers. It must be remembered that this survey investigated not only the basin area of Attica but the whole of Greece, though these were farming or semi-rural areas where families still retain a large number of members.

[42]   See the relevant note by *Agatha Zarakovitou,* in the newspaper "Eleftherotypia", 29.6.1992, pp. 30-31.

Laura Maratou- Alipranti[43]*,* using a random sample of 1,924 married Athenian women aged between 15-44, it was shown that the wife devotes 6,7 times more than the husband to household concerns (3.28 hours a day on average, as opposed to 0.49 hours spent by the husband, who mainly assumes responsibility for the shopping), and that the more time women spend working, the less fertile (due to lack of time) they become.

23. The increase of the working woman's obligations, the lack of basic financial support from the State and the relative unwillingness of husbands to help out at home has led, therefore, not only to a dwindling rate of children per family (today's figures raise fears that by 2050 the population of Greece will have fallen from 10 million today to 7,2 million[44]), but also to *a lack of time and of desire for quiet and uninterrupted communication between parent and child.* Work-related stress, fatigue and irritability all help to alienate parents from their children, who are often left alone in front of the television, or made to suffer the brunt of their parents' nerves (*inter-familial violence*). On the other hand, to make up for the poor communication between parents and children, at least as far as the middle and upper classes are concerned, parents seem willing to grant their children *whatever material good* they desire, and allow them freedoms they themselves did not have when they were at a similar age. A Pan-Hellenic survey conducted by the First Pediatric Clinic of the University of Athens[45] in 1990, using a sample of 8,158 children

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[43] *Laoura Maratou-Alipranti,* "Family in Athens: Family Patterns and Spousal Practices", Athens: EKKE, 1995, esp. p. 96 cont., 86 cont., see also a presentation of this survey in the newspaper "Ta Nea", 30.9.1995 by *Lambrini Stamati.*

[44] This was presented and documented during a colloquium on the demographic problem, organised by The Greek Institute for dealing with the Demographic Problem and by the Centre for Mediterranean Studies; cf., in the newspaper "Exousia", 9.5.1997, pp. 1, 3, 20-21.

[45] See the study by Chrysa *Tzoumaka-Bakoula,* "From birth to seven years of life. Dia-

aged seven years old who completed a questionnaire with the help of parents and teachers, showed that, in fact, one in three children (33,7%) is beaten at least once a week (and maybe more), and one in six (17,3%) every day (!) [46] Furthermore, it was established that only 1,9% of children have a single pair of shoes (in addition to sports shoes). Of the children questioned, 20,1% have two pairs of shoes, 34.9% have three, 24,6% have four and 18,5% have five or more. As the scientist in charge of the survey, Associate Professor Chrysa Bakoula observed, "nowadays, physical punishment is still used frequently as a way of disciplining the child in Greek families. Otherwise, parents within the framework of the hyper-consumerism of modern life bombard their children with material goods, believing that in this way they can fulfill their parental obligations. At heart, they are making up for emotions they cannot express with true love, devotion and communication".

24. Furthermore, from early on, parents attempt to enroll their children in a *rigid, time-consuming programme of academic and extra-curricular activities* that leaves the child very little spare time for recreation and play or other creative activities, be they artistic or sport-oriented.

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chronic population study of the health and behaviour of Greek youngsters", Athens, 1993, esp. pp. 25 and 29. A presentation of the findings relating to the current topic of discussion can be found in the newspaper "Kathimerini", 27.6.1993, p. 15 (from where quotations from *H. Bakoula* are taken), under the supervision of *Galini Foura.*

[46] Similar findings were noted in a survey conducted of 400 students of the Pedagogic Institute of Irakleio and the Nursery School of Hania by *G. E. Krasanakis*, Professor of Psychology at the University of Crete. Greek fathers use mostly physical force as punishment (59,1% of those asked), while moral punishments and restriction of a child's freedom retain second (34,6%) and third (28,4%) place respectively. Furthermore, the fathers who do not impose physical punishment are very few, only one in ten (10, 0%) - see *G. E. Krasanakis,* "Punishment as a form of aggressive behaviour of Greek fathers towards their children", in: I. N. Nestoros, Punishment in the family, at school and in society, Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1996, pp. 152-163.

The main source of recreation therefore, becomes the television. According to the same survey of the First Pediatric Clinic [47], even *seven year old children* attending primary school spend their time either studying or watching television. One child in four (23,2%) studies 3-4 hours a day; one in three (67,5%) studies 1-2 hours, while 86,4% of these children watch television for three hours a day on a regular basis. Furthermore, by the age of seven (provided there is enough money) a considerable amount of children have already begun to attend foreign language classes once a week (5,0%), or learn a musical instrument (4,0%), or attend dancing classes (a female domain, 15,5%). On the other hand, a significant proportion (15% of seven year olds), *rarely plays at all!* As the coordinator of the survey, *Chrysa Bakoula*, points out, "the greatest mistake one can make is to force a child to live a stressful life full of obligations and nothing more (...). The most significant danger is the anxiety that may develop from trying 'to get everything done !'. These children are in danger of becoming over-sensitive at a later date, and lacking in self-confidence. Every little failure will be magnified and looked upon as a major defeat, especially when they have received great pressure from home to do well at school". [48]

25. However, even during *the period of adolescence,* schoolchildren continue to follow a demanding programme of school and planned extra-curricular activities that allows them very little spare time. In a survey conducted by the Sector of Social Pediatrics of the Children's Hospital of Athens "P. and A. Kyriakou", under the guidance of the Head of the

[47] Chr. *Tzoumaka-Bakoula,* ibid., (note 5), pp. 19-20. Similar are the findings of the research carried out by *Evi Zampeta*, Policy on primary education, 1974-1989, Athens: Themelio 1994, p. 304 cont.

[48] See newspaper "Kathimerini", 22.10.1995, p. 14, where there is a presentation of the survey's relevant findings of Chr. *Bakoula*, by *Nausica Karamouzi*. See also note *Ism. Haralampopoulou* in newspaper *"Kathimerini"*, 28.6.1992, p. 12.

relevant sector, *Dr. G. Tsarmaklis*, which consisted of a questionnaire that was completed by 2,363 teenagers of both sexes attending schools in the prefecture of Attica, 24,2% of those asked have spare time only at weekends. However, out of the remaining percentage, most children said they only had an hour a day to spare (11,2%), while 23,7% had two, and this time was mostly spent watching television for at least an hour (65,5%), playing with friends (30,6%) or reading books not on the school curriculum (17,3%). It may be that children amuse themselves with computer games in their free time, but not, as we have seen, with those that demand a lot of movement, perhaps because the necessary open spaces no longer exist. Therefore, the amount of time children spend playing ranges from none at all (21,2% !), to very little (38,2%, and only at weekends !). Above all, (as long as the family's financial status allows it), children are involved in a particularly heavy schedule of extra-curricular activities that include learning at least one language (95,4%), doing sports at organised clubs (75,3%), learning a musical instrument (27,4%), learning how to work computers (24,9%) and attending dance and ballet classes (19,0%). Evidently, older schoolchildren are further burdened by classes at educational centres which prepare the students for the University entrance [49]. As child psychologist *M.Zervaki* observed in view of these facts: "Children may become directly and absolutely dependent on the people who organise their time, in other words their parents; the most probable result being that these children will display far more signs of immaturity than other children of a similar age who were raised differently. They may not actually become... robots, but there is a great danger that *they will never be able to "discover" their own identities* and become fully independent of their parents. One *other possible consequence is that these children may one day respond energetically:* they may leave home, do daring

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[49] See investigation by *Aik. Nestoridou, E. Ktenas, Al. Nikolaou-Papanagiotou, A. Kondylis, G. Tsarmaklis,* enititled "How adolescents spend their leisure-time", Summaries of the 22nd Panhellenic Medical Congress, Athens, 7-11.5.1996, no. 316, p. 81. A summary of this survey's findings was also published in the Sunday newspaper "Kyriakatiki Eleutherotypia", 22.12.1996, p. 55.

things, keep bad company and disrupt their relationship with their parents". As a result of this domestic upbringing therefore, teenagers are gradually deprived of basic contact with their parents and become psychologically distraught under the weight of an all too heavy schedule, without any real recreation or playtime. Furthermore, children are swamped with a deluge of material goods, without having worked to acquire them, thereby inferring that they need only demand something - often in a violent or aggressive manner - for it to be given.

(b) School and the educational system

26. Similar problems are created by the way Greek schools and, more generally, the Greek educational system (dys)functions. The subject matter and the way it is delivered (usually without discussion and/or lacking in any provision to create incentive for research and acquisition of further knowledge), in no way helps to create active and broadly educated citizens, capable of facing the challenges of the technological era and the changing face of a new Europe. As early as 1984, the then Minister of Education had admitted at a seminar for school advisors that *"our educational system continues to be fundamentally restrictive, drowning the pupil's spontaneity and creative abilities, overloading his memory and dulling his sense of judgement"* [50]. However, apart from similar proclamations, no significant steps seem to have been taken over the following years to improve the situation. It is interesting to note that in a relatively recent survey under the guidance of the instructor *Char. Constantinou*, who questioned 107 former students and then first-year students at the Pedagogic Sector of Public Education of the University of Ioannina, most of those asked considered that schools today make only an "average (60,75%) or small (35,51%) effort to satisfy the pu-

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[50] See the newspaper "Eleftheros Typos", 18-19.8.1984, p. 19.

pil's cognitive and emotional needs and other interests" and that communication between teachers and pupils, based on the questionees' own experiences of school, would have to be described as "typical" (52,34%), "difficult" (17,76%), or even "non-existent" (12,15%)! [51]. Furthermore, a large proportion judged that "teachers take a one-sided approach - teaching, examining, organising, defining - towards the educational process" (76,64%) and that they "do not help pupils express opposing views about moral, religious and social values and rules and their practicability" (60, 75%, although the rest were of the exactly opposing view). Indeed, as another recent survey conducted by teacher *Christos Katsikas* using a questionnaire completed by 1,860 students, 154 teachers and 136 parents (Oct. 1995- Jan. 1996) [52] indicated, none of those questioned were satisfied with the system of education. The percentage of "dissatisfied" questionees was respectively 89%, 72% and 81%, although the picture of these sentiments would evidently be clearer if there had been an intermediate category of response "moderately satisfied" between those of "satisfied" and "dissatisfied", as was the case in the survey carried out by the previously mentioned newspaper "Eleftherotypia" (mentioned above, para., 15).

27. The inflexible and anachronistic method of teaching responsible for this dissatisfaction is of course an age-old problem of our educational system and can be attributed to the perpetuation of authoritative ways of thinking of the past, as well as to the lack of appropriate instructive and educational programmes for teachers and professors. Besides, our teachers are neither paid enough to devote themselves entirely to their work [53], nor do they select their profession out of inclination in favour

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[51] See *Char. Konstantinou* "School and prayer as student touchstones", in Synchroni Ekpaideusi ("Modern Education"), issue-nr. 85 (Nov.-Dec. 1995), 47-53: 49 cont. See also the newspaper "Kathimerini", 30.1.1996, p. 1.

[52] See *Chr. Katsikas*, ("The school of the ...dissatisfied"), in the newspaper "Ta Nea", 12.2.1996, pp. 18-19.

[53] It should be emphasised that according to the *Report of Human Development of UNO, 1993*, the budget for education in Greece as a percentage of G.D.P. is 3,1%, compared with 5,5%, the average figure for member states of the E. U. However,

of it[54], nor are they chosen from the best available. The only criterion continued, until recently, to be one's position on the so-called "priority list", which means that the best are placed at the same level as others of inferior capacity, and by the time they have been made professors, having spent, for example 10 years waiting to become teachers and 15-20 years to become professors, they will have forgotten what they used to know. Apart from this *unrealistic way of teaching*, what causes serious problems *is the fact that teaching is mainly directed towards preparing pupils' for their successful entry into an institution of higher education*. Both teachers and taught (when, respectively, they are not on strike or holding sit-ins...), simply devote their energies to "covering or cramming" the syllabus, with particular emphasis on the topics to be prepared for the University entrance. In other words, school results in being merely a preparatory programme for impending examinations, espe-

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according to relevant research by the World Organisation for the Evaluation of Educational Progress, schoolchildren from countries that spend less per head on education, such as Slovakia and Bulgaria, do better at school -e.g. in mathematics and natural sciences, than their Greek counterparts - see relevant publication of investigation presented by *Konst. Zoulas* in "Kathimerini", 22.6.1997, p. 28 and 29.6.1997, p. 22. Furthermore, it is noted that in 1995, the starting salary of a newly-appointed, married professor in High School was only 135 000 dr. (about US$ 420), and that the percentage of the Greek budget stipulated for education was 7,1% in 1993 and since then, has fallen steadily (e.g. in 1974, the figure was 10,1%). See in particular: *Chr. Katsikas/ G. K. Kavvadias,* Inequality in Greek Education 1960-1994, Athens: Gutenberg (Pedagogic Series), 1994, pp. 48-49 and by *the same author,* Greek Education on the Brink of 2000. Teachers, pupils and the school reality, Athens: Gutenberg (Pedagogic Series), 1996, pp. 110 and 148.

[54] As far as primary school teachers are concerned, most (70%) of them, according to a relevant survey carried out in 1985 on 107 teachers (see *Alexandra Freiderikou/ Fani Folerou-Tserouli,* "Primary school teachers", Athens: Ipsilon, 1991, pp. 13 cont., 56 cont., 263), admitted that they had been forced into their profession, as "the only way to a better future". See also the newspaper "Exousia", 17.5.1997, p. 23.

cially, until recently, in the final year of high school, which, as the former Head of Athens University *Petros Gemtos* succinctly puts it, "becomes disjointed from the general educational programme and is transformed into a kind of preparatory school". [55]

28. Within the framework of this pointless and unrealistic educational orientation, the main focus falls not on the communication of fundamental skills and the education *of all students*, but on the location (in each class) of "able" pupils who will do well in the examinations and their intensive preparation. According to the acute observations of a systematic researcher of our educational system, *Christos Katsikas:* "in classes of 30-35 students, under the weight of an uninspiring, monolithic and inflexible programme of analysis 'run' by teachers who are unaware that learning disabilities and poor progress at school are closely connected with a pupil's socio-economic background, teachers may often feel that they do not have the luxury to "insist" on students who do not take well to learning". [56] If one now takes into consideration the fact that out of a class of 30-35 students only 8-9 have a statistical chance of getting into a university or technological institution [57], then it immediately becomes clear that *for the rest of the students, school assumes the image of "unbearable lightness of being" and contemptuous waste of time,* since of its own accord, getting a high-school di-

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[55] See interview of *P. Gemtos* by *Georgia Karra,* that was published in the newspaper "Typos tis Kyriakis", 20.8.1995 p. 38 with the distinctive title "Sloppiness is the rule in Education".

[56] See the above (footnote52) survey carried out by *Chr. Katsikas* entitled "The school of ...the dissatisfied", in the newspaper "Ta Nea", 12.2.1996, pp. 18-19.

[57] The percentage of successful candidates per year is 27% of the total number, which was e.g. 167, 322 in 1996-, but in order to make a precise estimation, it should be remembered that about 73,000 of the candidates, the so-called "graduates", are taking the examination for the second or third time and that the figure of successful candidates usually comprises equal numbers of "final year students" and "graduates". See relevant publication by *Chr. Katsikas,* entitled "They are attracted by universities", in the newspaper "Ta Nea", 5. 8.1996, p.12.

ploma does not even open any favourable doors. This is why out of those who fail the examinations and do not succeed in getting into university or technological institutions, only an estimated 16,5% enter the job market after the results have been published. The rest re-sit their exams (58%), or try their luck in public centres for Higher Education, private post-secondary school centres, or universities abroad.

29. In light of these facts, *the (dys)function of today's educational system is manifested in three main ways*, all of which correspond to the extent of interest and expectation invested in school by different categories of pupils. First is the small group of students who are likely to succeed in the examinations. They have to endure *an ordeal of exhaustive preparation* within a more general climate of mechanical learning and recitation[58] as well as choking competitiveness, since due to the limited places available, one person's success can mean an other's failure. The second group is a similarly small group of about 15,000 students a year, usually from low socio-economic classes, who experience learning difficulties at school[59] and *prematurely abandon high school studies*. Over half (60%) of them enter the job market as builders, car mechan-

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[58] See Note by University Professor *I. St. Papadopoulos* in: "Ta Nea", 23.6.1997, p. 17: "The greatest means for success is the ability to recite parrot-fashion. In this way, clever children may be cut off if recitation is an ordeal for them".

[59] See in particular, elaborations by *Chr. Katsikas / G. K. Kabbadias* in their aforementioned work in "Inequality in Greek Education", above, footnote 53, esp. pp. 45, 87 cont., 108 cont., 73 cont., 55, as well as note by *El. Varinou,* in the newspaper "Eleftherotypia", 10.6.1993, pp. 24-25. See also *Giorgios N. Galanis,* "Juvenile delinquency and school education", in: Epistimoniki Epetirida tou Paidagogikou Tmimatos Panepistimiou Ioanninon (Scientific Journal of the University of Ioannina's Pedagogic Sector), Ioannina 1995, 65-120: 90 cont. More generally, it seems that there is a positive correlation between the good grades attained by high school students and factors such as a high level of education in their family background, a comfortable home and good relations between parents (i.e. they are not separated or estranged) -see in the aforementioned journal, pages 39-40, where the findings of a survey headed by Prof. *Antony Danassis-Afentakis,* 1988, are presented.

ics, hairdressers and so forth (according to data from an unpublished survey by the Pedagogic Institute, headed by *Stamatis Palaiokrasas* entitled "Students who abandon high school studies, and their need for professional training and instruction")[60]. Here it must be emphasised that those who give up high school studies or fail the examinations come overwhelmingly from downtrodden parts of West Attica (such as Peristeri, Aghia Varvara, Nea Liosia, Aigaleo), rather than from other more prosperous areas, such as Holargos and Maroussi. Finally, *the great majority of students*; those who have neither hopes of succeeding anywhere, yet neither feel any pressure to abandon their studies, are fundamentally *trapped in the margins of the educational process, which in turn they perceive as useless and a waste of time,* forming an indifferent, if not hostile, view of school, and of other social institutions in general. [61] Perhaps, from this point of view, it is not surprising that according to the aforementioned Pan-Hellenic survey participated in by 1,860 senior and high school students of teacher *Christos Katsikas*, 9 out of 10 stated that the best moments of school were those spent "outside the classroom!" (43% on school trips, 32% at break-time, 16% at demonstrations, school holidays and so forth, and only 9% in class). [62] From the same point of view, it is not strange that especially during the '90's, *pupil "sit-ins" or occupations of school buildings* (usually for no particular reason or cause; the main aims being to "have fun", have a break from routine, express lively protest of an environment where there are no meaningful emotional bonds and enjoy

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[60] A presentation of the findings of this investigation was undertaken by *Sp. Goutzanis*, in the newspaper "Kathimerini", 16.6.1996, p. 20.

[61] See also *Efi Lampropoulou,* "Social Control of Crime", o.c. (Footnote 21), 1994, p. 86.

[62] See aforementioned survey (above, Footnote 52) carried out by *Chr. Katsikas*, in the newspaper "Ta Nea", 12.2.1996, p. 18-19.

some uninterrupted freedom) occur with greater frequency and duration. "Student uprisings", noted *G. Liakopoulos* (in the newspaper "To Vima", 24.3.1996, p.A6 -7), "have neither reasons nor causes. They reproach politics by erecting a series of sit-ins that are not "political". It is simply an adolescent reaction (…) It is more a constant "happening" or "event" of a generation than an organised activity (…) These children are tired of hearing the same messages in different forms from everywhere around them, and now and then they organise their own "thing" at the Athens Polytechnic, in stadiums and at school. If nothing else, at least they enjoy themselves".

30. Other important demonstrations of this same indifferent or negative view held by students towards the institution of school are the varying forms of small or greater delinquency related to it: playing truant, displaying aggression towards teachers, beating up peers and/or engaging in abusive exchanges and vandalising school property. More analytically, according to a survey carried out by the University Research Institute for Mental Health on a representative sample of 1,255 students from all over Greece, aged between 13 and 15 in March, 1993, (using a questionnaire which the students completed with the help of specially trained researchers), over a third of students admitted to having played truant, the older ones more so than their younger counterparts. [63] In addition, as far as *students' behaviour towards teachers* is concerned, *Athanasios Gotovos,* who included such questions in his aforementioned survey, [64]

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[63] The results of this investigation, which unfortunately remain unpublished, are included in a typed article of 38 pages that was put together in December of 1995 and kindly given me to consult. The research unit comprised *A. Kokkevi, A. Mostriou, M. Terzidou, M. Loukadakis and K. Stefanis,* and the title of investigation is "Behaviour and attitudes of students towards questions of health". See p. 21 of this article for references made here.

[64] *Ath. E. Gotovos,* "Youth and Social Change. Values, Experiences and Prospects", above (Footnote 32), p. 114 cont., p. 119.

concluded that students' tendency to respond insolently to their teach-
ers is not particularly important (an "average" response would range
between four possible answers, from "often" to "never"), but that
there is a deliberate attempt on the students' part to annoy their teach-
ers, a tendency which applies more particularly to older students. Even
more impressive were the findings of the same survey on the topic of
young people's experiences of violence at school. [65] First of all, from
answers that were given more generally, it seems that violence is an
endemic part of Greek school life, at least in the areas that this survey
addressed, namely Ioannina and Corfu. Over 40% of students asked
said that they were experiencing violence "more and more" in their
schools; one in four had suffered physical violence ("had been hit")
either at school or on the way to school and vice-versa, while an even
larger percentage (35%) believed that they had to protect themselves
against violence, even at school, with a variety of methods of defence
such as using special sprays. It must be noted that these experiences of
violence at school cannot be consistently tied to the social standing of
the student's family, in other words, the student "subculture" of vio-
lence manifests itself independently of the student's socio-economic
class and outlook, [66] who simply reproduces the violence presented by
society and the world of mass media.[67] Besides, as far as the *types of
student violence* (regular or random) are concerned, it was shown that

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[65] Ibid., p. 128 cont.

[66] Ibid., (footnote 32), p. 130.

[67] As *Mrs. Magiakou,* Judge for Juvenile Delinquents observed, "children nowadays
are often recipients of negative social prototypes, becoming accustomed to violence
from a very young age through television programmes and other existing media, lead
a harsh daily reality in an inhospitable environment, exhibiting negative behaviour
more often than in the past" (see the interesting presentation of the problem of juve-
nile delinquency by *Ioanna Mandrou* in the newspaper "To Vima", 29.9.1991, p.
A36.

all types of abuse inflicted by groups of students accrued a particularly high percentage (usually 50-60%), from covert or open derision of other students (verbal abuse), to physical beating (beating each other up or hitting someone weaker than them) and vandalism (destroying things). Indeed, if we look comparatively at other cities (primarily East European) where students were asked similar questions, we find that the violence exhibited by secondary school pupils in Greece is much greater (sometimes three or four or more times as much) than that of other European cities, and according to the researcher A. Gotovos, "is alarmingly on the increase". [68]

31. Naturally, in these kinds of survey it would be useful to have some kind of crossover point of attitudes revealed from other sources or surveys, especially when, as in the present case, the geographical spread of the survey is limited (in this case to two northern Greek cities) and does not provide analogous information for a wider sample of people. Another drawback is when a considerable amount of the questions asked referred to *incidental* outbursts of violence, which may, of course, have been experienced by anyone, anywhere (for example, "has anyone *ever* hit you at school ?"). But apart from the restrictions concerning this particular survey, one should bear in mind that *such surveys of students must be treated with some precaution,* since teenagers often like to exaggerate things and present themselves as having a rebellious spirit or being "tough". In light of these reservations, the following will attempt to *compare findings from other surveys* which are relevant to these crucially important instances of delinquency at school.

32. Therefore, the findings of the aforementioned survey carried out by the University Research Institute for Mental Health are particularly important. [69] It was shown that attacks and tussles between students came relatively high, although certainly not as high as the percentage

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[68] Ibid., (Footnote 32), p. 113.
[69] See typed article with findings of this investigation (above, Footnote 63), p. 16.

recorded by the other survey mentioned above. More particularly, in response to the question "have you *ever* been the victim of attacks by other students ?", which takes for granted at least one attack, the answer "yes" was recorded for 35,7%.

A survey conducted by a sociological researcher of the National Centre of Sociological Research (EKKE) *Nikos Fakiolas* and a statistician from Athens University, *A. Armenakis* in the spring of 1994 reached parallel conclusions, [70] using a sample of 11% (3,774 students were questioned) of all pupils from the high and senior high schools in the Municipality of Athens. About 60% of students (of both sexes) who participated claimed they had been involved, albeit rarely, in some kind of confrontation during the past year, about 11% had exchanged abuses on many occasions (rarely, 27%), but only about 6% had been part of violent confrontations many times, with verbal abuse and multiple beatings (rarely, 9%), while 3% had become embroiled in purely physical fights (rarely, 4%).

Furthermore, the earlier research carried out by psychologist Dr. *Loukia Bezé*, in 1984 entitled "Attitudes concerning the punishable offences and self-reported delinquency of adolescents"[71] must be borne

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[70] See *Nikos Fakiolas/ Ant. Armenakis,* "Delinquency and aggressiveness in adolescent students", in: *Yiannis Stamiris* "Specific Sociological Issues", Athens 1995², pp. 121-193: 137 and table 52. See also presentation of this investigation in magazine "Synchroni Ekpaidefsi" ("Modern Education"), Issue 81, March-April 1995, pp. 42-50, where are more studies on the general topic of "Violence at school". For a synopsis of the results of the investigation see newspaper "Apogevmatini", 8.2.1995, p. 17, under supervision of *Minas Tsamopoulos,* in the newspaper "Ethnos", 2.12.1995, p. 16-17, under the supervision of *Nikol. Triga* and in the newspaper "To Vima", 25.9.1994, p. A54.

[71] The results of this investigation were published in *L. Besé's* Délinquance et Mass Média, Doctorat de 3eme Cycle en Psychologie, University of Paris-Nord, 1986, p. 161 cont., 433 cont., 461 cont., and *by the same*, Crime and the crisis of identity in adolescence, in the review: "Englima kai Koinonia" (Crime and Society), A, 1987, Issue 1, pp. 22-32. Presentation of the investigation, (but with subsequent results for a wider student population) in the newspaper "Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia", 9. 3. 1992, p. 44.

in mind. Her study consists of an anonymously completed written questionnaire, in which 2,009 students of both sexes in the area of Athens and 360 in the area of Thrace participated; in both cases the students were aged between 14 to 17 years old. According to the findings of this survey, the students who stated that "they had chanced to write on walls, desks and doors or break something in school" reached 71,9% in the Athens area and 76,6% in Thrace.

Finally, another research conducted into self-reported delinquency is of particular interest. This survey took place in the spring of 1992 and was carried out by a research unit of Athens University under the scientific guidance of *Prof. C. D. Spinellis*, involving 311 young people aged between 14 to 21 from the greater part of Athens (analogous surveys were carried out in 12 other European countries and in the U.S.A. under the leadership of coordinators J. Junger - Tas, G.-J. Terlouw and M. W. Klein). [72] In accordance with the findings of this survey, a considerable number of youngsters admitted to having carried out acts of vandalism *in general* either "at some point" or "during the last year". In other words, this vandalism is not restricted only to school (254 and 138 cases respectively, that is, 63,4% and 54,4% of those asked). Out of this sample 125 and 75 cases respectively, that is, 31,2% and 18,8%, had graffitied on walls. However, the percentage of those who had hit people other than family members was particularly low: "at some point" 37 cases (9,4%) and "*last* year" 25 cases (6,2%). What I think this means is *that in the end, the somewhat more serious displays of physical violence are limited, especially when a wider age range is considered, which includes post-adolescence. Conversely, damage and destruction of objects ("vandalism") seems to be particularly frequent, independent of age and area.*

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[72] See *Call. D. Spinellis/ El. Apospori/M. Kranidioti/ Y. Symiyianni/ N. Angelopoulou*, Keyfindings of a preliminary self-report delinquency study in Athens, Greece, in *J. Junger-Tas/ Cert-Jan Terlouw/ Malcolm W. Klein (eds.)*, Delinquent behavior among young people in the Western World. First results of the international self-report delinquency study, Amsterdam, New York: Kugler & Dutch Ministry of Justice, 1994, 288-309, esp. p. 310 cont.

(c) Work

33. Finally, the (dys)functioning of the institution of work also contributes to creating serious problems for young people. The struggle against inflation and the attempt to become aligned with the economies of other member-states of the European Union, so that participation in the pending EMU conversion can be possible, has had dramatic repercussions in Greece on both the shrinking of the budget, and on *the increase of unemployment.* [73] This has risen from 4,0% in 1981 to 7,65% in 1991, and 10,4% in the latter part of the first half of 1996 [74] (obviously, these figures refer to officially recorded cases of unemployment, and do not reflect large parts of the population such as farmers and newcomers to the job market). It should be noted that out of a total of 450 000 unemployed people in 1996, 230 000 of them were still unemployed by the end of the year, in other words, over half were "long-term unemployed". [75] Furthermore, the number of young men and women aged up to 29 years that were unemployed reached approximately 238 000 people and constituted (and still do) the majority of unemployed people, that is, over half (52,9%) of the total. More specifically, the proportion of unemployed people aged between 20-24 years is 27% of the working population, while the immediately consecutive group (25-29 years) falls somewhat to 15%. [76] It is *mainly women* who are plagued by unemployment, especially those of a younger age group

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[73]   See relevant speech by the Governor of the Bank of Greece *L. Papadimos* at the annual meeting of the National Monetary Treasury and the World Bank, in "Kathimerini", 3.10.1996, p. 19.

[74]   However, in July of 1997 unemployment rates seemed to fall, albeit temporarily, to 6,99% - see relevant figures of the O.A.E.D. (Greek Organization for the Employment of the Working Population) that were published e.g. in the newspaper "Ta Nea", 22.8.1997, p. 46.

[75]   See *1996 Annual Report by the Governor of the Bank of Greece* in: "Kerdos", 23.4.1997, pp.10-11: 11 (paragraph 3.2).

[76]   These figures are taken mainly from relevant publications in "To Vima" (31.3.1996, p. A40-A41) under the supervision of *Pan. Lampsias* and in "Exousia", 18.12.1996, pp. 27-29 under supervision of *Ant. Gennaios.* See also the latest piece in "To Vima", 15.6.1997, pp. D14-D15 under the supervision of *K. Papadi.*

(under 25 years), or those who have had a university education. [77] Moreover, contrary to what one would expect, *21,8% of those unemployed* during 1995 *had received degrees from institutions of higher education,* and this trend seems to be increasing from year to year (in 1981, the figure was only 7,6%). [78]

34. One can only imagine how *such a high percentage of unemployment* affects those young men and women about to embark on their working lives. It is not only the problem of survival and economic self-sufficiency that these young people must come to terms with a problem which can force them to commit crimes against property; it is also the fact that their faith in a society that cannot even provide them with basic job opportunities is challenged and severely shaken. This feeling of disappointment can easily develop into a loss of self-confidence and self-esteem. This frustration dogs each step as they continue their struggle to find employment, trudging from office to office; especially bitter for those who have worked so hard for success at their university desks. It is not difficult to see how this untenable situation may easily develop into *civil disobedience* [79], rebellion against society and uncontrollable hostility, with unforeseeable repercussions for the existing social balance. From this point of view, perhaps it is not surprising that out of a sample of 394 people, mostly men of about twenty, who were arrested on 18.11.1995 for the occupation of Athens Polytechnic (when Greek flags were burnt in protest), those who said they were unemployed (20,3%) outnumbered those who were not. The remaining group of demonstrators in employment comprised mostly clerks (13,2%), while fewer were

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[77] See *Maria Zervou,* "Unemployment in women, Elements and Statistics" in the review: Isotita kai Filo ("Equality and Gender"), vol. 7-8: 1987, pp. 29-33: 30.

[78] Figures are taken from publications of above (Footnote 76) newspapers and from a study by *Dim. Katsoridas* entitled "Unemployment: the modern threat to Greece and Europe", presented in great detail in "To Vima", 27.7.1997, p. A 28.

[79] On this topic see the interesting study by *C.D. Spinellis* "The disregarding of penal law as a form of civil disobedience' and the deeper meaning of crime", in the law review: Yperaspisi ("Defence"), 1: 1991, 1269-1276.

technicians (2,6%) with a handful of labourers (0,1%). The remainder were in full-time education (schoolchildren 24.5%, and university students 26,4%). This information was subsequently processed by the then advisor to the Minister of Public Order, Dr. *Mary Bosi* and published by the newspaper "Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia" (10.11 1996, p. 62). Similarly, in a survey carried out by the Sector of Social Work of TEI (Technological Institution) Athens [80] during the years 1993-5 on a large sample of organised, radical football fans (*hooligans*), whose average age again was about 20, found that the proportions of both employed and unemployed (26% and 35% respectively), were higher than those still in full time education (39%). Conversely, when a "control" team of regular fans who were not part of a hard-core fan club was juxtaposed against the former sample, it was found that the percentages of both employed and unemployed were much smaller (16% and 23% respectively), and that the majority comprised school children and university students (61%). Similar findings were noted in an earlier coterminous survey that was carried out by Athens University under my supervision[81]. What is perhaps indicative of a more general trend in our young unemployed as well as those who abandon their studies early and enter the merciless job market (the latter group usually with few credentials and with even fewer chances), *that they find in these group demonstrations of aggressive behaviour, such as violent political rallies and football violence, a means* of externalising their abnegation of a social system that has crushed them and left them without hope.

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[80] See the typed article published in 1996 with the findings of this investigation, p. 61 Title of investigation "Reactions to the spectacularisation of violence. The three poles stadium-bleachers-society. The incident of hooliganism in Greek Society". The research team comprised *E. Sarafidou, P. Kordoutis, K. Teriakidis, E. Katsiyianni, N Gousgounis, S. Lamprou, G. Tzokas and F. Sokrataki with I. Hliaoutakis as coordinator.*

[81] See *Nestor Courakis and Partners,* "Report on violence in Greek stadia. Findings from seven specific surveys and general conclusions", in: "Honorary Volume in memory of Ilias Daskalakis", Athens: Panteion University, 1992, 295-440: 306 cont.

35. With such a high rate of unemployment amongst young people in particular, it is evident that *as a rule, the remaining available positions of employment neither pay well enough, nor respond to the interests of those who are eventually hired.* As previously noted, (para., 29), the problem is even more acute for young adolescents who come primarily from disadvantaged areas and low income families and who are forced to abandon their studies early in spite of the statutory 9 years of full-time education, until the age of 16 (outlined in the Constitution in article 16 para. 3 and in article 2 para. 3 under law 1566/ 1985)[82]. These youngsters abruptly face the harsh realities of trying to survive. As a survey by the Aegean University involving 3,000 students aged 11-18 years indicated, the percentage of the sample who were in employment was particularly high, reaching 27%, at least in the island areas that the survey focused on. [83] However, it is calculated more generally that based on the population census of 1991, *over 268 000 young Greeks have failed to complete their basic education.*[84] Consequently, these youngsters have very slim chances of being absorbed by the specialised job market and comprise, as a relatively recent Report of the European Committee for the Amplification of Employment in 15 member states noted, "the potentially long-term unemployed of the future"[85], with all the social repercussions that such a situation encumbers. Besides, the kinds of jobs held by these young employees are hardly

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[82] On this topic see *Vas. K. Vouidaskis,* "Nine year school education: Right or obligation? The phenomenon of the leaking away of pupils from the high schools of the Prefecture of Rethimnos. A survey", Athens: Gutenberg, 1996.

[83] See relevant piece by *Apost. Lakasas* in "Kathimerini", 12.12.1996, pp. 1 and 7.

[84] *Chr. Katsikas/ G. K. Kavvadias,* "Greek education on the Brink of 2000", ibid., (above, Footnote 53), 1996, p. 44.

[85] See the main points of this Report in "To Vima", 26.1.1997, p. E4-E5, where there can be also found a special section on the situation of employment in Europe.

likely to help them specialise in a particular area so that they can compete with others entering the job market armed with degrees and foreign languages. As statistics from the National Service for Statistics (ESYE), published in the informative spreadsheet of the (Greek Organization for the Employment of the Working Population) (OAED), "Employment", for the year 1993 [86] indicate, out of the 4,816 14 year olds (officially!) working in Greece at that time, the largest proportion (63,4 %) were involved in agrarian production, with far fewer in trade (13,8%), industry (11,5%) and building (5,7%). A similar distribution of professions can be observed in the next age group up (15-19 years) for which the official employment figures were 83,989 youngsters. The majority of these (27,1%) were similarly involved in agrarian production, with 19,6% involved in industry, 19,5% in trade, 10,5% in building, 9,6% in tourism (hotels and restaurants) and 5,2% in other provisory services. In this way, *most young people turn towards the primary job sector (agrarian production) and the secondary sector (industry) or building; the hardest kinds of work,* something that naturally has an effect on their physical development, mental health and the inherent formation of their personalities.

36. But even for those youngsters who enter the job market at a later date, perhaps with a degree of some kind or other higher qualifications, it is not at all certain that they will succeed in finding the job they desire. One out of five degree holders (22.2%) from universities and institu-

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[86] See *Dim. Katsoridas*, "The employment of the young", in: the magazine "Ergasia", Issue 3, July-August 1995, pp. 6-9. See also relevant note by *Chr. Megas* in "Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia", 24.9.1995. It is noted that according to figures from the census of 1991 (see ESYE, Brief Statistical Annuary 1995, table III. 4, p. 57), out of the total of economically active members of the population, those respectively concerned with agrarian production come second with 17,3% as opposed to those involved in other services (22,9). Furthermore, those involved in trade were 17,0% and industry, 13,8%.

tions of higher education, will remain unemployed (see para., 33), in particular among those holding degrees in Biology (60%), from Panteion University of Political Sciences (60%), Social Employment (50%) and schools of Economics (40%).[87] Furthermore, even out of those who do finally find employment, only one in five will find a job that corresponds to the qualifications he or she holds. The remainder *are compelled to settle for jobs they do not find satisfactory,* or take steps to acquire a second degree (University or Technological Institutions) later. This holds true at least as far as degree holders from Panteion University are concerned, of whom relevant research has been done by the Sector of Urban and Rural Development of Panteion. What is more, according to this survey, in excess of half of unemployed degree holders spend 1-2 years (31,4%) or even longer (23,6%) searching for employment, thus joining the ranks of the long term unemployed.[88] *In this way, when employment is finally secured, it has primarily become a "necessary evil" rather than an area of creative self-expression and is merely a means to survive,* fraught with all the attendant psychological effects such a situation may bring to bear on a young person such as feelings of being trapped in a routine and banal existence, as well as more general feelings of social inferiority and injustice.

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[87] See relevant piece in "Kathimerini" of 31.8.1994, p. 6 and a note of *Chr. Katsikas,* "The unemployment of degrees", in the newspaper "Ta Nea", 12.4.1995, pp. 20-21.

[88] See relevant note of *Ap. Lakasas,* in "Kathimerini", 20.7.1996, p. 6, entitled "Degree-holders, the long-term unemployed", see also the newspaper "Rizospasti", 23.10.1993, p. 21, quoting from *Chr. Katsikas / G. K. Kabbadias,* "Greek education on the Brink of 2000", ibid., 1996, p. 24 and Footnote 6. Furthermore, according to a survey by the EKKE under the scientific guidance of Prof. *Koula Kassimati,* entitled "Research on the Social Characteristics of Employment, Study A: The choice of profession", Athens: National Centre of Sociological Research, 1991 p. 244 cont. and 362 cont., the proportion of University and Polytechnic Degree-holders holding jobs that match their education and qualifications fluctuates between 56% (for their 'first' job), and 63% (for the job held during the time of the investigation). However, the

IV. The picture of juvenile delinquency in Greece over recent years

37. The preceding discussion presents the Greek youth of today as *a generation caught up in a general atmosphere of eudemonism and self-serving "quick gain"*; a way of thinking that it seems to reject but is unwilling to change, while at the same time being insufficiently equipped to cope with *the failings of all the basic socialising institutions; from the family unit*, where strict regimes of school work and extra curricula activities are imposed on children, largely replacing real channels of communication between work stressed parents and their offspring; *to the institution of school*, where teachers' efforts are concentrated on pushing the few able pupils on to academic success, to the detriment and demoralisation of the many, whose educational needs are, frankly, neglected; *to the workplace*, where recorded levels of unemployment for the 20-24 age group are an unacceptably high 27%, and where the large numbers of youngsters leaving elementary school unqualified and unskilled are forced into a tough fight for survival where the general climate of unrelenting competition obliges them to accept any kind of job regardless of suitability or personal preference. In the light of this emerging picture, one is forced to consider two parallel questions. First, *to what extent is this situation*, which does not look likely to change in the forseeable future, *responsible for pushing certain youngsters towards adopting unconventional, possibly antisocial values, or reaching the point of committing serious acts of delinquency?* And secondly, out of those who eventually do become delinquents, *how many adopt a different code of values from other people?* It should be emphasised that the focus of this discussion is not on simple forms of typical adolescent delinquency such as fighting and

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percentages are higher for Degree-holders of higher education institutes (technical education: 60%-73%, non-technical education: 82-90%), and for graduates of technical-professional schools (74-78%).

bullying at school, petty damage to school property, playing truant and insolent behavior towards teachers, *but first and foremost, on serious acts of delinquency,* in which violence is inherent, exhibiting palpable aggresiveness towards others (for example robbery, rape and so forth), or where a state of "withdrawal" and self destruction is implied, manifested mainly by the possession, use and dealing of drugs. Before considering the problem from these two angles of "aggressiveness" and "withdrawal", it would be useful to posit some facts alluding to the yearly development and tendencies of more *general* adolescent delinquency during the past 13 years (1984-1996, and where, if possible, 1983) using the recorded delinquency figures for this period supplied by police statistics (published in a standardised manner since 1984), and the corresponding delinquency figures for felonies given by the ESYE (National Service for Statistics) on the Judicial sector, as well as certain surveys into self-reported delinquency.

(a) The more general picture of continuing juvenile delinquency.

38. There are *three basic categories of offences committed mainly by juvenile delinquents* that constitute, in a way, characteristic and frequent demonstrations of their delinquency: *grievous bodily harm;* offences *against property* (especially robbery, the theft of cars and motorbikes "for immediate use"); and *the breaching of offences other than those prescribed in the Criminal Code («Special Criminal Laws»), e.g. traffic offences.* If, in particular, we examine the *age group of 13-17 years,* which is the age group that adheres to specific legal guidelines (reformatory / corrective measures and / or placement of offenders in reform schools as laid out by Article 121 Criminal Code) and includes the most first time offenders (consequent crimes can usually be attributed to the State's inadequate attempts to deal with the problem, particularly by putting adolescents in corrective institutions or using other labelling procedures), the following statistical picture of *recorded and legally processed* juvenile delinquency emerges:

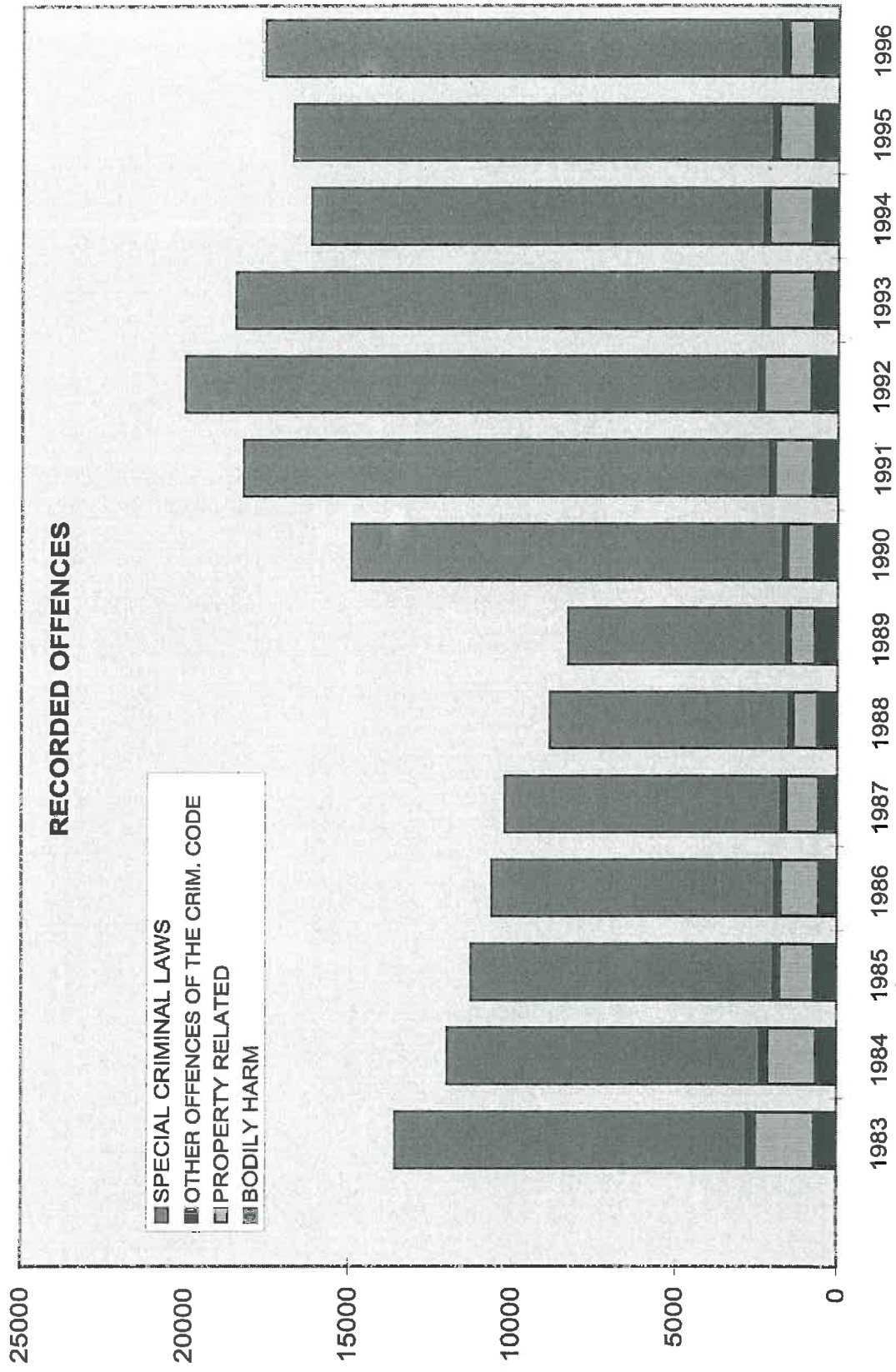**TABLE I:**
JUVENILE DELINQUENTS 13-17 YEARS OLD AND THEIR OFFENCES
AS THEY WERE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE POLICE ("RECORDED")
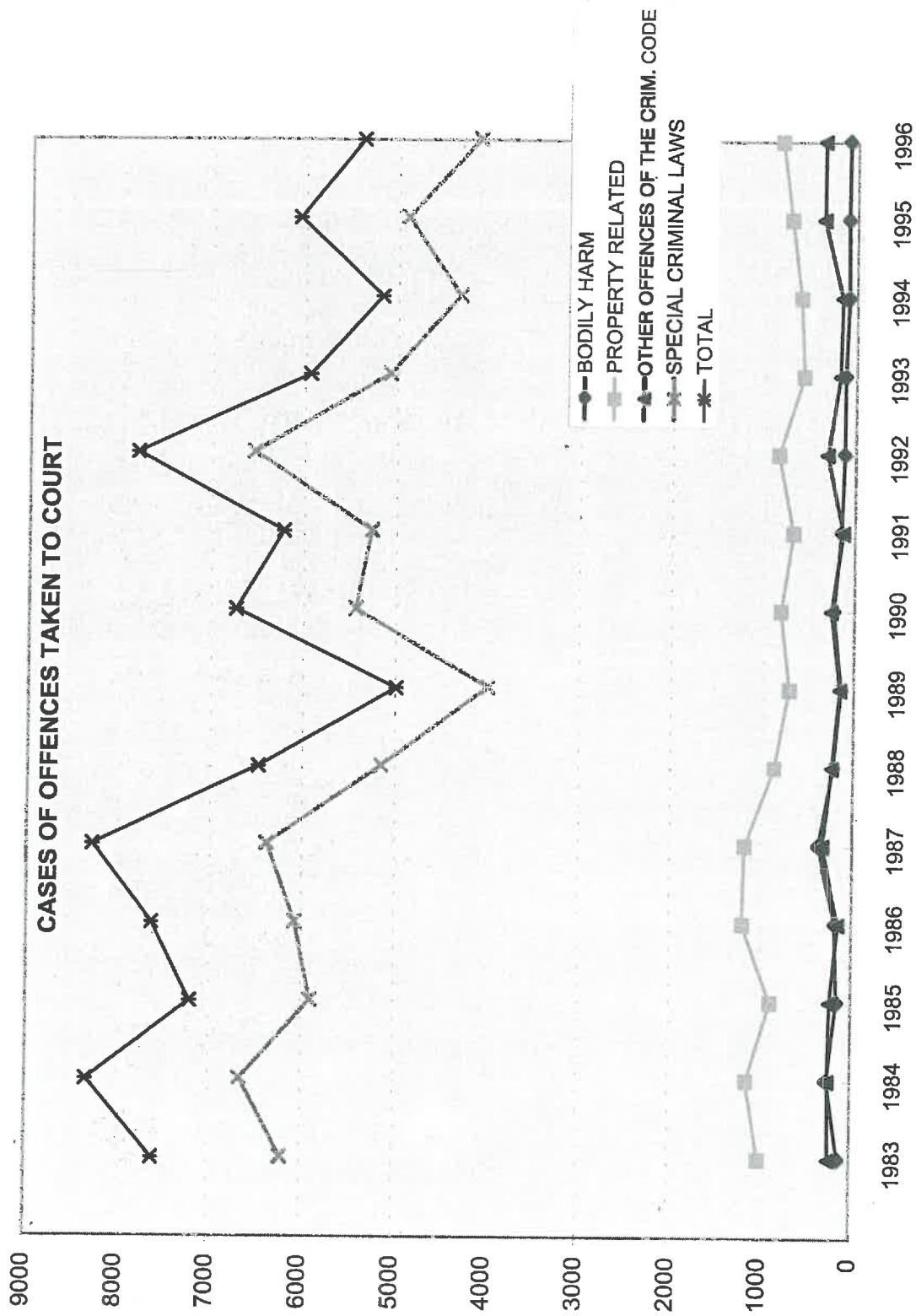**AND DEALT WITH BY THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES ("JUDGED").**

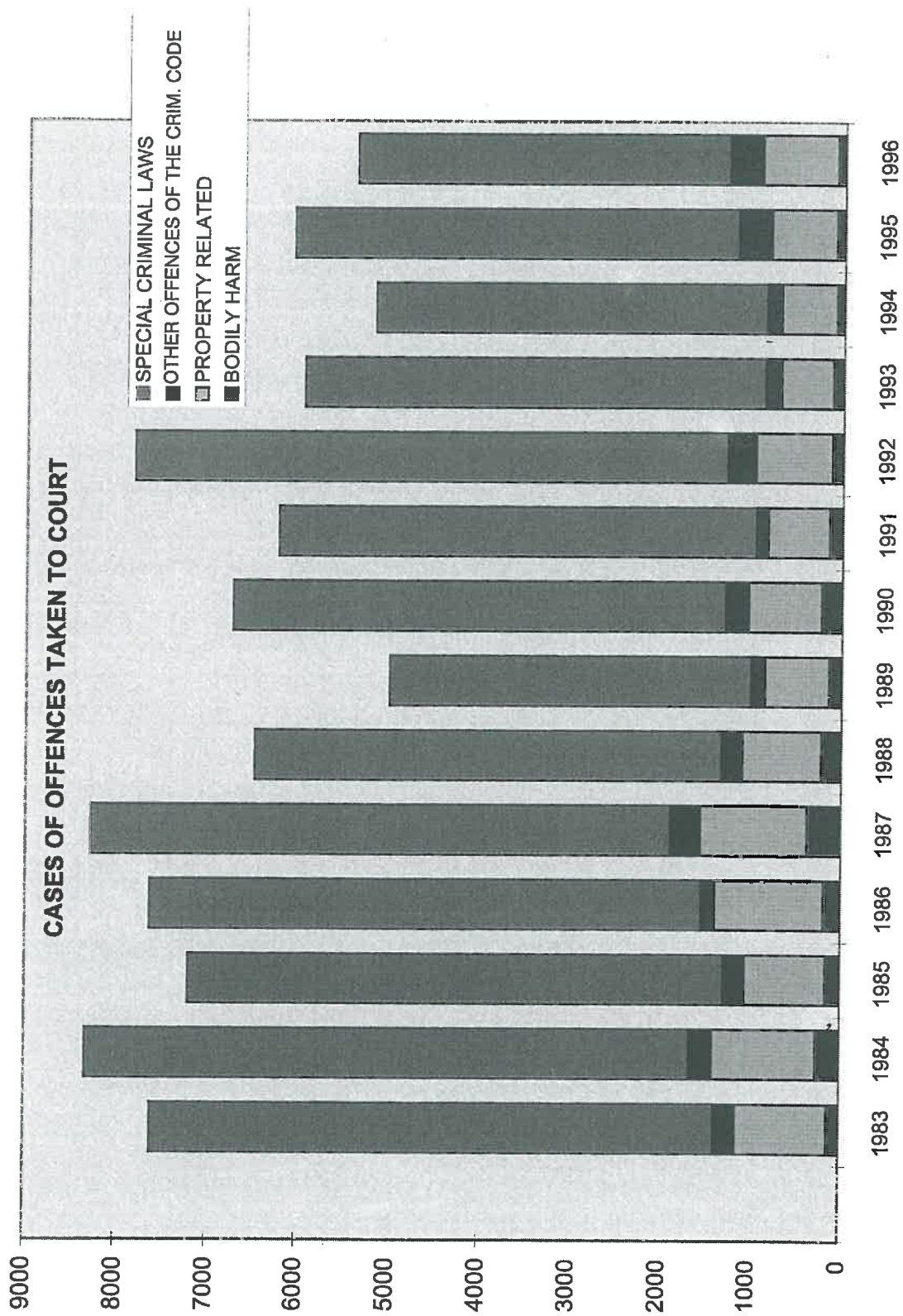(NUMBER OF KNOWN OFFENDERS AND THE YEARS IN WHICH THEIR OFFENCES WERE COMMITTED)

YEAR	BODILY HARM		PROPERTY RELATED		OTHER OFFENCES OF THE CRIM.CODE		SPECIAL CRIMINAL LAWS		TOTAL	
	REC	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.
1983	699	135	1820	1014	277	241	10769	6219	13565	7609
1984	649	262	1502	1153	249	253	9576	6664	11976	8332
1985	726	160	1052	895	206	238	9266	5909	11250	7202
1986	565	187	1183	1208	205	150	8658	6080	10611	7625
1987	573	373	1002	1188	181	331	8461	6388	10217	8280
1988	618	219	741	870	153	233	7352	5154	8865	6476
1989	696	138	754	711	153	149	6705	3997	8308	4995
1990	727	225	804	807	181	255	13220	5441	14932	6728
1991	770	145	1167	678	184	127	16107	5269	18228	6219
1992	819	119	1480	844	173	309	17544	6541	20016	7813
1993	737	115	1407	575	226	174	16111	5080	18481	5944
1994	808	82	1325	611	175	155	13857	4321	16183	5169
1995	726	89	1107	718	199	363	14674	4894	16706	6064
1996	751	92	774	829	230	357	15816	4102	17571	5380

Sources: For those offences which have come to the attention of the police and have been recorded. Table No 23 and (since 1988) Table 31 of the Annual Statistical Chronological Reports of the Greek Police and the report "Juvenile Delinquency", published by the 3rd Juvenile Section, and subsequently, by the Sub-directorship of Juvenile Protection of the Ministry of Public Order. For those offences which have been tried in court, the outcome of which have resulted in penal sentences and other measures for delinquents: Table B. 5 of the Annual Report of Judicial Statistics issued by the E.S.Y.E. (National Service for Statistics), and additional information released by the competent service of the Ministry of Justice. Elaboration: *Nestor E. Courakis*. It should be noted that reports on Juvenile Delinquency issued by the Police refer primarily to cases of juveniles in Attica, in which the Sub-directorship of Juvenile Protection of the Ministry of Public Order has been involved. Thus, it follows that these statistics refer to a restricted sample of the population and a typically stereotypically chosen sample of delinquents. However, these findings are not without value. For the analysis of these data see, for example, the publications of *Yanna Papadakou* and *Vana Photopoulou*, "Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia", 3.11.1996, p.18; *Katia Makri*, "Ethnos", 31.3.1995, pp. 20 - 1; *Than. Argyrakis*, "Eleftheros Typos", 14.11.1995, pp. 28 - 29 and *K. Chatzidis*, "To Vima", 12.11.1995, pp. A52 - A53.

RECORDED OFFENCES

Legend:
- BODILY HARM
- PROPERTY RELATED
- OTHER OFFENCES OF THE CRIM. CODE
- SPECIAL CRIMINAL LAWS
- TOTAL

X-axis: 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996

Y-axis: 0 5000 10000 15000 20000 25000

RECORDED OFFENCES

Legend:
- SPECIAL CRIMINAL LAWS
- OTHER OFFENCES OF THE CRIM. CODE
- PROPERTY RELATED
- BODILY HARM

Years: 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996

Scale: 0, 5000, 10000, 15000, 20000, 25000

CASES OF OFFENCES TAKEN TO COURT

Legend:
- BODILY HARM
- PROPERTY RELATED
- OTHER OFFENCES OF THE CRIM. CODE
- SPECIAL CRIMINAL LAWS
- TOTAL

CASES OF OFFENCES TAKEN TO COURT

Legend:
- SPECIAL CRIMINAL LAWS
- OTHER OFFENCES OF THE CRIM. CODE
- PROPERTY RELATED
- BODILY HARM

39. *These statistics* are of course, entirely indicative *and, especially as far as the precise number of offences recorded by law enforcement bodies is concerned, are influenced by a mass of exterior factors irrelevant to the actual outcome and extent of the delinquency.* Of the more pertinent factors are: the willingness of victims to denounce their aggressors; changes in the law (the de-criminalisation of certain laws); the possible increase of the general population; the possible "climate of hysteria" towards crime; and the degree to which law enforcement bodies are mobilised, successful and "selective" when uncovering the crimes and their perpetrators. There are of course, similar reservations concerning the issue of those forms of delinquency ("judged delinquency") which are judged by the judicial authorities as punishable delinquency. In any case, it is a fact that *these statistics* (which do not seem to have changed significantly because of any change in the law, or a possible increase in the action taken by victims and law enforcers to deal with these crimes, or any increase or decrease of the corresponding age group of the population), *do not present any significant fluctuations.* More particularly, regarding the *crimes that are brought to the attention of the police,* there is a slight increase in grievous bodily harm and crimes against property, especially since 1985-6 and later, but this tendency is balanced out by the high figures these crimes scored in earlier years, 1983 and so on. Of course, this increase is more prominent in the breaching of special criminal laws, but perhaps this is mainly due to the fact that the majority of these crimes are those pertaining to the traffic offences mentioned above in para. 38 (where out of 14,674 confirmed breaches of special criminal laws in 1995, 13,964, i.e. 95,2%, were traffic offences) and that during the last few years, more and more adolescents succumb to the temptation to drive cars or motorbikes before they are of the legal age of age 18. However, it becomes clear that these kinds of offences cannot of their own accord be serious indications of how much adolescent "criminality" is on the increase or not.

Similar conclusions have been reached through the study of so-called *"legally processed delinquency" or "judged delinquency";* that which has been dealt with by the Juvenile Courts by imposing reformatory / corrective measures or placement of offenders in reform schools. In this case, the offences being considered (whose figures, in any case, are particularly limited, both in number and in comparison to the recorded number of corresponding offernes), do not present any statistically relevant increases or decreases, nor do they provide a worrying picture of juvenile delinquency on the rise. Conversely, in certain categories of offerne, such as offernes against property, there has even been a decrease, although when analysing these statistics we should bear in mind that especially during the years 1985 (24.9.1985 - 10.1.1986), 1991 (15.5.1991 - 11.7.1991, but with intervals), 1992 (20.5.1992 - 7.7.1992), 1992/3 (30.10.1992 - 8.3.1993) and 1994 (21.3.1994 - 30.6. 1994) lawyers abstained from carrying out their duties in courts of law and, as a result, there were far fewer trials and, consequently, fewer convictions for offences.

40. However, it should be noted here that even if the recorded and judged delinquency of adolescents aged 13-17 years has not increased dramatically over the past few years, *the involvement of adolescents in crime overall;* those committed by people of all ages, *seems to be rising steadily,* suggesting that more and more youngsters will be part of the total number of those committing offences. From 2,8% in 1980 (when out of 303,042 offenders, 8,368 were aged between 13-17 years), the percentage increased to 4,0% in 1985 (11,250 youngsters out of a total of 279,455), to 4,8% in 1990 (14,932 out of 310,569) to 5,9% in 1995 and in 1996 (16,706 out of 279,552 and 17,605 out of 297,485). *On the other hand, the recorded and judged delinquency of these juveniles does not as yet seem to have developed along any systematic lines,* for example in the form of organised gangs permanently clashing

with similar gangs or with the Police for the "control" of a certain area[89], as occurs in other European countries and in the United States.[90]

41. Without a doubt, the impressions gleaned from official statistics regarding the (limited) extent of juvenile delinquency is decidedly changed when we focus our attention on *the research that has been conducted into self-reported delinquency*. In the aforementioned survey (para., 32), conducted by Prof. C. D. Spinellis on self-reported delinquency in juveniles aged between 14 and 21 in the greater area of Athens,[91] the proportion of those who admitted having committed punishable offences such as crimes against property (robbing a telephone booth, store, school or car, stealing cars or motorbikes, break-ins and so forth), was 34,9% "during the past year only", and 65,3% said they had committed such acts "at some point in the past". Statistics for self-reported delinquency also appear from the two previously mentioned sub-surveys conducted by the National Center of Sociological Research for youngsters aged between 15-29 years and pupils at high schools in the prefecture of Thessaloniki (para. 18).[92] According to these statis-

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[89] Indeed, at least if one judges from previous Police annuaries of "Juvenile Delinquency" (pp. 44 cont. for the years 1995 and 1996), Greek juvenile delinquents and especially those who are subsequently brought in front of the Juvenile Sub-directorship of Attica, act on their own (75,6 % of total in 1995 and 86,2% in 1996) whereas only 24,4% in 1995 and 13,8% in 1996 act with another.

[90] A recent brief summary of the problems caused by juvenile delinquency in the United States of America is included in the piece "Teen Crime" by *Richard Lacayo*, published in "Time" magazine 21.7.1997, p. 58-61. For the corresponding situation in Germany, see *Wolfgang Metzner and Peter Sandmeyer's* precise analysis, entitled "Sind wir zu tolerant?" in the magazine "Stern", 3.7.1997, p. 22-27.

[91] O.c., (Footnote 72), p. 310 cont.

[92] See volumes with the analytical results of the two sub-investigations (above, Footnote 29). For the delinquency of young people aged 15-29 years see p. 168 cont., and tables 12-17 of the relevant volume, while for the delinquency of high school students, see Vol. II, p. 58 cont., and tables 99-104.

tics, the young people aged 15-29 years who participated claimed, for example, that they would never (76,3%) or only if the chance arose (13,8%) "want to drive a car or motorbike without a license, or do wheels", that they would never (89,0%) "want to take something from a shop without paying or neglect to buy tickets when using public transport" and that they would never (75,0%) or only randomly (18,0%) "want to come face to face or clash with fans of a rival football team". Furthermore, regarding high school children who responded to the same questions: 57,3% "had chanced to drive a car or motorbike without a license at some point" (38,5% said they had not), 22,5% "had chanced to take things without paying" (70,8% had not), 47,0% "had chanced to beat someone up during an argument" (48,5% had not) and 29,5% "had chanced to deliberately destroy something belonging to someone else at some point" (64,3% had not). Finally, the aforementioned survey carried out by *Ath. E. Gotovos* [93] revealed that out of those students questioned (aged between 11 and 16 and attending schools in Ioannina and Corfu) who said their group of friends was opposed or entirely opposed to certain forms of delinquent behaviour, the percentages were 85,2% and 89,5% respectively for "stealing something now and then", 66,4% and 68,1% for "getting into fights with others" and 70,7% and 67,9% for "getting on the bus without a ticket and traveling without paying". The remaining school children stated that "they were not overly opposed" to such behaviour or that "they were not opposed at all". Therefore, there is a considerably large proportion of high school students, admittedly the proportion fluctuates according to the crime, who claim to have *randomly* committed some offences; more so in this age group than in older adolescents. [94]

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[93] Op.cit, (Footnote 37), pp. 242 cont., and 302 - 303.

[94] However, according to the findings of the aforementioned survey (above, Footnote 63) conducted by the University Research Institute for Mental Health on a representative Pan-Hellenic sample, including specific questions about common cases of juvenile delinquency (e.g. beatings, theft), the general average rate of 'antisocial-behaviour' is relatively low i.e.19,4 the lowest being 14 and the most 77; (see p. 23 of article detailing findings of survey).

However, *even here the facts should be treated with scepticism,* firstly, because above all, these figures denote random offences (the adolescent's *entire life* is considered) and less a disdain of socioethical values (not, for example, robberies, which are not part of the offences researched in these surveys), and secondly because adolescents and post-adolescents, more than any other age group like to exaggerate whatever offence they may have committed, thinking that it constitutes a sign of manliness and "toughness" to clash with varying figures of authority, or, conversely, to commit a crime without being caught. Indeed, one is reminded that in Ancient Sparta, young people were allowed to commit theft, as long as they were not found out (*Plutarch,* Lykourgos 17). Therefore, it would be useful to examine these statistics in the light of these reservations and analyse them accordingly.

(b) The more specific picture of violent crimes committed by adolescents.
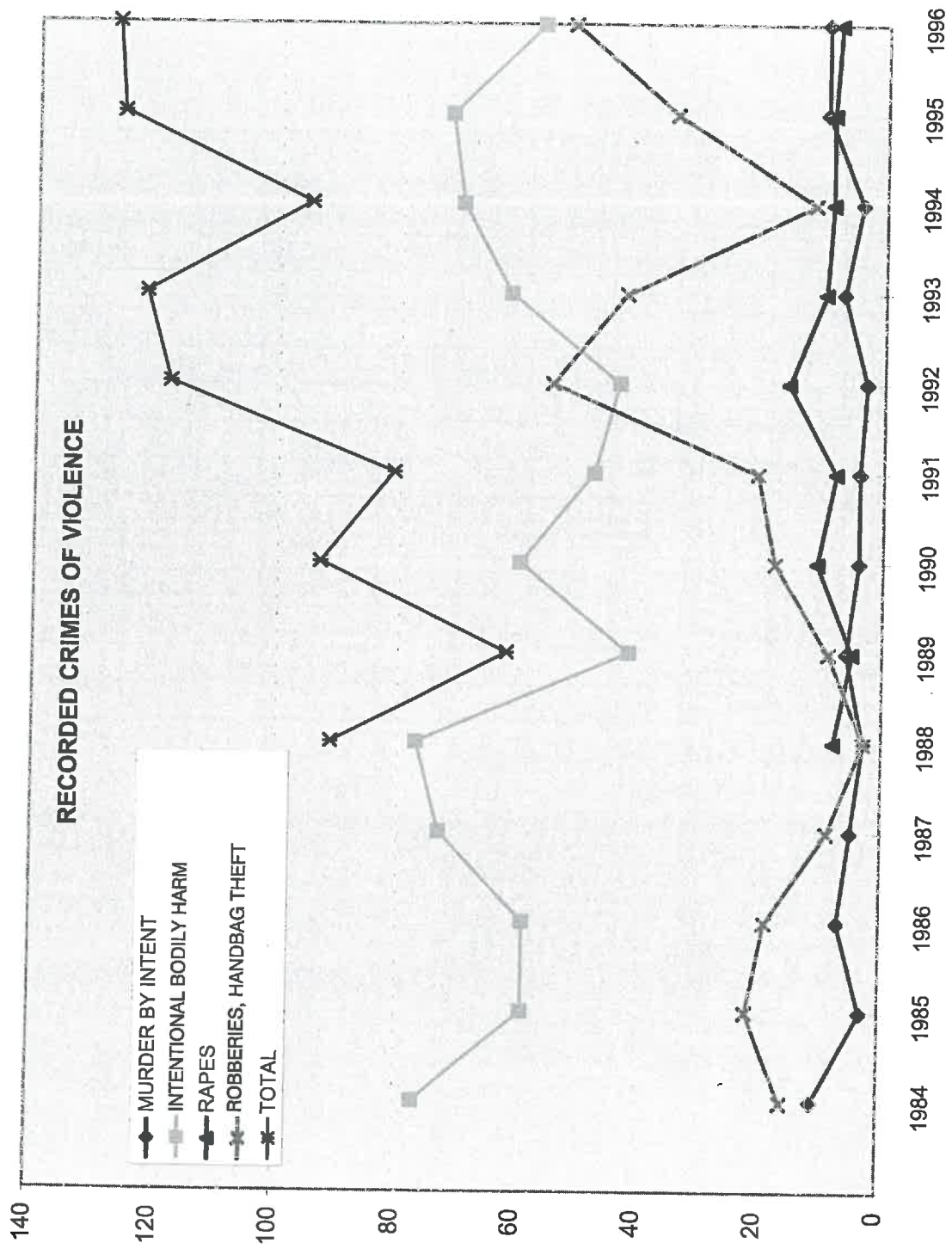
42. If, out of the total of hundreds of offences that are recorded and dealt with in court each year under the title of "juvenile delinquency", we focus on those that present *a particular socioethical disdain,* mainly because of their violent and deliberate nature, as well as the considerable harm they cause to human life, health and others' rights to freedom and property, then the picture that emerges from this violent and punishable juvenile delinquency, as it is manifested in certain particularly serious offences (murder by intent, deliberate bodily harm, rape and robbery) is the following:
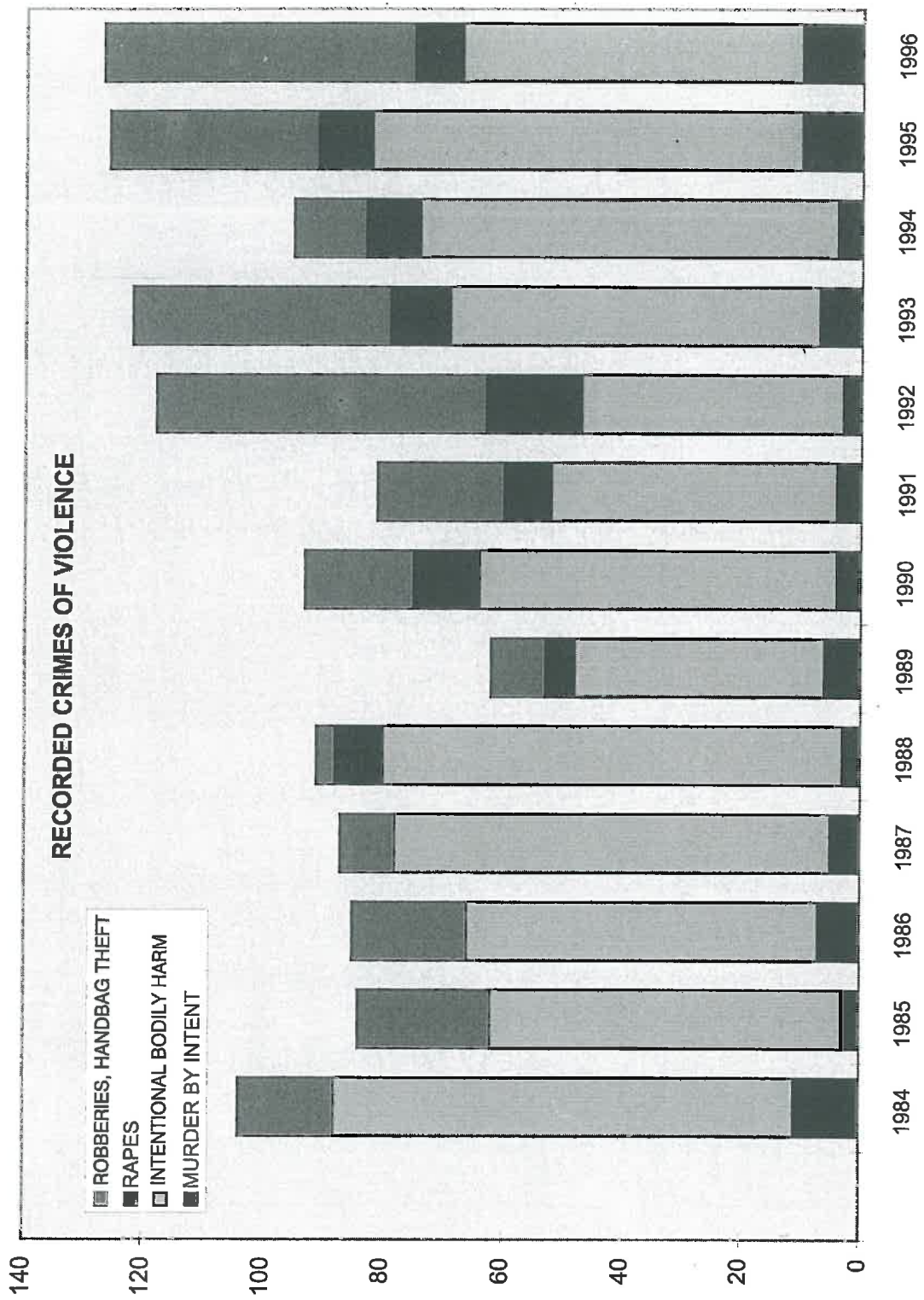
TABLE II

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS 13-17 YEARS OLD AND THEIR MORE SERIOUS CRIMES AS THEY WERE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE POLICE AND DEALT WITH BY THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES
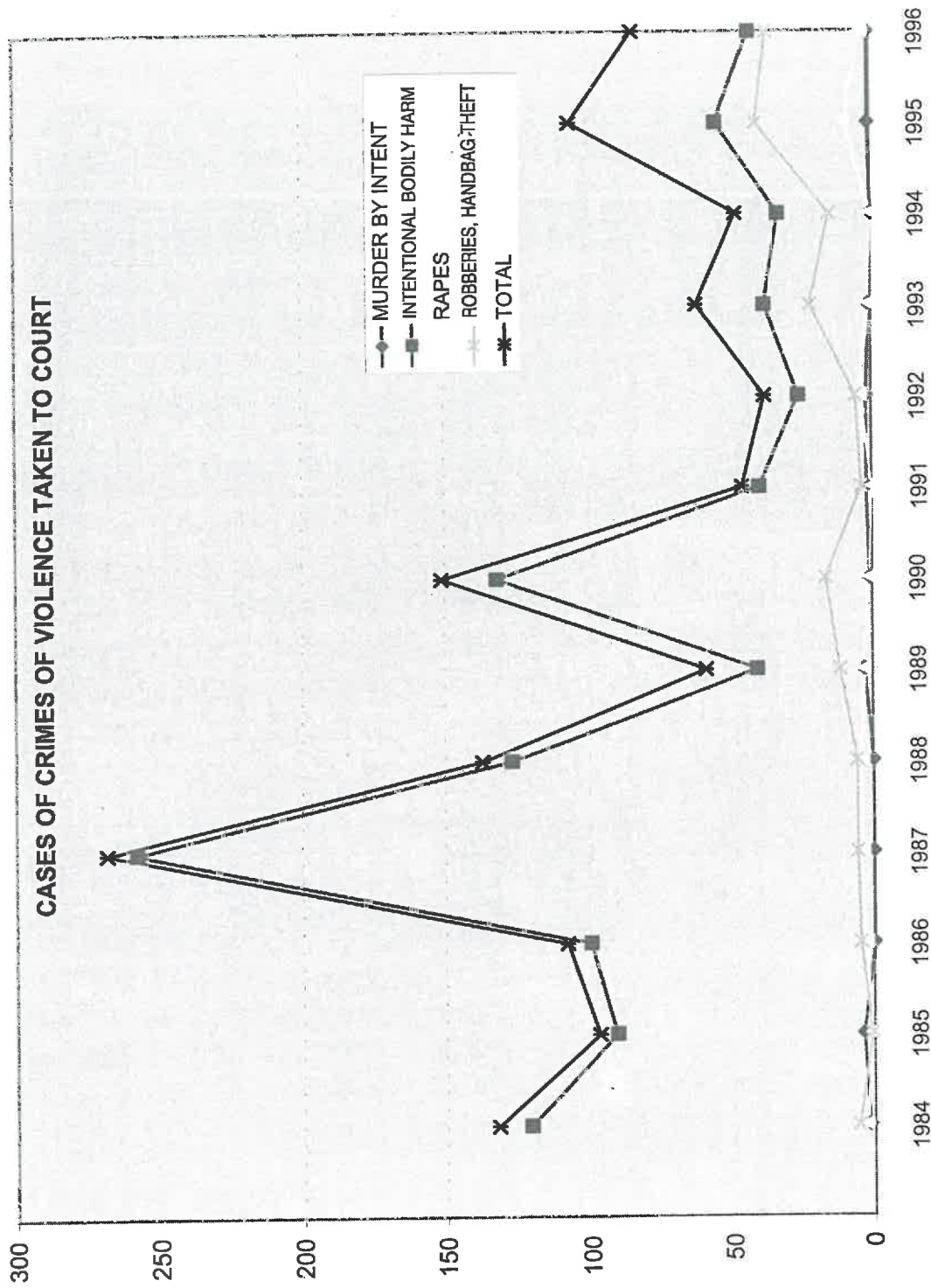
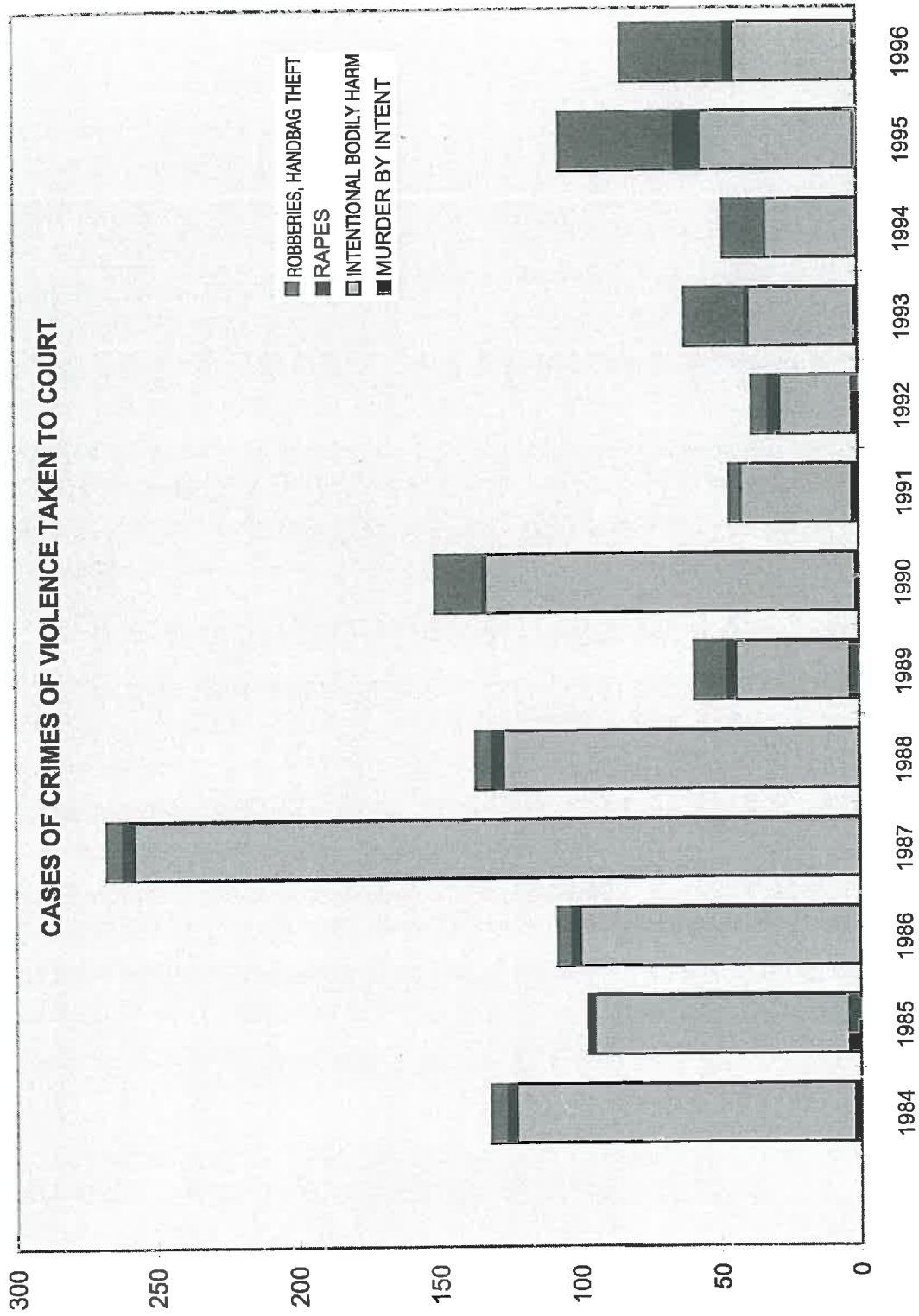(NUMBER OF KNOWN OFFENDERS AND THE YEARS IN WHICH THEIR OFFENCES WERE COMMITTED)

YEAR	MURDER BY INTENT		INTENTIONAL BODILY HARM		RAPES		ROBBERIES HANDBAG. THEFT		TOTAL	
	REC.	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.	REC.	JUDG.
1984	11	2	77	121	...	3	16	6	...	132
1985	3	4	59	91	...	1	22	1	...	97
1986	7	0	59	100	...	3	19	5	...	108
1987	5	0	73	258	...	4	9	6	...	268
1988	3	0	77	127	8	4	3	6	91	137
1989	6	3	42	41	5	3	9	12	62	59
1990	4	1	60	132	11	1	18	17	93	151
1991	4	2	48	40	8	0	21	4	81	46
1992	3	2	44	26	16	4	55	6	118	38
1993	7	1	62	38	10	1	43	22	122	62
1994	4	0	70	33	9	0	12	15	95	48
1995	10	1	72	55	9	9	35	41	126	106
1996	10	1	57	43	8	3	52	37	127	84

Sources: For those crimes which have come to the attention of the police and have been recorded: Tables 23 and 24, and (since 1988) Tables 32 and 33 of the Annual Statistical Chronological Reports of the Greek Police. For those crimes which have been tried in court, the outcome of which have resulted in penal sentences and other measures for delinquents: Table B. 5 of the Annual Report of Judicial Statistics issued by E.S.Y.E. (National Service for Statistics), and additional information released by the competent service of the Ministry of Justice. Elaboration: *Nestor E. Courakis*. It should be noted that there are no corresponding data in the aforementioned Greek investigations of self-confessed delinquency for the four ciminal offences under discussion here. However, generally speaking, in cases of manslaughter, the «dark figure» is in fact small. Conversely, this number is greater for cases of grievous bodily harm, and even more so for the incidence of rape (see "Rape, the invisible crime", by *Angelos Tsigris*, Athens / Komotini: A. N. Sakkoulas, 1996, mainly p. 6 cont., and p. 229 cont.)

RECORDED CRIMES OF VIOLENCE

Legend:
- MURDER BY INTENT
- INTENTIONAL BODILY HARM
- RAPES
- ROBBERIES, HANDBAG THEFT
- TOTAL

X-axis (years): 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996

Y-axis: 0, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 120, 140

RECORDED CRIMES OF VIOLENCE

Legend:
- ROBBERIES, HANDBAG THEFT
- RAPES
- INTENTIONAL BODILY HARM
- MURDER BY INTENT

Years: 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996

Scale: 0, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100, 120, 140

CASES OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE TAKEN TO COURT

MURDER BY INTENT
INTENTIONAL BODILY HARM
RAPES
ROBBERIES, HANDBAG-THEFT
TOTAL

300
250
200
150
100
50
0

1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996

CASES OF CRIMES OF VIOLENCE TAKEN TO COURT

Legend:
- ROBBERIES, HANDBAG THEFT
- RAPES
- INTENTIONAL BODILY HARM
- MURDER BY INTENT

Years: 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996

Scale: 0, 50, 100, 150, 200, 250, 300

JUVENILE DELINQUENTS AND SOCIETY

43. As far as analysing the above is concerned, in order to find out precisely how many crimes are really committed using figures pertaining to recorded offences and those taken in court, it should be made immediately clear that recorded offences refer only to offenders who were made known to law enforcers *during the month* in which the felonious act was committed. Bearing in mind that with certain crimes, such as bodily harm by intent, the law stipulates *a period of three months* during which the victim can bring his case to court (Article 308, 315 and 117 Criminal Code), it becomes evident that the corresponding Police figures will record considerably less than the number of crimes actually perpetrated in a year, which in part explains why the number of cases taken to court is greater than those recorded. Besides, there is usually a considerable time lapse between when the crime was committed and when it is brought to trial, even when the offender is being detained provisorily, so that any comparison of evidence of recorded offences and those that have been put on trial in the same year becomes risky. Furthermore, it should be noted that out of the total of recorded offences, only a very small part of them fall under the category of "imprisonable" crimes, that is, those that carry the imposition of a sentence or other measures. On the other hand, there are many cases where the offender is declared innocent or dismissed by decree when earlier procedures have shown there to be a lack of evidence or doubts as to whether or not the crime was committed.[95] Moreover, similar results

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[95] According to a survey carried out by the EKKE (National Centre of Sociological Research) on the administration of justice by penal courts in Greece (under the scientific guidance of the late *Ilias Daskalakis),* the average number of non-guilty rulings given in by the Council of Magistrate's Court in Athens for the years 1971-1975 was 3,168, as opposed to 767 indictments (i.e. percentage of 80,5%), while from briefs for the period 1970-1975 that were studied (for which the Tripartite *Crown Magistrates,* Tripartite Court of Appeal, Five-Member Court of Appeal and Criminal Court are competent), out of 647 rulings, 52,6% were indictments, 35,1% were acquittals and 12,3% stopped legal procedures altogether. See *Il. Daskalakis / A. Andritsou / P. Papadopoulou / P. Pappas / I. Perantzaki / D. Tsamparli,* "The administration of justice by penal courts in Greece", Athens: EKKE, 1983, pp. 56 and 57, and *Il. Daskalakis* "The criminology of social reaction, University Courses",

arise when penal prosecution is declared unacceptable or stopped altogether. [96] Besides, concerning the limited number of serious and deliberate offences that are taken to court, the fact that charges may change and become more clement plays an important role (for example, bodily harm by intent may become *negligent* bodily harm). Finally, as for the precise evaluation of real criminality, it should be remembered that in the past years there have been legal changes that have led to new legal characterizations and presuppositions in the way that some of the punishable acts mentioned above are registered by the authorities. In cases of rape, for example, while up to 1984 an official charge was made only after a complaint had been made by the victim herself, later, according to Article 11 of Law 1419/1984, the charge of rape has to be made in principle ex officio (Article 344 Criminal Code, still in place today). Furthermore, under the same law, (1419/1984, Article 23), the taking of a handbag using a vehicle of some kind was deemed a felonious theft as long as the victim did not resist the attack (otherwise, under the assumption that the perpetrator overcomes this resistance, the offence becomes a robbery). Bearing these facts in mind, it follows that figures for rape and robbery would appear to fluctuate within the total sum of statistics mentioned above, without effecting any real change as to how often such crimes were committed. These indications, combined with what

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Athens / Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 1985, pp. 121 and 130. See also interesting evidence given by C. *D. Spinellis* in her work "Examination of the Penal Justice System", in: *N. E. Courakis* (coordinator), Mnimi II (In Memoriam II) of J. Daskalopoulos, K. Stamatis, Chr. Bakas, vol. III, Athens: A. N. Sakkoulas, 1996, pp. 1053-1092: 1074 cont.

[96] See *Arg. Karras,* "Procedural Criminal Law" Athens / Komotini: A. N. Sakkoulas, 1998³, no. 735 cont., p. 664 cont.

has been said about the effects of lawyers' abstentions and the dark figures for particular crimes (para. 39) show, I believe, *how misleading the analysis of statistical figures can be if detailed examination of the factors affecting and changing their outcome is not made a priority. However, in general, I do not think that the picture that emerges from the above figures for intentional homicide, intentional bodily harm, robbery and rape indicates that these crimes are on the increase or decrease.* Besides, these figures are so limited that by themselves they cannot determine a firm statistical conclusion of a general nature, apart from the fact that *at the moment, serious juvenile delinquency operates on a low frequency.*

(c) The picture of "withdrawal" crimes committed by adolescents (drugs)

44. Finally, it would be useful from a statistical point of view, to examine the *forms of delinquency* that, rather than manifesting themselves in outward aggression towards others, *take on the forms of "withdrawal" and "retreatism"* (Merton). In these forms of delinquency the act turns against the offenders themselves, mainly through the possession, use and dealing of narcotic substances. Hence, the question here is to what extent these two basic forms of delinquency; violent aggression and self-destruction, take on a different aspect and are unleashed due to the effects of *common* determining factors (in particular the (dys)function of socialising institutions and values, combined with personal experience, influences from circles of peers and incidental "opportunities"), in such a way that in the end, they present some interaction and supplementation or parallel evolution of their recorded size. Consequently, the picture that emerges from official statistics pertaining to breaches of drug laws is as follows:

TABLE III
JUVENILE DELINQUENTS 13-17 YEARS OLD AND VIOLATION OF DRUG LAWS
(PERSONAL USE, DEALING, CULTIVATION AND POSSESSION)
AS THEY WERE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE POLICE AND DEALT WITH
BY THE JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES

(NUMBER OF KNOWN OFFENDERS AT THE YEARS IN WHICH THEIR CRIMES WERE COMMITTED)

YEAR	CONFIRMED	TAKEN TO COURT	
1984	13	5	
1985	11	6	
1986	25	5	
1987	32	18	
1988	34	14	
1989	27	13	(12 for personal use)
1990	16	41	(39 for personal use)
1991	48	11	(9 for personal use)
1992	33	12	(12 for personal use)
1993	15	9	(8 for personal use)
1994	28	23	(20 for personal use)
1995	45	33	(30 for personal use)
1996	217	54	(42 for personal use)

Sources: The same as for Table 1. Elaboration: *Nestor E. Courakis.* See the relevant publication by Police Officer *Konst. Couros*, "Statistical Data for Narcotics in Greece", in the magazine "Astynomiki Epitheorissi" ("Police Review"), Jan. 1996, pp. 12 - 13.
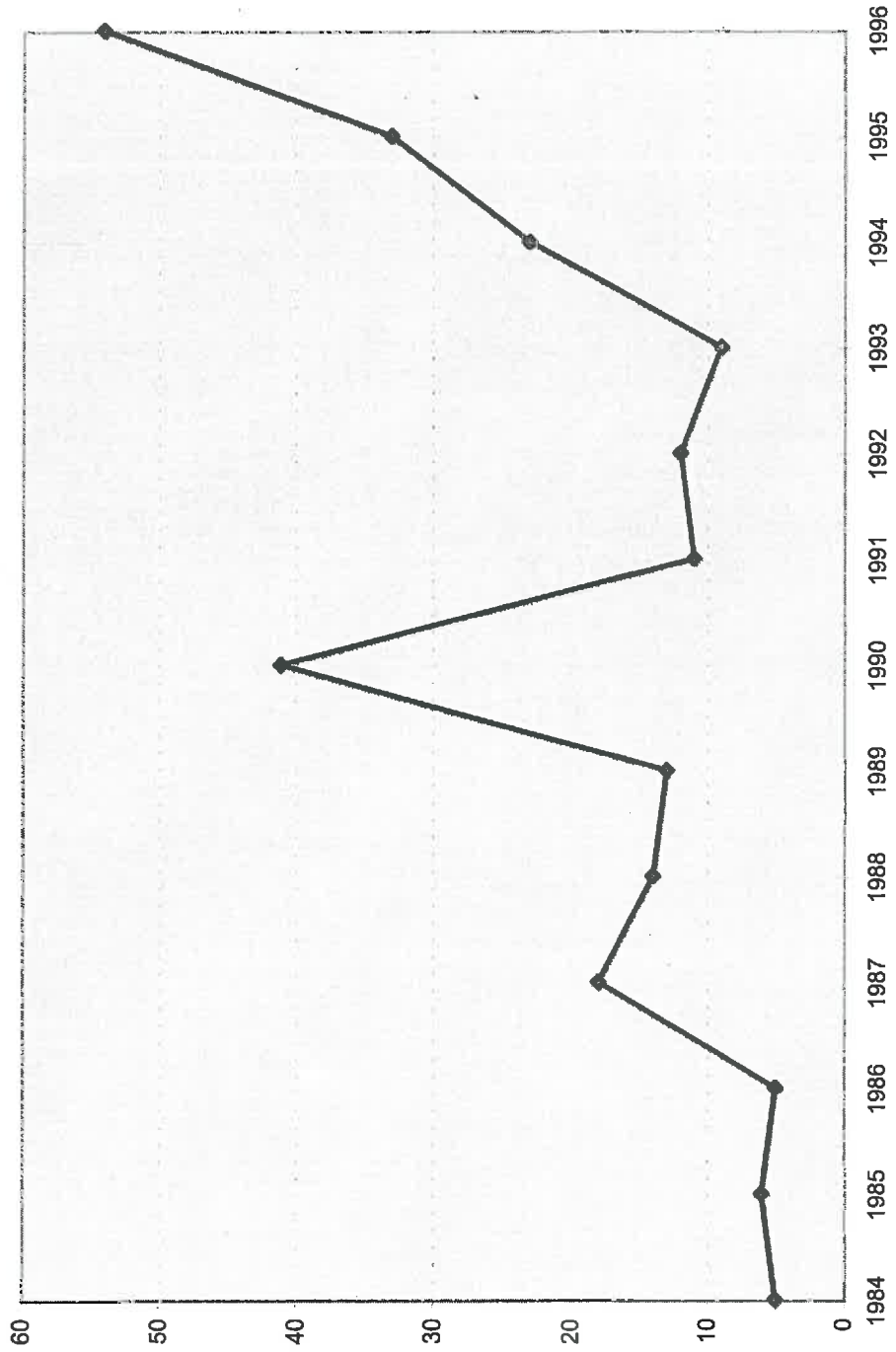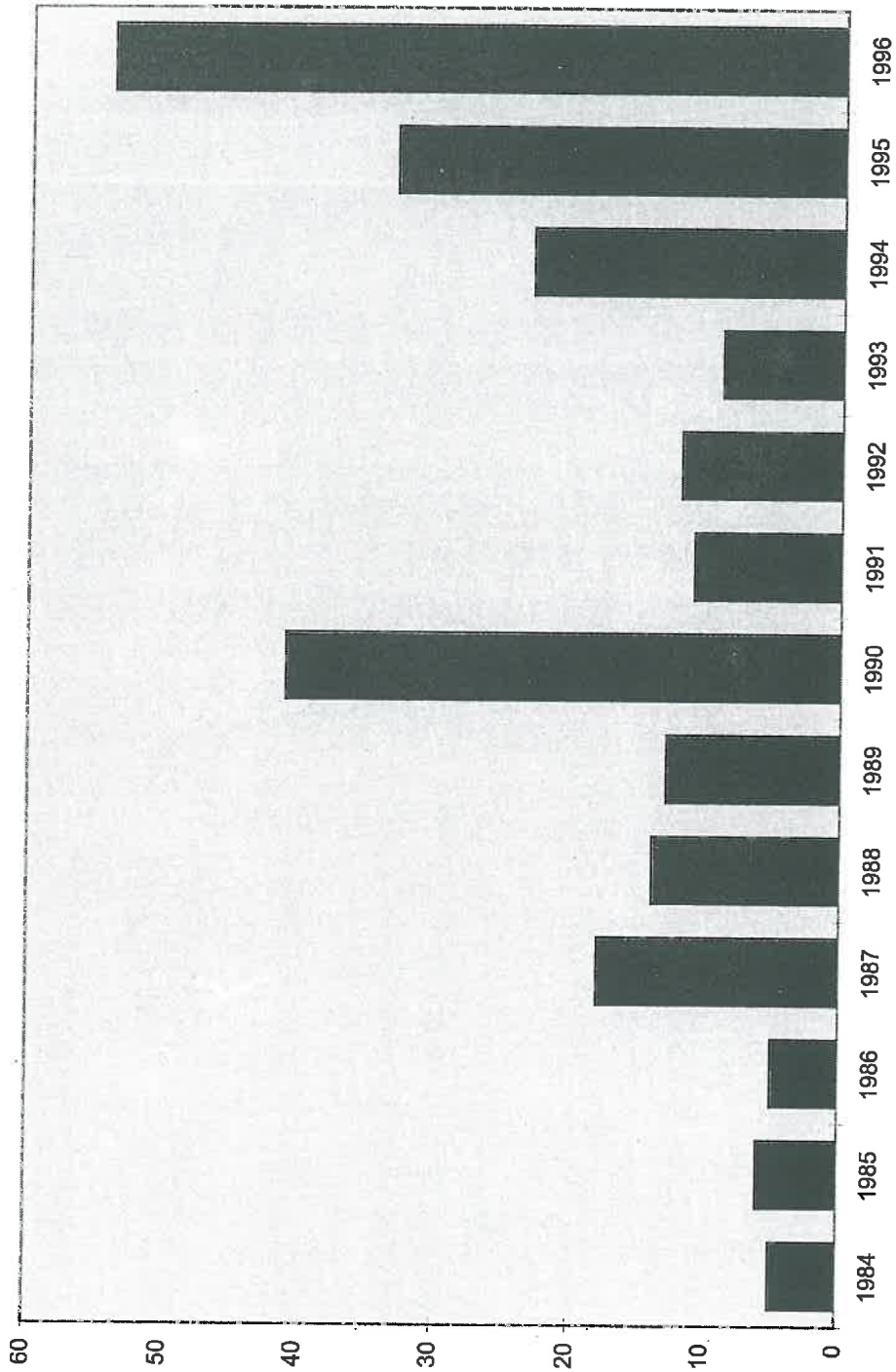
RECORDED VIOLATIONS OF DRUG LAWS
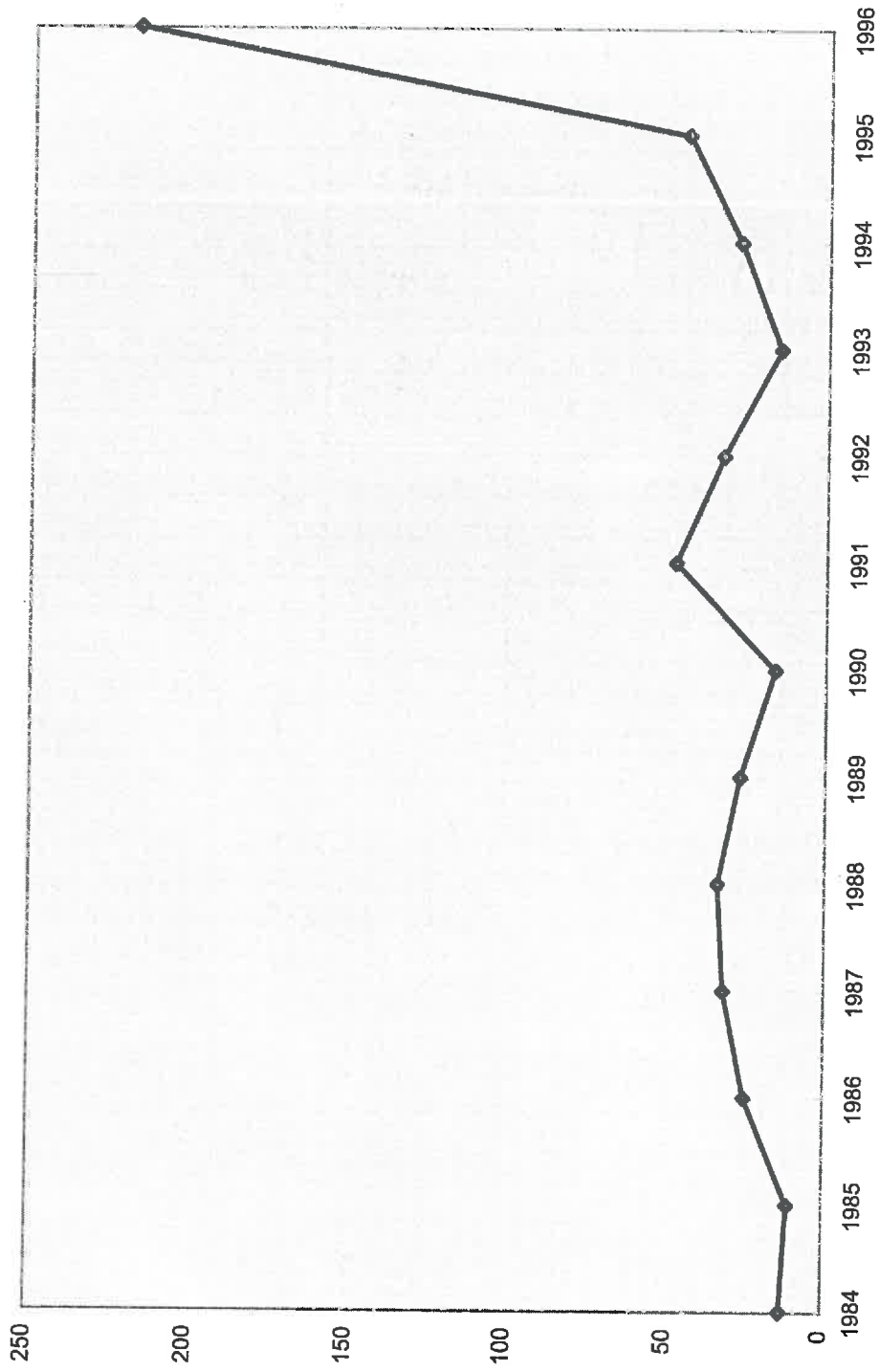
RECORDED VIOLATIONS OF DRUG LAWS
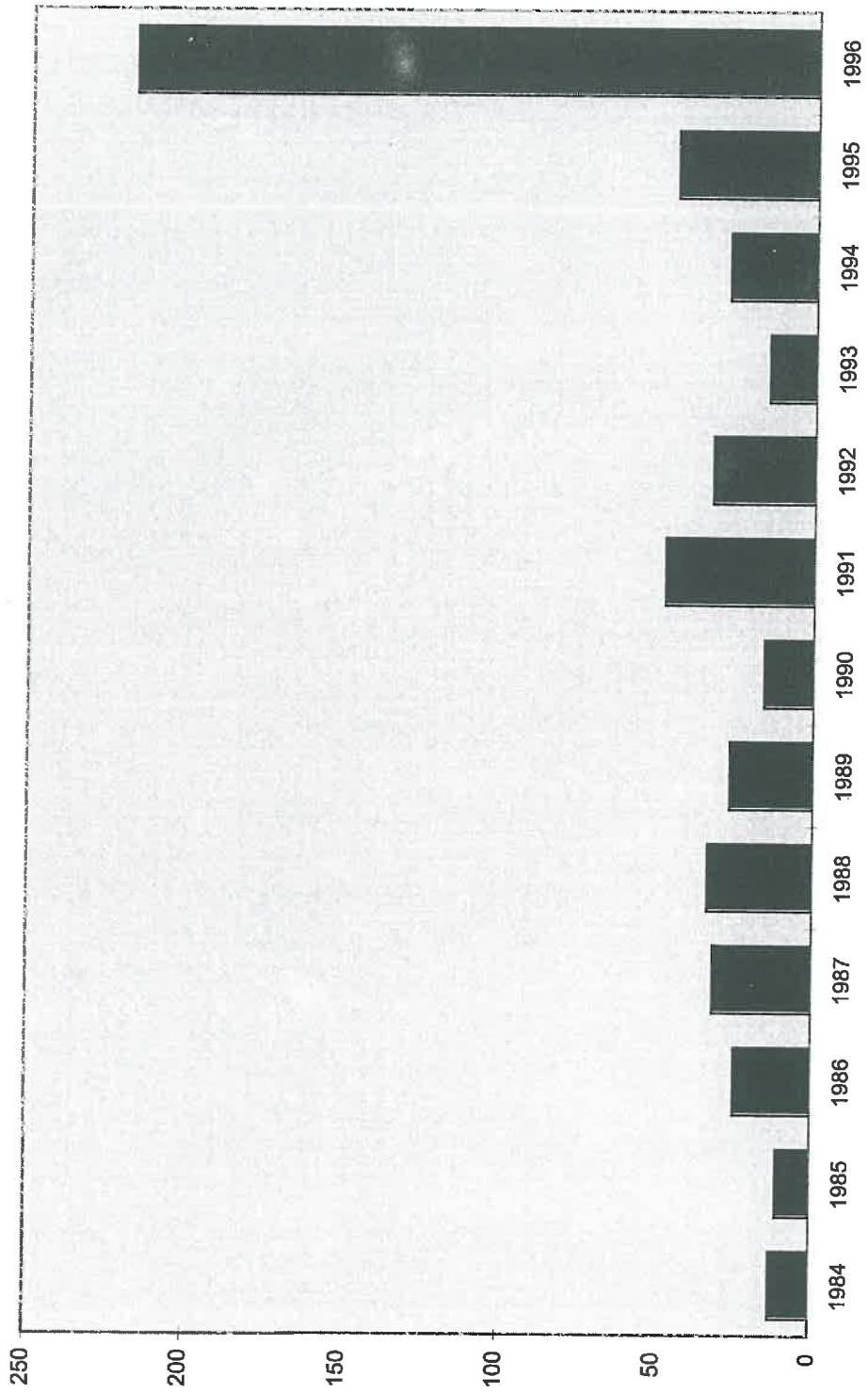
CASES OF DRUG LAW VIOLATION TAKEN TO COURT

CASES OF DRUG LAW VIOLATION TAKEN TO COURT

45. In order to analyse the above statistics correctly, it should be noted that since 1987, with the implementation of new drug legislation (Law 1729/1987), and despite the fact that it did not substantially alter the original stipulations (excluding the changes made regarding the function of the Centers for Therapy and Desintoxication from Drugs) there has been a general tendency to avoid the arrest and legal prosecution of mere users. Evidently, this has had an effect on the statistics pertaining to the number of users who become embroiled in the judicial system, since they would normally be much greater. In spite of the current situation, I believe that these figures still indicate *a palpable increase in the number of adolescents in breach of drug legislation*. This increase seems to be confirmed not only by the fact that drugs are listed (para., 18) as the most or second most serious problem facing our youth today, but from corresponding evidence from surveys examining self-reported delinquency. Consequently, the previously mentioned survey by the newspaper "Eleftherotypia" (para., 16), showed that while in 1990 the percentage of youngsters that had tried drugs was 11,4%, in 1996 the figure had reached 19,0%. This is further demonstrated by the survey conducted by the University Research Unit for Mental Health on the high school population of Greece (ages 14-18 years) [97] that found that 28,600 students (6,1% of the total) said they had tried drugs (mainly hashish) more than 1-2 times in their lives and about 135,000 (28,9%)

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[97] See relevant publication of "Ta Nea", 6.2.1997, p. 24, and "Eleftheros Typos", 14.9.1995, p. 37, as well as the analytical evidence in the work by *Dim. Madianou* and others, "Drugs in Greece, vol. III: The use of narcotic substances by the general population"), Athens, Psychiatriki Vivliothiki (Library of Psychiatry), 1992, p.19 cont., and table XIV of Chap. 1. Furthermore, in the survey conducted by *Ath. E. Gotovos* (ibid., Footnote 37, para. 19, p. 288 cont.), out of schoolchildren in the area of Ioannina and Corfu aged 11-16 years who were asked if they are involved in other addictive substances, apart from cigarettes and alcohol, only 4,1% to 5,9% answered affirmatively, although the percentage of those who did not want to answer is between 9,3 and 13,4%.

said they had taken pills. Besides, despite the fact that during the period 1984-1993 there was not a significant increase in the number of students who said they had had some kind of experience with drugs (it seems that the figure remained at about 6%), a small increase was noted in the amounts of youngsters, mainly boys, who used drugs more regularly in Athens, Thessaloniki and other major urban centres. Finally, in the age group of 15-24 years, there seems to be an increase in the number of those who have tried drugs (not just pupils).

V. The relation between delinquency in adolescents in Greece and the (dys)function of values and institutions. Conclusions.

46. Taking into account the reservations concerning the reliability of official statistics, what conclusions can be drawn from the study of those above about the development of serious delinquency in Greek juveniles over recent years? And to what extent can these be tied into the value structures and failings of existing institutions[98], albeit in the form of a working hypothesis?

47. In view of the failings of social institutions, as well as the more general lack of less individualistic values (one could use the word 'crisis' in this context [99]), it is at least a source of comfort that *juvenile delin-*

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[98] For the concept of function and dysfunction of institutions, mainly from the point of view of R. Merton's theory concerning the relativisation of functionalism, see esp. *Georg. Michaelides-Nouaros*, "The social function of conventions in modern law", in: "Presentation to Ioannis Deligiannis"), Thessaloniki 1991 (Epistimoniki Epetirida Tmimatos Nomikis, 3/B- Scientific Journal of Thessaloniki Faculty of Law), 3-57: 20 cont.

[99] 'Crisis' here is mainly intended in the sense of a non-correspondence between institutions on the one hand and the needs/ expectations they fulfil on the other. *In times of crisis,* as Prof. Ioanna Lampiri-Dimaki emphasised, traditional institutions have eroded and disorganised, and are no longer in a position to produce satisfactory solutions for social, economic and political problems. Indeed these problems are multiplying due to the pressure of certain new circumstances, especially in transitory times,

quency remains - if one takes the official statistics - at a tolerable and controllable level. However, even if the high figures of self-reported delinquency recorded by the relevant surveys are taken *into account, the situation has not reached panic level,* since as a rule, related offences retain the temporary and non-serious nature of most juvenile delinquent acts. However, the explosive increase in drug involvement during the past few years is a particularly worrying sign, and one that may suggest that, in the end, *the accumulated problems of our youngsters are expressed more acutely in attitudes of "withdrawal" and "retreatism", rather than in energetic opposition and rebellion.* This observation seems to be confirmed by the priorities our youngsters de-

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forerunners of new choices and ways of life; under such conditions from the Hippocratic point of view (e.g. *Hippocr.* On crises, 14: "Acute illnesses are judged in fourteen days and longer" - see also Article 16 and 34), the course of the disease under such conditions is *appraised* as well as its turn for the better or worse (see *I. Lampiri-Dimaki,* "The clarification of the concept of crisis and the Hippocratic definition", 1988, in: *(by the same author)* The meaning of crisis: Athens / Komotini: A. N. Sakkoulas, 1989, pp. 5-27: esp. p. 7 cont., p. 19 cont. See also *Niki Kaltsoyia-Tournaviti,* "Crisis of the times - Crisis of Institutions - Crisis of State", in: "Symmeikta: "Assorted writings in honour of Faidon T. Vegleris on the topic 'The Crisis of State Institutions'", Athens / Komotini: A. N. Sakkoulas, 1988, 393-421: 405 cont., as well as *Nik. G. Dimitratos,* "Crisis of Values and Crisis of the Penal Justice System", in the law review "Nomiko Vima", 44: 1996, 944-948). In another publication by Prof. *I. Lampiri-Dimaki,* it is emphasised that the modern generation of Greek youth (those born during the years 1965-1973) was raised in a period of crisis, i.e. in a period of ideological obscurity, demystification of idols and radically alternating and often contradictory situations, e.g. social liberalisation and economic frugality, a period stamped mainly by the end of the Cold War and, perhaps, of ideologies. "A common experience for the members [of this generation] was the passing from a climate of great social expectation to a climate of harsh disappointment" (see the newspaper "Mesimvrini", 9.1.1991, p. 12 and of 4.3.1991, p. 14). As for the characteristics of an even younger generation, i.e. those born after 1973, see amongst others the interesting series of articles supervised by *D. Mitropoulos,* in "To Vima", 16.3.1997, pp. A4-A5, *G. Lakopoulos* in the same newspaper on 24.3.1996, pp. A4-A10 and journalists of the newspaper "Kathimerini", 17.9.1995, p.18.

fined as most important in the survey by the newspaper "Eleftherotypia" (para., 14), where "the fight for a better society" was superseded by the lone choice of "creative occupation".

48. However, a needless dramatisation of events ought to be avoided here. The fact that whatever problems adolescents may face are expressed through forms of withdrawal rather than forms of active rebelliousness against the law does not mean that young people's rapprochement towards drugs has reached untenable dimensions. (One is reminded that the recorded percentage of teenage pupils of both sexes who have tried drugs - excluding pills - is only 6,1% of the total). It simply means that out of the two types of delinquency the second (drugs) attracts more people than the first; and this is in spite of the fact that the percentage of those who become caught up in *both* forms of delinquency is particularly high. In other words, *for the most part, our youngsters seem to withstand the existing social crisis and seem able to resist being completely overwhelmed by the constant pressures being applied to them by the various political aspects of society or the exhortatory character of the mass media to adopt a eudemonic and money-chasing way of life* (cf. para., 16).

Indeed, it is interesting that *as it results from the self-reported delinquency surveys* mentioned earlier, the relation between the execution or non-execution of delinquent acts and the more general outlook and value codes espoused by an adolescent is clearly positive, in other words, *these value codes are different depending on whether or not an adolescent presents signs of delinquent behaviour* [100].

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[100] This subject is examined in detail below. As for the more specific topic of how much juvenile delinquents present some retardation in their psychosocial development (see above, para. 5), see esp. work by *Ming Lee/ Norman M. Prentice,* "Interrelations of Empathy, Cognition and Moral Reasoning with Dimensions of Juvenile Delinquency", in Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 16: 1988, 127-139 and *St.*

49. More particularly, as the survey carried out by *Ath. E. Gotovos* indicates,[101] pupils aged 11-16 years from Ioannina and Corfu who stated that they have come into contact with *narcotic substances* (apart from cigarettes and alcohol), are more individualistic and self-seeking (though these terms have strong stereotypical associations) as well as a higher rejection rate of conventional conceptions of appropriate social behaviour (for example, helping the elderly) and *a higher rate of internalisation of a code of deviant juvenile behaviour* than those who are not involved in drugs. In the same survey it was established that the pupils who become involved with drugs have a troubled relationship with their parents (who have little control over them), go out to bars and coffeehouses frequently, and do less well at school.

50. The survey conducted by N. Fakiolas and A. Armenakis also showed that there *is* a correlation between *violent behaviour and the use of narcotic substances* and other important parameters. More particularly, the proportion of high school and senior school students from the municipality of Athens who claimed they had tried drugs at some point reached 6,5%, while about 3,8% of pupils use drugs randomly, 1,5% being regular users.[102] Here it should be noted that 93% of these pupils said they had never tried drugs of any kind, though this figure is probably smaller, since in response to the question of whether they would try drugs, mainly cannabis, if it were offered them, one in ten (10%) said they would. Out of the total number of students, 72% of those who had tried drugs, 82% who used them irregularly and 93% who were

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Renwick/ Nich. Emler, "The relationship between social skills deficits and juvenile delinquency" in British Journal of Clinical Psychology, 30: 1991, 61-71, where there are references to the previously mentioned bibliography.

[101] Ibid., (Footnote 32), p. 284 cont., pp. 289-290.

[102] Ibid., (Footnote 70), pp. 132-133.

regular users said they had often been involved in violent activities such as beatings up and exchanges of verbal abuse during the past year. [103] Besides, in view of what constituted the major problems facing adolescents according to those who had often been involved in violent acts (surveys would call them "violent") there are interesting differences regarding the values of *"violent" teenagers* and those who had never been involved in anything violent (*"non-violent." teenagers*). "Violent" teenagers listed the following, in order of gravity, as being their most serious problems: the generation gap (64 %), lack of entertainment (52%), sexual problems (52%), studies (46%) and emotional troubles (45%),[104] putting problems with parents and the promotion of eudemonic goals first, on a par with finding solutions to emotional difficulties. Conversely, "non-violent" students either said that their problems were non-existent ("no problems", 70%), or placed their *problems within a more general framework* that they considered would threaten the foundations of society and the future of students, such as narcotic substances (74%), the crisis of values (69%) and employment worries (69%). What both this survey, and that of Ath. Gotovos indicate, [105] is that "violent" students come more from families with married parents who were not living together at the time of the survey (63%), or from widowed parents (47%) and divorced parents (43%), - the prototype of a 2-parent family is missing,[106] and from families whose

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[103] Ibid., (Footnote 70), pp. 140, 185-186.

[104] Ibid., pp. 140, 180.

[105] Ibid., pp. 139 cont., 177 cont.

[106] Here it would be useful to note that according to the findings of a British investigation on a representative sample of 1,202 adults (above the age of 18), published in "The Guardian", 7.11.1996, p. 9, the overriding majority of those asked said it is parents who set the tone of moral values for their children. The major role played by parents in the (non)delinquency of juveniles was delineated by Juvenile Prosecutor *Mrs. Konstantina Gika*, according to whom juvenile delinquents are often "children living in a troubled family environment. And when we say troubled environment, we

parents were illiterate (43%), or conversely, degree-holders, both University and post-graduate (43%) who are evidently too busy and do not have enough time for their children. For similar reasons, there are many "violent" students whose *parents* are unemployed (42%), pensioners (32%), or are business people (36%), self-employed / liberal professionals (36%, mostly mothers) or those holding positions of responsibility / managers of medium to high rank (39%). Those students who frequent bars, coffeehouses, public squares and sports areas belong overwhelmingly to the category of "violent" students as opposed to those who prefer to stay at home, go more to theatres, concerts or cultural centres. Furthermore, "violent" students' parents and friends smoke, drink alcohol or use sedatives and drugs more than those of the "non-violent" sample, indicating that their environment is clearly tolerant towards the use of such substances.

51. The *tendency of today's youngsters to participate in violent demonstrations and acts of delinquency and its relation to today's value system* is revealed particularly sharply in a survey of 808 young people aged 17-37 years by Dr. of Sociology *Grigoris Lazos* and Professor of Criminology at Panteion University *Antonis Manganas*, from December 1995 to April 1996. [107] This survey comprised a questionnaire that

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do not mean the children of divorced parents but children whose parents do not fulfil their parental role, do not care about them. Parents of juvenile delinquents are usually of low status, but the cases of juvenile delinquents from so-called good families are not few" (see relevant publication in "To Vima", 29.9.1991, p. A36 under the supervision of *Ioanna Mandrou).

[107] See *Antonis Manganas / Grigoris Lazos,* Social Values of delinquent and non-delinquent individuals, Research based on the "Portrait de la Clientèle Correctionelle du Québec", Athens: Panteion University, 1997 mainly pp. 25 cont., 51. It is noted that for the needs of the present work, the authors were kind enough to put the basic findings of the survey at my disposal prior to its official publication. The evaluation of evidence was carried out by the present author. A presentation of the survey's findings was published in "Apogevmatini tis Kyriakis", 9.2.1997, p. 29, under the supervision of *Desp. Kontaraki.*

was given to 231 delinquents of both sexes (regardless of whether they had been arrested), 337 University students of both sexes and 240 University graduates of both sexes (the last two categories being control groups), to determine the importance accorded by the questionees to 15 basic values of life such as personal dignity, responsible and reliable use of freedoms, work and so forth. From the analysis of the results, whose methodology was based on the analysis of a corresponding survey by two scientists from Quebec, it was shown that all three categories of questionees (delinquents, students and graduates) placed the generally accepted, but theoretical and "painless" values of feeling comfortable with oneself, being loved, being respected and having friends or a trusted companion first of all. The differences became more pronounced on consideration of more practical and tried values, such as culture (as an expression of cultivation), cars (expenses-consumption) and the responsible use of freedom. It was found that culture, placed on a relatively low level by everyone (!), was the preference of 67,9% of the students (12th position), 60,2% of the graduates (13th position) but only 52% of the delinquents (15th position). There are differences regarding the responsible use of freedom as well, delinquents regarding this as a lower priority (83,4%, 8th position, as opposed to 85,9%, 5th position for students and 86,3%, 7th position for graduates), as well as the value of having laws (67,6%, 12th position for delinquents, 70,9%, 9th position for students and 72,3%, 11th for graduates). However, the differences are most pronounced in attitudes shown towards cars (expenses-consumption), delinquents giving them evident priority (74,8%, 10th position) as opposed to the ratings given them by students (58,7%, 13th position) and graduates (57,6%, 13th position). Therefore, *although delinquents do not seem to deviate substantially from the rest of the population on their views towards basic values, they differ significantly on the one hand because of the importance they accord to the possession of consumer goods (cars being a characteristic example), and also because of the - relatively - reduced interest they show in*

purely "socialising" values such as the responsible use of freedom, legality and, finally, culture as an expression of cultivation.

52. From the evidence that has been established I think it follows that even if the delinquency of Greek juveniles is not on the increase at the moment nor systematic in its implementation,[108] it is evident that there is a rather clear connection (requiring further research) between the varying forms of juvenile delinquency and the codes of values that are adopted by juvenile delinquents as a way of reacting to the (dys)function of socialising institutions. This problem has been examined in part from a criminological point of view at the 14th Criminological Research Conference under the auspices of the Council of Europe (Strasbourg), whose main focus was on the role of institutions of socialisation in a changing society.[109] However, I believe that in the

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[108] However, it is possible that this situation will be exacerbated if, as sociologist and criminologist *Christina Nova-Kaltsouni* observed, the proper conditions for this development arise, e.g. "the marginalisation of large parts of youth, its exclusion from the wealth of employment and culture and, generally, the difficulty of trying to integrate the young person into society according to his individual abilities and personal desires, not according to the pattern of individuals of the kind that is promoted on a daily basis at a fast-moving pace" (see "Eleftherotypia", 7.4.1992, pp. 24-25).

[109] See *Council of Europe*, 14th Criminological Research Conference (Strasbourg, 24-26 November 1980), Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency: the Role of Institutions of Socialisation in a Changing Society, Strasbourg 1981, *Conseil d'Europe*, Transformation sociale et délinquance juvénile, Strasbourg 1979, and *Council of Europe*, Young adult offenders and crime policy. Proceedings (Reports presented to the 10th Criminological Colloquy, 1991), Strasbourg 1994. See also *P. Papadatos*, ("Aggressiveness, violence and destructiveness in social life"), Athens/ Komotini: A. N. Sakkoulas, 1980("Poinika" series, No., 4), *Vas. Vouidaskis*, ("Aggressiveness as a social problem in the family and at school"), Contribution to the sociology of education, Athens, Grigori, 1987 and *Georg. S. Kroustalakis*, ("Education - a pathway of life. The theory and practice of young people's education"), Athens, 1995. However, it should be noted that during the last years, the study of factors of socialisation has taken on particular importance, but mainly in relation to the necessary measures that

past 19 years, despite the admirable scientific studies that have since received public attention, the topic has not been studied on the contemplative level it deserves. *We remain espoused to various foreign theories about anomy, the subculture of violence, differential associations, differential opportunity structure and so forth, without being able to put our finger on the reality of the situation of each society in particular, advancing our own integrated theoretical approach and/or skilled survey on the effects that are likely to influence juvenile delinquency and the crisis of values and (dys)function of socialising institutions.*

53. More particularly, we have adopted theories that as a starting point, posit the possible existence or lack of consensus of values and commonly shared ideas regarding fundamental issues, or, at least, society's broader deviation from widely accepted - as a rule! - patterns and goals, without examining the *way* in which these values are applied in this country and how much it alienates the individual. The Constitution may have placed a person's value on a clearly defined pedestal within the framework of social life. Yet how many people really align themselves with this constitutional prescription and respect the freedoms and rights of others when they block national roads with their tractors and obstruct traffic with their unchecked demonstrations? [110] In other words, *it seems that*

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should be taken by the State for delinquency prevention. In relation to this, see the British publication *The Audit Commission,* Misspent Youth: Young People and Crime, Abingdon/ Oxon, 1997, and the American *U. S. Department of Justice,* Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Family Life, Delinquency and Crime: A Policymaker's Guide (Research Summary), Washington, May 1994.

[110] Here one could add that a characteristic deviation of the function of institutions in Greece, which cause more problems than they are supposed to solve, is the way in

everyone agrees with a number of these fundamental values in theory,
but do not abide by them in practice, that as a result, leads to a situa-
tion of consensus in theory but to anomy and delinquency in practice.
In this case, existing theories do not seem to be adequate. Furthermore,
problems can be created regarding the extent to which an adolescent
grows up in a broken family, avoids going to school or tries desperately
to get a job. As a rule, *the effect* of these socialising *factors* on *delin-*
quency is only examined on the individual level of the juvenile and
his or her close environs, without further research into the more gen-
eral dysfunction of those institutions responsible for this situation and
into their relation to a society's existing value structures. Here too the
available theories are inadequate. For this reason I believe it would be
useful if scientists focused their attention in this direction.

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which the right to strike has been implemented by a certain segment of the popula-
tion, who announce strikes that amount to blackmail, e.g. schools striking at the time
of general examinations, Forest Wardens during the summer and Airport Services
during the peak periods of tourism. As Prof. *Theod. Lianos* observed, these phenom-
ena "display the ultimate decay of the institutions in Greek Society and the high-
handed acts it leads organised interest groups to commit" (see "To Vima", 1.10.1995,
p. A61; and 22.6.1997, p. A17).