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ΤΙΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΟΜΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗ
ΙΑΚΩΒΟ ΦΑΡΣΕΔΑΚΗ

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**The Contemporary Criminality, its
Confrontation and the Science of Criminology**

**La criminalité contemporaine, la réaction à son
égard et la Science de la Criminologie**

ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑ: ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΑ ΕΥΘ. ΧΑΛΚΙΑ
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The Future of Criminality and the Criminology of the Future Under the Shadow of Globalization*

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1. Few would dispute that a serious attempt at prediction based on constantly shifting criteria is not without its pitfalls. Nevertheless, there are some important factors of a far-reaching nature which create trends which do allow us to make projections based on present-day situations of prime importance. For example, the global population is expected to increase from 6.7 billion today to 9 billion by 2050. In poorer countries, such as Afghanistan, Liberia, Ethiopia, the Congo and Yemen, the birth rate is consistently high. So long as there are no devastating events such as war or natural disasters, or unless drastic measures are taken to curb the birth rate, this 'trend' will continue until there is a population explosion of the first order. A few years down the line will see an escalation of unemployed, disaffected and angry youth who are homeless, hungry and uneducated. As if this were not enough, the continuous rise in price of staples (mostly cereals and rice) in recent years¹ and

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1. According to the special four page supplement compiled by *Katerina Tzavara*, published in the newspaper 'Eleftherotypia', May 24th, 2008, pp. 21, 22, 35, 36 and comments p. 2, the UN Organisation of Food and Agriculture (FAO) estimated the price of cereal had increased by 130%, and that of rice by 74% for the preceding 12 month period. For more on the same subject, see the article by *M. Spinthourakis* in the newspaper 'To Vima', June 1st, 2008, p. B10, and the news item in the same newspaper, May 30th, 2008, page A4, where reference is made to the O.E.C.D. estimation of an 80%

the inability of international organizations to confront and ease poverty in poorer nations² will only serve to exacerbate the situation. Within the framework of this disquieting trend, these tens of thousands of young people from Asia and Africa will have little choice but to effect a desperate escape from their problems via illegal immigration to the economically advanced countries of Europe, bringing all the problems that that entails in their wake.

With this chain of events in mind, we can analyse the current situation by defining the factors which shape basic trends, and by using appropriate theoretical approaches; the latter, in an attempt to systematize and evaluate these factors, for example, by drawing on criminological theories about lawlessness (anomy) and social disorganization³. This being the case, I believe the criminologist is well placed to evaluate these trends objectively and project likely scenarios of what the future holds over the next 15 to 20 years.

Yet what is shaping the situation in both Greece and the wider arena?

2. Without doubt, the main characteristic is the Global Economy⁴. In simple terms this describes unrestricted trade between nations. This unrestricted trade, combined

increase in food prices over the next ten years, due in most part to drought, biofuel production and increased demand for agricultural produce by fast growing countries such as China and India.

2. See analytical article in the newspaper 'Kathimerini', May 4th, 2008, p. 20, with the apt title 'Poverty - Hotbed of Terrorism', where the views of a high-ranking American official are aired on the subject of overpopulation and the problem of immigration. Indicative of the ineffectuality of the international community to tackle the problem of world poverty are the comments made by several journalists on the results of the Summit organized by the UN Organisation of Food and Agriculture (FAO): its concluding statement was considered to deal merely in terms of good yet vague intentions. See the article 'The wish list is big, but the number of those starving is bigger still', by *Christ. Pantzou*, in the newspaper 'Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia', June 8th 2008, pp. 38 and 43.
3. See *N. E. Courakis*, *Law of Juvenile Offenders*, Athens/Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2004, p.120, *Iak. Farsedakis*, *Lawbreaking and the Social Control of Juveniles*, Athens: Nomiki Vivliothiki, 1986, p.114, *Stergios Alexiadis*, *Criminology*, Athens/Thessaloniki: Ed. Sakkoula, 2004, p.74 and *C.D. Spinelli*, *Criminology*, Athens/ Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2005, p.238.
4. For a more general discussion on the issue of Globalisation, see the informative work 'What is Globalisation? Wrong perceptions and answers', by *Ulrich Beck*, Athens: Kastaniotis 1999, (1997 first German edition), mainly the chapter entitled 'Social contract against exclusion?', p.293, as well as the collective work 'Globalisation. Optimistic perspective or threat?', with a choice of texts by *Chr. G. Romas* and articles by *Ignacio Ramon  t*, *Noam Chomsky*, *Ulrich Beck*, *Tassos Giannitsis*, *Archbishop Anastasios* and others, Athens: Savallas, 2001. See also the introductions to the problems of globalization in: 'Globalisation', by *Manfred B. Steger*. 'Our era in 15 words', Athens: 'Ellinika Grammata', 2006 (first English edition 2003), *Bernard Guillochon*, 'Globalisation'. 'A planet with divergent plans', Athens: Castalia and Eleftherotypia, 2007 (first French edition Larousse 2006), the first three items of the inset 'Open MBA', in the newspaper *Ta Nea*, March 12th, 19th, 26th 2007, on the

with constantly developing technology, and the instant dissemination of information through a global network, has demonstrated the ability to demolish, or at the very least, weaken national boundaries. The effects of this has been a watering down of the traditional values of each country and the establishing of the idea of a uniform planet; the global 'village'. Factories have relocated in countries with a cheaper and more 'disciplined' labour force, and while there has been a general surge in global production and decrease of prices, the job market has slumped, driving those mostly affected – the young – to unemployment. And all this within the framework of a world where rapid destabilizing elements are at work, such as:

- Unstable, if not unsettled geopolitical structures,
- Relocation of centres of power away from the traditional, planet-wide super-powers towards densely populated, financially fast-growing countries (mainly Brazil, Russia, India and China, familiarly known of as B.R.I.C. by contemporary foreign language commentators),
- Strident confrontation between and within countries over, for example, energy matters, water resources as well as over religious and cultural fundamentalisms,
- The use of technology such as microchips and cameras to monitor the lives of citizens, while effectively curbing their human rights, within the framework of the so-called 'Risk Society'⁵. In particular, a range of technologically advanced control systems involving such disparate fields as genetics, informatics and propaganda –reminiscent of the prophetic control systems chillingly portrayed by Orwell and Huxley– is already in place⁶.

subject of Globalisation, as well as the item 'Vima of Ideas', in the newspaper 'To Vima', January 2008, with an introduction by *Tassos Giannitsis*.

5. For the problem of the curbing of Human Rights in modern society – 'The Risk Society', or *Risikogesellschaft*, according to the German term introduced by *Ulrich Beck* in 1986– see mainly *Ch. Anthopoulos/ X.I. Kontiadis/ Th. Papathodorou*, *Security and Rights in the Risk Society*, Athens/Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2005, where 13 interesting studies are included, as well as the essay by *Margarita Gasparinatou*, *The Configuration of crime policy in the 'Risk Society'*, *Poinikos Logos*, 2006, 1535-1552. Regarding the relationship and the likelihood of achieving a balance between freedom and order, see *N. E. Courakis*, *Security and Freedom. Their static and dynamic limits*, *Nomiko Vima*, 54 (2006), 1217 – 1226 and the collective work: (In)Security, Crime Policy and Human Rights, edited by *Chr. Zarafonitou*, Athens/Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2007, 15-33, where other interesting studies on the same item can be found. Also, at the European level, see the essay by *George Nikolakopoulos*, *State, Penal Power and European Integration. A Criminological Approach*, Athens: Kritiki, 2002.
6. See my 'Penal Law and Utopia', in my collection of studies 'Criminology Horizons', v.1., Athens/Komotini: 2005², 3-16:11.

3. Two special developments follow, which are of more interest to Criminology⁷.

4. Firstly, the abolition of borders and the weakening of traditional values under globalisation, which create situations of a lawless nature. This environment is dominated by *uncontrolled groups of interests which elevate greed, abuse of power and market competition to new heights*⁸. While these groups do not necessarily seek out organized crime; they do not hesitate to resort to it either. They commit crimes with a thin veneer of dubious legality, by exploiting the so-called 'windows of the law' ("loop holes"), or by committing crimes which carry the least heavy sentences. Typical of the types of economic crime they engage in, the categories of which are expected to increase in the near future, are practices which violate the rules of free competition up to tax evasion, the manipulation of stock markets and the total disregard of the rights of intellectual property⁹. At the level of organized crime, practices include ar-

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7. For books and articles in scientific journals related to the subject of Globalization combined with the problems of criminality, a most useful source is the bibliography contained in the works: *Aglaia M. Tsitsoura, Criminality and Crime Policy in the Age of Globalization*, in the volume dedicated to *Aliki Giotopoulou -Marangopoulou*, Athens/ Brussels: Nomiki Vivliothiki/ Bruylant, v. 2, 2003, 1405-1422, *Char. Dimopoulos*, with the contribution of *Giannis Panousis*, *Globalization of Crime* (according to English-American bibliography), Athens/Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2003 and *Char. Dimopoulos*, *A Globalization without poetry* (Introduction: *Giannis Panousis*), Athens / Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2004, as well as the recent work by *Katia Franko Aas*, 'Globalization and Crime', Los Angeles/London: Sage, 2007, (in English), mainly in the introduction, pages 1-26.
8. The element of greed seems to be the overriding trait of certain financially successful citizens. In their drive to accumulate even more, they are urged to actions which are often catastrophic for themselves and exasperating for those who believe that they are sorely wronged by the unequal distribution of wealth. Aristotle condemned this grasping behaviour in his 'Politics' (E' 6.4, 1307 a 20), where he pointed out that «the owners of wealthy properties, if the constitution gives them the superior position, seek to behave insolently and to gain money». Besides, in the recent economic crisis which was unleashed in September 2008, the greed of certain financial institutions seems to have played a prime role, at least if one is to judge from the initial assessments of reliable analysts such as 'Time' magazine, September 29th 2008, which published an article with the telling title 'The Price of Greed', as well as one by the French economist Michel Aglieta who spoke about the 'excessive exaggerations [of the banks] without anyone being aware of the dangers of such a reckless course' (see *Michel Aglieta*, *The economic crisis*, translation by A. D. Papagiannidis, Athens: City, 2009 (French edition 2008), page 21.
9. For these kinds of economic crime see, for example, the three volume work *N. E. Courakis*, *Economic Crime*, Athens/Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2007 (in collaboration with *Dem. Ziouvas*) mainly v. 1, § 198, p. 279, also v. 2, *passim*. For a more general overview of economic and organized crime in Greece see my studies in *N. E. Courakis*, *Criminological Horizons*, v. 2, Athens/Komotini: A. N. Sakkoulas, 2005, 163-199 and 213-232, where further information and bibliography may be found.

eas such as corruption, money laundering¹⁰, drug trafficking, gun running, trading in human organs, transportation of illegal immigrants and human trafficking. Furthermore, not only does electronically advanced technology which is used by organized criminals appear to assist such activities and contribute to the ease with which such crimes can be committed, but it also renders the task of investigation difficult¹¹.

5. Secondly, the consequent decrease in employment opportunities brought about by globalisation, combined with an acutely competitive environment, have lead, according to *Anthony Giddens*, to a world of few winners and many losers; to a *squalid* world where few are thriving and many are doomed to poverty, over borrowing, over debt and desperation. As a consequence, many young people are sceptical about the prospect of obtaining some kind of professional qualification and of finding a job in a related field. But even if, under pressure from their parents or from social norms, they choose the university trail, with the ensuing undergraduate and postgraduate education¹², they are still reluctant to leave the family hearth to find a job or start their own families. In Greece and other Mediterranean countries, they also prefer to depend on their families financially for as long as is possible¹³. Thus family

10. Regarding the ways in which money laundering is carried out at a practical level, see the publication by *Ach. Chemikoglou*, 'How dirty money gets clean', in the newspaper 'To Vima', July 11th, 2009, p.A5.
11. On the ability of organized crime to develop even more during times of depression and financial crises, substituting other financial institutions, such as banks and multi-national companies in the market place, see, for example, the work of *Jean-Francois Gayraud*, *Le Monde des mafias, Géopolitique du crime organisé*, Paris: edition Odile Jacob, 2008, and related publication in the newspaper 'Ta Nea', August 1st and 2nd 2009, page 62, under the title 'Crisis: Paradise for the Mafia'. On the options to counter organized crime based on the experience of other countries, see for example *Ant. D. Manganas*, *Organized crime: The experience of Quebec*, by *Ant. D. Manganas*, in his volume of collected essays: *Items of Criminology and Penal Law*, Athens: Nomiki Vivliothiki, 1999, 264-268.
12. Regarding the powerful drive in recent years of young people to turn to postgraduate studies, see the publication of *Ap. Lakasas* under the title '50% increase of postgraduate titles', in the newspaper 'Kathimerini', August 2nd, 2009, page 21. The point is also made that this turn to postgraduate studies is caused not only by the particular difficulties of the young to find employment, but also by the gradual devaluation of academic achievement due to the proliferation of undergraduate titles. As a result, postgraduate titles are considered to provide a real or imaginary strategic advantage against unemployment.
13. According to research done by the Greek polling company VPRC, 21% of those questioned are obliged to receive help from their families in order to get on (this percentage increases to 32% for those working in the private sector)[see the newspaper 'Metropolis', June 3rd 2008, page 1 and 3], while similar data by Greek National Service of Statistics (ESYE) for 12,151 persons from 5,700 families, finds that 96.4% of those questioned stated that in case of need they take it for granted that they can rely on friends, relatives and even neighbours for help [see the news

support acts as a shield and a safety net, so that despite harsh economic conditions, these youngsters do not, as a rule, become law breakers. Other youngsters however, do leave the family roof and seek employment. All too often though, they become marginalized. Out of both groups, there will be some young people who form a negative attitude to work and dress it up in the guise of ideology. And while other problems may beset them and their families, economic pressure is not usually one of them. This said, these disenchanted young people adopt ideas they identify as being proletarian, where they consider work as part of an oppressive system; a system which they believe modern society and the financially powerful have inflicted on them. From this ideological standpoint, even a bank robbery may be seen as a 'reasonable' reaction to such oppression. Thus, in the minds of these young people their dislike of work and their multi-faceted challenge against the so-called 'social establishment' combine. This combination of ideas often takes the form of blind violence, aggression and social disobedience, as finds expression in activities such as the occupying of buildings, violent demonstrations, 'ideological robberies', bomb attacks, acts of terrorism, social hacking and cyber crime. Furthermore, there are similarities between the behaviour of these young people with that of yet another disaffected group whose negative experience of life has been such that they too are provoked into reacting violently against these conditions which modern societies encourage, if not cause¹⁴. In other words, under the pressure of these conditions, certain citizens, and especially those who belong to vulnerable social groups, such as immigrants, abandoned children, the unemployed, the marginalized: those who live in economi-

paper 'To Vima', May 23rd, 2008, page A6). A further article, based on research, published in the newspaper 'Ta Nea', June 11th, 12th 2009, pages 25-29, found that, '7 out of 10 Greeks aged between 25-29 decide in favour of the paternal home, while it seems that women of the same age are more daring, with one in two deciding to go it alone'.

14. This concerns, and is in accordance with the *Theory of Institutional Dysfunction* which I proposed 20 years ago, where situations of unacceptable levels of dysfunctionality in social institutions (lack of communication in families, an education system which does not answer the needs of the young, unemployment or employment not according to the studies and interest of employees) in Greece, which result in a lack of vision and common targets, the conscious abstention of citizens from shared interests, as well as the extrusion of the more vulnerable to delinquency and crime. For more on this theory and its scientific documentation see mainly N. E. Courakis, *Juvenile Delinquents and Society*, Athens/Komotini, 1999 (in English), pp.162 f. This approach can also be discerned in the study by Vas. Markesinis 'In search of youth and the young', and similarly in his volume of collected essays: 'Shadows from America', Athens: A. A. Livanis, 2009, 229-316, mainly page 249. It is worth mentioning here that according to the main findings of a research carried out by the Athens University of Economics under the direction of Professor Epaminondas Panas, the stress caused by the uncertainty of the economic situation has severe negative effects on health and personal relations. For the presentation of this research see Giannis Elafros in the newspaper 'Kathimerini' of Nov. 23rd 2008, page 42.

cally degraded areas and in today's intensely multicultural societies, react sometimes in a desperate manner. They either resort to *deeds of blind violence* against people and things, in the belief that by doing so they will defuse their anger and demolish a society which they consider hostile towards them, or seek release and escape in drugs.

This tendency toward violence and drug taking is expected to escalate in the near future.

6. One might speculate as to whether an organized society can bring this daunting prospect of blind violence and the gradual pervasion of organized crime under control. How should one go about facing up to this prospect and how could one effect a solution? The answer must surely be by means of carefully designed and coordinated policies firmly based on the principles of justice and prosperity for all, which will endeavour to control organized groups of interests and also solve the problems of the vulnerable social groups.

However, this undertaking has limited chances of success due to those mutually interdependent interests between the world of business and the political establishment, and also due to the current unfavourable economic global climate, the effects of which have severely restricted the amount of money that could have been used to alleviate poverty, unemployment and social dysfunctionality in general. In particular, as far as Greece is concerned, the problems are particularly acute due to the chronic structural weaknesses therein. As was rightly pointed out by professor *Georges Contogiorgis*¹⁵, "The fundamental principal which governs Greek society boils down to the absence of operational effectiveness of the state, the absence of intellectual responsibility, the absence of accountability and scrutiny, and, above all, a lack of relevance to its original aims". Within this unhealthy operational framework, the state ceases to respond to the fundamental expectations of society, and the political system becomes estranged. Laws are passed without, in effect, benefiting those who were intended to benefit from them. Exceptions are made however, only when someone has 'connections' in the state or party apparatus, or when someone is able and willing to use bribery to speed up procedures. Corruption is also rife in sectors where money flows freely, or where there is a complicated legal situation, or when the vested interests of the party or his friends or relatives are challenged, for example, when starting a company, obtaining building permission or getting health care at a decent hospital¹⁶. In addition, the penalties for law infringement are often selec-

15. In his work '12/2008. The young, freedom and the state', Thessaloniki/Athens: Ianos, 2009, page 47.

16. In the same spirit see the main article of the newspaper "Ta Nea" (Entitled: 'Rousfeti', i.e. Favours, Pork) Oct. 16th 2009, page 3. One should be reminded here that as far as building regulations are concerned, they include for the municipality of Athens alone 510 different laws, presidential de-

tively imposed, and in any case, do not apply to the political establishment and the public administration, where the prevailing practice of legal or actual "inviolability", e.g. by means of ineffectual parliamentary or disciplinary committees, has gradually and insidiously seeped into all levels. On the other side of the coin, cases often covered by trans-party concessions which serve the interests of political parties and their attendant business associates are dealt with speedily. Hence, it is the dominance of the 'most powerful' and better 'connected'¹⁷ that is being facilitated. As a result, those in a position of power, who are mandated to be at the service of the citizen, are instead arrogantly and avariciously busily feathering their own nests.

7. Given that this situation has encouraged a climate of social lawlessness (anomy), one could raise the question as to whether it could be possible that future societies, and especially in Greek society, will one day witness a revolt which would see an end to the present kind of political establishment and open the way to a political situation where the element of revolutionary change would be at the fore.

crees, ministerial circulars etc., not counting the arrangements provided by the General Building Regulation; see the newspaper 'Eleftherotypia', July 4th 2009, page 35. For certain thoughts on how to combat corruption in Greece see my study 'Corruption as a problem of crime policy' at N. E. Courakis, *Criminological Horizons*, v. 2, Athens/Komotini: A. N. Sakkoulas, 2005, 205-212.

17. The dysfunctions of public administration such as those mentioned above have been repeatedly pointed out by significant institutions, e.g. the Committee of the Council of Europe against Corruption (GRECO; Groupe d'Etas contre la corruption), whose Evaluation Report of May 2002 especially highlighted ten particular recommendations to combat corruption in Greece (Greco Eval I Rep (2001 15E). Also see www.greco.coe.int, where new reports can be found on the same subject, as well as publications: in the newspaper 'Kyriatiki Eleftherotypia', June 23rd 2002, page 12, and 'Apogevmatini' of December 3rd 2002, pp. 1,4,5 and 6. There is also a report published by the organization 'Transparency International' and entitled "Global Corruption Barometer" 2009, where interesting data are presented on 'attitudes' of the Greek public towards corruption -see www.enet.gr/resources/article-files/gcb2009 report for pdf. The fact that some of these dysfunctions were at the heart of the basic (and still unfulfilled!) reproaches of the Greek Revolution at Goudi 100 years ago, and have never since been corrected is impressive. One should be reminded that in the Declaration of the Revolutionary Council, which was published on August 15th, 1909, it was expressly underscored that 'the administration of the country should become proper and honest' and that the necessary measures should be taken 'to relieve the Greek people from heavy taxes, which the people pay and which others, without consideration, waste in order to maintain luxurious and useless services and employees, in favor of bad transactions'; see full text of the Declaration at: Dion. A. Kokkinos, *History of Modern Greece*, v. 3, Athens: Melissa, 1971, page 843. One is further reminded that bad practice and dysfunction of institutions against the citizen and in favor of class or personal interests have been castigated at times by significant Greek writers in their works, mentioned by Kostas Georgousopoulos in his publication 'An x-ray view of society', in the newspaper 'Ta Nea', of July 18 - 19th 2009, inset: Vivliodromio, page 16.

In my opinion, to approach this answer, two other questions need to be answered: First, under which circumstances and for which reasons can a revolt take place? And secondly, under which terms can such an overthrow be imposed and prevail in a society today?

8. With regard to the first question, one of the most compelling in history, answers have been provided in Aristotle's 'Politics', especially in the fifth book. The narratives are based on the premise that people seek to participate in the riches and honours of office motivated by the subjective understanding they have for justice and equality in relation to the supposed or real value they themselves may have, and that they rebel when they experience inequality: 1266 β 40 ("civil strife is caused not only by inequality of property, but also by inequality of honours"), 1301 α 37 ("when each of the two parties has not got the share in the constitution which accords with the fundamental assumption that they happen to entertain, class war ensues"), 1301 β 27 ("party strife is everywhere due to inequality, where classes that are unequal do not receive a share of power in proportion")¹⁸. It follows that the greater the experienced inequalities are¹⁹ in wealth, honours of office, the more increased are, correspondingly, according to Aristotle, the probability of intense con-

18. Note that the term for 'stasis' in ancient Greek initially meant revolt and consequently civil collision. The term "epanastasis" ("revolution") was also used with a similar meaning, which is the rebellion aiming at the overturning of the rules. See Leon. Manolopoulos, *Stasis-Revolution-Neoterismos-Kinisis*, Doctoral thesis, Thessaloniki: Vantias 1991, pp. 35, 167 and 1995, p. 25. For a comprehensive analysis of Aristotle's ideas regarding the forms and causes of stasis see mainly G. Michaelidès-Nouaros, *Les causes des revolutions selon Aristote*, L' Année sociologique, 1979, 283-289, George D. Contogiorgis, *Aristotle's theory of revolutions*, Athens: A. Livanis-Nea Synora, 1982 (412), Leon. Manolopoulos, *op. cit.*, 1991 (303) and by the same: *City sick and city healthy*, Thessaloniki: Vantias, 1995, Kostas Kalimtzis, *Aristotle's theory of revolution*, at: Volume dedicated to Professor Kostas Beys, v. 3, Athens: A. N. Sakkoulas/Evnomia, 2003, 2663-2677. For these writers, a revolution breaks out mostly when anger from inequality transforms gradually to hate and enmity (G. D. Contogiorgis, page 21, L. Manolopoulos, page 79, K. Kalimtzis, page 2668) or/and -according to the psychoanalytic approach- to a feeling of 'frustration' (G. Michaelidès-Nouaros, page 284, 287). It should be reminded that according to Gustave Le Bon in his classic work "Psychology of Revolutions", (Translation to Greek by Al. Papageorgiou), Athens: editions Mari (first French edition 1912, with title "La Revolution française et la Psychologie des Revolutions") I.I.3, page 16, hatred, violence, and persecution as consequences of great political and religious revolutions are caused by the intolerance of revolutionaries, for whom the belief/idea which they want to realize comprises the absolute truth, and those who dispute it are avowed enemies. However according to Le Bon (page 17), in the feeling of enmity another element coexists, the one of accumulated and wide-spread dissatisfaction from experienced social misery.

19. Note that it is not enough for inequalities to exist; they need to be recognized and experienced as such by the citizens. The arrogance of the rulers, who like to show their wealth, certainly contributes to this imbalance, as do a lack of channels for dialogue and relief of the intense dis-

test and of revolt to overturn this socially "unjust" situation²⁰. In consequence, the lesser will become equals and superior (1302 a 26). For this reason revolutions are rarer in regimes where the middle class rules (1302 a 14). On the other hand, there are particular factors which contribute circumstantially to the causation of a revolt. These factors have a directly provocative effect on the main cause of revolts; the experienced inequality in wealth and honours of office. Such factors are, amongst others, (1302 β 5): – the extravagance of wealth and honours enjoyed by certain privileged citizens, which attract the envy of others; the arrogance and abuse of power by those in authority; the increase of the number of poor citizens and bad governance of public affairs; the lack of a common racial origin of citizens until they become socially integrated. In addition, according to the kind of regime Aristotle describes, there are factors of a more particular type which lead to revolts (1304 β 5). In democracies, as a matter of fact, the role of demagogues who excite the crowd against the rich is of prime importance. In other regimes, such as oligarchies and aristocracies, the violation of the state's rules and the oppression of citizens by the upper class are major factors. Finally, and rightly so, Aristotle points out (1308 b 31) that in all regimes measures should be taken, in view of the fact that, according to *H. Rackham's* fine translation, "...in every form of constitution it is a very great thing for it to be so framed both by its laws and by its other institutions that it is impossible for the magistracies to make a profit. And this has most to be guarded against in oligarchies; for the many are not so much annoyed at being excluded from holding office (but in fact they are glad if somebody lets them have leisure to spend on their own affairs) as they are if they think that the magistrates are stealing the common funds, but then both things annoy them, exclusion from the honours of office and exclusion from its profits²¹".

9. With regard to the second question, which refers to the possibility of a successful revolt in contemporary society, in each case the answer depends on the particular nature of the rebel forces and the law enforcement agencies in terms of weapons, moral stance and pressure exerted by social needs and expectations. In addition, it also depends on how the revolt is 'handled' by those in power. If the ruling classes avoid a head-on collision with the rebels and adopt a defensive attitude, so that no

satisfaction of citizens. See related analysis by *Kostas Vergopoulos*, entitled 'The lost honour of politics', in the newspaper 'Eleftherotypia', July 4th 2008, page 8.

20. These observations by Aristotle have not lost their value, even if, in the meantime, several other significant theories (political, sociological, psychological and so forth) have been developed regarding the causes of revolt. For more on these theories, see the entry for 'revolution' in the English edition of the electronic encyclopedia Wikipedia, at the web-site <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolution>.

21. See the translation of Aristotle's *Politics* by *H. Rackham*, The Loeb Classical Library, London/Cambridge, Mass: W. Heinemann Ltd./Harvard Univ. Press, 1967, p. 427.

blood is spilled on either side, then the de-escalation and de-fusing of a rebellious situation seems more possible. Yet, there is always the case that this defensive attitude may be taken as weakness by the rebels, who may try to neutralise the law enforcement agencies, or put them under their own control.

10. Subsequently, there are too many insufficiently clear factors to categorically answer the question as to the likelihood of successful revolt or revolutionary movements taking hold in modern societies in general and Greece in particular. However, the prospect of a wave of unrest in Greece in the immediate future can not be ruled out²² if the phenomena of unacceptable property inequalities are not rectified as soon as possible; for most part this is the insupportable accumulation of wealth by the few and the grinding poverty of the many. This is borne out by the following data:

- 5% of Greek taxpayers contribute almost the same tax (4.2 billion euros) as the remaining 95% (4.1 billion euros)²³. These figures give some indication of the gross imbalance in the distribution of wealth in Greece, while at the same time, do not take into account the vast extent of 'formally lawful' tax evasion by

22. It is of interest to note here that in research conducted by the Greek polling company Kapa Research in May 2008, - a mere 7 months before the disturbances of December 2008 in Greece took place - they posed the following basic question: Would it be possible, over the next few years for 'events similar of those which took place in May 68 or in the Polytechnic [November 1973 in Athens] to take place again?' The question was answered affirmatively by one third of sample (33.5%). In answer to the question: 'how probable do you think it is that you yourself would participate in a similar revolt if such a one would occur in Greece in the next few years?', the affirmative answers were just over half the sample, at 51%. Finally, to the question asking which issues could lead to a new 'May ['68]', the problem of poverty came first (68.7%), leaving a large gap between it and other important issues, such as the destruction of the environment (34.9%), high prices (33.1%) and the violation of democratic institutions and freedoms (29%). For a presentation of the findings of this research see *Dimitra Kroustalli* in the newspaper 'To Vima' of May 17th 2008, page A3.

23. These figures were issued by the Ministry of Finance and are the most recently available. For a more detailed discussion see *Eliza Papadaki* in her article entitled 'The state of taxes in view of the elections' in the newspaper 'Ta Nea', August 30th 2009, page 6, and the leader entitled 'The whole truth about taxation', in the newspaper 'Estia', September 24th 2009, page 1. It should, however, be pointed out that according to OECD data, Greece in 2008 was found to be in the worst position as regards income inequality compared to countries of central Europe and Scandinavia, but shows a more positive picture in relation to the USA, Great Britain, Ireland, Portugal and Italy, as well as another four countries - see publication by *Al. Kapsylis* in the newspaper 'To Vima', Economy, October 23rd 2008, page 12. For more on the same subject see the publication by *Panos Tsakoglou* in the newspaper 'To Vima' June 6th 2008, inset 'Vima of Ideas' June 2008, page 9, where there is an interesting special edition on the theme of 'Poverty and Inequality'.

the rich through offshore companies²⁴. In addition, it has been calculated that 141,000 households in Greece, or 3.6% of the Greek population, have property which exceeds 1 million dollars, with indications that this number will more than double (307,000 households or 7.5%) by 2017²⁵. Moreover, according to statements of the then President of the Bank of Greece, N. Garganas, issued on June 10th 2008, wholesale commerce increased its profits in 2007 by an average of 82.1%, the retail sector by 21.5%, with commerce as a whole showing an increase of 43.7%. Due to their wide profit margins, these numbers show that marketplace leaders are significantly responsible for the problem of high prices in Greece²⁶. Severe inequality in the distribution of wealth is also rife abroad, where 40% of the global population survives on only two dollars a day and, at the same time, the "golden boys" (top executives) of Europe's 50 leading companies command salaries approaching 1.2 billion euros²⁷.

- According to recent data (Greek National Service of Statistics/ ESYE), the official percentage of unemployment in Greece, July 2009, had risen to 9.6% from 7% in the same month in 2008, showing a significant rise of 2.5 units in one year²⁸. Of particular concern, however, is the increase of unemployment in the

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24. Regarding the manner in which formally lawful tax evasion is done in practice, see the publication by Thanos Tsiros about offshore companies, in the newspaper 'Kyriatiki Eleftherotypia' of October 18th 2009, inset Economy, page 4 and special edition ('dialogues') in the newspaper 'Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia', August 9th 2009, pp. 18 and 31, with a note by Thanasis Gialketsis on the subject of the tax havens.
 25. These forecasts are included in a joint study conducted by economists of Barclays Wealth and Economist Intelligence Unity – for a presentation of the study see Korina Samakou in the newspaper 'Isotimia', 24-25 May 2008, page 34.
 26. See the newspaper 'Metropolis', June 16th 2008, page 34.
 27. See the publication by Rousos Vranas in the newspaper 'Ta Nea', June 3rd 2008, page 52. Also in the USA, according to data published by the 'Wall Street Journal', the total amount of wages which would be paid out in 2009 to top executives of American banks –and this in the middle of an economic crisis– is not only 20% higher than in the previous year, but also higher than the year before that, which had previously been the highest ever! See the newspaper 'To Vima', October 15th 2009, inset Economy, page 12, entitled 'The revenge of the golden boys'.
 28. For data from the Greek National Service of Statistics (ESYE), see the newspaper 'To Vima', October 15th 2009, inset Economy, page 4. If, however, certain categories of citizens are taken into account, such as those working on a part time basis, then, according to the Labor Institute of GSEE/ADEDY, unemployment in September 2009 might have risen as high as 15.5%. See the publication by Aristos Giannopoulos entitled 'Living under the bread-line', in the magazine 'E', of 'Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia', October 18th 2009, 12-30, and The Institute of Labour, GSEE/ADEDY, Working relations in Europe and Greece, annual report, series 'Reports/Work Relations, Athens 2008.

15 - 24 age group, which now stands at 23.9%, and which is the highest percentage in Europe out of 27 member countries, according to data released by Eurostat. This means that at least one in four persons between the ages of 15 and 20 remains unemployed²⁹.

- More than 20% of the total population of Greece lives below the bread-line on an income of less than 6.120 euros a year or 510 euros per month. This figure does not include groups such as the homeless, Roma, people living in institutions and certain illegal immigrants from non-European countries³⁰.
- By the end of 2007, household loans in Greece, not counting mortgages, comprised 41% of the GNP³¹. In addition, 57.3% of households faced problems with their mortgage payments, 49% of the population experienced difficulties paying off their credit card debt while 68.4% faced similar problems with other types of debt³². These figures are according to data released by the Bank of Greece.

11. In modern societies where, for the most part, people have ceased to be component parts of an effectively functioning society; the future looks bleak. These people may end up being exploited by organized interests, and that includes the mass media, which ~~promote over-consumerism and the pursuit of all kinds of pleasures. Alternatively, they~~ may try to strike out on their own, often venting their displeasure and frustration in acts

29. See web site <http://www.studysmart.gr/article.php?article id=2688>

30. For the most recent data from Greek National Service of Statistics (ESYE), see the report: 'Research on incomes and living conditions 2007', analysed by *Dion. Stampoglis* in his article 'Poverty "drowns" one in five Greeks', in the newspaper 'To Vima', Economy, October 3rd 2009, pps. 4-5. For particular reference to the homeless in Greece, the number of which is estimated at 20,000 - see the publication of *Georgia Dama* in the newspaper 'Eleftherotypia' October 23rd 2008, page 41. For other related articles, see data from research of the Greek polling company VPRC in the newspaper 'Ta Nea' of June 3rd 2008, pp. 1, 3, 8 and 9. At an international level, according to data of the UN Organization of Food and Agriculture, (FAO), around 1.02 billion people -almost 100 million more than in 2008 - lack the provision of a daily meal and suffer from poverty and malnutrition. For more information see the newspaper 'To Vima', October 15th 2009, pp. A16-17 and special four page edition edited by *Ioanna Sotirchou* in the newspaper 'Eleftherotypia' of October 17th 2009, pp. 21, 22, 35 and 36, entitled 'Hunger-Poverty. Mother I am hungry', where she stresses the fact that undernourishment is responsible for 50 to 60% of child mortality world-wide.

31. See the newspaper 'To Vima' May 20th 2008, page 8. For more particular information regarding household loans from consumer loans and credit cards during 2006 see <http://shop.ceps.eu/BookDetail.php?item-id=1559>

32. See the analytical publication in the newspaper 'Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia' inset 'Economy', May 25th 2008, page 13, with a comparative table of Greece and other countries of the European Union (research on over-loaning).

of blind violence, or by resorting to reclusion, and this within a clearly lawless framework, according to Merton's well-known categorization of anomie.

12. But if things do evolve in this way, what, then, is the future of Criminology? Criminology will most certainly widen the goalposts. It will examine those factors which may lead to new forms of criminality, and even filter into penal law, through which, according to well-known theories, criminals are 'manufactured'. Criminology, however, may wish to avoid this vicious circle of 'managing' the criminal phenomenon or it may wish to avoid the recycling of the traditionally established approaches, - biological, sociological, psychological, marxist, integrated³³, and such like. Besides, these approaches can not be incorporated into an homogenised General Theory of Criminology³⁴, at least according to the views of Professor *Giannis Panousis*. Criminology may also wish to avoid a situation of impasse brought about by its taking sides in the use of technological means of repression, even when this contribution aims to rationalise and limit sentencing³⁵. If the difficulties facing Criminology are indeed valid, then there is only one way forward; the way through which the intervention of penal law in regulating social problems is minimised (as *Professor Manganas*³⁶ has rightly pointed out). The reverse is also true: The way through which the interventions which exceed the usual cognitive boundaries of criminology and which are related directly to initiatives of preventive social policy are maximised, and where the creation of strategies primarily for the socially excluded and for vulnerable social groups is implemented. In practical terms this would mean emphasising targets such as better education, exploitation of free time, better chances to find employment, better psychological and social support, and above all, a better quality of life³⁷. A Utopian vision this may well be, but a vision worth aspiring to it certainly is. As Tony Blair put it, 'we are not simply isolated units fighting each other, but

33. For the meaning of "synthetic" (integrated) criminology, as I have laid it out in 1985, see N. E. Courakis, The modern prospects of criminology, in: by the same, *Criminological Horizons*, v. 1, Athens/Komotini: A.N. Sakkoulas, 2005, 51-61.

34. See his work: The role of criminologists, in his collection of studies: *Reflections about Criminology revisited*, Athens: Nomiki Vivliothiki, 2009, 12-53 and mainly page 19 and note 30.

35. See N.E. Courakis, Penal Repression, Athens/Thessaloniki: edition Sakoulas, 2009 (with the collaboration of N. Koulouris), §§ 271, 291, page 337 and 356.

36. See his study *Social Problems and Penal Control*, at: by the same, *The Criminal Phenomenon in Practice*, Athens: Law Library, 2004, 37-66, mainly page 66.

37. Of course these are self evident measures which, however are not taken to the required degree, due to bad management of public money. And this, although it is obvious that the guarantee of a minimum socio-cultural standard of living for the economically weaker is the only effective way to prevent serious social troubles -see *Ant. Karabatzós*, Rational policy against poverty, newspaper "To Vima" of 4 July 2008, inset "Vima of Ideas", July 2008, page 29.

members of a society, of a whole, where every one depends on everybody else, and one benefits from help from another.'³⁸ And of course, this vision can not be realised otherwise but in a society where businesses will aim beyond economic profit to target social profit through 'social business dexterity.'

Can Criminology exceed itself and become pivotal to a social policy for the excluded Person, for a society orientated to People with a capital 'P.'? I believe that 'the resounding yes' to this critical question depends on the human potential of present and new criminologists. It should be admitted that this potential is really 'promising a great deal' at least as much as from the standpoint of knowledge as from the standpoint of belief in social justice and humanity.

38. See newspaper "Eleftherotypia" of 11 May 2007, page 64.