Contemporary Societies in Motion

PIONEERING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODS IN THE STUDY OF DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Edited by

Joanna Tsiganou | Anastasia Chalkia | Martha Lempesi

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH
ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

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Pioneering qualitative research methods in the study of deviance and social control

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Conference Proceedings
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Joanna Tsiganou, Anastasia Chalkia, Martha Lempesi

With
Wellcoming Address by Professor Nicolas Demertzis *(NKUA–EKKE)*
Introductory Comment by Director of Research Joanna Tsiganou *(EKKE)*
Keynote Speech by Emeritus Professor Paul Rock *(LSE)*

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EDITORS' NOTE

On the 27th and the 28th of May 2021, an international scientific conference was organized in Athens, Greece under the title *"Contemporary Societies in Motion. Pioneering qualitative research methods in the study of deviance and social control"*, by the joined effort of the European Society of Criminology (ESC) - Working Group on Qualitative Research Methodologies and Epistemologies (WG-QRME), the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (NCUA) – Department of Communication and Media Studies, the CRIME-LAB of the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE), and the Center for the Study of Crime (CSC – KE.M.E.). The conference took place in times of the Covid pandemic and the restrictive measures of its combating made its organization possible only remotely.

It was thought usuful and critical to address the new dynamics of change within the context of so-called 'liquid' modernity and question whether they have impacted many aspects of social life – including deviance, crime, and social control. Concurrently, disciplines from a wide range of fields including criminology, anthropology, sociology, political sciences, development studies, media studies, and many more, have adapted to these shifts – and have often done so by developing new methods to reveal, interpret and understand both their obvious and hidden aspects. Unsurprisingly, a great many methodological and epistemological issues have been raised by these adaptations, triggering considerable academic debate. Such discussion, for instance, concerns how we may study new forms of crime and deviance – as well as new responses to them. In addition, the changing terms of researchers' engagement, the risks, and ethics of doing research on deviance, and its formal and/or informal regulation, have provoked serious reflection – suggesting reflexivity concerning our own work. Also, the research methods we

use (including ethnography, visual, and participatory forms) are of paramount importance and require further development.

Further, the COVID-19 pandemic has created new challenges for science, society, and policy. Under pandemic circumstances, it is important to ensure that scientific activities will continue their course of bringing freshness to our creativity and thinking. Therefore, the Organizing Committee decided to switch our original conference schedule to an online environment in order to ensure the safe participation of all speakers and attendees, and to comply with global recommendations related to the COVID-19 combating measures.

On behalf of the organisers, the book is introduced by Proffessor *Nicolas Demertzis serving at the time as the President of the* National Center for Social Research (EKKE). It also includes the Key-note speech delivered by *Paul Rock,* Emeritus Professor of Sociology, London School of Economics and the Welcoming Address by Dr Joanna Tsiganou Director of Research at EKKE.

The volume includes papers delivered at the conference which came to our confidence by their writers. We are greatful and thankful for all participants to the event, organisers, presenters and audience. It is worth mentioning that the conference proved to be a unique opportunity to promote qualitative research in the field of criminology in Greece as it was supported by 84 speakers from 39 universities and institutions in Greece and abroad.

Although with a considerable delay due to unforeseen events, we feel that the present volume represents a commonplace of present and future trends in the interdisciplinary qualitative study of crime, deviance and their control, contributing this way to our knowledge and understanding of the crime fields. It is to be noted that all texts produced in 2021 are time specific and their writers' credentials reflect their qualifications as mentioned therein. The volume is structured according to the sessions flow of the Conference.

September 2024

The Editors
Joanna Tsiganou, Anastasia Chalkia, Martha Lempesi

WELLCOMING ADDRESS

Nicolas Demertzis[*]

On behalf of the National Center for Social Research (EKKE), I am happy to welcome you all to this online conference and to declare its proceedings open. It is a really important conference on the way contemporary societies are dealing with crime and social control and the way these issues have to be dealt with through qualitative methods. EKKE's laboratory of methodology and research on crime (under the acronym CRIME_LAB), directed by my colleague Joanna Tsiganou, focuses on collecting and analyzing qualitative as well as quantitative data on crime, deviance and their control. EKKE's CRIME_LAB has been involved in training university students on how to conduct research on criminology and sociology of crime and deviance together with organizing research training and academic seminars.

Having said that, allow me now to step onto some academic thoughts on the occasion of the present conference. I will start by saying that, to my understanding, to qualitatively investigate crime and delinquency –and of course to qualitatively investigate and understand any other societal phenomenon whatsoever–, involves both multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity. By multidisciplinarity we mean that each discipline attempts to explain the same phenomenon from its own viewpoint, resulting in independent theoretical narratives. On the other hand, interdisciplinarity looks at the same phenomena from different viewpoints, but attempts to integrate the explanations and interpretations into a some sort of coherent theoretical account. Over and above multidisciplinarity and interdisciplinarity it might

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* Professor, Sociology Department, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, President of the National Center for Social Research (EKKE).

perhaps be too much to demand for transdisciplinarity. It might even be redundant for transdisciplinarity is supposed to draw together theories, theoretical approaches and methodologies to form a shared and common conceptional and analytical framework. That is to say, that transdisciplinarity points to the formation of a new discipline, resulting to an integrated and unified theoretical paradigm. As any other social science discipline and subdiscipline, criminology itself is largely characterised by internal paradigmatic pluralism, and, in that sense. I am not quite sure if such a new discipline or paradigm coming forth out of transdisciplinarity would be actually desirable or even useful. Personally, I opt for a more pluralistic style of explaining and interpreting phenomena.

Of course, it is easier to claim than to implement interdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity, which by definition are methodologically based on multimodal triangulated approaches, especially, when it comes to the understanding of the social construction of deviance and crime, as well as the formal and informal procedures of social control. In order to get more to the point, I would claim that interdisciplinarity entails the ever-expansion of the field of any investigation at hand –in our case deviance and social control– and in this respect I am happy to see that in your program there are presenters who attempt to get directly to emotions and emotion-driven aspects of deviance and social control, an option –I want to believe– driven by the fast growing sociology of the emotions in Europe over the last 20 years or so.

On this occasion, let me share with you some thoughts on the role of emotionality in justice. Resonating the traditional dichotomy of Reason and Passion, one of the common-sense postulates concerning the delivering of Justice is that emotion is unalterably opposed to Justice and Law. According to this postulate if a legal-juridical issue is to provoke popular rage the harder a court must work to insulate the legal decision from affective influence. Capital sentence is highlighted as a classic example which evokes strong emotions that distort the court's impartial judgement. At any rate, it is held that the legal system is based on objectivity as an unemotional state of being.

Even if one is ready to admit that there is a kernel of truth in this postulate, one has to be equally ready to concede that strong

emotions like guilt, shame, and remorse are quite close to the criminal justice system. Also, disgust and empathy are linked to punishment procedures in tandem with moral values and normative frames of reference. Emotions often underpin people's moral intuitions and judgments about what is just or unjust. Especially in criminal justice processes, offenders, victims and witnesses bring their emotions to the courtroom, judges and juries deal with crimes of passion, and their decisions may elicit public outrage and anger, or vengeance among victims. Not infrequently, offenders feel shame and remorse when they have transgressed the laws and the moral norms, and offences provoke resentment and repulsion. Concurrently, victims as well as offenders prompt our compassion and sympathy. Evidently, then, emotions pervade penal law and the criminal justice system.

More to the point, in criminal punishment the effect of affect is too important to ignore or entirely condemn. On the contrary and on a more general plane, Law has not been blind to the invasion of emotions into its realm. It explicitly grants legitimacy to emotions through legal defences (e.g., crimes of passion), by recognizing particular kinds of behaviour like 'hate crimes', or by restricting the hearing of the victim's statements which might influence the emotions of jury members and judges.

At any rate, however, the complicated and multifaceted role of emotions within different national legal systems does not allow for easy solutions. Experts in the field argue that judges should devise rules to minimize emotional influence; they also argue that only when the limits of law are reached –i.e., where legal rules lose their grip to direct toward just results–, they should leave space for affectivity and recognize that the emotional influence becomes necessary. Yet, what these rules to minimize emotional influence are unless ultimate tacit feeling rules? Judges, juries and lawyers are called upon to regulate their emotionality according to ones' own role: which means that emotionality is already ingrained into justice delivering procedures from the very beginning.

This has been explicitly accepted over the last twenty years, or so, as an aftermath of the affective or emotional turn in social sciences and humanities. A number of pundits argue that a process of 'emotionalization of law' or the 'return of emotions' to penal law

and criminal justice has already spread around, changing the criminal justice system. Distinct emotions like anger, disgust and shame are perceived as barometers of social morality of late modern societies. Among others, this has brough to the fore the issue of emotional literacy which is a skill performed by practitioners working in the criminal justice sector so as to understand their own emotions and work effectively with the emotions of others (offenders, victims, witnesses, and bystanders). As a concept, emotional literacy draws heavily from emotional regulation, emotional intelligence, and emotional reflexivity which all involve self-awareness, self-monitoring, motivation, empathy and sympathy. It involves emotional labour on the part of judges, social workers, lawyers, and other professionals against emotional exhaustion, compassion fatigue, or vicarious trauma due to their exposure to the emotional weight of injustice. To be sure, however, emotional literacy in penal procedures alone cannot be the sole determinant of justice Achieving a just society is premised on a balance between emotional engagement and rational analysis, ensuring fairness, equality, and adherence to legal principles.

Academically speaking, I cannot really see how these newly emerging issues should be adequately scrutinized unless though interdisciplinarity, an important asset and an important resource for all of us in order to make better sociological work, either in criminology, either in sociology of deviance, or on any other area of social and political research.

All in all, on behalf of EKKE I want to thank all and each one of you for taking part in this online conference. I also want to thank the organizers and I am really looking forward to getting the proceedings and benefit from your efforts.

INTRODUCTORY COMMENT

HISTORICAL CRIMINOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Joanna Tsiganou[*]

Introduction

Contemporary societies are indeed in motion the same way they have always been from times immemorial. Contemporary studies on issues of crime control and social change, however, tend to avoid placing our relevant understandings on the historical dimension. On the contrary, much criminological writing tends to generalize about "society", deviance and social control on the basis of contemporary experience alone, usually squeezing individuals into rigid categories, lacking any sense of place or time, or discussing penal transformations "in the act" without much reference to long term processes. This is particularly obvious in the Greek case, where more studies of criminological interest have been produced by historians rather than by criminologists and sociologists of deviance.[1]

I intend to discuss, therefore, the merits of historical criminology in both, substance and method and remind the importance of history

1. See indicatively the studies: Avdela, Efi (2006). *For Reasons of Honor*. Athens, Nefeli, on Honor Killings in Greece in the Greek post civil war society of the 1950s and the 1960s, in Greek, (Αβδελά Έφη, *Για λόγους τιμής*). Also, Avdela, Efi (2013). *Young people in risk. Surveillance, reform and juvenile justice during the after-war period*. Athens, Polis, on juvenile delinquency and its control during the same Greek post-civil war society of the 1950s and the 1960s in Greek, (Αβδελά Έφη, *"Νέοι εν κινδύνω", Επιτήρηση, αναμόρφωση και δικαιοσύνη ανηλίκων μετά τον πόλεμο*).

as well as of histories (stories, official and unofficial narrations produced through memoires, archives and official documentation) not only in shaping collective conscience but also in articulating the *rights and wrongs* in the definition of accepted or deviating behavior and its respective control. I have been convinced throughout my research experience that through narratives as the above one may provide not only useful understandings of social experiences and processes but also important raw materials for the sociology of deviance and its control in both national and comparative contexts. Thus, I have chosen to refer in my welcoming address to the present conference, to the unobtrusive methods and measures, in order to bring to the forefront of contemporary relevant discourse their unique importance and contribution to qualitative sociological and criminological research.

Revealing crime stories and mysteries unveiling the curtains of dust?

Much criminological thinking considers unobtrusive methods as directly removing the researcher from an *interactive* research scene –where interactions, events or behaviors are being investigated– and replacing him or her to a remote research environment. Public archival documents and records represent a celebrated example, since the conditions leading to their production are not influenced by a curious and *intruding* researcher. This way, they avoid the *contamination* that might arise when researchers and research participants confront one another in data collection situations. In the case of archival research individuals are not aware of being tested or questioned and there is almost no danger that anact of measurement will itself serve as a force of change in behavior or elicit role-playing that confounds the data.[2] Being non-reactive, however, as much of the qualitative research, the search by means of documents, records, memoirs, archives, either official or unofficial, either public or private, does not mean that the research act is totally non-interactive.

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2. Nachmias, D. & Nachmias, Ch. (1987). Research Methods in the Social Sciences. Denzin, N. & Linkoln, Y. (Eds). (2003). *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Sage.

Documents are there to be tested for their genuinety and authenticity and their content is ready to be revealed. Archives and records being a *silent* material and, in many cases, hidden or forbidden to the eyes of a researcher it has not been attractive to our colleagues' research endeavors, more so in Greece, where public documents for most of the life course of the Modern Greece State are poorly kept or merely unavailable as "*confidential*". However, more than the *silence* or *confidentiality* argumentation is needed to overcome the absence of archival research culture in the field of the sociology of deviance.

Moving now to unravelling the **silent materials hypothesis** one might be confronted by explanations varying from the non-reactive nature of the materials at hand to the peculiarity of unwanted records and/or discarded archives. Thus, on the one hand the distance of old and new researchers from using material found in the dust of public and private collections and warehouses is often justified as lacking vivid experiences and living narratives of experiences, while, on the other, the materials put to investigative scrutiny are considered merely as "*speechless*", more so in the case of collections to a "reasonable" size which have been considered *as not worth saving*.[3] As also asserted on this latter **destruction or elimination hypothesis** "*the dreadful flood of documents has on many occasions succeeded in overriding their historical importance*".[4] In many occasions and across the world "*the staff of national archives ... experienced... such common problems as an ever-increasing accumulation of records; limited storage capacity; the need to accommodate the interests of posterity and the need to impose economies*".[5] Thus in many occasions it is impossible to decipher the "*voice*" of crime scenes or of official crime controls as among the disposed or ill-disposed materials lay public or official records, Ministers', legislators' or general secretaries' diaries memoires and notebooks, as well as "*events correspondence*".[6] The magnitude of

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3. Becker, H. (2014). 'Where do you stop?' in *What about Mozart? What about Murder?*. Chicago, p. 151.

4. Rock, P. (2016). 'The dreadful flood of documents': The 1958 public record act and its aftermath. Part 1: the genesis of the act, *Archives*, vol. LI, no. 132–3, p. 25.

5. Rock, P. (2017). 'The dreadful flood of documents': The 1958 public record act and its aftermath. Part:2 after effects, *Archives*, vol. LII, no. 134, p. 89.

6. Rock, P. (2017). 'The dreadful flood of documents': The 1958 public record act and its aftermath. Part 2: after effects, *Archives*, vol. LII, no. 134, p. 90.

the catastrophe might be worse when the destruction of records is operated through structured disposition schedules rather than under naïve or accidental occurrences.

Reviewing all the above assertions one might easily deduce an underlying complaint which might be identified as the **betraying the field hypothesis** found in accounts of ethnography also interested in matters of *authenticity* and *distance*. Further counter-arguments could promote a **narratives waiting to be told hypothesis**. For several decades now all those devoted to qualitative research are well aware of the means and ways in bringing life on a text, in order to revive stable and phenomenally still materials providing thus, unique and irreplaceable evidence to our research questions. Especially for the sociology of deviance and its control every story and narrative which may be produced through any source of information is most valuable in order to unmask not only the criminal acts per se but mainly the social reactions to it, the vast world of perpetuating stereotypical perceptions of deviant acts, of perpetrators and their victims as well as of systems of social control. Documents, memoires and diaries so treated, speak the unspoken, the secretly hidden, which might reveal criminal intents, instincts, social circumstances and personality traits, often taken for granted. As well stated, in the world of crime even crime statistics need an elaborate qualitative view in order to improve our understanding of crime and deviance in a given historical moment which is unreservedly and freely offered through archival research. Some scientists have even made valid assertions about a revolutionary reading of crime statistics not as accumulations of numbers but as unique cases since they represent life histories so different among them which cannot be added and criminal acts which do not resemble one another so they cannot be accumulated. Such a reading protects us from the fallacy to treat the same differently and the different all the same as distinct events of personal life are violently pushed under common labels transforming so particularities to totalities.[7]

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7. Frage, A. (2004). The *Flavour of the Archives* (*Η Γεύση του Αρχείου*). Athens, Nefeli.

The challenge of history

Returning to our basic question on how we could study contemporary societies in motion with materials non in motion, the historical dimension comes to assist in that even *stable* materials are produced by socio-historical, political and cultural circumstances which are always on the move. The sociology of crime and deviance as well as criminology have much to learn from the importance of history. As Paul Rock has put it, *"it should not be necessary to make a case for the importance of historical work: all that we do and read as scholars, is after all, ineluctably historical – as Mead once said, this present of which I speak is now in the past; history offers a vast and fascinating test site for unravelling the multitude of ways in which, in Becker's words, people do things together; and we cannot understand the configuration and workings of matters in the present without knowing at least something of their origins and development. The work can, moreover, be perfectly rewarding in its own right. Much of the pleasure of scholarship lies in tracing patterns and structures in the world, and historical research is particularly bountiful. Yet the emergence of an historical criminology has been slow and it has not been easy"*.[8]

While there is nowadays much more convergence in viewing the connection between history and criminology than in the past, forging a closer dialogue between historical researchers working on topics relevant to criminology[9] and encouraging the use of historical resources in research and teaching in criminology globally, contemporary studies on issues of crime control and social change tend to avoid placing our relevant understandings on the historical dimension. To this respect my address may be also read as a protest and a claim on why these two disciplines are not more closely

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8. Rock, P. (2017). *The Place of Historical Work in British Criminology*, paper prepared on the occasion of the 17th Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology, 13-16 September 2017, Cardiff, Wales, United Kingdom, generously forwarded to me by the author.

9. See for example the "Challenging 'Crime'and 'Crime Control' in Contemporary Europe", 17th Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology, 13–16 September 2017, Cardiff, Wales, United Kingdom, Steenhout Iris, 'A framework to trace the changing conceptualization of crime through history Conference Paper'.

co-operating. What some of us would like to see, is a historical sociology of crime and deviance which would be concerned *"with the understanding from within and explaining from without; with the general and the particular; and which would combine the sociologist's acute sense of structure with the historian's equally sharp sense of change"*.[10] It is to encourage this synthesis of what have too often been separate and even conflicting.

Nevertheless, to achieve collaboration, build bridges and avoid controversies between the above disciplines, some standard misconceptions have to be repeatedly waved. For example, any historian who thinks that sociologists and criminologists are all positivists, treating their objects of study as *things* rather than people with ideas and theories of their own, should read some of the work of the interpretative colleagues, phenomenologists or ethnomethodologists, to mention only some of the prominent fields suitable to closing gaps and misconceptions. Further, the idea that *the authorities create deviance* is one shocking sociological idea which may be of use to historians. Another is the Mertonian suggestion that *some social structures exert a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conformist rather than conformist conduct.* Historians and sociologists of crime alike should also bear in mind Durkheim's and Weber's remarks on both disciplines [11]are both complementary and dependent on one another, and both necessarily involve the comparative method. One might say that comparisons are useful primarily because they enable us to see what is not there. Comparisons are also useful in the search for explanations. It was for this reason that Durkheim called the comparative method a kind of *"indirect experiment"*, without which it would be impossible to move from description to analysis.[12]

To comparative and analytical explorations therefore we have a lot to gain from the historical scrutiny over archives and written

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10. Burke, P. (1980). *Sociology and History*. Open University, London, (Edited by T.B. Bottomore and M.J. Mulkay), pp. 30.

11. Citations by Burke, P. (1980). *Sociology and History*. Open University, London, (Edited by T.B. Bottomore and M.J. Mulkay), pp. 31-33.

12. Citations by Burke, P. (1980). *Sociology and History*. Open University, London, (Edited by T.B. Bottomore and M.J. Mulkay), pp. 31-33.

documents, especially in cases where these are not meticulously kept as in the Greek case or in cases their genuine or authentic nature is questioned. Even in our treatment of official statistics of crime data, the particular circumstances generating the architecture of the classification schemes and the labelled categories of crime are of significant importance if we are to move from description to analysis. The mere essence of the statistical archives, the substantial issues behind the aggregates of numbers and values are of critical importance. Apart from the commonly accepted assertion that statistics mirror the effectiveness of social control rather than the crime occurrence these records also indicate narrations of particular life stories always situated in time and place. As stated *no numerical record of robbery is objectively identical with any other, no complaint or lawsuit is recorded in the same way and for the same purpose, no punishment has the same consequences even when imposed on the same place and at the same time. No lawsuit really looks like another, no quarrel upsets the neighborhood in the same way as another.*[13]

In addition to the above, history is important to the exploration of the relationship between legal and criminological constructions of crime and deviance and of how these have changed over time. History reveals that the categories of criminal offence are contingent upon time and place, prevailing social mores, cultural sensibilities, and religious and moral precepts. History also reveals the overarching circumstances under which criminal law becomes "*an engine of governance*". The legal construction of crime and criminalization of practices is one part of the picture of penal politics that criminology has yet to engage with, in any sustained fashion. It has been clear by now that criminalization is not just a matter of legal principle but a politically charged set of decisions that result in a complex set of individual laws by which the state seeks to govern its subjects as well as a matter reflecting the socio-historical and cultural circumstances under which these laws have emerged and been implemented.

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13. Frage, A. (2004). The *Flavour of the Archives* (*Η Γεύση του Αρχείου*). Athens, Nefeli.

A promising case study

Concluding the present address, I tend to discuss, a little further the merits of historical criminology in both, substance and method, depicting as a case study the emergence of the initial penal law in Greece in the early decades of the 19th century while the country was still in a state of a liberating revolution and the society in a state of social transformation and change. Being in danger to be blamed for ethnocentricism I have depicted this example because I have been convinced that it reflects many other similar cases of colonizing forces which have been set to put subordinate countries or nations *to the road of self-government* or more presently to what has been called the *modernisation era.*

I have also been convinced that it is impossible to comprehend penal controls in this country (as in most of the world), without entering to a socio-historical reconstruction of the events that led to their emergence and transformation. For example, it is impossible to understand fully not only the evolution of penal arrangements but also the administration of the Criminal Justice System of the Modern Greek State without resorting to their origins. I have repeatedly argued that certain difficulties relevant to the acceptance of penal laws as well as the administration of criminal justice in this country may be better understood if one begins from the beginning.

Much of penal and criminological writing in Greece considers as the origins of our Penal Law the one introduced by Maurer in 1832 while Greece was entering the grounds of a newly formed little kingdom under the reign of the Bavarian in origin King Otto. Very few are acquainted with the initial Penal Law drafted by the revolutionary Greeks as early as the third year of the revolution against the Ottoman Rule (1823), a document decided and adopted by the Astros National Assembly which also adopted the initial Constitutional Charter of Government.[14] Less than few are acquainted with this document's content and the relevant discussions on its drafting and implementation which have left their footprint upon

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14. However, a celebrated Special Issue includes relevant thorough studies. *Crime and Punishment*, Hellenic Society of Criminology, no 10, 2021.

subsequent developments. It is only with the help of unobtrusive methods, archival research and historical scrutiny that one may gain a good hold of all relevant themes. But why are all of these important?

For once, the elaboration of the Greek Penal Code is a celebrated example of the means and ways a legal regime - as a whole - may be transplanted from one State to another, or others, by means of colonizing forces masked under the more refined terms of enlightened reformers. I do not intend to address here the important question of the cultural and/or structural preconditions, determinants and consequences of legal arrangements destined for one society and implanted unconditionally to another or others, important as it is, neither I shall enter to a discussion of the so-called advantage or the Code Law system over the Common Law tradition, important as it is too. Suffice is to say that the *implantation* technique "*irrational per se*" in terms of the relationship of law and social change, calls for the detection of specific aspects or "*irrationality*" within the Greek Penal law and Greek Criminal Justice System. The most striking irregularity emerges upon examination of the fact that, despite the profound drawing of the Greek Penal Codes and Procedures according to code-based continental systems the much and often contested Jury Felony Courts (a common law inspired tradition) have remained with modifications but still exclusively competent to judge upon serious felonies, including murders. Also, another "*irregularity*" concerns the misfortune of the implementation of the "*capital punishment*" in this country as well as the *guillotine* as a means to accomplish it. The nowadays much voiced in the media rational for the re-introduction of the capital punishment for serious offences should take in careful consideration the fact that *history reads otherwise*. In short, there is no way to attempt to account for these and other aspects of "*irregularity*" of our contemporary penal laws without examining the initial penal law of 1823, its abolition and replacement.

Secondly, it is important to know that the Initial Penal Code of 1823 was given birth by a legislative committee appointed also by the Astros National Assembly, constituted by 9 people, 5 clergymen and 4 civilians with legal background. In a forth-night the Committee came about with a document still admired by its simplicity and clarity from the point of view of the *Purpose of the Law*. More importantly

this legal document which was not drafted by eminent legal experts obtained a well-balanced account between the Common Law aspects in force during the 400 years of the Ottoman Rule, founded in Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Law and the contemporary French Penal Code. The document therefore was well received as in accord with the existing value system and ethical practices as well as the trust people had to French legal regimes based to their acquaintance - as mostly a nation of merchants - with the French commercial law whose practicality was mostly valued. However, the Bavarian legislators were determined to enforce a penal system according to German prerequisites. As a result, new legal documents produced in the early 1830s which came in sharp contrast with the endogenous practices, built firmly and established in people's minds, actions and ideals. The substitution of common law traditional judicial practices by a uniform code - based and state-run criminal justice system was met with widespread reaction which lasted for more than a decade. People were not prepared to accept traditionally valued practices as unlawful behavior (i.e., honorable killings as murders). Neither they were prepared to abandon the jurisdiction of their "*natural judge*" impersonated through councils of "*non so blood thirsty*" and mostly aged notables empowered with exclusive authority to decide upon the necessary retributive measures or to condemn. In addition, people were not prepared to adapt from the traditionally performed mediating dispute resolutions to adjudicating court proceedings.

Concluding this address, I would like to mention one further point. Apart from a more comprehensive understanding of the before-mentioned aspects of our contemporary penal law developments, we also have a lot to gain through the meeting of history with our discipline in understanding the conceptualization of limited trust in our Judge based Court system as an *objective, impartial, independent* system, not controlled or affected by the opinion of others or by any form of *external influence or pressure,* or even Judges' conceptualization in public opinion (a familiar concept to historians) as *repositories of the law, as the living oracles* and *the heart of the judicial process.*

KEYNOTE SPEECH

QUALITATIVE METHODS IN CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH: HOW IT ALL BEGAN

Paul Rock[*]

ABSTRACT

People forget the past, and it seemed salutary and appropriate in such a gathering to reconstruct how qualitative methods first emerged in the criminology pursued by scholars in the University of Chicago of the 1920s and how my generation, studying deviance and control in the United Kingdom, the United States and elsewhere forty years later, constructed a working methodology out of those and other materials that proved serviceable enough for our purposes.

Keywords: *deviance, symbolic interactionism, methodology*

I have chosen to go back to the beginnings to reconstruct a critical, almost certainly *the* critical, prototype of qualitative criminological method, examine the pieces a new, and then reunite them. Where so much has been obscured and distorted, it should be worthwhile to remind ourselves of what our forerunners actually said. Meredith Rossner remarked that people today would find many of the names I am about to cite quite unfamiliar, and that is precisely the point. Many of our ancestors and their work have been obliterated. We have forgotten our past and reinvented our roots.

In rescuing what was said, I shall describe an approach which has had an application wider than crime, deviance and control alone.

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Recall, for example, how Howard Becker, one of its prime authors, applied it principally not to deviation but to the exploration of methodology. medical training, the high school and what he called art worlds; and that was probably the strength and interest of his and others' method –deviance and control being treated, in effect, as features not of a pathological realm, but as just another form of sociation, amenable to a commonplace methodology, and that is the approach I shall also take in trying to recapture it.

That said, there is of course a very special affinity between certain qualitative techniques - the ethnographic method in particular - and research on crime and deviance, especially in the work of those, like Goffman and Becker, who were fascinated by the analysis of everyday social order. It has often been maintained that the constitutive rules of everyday life become visible –or especially visible– chiefly in their breach, when things go wrong, and that is their chief asset to theory and our understanding of the world. Qualitative methodology has long been tempted to turn to the way in which rule-breakers, rule-enforcers and their audiences identify and respond to transgression. At pivotal turning-points, it has been suggested, people may be forced to stand back, review what they have done, rehearse their responses to others, construct identities and lines of action, and frame excuses, justifications and replies. It is then that, as Schutz would put it, one might stumble into awareness and suspend the *epoché* of the natural attitude, illuminating conventions, rules, lines and boundaries. Remember how Harold Garfinkel proceeded experimentally to create what he called breaching experiments to disrupt normal appearances and see how those affected were forced to understand anew how the social world was constructed.

All this attention to sense-making can generate an abundance of what have variously been called accounts, techniques of neutralisation and vocabularies of motive– the narratives integral to the sociology of crime and deviance. It can lead to the kind of exposition which Landesco captured in his recapitulation of the gangster's *apologia pro vita sua* (1929: Ch 10), which informed *The Jackroller* (1931) and *Brothers in Crime* (1938) and, much more recently, Sandberg's presentation of the world-view of the mass murderer, Anders Behring Breivik (2013).

I would never choose to represent a qualitative methodology as an exclusive or always superior approach to the exploration of the social world. Rather, although it is certainly appropriate in particular circumstances, it would be foolish not to treat it as simply one of a battery of approaches which canon occasion serve to complement other methods. The only sensible *caveat* is that to range too widely, to be too eclectic, does tend to make research not only unfocused but also potentially inexhaustible, and one must always pay heed to the principle of parsimony and the question, in Becker's words, of when to stop. One must also recollect that the seemingly solid and objective facts of the social world –the *choses*, social facts or things, of Durkheim– are, as Jack Douglas, David Sudnow, Kevin Haggerty, Max Atkinson, Aaron Cicourel and John Kitsuse and others have told us – the compacted product of people making decisions about what to see, how to see it, what to count, and what to classify. They are both external and thing-like *and* internal and constructed.

I only have time enough to propound one version of qualitative method and I am well aware that there are other techniques which merit quite different and separate discussion. Criminology is bursting with new and not so new variations. Each would require its own exposition, and it is impossible to deal with the mall properly.

Perhaps that is enough of what the sociologist Neil Smelser taught me to call throat-clearing. Let me now look ahead by sketching a little of what is to come: I shall talk about the origins of qualitative criminology, its epistemology, methodology, and methods of analysis and writing, and my starting point will be the origins of what I take to be its most important variant in the work of a first generation of professional American sociologists.

I encountered what I am about to describe first as a research student. I suspect that for most of us our academic careers represent an attempt to unravel the implications of what we learned at that most formative phase, when we embarked on our first major piece of research as doctoral students, our apprentice piece, and we experienced the dilemmas and headiness of confronting how to explore problems at length, alone and often for the first time. My own doctorate on debt-collection, written in Oxford in the late 1960s, was based largely on self-taught methods. It was then a febrile time

– the universities in Britain were expanding rapidly, young scholars were beginning to form a critical mass that was not only distancing itself from an older generation but transforming itself into what might be called an invisible college. We were autodidacts, heavily dependent on what we could cobble together on our own, from our peers and from developments in other disciplines and from abroad, and from America above all. We were to be heavily influenced by what was then the new sociology of deviance, and its reliance on phenomenology, ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism. Having rejected what we somewhat arrogantly took to be the arid ideas of an older age-group, we assembled our own *bricolages* and it was my homespun version of that approach, developed through reading, conversation and in the field, that came to frame my conception of what qualitative method isand how it should be conducted, and that is the method with which I have remained.

The symbolic interactionism which so influenced many of us and which was at the core of our approach emerged as a self-conscious practice only after several decades maturing in the sociology department of the University of Chicago at the beginning of the 20th century. There had been no significant and institutionalised discipline of the sociology of crime and deviance in America or elsewhere before the founding of that department, although it had had its precursors who could not create a lasting tradition of research, training and teaching. What the University of Chicago produced was exploratory, original and innovative. It was organisationally-embedded in a university and a department. It was well-funded. It recruited adherents and developed and transmitted a tradition centred on a loose, almost tacit methodology. Above all, it emphasised the utility of what were often mature research students, many of them men returning from service in the 1st World War, undertaking intensive investigation in the field, and the field itself was typically one of the small social worlds (called 'natural areas') that were to hand, abutting the University: the neighbourhoods where immigrant populations from Poland, Ireland and Italy lived, the Gold Coast inhabited by the rich and the slum by the poor, the terrain of organised crime and prostitutes, the ganglands and the hobohemias of poor migrant workers. It was, in effect, the

mother lode of qualitative criminology. So novel was it, so free of competitors, so embedded in an oral tradition and enmeshed in the practical conduct of empirical enquiry, investigating –in Howard Becker's deceptively simple phrase– how people did things together – that its early adherents professed, perhaps rather disingenuously, not to be aware that theirs was a distinctive doctrine infused with anything like a formal theory. It nevertheless framed, and continues to frame, much that followed under the banner of the sociology of deviance and crime. It was only when a rival sociology –functionalism– emerged at Harvard in the 1930s that symbolic interactionism was given a name by Herbert Blumer who rather deprecatingly called it a 'somewhat barbarous neologism'. Its principal tenet is simple: the 'approach rests upon the premise that human action takes place always in a situation that confronts the actor and that the actor acts on the basis of *defining this situation* that confronts him' (1997: 4).

Underpinning that premise are a number of ideas that were current when interactionism was being forged. There was *idealism*, imported from Germany and filtered through Harvard, which stressed the pervasive importance of consciousness as an organising process in social life. It was said that we do not, cannot, react to 'facts' as they really are (how could we ever do so?) but to our interpretation of them, and interpretation is necessarily both personal and communal. That is our raw material. In combative fashion, Simmel's student, Robert Park, once said that 'The real world [is] the experience of actual men and women and not abbreviated and shorthand descriptions of it that we call knowledge' (in Baker 1973: 255).

Experience, it was said, is never static. It evolves dialectically, forming itself synthetically as thoughts become objectified into seemingly external events and actions that elicit further responses from their authors and those about them. One thinks, one acts, and then one reacts to what has been done. And how one thinks and reacts is consequential. Dorothy and W.I. Thomas's influential theorem was that 'if men define their situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (1928: 572). People may, in other words, be in what might be dismissed as error. They may believe in witchcraft or Satan or conspiracies or creationism or the Rapture, but their

beliefs nevertheless affect their conduct, and they have a causal power as social facts.

That idealism –inherited principally from Josiah Royce and others– was nevertheless to be offset by an empiricism which maintained that people do not and cannot simply create their own world, that, in the logician Charles Peirce's words, 'some things are *forced* upon cognition... there is the element of brute force existing whether you opine it or not' (in Mills 1964: 158). Herbert Blumer put it more succinctly: the world can answer back. And long ago Samuel Johnson was blunter still. He answered the solipsism of Bishop Berkeley that said the self is all that exists or that can be proven to exist outside the mind of God, by kicking a stone and saying 'I refute it thus'. But facts –even the facticity of stones– never simply impress themselves photographically on blank minds. They are always *interpreted*.

Idealism and empiricism together led to the forging of a particular concept, 'the knowing-known transaction', which pointed to the way in which ideas tend to emerge out of the interplay between the problem-solving actions of an observer, on the one hand, and properties of what he or she observes, on the other. An ongoing process knits the two together in an evolving compound.

People, it was said, deal with problems by acting upon them. In so doing, they learn about the world, and reformulate their ideas, ask new questions and pose new answers, until the problem has been solved for most practical or descriptive purposes or boredom or distraction or deadlines intervene. At each step, one will not only learn more about the external environment, but also about his or her place in it -about his or her own, situated identity as an explorer. In that process, to adopt the title of George Herbert Mead's book, mind, self and society become one.

Interactionists further borrowed from Simmel a neo-Kantian metaphor of social forms, an abstract grammar of cognition, to capture what was in play – there was, they claimed, a language or logic of generalizable, relatively context-free patterns or templates operative in social life –conflict, co-operation, hierarchy, career, symbiosis, succession and secrecy being examples– which impose a shared interpretive order on what would otherwise be the unique and ineffable contents of experience. If that were not so, people could

never make sense of the world. Neither could they communicate or cooperate with one another. They would be locked into private subjectivity. And it is the abstract character of forms which explains why their actual contents –crime, deviance and control, for instance– are analytically secondary. A career is a career is a career, whether it is part of the process of becoming a marihuana user or the professional development of a Chicago public-school teacher.

Forms may have all the appearance of objectivity, externality and constraint –and Simmel called them more-than-life– but sometimes people try to transcend them by creating new, apparently spontaneous forms (Simmel's more-life), that may well seem liberating for a while before they almost certainly become ossified, alien and constraining in their turn. It is in that continual dialectic that life moves forward. Simmel looked at it in the context of what he called the tension between social forms and inner needs (1971: 294). Stan Cohen and Laurie Taylor echoed him in their *Escape Attempts* (1978) where people are forever doomed to see their efforts to be liberated from the tedium of everyday life becoming formalised and constricting.

In all this there is a symmetry between how interactionists believe that people behave in everyday life and how they imagine social scientists pursue –or should pursue– research on that life. The two processes are isomorphic, and isomorphism provides research with the reassurance that it is deploying procedures that mimic or resemble the procedures of their subjects. Society is not foreign to us. We are part of it. And, unlike the chemist, astronomer or physicist, and despite all the cautions of those who talk about how false it is to imagine we can enter the life-worlds of others, the sociologist has relatively privileged access to his or her subject-matter. After all, as Weber once said, 'one need not have been Caesar in order to understand Caesar' (1947: 90).

There are a number of consequences: First, social research on crime and criminal justice –or, indeed, on anything else in the social world– is or should be *purposive*, focused, directed towards a problem more or less loosely defined (although it should be recognised that it is an ineluctable and valuable feature of the research process, indeed the end of it, that any problem will be transformed as work progresses). Research is or should be actively *engaged* with the world, not simply

contemplative or passive, because the materials for its satisfactory completion do not reside in the mind of the researcher or in books and articles alone. It should be *interpretive*, deploying *Verstehen* as best one can to enter the lived experience of those whom it studies. It is or should be *emergent* and dialectical, moving stage by stage as new things are learned, obliging one to take stock at every turning-point, synthesising materials in new ways that cannot be predicted at the outset. We should expect always to discover things anew, to be surprised, because matters will be revealed that were never given at the outset. It is or should be *provisional* – after all, the next question, the next answer, may always decisively change what one thinks and knows. It is or should be *situated* – rooted in, and absorbing, its social, historical and biographical context. It is or should be *reflective* and autobiographical because it actively implicates the intelligence of the researcher, an intelligence which can turn back and examines itself and its work as it proceeds. As the pragmatist, Lafferty, once remarked, 'facts are bits of biography' (1932: 206).

The idea of a reflective self is central. It is thought to be bifurcated into subject and object, the self as an observed, situated object, and the self as an observing, relatively situation-free subject. It is constructed, edited, inductive, performative and contextually-bound. It is mediated always by language and the power to isolate and objectify which naming confers. One can be a husband or wife, son or daughter, employee or employer, colleague and friend, and each will elicit different facets of the person. In our case, one can be a deviant, a drug-user, a thief or a police officer. Each is an abbreviation, a typification, a mere glimpse of a larger totality. Each is emergent, reflective, processual and situated. And each depends on the validation of others, because one cannot be a father or mother, a son or daughter, a burglar or a judge, without the collaboration and endorsement of others on the social scene (Cooley borrowed from Emerson to say that each to each is a looking glass that reflects the other that does pass).

The sociation on which that process rests consists in part of attempts to decipher the intentions of the other and, indeed, of oneself, and that entails taking his or her role, trying to see how the other defines himself or herself, the situation and his or her place

in it, and how the other, in their turn, tries to decipher oneself and one's own intentions. It is implicated in Mead's important notion of the significant gesture in which one tries to anticipate the future actions of the other, crafts one's responses to take account of those actions, and imagines how the other will then respond, in a spiralling choreography of readings and counter-readings projected into the future. The significant gesture unites the self and others in the imagination as social life goes forward. We are not, interactionists and others would say, atoms or solitary appraising intelligences, but entities symbolically merged with others in the significant gesture, and that is what makes us irreducibly social. Reproducing all that work may be regarded as one of the first tasks of a qualitative methodology.

To be sure, we have no power to know what is 'really' going on –we have no windows into people's souls– selves, situations and actions can only be understood inferentially, *indicatively* and *probabilistically*, on the basis of our prior experience and a reasonable, albeit possibly fallible anticipation and reading of what others may be thinking. That is the symbolic dimension of symbolic interactionism. But the common sense we deploy in everyday life works well enough much of the time, and it is what we would wish to report, even though, as the work of Goffman demonstrates, things can go wrong and the social world has to offer many little remedial rituals to repair damage when it does occur.

There are obvious conclusions to be drawn from all this. They suggest that research must be tentative, empirical and responsive to meaning. One should be more than a little cautious about any hypothetico-deductive methodology that generates and seeks to test firm propositions formed *ab initio*. Instead of assuming too much comprehension at the outset, it is better to begin by going out into the field with an open and receptive mind to see what exists there. Of course, it is impossible and inadvisable to pretend that one can go presuppositionless into the social world. One can never be a complete innocent. But it is certainly sensible to hope to *learn* as much as one can as one goes about the world. It follows that it is unwise to seek to come to premature conclusions, to grasp for assurance too soon, however uncomfortable uncertainty may be, because that

would lead to tunnel vision, to a freezing of one's ability to respond to new information and new interpretations as they arise. All of us are familiar with the highly propitious sponge-like state that can be reached as we hit our stride and in which every conversation, every lecture and seminar, everything read, seem to trigger new ideas in the mind. The longer that posture can be retained, the better.

All this can be refined by invoking William James' distinction between 'knowledge *about*' and 'knowledge *of* the world', the one being a rough working acquaintance, the otherthe expert and intimate understanding which can emerge only late in the day. One's own opening knowledge *about* the world is undoubtedly useful. It can furnish what Blumer called the 'sensitizing concepts' that point one in particular directions but should not be allowed to prescribe too firmly what one might find when one arrives.

But people's knowledge about the world must also be afforded a special standing. It is our *explicandum*, and it has a facticity and causal authority which sociology can never claim (see James 1949: 30). It is in that sense that social science may be defined as a form of derivative or parasitic knowledge made up of constructs of the second degree. Alfred Schutz put it that the society we study is already preformed before we, the researchers, ever arrive. It is structured by the first order meanings bestowed by people on the social scene, and it is on that structure that the sociologist will strive to impose his or her own meta-structure of second order interpretations. The problem always is to ascertain how well the two orders correspond. Remember how Garfinkel once tried to persuade us that we must recognise the problem that we may be using the rules of draughts to explain a game of chess.

My understanding then is that qualitative methods should seek as their first task to discover, understand and reproduce the logic-in-use of the actors whose behaviour we wish to describe. But if that were all, little of value would have been added. It would be mere reportage. What we can and must also contribute is a series of second order interpretations based on our professional knowledge of other studies; our grasp of the structures and patterns of social life that extend beyond the range of any one participant or situation; and our ability to pose questions unasked by actors on the social

scene – questions that may indeed seem tasteless, tactless, invasive or naïve The whole should culminate in the making of comparisons, similarities and contrasts in ways that insiders cannot or would not choose to do (that was a particular trick, the use of what Everett Hughes called perspective through incongruity, that can disclose underlying, sometimes surprising and instructive differences and commonalities. He once said that 'the comparative student of man's work learns about doctors by studying plumbers, and about prostitutes by studying psychiatrists' (Hughes: 320).

Given all this, it is not at all remarkable that one of the first tenets of much qualitative criminology is that one should seek to ascertain how actors on the social scene confer definitions on themselves, on others, on the situation they occupy and on emerging lines of action. Naming and names are critical events: they stabilise, objectify and make communal what would otherwise be subjective and evanescent. Perhaps the most celebrated and frequently quoted part of its *credo* is Becker's dictum that '*social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance,* and by applying those rules to particular people and labeling them as outsiders... The deviant is one to whom that label has been applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label' (1963: 9). (Emphasis in the original)

However, what Becker did not go on to say, and what is equally valid and analytically important, is that deviants themselves; agents of control; alleged and accredited victims; bystanders and others may also be busy applying labels to themselves and one another in a kind of disjointed concert that drives action on. One of the prime tasks of the qualitative criminologist then must be to chart quite how those processes shape crime, deviance and control over time. And that is why criminology's axis shifted so markedly in the 1950s and beyond towards the study of the social settings of government, the mass media, the police, the courthouse and the prison. Criminality could no longer be treated as a property of the isolated criminal alone.

Perhaps I should now turn to the core application of this approach, participant-observation, the sociologist attempting to enter the field as insider and outsider. There are different variants but Hortense Powdermaker described it nicely when she talked about the social scientist being both a friend and stranger. One becomes a *participant*

because it is only by attempting to penetrate and examine the life-world of others that one can hope to capture the subjective logic upon which it is built, and feel, see and hear a little of it as its inhabitants do. One is an *observer* not only because one almost never be a full insider, but also because one's purposes are always distinct – scholarly, informed, analytical, distancing, generalising, and comparative, seeking to make problematic what others take for granted. It helps in all this to be a little unsophisticated, not difficult for many of us as we venture into new terrain – playing the novice who does not quite understand what is going on, asking ingenuous questions, seeking information which everyone else either possesses or does not wish to possess. Research students are, I think, privileged because they are better able to play this role than established scholars.

One may have to spend a considerable time in the field, seeing what is going on (and, as Becker would say, what is *not* going on), reading what the subjects read, noting, recording, thinking, learning, questioning and gaining trust, before one can replicate something of its logic-in-use and structure, but being ever aware that any description can never be fully authentic or complete because it is an artifact produced by one who is not, after all, an insider with all the insider's aims, problems, competences and history, one who has spent only a relatively short time in the field.

There are supposed to be risks attached to both phases of participant observation. The first is that one will remain an outsider who stays estranged and unenlightened. The other is that one will, as they say, 'go native', and cease to problematize and think as an academic. Students of religion have been converted at evangelical crusades, and students of the police have enlisted. The matter was portrayed in vivid literary form in Alison Lurie's 1967 novel *Imaginary Friends*– modelled on Leon Festinger's 1956 book, *When Prophecy Fails,* where the sociologist-principal ended by leading the millenarian cult (and his colleagues) he set off to study.

There have been efforts to reconcile those two roles but I suspect that they may imply something of a false dichotomy. I have never been able to pretend to be anything other than an interloper, albeit, on occasion, an accepted interloper, never a native or insider, but

one allowed professionally to be curious about what is going on. Visiting a Court every day, the security staff at the door would greet me as if I were their house professor, but they never imagined that I was one of them. It reminds one of what Doc told William Foote Whyte when he tried to meld with the Nortons of Cornerville – 'you are not supposed to talk like that. That doesn't sound like you'.

Entering the field, it becomes evident that the world is almost never laid out as a clear landscape that is transparent to the eye of the expert. To the contrary, it is prone to be a buzzing confusion, and it is easy enough at first to doubt one's powers of observation and one's ability as a researcher. Where that is the case, it is often sensible –where possible– to remain on the margins and see what can be seen, read what can be read, to get some sense of what is before one, before plunging in with maladroit actions and overly naïve or foolish questions. As an onlooker, just about visible, but not too demanding, one can show interest, see who is about and what they are doing and with whom. Listen to what is being said – listening is rare enough in everyday life (recall La Rochefoucauld's definition of a bore as one who talks about himself when you want to talk about yourself). Observe everyday routines. Little by little, any scene should become more familiar. One may then able to identify its occupants, establish who might be worth questioning, what the analytic and methodological problems might be. It is indeed a conceit of people like the authors of *The Hobo*, Nels Anderson (1923), and of *Tally's Corner*, Eliot Liebow (1967), that a failure to detect pattern simply reflects the sociologist's lack of perception rather than any disorderliness of the field itself.

Very often, someone will then emerge, *deus ex machina*, a fairy godmother, to help the forlorn researcher. He or she will be an informant, a helpmeet, a gatekeeper and source of introductions and commentary. William Foote Whyte was helped by Doc. I was helped in the early 1980s in my study of what we used to call SolGen, the Ministry of the Solicitor General of Canada, by an Assistant Deputy Minister; in studies of the Home Office, in the latter half of the 1980s, by the official who was Head of the Criminal and Research and Statistical Departments and ever after in other studies by various key people. One should, of course, be beware of the consequences

of the flood of relief that can wash over one as one turns to such a guide. The informant tends at best to offer only one, embedded perspective. He or she may have special interests in mind when briefing the researcher. Remembering Peter Manning's dictum, that everything should be treated simultaneously as a topic and a resource, one can ask why is one being told all this? How is it structured by the position she or he occupies? What am I not being told? What is one's guide not able to tell? Answering those questions takes one some part of the way to understanding. But it is imperative always to search out others, even if they are not as accessible or friendly as the informant, identifying as many parts of a social setting and as many participants as a reasonable model of process and structure might require, sampling it empirically and theoretically for its contrasts and continuities – not that any are necessarily more valid than any other (truth this side of the Pyrenees, error on the other), but because social worlds are complex and evolving, made up of many situated roles and understandings, and it is only by mapping and co-locating their more significant actors, relations, interactions and standpoints that one can piece together how the whole works over time and how a particular social universe is organised and animated.

It is a good idea at this early point to be omnivorous because one is not in a position to judge with any clarity or foresight what will or will not be useful or relevant later on. The task should be to build up a pile of materials that will, all being well, attain a critical mass whose significance will eventually become transparent. Besides, the collection of data is often such a busy process that one does not usually have time enough calmly to consider, digest or analyse them all. Without fail, it is only when I sit and write that I discover what I may have been seeing all along, and by that time it is often too late. It is only then, in the words of Graham Wallas that I can answer the question 'How do I know what I think until I see what I say?' (1926: 106). And equally without fail I find that, on the one hand, I amassed much too much material and, on the other, I never did ask all the right questions. Final analysis is, in this sense, always something of a botch or a fudge, a matter of making good with what one has at one's disposal and discarding the rest, never a completely-resourced answer to everything.

Time after time it has dawned on me that I omitted to ask some of the most important questions of all. Why I had not done so may at that point look like a mystery, but there is no mystery at all. Only at its conclusion can research reveal what is significant. After all, the owl of Minerva is said always to fly at dusk. And that leads to another, obvious recommendation about the conduct of research: always try to ensure that doors are left open; that one can go back to resolve problems that may occur long after one has quit the field.

Theorising cannot be neatly planned but it will emerge, typically when a critical mass of observations has been established, when one has been brooding for long enough on the meaning of what one has done. It is then that sparks of understanding or illumination appear, often unexpectedly, when one is in conversation or in the field or on a walk or in the shower, and they are sparks that will clamour for attention. William Foote Whyte put it that 'Most of our learning in [the field] is not on a conscious level. We often have flashes of insight that come to us when we are not consciously thinking about a research problem at all' (1951: 510).

Those flashes are the first rudiments of theorising. They cannot be ordered, forced or controlled, but they do offer glimpses of where inquiry should go. They point to lines of search, question leading to question, idea to idea, in a procession that can eventually culminate in a mature theory, although it may also take one up a blind alley whose discovery is equally valuable.

It is at that juncture that the search can turn into a kind of intellectual monomania. *Everything* seems to have a bearing on the problem at hand. Where once little appeared to have been written about it, now everything is relevant. Every exchange is pregnant with implications for what one is doing. One is forever scribbling little notes to oneself lest one forget. The whole universe become Ptolemaic, revolving around one's own little problem. Why, one asks, are people so foolish or deluded wasting their time on anything else? Might they actually be about to pre-empt one? One starts drafting prefaces in the imagination, prefaces which one will or should almost certainly come to regret and reject, lamenting the myopia of others who could not appreciate the overwhelming importance of

debt-collection, or victims of crime, the social organisation of the Crown Court or the significance of dumpster-diving.

Feelings of satiation and a sense of urgency may next prompt one to leave the field. One may, after all, have already begun to formulate answers and draft a text. One may be driven by a powerful desire to write, to spread understanding (perhaps before others get their first). No more is to be learned. Indeed, you may have become an expert, people in the field beginning to consult *you* about what is happening.

Yet quitting the field is not always easy. After all, it is in part a web of social relations in which one has been embedded. It may have become something of a second home where friends are to be found, where exciting and memorable experiences were to be had, where one became animated. And there is another problem: recall that one may have spent time assiduously cultivating people and building relations which are now about to be shed. The researcher who courted others, who always had ample patience and time to devote to them, is now revealed as someone who can no longer be bothered and is in a hurry to be off. And he or she is off to expose what has been learned, often from those who had forgotten why one had been there. It is patent that one has to an extent *used* people (although friendships may remain after the research has been done) (see Davis: 365).

Thereafter can follow a phase that tends to be chastening, a fall from *hubris*, consisting of periods of time spent patiently or not so patiently editing and digesting all those materials so eagerly found. It is inevitably tedious –a clerical job with few apparent immediate rewards– a time spent seemingly out of play, an unwanted interval between the headiness of fieldwork and the absorptions of writing. Yet editing is not mere book-keeping. It is itself a form of preliminary theorising because it demands the generation and application of classifications, structures, taxonomies and connections - the headings and subheadings under which materials are placed coming increasingly to reveal recurrent themes and prefigure final arguments. It is at that point, above all, that one also begins to notice odd gaps, deficiencies, the things not as well covered as they might have been, questions not asked or followed up. One may start to carp a little at one's own past

stupidity and shortsightedness, at the failings of one who thought he knew what he was doing. It may actually not to be too late to return to the field but it is perhaps inevitable that one will proceed to writing aware that one does not, after all, understand everything.

Writing is not necessarily difficult, although I have never been able to do it quickly or without numerous drafts. It is what we are supposed by our calling to be able to do and it too has its dangers. The trouble is that any competent academic can concoct persuasive narratives to make sense of what lies before him or her, and story-telling can easily become a process which is *sui generis*, one in which imagination and mimesis play too much of a role. What has an appearance of truthfulness may not necessarily be true.

For that reason, it is ethical, courteous and prudent wherever possible to return with one's analysis and present it to one's subjects because it is their life-world that one is reporting and one may have got things wrong. And showing subjects a draft can often be illuminating in a different way – what they will say invariably contributes yet another layer to analysis. Of course, insiders may have died; they may feel they have done enough and are unwilling to do more; they may be too busy, bored or baffled to give proper attention to what one has written; they may be too polite to contradict one; they may be converted by one's description of their doings; but I have generally found it salutary to listen to them (Canadian civil servants were, for instance, incensed when I described them as if they were English officials, and that was an important corrective. They were not at all abashed about being portrayed as seeking to develop their own policy goals instead of merely serving their political masters in disinterested fashion as their English counterparts are supposed to do).

At the same time, it would not do to accept what one is told at that stage as the final verdict on an account. It is only one voice, a lay voice reflecting perhaps a single position in a complicated whole, and it should be balanced or qualified by other voices from other positions. But what is said will almost certainly help to construct a more densely-textured analysis, what the anthropologist, Clifford Geertz, called thick description.

Perhaps I may be allowed to conclude in poetic vein. Each social world does seem to have its own distinctive logic-in-use or aesthetic,

and once one believes one has cultivated an ear for it, once one detects the major patterns, a certain pleasing lucidity may have been achieved. That logic-in-use is what links together different acts, people and processes, giving them coherence, intelligibility and predictability, driving them on. It is what Bittner once called their principle of unity. Research in this guise may become a little like the quest for the line of beauty, the search for the organising aesthetic at the heart of things. Recall what Crick and Watson said about the double helix, they would know the structure of DNA because it would be beautiful. Poincaré said much the same about mathematics. Ultimately that is probably represent an indefensible test of success, but it is intuitively convincing, a kind of Keatsian test where beauty is truth and truth beauty. Knowing that aesthetic, that sense of the musicality of the social world, and being able to convey it to others is, for me, one of the chief ends of research. To conclude, paraphrase and summarise, criminologists have only tried to change the world. The point is to interpret it.

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EXPLORING THE NON-IMPLEMENTATION OF ART. 12 CRC IN GREECE: THE CASE OF UNACCOMPANIED MINORS IN DETENTION

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ABSTRACT

In the past decade, the numbers of migrant populations arriving in Europe have increased significantly. During this time, Greece is often referred upon in the literature as the path towards a better future for those in search of international protection, including unaccompanied minors (UAM). Starting from the moment of irregular entry in the country, UAM are to be protected until they are further transferred to child-appropriate hosting facilities. However, despite the recent advancements in the national framework, Greece has so far shown its systemic deficiencies by repeatedly placing UAM in detention, thus resulting to minors being exposed to numerous human rights' violations. Hence, critical issues are hereby raised in the area of safeguarding the rights of UAM under the scope of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Given the unique scope of the applied measures, are the rights of UAM protected during detention? More specifically, to what extent are detained UAM provided with the right to express their views? In an effort to address these questions and promote the rights of UAM entering the country in search of refuge, this paper will explore the positionality of UAM within the national context in Greece; place emphasis on detention procedures; and focus on the need for Art. 12 CRC to be correctly applied in their favour.

Keywords: *unaccompanied minors, detention, Greece, UNCRC, right to be heard*

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Introduction

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees defines unaccompanied migrant minors (hereinafter UAM) as children below the age of 18 who have been separated from both parents and are not being cared for by an adult, including a distant relative, who, by law of custom, is responsible to do so (1994: 121; 2004, hereinafter UNHCR). Based on their background and the unique aspects of their status, both on a legal as well as on a socio-political level, it has been widely highlighted in the literature (e.g., Goodman, 2004; Thommessen, Laghi, Cerrone, Baiocco & Todd, 2013; Thommessen, Corcoran & Todd, 2015; Papadopoulos & Pycroft, 2019) that UAM may well be one of the most vulnerable groups of individuals among those who are in the process of seeking safety and protection in foreign countries, especially when this particular group is compared to children and youth who are accompanied by parents, relatives, caretakers or even guardians.

Currently, the majority of third-country nationals crossing the national borders of Greece in an irregular manner (i.e., with no valid legal documents in hand) are apprehended promptly at arrival and they are subjected to detention procedures, which is a process that is often followed by a decision for deportation to their country of origin, according to the applicable legal provisions. In the case of UAM, however, minors are to be subjected to a protective context pending referral to suitable accommodation, whereas detention is allowed only under specific circumstances, namely only as a measure of last resort and only if less restrictive measures cannot be implemented instead.

According to the legal context in Greece (Act 4636 of 2019, as amended by Act 4686 of 2020) UAM detention can only occur for the shortest period of time, namely for twenty-five days, before minors are assigned to specialised organisations or guardians. This confirms the need for the minors' best interests to be protected at all times, according to Art. 3(1) of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989, hereinafter CRC), according to which, '... *In all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, courts of law, administrative*

authorities or legislative bodies, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration'. In fact, upon arrival in the country, UAM are by law to be subjected to an overall protective context, so that their needs are covered in the most appropriate manner, i.e., in child-friendly locations, originally designed to be a transitional measure until long-term accommodation becomes available.

More specifically, national authorities are expected to ensure that unaccompanied minors are placed in special accommodation centres, or in any other facility that is suitable to host minors (originally Art. 32(3) of P.D. 141 of 2013, as replaced by Art. 32(4) of Act 4636 of 2019). Unfortunately, though, in the last decade Greece has proved unable to provide UAM with such units promptly at arrival. As a result, the protective context that UAM should have been provided with was often replaced with detention practices, which led to minors being subjected to highly inappropriate conditions overall. Consequently, critical violations were caused in the area of children's rights, under the scope of the CRC provisions.

Based on the above, this paper will focus on the socio-legal status of UAM in Greece, to which end it will start with an analysis of the terms *unaccompanied minor* and *separated child* and a brief discussion will commence on the element of vulnerability that characterises this particular migrant population. Following the latter, the Greek context will be elaborated upon and detention practices for UAM will be looked into as per the respective provisions of the CRC, whereas references will also be made to the national policy, including the most recent developments on the matter. The analysis will be contextualised within the existing lack of respect to Art. 12 CRC in favour of detained UAM in Greece, whereas consideration will be given to the minors' need to express themselves concerning the matters that affect them upon arrival in the country. A summary will be provided in the conclusion along with suggestions for host countries that temporarily host UAM seeking international protection to take the first step towards improving their reception practices, as well as towards facilitating the positive adjustment of the CRC provisions within their national frameworks.

Identifying unaccompanied children as vulnerable

According to the literature (e.g., UNHCR, 2013; 2014; Vervliet, Rousseau, Broekaert & Derluyn, 2015), migrant minors and adolescents below the age of 18 years represent almost half of the worldwide migrant populations, with the majority of them being unaccompanied, i.e., separated from their parents or set legal guardians, making up an estimated 31% of the total world population. However, the term *unaccompanied minors* should not be confused with the term *separated child*, which also refers to children within the same age frame, albeit separated from both parents or from their previous legal or customary primary caregiver and accompanied by or living with extended family members (e.g., UNHCR, 2004). For this reason, in order to correctly categorize migrant minors on account of their status upon arrival, UAM are those individuals who enter a host country on their own or are left alone as soon as they cross the national borders of the country (European Council, 2013), whereas *separated* are those individuals who are usually accompanied by a sibling or a distant relative.

In either case, migrant children most commonly flee from their countries of origin in an attempt to escape warfare activities or even persecution, the latter often being interrelated to ongoing political conflicts, their aim being to acquire international protection abroad, as depicted in the relevant provisions of the Geneva Convention (1951, hereinafter Convention).In fact, past research has shown that minors originating from areas characterised by instability are increasingly becoming victims of abusive behaviour – see e.g. the Graça Machel Study (United Nations General Assembly, 1996). For this reason, scholars (e.g., Derluyn & Broekaert, 2008; Derluyn & Vervliet, 2012) and human rights instruments (e.g., CRC; European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2010; European Migration Network, 2010), have strongly supported that UAM are in urgent need of special assistance at all times.

This involves adequate care at arrival in host countries, including effective and child-friendly reception procedures, combined with efficient socio-legal support with regard to every matter that affects them, including but not restricted to navigating asylum procedures

(Vervliet et al., 2015). Hence, UAM are by definition considered to be particularly vulnerable and their increasing prevalence in the European continent increases their vulnerability (e.g., UNHCR, 2013), especially in times when Greece has been referred upon as one of the safest routes towards the European continent (e.g., Papadopoulos, 2020).

Exploring the Greek context

As discussed earlier, both the CRC as well as the national framework in Greece require UAM to be transferred to special accommodation units as soon as they arrive in the Greek territory, so that their needs are properly met (Papadopoulos, 2021). Nevertheless, despite the fact that in most cases UAM arrive in the European continent and apply for international protection to which they are entitled under the respective provisions of the applicable law, it has been supported by scholars (e.g., Bhabha &Young, 1999) that international jurisprudence has repeatedly neglected their interests in the past. This is caused mainly due to the fact that neither the Convention nor the CRC address in detail the exact circumstances and conditions under which children are in need of special protection.

When it comes to Greece in specific, the law does not differentiate adult asylum seekers from minors with regard to issues concerning the illegal entry in the country (Papadopoulos & Pycroft, 2019). In fact, the measures that the national authorities had chosen to apply in the recent past (e.g., Skordas & Sitaropoulos, 2004; Fili & Xythali, 2017) confirm the repeated inability of the State to address the essential requirements of those who are in need of international protection. This was exacerbated by the excessive use of detention practices towards UAM (Papadopoulos, 2020), despite the rather straightforward position of the Convention on the matter, specifically stating that asylum seekers are not to be prosecuted for illegal entry in a host country and that legal penalties may be imposed only after an application for international protection has been definitively rejected.

Moreover, in the case of UAM, the Greek Ombudsman (2006) has strongly argued that '...*unaccompanied children seeking asylum should*

never be detained for entering the country illegally'. Additionally, the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (hereinafter Committee) has concluded that '...*detention cannot be justified solely on the basis of the child being unaccompanied or separated...*', and further urged Member States to '...*cease the detention of children on the basis of their immigration status...*' (2005: 61; 2013: 78).

However, until recently, reality in Greece dictated otherwise. More specifically, when UAM entered the country in an irregular manner, they were being placed in detention facilities almost routinely. Hence, detention most commonly preceded the expected protective context, as referred upon, despite the calls made by the Greek Ombudsman (e.g., 2003-2011; 2016) for detention measures to come to an end, thus confirming that such practices are a clear violation both of the CRC, as well as of the domestic legislation (Papadopoulos, 2020).

Today, after years of applied detention measures and following the said calls by the Greek Ombudsman for a complete ban on the detention of minors, in November 2020 Greece introduced a new era in the national legislation concerning the current prison system, followed by what is widely known as the 'abolishment of protective custody' for UAM. In fact, according to Art. 43 of Act 4670 of 2020, UAM will no longer be placed under *protective custody* procedures due to them being deprived of safe or known residence, as originally stated under Art. 118 of Presidential Decree 141 of 1991.

In practice, the new legal framework stipulates that if UAM are located in any part of the country, the competent Ministry along with national authorities shall be informed promptly so that UAM are referred to child-friendly and suitable hosting facilities. The same process would apply for third-country nationals or stateless persons who are recognised as UAMs upon the completion of all necessary reception procedures. Furthermore, in an effort to assist towards this direction, the Ministry of Migration and Asylum publicly committed to referring all UAM located in police stations and identification centres to appropriate accommodation units located in the mainland, as well as taking all necessary steps so that UAM are registered as such as soon as they enter the country in an irregular manner.

In light of these announcements, a network of organisations was recently set up on a State level, along with a national mechanism that accepts referrals by every stakeholder or private entity. The objective of the latter is to take all necessary actions so that homeless UAM or those living in precarious conditions are securely transferred to emergency hosting structures, where individuals would receive psychosocial support, interpretation services and medical aid, pending referral to either long –or short– term accommodation units.

However, even though the 'abolishment of protective custody', as recently introduced, is a promising improvement to the current national context, certain issues remain unresolved when it comes to detention practices for UAM. Especially as detention is a measure that may still apply by law, albeit under specific circumstances, despite the wide international criticism that Greece has received on the matter (Papadopoulos, 2021).

This raises further questions, especially due to the existing numerous legal provisions that focus on the issue of safeguarding the rights of UAM both upon arrival and during detention. Thus, at this point, emphasis will be particularly placed on the importance of the right to be heard in this context, as enshrined in Art. 12 CRC.

Applying the right to be heard

The CRC was originally adopted in 1989 by the United Nations General Assembly and put into force in 1990 (Committee, 2000). According to Jupp (1990), the formation of the CRC is considered to be the result of long efforts towards the creation of a legal instrument which would focus exclusively on protecting the human rights of children (Hammarberg, 1990) and promoting their legal interests alongside their rights (Goldson &Muncie, 2012).

Among other provisions, the CRC aims to ensure that children have the right to express themselves freely concerning the matters that affect them in any way possible, which is enshrined in Art. 12 CRC. In detail, para 1 states that '*States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given*

due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child'. This confirms that regardless of age, the CRC seeks to protect the child's personality overall, which is achieved by indirectly suggesting that if the children's views are expressed and respected in a free manner, this will certainly have a positive outcome and impact on any future decisions that may be taken in favour of children.

It becomes obvious that Art. 12 CRC encompasses the thesis originally supported by Krappmann (2010) that '*...although children cannot make decisions for themselves on many issues, they have the right that they are heard...*'and that their views are taken into consideration during the decision-making process, especially when these decisions have immediate effect on the status of children. In support of the latter, Parkes (2013) argues that the right of the child to be heard is considered to be a core right of the CRC and sets the ground for other CRC provisions to be effectively put into practice in favour of children, thus agreeing with Hodgkin and Newell (2007) on the grounds that Art. 12 CRC is a substantive procedural right. However, this cannot be guaranteed in every scenario. Especially in the case of UAM, certain issues regarding the correct application of Art. 12 CRC still seem to emerge in the process, in spite of the fact that according to Bhabha and Young (1999), Art. 12 CRC imposes '*... procedural responsibilities on those adjudicating asylum claims*'.

This brings us to para 2 of Art. 12 CRC, according to which '*... the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law*'. Hence, it becomes obvious that Art. 12 (2) CRC provides all the necessary information concerning judicial and administrative proceedings that affect the child, thus confirming that the opportunity *to be heard* refers to the idea that children can make use of this right if they so wish.

The latter has been repeatedly brought up by the Committee under General Comment 12 (2009), which focuses on the fact that efforts still need to be made, in order to ensure that children are eventually '*...enabled to express freely, and in her or his own manner, views and concerns regarding her or his involvement in the judicial process*'. This confirms that it lies on the national authorities' ability

to overcome the implementation difficulties of Art. 12 CRC in order to apply the provision accurately. However, even if this matter is resolved, consequential applicability issues would still prevail.

Concluding the above, when it comes to the case of detained UAM in specific, protecting the best interests of the child principle (under Art. 3 CRC), alongside the right to be heard (under Art. 12 CRC), becomes an integral part in the process of sharing all the information that minors may require so that they are properly informed about all the issues that affect them. Especially with regard to asylum proceedings, the Committee (2009: 124) strictly pointed out that refugee children must be provided with '*all relevant information, …in order to make their voice heard and to be given due weight in the proceedings*' and that all barriers should be eliminated, so that children can be heard '*… without limitation …*' as regards the judicial proceedings that may affect their status (2009: 32-34).

Hence, to provide detained UAM with the ability to express their own views and opinions at any given moment following their irregular entry in the host country, should be considered as being in compliance with Art. 12 (2) CRC. However, in order to effectively apply Art. 12 CRC is a process that depends entirely on the domestic policy of host countries, coupled with proper monitoring practices performed on behalf of the State. Following this train of thought, when it comes to UAM detention in Greece, the current state of affairs undoubtedly confirms that Art. 12 CRC is not being applied in favour of minors (Papadopoulos &van Buggenhout, 2020). Arguably, it is the country's inability to abide by Art. 12 CRC that corroborates McCafferty's (2017) opinion that the lack of opportunities provided by the State so that minors would be allowed to express their views freely, poses a '*…direct contradiction to the aspirations of safeguarding and human rights legislation and guidance*'.

That being so, the correct application of Art. 12 CRC within the legal framework in Greece remains to this day an unsolved matter, as the current context does not make any reference to the issue at hand whatsoever. Furthermore, UAM are eventually rendered unable to express themselves openly concerning the matters that affect them, as stipulated under para 2 of Art. 12 CRC, including the procedures that follow their irregular entry in the country.

As a result, UAM detention remains significantly unchallenged, which consequently leads to the obvious conclusion that the path towards safeguarding the rights of UAM in the most effective way would only be possible through the accurate implementation of Art. 12 CRC within the national policy and practice.

Conclusion

It is a true fact that Greece still suffers from severe systemic deficiencies that do not allow for the CRC to be properly incorporated into the national framework, despite the recent ground-breaking amendments (Papadopoulos, 2021) that aim to restore the country's compliance with the existing European Directives on the protection and promotion of children's rights in the context of migration, as discussed earlier. More specifically, the relationship between UAM detention and Art. 12 CRC remains dramatically under-researched, thus practically keeping UAM quiet. Therefore, besides the protection that UAM are entitled to by the host country, what should also be expected is for them to be provided with the ability to express their own views as openly as possible regarding all the matters that affect them.

However, to create a safe environment where the rights of UAM are adequately protected, is a demanding process that should be initially based on the inauguration of a more efficacious legal framework, which would set the ground for positive adjustment and integration of CRC provisions in the national policy. Most importantly though, efforts still need to be made so that detention is no longer viewed as a viable accommodation alternative for UAM entering the country in an irregular manner. Such an advancement in the national context would be achieved with the establishment of an improved referral pathway which would allow for new and effective policies to be introduced in favour of the child's best interests both at arrival as well as throughout the administrative steps that minors may take as international protection applicants. This will have a positive impact on decisions being taken in favour of UAM, whereas detention will remain off the radar when reception procedures are applied. After

all, it is only by having the minors' opinions heard and respected that will allow for a path to be carved in the direction of reconstructing the national policy in an effective manner and implementing the CRC within the Greek legal context correctly.

Funding

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ONLINE DISSEMINATION OF FAKE NEWS – REFLECTIONS AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PRACTICES AND LIMITS OF PREVENTION

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ABSTRACT

This article addresses the topic of fake news prevention. It approaches it from the perspective of crime prevention by looking at legislative and situational measures. The authors explain that this criminal behaviour is by no means new, but has changed recently with the rise of social media and the frequent use of the term fake news by politicians and mainstream media. So a reconsideration of the phenomenon in an era of network societies is warranted. This paper recognises the importance of dissemination of fake news in the above context and the need to combat this contemporary online harm, while at the same time critically analyses the existing legislative and non-legislative mechanisms to prevent the dissemination of fake news or mitigate their effects. The authors take an international perspective in their analysis of legislative efforts and also discuss the endemic limits/ barriers related to international harmonisation, but also other important issues such as the protection of fundamental rights, the crime displacement and the difficulty for the law in this area to

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keep pace with technological developments. Finally, the paper makes recommendations to increase efficiency in the fight against the dissemination of fake news online by taking a multimodal approach that combines the strongest responses in a network of mutually reinforcing measures to address the problem holistically, as is appropriate in contemporary networked societies.

Key words: *Fake news, preventive measures, international harmonisation, legislative and situational measures*

1. The general outline – concerns regarding the prevention of fake news on the internet

The phenomenon of fake news (Shu et al., 2017; Zaryan, 2017: 6 & 61; Gu et al., 2017) or "hoaxes" (*Hoax*, 2023)[1] has been addressed by researchers from various perspectives related to different topics such as why and who falls for fake news, how can the law regulate digital disinformation and how governments can regulate these phenomena, the challenges to democracy, the impacts of fake news etc. (Altay et al., 2022; Marsden et al., 2020; Jungherr & Schroeder, 2021; García et al. 2020).

The first definition of fake news comes from Allcott and Gentzkow (2017) and refers to news articles that are deliberately and demonstrably false and could mislead readers. Subsequently, other definitions were provided in the literature, but all agree that fake news is false news (i.e., news that does not correspond to the facts). More recently, Nakov (2020) reported that the term fake news has different meanings for different people, and for some politicians it even means "news I do not like". Hence, there is still no agreed

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1. The term hoax is used in English to describe something fake, and it seems to come from the "magic" words "hocus pocus" (a phrase similar to the phrase "abra cadabra" most commonly used in our country). However, urban legend seems to be more accurate, as a hoax is actually a reputation, a legend that "travels" and spreads around the web. A hoax is a false (Zubiaga et al. 2018) or inaccurate (Zannettou et al. 2019) intentionally fabricated (Collins et al. 2020) news story used to masquerade the truth (Zubiaga et al. 2018) and is presented as factual (Zannettou et al. 2019) to deceive the public or audiences (Collins et al. 2020).

definition of the term "fake news" or shared common understanding and approach to. Moreover, we can find many terms and concepts in the literature that refer to fake news such as 'disinformation' (false or misleading content that is spread with an intention to deceive or secure economic or political gain, and which may cause public harm) (European Commision, 2018 April 26[2]; Bontcheva & Posetti, 2020; Fallis, 2015; Khan, 2021; Tudjman & Mikelic, 2003), 'misinformation' (false or misleading content shared without harmful intent though the effects can be still harmful) (European Commision, 2018 April 26; Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017) and 'malinformation' (Wardle & Derakhshan, 2017; (Santos-d'Amorim & Fernandes de Oliveira Miranda, 2021).[3] Since 2020, the new term "infodemic" was coined, reflecting widespread researchers' concern (Gupta et al., 2022; Apuke & Omar, 2021; Sharma et al., 2020; Hartley & Vu, 2020; Micallef et al., 2020) about the proliferation of misinformation linked to the COVID-19 pandemic. There is also, a notable disagreement in both the research literature and policy circles about the classification of the term fake news (de Cock Buning 2018; ERGA 2018, 2021), as some researchers consider fake news as a type of misinformation (Allen et al., 2020; Singh et al., 2021), others as a type of disinformation (Bringula et al., 2022), while others associate the term with both misinformation and disinformation (Wu et al., 2022).

However, despite all these issues, it is crucial to understand that the phenomenon of fake news has taken new dimensions in the digital age (Zimdars & Mcleod, 2020).[4] Indeed, it is said that we are experiencing an era of information wars (Stengel, 2019; Guadagno & Guttieri 2021), and information pollution (Meel & Vishwakarma 2020), in which governments around the world strictly regulate

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2. The Commission's definition of disinformation excludes misleading advertising, reporting errors, satire and parody, or clearly identified partisan news and commentary. Unlike hate speech or terrorist material, for example, false or misleading information is not illegal on its own.

3. Malinformation does not always mean dissemination of false information. Malinformation refers to information that stems from the truth but is often exaggerated in a way that misleads and causes potential harm.

4. Typical is the case of the "Pizzagate conspiracy", a scandal based on fake news which went "viral" in social media by influencing the US political scene.

information on social media in order to combat fake news (Vese, 2022). And although it is not a new phenomenon (Kaminska, 2017; Pantazopoulos, 2016)[5] and the majority of researchers who have dealt with the issue state that fake news has always existed as a social/communicative phenomenon (Darnton, 2017; Panagopoulos, 2018) However, the current discussions about fake news reflect a new and rapidly evolving communications landscape, due in part to innovative technologies that enable the dissemination of an unprecedented amount of content at unprecedented speeds. Navigating this modern and qualitatively different media landscape and ensuring that it promotes, rather than undermines, the protection and promotion of human rights and international peace and security is one of the most important challenges of our time that underlines the growing need to discuss and critically analyse existing prevention practices and relevant attitudes (Alexiadis, 2011: 280).

2. The history of information disorder

In order to achieve the required clarity in our working hypothesis, it is important to analyse the specific problems and their parameters in which preventive practices are called upon to respond, in the present socio-historical context ['digital age' (Beck & Hughes, 2013) 'information society' (Webster, 2001) 'network society' (Castells, 2009) and so on].

The phenomenon of fake news has become crucial in the course of the 'digital revolution' that began in 1980 and continues to this day (Encyclopedia, Science News & Research Reviews, n.d.). Ulrich Sieber (1998: 192) refers to the worldwide changes that took place at the beginning of the aforementioned revolution and emphasises

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5. A typical case of "fake news" with a financial motive, which has been handed down historically, relates to Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo on Sunday 18 June 1815. The banker Nathan Rothschild in London had a direct economic interest. So, he spread the news that Napoleon had defeated Waterloo. As a result, the stock market collapsed and Rothschild began to buy. By the time the truth was revealed in London, two days later, he had multiplied his fortune (according to a statement by the journalist Makis Provatas in the article by G. Pantazopoulos).

that information has since been regarded as an autonomous good; an autonomous value. For this transition to the information society, to which Ulrich Sieber refers, Jean-François Lyotard (1984: 5), states (in the late 1960s) that *"…the nation-states will one day fight for control of information, just as they battled in the past for control over territory, and afterwards for control of access to and exploitation of raw materials and cheap labor. A new field is opened for industrial and commercial strategies on the one hand, and political and military strategies on the other"*. In addition to the criminologists who approach the phenomenon and are primarily interested in the connections between the new technological achievements and the changes in the field of deviant/criminal behaviour (Melossi, 2000: 21), the analysis of communication specialists places disinformation in the broader context of information disorder (Shu et al. 2020c; Wardle 2018; Goldberg, 2018: 417; Wardle, & Derakhshan, 2017). Therefore, the critical importance of disinformation and the need for effective restrictions thus arise directly from the immense importance that societies have attached to information, what Lyotard (1984: 7) calls the "computerisation" of societies.

Since the 1950s and 1960s, societies have existed with the fundamental aim of optimising the collection, storage, processing, evaluation, dissemination and distribution of information. Over the years, however, they have become increasingly complicated and interconnected, thanks to the emergence of new technologies such as the Internet (Afuah & Tucci, 2003), new forms of energy and other digital media, representing a profound technological reorganisation that we call the 4th industrial revolution (Makri, 2017) also called the era of AI (Sahai & Rath, 2021). It is the next phase in the digitization of the manufacturing sector, driven by disruptive trends including the rise of data and connectivity, analytics, human-machine interaction, and improvements in robotics (*What Are Industry 4.0, the Fourth Industrial Revolution, and 4IR?*, 2022). From public sector organisations and government agencies to financial institutions, private companies, not-for-profit organisations and ordinary citizens, all rely on the information technologies they use, not only to compete, but more generally to function in modern societies. David Wall (2008: 6) also speaks of "digital convergence", referring

to the ability of different technological devices (such as telephones, televisions and computers) to provide digital types of services.

The aforementioned point of view should not escape us, as it is a crucial observation for the topic we are dealing with: the ability of the Internet to be an equal provider of information, leading to a partial break with the established/traditional ways of creating, distributing and using information. Younger generations in particular (but not only them) prefer to get information from online sources, relying almost exclusively on mobile devices and social media posts (Shu et al., 2017), while traditional mass media journalism or academic articles are gradually receiving less attention.

Nevertheless, digital technology is also a suitable tool and a favourable environment for the commission of crime (criminologists are familiar with the term "dual-use problem" (Katyal, 2001: 1005). Indeed, many scholars note that the use of information systems by criminals is perhaps the most important challenge facing information societies (Kaiafa-Gbandi, 2007: 1059; Tsagkatakis, 2015: 2).[6] In view of this, prevention procedures must take into account the parameters resulting from the criminal use of new technologies and the Internet in general. Regarding disinformation specifically, it is also necessary to analyse whether its transfer to a digital environment is merely a qualitative change/change of context or whether it is accompanied by quantitative variations/ intense differences, so that we can say that the growing demand for "fake news" could be a by-product of faster news cycles and short messages (characteristics of social media, together with the handling of news production as if it were a business matter and not a public task). Furthermore, the use of bots, a network of hacker-controlled, internet-connected devices, in the dissemination of fake news makes

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6. Michael Tsagkatakis notes that the World Economic Forum ranks cybercrime among the top 10 threats to our planet and that the UN, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the G8 and G20, NATO and its partners in Asia and Africa have taken institutional initiatives (Budapest Treaty, etc.) to prevent cybercrime. the UN, the European Union, the G8, the G20, NATO and its partners in Asia and Africa have taken institutional initiatives (Budapest Treaty, etc.) to take preventive measures, deployed preventive and repressive mechanisms (Interpol, Eurojust, EUROPOL, Certs, IC3, EGC), promoted private initiatives, centres of excellence (EC3, CCDCOE, etc.) and research institutions, and supported synergies, education and training.

it unclear whether the behaviour should be classified as a genuine, internet-dependent crime or a traditional, internet-enabled crime (Aggelis, n.d.; Spyropoulos, 2016) that is merely amplified by the use of technology to disseminate the information in question. Such concerns are indicative of the hybridisation of cybercrime, where cyber-dependent processes (the creation of the botnet through multi-target hacking) could be used to realise criminal activity (the dissemination of fake news) more efficiently and make it cyber-enabled. Advances in computer science and artificial intelligence (AI), however, have brought to life a new and highly compelling method for conveying disinformation: deepfakes which are videos synthetically altered footage in which the depicted face or body has been digitally modified to appear as someone or something else ('Deepfake', n.d.). This threat has been realized for the many women who have been targeted by AI-enabled pornography sites (Jankowicz et al., 2021). Disinformation is getting an upgrade (DiResta et al., 2019; Helmus et al., 2020; Wasike, 2022).

A total of 5.30 billion people around the world were using the internet at the start of Q4 2023, equivalent to 65.7 percent of the world's total population. Internet users continue to grow too, with the latest data indicating that the world's connected population grew by 189 million users in the 12 months to October 2023 ("DIGITAL AROUND THE WORLD", 2023). Easy access to digital technologies for the majority of the population, at least in developed countries (around 90%) and 67.9% world total (*The Internet Big Picture World| Internet Users and 2023 Population Stats*, 2023) combined with a growing number of readily available encryption and obfuscation technologies such as VPNs is leading to an exponential increase in potential perpetrators who can operate under the guise of relative anonymity (Smyth, 2007: 61) and thus compromise the effectiveness of any social control techniques (D' Ovidio, 2007: 46; Holt, 2007; Yar, 2005). Furthermore, due to its transnational nature, the impact of this online crime can simultaneously affect a wider, interconnected audience, regardless of territorial boundaries - 'crime without a homeland' (Konoorayar, 2003: 414). Moreover, according to the literature, the identification of a digital criminal is usually very difficult (though not impossible), just like his (actual) place of

execution, and this is because the offender can be traced to a specific location, but the evidence is in a different and distant country or located in many different countries at the same time (collapse of time and space). Even more difficult is the case of disinformation, which we are dealing with and for whose widespread dissemination the so-called "bots" are responsible, i.e., information systems infected by malicious software that can be used for mass attacks or, in this case, for the reproduction and dissemination of (false) information by the person handling the capabilities of the specific system (Zetter, 2015; Ferrara et al., 2016; Shao et al., 2018). As the benefits of participating in and committing cybercrime outweigh the costs, e.g., the risk of being caught is low (encryption is a crucial aspect of maintaining anonymity on the dark web) (see also Deliyiannis, 2014: 29; Lavorgna & Holt, 2021), and it is difficult to collect "electronic evidence" for the perpetrator (Goodman, 1997: 483; Maras Jones, 2014; Casey, 2011: 7-14), cybercrime can yield large profits. Therefore, on the level of cost-benefit analysis (rational choice theory) (Galanou, 2008: 81-82; Spinelli, 2005:177-178), the digital environment is much more attractive to digital offenders (Katyal, 2000: 4) than the physical criminal territory.

While it is widely recognised that cybercrime is widespread and increasing (Curtis & Oxburgh, 2022) and whereas traditional crime is declining in Western countries, cybercrime is increasing beyond this rate of decline (Caneppele & Aebi, 2019), the recording of cybercrime does not reflect reality, as very few cases are reported internationally (underreported) (Curtis & Oxburgh, 2022; Bischoff & Bischoff, 2022; One, n.d.) and are therefore less visible than offline crime despite the large number of incidents. Surveys on victimisation provide a more solid basis for comparison. These show that individual victimisation by cybercrime is significantly higher than for 'conventional' forms of crime (Tsouramanis, 2005: 7-8) and a global survey of the private sector suggests that 80 per cent of individual victims of cybercrime do not report the crime to the police (the 'dark figure' of cybercrime) (UNODC, 2013; Curtis & Oxburgh, 2022).

As for the issue of jurisdiction, we should bear in mind that the investigation of online crimes in most cases requires the cooperation

(Parisi & Rinoldi, 2004: 1) of at least two states (the state where the offence is committed and the state where the evidence is kept). Things are even more complicated because co-operation between states is not always easy, as it depends on the existence of bilateral agreements. However, the methods for sharing and requesting digital evidence across borders continue to use traditional protocols and must be carried out specifically with regard to formal international requests (Mutual Legal Assistance) (James & Gladyshev, 2016) and are also complicated by the lack of international consensus (Terbea, 2010: 43) on what constitutes criminal behaviour (criminalisation and cybercrime offences) and the simultaneous existence of a variety of different definitions, particularly in the relatively new field of cybercrime (Holt et al, 2015; Holt & Bossler, 2015, 2014). We are thus faced with a dichotomy between the globalisation of electronic crime - which may not only reinforce the gradual homogeneity of law at the international level (universal law, jus commune, etc.), but also, as Mireille Delmas-Marty (1982) points out, change the way we perceive the legal order - and the territoriality of national legislation (Pocar, 2004: 28).

Finally, we should be realistic when discussing prevention and abandon the idea of fail-safe prevention mechanisms. That would be illusory, because every solution is fraught with different, new problems (Wilke, 1997: 111, 119 & 130). More specifically, when we talk about strategies and practices in dealing with crime, it is advisable to consider the adaptation of criminals to new circumstances. Smith et al (2003) state that there are six instances of crime displacement. This means that criminal activity shifts as a result of the application of crime control measures (Moitra, 2005; Berk, 2012: 1-3)[7], resulting in spatio-temporal displacements, displacement referring to the modus operandi, displacement of the

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7. Soumyo Moitra has proposed a model of a criminal policy simulator that allows us to observe how crime changes when it is subjected to certain crime control and security measures. It is also worth noting that there is a dicipline in criminology called digital or computational criminology. It uses the methods and expertise of computer science and applied mathematics to understand complex criminal phenomena and propose solutions to related problems (e.g., the development of software to prevent cybercrime, the identification and detection of hackers, etc.).

offenders, displacement of the types of offences and displacement of the targets (Smith et al., 2003).

At the same time, the scope of criminal policy and the methods and techniques of scientific research it employs, as well as the practices of prevention, are also determined by the principles of democracy and human rights (Farsedakis, 2008: 1441-1448) and by the advancement of technology (Deflem, 2002: 454). In this sense, a delicate balance must be found that neither halts technological progress and its positive effects on the economy nor restricts human rights and, in particular, freedom of expression, but at the same time prevents potential perpetrators from acting undisturbed online. With regard to the expected interaction between science and criminal policy, it is argued that scientific discourse is a source of criminal policy (Alexiadis, 2011: 277). It does indeed suggest the role and objectives of the criminal justice system (Spinelli, 2007) as far as tackling crime is concerned. However, science should also maintain a safe distance from the system (and avoid adopting its arguments unquestioningly) and instead support the system's self-reflection. Another obstacle worth mentioning is therefore the partial incompatibility between criminological research and its implementation by the state, as governments rarely enact laws in line with research findings (evidenced-based legislation) (Kealy & Fomey, 2018; Tsitsoura, 1994: 65-66).

3. Categorization of preventive measures

Efforts to categorise all preventive measures have led to different typologies, depending on the classification criteria. In particular, these typologies are based either on the geographical distribution of the measures or on their short- or long-term impact, or on whether the measures address a specific problem that needs to be solved or whether they can be extended widely (Goldberg, 2018: 417; Funke & Flamini, 2019; Haciyakupoglu et al., 2018: 7). Additionally, different typologies focus on accountable parties. Moreover, who is the actor taking the necessary preventive measures might be crucial, depending on whether the measures are solely focussed on

disinformation or on the public's distrust of the media. With this in mind, from the perspective of criminology and jurisprudence, we examine the issue of primary crime prevention (Brantingham & Faust, 1976; Nikolopoulos, 2008: 9-33), i.e. the identification of conditions of the physical and social environment that provide opportunities for or favour criminal acts, with the main aim of intervening to change these conditions so that crime in its general penal, situational and social form cannot occur (to make the logic behind its application more visible) (Tonry & Farrington, 1995).

3.1 Preventing online dissemination of false information with criminal provisions

The dissemination of fake news is treated as a criminal offence in several jurisdictions. Therefore, it is important to see whether the enforcement of these laws can fulfil the basic rationales underpinning criminal punishment, such as general prevention.

According to the basic rationale of general penal prevention, the objective of criminal punishment is achieved when citizens refrain from committing crimes due to the fact that they are afraid of the punishment prescribed by the law. Furthermore, law has a pedagogical function for citizens (Kotsalis, 2003: 645), serving as a compass that shows them the right way to comply with the approved social rule (Heath-Kelly & Shanaáh, 2022; Tilley, 2014; Bottoms & Von Hirsch, 2010; Gilling, 2005).[8]

Countries where it was found that there is a legislative provision for the publication and spreading of fake news, are the following: Greece (Article 191, Greek Penal Code), Cyprus (Chapter. 154, article

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8. Penal prevention, i.e., the prevention that we try to implement with the help of the law, a distinction is made between general and specific prevention. Specific penal prevention (for which there is insufficient research data on disinformation, which is why we have decided not to include it in this document) is aimed at those who have already violated the law, and its objectives are achieved or deemed to be achieved through the imposition and enforcement of a sentence so that offenders mend their ways or are neutralised and do not reoffend. For the concept of general penal prevention, see Andenaes, 1952 & 1975; Androulakis, 2000: 41; Courakis, 2000: 29 & Lambropoulou, 2012: 185.

50, Cyprus' Penal Code), China (Repnikova, 2018; Funke & Flamini, 2019), Uganda and Zimbabwe (Goldberg, 2018), Germany (Miller, 2017), Canada (Consolidated Federal Laws of Canada, Criminal Code, 2023), Italy (Altalex, 2023), France (LOI N° 2018-1202 Du 22 Décembre 2018 Relative À La Lutte Contre La Manipulation De L'information (1) - Légifrance, n.d.), Belarus (Belarus Passes Legislation Against "Fake News" Media, 2018), Belgium (Järvinen, 2023), Egypt (Malsin & Fekki, 2018), Kenya (The Computer and Cvhercrimes Bill, 2017, Sweden (Hofverberg, 2019), the UK (Scientist, 2019), Russia (Astghik, 2019), Australia (Buchanan, 2019), Malaysia ("Malaysia Approves Law Against 'Fake News' Despite Outcry," 2018), Bangladesh (Eicrasoft, 2022) and Singapore ("Singapore Controversial 'Fake News' Law Goes Into Effect," 2019).

The various terminological issues regarding the appropriateness of the use of the concepts of 'fake news' and 'disinformation or misinformaton' (some countries refer to the first term and others to the second one) are important. The all-ecompassing capability of the second term is obvious, as it can incorporate practices that go beyond anything that looks like "news", such as rumours, forms of automated accounts used for astroturfing, networks of fake followers, constructed information mixed with events, targeted advertising, videos, memes and all those practices that have to do with the dissemination rather than the production of news (commenting, sharing, tweeting and retweeting, etc.). So, a crime prevention policy that seeks to gradually harmonize domestic laws may need to go for the term misinformation/disinformation [which version of it will of course be preferred by the two (misinformation or disinformation) depends on the subjective substance that prevails, namely, the second version focuses exclusively on the behaviors that are intentional but the former is also susceptible to negligence] (European Commission, 2018).

Despite the significant differences on almost all points (such as the objective and subjective substance, the time at which the crime is deemed to have been completed, the suitability of the information to frighten or alarm the public, the severity of the penalties and the fact that some provisions are up to date to be applicable to the internet and information systems (Wojcik et al., 2020; Samuel, 2015) and

others are not (e.g. the responsible parties, etc.), the objective of the provisions is the same, namely to prevent the impairment of public order or public confidence in the State and its institutions. In short, it is generally recognised that the perpetrator's actions call into question the state's regulatory capacity and authority in a specific area of social life.[9] However, it has been sufficiently pointed out that they are similar in terms of the generality of their formulation (abstract risk)[10] and that it is therefore a question of the guaranteed functioning of the law.

The provisions that are related to the prevention of fake news dissemination are not standardized solely in criminal law. Typically, we can refer to journalists' codes of ethics (Laitila, 1995: 23; Juusela, 1991),[11] special handbooks and trainings for journalists (Ireton & Posetti, 2018), guidelines, e.g. the Asean Guideline on Management of Government Information in Combating Fake News and Disinformation in the Media published in June 2023 by The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Directorate General of Public Information and Communication, Ministry of Communication and Informatics Republic of Indonesia, 2023), as well as consultation documents ("Green Papers"), that serve as a more general guide for safe navigation in this area, such as the Internet Safety Strategy

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9. Perhaps this common assumption (which itself is not entirely unproblematic) can be a springboard for further alignment (or could at least facilitate a global dialogue with interlocutors, states, transnational or supranational structures, etc.).

10. The prominence/suitability of the news to cause concern is dealt with in a general and abstract manner, whereas these provisions may have to define the act of disinformation on the basis of a specific risk, which would also justify penalising the act.

11. As far as law's prevention is concerned, this chapter could include (because of their regulatory structure, but also because of their pedagogical aspect) and "journalistic codes of ethics", although they are independent and beyond legal obligations, as they contain a set of principles and rules for the practise of journalism adopted and implemented by professional organisations of journalists, possibly in collaboration with other subjects within the framework of self-regulation of information media. The content of these texts refers to journalistic tasks whose rationale is to ensure and promote, within limits, an objective journalistic practice that confirms the "social role" of the journal and contributes to the fulfilment of the citizens' right to valid information. Of course, firstly, these are not penal law provisions. Secondly, we have already seen that internet users themselves are capable of reproducing and disseminating fake news, especially via social networks.

Green Paper (2018) published by the UK government, which led to the *Online Safety Act 2023*.[12]

Furthermore, the right to freedom of expression –apart from the national laws of the member states and their constitutions – is strongly protected by the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, also known as the European Convention on Human Rights. According to Article 10§2, conditions, restrictions or penalties on the exercise of this right are only justified if there is a pressing social need. If one analyses the current legislation of many states or the various draft laws of several governments on the issue of disinformation or similar acts (misinformation, etc.), the above-mentioned proposal and, more generally, respect for freedom of speech does not seem to have been followed. Finally, the main weakness of this form of prevention is its vulnerability to possible abuse - there have often been government tactics that are actually aimed at controlling the flow of information and censorship of dissidents and are far less focused on ensuring social order (Palatino, 2017; Jerreat, 2016).[13] Therefore, once again, the question arises of the factors that ultimately affect the legislator. As these factors vary (which is quite reasonable), the difficulty is achieving terminological homogeneity in criminal provisions.

Disinformation and similar actions hinder the public's access to knowledge and the individual's right to seek, receive and influence information and ideas of all kinds (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2017). Furthermore, experts, official institutions and the notion of objective facts are despised and delegitimised, undermining our society's ability to engage in rational

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12. The Online Safety Act 2023 (c. 50) is an act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom to control online speech and media. It passed on 26 October 2023 and gives the relevant Secretary of State the power, subject to parliamentary approval, to designate and suppress or record a wide range of speech and media deemed "harmful". See more https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2023/50/enacted.

13. Although the penal law provisions are tempting and appear very effective, the risk for investigative journalism, political debate and scientific activity is enormous, as the possibility remains open that critical positions will be silenced. In Egypt, for example, an Al-Jazeera producer was arrested for allegedly undermining state institutions and spreading fake news to spread chaos. This happened after the publication of a documentary that criticised the Egyptian army.

dialogue. It is also possible that disinformation weakens citizens' trust in news in general and causes them not to engage with political issues and current events in general, resulting in uninformed people. However, the (almost) mechanical response of states to the problem with criminalisation or further stricter penalties is not, and should not be, the only way to tackle the spread of fake news. For this reason, the European Commission's High Level Expert Group (HLEG) (2018) explicitly advises avoiding simplistic solutions and emphasises that all forms of censorship will be ineffective, while there is absolutely no incentive to enforce regulations.

Another possible (and usually unexpected) negative impact of criminal law prevention, especially in the form of technical censorship, is said to be the "Streisand effect", according to which banned/censored content attracts more attention from the public, which ultimately leads to the opposite effect of further dissemination instead of restriction (T.C., 2013). In China (Sutcliffe, 2017; Zeng et al., 2017), for example, more aggressive censorship policies on social networks that contest the dominant narrative have reinforced the belief among some people that the truth lies in alternative sources of information, while the traditional media (newspapers, television, etc.) disseminate propaganda (Karagiannopoulos, 2012; King et al., 2013; Willnat et al., 2015). Moreover, legislation that makes content-providing platforms or website administrators accountable parties often leads to a restriction of uninterrupted communication, as accountable parties strengthen their control procedures and are willing to "over-censor" (Radsch, 2017) [see for example the Netzwerkdurchsetzungsgesetz (Social Network Enforcement Law) in Germany (Miller, 2017; Lux: 2017)][14] in order to evade sanctions (Karagiannopoulos, 2013; Laidlaw, 2015)].

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14. "From October, Facebook, YouTube and other sites with more than two million users in Germany will have to delete posts containing hate speech or other criminal material within 24 hours. Content that is not obviously illegal must be rated within seven days. The new law is one of the strictest of its kind in the world. Failure to comply could result in a fine of 5 million euros, which could rise to 50 million euros depending on the severity of the offence". It has been noted that other, less democratic countries rely on this law, as well as similar dangerous perceptions, to legitimise the suppression of the free press. Instead, a timely warning is not necessarily 'censorship' as the final decision is made by the users. For example, many

3.2. Criminological reflections on preventing online fake news dissemination

In addition to legal prevention, prevention at the criminological level can be divided into two types: situational and social prevention. Situational prevention is a set of technical and organisational measures - various programmes and sophisticated techniques such as anti-virus and anti-spam programmes, firewalls, operating system updates, automatic intrusion detection systems, biometric applications, cryptography, etc. - (Denning, 1999) which attempt to prevent those who wish to commit crimes from achieving their goals (Clarke, 1992) and, more recently, AI filters, such as those implemented by social media platforms. A typical example is hash database of the GIFCT which enables GIFCT member companies to quickly identify and share signals of terrorist and violent extremist activity in a secure, efficient and privacy-protecting manner (*GIFCT's Hash-Sharing Database | GIFCT*, 2023). Technological measures can be tested and applied almost immediately and therefore solve the problem more quickly than the time-consuming bureaucratic procedures that are common in statutory prevention (Lessing. 2006; Shapland, 2000: 2-3; Sykiotou, 2012: 987-1005).[15] The role of social prevention is, of course, quite crucial, as we will see below. It is also worth mentioning Enrico Ferri's phrase: "The need for criminal justice will diminish to the extent that social justice is implemented" (cited in Muncie et al., 1999: 34-39), since its actions are primarily aimed at reducing the criminogenic factors that lead to and facilitate criminal behaviour (Farsedakis, 2010: 401-413). In any case, at this level and contrary to penal law provisions, the perception of state exclusivity in the field of prevention is compromised and social control procedures are extended to a variety of regulatory areas (Horwitz, 1990).

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platforms add the label "controversial news" to posts with unreliable / inaccurate content without deleting them.

15. The managerial tone of situational prevention naturally directs criminology towards an evidence-based evaluation of policies and initiatives in terms of their effectiveness in rapidly reducing crime, i.e., minimising recorded incidents is the primary focus, while the substantial impact on the likelihood of the crime occurring is neglected. It is therefore rightly argued that prevention is sometimes crypto-suppressive.

3.2.1. Situational prevention

The theoretical justification for this form of prevention is provided by the criminological theory of "routine activity theory", first introduced by Lawrence E. Cohen and Marcus Felson (1979), which asserts that a crime occurs when three elements converge: (1) a motivated offender, (2) a suitable target, and (3) the absence or inadequacy of a capable guardian (Yar, 2005: 407-427: Wall, 2017). It is argued that of these three conditions, the third needs to be emphasised the most in order to create suitable guards that make offenders' efforts more difficult. Direct preventive control seems to be more complicated in the case of potential offenders, as we are dealing with the subjective reception of the relationship between the individual and the social environment with the attitudes and personal views of the individual.

Therefore, the following is a preliminary presentation of preventive measures against disinformation, misinformation and malinformation, consisting mainly of tech-related measures.

First of all, it is worth mentioning the fact-checking that is traditionally conducted by experts and analysts. This can be done either before (ante hoc) or after (post hoc) the publication or dissemination of the information. The pre-dissemination review aims to eliminate errors and inaccuracies and then make the dissemination safe or reject the publication if not all criteria are confirmed. Post-dissemination verification is usually done through written reports of inaccuracies and sometimes through visual metrics provided by the fact-checking organisation (Fact-checking, 2023; Category: Fact-checking websites – Wikipedia, n.d.). In addition, there are also computerised methods for automatically checking the validity of a statement (Wang, 2017; Tacchini et al., 2017).

Furthermore, social media platforms, such as Facebook (Tips to Spot False News, n.d.), give their users instructions on how to protect themselves from fake news. Natural language processing tools have also been proposed (e.g., ClaimBuster, n.d.) that could be used to analyse news content and inform the user about the quality of its validity before taking further action to share that news (Deception Detection for News | Proceedings of the 78th ASIS&T Annual Meeting: Information Science With Impact: Research in and

for the Community, n.d.). In this way, an attempt is made to limit to a certain extent the fraudulent or non-fraudulent dissemination of messages through the activities of users. However, as we have repeatedly emphasised, botnets are also used and increase the level of news distribution, whether fake or genuine. A proven method for detecting and tracking botnets is to analyse user profiles on social media and the messages they send using natural language processing and artificial intelligence algorithms. Similarly, analysing the characteristics of a network (Shu, 2018) is a key element for detecting a botnet, but also for tracking the spread of a viral news and identifying those responsible. For example, if we identify a group of users who send messages to each other and at the same time have similar profile and message characteristics, then it is very likely that these users form a botnet. New database technologies are also being used to analyse network characteristics, such as Graph Data Base, which have the advantage of processing large amounts of data more efficiently than other traditional relational databases (Disney, 2017)[16]. The implementation of such measures could then increase the efficiency of detecting fake news spread by bots and enable countermeasures by law enforcement authorities.

To combat the spread of fake news, other suggested measures aim to remove the anonymity that individuals enjoy when surfing the internet. This way, users are held accountable for what they publish or disseminate on the internet and cannot hide behind fake names and accounts when making aggressive comments or engaging in prohibited activities (Liao, 2016). However, it should be noted that David Kaye (2015 & 2017), UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression, has already published a ground-breaking report on online anonymity and encryption, emphasising that anonymity allows individuals to exercise their rights to freedom of opinion and expression in the digital age, and as such deserves strong protection.[17]

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16. Two freely available tools that utilise many of the technologies mentioned above are Hoaxy and Botometer. (Hoaxy: How Claims Spread Online, n.d.; Botometer by OSoMe, n.d.).

17. According to the report, any restriction on anonymity should fulfil the three-part test set out in Article 19 (3) of the International Covenant on Civil and Political

However, Belarus (Freedom House, 2018) actually implemented the aforementioned measure in 2018, banning anonymous comments and identifying registered users through their phone number, a rule that has been criticized by the UN Special Rapporteur on Belarus Miklos Haraszti who reportedly stated that the "amendments to the media law deprive Internet of anonymity, demand registration and close the last public space for free expression" ("Belarus: New Decree Severely Limits Right to Anonymity Online," 2019).

Something similar may also apply to managers - a bill submitted to the Italian Senate in February 2017, for example, requires those wishing to open an online platform that publishes or shares information with the public to provide the name of the platform, its URL, the manager's first and last name and their tax number (Fanucci, 2017). However, it is certain that this idea will not work, as the internet offers the possibility of anonymity in various ways (such as on the darknet, etc.).

Other measures are based on cooperation between the public, organisations and governments. Firstly, there is the practise of reporting, i.e., via a smartphone application, the public can report fake news they encounter or complain about misleading information (Lim, 2017). Then, it is argued that it would be particularly helpful to integrate the practise of crowdsourcing, i.e., utilising the skills and education of readersand listeners to identify potential errors in news reporting (Daniel, 2021; Carufel, 2019; Sexton, 2019).

Moreover, some approaches point to the profitability of fake news due to advertising (Braun & Eklund, 2019; Burkhardt, 2017)[18]

Rights (ICCPR), i.e. it should: a) be prescribed by law: restrictions must be precise and clearly established in accordance with the rule of law; b) pursue a legitimate aim, namely respect for the rights or reputations of others and the protection of national security or public order, public health or morals; and c) be necessary and proportionate to the aims pursued. "Necessary" means that there must be a "pressing social need" for the interference, that the reasons given by the state to justify the interference must be "relevant and sufficient" and that the state must demonstrate that the interference is proportionate to the aim pursued.

18. In the digital age, the status of advertising is changing. The modern model is often based on the number of clicks associated with impactful and extremely popular (viral) content. This model is based on advertising networks that manage offices which ensure the simultaneous placement of adverts based on algorithmic decisions.

as one of the main causes of their rapid spread and therefore suggest focusing on thorough control of ad placement as the most appropriate –immediate– response to the problem (some social networking platforms such as Facebook have already made it difficult for users to make fake news profitable). Self-regulation in the digital advertising space is imperative (among other things) and the fact that the advertising industry has a vested interest in policing its ad networks and tracking down and removing advertisers that support fake news sites due to brand safety (Goldberg, 2018: 434-435).

Finally, situational prevention includes a so-called issue-based approach (Constine, 2017; Auchard & Menn, 2017; Ziebell, 2018), which aims, for example, to combat disinformation during election periods. In particular, the Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council entitled "Tackling online disinformation: a European approach" states: "The spread of disinformation also influences political decision-making processes by distorting public opinion" (European Commission, 2018). One example of the issue-based approach is the Ukrainian journalist organisation StopFake, which is dedicated exclusively to exposing the Kremlin's disinformation and propaganda. It also researches how other countries around the world are affected by these distortions (Матичак, n.d.). It is assumed that these approaches facilitate the conceptualisation of fake news due to their specific context and thus accelerate the identification of relevant fictitious information. Therefore, topic-focused approaches show better results than partially isolated abstract efforts that were not focused.

3.2.2. Social prevention

The other type of prevention at the criminological level is more social in nature and consists of adequate education[19] and information for

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This makes it easier to place adverts on websites that publish engaging content (appealing to emotions, disinformation, etc.).

19. Many non-profit organisations such as Politifact, Factcheck org, StopFake, etc. have an educational mission in addition to their occasional work in judging the validity of a story. StopFake, for example, gives its readers advice on how to check whether a story is fake. It also shows videos in which experts debunk fake news, which are shown both on the internet and on television (Матичак, n.d.).

citizens. Since the human factor is crucial, raising citizens' awareness of the forms and dangers of disinformation can, in the first instance, lead to the public being protected and to more reports being made (which helps to reduce the number of unreported offences). In other words, citizens themselves can participate in the fight against the phenomenon in many ways (Chalkia, 2004: 66), for example by helping to identify problematic and suspicious websites (Shelley, 2003: 310). The desirable outcome, especially thanks to active citizenship and the feedback given to the system, is the continuous monitoring of the problem and the constant re-evaluation/updating of existing responses to it.

First of all, a renewed focus on "media literacy" in schools has been proposed (Haciyakupoglu et al., 2018), based on the joint action of educational institutions with journalists, entrepreneurs, non-profit organisations and other institutions. This initiative aims to promote students' emotional self-management. The focus should be on the ability to distance oneself emotionally from the content we encounter in a variety of publications. For this reason, both the Council of Europe (n.d.) and the Select Committee on Communications (2017) have suggested the inclusion of media literacy in school curricula. Simple and understandable lessons on how to be able to fact-check websites, watch out for emotional tricks and distinguish between different types of texts before 'liking' or sharing information online could improve overall resilience to manipulation by disinformation. In addition, it is now important that we learn from an early age to avoid filterbubbles and understand the risks associated with handling information. Furthermore, 'media literacy' must teach (especially) children and young people ("Children and Parents: Media Use and Attitudes Report", 2017)[20] the criteria for assessing the validity and degree of bias of sources, as well as the criteria for distinguishing between the different types of journalism (e.g., investigative, propagandistic, editorial, etc.) (Lilleker, n.d.). In short, "media literacy" provides guidelines for accessing information, but

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20. It is estimated that world-wide, one in three internet users is under 18 years old and that young people from 12 to 15 years old spend more than twenty hours a week on the Internet.

also for analysing, evaluating and producing it. At the same time, it fosters an understanding of the role of media in society as well as the basic research and self-expression skills necessary for citizens of a modern democracy (see indicatively Center for Media Literacy, n.d.; Kellner, n.d.; National Literacy Trust, 2023). A more relevant recent example is the EU Project ORPHEUS where the Cybercrime Awareness Clinic -University of Portsmouth (UK) generated trainings for young people and professionals for building resilience and spotting misinformation and propaganda developing media literacy and cybercrime awareness (see more Ekici et al., 2023).

The fact is that there are enough learning methods that make this possible. For example, "FactBar EDU" or "Faktabaari" was founded in Helsinki, Finland, which has adapted professional fact–checking methods for Finnish school environments with educators to report on the elections (Neuvonen et al., 2018), using green, red and yellow symbols like a traffic light to evaluate information. The "News Literacy Project in New York City" (Checkology | the News Literacy Project, 2023) has created a virtual classroom where middle and high school students learn how to develop news literacy skills. Another idea that seems to significantly reduce the persuasive power of online fake news is fake news board games. These games, both physical and online, facilitate the identification of fake news that individuals encounter on the internet or in the mass media. A recent study (Roozenbeek & van der Linden, 2019),[21] based on the idea that social impact games can induce behaviour change (Thompson et al., 2008) and that the public can be 'inoculated' against misinformation by building mental antibodies (Compton, 2013; McGuire, 1961; McGuire & Papageorgis, 1962; McGuire, 1964), has attempted to use an online fake news game to provide cognitive training in a general set of fact–checking techniques. The game, called "Bad News" (Bad News - Play the Fake News Game!, 2023), lets players slip into the role of a fake news creator. They learn about various fake news scenarios

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21. According to many theorists (one of them being the highly influential American sociologist GH Mead), play has of course always had a socialising function, while a common misconception is that play is antithetical to seriousness, as the Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga details in the first chapter of Homo Ludens, one of the most important studies ever written on games. See Ritzer, 1996; Huizinga, 2016.

and become aware of disinformation strategies. Similar games are also available on initiatives aimed at combating fake news, such as Stop Fake Bingo on the Stop Fake website (StopFake Bingo, n.d.).

Equally important (as an extension of the above) is the formation of social norms and mindsets – mindsets that help avoid the trap of fake news. When you come across new information, you should first check the source by verifying the authenticity of the source and the point of view of the website or author online and take this into account when checking the rest of the text. Secondly, we should read the article in its entirety and not jump to conclusions just because we have read part of it (or even just the headline, which could be deliberately misleading to attract more visitors), and also determine whether it is news or opinion. The next step is to investigate whether the article aims to trigger emotions such as fear or sadness, which make people more inclined to believe a story as they weaken our mental defence mechanisms. Expanding our research by seeking different opinions on each topic would be the next appropriate action. Not sharing content if we are not entirely sure of its veracity should be the moral duty of every citizen (Kowalski, 2020). This increases the chances of strengthening citizens' ability to make a mature and realistic assessment of the sources they should trust, thus reducing the risk of manipulation and deception at all times. Finally, and bearing in mind the democratic values and freedom of expression mentioned above, while it is a moral and ethical duty of public and private organisations to censor news that they deem to be fake, it is also their fundamental obligation to be as transparent as possible in doing so. They must provide evidence and justification for their decisions. Otherwise, there is no guarantee that this will not have an impact on freedom of expression and the actual expression of different opinions.

4. Concluding remarks

To summarise, the issues arising from the previous presentation of the diversity of responses to disinformation, misinformation, malinformation and dissemination of false information in general

are related to country-specific differences both in the application of the same preventive measure (e.g., differences in legislation) and in the choice of type of prevention (criminal, situational, social) or even a combination of preventive measures.

While criminal provisions could deter possible perpetrators from spreading fake news that could harm the state and its institutions there are many objections to the criminalization of certain behaviors as a tool for resolving social problems (McNamara et al. 2018) which is often an overused instrument of policy, especially in times of penal populism (Pratt 2006), as it can lead to overcriminalization (Husak 2009). Moreover, it can be argued that such measures can easily be manipulated by governments to crimimalize not fake news but other voices, leading to the silencing of free speech. It could also be argued that criminalizing can have the opposite effect of gaining sympathy from the public (martyrdom), which in turn could lead to further proliferation of their misinforming messaging and even migration to more dedicated platform, reinforcing misinformation cascades (Mamak, 2021; Kozyreva et al., 2023; Pielemeier, 2020). Furthermore, the devaluation of fake news after it has already reached the public has minimal impact as it has already become ingrained in people's minds.

In contrast, it is argued that most non – penal provisions (except perhaps the prohibition of user anonymity or similar measures) do not pose such a threat to democratic values despite the fact that there is a lot of discussion on this and AI filtering as well as false positives filtering out legitimate speech (Kertysova, 2018; Marsoof et al., 2022). Nevertheless, on the one hand, situational measures are able to address a particular disinformation problem quickly and accurately, but the rapid spread of information on the internet and the use of bots means that it is often too late to address a problem post hoc or 'after the fact'.

On the other hand, social interventions do not aim to combat specific fake news stories or categories, but seek to educate individuals to use the necessary skills to distinguish between fake and real news. This is a healthier approach and at the same time trains citizens to think critically, not only in relation to online news, but more generally. The downside of this approach is the need for

centralised educational policies or widespread educational initiatives and the time it takes to achieve results.

Even if, for the aforementioned reasons there is no consensus on which type of prevention is better suited to the current problem, the primary goal of all measures should undoubtedly be to mitigate the phenomenon without, however, violating acquired freedoms or losing the privileges of the digital age. For this reason, it is advisable not to move towards an exclusive choice of measures (e.g. laws, security measures, awareness campaigns or interdisciplinary research, etc.), but towards a combination of many measures (First Draft, 2018),[22] focusing in the long term on social prevention and consequently adopting regulatory considerations based on multimodal approaches, accepting the inevitable interplay of regulatory and deregulatory interventions that are the reality of our modern, complex information-based and networked societies (Lessing, 2006; Murry, 2007). To maintain an open, democratic system, the coordination of actions by governments, technology companies, consumers, etc. is very important. Governments need to promote media literacy and strengthen professional journalism in their countries. The news industry needs to provide quality journalism to regain the public's trust. Technology companies need to invest in tools that detect fake news and help reduce the economic incentives

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22. See, for example, the First Draft initiative, which has set up a non-profit coalition to combat disinformation. The partners in this coalition are: Technology companies (e.g., Google News Lab, Facebook and Twitter), academic and research institutes (e.g., University of Southern California Annenberg School of Communication and Journalism, Tufts Fletcher School and Public Data Lab), news outlets (e.g., The Washington Post, Reuters and The Guardian) and other similar organisations (e.g., FactCheck Initiative Japan and Now This). This initiative supports journalists, academics and technologists working on the challenges of trust, reliability and truth in the digital age. It includes a global verification and collaborative research network, it works with its ever-growing community to conduct innovative and experimental research projects, and it provides ongoing training (online and offline) aimed at expanding and integrating best practices in news organisations and journalism schools around the world. First Draft focuses on tackling information disruption, building on its pioneering work around elections in the US, France, UK, Germany, Brazil and Nigeria. Finally, in 2019, it will support the development of sustained, collaborative efforts in Argentina, Australia, Canada, Indonesia, South Africa, Spain and Uruguay, as well as a cross-border plan to study disinformation tactics and trends in Europe.

for those who profit from such actions. Educational institutions need to include media literacy in their curricula and prioritise it. Finally, individuals need to consult different sources to avoid bias that leads to blind acceptance of falsehoods, and above all (at least in the first instance) be sceptical about what they hear or read.

Acknowledgements

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LOOKING THROUGH THE BARS: METHODOLOGICAL AND RESEARCH CHALLENGES

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ABSTRACT

Prison is an organized total institution and life in it is characterized by pathogenic conditions. As the most representative institution of totalitarian character, the prison has its own subculture, its own values and its own rules that determine the life of the individual in it. Despite its peculiarities and characteristics, prison is an extremely attractive field for research. In recent decades, there has been an explosion of testimonies published in numerous books dealing with memories of life in prison. However, while quantitative research in the prison field is increasing, the conduct of quality research in prisons is relatively low, especially considering the increase in the incarcerated population in the current social and historical context and the limited number of ethnographic studies in prisons. This tendency is at odds with the epistemological and methodological shift that has prevailed in recent years in the Greek social sciences regarding the use of qualitative research methods and even their frequent combination with quantitative methods (A. Lydaki). This research gap in the study of social phenomena in the field of prisons raises the question of whether it is possible to

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develop other methods to study and interpret the social world. In this context, this paper discusses issues related to epistemological aspects and the relationship of ethnographic research to prisons. In particular, it attempts to analyze the following issues: 1. The issues related to conducting ethnographic research in prisons. 2. Access to the research field 3. The prisoner as a research object

The specificity of the research area – the prison as place and practice

The prison is an organised total institution and life in it is characterised by pathogenic conditions. As the most representative institution with a totalitarian character, the prison has its own subculture, its own values and its own rules that determine the life of the individual in it. The main features of this archetypal form of prison organisation are:

A. The closed character of the prison, i.e., the obstacles to the movement of the individual both in leaving the prison and in moving within it, and the obstacles to his contacts with people outside the walls. This feature characterises the prison as an enclosed space where movement is clearly delimited both spatially and temporally (layout of the wings, railings, cameras, prison programme, opening and closing of the wings, etc.).

B: The collapse of the barriers that usually separate the different aspects that surround each person's life. In prison, all the events of life are taking place in the same space, with a strictly predetermined program of organization of activities and movements, while at the same time there is an abolition of privacy and the cancellation of any attempt to preserve some aspects of personal life.

C: The existence of a small, bureaucratic group of people (i.e., staff) responsible for the administration of the detained population. The relationship between the prisoners and the bureaucratic staff and the prison staff creates a gap between these two worlds. On one side are the staff, who consider the prisoners to be unreliable and morally inferior, and on the other side are the prisoners,

who identify the staff with the service and consider them to be petty, morally inferior because of their profession (the guards of the people, as they are called) and sometimes contemptuously condescending. The prison is thus a peculiar hybrid social organisation: on the one hand, a public bureaucracy subject to a formal set of rules (Penitentiary Code), and on the other hand, a residential community subject to an informal set of rules derived from both the subculture of the prisoners and the subculture of the prison staff.

The very existence of the prison is thus determined by a fundamental conflict between two social worlds. In this conflict situation, which by definition characterises a prison, confrontations occur between prisoners and staff or among the prisoners themselves. These confrontations, combined with poor living conditions such as overcrowding, corruption, insecurity, etc., lead to a feeling of disorganisation and helplessness. The prisoner has to deal with the suffering of imprisonment and defend his identity with all the means at his disposal. In this context, it is understandable that imprisonment is one of the most painful events a person can experience in the course of his life, with profound and decisive effects on his personality.

It is worth noting that prison sets boundaries and barriers that not only confine the prisoner to a territorial environment, but also provide a framework that limits all aspects of daily life (Goffman E., 1994: 31). The prisoner is deprived of his identity status, which leads to personal distortions and participation in activities whose symbolic connotations are not compatible with the identity holder's idea of himself. To the extent that prison is the setting for the violation of numerous fundamental rights (health, education, work, information, etc.), the incarcerated person attempts to manage the "spoiled identity" (Goffman, 2001) by using techniques to reduce or eliminate the effects of the stigmatisation already attributed to him/her during his/her interaction with the so-called "normal" others. This situation arises from the fact that the enclosed subject is realised through the dynamics of the meeting of two complex processes: deconstruction and reconstruction (Voglis, 2004: 20-

21). Deconstruction refers to the sufferings of imprisonment that result in the deconstruction of the prisoners' personhood and the disintegration of their collectivity. Reconstruction refers to the prisoner as a collective subject who is reconstructed through the organisation of daily life in prison in his attempt to co-exist with the struggling self both in his daily contacts with family, staff, social services, etc. and with the other prisoners.

Despite its peculiarities and characteristics, the prison is an extremely attractive field of research. In recent decades there has been an explosion of narratives, reflected in many published books focusing on memoirs of life in prison. These books have provided valuable material for the analysis of social experiences from the perspective of sociology or criminology. However, most of them focused on the prison as an institution rather than the prisoner as a collective subject. Lorna Rhodes (2001) points to the "weakness of the materials forcing her to mix journalistic reports and scientific studies" [...] The section "Introduction to Prison: Anthropology" is less than two pages long and lists a total of three field monographs written in the 1980s, one of which is not based on field research [...] The result of this review is that prison ethnography in the United States is not only an endangered species, an increase in incarceration, but one that no longer exists. Thus, while quantitative research in the field of prison studies is increasing, the conduct of high-quality research in prisons is relatively low, especially when we consider the increase in the incarcerated population in the current social and historical context and the limited number of ethnographic studies in sites of incarceration.

This trend contradicts the prevailing epistemological and methodological shift observed in the field of social sciences in Greece in recent years regarding the use of qualitative research methods and even their frequent combination with quantitative methods (Lydaki, 2012). This research gap in the study of social phenomena found in the field of prisons raises the question of whether it is possible to develop other ways to explore and interpret the social world in depth.

Issues related to conducting ethnographic research in prisons

The principles of openness and communicative character of qualitative research contrast with the closed character of the institution. The conduct of qualitative research is based on a perceptual stance that seeks to see the world through the eyes of the prisoner, is consistent with interpretation and has a clear position on phenomenology, symbolic interaction theory and Verstehen. The researcher's entry and conducting qualitative research in the field using interviews, the participatory observation and life narratives implies the researcher's communication and contact with the research subjects and building a strong relationship with them in order to understand people's interpretive cases and perceptions. It is extremely important that detainees are not treated only as research subjects. There should be more emphasis on empowering the voice of the participants and asking for their cooperation to gain knowledge and justice. This philosophy is in stark contrast to the position prisoners are placed in during their incarceration. Prison is a closed system that does not allow access to and exchange of information. Thus, it remains a place that is "structurally and bureaucratically closed to the public and the academic researcher" (Reiter 2014: 417). Prisons perceive the intrusion of researchers into them as an invasion. This fact stems from the closed nature of the institution and thus from the need to study in depth the phenomena that take place there, which contradicts the prison's own character.

Access to the research field

One of the most difficult and crucial stages of the research process is that of gaining access to the research field. The approach to the issue of access depends on whether the research field is a public or private place, or even whether it is a closed or open space. Prison is a public, closed place and obtaining an access permit is a cumbersome procedure due to the legal framework and bureaucratic nature (it usually takes a whole year to obtain an access permit for a

prison facility). The positive outcome of the access request depends on a combination of strategic planning, determination and luck. Otherwise, the researcher will be made to completely review his or her research objectives. There are many researchers who reconsider their research interests precisely because they have encountered great difficulties in their efforts to gain access to a prison. It is worth noting that the greatest difficulties in gaining access to field research are found in qualitative research because it requires the researcher to spend a long time in the field. Moreover, we should mention that the access permit can be withdrawn at any time if the prison management invokes reasons of security and order. As a result, the number of ethnographic studies in prisons, or at least research that meets the scientific conditions of ethnographic research (in-depth study, long stay in the field, etc.), is very limited.

The reduced number of ethnographic studies is often compounded by the saturation that occurs when several researches are conducted in a given period and in the same location. The prison sector is an attractive area of research, especially for younger researchers. For this reason, there are many requests from researchers who wish to conduct their research as part of a bachelor's or master's thesis. It is significant that in the school year 2020-2021, nine applications were made to conduct research in the Second Chance School of Korydallos Prison alone. The prison management perceives the granting of a large number of access applications in a short period of time as overloading the system, which is also characterised by a lack of human resources and can undermine security measures. From a scientific perspective, the denial of access permission undermines the possibility of conducting research that meets all the requirements for the protection of research subjects and advances the development of information about the social phenomenon in question.

Usually, these problems are addressed with proper research planning by the researcher, who should always consider that nothing can be taken for granted or given in the institutional setting. The researcher must constantly search for the "truth" of the facts and try to explore them thoroughly in order to illuminate the unknown aspects of his research questions and reveal original elements.

There are also many cases where the researcher as an internal informant is already present in the prison as an employee. Hastrup (1992: 117) argues that "field research lies between autobiography and anthropology' and thus functions as a link between a personal experience and the general field of knowledge. This connection makes researchers "continuations of the space they make up." Here, of course, the problem of the limits of the researcher's participation arises. Gefou-Madianou (2011: 371) thoroughly refers to the danger of the anthropologist's conclusions being identified by others with the interests of a particular group of the population of the community under study, bringing him or her into conflict with another study group.

The prisoner as a research subject

Prisoners as research subjects offer the researcher the opportunity to examine the experience of incarceration, the ways in which prisoners experience the various deprivations of prison, but also the processes by which prisoners emerge as a collective subject. Prisoners, however, are not a homogeneous category. There are differences between subjects (gender, age, social and ethnic origin, etc.) that affect the way individuals perceive and experience their life in prison.

The prison, however, is a spatial context, a memorial site created through the narration, oral history. The aim is to bring to light the multiple and contradictory histories of the prison, its different meanings and the exclusions it creates. In other words, the prison to be narrated through the perspective of different subjects. At the same time, we need to keep in mind that not only are the stories about prison created through people's narratives, but the self is also created through its relationship to prison. The prison and the way of life shape the identity of the subjects. The biographical method, the narration, is a privileged space to understand the formation of subjects and their representations. This is the so-called "from the bottom line" perspective. By giving voice to the prisoners, i.e., the invisibles of history, the qualitative method changes the landscape of criminology. How is this bottom line expressed? Here, experience is

the central concept. The experience of social space by specific social groups shows us how they are shaped sometimes on a mental level and sometimes on a material level, the boundaries within the prison, how the social organisation of the prison changes according to the political situation and how social representations are redefined when the use of prison space changes. Jeff Ferrell discusses in detail the methodological choice of "criminological verstehen" and the ability of field researchers to highlight the meanings and experiences not only of the crime but also of the prison system and the victims of crime: "I support that the adventurous dynamics of field research offer criminologists not only access to criminals or criminal groups but, perhaps even more importantly, the opportunity to immerse themselves in the textual logic and emotion that define the criminal experience [....] Field research can provide an equally important awareness of the experience of victims of crime, crime control bodies and others."

Prisoners, as a collective subject, are very fond of visits from people who live outside the prison. The arrival of new people breaks the routine and becomes a central topic of conversation in the prison wings. It should be noted that almost anything that breaks the routine of everyday prison life is welcomed, while at the same time the arrival of the researcher can create expectations. Participation in the research is experienced as a kind of political act, a protest that has the power to positively influence living conditions and, above all, the development of proper policies to fight crime. The researcher is challenged to examine the research questions and meet the expectations in a context of honesty and truth.

On the other hand, prisoners can be very suspicious of the researcher, especially in the early stages of the research. Their resistance often stems from the informal code of conduct for prisoners. The code of silence enforces self-restraint, especially if the research involves group interviews. In this case, the researcher has to be very careful about how he/she assembles the teams and how he/she builds trust and cooperation with the team members.

It should be noted that in qualitative research, the researcher can be described as the most important research instrument and therefore his or her self-presentation and actions during the research

influence both the way he or she observes and understands the research field and the reactions of the research subjects to his or her presence (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). In particular, when conducting research in prisons, the prisoners' view of the researcher is directly related to what they will say to him/her (Scott, 2015: 49). Therefore, we consider that how one presents oneself plays a particularly important role in the effort to gain the trust of prisoners. The 'self-presentation" or, more simply, the disclosure of information about the researcher's person to prisoners is a particularly important element in the effort to develop the necessary relationships between them while helping to establish a non-hierarchical relationship and gain respect (Bosworth, Cambell, Demby, Fearranti and Santos, 2005). The constant reminder of the confidentiality of the data and that the researcher has the role of an outside visitor who has no power in the prison system is something that may reduce prisoners' mistrust. Another important factor in the effort to establish a relationship of trust is the researcher's familiarity with the prisoners' "language" and the establishment of an appropriate communication framework, which can be achieved through a long stay in the field of research (Orfanaki, 2016). As already mentioned, correctional staff and prison management may feel disturbed by the research process.

The use of ethnographic research methods in the field of criminology, in addition to the general problems and the "dirty" reality in which the researcher becomes embroiled in his attempt to study the criminal phenomenon (Maguire, 2000), brings him face to face with great ethical dilemmas as the social distance between him and the people he is researching is reduced (Yates, 2004). This is where the researcher's ethical compass plays an extremely important role in the process of creating crime theory and knowledge, as the goals the researcher sets for himself are closely linked to the way he understands the world of prison (Scott, 2015). Another important challenge often faced when conducting quality research in prisons is dealing with prisoners' emotions and information. The researcher may be faced with intense emotional responses to manage. As Jewkes (2014: 389) notes, prisons are very human environments that give rise to acute difficulties, dilemmas, complexities and contradictions. They are, from a sensory perspective, special places

that manage to deny and deprive, while sometimes simultaneously overwhelming the senses. And in the midst of all this, the researcher must be present without interfering, and must be able to apply the rules of the culture of mutual non-engagement while trying to initiate some engagement. Among other things, the researcher has to be particularly attentive and try to decipher the desires, goals and feelings of the prisoners (Lucic-Catic, 2011: 32), while often becoming an audible witness to personal stories of everyday life, problems, simple and complex thoughts, experiences, etc. (Schutz, 1967: 74), as the interviewees speak and are in a sense exposed to topics they may never have shared with another person. Therefore, it is almost impossible for a researcher to be detached from people's pain. This is because the quality of the researcher coexists with that of the human being, and any methodological approach that demands the separation of these two qualities - the separation between work and life - is deeply flawed (Liebling, 1999: 166). Yet social research cannot be objective, as this would require the researcher's complete detachment from his or her personal and political preferences, which is impossible. Therefore, the dilemma of whether or not the researcher should take sides is false. The real dilemma is with which side he will identify. The researcher should therefore consciously choose a side that is consistent with his personal and political beliefs, while at the same time using the technical and theoretical sources that will help him avoid bias in his work, verify his conclusions as best he can, recognise the hierarchy of credibility, and identify as best he can the accusations and doubts that will arise in connection with his research (Becker, 1967).

Another important aspect of research on prisons is the obligation to guarantee anonymity and ensure confidentiality. To this end, no reference is made to the real names of people and places, or to other features that might "reveal" the identity of the interviewee (Lofland, Snow, Anderson and Lofland, 2006: 51). However, the unpredictable nature of the prison as a fieldwork setting can confront the researcher with hearing "unwanted" and spontaneous statements that emerge as suddenly and instantaneously as "a rabbit out of a magician's hat" (Genders and Player, 1995: 42). The research process in a prison is thus characterised by the constant negotiation of the

boundaries between the obligation of confidentiality and moral integrity (Waldram, 2009). It is quite common for a researcher to hear, often unintentionally, information about unsolved crimes, plans to disrupt prison routines, incidents of corrupt behaviour by prison officials, and illegal actions by prisoners within the prison. When the researcher hears such information, he is faced with the need to decide on a course of action. We believe that each person must act on the basis of his conscience and the implications of the act 'uncovered' (whether it is a murder plot, escape of a prisoner, intention to revolt, etc.), always bearing in mind the possibility that the disclosure of information by prisoners may be a test of his credibility and confidentiality (Newman, 1958: 131-132). Such issues are primarily about the conflict between the desire to know and the desire to act morally to prevent harm to another person or persons (Cowburn, 2005).

Ethnographic research in the field of criminology was considered an "academic bad habit" and was not treated as a serious and reliable research method. Criminologists influenced by positivist ideas argued that ethnographic research was a time-consuming method and therefore unable to provide immediate results and address 'pressing' problems (Shearing and Marks, 2012). As a result, criminology had become a science characterised by an almost obsessive focus on statistics, opinion polls and other "objective' methods (Ferrell, 2009). However, if we consider crime as a complex socially and legally constructed phenomenon, then prison ethnographic research seems to be the most appropriate method as it takes into account the need to understand the logic and mindset of all actors exposed to a social situation or cultural context (Gaucher, 1988). We therefore strongly believe that, despite the challenges mentioned above, qualitative research in prisons is the most appropriate, as it offers the possibility to perceive the reality of prisoners and to bridge the gap between correlation and explanation by understanding the meanings constructed from language, symbolism and practices.

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THE GOVERNANCE OF SECURITY IN GREECE. THE RISE OF "NEW" PARTNERSHIPS IN CRIME CONTROL

Erifyli Bakirli

ABSTRACT

Crime control in the 'liquid' modernity has become a *'multi-agent system'*, and this can be theoretically explained by the concept of *'governance'*. States have recently been focusing on decision-making for action plans (referred to as steering) and leaving service delivery (referred to as rowing) to other agents coming from the private sector and civil society. The state-centred concept of crime control has been challenged for several reasons (e.g., globalisation of crime, 'marketisation' of public security, etc.). Under these circumstances, an increasing pluralisation of security governance can be observed, as the *'myth of the sovereign state'* has been brought down by a range of security monitors. Thus, the *'hollowed-out'* state concedes some *'peripheral'* security functions in the hands of the commercial sector (e.g., private security companies) and the community (through specific *'accountability strategies'*), while the *'central* security functions remain in the *'hands'* of the state police. While these trends are not new (private security companies and community policing programmes have been around for several decades), the rise of *'mass private ownership'* has reinvigorated interest in *'new'* security partnerships in policing. Finally, the *modern governance of security* in Greece is examined through qualitative research conducted by the author as part of her PhD dissertation.

Keywords: *security governance, plural policing, private security companies, community policing, mass private property, Greece*

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the modern governance of security in Greece. Contemporary crime policies have changed both quantitatively and qualitatively, as there are many more security agents than ever before and, at the same time, control is extended to the entire population rather than to specific suspects, as it was the case in the past. Specifically, we will try to answer the question of whether and under what circumstances modern crime policy has become a 'multi-agent policy'. We will thus try to analyse the concept of governance from a criminological perspective, taking into consideration that it was first conceived as a political term meaning 'the way the state rule'.

The ability of modern states to solve major social problems has been called into question over the last three decades. Under the neoliberal ideology of the 1980s and 1990s, the 'welfare state" was the main cause of the problems and its poor economic performance was one of them (Pierre, 2000: 1). According to Ronald Reagan in the US, Margaret Thatcher in the UK, Brian Mulroney in Canada, etc., the solution was a strict monetary policy accompanied by market deregulation, privatisation, drastic reduction of the public sector and the introduction of 'managerialism' techniques (McLaughlin, 2006: 240-242), and semi-autonomous services in public administration (Bockman, 2013: 14).

Under these circumstances, the 'state' has become, as sociologist Daniel Bell puts it, "too big for the small problems and too small for the big ones" (Crawford, 2002a: 2), and so 'governance' emerged as an alternative political approach driven by the 'minimalist state' (Rhodes, 1994; Rhodes, 1997). This 'crisis of governability', owed to the welfare state (Crawford, 2001a: 10), over-regulation and bureaucracy, underlined the need for cooperation between state and non-state sectors in public administration (Kazancigil, 1998: 70; Pierre, 2000: 2). The concept of 'hollowing out the state' (Rhodes, 1996: 661-663; Rhodes, 1997: 19) is therefore crucial to understanding this transformation from the 'unitary state' to a 'differentiated polity' (Rhodes, 1997: 3, 53), which is taking place through: (a) privatisation and the dismantling of the state's duty of

care; (b) the transfer of responsibilities from central government to alternative national and supranational actors; c) the introduction of the 'new public management', which emphasises technocratic responsibility, accountability and the reduction of civil servants' discretionary powers; (Rhodes, 1994: 138-139) and finally (d) the emergence of 'policy networks' (Crawford, 2001a: 4; Crawford, 2002b: 27) consisting of public, private and/or voluntary bodies (De Senarclens, 1998: 92-93; Finger & Pécoud, 2003: 5; Jessop, 2003: 1; Knill & Lenschow, 2004: 218; Ciccarelli 2008: 1).

From the "welfare state" to the neoliberal state

Neoliberals generally argue that the social Keynesian state, which emerged after World War 2 and was characterised by excessive bureaucracy and unrestrained interventionism, is inadequate compared to the markets. Therefore, governments should focus on decision-making for action plans and leave service delivery to other agents (Pierre, 2000: 1-3). The American authors David Osborne and Ted Gaebler (1992) compared the nature of governance to steering a boat. They therefore described the act of decision-making with the nautical term of *steering* and service delivery with that of *rowing* (Crawford, 2006: 453; Peters, 2007: 930-933). The transformation of the public sector under neoliberal ideology implies less state involvement (or less executive role - less rowing) but more governance (or more direction – more steering) (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992: 20, 34). The word 'governance' has Greek roots and comes from the Latin word 'gubernare', which means "to steer the boat" (Rosell et al., 1992: 21).

Therefore, according to John Braithwaite (2000)[1], the 'new regulatory state' of the 1990s becomes the main partner in a network of independent actors, directing and steering rather than delivering and rowing (Loader & Walker, 2001: 10; Crawford 2006: 453). Similarly, sociologist Nicolas Rose (1997: 3) emphasises that this

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1.The change from the 'Night watchman State' to the 'Keynsian State' and finally to the 'New Regulatory State' was successfully demonstrated by Braithwaite.

'advance liberal' state has been diverted from its central position in crime control, and coexists with other entrepreneurial entities (Rose, 1992). In this spectrum, social state cedes its role to the enabling state and hands over the responsibility of crime prevention to the citizens themselves as autonomous and rational subjects (Rose, 1999: 142; Rose, 2000: 158-160). As a consequence, the boundaries between the public and private sectors become blurred, interacting and interdependent to such an extent that no single partner would be able to govern autonomously; the role of the state thus shifts rather than shrinks (as the state still has core functions in fighting crime, as we will see later) (Pratt, 1999: 144-145; Crawford, 2001a: 12).

Let us now take a brief look at the differences between government and governance, terms that are sometimes confused with each other. In Anglo-Saxon political theory, the term 'government' refers to the official authorities of the state and their exclusive privilege to exercise their power, often coercively (through coercion and force), and thus refers to orderly rule as a product of 'territorial' state sovereignty (Stoker, 1998: 17). In the case of 'governance', the state has the ability to enforce decisions, but it cannot rely on coercion and force (Czempiel, 1992: 250; Holsti, 1992: 44). Governance is based on social consensus and mutual trust between the social partners involved in public administration (De Vries, 2003: 57-59). Consequently, government is state-centred, while governance is a much broader concept (DeSenarclens, 1998: 92; Dupont, 2007: 67) that refers to an interactive, participatory, decentralised and flexible way of governing by state and non-state actors (Gaudin, 1998: 47; De Vries, 2003: 57-59; Harguindégeuy, 2007: 388-389; Schaap, 2007: 532-533). In security governance, the government is one 'node among many' (albeit the most central). In these circumstances, "government exercises rule, governance uses power" (Czempiel, 1992: 250).

Why governance of security? The criminological interest of governance

The globalisation of crime, the emergence of new types of criminal activity, and the 'internationalisation' (Bigo, 2005: 53) and 'marketisation' (Crawford, 1998a: 245; Crawford; 2002a: 7-8) of public security have shaken the state-centred concept of crime control. Robert Martinson, in his seminal article 'nothing works' (1974), had already underlined the inadequacy of official crime control (such as the police and justice) to successfully confront criminality (Crawford, 2003a: 483).

Until recently, the state was responsible for protecting citizens from threats (internal and/or external) relative to public order and security within certain national boundaries. To this day, the state retains the exclusive privilege of using some form of 'legal force' against these threats (Baratta & Wagner, 1994: 331; Brants & Field, 1997: 403; Loader, 2000: 326; Crawford, 2002a: 7-8; Ocqueteau, 2004b: 67; Hague & Harrop, 2005: 32-33). Max Weber referred to this as the *monopoly of the physical exercise of power* (Weber, 1948 as cited in Loader & Walker, 2001: 11-12). Yet the myth of the sovereign state, as David Garland (1996: 448-449) puts it, has recently been brought down by a number of security observers (Bayley & Shearing, 2001: 8; Bigo, 2005). The concept of governance or the 'new governance of security' (Loader & Sparks, 2007: 82)[2] implies preventive initiatives that promote 'ineterpartnership' (Lazerges, 1988 as cited in Nikolopoulos, 2008: 15; Robert, 1993 as cited in Papatheodorou 2002: 283) and 'participatory' forms of intervention in crime control, such as self-organised networks composed of public, private and/or voluntary agents (Ocqueteau, 1991: 107; Mary, 2001: 14-15; Kooiman, 2003; Edwards & Hughes, 2005: 346).

In fact, security governance represents a shift from the narrow concept of 'police' as the official purveyor of public order and security to the broader concept of 'policing' as the performance of policing

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2. More information on the concept of contemporary governance of security, (see Bakirli, 2018).

activities by a range of power bodies (the police being one of them) (Johnston, 1992a: 11; Castells, 1997: 304; Reiner, 1997: 1005; Crawford, 2001a: 16; Crawford, 2003b: 136; Johnston & Shearing, 2003: 9-10; Ocqueteau, 2004a; Zedner, 2006α: 82; Williams, 2006: 299; Loader & Walker, 2007: 120; Newburn & Reiner, 2007: 912-915). 'Security partnerships' and 'policing networks' (Bigo, 1996; Bigo 2005; Bigo, 2009: 60) have thus replaced 'powerful policemen' (Crawford, 2008: 148, 152-153) and expanded the 'police family' in general (Johnston, 2003: 185-204; Crawford & Lister, 2004; Wakefield, 2005: 534; Sharp, 2005: 456; Loader, 2005: 164; Zedner, 2006a: 82; van Steden & Sarre, 2007: 51; Newburn, 2007: 630). Similarly, the notion of 'security governance' has replaced the conventional notion of crime control, since contemporary crime policy has become 'plural', 'multilateral', 'polycentric', 'multi-agent' and 'multi-level' or 'nodal' (Wood, 2004: 32; Walters, 2004: 27; Shearing, 2004: 7; Shearing, 2007: 249; Jones, 2005: 509; Newburn & Reiner, 2007: 932; Newburn, 2008: 826-827; Stenning, 2009: 23, 31)[3]. At the same time, the postmodern governance of security is subject to the rules of marketing, as public policing has become 'commercialised' (Reiner, 1992: 778; O'Malley, 1997: 373-375; Hughes, 2001: 177-178), operating with terms of 'managerialism', 'consumerism' and 'promotionalism', as Loader (1999: 375-376) has pointed out.

In summary, the governance of security is becoming increasingly complex. On the one hand, states continue to have a major role in security governance, as the state sector in crime control is more extensive than ever before. On the other hand, there is an increasing pluralisation of security provision. This 'multilateralisation' of security governance is primarily explained by the '*devolution*' or '*dispersal*' (Cohen, 1979: 346-350) of certain policing functions by the state to the non-state sector under neoliberal ideology (Crawford, 1994: 501-503; Dupont 2007: 69). Thus, it has been argued that an increasingly '*hollowed out*' state is pursuing a policy of privatisation in order to disburse some 'peripheral' security

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3. In England, for example, there are at least 375 *"Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships"* (see Crawford, 1998b: 4-5).

functions to the commercial sector (private security companies) (Johnston & Shearing, 2003: 15-16) and to municipalities (through accountability strategies/proximity policies) (Johnston, 1992a: 14; Garland, 1996: 452-455; Garland, 2001a: 124-127; Wakefield, 2005: 542; Edwards, 2006: 189), but leaving the 'core' security functions in the hands of the state police (Jones & Newburn, 2002: 132-133; Lambropoulou 2003: 170; Shearing, 2004: 8-9; Dupont 2007: 80).

As Trevor Jones and Tim Newburn (2002: 130, 134, 142-143) point out, these trends are not entirely new, for many forms of governance of security are already familiar. Private security services, for example, have been existed since the 1960s and 1970s. However, the rise of 'mass private ownership' has revived interest in private forms of policing (Shearing, 1992: 406; Jones & Newburn, 1999: 227; Johnston, 1992b). The 'commodification' and 'commercialisation' of security is indeed related to changes in spatial structuring. Recently, collective activities no longer take place in public space, but in 'mass private property', as Clifford Shearing and Philip Stenning (1983 & 1987) first characterised it. The term 'mass private property' refers to contiguous complexes of private property that are visited daily by large numbers of people. Good examples are shopping centres, amusement parks and leisure centres with cinemas, bowling alleys, skating rinks, restaurants, shops, etc., educational institutions, and large residential complexes with houses and offices, such as 'gated communities' (Lambropoulou, 2001: 80). The authors, Shearing & Stenning (1983: 496-497, 503) and Jones & Newburn (1998: 46-48), have thus linked the growth of 'mass private ownership" to the rise of 'corporate feudalism", in which huge tracts of private land are put to public use. These spaces are referred to as 'new commons' (Von Hirsch & Shearing, 2000) or 'new communal spaces' (Shearing & Wood, 2003: 410; Kempa et al., 2004: 570) or even 'quasi-public' or 'hybrid spaces' (Kempa et al., 1999: 203; Button, 2003: 229). Consequently, security in these environments is mainly provided by private security companies (Ocqueteau, 1986: 264; Ocqueteau, 1991: 87-88; Shearing, 1992: 422-423, 425; Jones & Newburn, 1998: 108; Loader, 2000: 328; Johnston & Shearing, 2003: 31-32; Newburn 2007: 321; White, 2012: 88).

Governance of security in Greece. The research

The aim of the qualitative research, conducted from November 2015 to January 2017, was the empirical analysis of *modern governance of security* in Greece. The author interviewed, through semi-structured questionnaires, a representative sample composed of the following:

a) Private security companies: We came into contact with three representatives (as heads of security, system managers) of the largest private security companies in Greece (two of them were international, the other was Greek).
b) Agents from the public and private sectors: We had contact with representatives (as operations/security/health and safety managers and special security consultants) from a urban retail transport company, a security, fire detection and automation company, a university, a prison hospital, a prison, a court, a security advisory board of a ministry, a private bank association, an airport, a retail company, a football corporation, a shopping centre, a cinema complex and finally an amusement park, most of them located in Attica.
c) A representative of a gated community: We interviewed the member of the board of directors of a residential complex in Attica.
d) A representative of a municipal crime prevention agent: We interviewed the former head of a municipal police station in Attica.

Our conversation revolved around some basic questions/topics like:

a) general information on the profile of the intermediary (e.g., legal and ownership status, date of commencement of business, employer number, management structure, annual financial turnover, etc.),
b) the possible cooperation between private and community actors with the public police and other official law enforcement agencies,

c) the role of the state in the modern governance of security,
d) other matters/inadequacies due to current practice and legal regulations.

Results

According to the views of the majority of the research population, this blurring of the boundaries between public and private police, which was one of the basic hypotheses of our study, has recently become evident. While the public police are in charge of fighting crime and have more experience, the private security companies are involved in crime prevention strategies and have more technical know-how and better security equipment. We have already referred to this mixed/plural/multilateral policing in our theoretical analysis above. Furthermore, we have noted that there are several combinations of policing in the same setting: different private security companies, partnerships between public and private police, and the co-existence of two different forms of private policing such as contract security (the client contracts with a private security company) and in-house security (the customer hires private security guards himself).

This 'multi-agency'/'interpartnership' in crime control is indicative of the court's 'threefold way of policing'. On the one hand, the in-house security service was responsible for controlling the entrance and all courtrooms. On the other hand, the control centre linked to the video surveillance systems was operated by a private security company (a form of contract security). At the same time, the court employs 70-80 officers of the Hellenic Police for foot patrols, escorting detainees, etc., activities that are still exclusively carried out by the public police. According to the head of the court's security department, *"the private police fill the gaps of the public police. Moreover, the public police officers have the necessary 'symbolic' power to maintain public order in such a vulnerable place (i.e., the court)"*.

This *governance of security* in Greece is, according to the representatives of our research population, mainly due to:

– the inadequacy of the public police in terms of human resources *("they cannot do the job alone"),*

– the rapid proliferation of mass private properties whose security is mainly provided by private security companies,
– the neglect of the preventive role of the public police, and finally,
– the exclusive provision of the technical 'know-how' and technological security equipment by the private sector.

In any case, private policing agencies facilitate and complement the role of the public police without replacing it. For all intents and purposes, the state remains the 'leader' in crime control and the main coordinator of the initiatives of the other actors, who definitely play a complementary role.

Conclusions

As we have seen, the state cooperates with, competes with, or, supports a range of security actors of non-state origin, whether as 'sponsor' or 'provider'. In short, contemporary security policy is based on the private sector, community participation and technical means of crime prevention, leading to a shift in state intervention. In many ways, the state retains an anchoring role in the provision of security, even with much of the private governance. The public police remain not only a resource of last resort, but also symbolically and culturally distinct from the private sector and civil society. In certain areas, the state retreats, in others it is transformed, and in still others it is expanded. In these circumstances, the state is not 'weakening' or necessarily 'hollowing out'. While it is certainly true that the state has played a key role in its own 'self-deconstruction' by employing strategies of 'ruling at a distance' to better delineate core functions ('steering') from peripheral functions ('rowing'), what has happened in the field of policing in late modernity is far more complex than the mere relocation of state functions under the pressure of neoliberalism.

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POLICE OFFICERS PERCEPTIONS AND "MEANINGS" OF RAPE: A QUALITATIVE INVESTIGATION

*Georgia Boziou**

ABSTRACT

The role of police officers in handling rape cases is crucial as they are the first to come in contact with the rape victim. The purpose of this study is to examine the perceptions and 'meanings' that police officers provide to the crime of rape. In particular, it examines police officers' interpretation of the term 'rape' and its identification with the terms of the institutional framework. It also examines whether perceptions and representations influence the investigation of a rape case in relation to the crime, the victim and the offender.

Keywords: *conceptualisation of the term 'rape', police officers' representations, rape myths, suggestions*

Introduction

The crime of rape

Rape is one of the most violent forms of human aggression with timeless and global dimensions. It is found in ancient civilisations shaped by the patriarchal structure of society, but also in modern societies influenced by the attitudes and socialisation of males and

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females. It occurs in all cultures and social classes and affects both sexes.

The interplay between social and legal perceptions of rape creates a web of formal and informal constraints on police action and more generally in the Criminal Justice System (LeGrand, 1973). It is almost impossible to talk about rape without referring to gendered attitudes and socialisation, as rape involves gendered actions. Decisions about which characteristics and behaviours are 'masculine' and 'feminine' are made by the dominant group (Fortier, 1975), which creates appropriate characteristics for each role. The characteristics of female gender and sexuality are related to how rape victims are perceived by the Criminal Justice System, but also by the general public (Page, 2008b). In this respect, police officers, like any other person in a given society, are influenced by their socialisation.

Rape myths and attitudes towards rape

Rape myths are a logical approach to understanding rape in general, but often stand in stark contrast to reality. The general public understands the term "rape" according to the prevailing stereotype: "a sudden and violent sexual assault by a stranger in a public and deserted location, resulting in a completed sexual act (penetration) and demonstrable injury to the victim" (Tsigris, 1998). The perception described above, combined with the social construction of gender, has led to the creation and perpetuation of "rape myths". Rape myths are biased, harmful, stereotypical and false social perceptions. They refer to the act of rape, the perpetrators and the victims. Examples of such myths are: "women ask for it", "any sane woman can stand up to a rapist if she really wants to" (Burt, 1980), "male rape is exclusively a homosexual problem" (Javaid, 2018), "women lie about rape" (Steward et.al., 1996) and "rapists are sex-starved, mentally ill or both" (Burt, 1980).

According to Brownmiller (1975: 81) in Heroic Rapist (article published in Mademoiselle magazine), people's perceptions or attitudes towards rape are important in understanding not only their

reactions to the crime of rape, but also their behaviour towards the victim and the perpetrator (Feild, 1978). Several researchers have suggested that these behaviours may affect a) the reporting of rape-by-rape victims (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1974), b) the treatment of rape victims by judges (Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980), (c) the enactment of rape laws (Sasko & Sesek, 1975), (d) the investigation of rape allegations by police (Chappell, 1977), and (e) the physical and psychological care of the victim by medical personnel (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1976; McGuire & Stern, 1976).

Police officers perceptions of rape

Studies conducted prior to 2000 indicate that the acceptance of rape myths among police officers was considerable (Brown & King, 1998; Campbell, 1995; Campbell & Johnson, 1997; Feild, 1978; Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980; LaFree, 1989). Recent studies by Page (2007 & 2008a) show that rape myths were not strongly supported. However, they all agree that rape myths influence police officers' perceptions (Campbell & Johnson, 1997; Feldman-Summers & Palmer, 1980; Page, 2008a; Venema, 2014), but compared to male officers, female are less supportive (Brown & King, 1998; Page, 2007).

A study conducted by Page (2008b) concluded that police officers with a higher level of educational attainment are more aware of social problems and are less likely to endorse rape myths, while police officers with lower levels of educational attainment embrace rape myths to a greater extent. Furthermore, research on police sexual assault has indicated that while it has contributed to the development of investigative skills (Campbell & Johnson, 1997; Rich & Seffrin, 2012), it has not made a difference in the acceptance of rape myths (Lonsway, Welch & Fitzgerald, 2001). On the contrary, police officers' experiences are associated with lower acceptance of myths and conduct better interviewing of rape victims (Page, 2007; Rich & Seffrin, 2012).

Furthermore, police officers have an image of an "ideal" rape and an "ideal" rape victim based on their personal beliefs (Hazelwood &

Burgess, 1995). In particular, they pay attention to the consistency, characteristics, behaviour, moral character of the victim and any relationship between victim and offender (Hazelwood & Burgess, 1995). Victims who do not meet this ideal are challenged by the police, who conduct additional investigations, which increases the psychological trauma of the victims (Page, 2007; Sleath & Bull, 2012).

When it comes to false accusations of victims, research conducted by Spohn et. al. (2014) concludes that they closely conform to the stereotypical view of a "real" rape. Overall, police officers tend to believe that false reports of rape are more common than false reports of other crimes (Ask, 2009). The difficulty of investigating a rape case because of the extensive evidence reinforces distrust of the rape victim (Ask, 2009) and leads to secondary victimisation (Campbell et. al, 1999).

The empirical investigation

Methods

This study examines (a) police officers' definitions of the term 'rape' and whether they identify with the institutional framework, (b) police officers' representations of the crime of rape, the victim and the offender and (c) whether police officers' representations of rape influence the management of rape cases. All three research questions are important in identifying what police officers need to improve in dealing with rape incidents.

Participants

Twenty police officers participated in the current study, all of whom work or have worked in Security Departments within the jurisdiction of the Attica General Police Directorate (GADA) and in particular the Attica Security Directorate. The reason for this was that the police officers in Security Departments are the first ones the victim comes into contact with, when reporting an incident. An additional criterion for the selection of the population was the experience of the participants in dealing with rape or attempted rape incidents, in

order to examine the crime of rape in the light of their operational intervention and contact with both, victims and offenders.

All twenty participants graduated from the Police Academy. Specifically, twelve of them were graduates of the Officers' School and the remaining eight had graduated from the Police Constable School. They were between 25 and 59 years old and had between 8 and 33 years of service. Their work experience in the Security Departments ranged from 5 to 16 years for the male officers and from 3 to 10 years for the female officers. Regarding their level of education, 9 participants had a bachelor's or postgraduate degree. Only four participants had attended training seminars on sexual violence, with 2 of them regularly attending such seminars.

Procedures and limitations

Special permission from the Greek Ministry of Citizen Protection was required to conduct the study. Initially, a designated officer was assigned to assist the researcher in finding volunteers; later, the researcher followed the snowball method. Participants were contacted via telephone and agreed to participate in an in-depth interview following an open-ended interview guide. They were also assured of anonymity and confidentiality. Participants who agreed to participate voluntarily had to sign a consent form.

It is important to note that the study coincided with the Covid 19 pandemic and there was a lockdown from 23 March to 4 May 2020, which caused fear and insecurity among citizens. This also had an impact on crime, decreasing street crime and increasing violent crime (according to official statistical records).

Although the numerical target of twenty interviews was achieved, there was a quantitative gender imbalance since the interviews conducted were with 15 male and 5 female officers. The reason for this imbalance is that the number of women working in Security Departments is significantly lower than that of men; however, the gender perspective in the representations of professionals in the field was ensured.

Tools and procedures of data collection

The tool selected and used for data collection was the face-to-face interview. Specifically, the semi-direct (Thanopoulou, 2015) or semi-structured qualitative interview was chosen because it is characterised by a relatively informal style, like having a conversation. This offers the researcher the flexibility to modify, add or delete questions for discussion. Data was collected using an interview guide that contained predefined questions or topics that the researcher wanted to cover (Mason, 2011) so that respondents could share their views and experiences on the topic in question.

Interview guide

The guide consists of ten distinct topics, namely: 1. Socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, education, training, work experience. 2. Experience in handling rape cases. 3. Knowledge and views on the legal definition (Article 336 P.C.) and how their views are consistent with the legal framework on rape. 4. Contact with the rape victim (profiling the victim). 5. The victim's report, approach, assessment and views about the victim. 6.The narration of a rape incident. 7. The contact with the offender and their views on the conditions that contributed to the commission of the crime (profiling the perpetrator). 8. Views on the characteristics of the crime (time, place, factors, increase or decrease in rates), "meanings" and perceptions. 9. Views and suggestions on rape prevention. 10. Views on personnel and training to better handle a rape case, on the victim and the offender, and their personal emotional needs when handling a rape case.

Data Analysis

After the recorded face-to-face interviews were completed, they were transcribed, converting the spoken language into written text, including pauses and overlaps. In addition, the researcher took notes on the emotional reactions of the participants in order to include them in the analysis of what had been stated. The method used in this research is thematic content analysis. Data are collected and

classified by themes to allow comparisons but at the same time "to remain open to the views involved" (Tsiganou, 2015). Each thematic unit consists of subsections that represent questions that were asked of the participants. For each sub-section, summaries of the data collected are produced that include the results of everything that was said, pointing out similarities and differences while listing the characteristics of those who differed in their answers.

Results

The understanding of the legislation

Participants were asked to define the crime of rape to assess their views and cognitive patterns regarding the offence and whether their definitions were consistent with the legal definition. Almost half of the participants agree with the legal definition as stated in the Greek Penal Code, which includes the elements of violence, threat and coercion during sexual intercourse without the other person's consent. However, two typologies emerge: a) a legal one, where participants refer to either only the consent of the other or only the violence used without reference to consent to the act when defining rape, and b) an extra-legal one, where participants define rape as a violent crime, using terms that indicate the psychological consequences of rape for the victim. The former could be due to the fact that the term "consent" was only recently included in the legal definition after it was amended (L.4619/2019).

Representations: victim, offender and crime incident

All participants agree that rape is predominantly committed by men, while most of them believe that "the number of men who have been raped" is not small. This perception is important because it goes beyond the dominant gender dimension of rape.

Most respondents believe that any woman can be a victim of rape, regardless of age or marital status. She can be either native or foreign, of any age, employed or unemployed, single or married. In addition, police officers believe that education is not a factor

in their victimisation, but when it comes to reporting, they believe that victims who are highly educated come forward to report their victimisation. Only a few participants believe that a high level of education can have a negative impact on reporting because the victim is aware of the Criminal Justice proceedings, a view also argued by Lizotte (1985) in his research.

As for the offender, according to the participants' own experience, all officers, both male and female, share the same view that the offender could be anyone, even "the person next door". Almost all participants agreed that the offender has no special characteristics: "I think that anyone could be (a rapist) [...] anyone could do it, but you do not know who could do it, they have no special characteristics and you can not predict them". Another responded, claimed that "It's about personality, not all of them are rapists, but you can not distinguish them by a particular characteristic to say that he or she has the potential to be (a rapist), you can not distinguish them".

In terms of the offence, most participants agreed that each incident is different and that there are categories such as incest rape, intentional rape, stranger and acquaintance rape, of the vulnerable, forcible rape, rape in households or abandoned areas and with favorable conditions for the offender.

Do perceptions affect the management of rape incidents?

From the current study, police officers seem to share some stereotypical perceptions but do not strongly support them. Corresponding conclusions were drawn in Page's (2007, 2008a & 2008b) research. These stereotypical perceptions, about the victim, the offender and the crime are more prevalent among male officers and less so among female officers. Similar conclusions were also reached by Brown & King (1998), Page (2007) and Rich & Seffrin (2012).

Participants believe that the lack of equipment and understaffing have a negative impact on the management of rape incidents; however, elements of police cooperation and solidarity are strongly displayed. Similar findings were reached by Dimopoulos (2007), Ingram et. al. (2018) and Nhan (2014).

During the discussion with research participants, it was implied that male officers doubt the abilities of female officers in dealing with a rape incident and in formulating a case (paper book). However, most participants believe that all police officers need additional training on sexual assault and should attend more seminars on "how to approach and treat a rape victim" because they "act on their experiences".

This current study also shows that police officers tend to overestimate the number of false reports. Similar conclusions were also reached by Ask (2009) and Page (2008a), as they appear suspicious in cases where the victim or the characteristics of the offence do not fit the stereotypical ideal of a "real" rape.

Furthermore, their work experience contributes to a) increased suspicion, as several incidents they have handled were false, and b) the reduction of stereotypes, as officers who have dealt with different incidents have a broader perception of the rape crime. Similar conclusions were drawn by Page (2007) and Rich & Seffrin (2012).

Overall, police professionalism does not seem to affect the process of dealing with a rape incident, as the procedure is initiated ex officio and the victim's report automatically sets in motion the mechanism of the Criminal Justice System. Therefore, all necessary actions are carried out according to relevant protocols.

Suggestions

The research participants' suggestions for better handling of the rape crime seem to be important as they are based on their own experiences and can contribute to changes or interventions for better handling of rape incidences.

Most participants seem to be frustrated by the ineffectiveness of the law in punishing the offender, which contributes to a lack of trust in the Criminal Justice System. The former finding reinforces the public's distrust of the Criminal Justice System (Zarafonitou, 2008; Tsiganou, 2016). In terms of crime prevention, almost all participants believe in educating the public about the dangers

rather than general planning by the police. This is because it is a sensitive crime that is mainly committed in private places. They also strongly believe that educating parents and children about the forms and characteristics of the offence would help to change the social stereotypes surrounding rape.

The participants' suggestions for better handling of rape cases are: a) the elaboration of more training programmes revealing the general beliefs about rape, the victim and the perpetrator, b) informing police officers about all changes in the law and training them on the new reforms, and c) the establishment of a special service dealing exclusively with rape (properly trained staff on legal and social issues, presence of a psychologist, technical infrastructure - video recording of witness statements, cooperation with victim accommodation facilities).

Discussion – conclusion

From the present study, it appears that the Police consider the legislation on rape (Art. 336 P.C. "Rape") to be sufficient as far as the burden of proof and punishment of the offender are concerned. When exploring the conceptualisation of the term "rape (one year after the new legislative reforms -L.4619/2019, Art. 336 P.C. "Rape") by offering their own personal definition of rape, it appears that most participants agreed with the legal definition. Thus, for most police officers, the law serves as a tool to deal with an incident of rape and to carry out their duties in general. The study also shows that female police officers propose harsher sanctions for the offence compared to male police officers. This is probably due to the fact that a) most rape victims are women and b) they become emotionally charged when dealing with rape cases when they see the impact that rape has on victims.

It seems important for police officers to know how to implement the law and handle any incident legally. The former is evident in the standardised way they handle rape cases. They believe that the processes of law enforcement are effective, so following all the formalities makes them look professional, but they lack

professionalism. They adhere to the "letter of the law" and follow Police Code of Ethics to handle incidents impartially and objectively. They respect the presumption of innocence and follow formal procedures, namely: the victim's testimony and medical examination, opening a case file and forwarding it to the Public Prosecutor.

Regarding the police officers' representations of the offence, the rape victim and the offender, the present study shows that rape is more common among women, but does not exclude men. Both victim and offender have common characteristics - it can be anyone, known to the victim or not, young or old, married or single, educated or not, with social prestige or not, native or foreigner. The only difference is that the offender is more likely to be diagnosed with psychopathology. Finally, the crime can take place anywhere, provided the place is "isolated" and there can be a connection between the offender and the victim.

Overall, the police seem to have come a long way from old stereotypes about rape incidences. They seem to have escaped from the gender dimension of rape, which means that they detect rape in women as well as in men. Similarly, but to a lesser extent, they are moving away from the stereotypical idea that offenders are always men. The police officers interviewed also recognise the fact that the rape offence has different forms and categories, while any relationship between victim and the offender makes the identification of the offence more difficult. From the above, it is clear that the police are not indifferent and recognise the evolutionary course of social problems that may arise and place them "in the social context".

In conclusion, education combined with training and experience can be important "conducts" for broadening both attitudes and perceptions of the police to better deal with rape cases. The combination of all three "conducts" during training at the Police Academy can help bring about a gradual change in the attitudes of new recruits, while at the same time changing the police culture that governs them.

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THE STREET ART PROJECT: A SOCIO-LEGAL AND VISUAL APPROACH OF THE ATHENIAN STREET ART MOVEMENT

Konstantina-Maria Konstantinou*, Evdoxia Z. Fasoula**

ABSTRACT

The Street Art Project has been active since February 2018[1] and is being conducted under the auspices of the Center for the Study of Crime (CSC). The Project consists of two parts: The first part focuses on the interpretative theoretical background of the Street Art movement, while the second part explores 'Street Art Photography', that is, a set of pilot research methods used with the aim of collecting images of Street Art works exhibited in Athens. These methods include photography combined with direct and indirect observation, and the study of the relationship between verbal and visual representations of Street Art in the digital city press. The Street Art Project demonstrated the emerging concept and role of photography in social research through the interdisciplinary approaches of the Project's research team, which used the visual material collected through this method for its socio-legal and visual analyses.

Keywords: *The Street Art Project, Visual Criminology, socio-legal research, Street Art photography, Graphology*

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   1. Scientific publications on the progress of the Project can be found on the official website of the Center for the Study of Crime (CSC), https://e-keme.gr/category/working-groups/street-art-project/.

Introduction

The present paper is referring to a pilot research project aimimg to highlight contemporary painting (Street Art) as an element of upgrading the city of Athens through visual perception and understanding. Further, studying Street Art from the perspective of the Greek criminal provisions on property damage in a strictly legal doctrinal manner would not have been fruitful in view of the distinct character of Street Art in comparison to Graffiti. Therefore, a socio-legal approach was adopted to capture the essence of the phenomenon under investigation. In particular, in order to determine whether Street Art constitutes the particular offence of *damage to property*, the legal doctrinal method and an analysis of case law were combined with the use of visual material, namely photographs of Street Art works juxtaposed with photographs of Graffiti pieces.

As far as the photographic analysis of Street Art pieces is concerned, basic methodological principles of visual sociology and forensic photography were applied, as they are also used in the field of forensic document examination. In the first case, we examined the mechanisms of visual representation and the reciprocal relationships that develop between the image of an Street Art item and society, the social meanings attached as well as their broader acceptance or rejection. In the second case, the photographic approach aimed to highlight the graphic media used and the urban surfaces, the use of the environment (including previous items on the same surface), the styles of painting and lettering, as well as individual details of wall engravings associated with the identity and personality of Street Art and Graffiti artists.

The Street Art Project is being conducted by the Center for the Stydy of Crime (CSC) from February 2018 to date. From February 2018 to February 2019 (a first round of participation) there was a seven-member scientific working group. From March 2019 to December 2021 the project remains supported by a wider network of volunteer researchers.

More specifically, the Project is divided into two parts: the first part is the theoretical background and the second part is the pilot research approach to the issues in question. The research was

conducted by means of quantitative and qualitative tools as well as by collecting photographs of Street Art works in Athens. The analysis of the latter was based on the style and social messages of the frescoes themselves conveyed through the photographs, as well as on the basis of criteria borrowed from the science of Graphology (e.g. with regard to the nature of graphic media used, the characteristics of the abnormal engraving conditions, the particular surfaces, the haste, the sometimes nocturnal execution, the particularities of the spraying as well as their symbolism and the particular graphic area). The field actions for the Project signify and symbolise the beginning of the extroversion of all scientific disciplines represented by the research team members, as they complement the core pilot research activity in schools and at the same time symbolise an ongoing communication with private and non-governmental organisations involved in Street Art (social networks) to better capture all facets of their movements. Some of them have reported especially where the events/festivals/exhibitions coincided.[2]

Theoretical background, methodology and techniques

Academics and researchers in the social sciences have considered the concepts of Graffiti and Street Art either as a central theme, when questioning about 'art or vandalism' or as one of many elements that emerge as a consequence of a wider deterioration of the situation within a city as well as a result of social protest, or even as a result of 'entertainment', 'fun' of young people.

Theory and research within the domain of Cultural Criminology of the decades 1950 - 1970 (Cohen, 2002) and the New Cultural Criminology (1990 and afterwards) propose to locate and interpret Graffiti and Street Art back to analyses of deviant behavior (Ferrell & Hamm,1998). Graffiti within the Urban Sociology-Criminology field is also seen as one of the necessary elements of presentation

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2. For those interested, theoretical scientific texts and the 1st research unit already published since 2018 to 2020 may be reached through https://e-keme.gr/category/street-art-project/.

and analysis in theorizing the degradation of urban landscape and the fear of crime (Zarafonitou, 2002). Graffiti and Street Art have also been viewed as consequences of the economic crisis, globally and nationally within Marxist and Economic approaches and have been also analysed under thiw particular point of view approach (Zaimakis, 2015: 119-143). Communication theories have also been recruited to interpret 'Graffiti' in Greek academic doctoral theses (Katsidi, 2010; Drakopoulou, 2017; Pagkalos, 2017) while for 'Street Art' (Public Art, Mural Art, Contemporary Art) explanatory, causal and multifactorial models are provided to a lesser degree compared to other fields of study within the domain of social sciences and mainly through the structure of language and the semiotic method (Stampoulidis, 2019).

The theoretical explanatory framework we propose to study 'Street Art' is based on 'Verstehen Sociology' (Weber, 1993, 1991: 197), in combination with the method and techniques of Visual Sociology (Becker, 1974: 3-26; Harper, 1988: 54-70; Geise & Baden, 2015: 26-69). Thus, knowledge of experiential reality penetrated by the visual field, the sense of sight, is then processed by abstract categorization and the creation of ideotypes corresponding to the visual objects (items) and subjects under study. We have also examined the processes of social representations, stereotypes building, the formation of predudice and the generation of bias. We have found useful some ideas as the following:

Based on the theory of social representations, a simplistic 'translation' is usually performed to describe complex social phenomena and situations on the part of individuals - parties which, in turn, is permeated by the creation of simplistic categories and the formation of images that are not filtered mentally (Allport, 1954; Moscovici, 2000: 231-260). In some cases, in fact, categories are built without superficial thoughts for conceptual differences. On the other hand Lippmann asserts that stereotypes are nothing but fixed 'pictures in our head', in the sense of repetitive experiences and unique images in the minds of people (Lippmann, 1949). Researchers at first believed that such conceptualizations were 'limiting the cognitive abilities of people in processing information' and later argued that such erroneous generalizations are doses of

truth (Hamilton, 1981). The process of prejudice is also based on images. There is a stage of mental processing, when the object of vision is transformed into an image of oblivion with exactly the same rendering of meaning (Tatsis & Thanopoulou 2009: 259-285). On the other hand bias is identified not only in the formal and the informal social reaction but also in the media. Lastly, various dilemmas are formulated from time to time projecting conceptual confusions (Cohen, 2002). Such is the case of the questioning whether 'Street Art is Graffiti', or whether 'Street Art is Art' and whether as 'Art' Street Art also belongs only to Museums that are considered the appropriate places for the management of paintings and heritage works.

Based to the above our theoretical propositions read as follows:

1. Street Art is an artist's individual choice of style and movement of communication form. The street artist on the street, addressing society in general, enhances both: the quality of the artist's daily life as an individual (meaning) as well as the environment in which the act is performed (understanding meaning).
2. The conceptual identification of Graffiti and Street Art in print media (digital press, blogs and websites) influences public attitudes towards Street Art and contributes to the stereotypical treatment of artists and the virtual distortion of Street Art works.
3. Images of Street Art works are a daily occurrence of visual and verbal interaction with passengers, residents, visitors of the city. Our relevant tasks included their photographic recording in order to interpret the purpose of the creation as well as interaction and to 'capture' the moments and milieu of their existence.
4. Through training in audiovisual tools and learning the relevant techniques, Street Art inhibits the chances of developing deviant behavior to minors and young adults (graffiti), thus contributing to crime prevention.

Our field actions were documented applying the rules of direct and indirect observation techniques and the process of photography through a camera following the visual sociology mandates, distinct from investigative journalism and social anthropology. We also have search for items (books or material, prints, any Street Art material

produced, in the Street Art scene of Athens, in the Street Art artists and in the Civil Society organizations - NGOs that implement public murals, sometimes collaborating with them and sometimes as mere observers of the process. The visualization techniques and tools employed helped us to gain a better understanding of the processes that artists follow in the production of a mural (either illegal or legal), and to highlight visual arts products (drawings, paintings) which can not match and be identified with the production of a traditional graffiti or a slogan product that require different processes of speed and equipment (Lewisohn, 2008: 63-71). On top of these our research is quantitative and qualitative of media and social media clippings, with analysis of posts with screenshots from social media (Facebook) and from the electronic press ('LIFO' and 'ATHENS VOICE' from 2010 to 2020), concerning separate Graffiti columns and Street Art, in order to investigate our relevant research hypotheses.

Some preliminary results

The issue of public murals in Greece is based on a specific licensing framework required for any type of property (state, private, rental). However, many Street Art works are performed without permission in abandoned buildings and help the identification of Street Art with unlawful Graffiti and property vandalism (Gomez, 1993). Sometimes Street Art is identified with 'smudge' in public opinion (Wolff, 2011).

Our research has helped the identification of some aspects of formal control and informal societal reaction regarding the concept of 'Graffiti', which were produced and reproduced by the aforementioned digital media in the period 2010-2020, while the in-use images/items and pictures by journalists presenting support for their articles, depicted works of 'Street Art'. As also evidenced no relationship between verbal and visual understanding with regard to Street Art on online newspaper publications was earmarked. Instead, there is a constant confusion between Street Art and Graffiti. Our quantitative and qualitative research of 109

screenshots of public news / headlines and photos produced ample evidence to the above conclusion. As a result, Street Art creators are identified with delinquent groups whose characteristic element is a combination of a particular political stance (that of a political disobedience to legal norms and procedures) with vandalism, city intentional pollution and degradation of neighbourhoods. However through 'Street Art hunting', we have been able to comprehend the means and ways photography may function not only as a historical document (documentary photography) but also as a means that crystallized the beginnings of the ephemeral, contemporary Street Art in Greece. Last but not least, the material collected throughout our research endeavors reflects the social reality as perceived not only by the press but also by the community of Street Art in Greece with its legality and illegality of actions in various loci and timing.

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DOING THE STREET ART PROJECT VISUALLY

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photo by Evangelos Koudonas, 2021, @vankoud

ABSTRACT

Already from the beginning of the Street Art Project we realized the dynamics of an image-based methodology and its methodological possibilities in approaching our research goals. During the photographic analysis of street art pieces, independently, but also in comparison with graffiti, basic methodological principles of visual sociology (street [art] photography included) and forensic photography were used, as they are used in the field of the forensic document examination. In the first case, we studied the mechanisms of visual representation and the two-

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way relationships that are developed between the image of the piece and the society, fueling its social meaning, its acceptance or rejection. In the second case, the photographic approach aimed at highlighting the graphic media and the urban surfaces used, the use of the surrounding area (including previous pieces on the same surface), the styles of painting and lettering and individual details of the wall engraving, associated with the identity and personality of street art and graffiti artists.

Introduction

The language of the image, in each of its versions (painting, photography, cinema, television) dominates not only as a rhetorical figure but also as an epistemological example for understanding the non-linguistic universe offered to vision (Skarpelos Y., 2011). Photography and sociology met each other several times, although their paths were not obviously common.

Despite the interest of sociologists and social thinkers in photography as a means of communication and as an art, especially after World War II, sociology did not try to use photography as a documenting medium in the field of the social research. Trapped in words and numbers, trying to secure an internal scientificity, the sociology did not dare to open another front, inserting the illusory image into the heart of its texts. Cheatwood and Stasz (1979) pointed out that the production and utilization of images in sociological research had to move on three levels (sociological, technical and aesthetic), with different rules, different vocabulary and different priorities, which could make this kind of project unrealistic (Hill M., 1984).

Recognizing the possibilities of effective use of the image (photography, video) in teaching and the search for a new way to enrich the description, leading to a more complete analysis of social phenomena, are important contributions of the visual sociology (Harper D., 1988). Visual sociology has its origins in the early

1970s, when Howard Becker called on his colleagues to explore the possibilities of photography and film in the search for social reality (Becker H., 1974). The term visual sociology itself does not impose any other sociology in terms of its thematology. On the contrary, it suggests a sociological methodology enriched with new methodological tools, both quantitatively and qualitatively (Schnettler B. / Raab J., 2008). From this point of view, visual sociology is a sociology open to the methodological and technological challenges of the present, willing to abandon the impersonal security of statistics, while trying to respond satisfactorily to the demands of scientific validity and reliability. Currently, visual sociology is defined as a sub-field of qualitative sociology. However, we find John Grady's opinion extremely interesting, that such a view is too narrow and that the field is actually composed of three distinct, yet logically related, areas of investigation. According to this view "the first epistemological area is *Seeing,* or the study of role of sight and vision in the construction of social organization and meaning. The second is *Iconic Communication,* or the study of how spontaneous and deliberate construction of images and imagery communicate information and can be used to manage relationships in society". The third area, which is the one that has the greatest value for our project, is *Doing Sociology Visually* and is concerned with "how techniques of producing and decoding images can be used to empirically investigate social organization, cultural meaning and psychological processes. It includes those techniques, methodologies and concerns that have received the most attention to date and where the camera and other technologies of representation have played a crucial role in the analytic process" (Grady J., 2008).

Visual methodologies

Visual methodologies are a collection of methods used to understand and interpret images. And the term 'image-based' is meant to reflect the use of a wide range of visuals, for example, film, video, photographs, within a qualitative research context. It is also meant to apply generically to encompass a wide range of fields of study including sociology, anthropology, criminology, education and

health studies (Prosser J., 1996, Prosser J / Schwartz D., 1998). There are principally two reasons why an image-based methodology is needed: in order to enhance the status and acceptability of image-based research in the wider research community; and to provide a critical platform from which to examine and refine visual methods. Already from the beginning of the Street Art Project we realized the dynamics of an image-based methodology and its methodological possibilities in approaching our research goals. And we decided to do this using, mainly, two ways from two different scientific fields: a) visual sociology (street [art] photography included) and b) forensic photography.

We undertake this task because, as image – based researchers, we have discovered the valuable contribution of visual media, especially photographs can make, both in the practice and presentation of our work. They can show characteristic attributes of the street artists, their wall-works, and street art events that often elude the most skilled wordsmiths. Through our use of photographs, we can discover and demonstrate details that may be subtle or easily overlooked. We can communicate the feeling or suggest the emotion imparted by street art activities, urban environments, and interactions between the street artists and the public. And we can provide a degree of tangible detail, a sense of being there and a way of knowing that the street art phenomena may not readily translate into other symbolic modes of communication.

As mentioned above, *Doing Sociology/Criminology Visually* can be used to empirically investigate social and criminal phenomena, like, in our case the street writings / paintings, their cultural meaning and psychological processes of acceptance or rejection (Harrison B., 1996). And that is particularly important for the future formation and development of the legal and institutional framework about the street art and the graffiti engravings.

Doing our Street Art Project visually

Several times we have wondered and been asked: So, why socially visually?

The key word is: REFLEXIVITY. *Doing our Street Art Project visually* turned out to be

- a mode to align with qualitative methodologies
- a direct way to gain access to public beliefs and values
- a proven powerful educational tool
- an alternative medium in order to highlight participant voices (street artists, art educators, teachers, students etc.) through their choices of words and visuals (potential use of photo-elicitation interviewing, Van Auken P., Frisvoll S., Stewart S., 2010).

Street photography is added to the tools of visual methods. Moving beyond the traditional lessons of visual sociology and the ways of photojournalism the street photography introduces an additional interpretive code; an alternative approach, which highlights the live interaction of phenomena, participants, environment and observer. Street photography does not simply certify the external social construction, nor is it supposed to carry only the heavy burden of a social message. On the contrary, as in all types of artistic photography, it is channeled by the creator's energy, emotion, vibration (Chatzignatiou T., 2020).

In the case of our project, street photography helps to highlight important formalistic elements of the street art and graffiti pieces, while at the same time brings to light, in a more vivid and creative way, the interaction-reaction of passers-by and the connection of the pieces, functional or not, with the urban and suburban environment. In this case, elements such as shape, color, movement and even humor play a central role in the way the street art and the graffiti phenomena are presented. An anthropocentric view is also crucial.

Forensic photography and especially forensic document photography has become an important staple in the criminal justice system (Hilton O., 1984). Not only can it portray an accurate depiction of the graphic and graphological events but also it allows for proper identification and reconstruction of the scene, in our case the street art scene or the graffiti scene. To highlight the importance of the forensic photography, it is vital to understand how forensic photography has

shaped and redefined evidence collection and the criminal justice field (Brown K., 2019).

Especially in the case of our Street Art Project a picture captured in a forensic way

- could be a physical evidence of the street art / graffiti phenomena
- provides us as researchers with a permanent visual record of the street art / graffiti scene that can be analyzed or examined in second time and for later use
- highlights the special and unusual conditions of the wall engravings (like the texture of the graphic surface, the upright position, the special graphic media like spray, the lettering mode or the street art styling and the use of the surrounding urban area, Fasoula E., 2020)
- is a mode of capturing the identifying details of the wall engraving (magnification / zoom even macro lenses and lighting sources, Dellavalle F., 2011; Fasoula E.Z., 2007; Cristofanelli P. & A., 2004; Bravo A., 2003,) associated with an analysis of the identity and personality of street art and graffiti artists (Fasoula E. / Konstantinou K., 2020).

Lessons learnt

From the presentation of the above ways of using photography in our scientific research it is found that researchers must themselves be clear about the way they conceptualize photographs and their role in research so that methodological strategies can be consistently employed throughout. Interpretation of any photographic data requires a theoretical / epistemological framework. A framework aids management of large amounts of (visual) data by providing logic for sorting, organizing, indexing and categorization (Prosser J. / Schwartz D., 1998). Photographs prepared as visual records and evidences (forensic photography) will trigger a different analytic strategy than will photographs intended as visual diaries and itineraries (visual sociology / street photography). The interpretative process begins well before viewing a photograph, and it's particularly important,

when decisions are made as to *what* and *how* the photographs are to be taken. Following an image-based methodology, socio-visual researchers generally take a more pragmatic stance than other fieldworkers, because they need to employ methods that enable to produce images capable of generating useful data.

It is quite impossible to envision methods that guarantee photographs uncontaminated by reactivity between photographers and subjects, unbiased by cultural expectations shaping the act of making pictures, or unmediated by the characteristics of the technology itself (Schnettler B. / Raab J., 2008). The stress on the naturalness of the captured data should, however, not be understood as a total skepticism towards socio-visual methods. An alternative to maintaining a distinct separation between image-based researchers and their subjects is to build a bridge between them. It is about a more radical version of collaborative visual sociology, named 'photovoice,' which places cameras in the hands of research subjects, to hopefully capture their unstated points of view, and then, for this new self-awareness to become the basis of imagined or actual social evolution (Harper D., 2016). In the case of our project by offering to the street artists the means to visually depict their own culture (for example self made videos from them).

Visual data can be also collected covertly, "under cover". Especially researchers using street photography may hide themselves from public view, or choose a telephoto lens that allows shooting a scene from a distant berth. Some research questions encourage such a strategy. For example, in the field of our research program time samples can be compiled at a particular locale, where there is a street art or a graffiti piece, in order to establish patterns of reaction and interaction with passers-by. Naturalness of the socio-visual data depends also by the way of capturing. In forensic photography, this becomes relevant when photographing a crime scene, in our case the street art or graffiti scene. For example, cameras have a light metering system. When a camera is pointed at a scene, bright colors such as white reflect a lot of light, making the image overexposed. In a dark scene filled with blacks, there is not much light reflected meaning that the image comes out underexposed. It is important for researchers using photography to recognize this and vital that

they possess the skill to correct the image (Brown K., 2019). This is also important when photographing details of the pieces on difficult surfaces. The researcher must know how to balance a suitable shooting angle in a manner that also illuminates the foreground, thus making spray paint more visible.

In conclusion, visual methods are a way to make visible the invisible, the crucial invisible and at the same time a continuous study on the invisibility of the visible (Fyfe G. / Law J., 1988). It is intended that they could be applied as a model of good practice for developing research paradigms beyond those typically used within the sociology and criminology discipline. *Doing our Street Art Project visually* means an ongoing invitation to a promising methodological challenge.

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DEVELOPING NEW PARADIGMS IN QUALITATIVE RESEARCH: CONTINUITIES, RUPTURES, PROVOCATIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES

*Maria Papantoniou-Frangouli**

ABSTRACT

Paradigms in qualitative research do not follow the Kuhnian 'paradigm shift', as new paradigms are not to replace the previous ones. Furthermore, following Kuhn this time, new paradigms are not to be considered as superior. All, particularly now, in the frame of post-modernity, characterized by multiplicity, relativism and uncertainty, different paradigms are allowed to co-exist, to overlap, to inform each other, to appear in various flexible, open ended, and adaptable versions. Among the influential new paradigms certain transversal characteristics are to be identified, such as perspectivism, becoming, non-linearity, reflexivity, decentering of the researcher, discourse, increased interest for the material objects, resurgence of the ethical dimension (axiology). In this paper, I will be very selective and discuss the overarching paradigms that have impacted on the development of qualitative research. Discussion will be based on the main constituents of a paradigm: The epistemology, ontology, methodology and eventual axiology. The new paradigms will be discussed in reference to the established major paradigms, as well as in reference to their conceptual underpinnings and philosophical influences. In presenting the new paradigms, I will refer to their impact on and relevance to criminology.

Keywords: *qualitative research, paradigms, new paradigms, methodologies, criminology*

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The presentation of the new paradigms in qualitative research is a complex affair, difficult to squeeze in a short text. This is related to the character of the paradigms. In qualitative research paradigms are not well circumscribed, it is not straightforward how to delimit a paradigm. Paradigms overlap and intermingle and develop in time adapting to the new ways of understanding research and to emerging intellectual currents. New paradigms do not substitute the previous ones, they do not follow the Kuhnian scheme of *paradigm shift,* and they are not incommensurable. Defining which the main paradigms are in qualitative research, and which are the new paradigms, is to a considerable extent an arbitrary exercise.

There is relative consensus that the elements of a paradigm are epistemology, ontology and methodology, axiology being frequently added (Lincoln, Lynhmam, & G., 2018). However, through the impact of new intellectual currents, and in the frame of new paradigms, the distinction among the above elements may become blurred.

Due to lack of space my presentation of paradigms will be a very selective one. I will start with the overarching traditional paradigms that are to be found at the root of more partial paradigms and research traditions. These paradigms best exhibit the continuities and developments in the constitutive elements of paradigms and the transition from established paradigms to new paradigms. I will continue with a more detailed description of the new paradigms, to be discussed in reference to the established major paradigms, as well as in reference to their conceptual underpinnings and philosophical influences.

The first paradigm: Interpretivism

The first paradigm that developed in the frame of qualitative research is the Interpretivist paradigm. The interpretivist paradigm has its roots in the philosophy of Dilthey and the sociology of Max Weber, who developed the concept of *Verstehen*, translated as interpretive understanding. In the frame of *Methodenstreit* in Germany of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century-that is the discussion of whether the same methodology is appropriate for natural and social

(human) sciences-Verstehen was conceived and developed as the approach that was proper for social sciences. For Weber, Verstehen provides a rational understanding. For Dilthey, Verstehen is acquired through empathy[1]. Interpretivism further elaborated by the phenomenologist Alfred Schütz came to refer to the actors making sense of their world and actions and to the researcher seeking to make sense of the interpretations the actors offer (Schwandt, 1994).

The interpretivist paradigm, focusing on the meaning making capacity of social beings and considering inquiry as an interpretative activity, has constituted the main paradigm used for a long time. It continues to be used as a basic approach underlying many recent paradigms. In the first place it is an epistemological and methodological stance, as interpretation is considered as the means of acquiring knowledge. Its ontology, depending on the variant, may be (soft)realist, or develop as relativist, particularly after having been interwoven with constructivism.

Many of the research traditions under interpretivism are informed by symbolic interactionism.[2] Symbolic interactionism has been developed on the basis of Mead's pragmatism.[3] The premises of symbolic interactionism are that meaning arises out of social interaction and that meaning is communicated through symbols. Symbolic interactionism remains significant under constructionism and under certain of the new paradigms.[4]

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1. In qualitative research, interpretive understanding is in the rule understood as empathy following Dilthey. Mistakenly, this meaning of *Verstehen* is attributed to Weber for whom *Verstehen* refers to rational understanding

2. Symbolic interactionism has constituted the guiding principle behind the Chicago School of sociology, and this even before the name symbolic interactionism was coined by Blumer in 1937 (Plummer, 2000).

3. Further influences on symbolic interactionism have been mentioned, such as of further pragmatisms and Simmel's formalism. See (Rock, 1979);(Plummer, 2000).

4. For example, Denzin has developed his approach of Interpretive Interactionism in the frame of post-modern theory (Denzin, 2009), (Plummer, 2000),(Gubrium & Holstein, 1994), and (Young, 1991) has integrated interpretivism in his version of chaos theory applied to qualitative research.

Constructivism[5], constructionism and social constructionism

Interpretivism and Constructivism share the focus on the world of experience as it is sensed and lived (Schwandt, 1994).

Constructivism belongs to the phenomenological tradition and is traced back to Husserl. Phenomenology and constructivism put the distinction between consciousness and object out of play. Meaning and 'truth' do not reside in objects independently of consciousness. As Hammersley observes, this means that the character and content of any 'knowledge' and 'understanding' reflects primarily, or perhaps even entirely, the nature of the construction process, including the features, dispositions, etc. of the agents involved (Hammersley, 2011). The difference between interpretivism and constructionism is that, while interpretivism relies on interpretations, through successive interpretations it still endeavours to approximate a 'truth'. On the contrary for constructivism there are no facts behind the interpretations, there are only perspectives. Research is understood as constitutive of truth (Schwandt, 1994).

Social constructionism may be considered as a softer version of constructionism. It has been developed by Berger and Luckman, who characterize their approach as sociology of knowledge. It concerns the social construction of reality and does not discuss epistemological and ontological issues (Berger & Luckmann, 1979). Social reality is constructed by its players, through communication and social interaction that takes place according to the principles of symbolic interactionism. Social constructionism is the most commonly used version of constructionism in qualitative research.

The early theory in the frame of criminology that follows social constructionism is labelling theory. According to labelling theory, crime does not constitute an objective reality. An act or a behaviour becomes a crime when it is labelled as such. Crime and deviance are

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5. Constructionism and constructivism may be used alternatively or may refer to slightly different variants of the paradigm. According to Crotty constructivism could be reserved for epistemological considerations focusing on the meaning making activity of the individual mind and constructionism for the collective generation of meaning (Crotty, 2010).

thus constructed by law, the criminal justice institutions, culture and the public mind (Becker 1965, as cited in (Ferrell, Hayward, & Young, 2008).

Constructivism, in its numerous versions, is the most influential paradigm in social sciences, to be also integrated in most new paradigms. It is certainly fundamental to the post-modernist thought.

Post-modernism

The post-modern intellectual current has significantly impacted social science and qualitative research of the last 30 years. However, post-modernism in social sciences does not constitute a well circumscribed paradigm. What is to be encountered in the field is mainly an overall influence of various post-modernist features and sensibilities on the epistemology, ontology, methodology and practice of qualitative research. The influence of post-modernism is linked to that of post-structuralism. The two will be discussed here together. The postmodernist/poststructuralist intellectuals, who have mostly inspired social theory and their ideas and concepts have informed qualitative research, are Baudrillard, Foucault, Derrida, Lyotard, Barthes, Deleuze and certain feminist thinkers.

Some of the features exhibited by the post-modern research are the following:

- Small-scale in-depth inquiry, providing local and context bounded knowledge in the form of narratives, is being privileged (Gbrich, 2004). Ethnography is the preferred method. As, in the frame of post-modernism, science loses its prerogative, the distinction between science, literature and art becomes blurred. Narratives may thus appear in the form of story-telling, poems, fictionalized narratives or in some form of art, such as painting, plastic arts, photographs, installations, music, dance and performance arts. We are in the midst of a narrative, literary, and performative turn. Literary forms and artistic forms may be used at any stage of the research process. The overall inquiry may be organized around some artistic form. Participants may express themselves using a poem or some

form of art, or alternatively the outcome of the research may be displayed in such a form. Performance may be considered as the modality par excellence through which research might find expression. Art and performance offer the medium to draw tacit knowledge that participants would not be able to put in words, but which can be powerfully expressed through art. Though any form of art can be considered as performative, drama in its various versions, including ethnotheatre and ethnodrama, performance texts, performance ethnography, may be considered as the most representative performative research method.

- Researcher is de-centred. Research becomes a collaborative venture. The researcher lets participant(s) present their own narrative in the way they wish or engage in conversations in which researcher and subjects participate on equal terms, co-deciding the direction the discussion should take. The researcher becomes one player among others in the research process. On equal footing with research subjects s/he is expected to communicate her/his lived experience, react, and express her/his feelings. Her/his voice will be included together with those of the participants in a commonly constructed narrative. This narrative will be multi-voiced, including even contradictory voices, avoiding being compromised and unifying. Researcher and participant may even coincide in the case of auto-ethnography. In auto-ethnography, the researcher, auto-ethnographer, explores her/his own lived experience, connecting the personal to the cultural (Ellis & Bochner, 2000),and exposes it to the reader. The reader, or audience, is called to make sense of it based on her/his own experiences, share feelings and develop an empathic relation to the author

- Central in post-modern and post-structuralist thought are the concepts of the *death of the author* (Barths, 1977), textualism and intertextuality (Derrida, Barthes, and others). Death of the author means that the author does not have greater insight into the text than the reader.[6] Texts become *writerly texts*, that

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6. Barthes writes: "Thus is revealed the total existence of writing: a text is made

is texts re-written in every encounter by a reader (Rosenau, 1992; Schwandt, 2007). Textualism means that everything can be read as text: life experiences, events, relationships, activities, practices, cultural artefacts etc (Rosenau, 1992; Schwandt, 2007). According to intertextuality every text is related to every other text (Schwandt, 2007). In this frame texts acquire an autonomous life, away from their author (Rosenau, 1992). Text and reader come to the front, author is devaluated (Gbrich, 2004; Rosenau, 1992).

As an example of how a piece of post-modern research could look like, and as an illustration of how the above-mentioned postmodern tenets could materialize in the frame of qualitative inquiry, I take the example of a piece of research consisting in a drama performance:

A drama performance may be staged and acted with the contribution of researcher/author and participants. Research process and communicable outcome coincide. The contributors of the performance act out the meaning with which they have invest it. The audience may be asked to intervene, in such case new meanings are integrated and the overall performance/text is re-written, becomes a new text. In any case the members of the audience are called to understand, interpret the performance/text in their own way. Each time each participant or member of the audience proceeds in a reading of the performance, a new text is created. These texts are authored between researcher/participant, participants, and members of the audience. The text is thus in a state of flux, undergoing an ongoing transformation, as long there are readers or audiences. This leads to intertextuality, interpretations deferring, across the different texts that are being produced.

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of multiple writings, drawn from many cultures and entering into mutual relations of dialogue, parody, contestation, but there is tane place where this multiplicity is focused and that place is the reader, not, as was hitherto said, the author. The reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text's unity lies not in its origin but in its destination" as quoted in (Gbrich, 2004).

- Decentred subject. Post-modernism moves away from fixed identities towards unstable, shifting, multiple, even contradictory identities that may form and reform in unpredictable ways. The subject becomes a subject-in-process. Judith Butler's concept of performativity (Butler, 1990) is consistent with post-modern understanding of the self, since through performativity subjects construct who they are, construct their fleeting identity in a never-ending process. Performative research, queer methodologies and gender studies are privileged in post-modern qualitative research.

- Rationalism and the certainty of knowledge are rejected. Research privileges means that are evocative, insight generating, provide sensory and emotional experiences. It uses means such as irony; playfulness; illusion; pastiche; parody; improvisation (Gbrich, 2004).The knowledge communicated is not straightforward cognitive, but experiential, affective, embodied. It aspires at such things as to improve communication and understanding among human beings, create connectedness, help expand experience, enhance the individual and foster self-understanding. Research outcomes are characterized by relativity, indeterminacy, inconclusiveness, open-endedness. Research takes an ephemeral character, not aspiring to knowledge accumulation, given that knowledge is understood as unattainable and elusive.

- Privileged methods of analysis are the Derride an deconstruction and the Foucauldian discourse analysis. Deconstruction is being used in different adaptations of the Derride an concept to the endeavours and possibilities of post-modern research. Discourse is understood, following Foucault, as constructing realities and subjectivities in the frame of power configurations and regimes.

- Research in the frame of post-modernism is intrinsically affiliated to the subjugated and minoritized.

Post-modern qualitative research has been used in criminology, under variant forms. Cultural criminology constitutes the most illustrious example.

Cultural criminology incorporates the intellectual reorientation afforded by post-modernism (Ferrell, 1999, 2007). It is constructivist, interpretivist (Ferrell, 1999, speaks of *criminological verstehen*) and concerns aesthetics, sensualities and emotions (Ferrell et al., 2008). Crime is considered as expressive and as accompanied by feelings of intensity in all its stages from commitment, depiction, the process through criminal justice, and imprisonment (Ferrell et al., 2008). Thrill, risk, danger associated with transgressive behaviour, are studied by Lyng, Ferrell and others under the concept of *edgework* (Ferrell, 2005; Ferrell et al., 2008; Lyng, 2004, 2005). Katz speaks of *seductions of crime* (Katz, 1988), understanding crime as having a sensual, visceral, bodily nature. Method (ethnography) is understood as flexible, playful, unfinished and subversive, negotiated in the field between researchers and participants (Ferrell, 2009; Ferrell et al., 2008). Sub-cultures, which constitute the privileged field of application of cultural criminology, are red as text, drawing on post-modernism (Ferrell et al., 2008).

Arts-based performative research constitutes another possibility for research in the frame of criminology. It is rather extensively used with delinquent youth and carceral populations. Such research may use theatre, dance, music or other forms of arts. To give an idea of how arts-based performative research serves the interests of criminology, I will refer to the research of the criminologist Sylvie Frigonwith incarcerated women using dance as method (Frigon, 2014). According to Frigon such research serves criminology as it helps understand imprisonment and its effects. It offers a different way to explore the carceral institution and create meaning, providing new lenses of analysis. Movements, emotions, and visceral reactions become the text for interpretation. The physical bodies are seen as sites, where their theoretical and discursive understanding of confinement and of the prison are explored. Dance has thus the power to subvert traditional ways of conceptualizing prison and prisoners. Arts-based performative research is always meant to be beneficial and transformative for the participants. In the case of Frigons' dance performative research, all participants, professional dancers and incarcerated women, profited by gaining a fresh way to see prison, incarceration, their

lives and themselves. Dance helps incarcerated women to come to terms with their body, constrained through confinement. It provides the possibility to achieve some spaces of freedom and temporarily some piece of mind. Dance as a carnal art disrupts and transcends the technological power of subjection. With each performance one can imitate, negotiate, re-form or resist (Frigon, 2014; Frigon & Shantz, 2015).

Chaos and complexity theories

Chaos and complexity[7] theories, the two being both similar and distinct, constitute a paradigm on their own, ranged under post-modern thought. They originate from non-linear physics and are applied equally to the natural and social world ("Chaos Theory,"; Tsekeris, 2010). Their vision of the universe is that of an orderly disorder, order appearing in the frame of global disorder and in conditions far from equilibrium (Πριγκοζίν & Στέντζερς, 1986; Milovanovic, 1997; Urry, 2005; Young & Douglas Kiel, 1994)

The fundamental principles are indeterminacy, non-linearity,[8] chance, un-concluded becoming, self-organization, dissipative structures, fractals,[9] bifurcations,[10] (strange) attractors.[11] They became attractive to social sciences –criminology included– as they are less 'chaotic' than postmodernism, providing a rigorous methodology

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7. Complexity does not simply mean that systems are complex, but also that they are dynamic and open.

8. A non-linear relation between two variable is one where an incremental change in one is not met with a proportional change in the other. Rather, a small change in one variable, at the right place and time, can produce large effect elsewhere in the system. Alternatively, a large change in one variable could produce a negligible impact on another (Guastello, 1997, as cited in Willis, 2007).

9. A fractal is a fragmented geometric shape of which each individual part is a copy of the larger whole (self-similar). Examples are clouds and coastlines, the Mandelbrot set (Gbrich, 2004). It is characterized by fractional dimensions, that is such an object might have greater than one dimension and less than two (Cislo, 1999).

10. Bifurcations are points at which a system under conditions of acute stress, unable to maintain its stability, splits and evolves into disorder and Chaos (adapted from Arrigo & Barrett, (Arrigo & Barrett, 2008).

11. A simple description is provided by Willis: An attractor is a state, condition or location that a variable tends to gravitate around (Willis, 2007).

and procedures and are able to account of the complexities and instability of the social phenomena.

Young, Milovanovic, Arrigo, Williams, Henry, and others in numerous publications provide detailed description of chaos theory and how to be used in criminological research. Chaos theory has been used since 1990s in criminological research on rural crime, banditry, property crime, gender and racial violence, organized crime, corporate crime, white collar crime among other crimes (Milovanovic, 2001). It has also been applied to law. Interestingly enough, Arrigo and Milovanovic use the concepts of chaos theory to fecundate the *criminological verstehen* (Arrigo & Barrett, 2008).

More than a century after the *Methodenstreit*, the methodology of natural and social sciences becomes unified. While in the frame of the Methodenstreit the question was whether the methods of natural science are to be applied on social science, or whether social sciences should develop their own methodology and methods; in the frame of chaos/complexity theories, natural and social sciences come on equal terms, under a unified paradigm, to be researched through the same method(s).

New materialisms

New materialisms is a paradigm in socio-cultural studies that has recently gained prominence within certain cycles of academia. The distinguishing characteristic is the increased significance and attention attributed to the material objects and the recognition of matter as agentic and vibrant. New materialism is used as an umbrella name for a number of both distinguishable and overlapping intellectual currents and research perspectives, such as new materialism per se, new empiricism, post humanism, transhumanism, Actors Network Theory and in a sense post-colonial and indigenous studies. It is not to be confused with historical materialism and the Marxian tradition. Its ontology is monistic (Braidotti, 2012, 2016, 2018) and 'flat'(Fox & Alldred, 2019; MacLure, 2015) as it promulgates the same ontological status for every being, human and non-human, organic, inorganic, technological, cosmological. New materialisms

collapse epistemology into ontology. Their ontology is realist in a particular way, as entities acquire their ontological status as real, by affecting and being affected by other entities in the frame of ad hoc groupings (assemblages), such as a network, an experiment, an event in which humans and non-humans participate. These ontologies are performative and unstable. Some of the major exponents of the paradigm for example Haraway and Braidotti speak of process ontology, as entities are not, they become (Braidotti, 2006).

The following developments have contributed to the emergence of new materialisms:

- Through technological development, artefacts play an increasingly significant role in human activities and knowledge production. Can even think for themselves and produce knowledge that humans are not capable of. Humans now work in a more intense collaboration with technological artefacts and, to a significant extent, they are displaced by them in significance. Donna Haraway has developed the heuristic device of *Cyborg* (Haraway, 1991), the cybernetic organism that bridges the gap between the human (organism) and the machine.
- New materialism is informed by the recent developments in physics, biology and biotechnology. Bioscience has led to an understanding of inanimate matter, organic matter, living organisms and humans as constituting a continuum (Haraway, 1991). Inspired by quantum theory and Bohr's philosophical physics, physical scientist Karen Barad has developed her theory of agential realism (Barad, 1996, 2003). In that frame *phenomena* (an experiment, an event) are considered as the primitive unit (ontological primitives): It is only in the frame of phenomena that subjects and objects emerge as distinct entities, thus entities are not, they become and they are context contingent. The components of the phenomenon are called *actants*, and not actors, as they do not constitute pre-existing separate entities but are constituted through *intra-action*.

New materialisms reject modern thought and science and the enlightenment humanism. Post-humanism, in particular, is

characterized by the criticism of the anthropocentrism of modernity and of the humanist ideal of enlightenment. Humanism is accused to constitute an ideal of man, the Western, white, rational, male, able-bodied and so on human being, that is developed on the exclusion and detriment of those other categories of human beings that do not conform to that ideal, such as women, non-white, non-western, non-rational. This ideal has provided the alibi to the European man to grow by exploiting others (voire colonialism). It is further stressed that man endowed with the powers that enlightenment provided him developed the will to dominate and conquer the universe with result the destruction of nature and of the planet.

New materialist, post-humanist scholars follow Spinoza, Bergson and Deleuze in their understanding of the world and in developing their methodology for qualitative inquiry. In opposition to modernist thought that is static and linear, they stress becoming, lines of flight, nomadism, rhizomatic change (Braidotti, 2011). Some adopt vitalism, as for example Braidotti (Braidotti, 2018), and may go as far as adopting animism, following Spinoza.

New materialisms are frequently categorized under post-modern thought. The relation however with post-modernism is ambivalent and varies depending on the subcurrent. They both built on its legacy and are critical of it. Post-modernism is accused of relativism and nihilism, of dissolving reality into abstractions through linguisticality, textualism and discursivity, abolishing thus all grounds on which viable ethics and ethical interventions could develop (Braidotti, 2012; Fox & Alldred, 2019). On its opposite, new materialisms integrate axiology in their paradigm: Being against all divides they challenge the binary human/non-human and the more specific binaries related to gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation etc. All categories of individuals and entities being equal become matters of concern and are entitled with rights. Special interest is reserved for categories of individuals considered as the 'other', that is the inferior in the frame of humanism and Eurocentrism. Among them, the victims of colonization attract special interest and colonial/indigenous studies are partly integrated into new materialisms. Nature and the planet earth are of great concern and a strong eco-conscience has been developed, sometimes referred to as eco-feminism. Many among the

new materialists and post humanists are woman feminists, feminism constituting an integral element of new materialisms.

With new materialisms, there is a rupture in the continuity of the research paradigms in social sciences and qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), as humans do not constitute any more the privileged subjects of the inquiry. Further, new materialisms are descriptive of actions, of relatedness, of co-creation and have not to do with understanding and meaning. The agency of actants in the frame of the new materialism paradigm is ontologically different from the agency of human participants as understood in the frame of the tradition of social sciences and qualitative inquire: It consists in the capacity of affecting and being affected by other elements of the assemblage. New materialisms are constructivist, but constructivism is understood in a radically different way in compliance with the tenets of new materialisms, as it will be shown in the next paragraph, when discussing Actors' Network Theory.

Actors' Network Theory

Actors' Network Theory (ANT) is the most influential research tradition in the frame of new materialisms, that can even be considered as constitutive of the new materialism paradigm.

While new materialisms developed as a paradigm in the decade of the 1990ies, already in 1970ies, Latour and Woolgar proceed with their famous laboratory studies, in the field of science and technology, from which ANT emerged. The purpose was to account for how scientific knowledge is produced in practice. While initially ANT was embedded in the science and technology studies, since around two decades it is progressively applied in additional fields of social studies.

The theoretical underpinnings are the semiotic-material[12] and the techno-scientific nature of the social (Farias, Bloc, & Roberts, 2020;

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12. Semiotic here does not refer to signs that take their meaning in relation to other signs, as in the frame of Saussure's theory of semiotics, but rather to relational transformations, following the semiotics of Greimas (of actants that acquire meaning or even existence in interdependence with the other actants of an assemblage) (Mattozi, 2020).

Mattozi, 2020). The method of data collection is ethnographic observation. Ethnography is purely descriptive and does not intent 'thick' descriptions. It is nearer to ethnomethodology. Major initiators and exponents of ANT are Bruno Latour, John Law, Annemarie Mol, Michel Callon, Steve Woolgar, among others.

ANT studies networks (assemblages), composed of heterogeneous elements such as materials, equipment, people, institutions, discourses, theories, previous scientific accomplishments. ANT studies the processes followed by these networks, all the elements of which are understood as actants -the favoured term of new materialism- meaning that they have agency, are interacting, are constituent elements of the process and are constituted by the process in a non-hierarchical relation. Thus, for example the products of the laboratory, the scientific facts, are not to be considered as the products of scientists or as the product of thought, but as the products of the relations developed in process among all actants.

ANT is both constructivist and realist. Constructivist because scientific facts are fabricated through the very processes that ANT studies. Constructivism in the frame of ANT takes a different meaning to that previously described when presenting the constructivist paradigm. It is less abstract, and its meaning is nearer to that of fabrication. ANT is realist but in its own specific way: Knowledge, scientific facts are not word-like or discourse-like, they have ontological weight and their own mode of existence (Latour, 2008). Scientific facts, once fabricated, they become real, they mess with our lives and may lead to the production of further knowledge, further scientific facts. However, they are only provisional realities.

In criminology the use of ANT is only limited, applied mainly in such fields as surveillance, cybercrime and analysis of the use of technologies in crime commission and crime control (Robert & Dufresne, 2015). However, in the meantime, post-ANT has emerged that uses the principles of ANT in a more flexible and adaptable manner. This opens the way for the use of ANT ina wide array of fields of inquiry, including those of interest to criminology.

Post-qualitative research?

In the frame of new materialisms and partly of post-modernism and post-structuralism, post-qualitative research is taking shape. It is difficult to describe it as it is still in 'becoming' and in any way it is from its nature fluid, not something quite tangible. Post-qualitative research rejects or deconstructs all the conventional notions of qualitative research: research design, method, data, analysis. Its proponents purport that all these elements are remnants of positivism, despite presenting themselves as something else (St. Pierre & Jackson, 2014). St. Pierre advises not to proceed using a method that is prescriptive (St.Pierre, 2014). The alternative proposed is to take a concept, for example from one of the post-modern/post structural thinkers, and use it as method. How to proceed is not predetermined. Method turns into an emergent action of creation (St.Pierre, Jackson, & Mazzel, 2016). The research practice that ensues can neither be described in advance, nor at the end. Method and research become unique, not transferable, not repeatable. It is data, however, that is particularly attacked, and coding, that brakes data apart, decontextualizes it and consequently render them brute data without possible meaning (Koro-Ljungberg, MacLure, & Ulmer, 2018; St.Pierre & Jackson, 2014).

Post-colonial theory/indigenous methodologies

Post-colonial theory is loosely ranged under the broader category of new materialisms and particularly under post-humanism, as, while sharing certain common elements, the scope of post-colonial theory is broader, focusing on the critique of coloniality. Indigenous methodologies/research are more comfortably ranged under the new-materialism paradigm. The principal connecting element of both post-colonial theory and indigenous methodologies with new materialisms is the critique of western, enlightenment man, accused of colonizing the 'other', of wanting to bring the other under his own ways of being, that is civilize the other.

Indigenous research shares further elements with new materialisms at the paradigmatic level: Its ontology is monistic/

holistic and relational, its animism parallels the vitalism of new materialism (and its eventual animism), facts are not separated from values. Evidently, all of the above are invested with a different meaning in the frame of the indigenous cultures to the one they have in the frame of western intellectual tradition -be it that of new materialisms. This becomes apparent from a more detailed description of indigenous epistemologies and ontologies that I attempt to present below, adapted from M. A. Hart (Hart, 2010) and M. Kovach (Kovach, 2009):

- Indigenous epistemology is a fluid way of knowing derived from teachings transmitted from generation to generation by story-telling, where each story is alive with the nuances of story-teller. Knowledge might be actively produced through rituals, ceremonies. Visions, dreams are ways of knowing. Other living beings, plants and even inanimate matter may assist humans in attaining knowledge. Knowledge is not individual, it is relational, it is only through relations and in community that it can be produced. It is also produced in concert with all creation, the cosmos. Knowledge is experiential. Knowledge has no value, but only in the uses of it, it is knowledge only as long as it serves the collectivity.
- According to indigenous ontology, animals, plants, physical objects are as animated as humans. Everything is alive and all entities are equal. Humans are not superior to other entities. The spiritual and sacred cannot be separated from the physical. Humans and other entities are linked to the cosmos, everything is a whole.

To translate the above in western scholarly terms, epistemology, ontology, axiology are not to be distinguished. Research has to be ethical, contributing to the welfare of community, or it has not to be.

Indigenous epistemologies and methodologies put strains on the qualitative research paradigm and subvert it. This is welcomed by a number of scholars working in the frame of new materialisms, who believe that the indigenous paradigm could help de-colonize western research. They further put forward that if certain elements of indigenous research are integrated in the methodology of qualitative

research, and if the orientations of research are transformed through indigenous sensibilities, research could become more responsive to the needs of humans, but also of nature and the earth and more respectful and mindful of those marginalized. Thus, indigenous research is not simply interesting as by itself and for itself, but has become of relevance to western scholarship and research.

An evolving situation….

We are now in a messy situation with a proliferation of paradigms or research approaches. As said, new paradigms do not replace the previous ones nor are to be considered as superior. Older paradigms are in place, but are being reconfigured (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018), as certain new tendencies have become unescapable. New paradigms develop in all directions, frequently integrating older paradigms or elements of those paradigms.

The tendencies that affect, to a greater or lesser extent, all paradigms and research traditions and whose influence is expected to gain momentum in the near future could be tentatively summarized of follows:

- Perspectivism, becoming, non-linearity, fluidity. These are tenets of post-modernism/post-structuralism that have influenced our overall way of thinking, and which are expected to remain as constants in the further development of qualitative research.
- Reflexivity, decentring of the researcher, discourse, deconstruction. These refer more directly to how the research is conducted.
- Interpretivism and constructionism remain in vigour
- Whether one works in the frame of some version of new materialisms or not, objects, technological objects in particular, will continue to increase in significance
- Resurgence of the ethical dimension. Axiology is introduced, sometimes as the main or even only element of the paradigmatic figuration. As the researcher can no longer pursue facts and

knowledge, her/his responsibility is to do research that is ethical, that is, research that benefits the people involved and promotes social justice and democracy.
● Minoritized knowledges and groups of populations are being prioritized.

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FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS' STORIES AND EXPERIENCES

*Ioanna Rotziokou**

ABSTRACT

The role and position of women in society have often been the subject of public interest and dialogue. Despite the fact that gender equality has been achieved legally and typically acquired, there is a question that has been raised in several cases as to whether and to what extent this equality is essential. Indeed, it is impressive that despite the significant changes in women's position in the field of employment, it has been noted that their participation in decision-making centres is low, while obstacles sometimes appear in their professional careers. These obstacles may be due to stereotypes or prejudices. This research paper attempts to examine the role of women in the police organisation from their own perspective by answering two research questions. The first concerns the way the female police officer describes her experiences within the Hellenic Police and the second relates to the interpersonal conflicts she experiences with her colleagues.

Keywords: *police, woman, conflict, group, identity, stereotypes*

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is twofold: on the one hand, to show how women police officers think and describe their police careers, and on the other hand, to reflect how they experience the conflicts with their colleagues in the police organisation.

It is common knowledge that relations between the genders depend on the context of space and time. Therefore, relations between the genders are always at the centre of an open conversation. In particular, the dynamic transition of women from the private to the public sphere has taken place over time. This has redefined the relationship between men and women and has led to friction and conflicts. Thus, the traditional division of roles between men and women in society, which states that women focus more on family life and men more on professional life, has become an objective of negotiation (Maragkoudaki, 2007). Meanwhile, conflicts are inseparable and inevitable in our lives. The structure of this article is as follows:

In the first part of the paper the theoretical framework for the shaping of social roles, of women in society and at workplace, and of women in the police organisation is first presented. At the same time, the phenomenon of conflict in the police organisation is discussed. In the second part of the present paper the methodological approach used for research and the research results are presented.

Shaping the social roles. The theoretical framework

The formation of social roles

The meaning and relations between genders can be studied within the framework of various theoretical approaches that focus on how social roles are formed and influence interpersonal relations. Some of the theoretical approaches that deal with the formation of social roles are the biological approach and the anthropological approach. According to the biological approach, the differences between men and women are determined solely by biological factors. One of the main

causes of the "inferiority" of women compared to the "superiority" of men is the sexual difference between men and women, which can be transformed into social inequality. At the same time, women's ability to reproduce, as well as their almost exclusive concern for raising children, exacerbates inequalities (Kantzara, 2008· Nasiakou, 1979). According to the anthropological approach, since prehistoric times, men were the dynamic hunters who ventured into the countryside and returned to the cave with food. In addition, the women had the task of gathering fruit and stayed at the temporary settlement site in or next to the cave to raise their children. Over time, the division of social roles solidified and shifted from private to public life, gradually shaping social inequalities.

Meanwhile, the agents of individual socialisation play an important role, such as family, school and mass media, as well as interaction with interlocutors. Normally, people are brought up from an early age in a very specific way and according to a certain pattern. As a result, men learn to be more introverted and focus on professional life, while women learn to be more expressive and open and focus on private life (Giannouleas, 1997). Through this process, however, certain stereotypes and prejudices about gender and social roles are cultivated and reproduced. As a result, two stereotypes are created: on the one hand, the stereotype of the tough and dynamic, determined and autonomous man and, on the other hand, the image of the sensitive and weak, indecisive and heterodox woman (Lampropoulou, 1994· Freiderikou & Folerou, 2004). This creates a division: the man is active and energetic and the woman is passive (Christakis & Analyti, 2003, p.62).

Women in the society and the workplace

In relation to women in the workplace, and after a brief book review, it is demonstrated that the gender division in the workplace is divided into a horizontal and a vertical one. The first relates to the different preferences and career aspirations of men and women. As a result, the number of men and women in different occupations is unequal (Dermanakis, 2005). The second subdivision refers to the unequal treatment of men and women in the professional environment.

Women in particular face more obstacles than men when it comes to their professional development. Essentially, this is the so-called "glass-ceiling effect". According to this phenomenon, women face more artificial or invisible barriers when it comes to their professional development in the highest positions of the hierarchy (Dermanakis, 2004). Despite the changes in the law, discrimination still exists, so that real and substantial equality between men and women has not yet been achieved (Alipranti-Maratou, 2008· Critchette, 2011· Petraki-Kotti, 1998· Poulantzas, 1982).

Women and men tend to choose certain professions. Professions are divided into male-dominated and female-dominated. The obstacles women face in their career development and the above-mentioned division of professions are based on both the nature of socialisation and the stereotypes and prejudices that men are successful businessmen and women are successful wives and mothers (Critchette, 2011). Nowadays, the situation of women in society or in the workplace has changed dramatically in contrast to the past. The modern working woman tries to find the balance between different social roles and identities. She experiences inner conflicts as she vacillates between different and conflicting social roles, as well as outer conflicts as she confronts patriarchal structures that prevent her ultimate emancipation (Symeonidou, 1989).

In her attempt to reconcile her private and professional life, she tries to combine the responsibilities in her home and in her job and to find the golden balance between these two different areas. She is exhausted and overloaded with her responsibilities and even sacrifices what little free time she has. Finally, the social punishment imposed on her is of great magnitude and when she experiences conflict, the physical, psychological and emotional toll becomes too high. For this reason, a large percentage of women choose to work part-time or take repeated breaks in their careers (Sinopoulos, 1986).

Women in the police organization

The police workplace is considered a male-dominated workplace. Globally, the proportion of women in the police service is low. The percentage of women in the Hellenic Police Organization is estimated

at 12-13% of the total police population (Astynomia, 2011). In Greece, it was established in 2003 that both men and women were admitted to the police academy with the same admission criteria (grades, athletic and psychological criteria). Until then, women were admitted to the police academy with different grades and sports criteria. Thus, female and male police officers now have the same opportunities for their professional development, enjoy the same rights and have the same duties and responsibilities.

In general, the institution of women police officers did not emerge until the end of the 19th century – by the beginning of the 20th century, women were being used extensively in operations (especially in New York, London and Tokyo) (Tsirigkas & Koutlas, 2017). Until then, police organisation was identified with the male gender, physical strength, power, dynamism or even violence and the ultimate devotion to professional duty, situations considered incompatible with female nature, motherhood, fertility or child upbringing (Cartron, 2015).

When women enter what is considered a man's world, male police officers feel threatened because they have long been the sole dominators in the work environment. They feel that their identity is being shaken, an identity that is highlighted by their role as a police officer. The possibility or thought of performing the same duties with a woman causes fear in a man. This is because men have the stereotypical perception that women are weak and sensitive beings who need protection and help. For this reason, they assign different duties to women in order to strengthen their power and protective role over women (Critchette, 2011).

As a consequence, female police officers feel that they are treated differently by their superiors or are considered to be foreign bodies in relation to the rest of the police force (Holdaway & Parker, 1998. Loftus, 2009. Price, 1996). Due to stereotypes and prejudices, women face discrimination and other situations such as sexism, harassment, abuse or insults, especially when trying to move up in the hierarchy (Lonsway, Wood, Ficking, De Leon, Moore, Harrington, Smeal & et al., 2002). However, according to research and surveys, women are just as effective as their male counterparts (Prenzler & Sinclair, 2013). In most cases, it has been proven that efficiency in

police organisation is not related to physical strength and power, but to communication skills (Gayre, 1996). Most of these studies concluded that women have the same abilities and are physically, emotionally and mentally up to the demands of the police duties, as their male colleagues (Price, 1996).

Relationships and conflicts in work organizations and police

On the other hand, conflicts are fundamental elements of social relations, as people may have different opinions and interests. Therefore, conflicts between individuals or groups lead to disagreements, tensions and conflicts (Coleman, Vallacher, Bartoli, Nowak & Bui-Wrzosinska, 2011). The consequences of these conflicts can be creative and promote social progress and cohesion on the one hand, but on the other hand they can be destructive and cause pain, distress and unhappiness (Vallacher, Coleman, Nowak, Bui-Wrzosinska, Liebovitch, Kugler & et al., 2013).

The police organisation is an integral part of society and cannot exclude conflict (Jaques, 2001). It is an organisation whose main mission is to deal with crime and provide bureaucratic services to citizens. It is a living working organisation that cannot remain unaffected by social developments (Tsouvalas, 2017-b). The profession of police officer is considered conflictual, as the difficulties and obstacles can lead to conflicts, confrontations and frictions (Crank & Crank, 2004). The police are considered a powerful group and isolated from the rest of society (Sklansky, 2007- Westley, 1970).

Conducting a qualitative research

The research

To date, few surveys have been conducted on the organisation of the police at the national level. In addition, surveys concerning female police officers are rare and in most cases the participants are predominantly men. Moreover, the fact that the author of this article

is a female police officer is another reason for conducting the present research.

Two were the principal research questions:

1. How do female police officers describe their experiences in the police organisation?
2. What are the main characteristics of the conflicts faced by female police officers in the police organisation?

The author of this paper chose the qualitative method by means of a semi-constructed interview. This is a method in which participants are examined in their physical environment and the results, such as the participants' narratives or the researcher's observations, are focused on the individual's life and experiences (Christensen, 2007). A total of thirteen female police officers participated in the research, as the number of participants was based on what is known as information saturation. This means that the frequency and repetition of information by the participants plays an important role (Davou & Christakis, 2006).

Analysis of the findings

The career of women in the police organization
The choice of the profession

As it derives from the thematic analysis of the interviews, the career of female police officers in the police organisation goes through several phases. It is emerged that female police officers choose this profession because of professional rehabilitation or because of the fact that they are affected by someone in their environment doing the same job. Another important factor is the sense of adventure and power that excites them and makes them choose this profession.

The entrance in the police universe

When they enter the universe of the police, which consists mainly of male police officers, they are confronted with the distrust of their colleagues as to whether or not they can meet the work requirements

and contribute to the realisation of the group goals. At this point, it should be emphasised that the profession of police officer was for many years a mainly male monopoly. So, when a woman enters this world, the men feel threatened and feel that the established order of their police life is being turned upside down.

The protection of the weak

Meanwhile, and in extremely dangerous situations, male police officers desire to protect them from the dangers of the profession and respond to them in a more traditional manner, according to which the powerful protect the weak. This confirms the stereotypical perception that women are the weak who need protection and men are the strong who provide protection. This perception may be due to the way people have been socialised and the way social roles have been shaped, which see men defined as tough, independent and strong and women as sensitive, weak and hetero.

Admiration or contempt?

With regard to the way citizens face female police officers, it is important to be noted that sometimes they are met with admiration for what they offer society by working in a male-dominated environment, and other times they feel humiliated, a condition that can be based on patriarchal stereotypes.

The adoption of group goals

Over time, the female police officer adapts to the rest of the group and adopts the group's goals. These goals are common and interdependent and have to do with fighting crime, ensuring a sense of security, social peace, public order and social justice, and serving the citizen on a daily basis in bureaucratic matters. As a result, these goals unite the members of the group.

Police culture and its acceptance

Gradually, the female police officer embraces the police culture and the values and principles of the group. As it derived from the data

analysis, the distinctive features of the police culture are: belief in duty, bravery through heroic deeds, distrust of different situations, feeling that their offer to society is unappreciated, confidentiality in police matters and sociability with peers.

Equality or unequal treatment?

Eventually, and after a long time, they manage to establish themselves among their colleagues and prove their worth. Thus, they feel that they have the same skills and abilities, enjoy the same rights and perform the same duties as their male colleagues compared to the opposite sex. It seems that equality has been achieved, but there is something like indirect discrimination, especially by their male superiors who do not assign them leadership roles in dangerous operations or missions. This special treatment can be attributed to the fact that male police officers feel they have to protect them. Their male colleagues oscillate ambivalently between two extremes: on the one hand there is equality and "sameness" and on the other hand there is inequality and "differentness". The participants in this survey possibly relate this inequality to the way people are socialised. Furthermore, they believe that the behaviour of their male colleagues is related to the fact that some of the female police officers cannot adapt to the police environment. In parallel, there is another interpretation of the male police officers' behaviour. According to this, some of the female police officers also have an ambivalent attitude towards their male colleagues. Thus, on the one hand they wish to feel dynamic and independent, while on the other hand they want to feel protected by their male colleagues.

The police family and the police identity

From the narratives of the female police officers, it is clear that they perceive the police group as their second family. As a result, they develop a very strong and almost familial bond with their colleagues, which is difficult to break. Thus, they feel that they construct their police identity through their police family.

Interpersonal conflicts in the work environment

Regarding the second question of the research, which refers to interpersonal conflicts, the female police officers don't want to cause interpersonal conflicts with their colleagues because they do not want to disrupt their relationships with their colleagues. However, conflicts are an integral part of a person's social life and therefore cannot be absent in the police organisation, which has family features and is a mirror of society. At this point, it is extremely important to highlight that some of the participants denied the existence of conflicts in the first part of the interview. However, later in the interview they admitted that there are conflicts or confrontations in the police organisation and claimed that they avoid any kind of confrontation when citizens are present. This attitude indicates that they want to improve the cohesion image of their group, because through the police group they gain self-esteem and self-confidence.

When conflicts do emerge these take place among male colleagues, since the majority of the police population is made up of men. They arise in the form of disagreements and their causes are numerous and varied. These causes can include: different opinions, different cultures, educational and financial backgrounds or even the different nature of socialisation.

These conflicts may be due to contradicting goals and interests, limited or insufficient resources, poor communication or violation of the other side's vital place. It is underlined that stereotypes and prejudices towards the female gender do not seem to play a significant role in conflicts between male and female police officers.

The alternation between the private and the police identity.

It could be assumed that the life of a female police officer is like a theatre stage where the female police officer plays her different social roles and is given different social identities. On the one hand there is the social role and the police identity and on the other hand her private identity and her role as mother, wife or partner. Through her police role, she receives a second family in addition to her normal family, namely the police family.

She tries in every way to contribute to the group's goals, because it is a group she loves and feels safe in. Although there are some conflicts within the police group, sometimes she tries to prevent their manifestation and other times she tries to deal with them directly. If the group dynamic is disturbed, there is a risk that she will lose her police identity, an identity that makes her feel dynamic and energetic, unique and special, and that fills her with energy and power. The female police officer meets the demands of her profession and at the same time is confronted with the patriarchal stereotypes and prejudices that come from her colleagues and the rest of society.

Even though she tries to combine and divide these different roles, it seems that her "police" identity has influenced the way she thinks, behaves and interacts with others, as well as the way she constructs and manages her identities. Thus, in her personal life, she shapes her personal identity, which is not unaffected by the "police" identity. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), this can be seen as a tendency to prioritise their social identity over their private identity, although they define themselves by their personal characteristics.

She struggles with the balance between her private and professional sphere, switching from the private to the professional scene and vice versa. Sometimes the transition from one scene to another or from one identity to another is extremely difficult. On the one hand, she is trying to prove her abilities on a professional level, and on the other hand, she is supposed to live up to societal expectations that require her to focus on private and family life. Eventually, she manages to unite these two different identities and bring out the true strength she has within her.

Conclusion

Finally, from the aforementioned results, it is clear that the female police officer is not just one thing, but many different things. This conclusion emerges from her narratives, which point to the different and contradictory elements of her life that she tries to combine and synthesise. On the one hand, she wants to feel equal and not

inferior to her male colleagues and on the other hand, she wants to feel protected by them, seduce them and exploit their "feminine parts". On the stage of her life, she sometimes plays her personal performance and other times her professional performance, using her police and personal identities in parallel. Finally, it is proved that all these elements can coexist and be combined without being excluded. Because all these elements are different and distinct parts of herself.

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PANDEMIC COVID-19 AND EMERGING PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CONTROL AND SOCIALISATION: A FRUITFUL TERRAIN FOR QUALITATIVE SOCIAL RESEARCH

Manos Savvakis[*]

ABSTRACT

Since the beginning of the pandemic (roughly December 2020 in Wuhan, China) both on a global and European scale, the everyday lives and routines of all citizens have dramatically changed, mostly worsened. More particularly, in Greece, and elsewhere, a number of social and individual –taken for granted and constitutionally protected– rights (i.e., friendly gatherings, face-to-face encounters, personal and family travel, domestic and public meetings, celebrations, strikes, street protest, religious ceremonies, etc.) have been institutionally and substantially restricted, from the beginning of March 2020 until the end of May 2021 in consecutive phases (first and second lock-down).

The appeal to the pandemic condition, the low percentage of vaccination among the general population, the fear of constant Covid-19 infection (the fourth wave)and the apotheosis of individual responsibility has offered the state authority ever-increasing powers of surveillance and social control, involving administrative and law penalties (i.e., fines, courts, prisons, social de-valuation and stigmatization, unemployment, etc.).The forthcoming and repeatedly transformation of a major health issue into an almost solely matter of political debate, domestic public

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order and national security and the economic, social and political management of the pandemic condition in what follows poses new challenges and research questions for the social sciences.

The purpose of this contribution is to thematize and reflect upon these issues and to address particular areas of potential qualitative sociological research (i.e., health, education, work, everyday relationships, face to face encounters, family bonds, labor relations, societal shifts, etc.). It as well strives to highlight the potential social consequences of such an ongoing project of social control and increased surveillance/monitoring. Finally, it aims to highlight the new, contradictory and struggling patterns of socialization that gradually appear in the (post) pandemic condition.

Keywords: *pandemic condition, qualitative sociological research, social control, socialization*

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic is a unique and multidimensional biological, medical and social phenomenon that has dramatically transformed institutional arrangements and everyday life around the globe over the past two years. It as well raises several interesting and crucial scientific debates and political questions regarding the very structure and core of the (post) modern globalized "western" world, as a safe, healthy, all-inclusive and protected "place to be". These severe alterations are strongly connected to medical, biological, legal, economic, ecological, social, historical, anthropological, political and psychological issues and ultimately affect, one way or another, every individual, group, community or social formation.

The pandemic condition also emphatically highlights issues related to the essential content of contemporary social relations, the intensity and ultra-high speed of social interactions/networks and the potential threat to social cohesion and constitutional democratic rights. It therefore problematizes in various ways the coexistence and interconnection of the biological and social dimension of modern life (biosociality) and the biological and political consequences of institutional, international and state decisions (biopolitics). It as

well raises issues of governmentality, in as much as a space seems to be created among central governmental rules and decisions and the so-called common will of western societies.

Furthermore, it obliges the scientific community to re-capitulate sophisticated ways of understanding the pandemic condition and propose synthetic, interdisciplinary and practicable suggestions to prevent society –and its surrounding areas– economy and public health.In other words, societies all over the world were forced to re-organize constitutional and fundamental aspects of social interaction and economic life, retaining national peculiarities and different levels of adaptation, monitoring, surveillance, forced domestication and control, ultimately restructuring the social sphere and the individual personality. Particularly in Greece, this gradual apprenticeship to obligatory ask state permission (i.e., sms application or written evidence) even for the taken for granted everyday activities (i.e., going out of the house any time, traveling without restrictions form one place to another, etc.) or the daily essentials (i.e., super market, grocery store, public service, doctor or pharmacy, etc.) severally and in multiple ways tested on the one hand the social cohesion and on the other hand the psychological and mental stability of the majority of society. That was especially applied to those fellow citizens forced to stay home almost the whole of the day as unemployed or home-working or had to psychically move on a daily basis for different reasons.

In addition, the mandatory use of mask virtually everywhere, the curfew that in some cases begun form 18.00 until 05.00 (typically from 21.00-05.00) and the prohibition to visit or even physically contact the loved ones (parents, friends, relatives, lovers, etc.) created a culture of everyday fear, social distrust and physical distancing with prevailing consequences and effects, both on sentimental, psychological and relational level. The social organization and the largely accepted distinction between the private (home) and the public sphere (agora in the ancient Greek meaning as the place outside the house) was essentially overturned, significantly restricting individual freedoms and constraining social rights as constitutionally guaranteed and institutionally protected features of modern western societies (particularly in the E.U. zone).

Retaining the pandemic condition as a begging point and as a mere powerful and nonnegotiable alibi, the state implied a numerous regulatory, punishing, scrutinizing, controlling and normative orders regarding social, behavioral and cultural dimensions and areas that were previously considered as self-evident (traffic, gatherings in private and public spaces, physical attendance, education, organized sports, family relations, cultural events, music, art, education, etc.),proclaiming public health as a higher priority over social rights or individual freedom (quarantine situation/lockdown).

At the same time, full and unquestioned obedience to this new obligatory and institutionally imposed "urgent normality" (Zinn, 2020), was always festively present in the dominant discourse of epidemiologists, state repression mechanisms, mass media and politicians, that several times allowed however, themselves to be excluded from the mandatory character of these restrictions. This new administratively, dubious and contradictory imposed "urgent normality" although marginally legitimized by most citizens, as well gave birth to different spheres of "resistance" and civil disobedience from specific social groups. Those groups did not necessarily forma systematic, unique and alternative political anti-agenda (i.e., young people, students form different levels of education, tourists, carefree citizens, unruly, official church individuals, collectivities and unions participating in marches, deniers, etc.), however provoked and challenged the dominant discourse of keep "psychical distances", "stay home", "stay safe".

In the mainstream narrative (politicians, medical experts, mass media "stars", police authorities, opinion makes, state gatekeepers, etc.) these "disobedient" –albeit not homogeneous or solid– social groups symbolically, substantially and systematically problematized the considered as unquestionable effectiveness of quarantine measures and fully legitimize –as they constantly perpetuated– additional horizontal strict restraining measures. Regardless of the way every citizen interpreted or acted through this lockdown period, the pandemic condition is still present with different characteristics and a long, still highly adventurous, story to be told. For this reason, it is evident that societies urgently need well-documented and elaborated sociological analysis, as important parameter to critically

understand patterns of action, interpretive schemes, practices of political action and social attitudes towards the pandemic condition. These new shifts, developments and emergencies form a fruitful and promising terrain for new synthetic inter-scientific attempts with emphasis on qualitatively sociological research.

Pandemic and everyday life

The experience of six months of mandatory house and social confinement highlights some heuristic working hypotheses regarding the potential effects of the pandemic regarding new forms of socialization, patterns of surveillance and monitoring and practical management of everyday life.In a quite short period of time, which has nevertheless lasted more than a year and a half now, without a definite ending, the way social actors daily communicate face to face, establish interpersonal contacts, manage encounters and create social relationships has been radically reversed.

People in Greece –and elsewhere in Europe– were severely forced to close their homes, mandatorily practice social distancing and physical absence, even form funerals or weddings, obligatory reduce to absolute minimum all outdoor activities, constantly point fingered and thread by administrative fines, normative restrictions, complicated and often contradictory state guidelines and legal sanctions. Even transportation or the right to move from one place or country to another was postponed and certain travel rules and obligations (notam) still apply in the European and national borders.

In addition, schools and universities operated for two consecutive periods (March 2020-October 2021) via tele-courses and e-class facing serious and unresolved problems in organizing and transmitting knowledge, especially to those who cannot afford a stable internet house connection or even cannot have working spaces for every member of the family. The whole research and academic community –especially in the social sciences and humanities– experienced severe problems regarding psychological support of students and colleagues, lost budgets, reduced funding, projects that were abandoned and a series of unresolved intellectual and

sentimental instability and "internet platforms overdose" (Tzoraki, et. al., 2021).

Besides, shopping is largely accomplished virtually through online platforms, although some places –particularly cafes, taverns, restaurants and open bars– are now fully re-opened again after almost seven months of being mandatory closed.[1] However, they have to choose if they shall be transformed to "covid-free" places, accepting exclusively vaccinated citizens or they shall function as "mix" places with certain rules and obligations, under the threat of severe penalties and administrative fines, for both owners, workers and clients. Restaurants, bookstores, cultural and sports venues were closed with brief and nonnegotiable procedures and strive now to become again functional and profitable. The overall functioning of the market and its economic and social logic was significantly changed.

Furthermore, the economy market, this unique cornerstone of modern consumer societies has suffered both symbolically and materially changing the everyday life of people, especially those not that much familiar with internet shopping or on-line streaming. Due to the pandemic condition, new forms of commodification and fetishization of goods were created and new products make their profitable entry on the market stock (i.e., antiseptics, masks, disinfectants, disposable gloves, surface cleaners, wipes, cleaning liquids, air cleaners, air filters, personal bags with special cases, numerous Covid-19 gadgets, etc.) (Ward, 2020, pp. 726-735; Klein, 2020).

The pandemic condition drastically overturned the taken for granted and self-evident aspects of everyday life, even in its simplest moments and sentimental expressions (i.e., a spontaneous café in bar kissing your lover, an unplanned meeting that could end in a taverna, a cinema date, etc.). Furthermore, it altered the inner

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1. However, by 15/7/2021, all restaurants, cinemas, theaters, etc. have to choose if they shall be transformed to "covid-free" places, accepting exclusively vaccinated citizens or they shall function as "mix" places with certain rules and obligations, under the threat of severe penalties and administrative fines, for both owners, workers and clients. In addition, during summertime several mini, local, lock-downs were applied with quite questionable criteria, both on the epidemiological and the social level.

structure and logic of social organization (i.e., trade, economy, travel, social cohesion, border closure, inclusion, entertainment, education, transportation, culture, sports, traffic, night life, walking, etc.) introducing in everyday life written statements of proof (sms or certificate forms) in order to accomplish simple and unquestioned tasks. Suddenly and without prior social consensus, the notion of social bond, namely of society as a form of living and interpersonal communication, with certain social relations, was radically and systematically modified. Finally, social rights and individual freedoms –constitutive part of western daily life– has radically changed and postponed for an uncertain period of time.

The constant state and medical appeal to individual responsibility as –to some certain extent– the only and ultimate means of facing the pandemic and the growing emphasis on individual practices, while systematically ignoring the social components of the pandemic, creates a series of unresolved sentimental and psychological tensions on the individual, family and social level. For example, individuals are considered almost irresponsible and irrational risky beings that potentially do not comply with the current regulatory framework of restrictions and prohibitions. At the same time as an unavoidable result of the supposed lack of compliance, what is constantly proposed is predominantly discipline, monitoring, surveillance and obedience, as the proper mean to prevent the spreading of the pandemic, while disregarding the social needs and demands of the modern way of life, especially in western societies. A lot of people with serious health or economic problems have left almost totally abandoned or outside social or health services and a series of non-covid deaths have occurred, due to poor medical treatment (Valentina, et. al., 2020; Kondilis, et. al., 2021).

The rhetoric of this problematic individual irresponsibility and provocative carelessness, especially towards the younger generations,[2] and the consequent obligatory prohibition of "social

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2. At the end of June 2021, however, the Greek government decided to reward all young people form 18-25, in order to maximize the vaccination rates, donating them a so-announced "freedom pass", worthy of 150 euro, payable in concerts, cinemas, theaters, holidays and other potential crowed places.

gathering" creates a unique disciplinary relationship between citizens, the state apparatuses and intermediate institutions such as Police, Local Authorities, Municipalities with an evident threat of punishment and even direct imprisonment for spreading fake news regarding the Covid-19.

At the level of everyday life, this state practices –common but not entirely identical in other E.U. countries as well– creates models of socialization conceptualizing the other as a potential enemy, a health risk and a problematic issue. At the same time, this punishing and slightly state revenging attitude advocates processes of constant monitoring potentially violating protected institutionalized and well-established social rights and human privacy. The obligatory and formally proposed social distancing and the constant monitoring of physical distances as well as the avoidance of human contact and exchanges gradually creates a new model of socialization and psychological impact (Monaghan, 2020, pp. 1982-1995; Pfister, 2020).

This is based not on actual –as experienced or known before– social interaction, whatever this notion could imply – but on virtual internet contact with applied terms and conditions that are supposed to protect and keep healthy the overall population. The routines of everyday life such as sneezing, coughing, even closely approaching and touching are deemed as quasi-contagious or even offensive and punishable. The moralization of everyday life, is thus, evident regardless of individual life experiences or objective requirements (i.e., working conditions, family surrounding, cultural background, housing or domestic labor conditions, gender relations, etc.) (Craig, 2020, pp. 684-692). The potential Covid-19 infection is accompanied by a mere negative social classification with a definite negative social evaluation. In this way, home confinement, empty housing in terms of social events/meetings and careful contact through electronic means and online platforms, even for basic social relationships, are proposed as an almost panacea regarding the pandemic spread.

Sms as an ideal type of social monitoring

The obligatory sending sms (1-6) to the Civil Protection service for the satisfaction of basic necessities and requirements of daily life (i.e., visit to a doctor, shopping, walking, offering help to a fellow human being, etc.) also creates a –difficult to bear– culture of restriction, and a de jure and de facto dimension of (self) and social surveillance. It as well systematically promotes a certain suspicion and fear for central aspects of the taken for granted and constitutionally protected private and public interactions.[3]

Sending sms, under the severe punishment of 300e,[4] for not doing so, (as well as not carrying the proper documents of transportation or moving, even for considerably short distances) also consolidates a constant model of social control and supervision, to the extent that there is a clear-cut intention to control, surveillance and punish the possible violation of these unquestioned (?) hygienic rules. The requirement to send sms regarding individual movement or collective gatherings, even for constitutionally protected social actions and the obligation for supplementary state licensing for extracurricular activities (i.e., social protest or visiting the Polytexneio on the 17/11, etc.) marginally violates constitutional legitimacy and creates models of socialization, where the state of emergency and exception is the rule itself, and "Normal life" (regularity) seems like past nostalgia. The perception of the pedagogical usefulness and symbolic power of sms, devalues the citizens to the extent that it treats them as spoiled children, who will try to deceive as soon as the adult turns

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3. It is noted here that the sms - and the written certificate regarding moving (i.e., work, return home, attending funerals, going to social events, shopping, outdoor exercise, etc.)- is a Greek originality insofar as it seems that a corresponding practice is not applied in other European countries, in the same way.

4. The administratively penalty, during the first lockdown period (March 2020-June 2020) for not sending the proper sms, or "hanging around" without proper documentation or not wearing a mask was 150e. During the second lockdown (November 2020-May 2021) this penalty was for the same reasons 300e. At some point, during an increased debating session at the House of Parliament (Christmas 2020) the fine was again increased at 500e, in order to positively push economy as the Prime Minister declared. However, it was almost immediately –after severe reactions form all the other parliamentary political parties– stabilized at 300e.

his head elsewhere. This logic –in 2021 Greece– is not in line with the modern perspective of establishing relations between citizens and a coordinated State.

In the case of the pandemic condition, this typology of social control and monitoring serves as a guideline to self-discipline, self-restriction and self-confinement. It as well functions as a moral concept in the sense that it categorizes the self and the other within a spectrum of morally allowed and ethical approved actions (i.e., only if you were typically married you could stay or see your family, lovers could not theoretically meet, mothers could not formally visit their children, etc.).This sms typology also formed a 24/7 mechanism of effective social control and daily surveillance, in as much as you could be always under suspicion of having not sending the proper and correct number, therefore declaring your cause of action.

A typical example of this control discourse and practices is the mobile application that police forces all over the world, always in and sincere good faith, monitor and follow social relations and interpersonal contacts. Thus, when someone comes in close contact with a potential Covid-19 suspect the smart device will notify the user of the application, along with the state authorities or medical experts. In this way social contacts are regulated and mediated through technology, using citizens' free will, implementing social surveillance as an exercise of goodwill and loyal citizen (Scambler, 2020).

This sms situation runs parallel and corresponds to a general surveillance and monitoring system through computer screens, mobile applications, cameras, satellites, smart software, etc., which most the majority use, almost compulsorily. Through these processes we are constantly socialized and psychologically prepared –especially the younger generations that do not have lived experiences of other historical periods– for new forms of power and governmental relations. This constant and increasing self-monitoring has to become mandatorily accepted if a citizen wishes to fulfill simple or necessary tasks (i.e., issuing a credit card, buying a health insurance, enrolling a child in school, etc.).

At the same time, the potential moralization of the other –the other as a potential Covid-19 case– produces a collective and

ongoing condition of fear, suspicion and physical distance from the other, in literal terms. The pandemic condition serves as a proper alibi, producing new forms of skeptical social contact based on the expanded social distancing and ongoing social surveillance. The tracking situation basically concerns who any citizen came in contact with, who she talked to, or who she allowed to approach, without keeping distances or wearing a mask, or both (French & Monahan, 2020).

Public health: an issue of national security and public order?

Constant intervention of (special and heavily armed) police forces and other disciplinary institutions, increased administrative control, fines, arrests, brutality, violence, bans, fences and emphasis on the repressive dimension of the pandemic - transforms the issues of public debates and everyday life. In this pandemic dystopic condition, almost everything social that included human interaction or contact was penalized and prohibited (i.e., gatherings of citizens, personal transportation, private (domestic) social events, public protest, press coverage of events, university freedom, education, religious worship, sports activities, cultural activities, recreational practices, catering, organized sports, other economic and social spheres, etc.) and turned into a problem of "national security" and "public order".

At the same time –both in the public sphere and in the discourse of experts' committees and of all official state institutions– there is a complete, blatant, provocative and scientifically incomprehensible absence of scientific specialties from other cognitive disciplines (i.e., social sciences, humanities, economics, etc.) and pointless over-representation of medical specialties (i.e. microbiologists, infectious disease specialists, pulmonologists, pathologists, etc.) as if the pandemic exclusively concerns issues of germs and microbiological behaviors, but not socially constituted forms of life. This reduction to an inefficient, uncertain, scientifically rigid and one-sided numerical modeling that predicts what actually happens in society is highly controversial.

The image of society as almost a sum of microbes that carry viruses, carry viral loads, transmit bacteria and spread disease, is at least old-fashioned and medical-centered, not to mention dubious and easily challenged. The domination of a scientific/biological/medical monism with pure reduction to statistical models and prognostic charts creates on the one hand patterns of socialization that are indifferent to concepts such as solidarity, empathy, intimacy, emotional closeness and on the other hand heavy devaluate other scientific disciplines regarding the management of the pandemic condition. The prevalence of politics of prevention and isolation against public health improvement, especially for the underprivileged, the vulnerable social groups and the suffering individuals, poses serious issues regarding the political management and the economic priorities of the pandemic condition (Mykhalovskiy & French, 2020).

Public health is strongly connected with the way societies are organized and directed through history. This is to imply that society, with its respective economic and cultural choices, reduces or accelerates the appearance, development or termination of the transmitted diseases. It is apparently, therefore, that the Covid-19 pandemic is not a one-dimensional biological or epidemiological entity but is linked to social organization and its core objectives (i.e., maximizing profits, extreme commercialization, market socialization, global capital, spread of movements, speed of travels around the world, etc.).

The proposed understanding of the pandemic condition with merely moral or medical terms is a pattern followed in other epidemics as well in human history (i.e., plague, AIDS, Ebola fever, swine flu, etc.) (Asmundson & Taylor, 2020, pp. 102-196; Pickersgill, 2020, pp. 347-350; Will, 2020, pp. 967-971). This is to imply that social relations and modes of economic production affect biological, medical and obviously political understanding and management of the pandemic condition. At the same time, they intermediate all our interpretive schemes, social practices, psychological tensions, sentimental fears and feelings of agony, distress, discomfort and potential pressure.

This sociological statement helps society to understand deeper the pandemic condition we are experiencing as something that it is

quite possible to occur again on the near future (less that a hundred years from now). Thus, to treat Covid-19 as a problem of social order and public security, instrumentalizing the pandemic condition is affecting democracies around the globe, though not in the same way. On the contrary, what is definitely required is a social medicine response (Jacob & Arthur, 2020, pp. 1-4).

This increased appeal to individual responsibility without reference to social justice produces social distrust and increased levels of political delegitimization. The homo-antisepticus is at the same time a potential threat and a unique answer. To put it in other words, regarding public health, everyone is a potential danger to all the others, as long as she/he is not properly cleaned, pure and sterilized (Savvakis, 2020). Social relations are rebuilt grounded on social distrust (vaccinated or not, infected or not. Recovered or not?), physical distancing, psychological uneasiness and bodily absence. The motto "retain at least two meters physical distance" quickly turns the social sphere of everyday real life to a virtual space of online interactions. Therefore, people are largely forced to modify and reschedule our sociabilityand mediate all the sharing with others experiences through technology, at least for those we "are connected".

New forms of social discipline and emerging patterns of socialization

The constant and never-ending appeal to individual responsibility, the rhetoric of ongoing war and the creation of a culture based on social and epidemiological horror, grounded on selective reading or aspects of the pandemic condition creates social tensions, psychological issues, emotional complications and physical restraints (i.e., alcohol and drugs consumption, domestic violence, tele-work, tele-education, etc.).The perpetual invocation to a pandemic-phobia logic based on social discipline, personal withdrawnness and emotional distancing severely problematizes dynamic and real face-to-face interactions. This attitude –officially maintained and promoted– increases a relationship of distance and reservation, a regime of "situations of

exceptions/emergencies", which instrumentally uses the pandemic condition for economic and political reasons.

The pandemic condition, especially in the second phase of the lockdown (November 2020-May 2021), a prolonged and of doubtful effectiveness political decision, seems to have finally become - among other things - the perfect alibi for a fierce, radical and without any preparation attack to constitution and social rights.The political management of Covid-19 severely questioned and problematized a series of self-evident routines and taken for granted of everyday life, to all private and public sectors and especially in forms of socialization (education, family, travelling, social activities, culture, etc.). The structural reshaping of intimacy relationships, home and working life, leisure time, learning and knowledge processes, at all levels of education –immediately after ten years of memorandums and severe economic crisis– poses new challenges for social research at multiple levels.

In this pandemic condition, people socialize, in other words, as new distanced subjects, while the socially constructed and medically preserved ambiguity and fear shapes an inner process of self-control. This celebrated "individual property" makes people even more insecure in as much as they cannot turn to another to seek answers, but only to educated experts (i.e., doctors, physicians, influencers, etc.). These, absolute human, feelings of insecurity, alienation, despair and distrust create new vulnerable subjectivities who need emotional help and psychological assistance (i.e., self-coaching, mentoring, counselling, family empowerment, etc.). On an individual level, all these social processes create lived experiences that "put the blame on the victim", so to write.

In other words, they systematically neglect and consciously bypass social and psychological parameters and tend to individualize responsibility, failure, fear, resentment, frustration, anger, pain, and discomfort, caused (not exclusively) by the pandemic condition. Individual meaning –especially in the core absence of social connections and networks or participation– understands and conceptualizes the pandemic condition not as an opportunity for social action but rather as a traumatic, internalized hit with strong social, economic, cultural, symbolical and psychological

consequences (i.e., increased psychiatric prescriptions, heavy drug and alcohol use, unemployment, depression, forms of domestic violence, social degradation, etc.) (Zinn, 2020).

The pandemic condition therefore gives raise to emerging forms of socialization and forms of social organization where new isolated –but online connected– individuals are characterized by fear, alienation, social suspicion, distrust, psychological fragility, sentimental vulnerability, high risk and liquid fear (Eichelberger, 2007, pp. 1284-295; Bauman, 2006). On the other hand, new forms of solidarity and social networks especially for younger generations are created (Carlsen, Toubøl & Brincker, 2021, pp. 122-140). This situation is socially shaped by the permanent concept of high risk or personal danger which is (to a large extent but not completely) "democratized", officially claiming it concerns everyone without exception (Matthewman and Huppatz, 2020).

Conclusion: What comes next?

The pandemic condition forms a complicated and multilevel social reality that is heavily produced and magnified by and through economy and market globalization, the high speed of the modern way of life and the constant movement. If it had happened a hundred years ago it would have probably remained a local disease or an epidemic. It would be a serious threat disease that, although contagious, could be controlled within the narrow confines of the society in which it occurred, such as Ebola (Hemorrhagic Fever), Sars (severe acute respiratory syndrome) or H1N1, etc. However, this globalized world of human movement, trade and commodities radically changes the way epidemics move and sometimes turn into pandemics (Dingwall, Hoffman & Staniland, 2013, pp. 167-173; Will, 2020, pp. 967-971).

This pandemic condition poses serious questions and debates regarding the following day and what are yet to come. There is a strong possibility that we move towards a monothematic NHS with huge issues of understaffing and work exhaustion (burnout syndrome and alienation) after the official ending of this period. At

the same time, new forms of post-pandemic economy along with new models of socialization seem to gradually establish themselves, solely based on social and physical distancing. For example, new forms of music and art creation are already emerging on the internet (i.e., electronic concerts, home concerts, philharmonic orchestras and sport tournaments without spectators, virtual cosmic events, large galas in big empty stadiums, etc.).

The gradual re-opening of almost all economic and social activities and the suspension of sending sms, coincides with the beginning of the touristic period. However, as all medical scientists and other experts publicly warn the pandemic condition is not entirely over –what is pronounced as the fourth wave of mutated Covid-19 virus– and we already face the social consequences of this new situation. For this simple albeit fundamental reason, this objective necessity, societies need social sciences, particularly qualitatively sociological research, because they are able to propose applicable solutions and good practices that take into account the social dimension alongside health requirements.

This situation therefore shapes the dynamics where the social sciences and especially sociological theory and research are required to be involved firstly in a deep and spherical understanding of the pandemic condition as a "total social phenomenon" and secondly in proposing realistic schemes and ways of acting. Nevertheless, itis obvious that while sociology as a science can suggest, and often does, it is actual the politicians who apply any scientific views, often instrumentalizing the scientific findings. The pandemic condition - and that includes structural, institutional and daily levels of human action –highlights the role of sociology and especially the sociology of health and illness– a tradition deeply related to qualitative sociological research – in critical understanding and reflecting upon this new and not so promising "new normality" that will follow us to a greater or lesser degree, since it is almost certain that other epidemics or pandemics will succeed this one, possibly with greater rates of mortality.

This forms an open and promising terrain for qualitative sociological research addressing a major question. That question regards whether the management of high risk will be equally

distributed and shared and how future social relations will be maintained. In this sociological theorizing, that has to be empirically documented as well, issues of social distrust and physical contact has to centrally explored, alongside with a plethora of others, such asthe importance of vaccination or the significance of the socio-economic and demographic factors on spreading Covid-19, especially in early stages in isolated communities or vulnerable social groups (Rontos, Syrmali & Salvati, 2021).

At the same time, issues of unequal distribution of power, asymmetrical resources regarding social, symbolic and cultural capital, gender relations and health inequalities could form promising areas of potential qualitative sociological research, focusing on the impacts and consequences of the pandemic condition, especially in handicapped and vulnerable social groups and minorities (refugees, children, immigrants, unemployed, homeless, people experiencing psychological suffering, etc.).

The pandemic condition cannot be fully explained and understood –if we merely wish such an achievement– only through epidemiological figures, medical data, biological terminologies, death rates, Covid-19 statistics, tables, figures and diagrams, although this numerical knowledge majorly contributes to initially grasp a rough and global perception of the pandemic condition.

This dimension is extremely important; however, the pandemic situation is as well about human individuals, practices, interpretive schemes, patterns of action, understandings, feelings, representations, intersubjective and collective relations, social cohesion, etc. It is vital for social sciences –as an ultimum refugium– to take energetic part regarding the understanding, management and publishing on the (post) pandemic condition, a task that cannot be solely attributed to medical specialists or other experts, with limited knowledge of sociological imagination and perspective (Bell & Green, 2020, pp. 379-383; Will & Bendelow, 2020, pp. 1-3).

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DESTABILIZING MEANINGS OF THE RULE OF LAW, LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND DEMOCRACY

REFUGEES FROM SYRIA DISCOURSE OF ABSTRACT NOTIONS AND IDEALS

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ABSTRACT

In our paper examining refugees' from Syria ideas and meanings on important western type ideal notions such as the Rule of Law, Liberty, Equality and Democracy, an important discourse is revealed which indicates certain significant aspects of the conceptual destabilization of relevant meanings attributed to the above ideals by migrant social actors living in two different socio-cultural environments; the environment of their country of origin and the environment of their host country. Also, some aspects of the destabilization mechanism are revealed. The data provided are based on qualitative research conducted through in-depth interviews during the second semester of 2019 on the Syrian refugee population living in Athens. In particular, we tried to understand perceptions and experiences about the above-abstracted notions that are considered universal and shape the core parts of human life, which, however, have been articulated either by westernizer reformers or the 'gatekeepers' of the West.

Keywords: *migration, refugees, rule of law, democracy, liberty, equality, qualitative research, Greece*

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Introductory note

Our paper aims to show the different meanings attributed to ideas and meanings of important Western ideals such as the Rule of law, Liberty, Equality and Democracy, by migrant social actors living in two different socio-cultural environments: the environment of their country of origin and the environment of their host country. The data provided are based on qualitative research conducted among the Syrian refugee population in Athens. The field research took place in the second semester of 2019. The research is a joint project of the National Center for Social Research (Athens, Greece) and the Center for the Study of Crime. The research initiative has focused on the Syrian refugee population in Greece, as Syrians in this country not only submitted the most asylum applications between 2013 and 2018, but also have the highest recognition rate as beneficiaries of international protection. Therefore, this great majority of refugees are expected to stay in Greece for a long time, and so, they are expected to conform, together with the natives, to their host country's laws and regulations.

In particular, we have tried to understand the perceptions and experiences of the above abstract concepts, which are considered universal and shape the core areas of human life, but which have been articulated either by westernizer reformers or the 'gatekeepers' of the West.

In terms of methodology, we have chosen to use qualitative techniques to decipher certain deeply rooted aspects of behaviour in contemporary societies on the move. In doing so, we aim not only to interpret the content of the interviews on the issues in question, but also to engage reflexively with the question of how privileged and (non-)privileged roles and social positions may interact and influence the interview process and content, the expected 'revelations' and the meaning of highly abstracted notions transferred through the research participants in motion.

We assume that our findings - although they come from a case study and therefore do not lend themselves to generalisations - may broaden our understanding of the topic of immigration and integration and enrich the respective public debate.

The conceptual framework methodology

Qualitative research through semi-structured interviews was considered the most appropriate approach for the population of our study, as it offers a dynamic and multi-level approach that allows the respondent to narrate his/her life as it unfolds in two different geographical and social locations (Syria and Greece) and to focus on those critical life events that he/she considers important. Furthermore, qualitative research provides the opportunity to develop a holistic and dynamic rather than a fragmentary approach to the life narratives of our research population, where subjective meanings emerge either consciously or subconsciously.

Since we opted for a semi-structured interview, we relied on a strictly predefined question guide (a list of essential questions/themes), which helped us to control the content of the interview and not to risk overrunning the interview time. The semi-structured interview was therefore considered from the beginning and also proved to be the most appropriate tool during the research process, a tool that helped us to decipher some difficult issues that had been left 'open' to misunderstandings. By using a semi-structured interview guide, we also wanted to 'limit' our own 'vulnerability' to the unknown, to 'expose' ourselves to a culturally diverse population, but also to avoid "feeding" hegemonic projections of our own stereotypes towards the interviewees and the data.

Therefore, at the beginning of our research, we assumed that we would approach our research population in a way that would balance the difficulties of communication and understanding by taking into account all the particularities of their cultural background in relation to the few years they have lived in Greece. Indeed, this involved important methodological issues, which we will address below.

Special methodological issues

In fact, our fieldwork research leads to the following important observations regarding the methodology of our interviews:

The influence of socio-historical and cultural parameters

If the researchers do not share the same cultural background with the participants, special attention and research skills are required to overcome all obstacles arising from the different cultural backgrounds in order to arrive at a pure understanding of the object of research in the sense of the Weberian *verstehen*. This is a challenging condition. In this case, researchers have to overcome their own cultural assumptions and open themselves to the language of others. It is therefore a great challenge to come into contact with what can be considered 'unfamiliar' and our efforts to understand it. In general, studying the 'unfamiliar' can be an obstacle to understanding non-obvious issues, as each culture develops its own symbolic language that may not 'reveal itself ' to the 'foreign' researcher (Berger, 2013).

Consequently, in our research case, it is particularly important to activate reflection, as we should think about our own values, feelings and personal stereotypes (Steier, 1991). Our research has shown that special attention is needed so that the researcher does not fall into the trap of subsuming the subjective meanings of the respondents under predefined meaning frames and thought structures.

At this point, the activation of reflexivity is employed to avoid the intrusion of inevitable prejudices, as happens in any research. For Bourdieu, reflexivity is "synonymous with method" because reflexivity, *"based on a sociological 'feel' or 'eye,' enables one to perceive and monitor on the spot, as the interview is actually being carried out, the effects of the social structure within which it is taking place. How can we claim to engage in the scientific investigation of presuppositions if we do not work to gain knowledge (science) of our own presuppositions?"* (Bourdieu, 1996: 18). We are therefore concerned not only with the relationship between the various conceptual categories or 'variables' but also with *"what lies between them"* in the light of the process of interpretation (Blumer, 1986, p. 686). Reflexivity is not *a point* or *a stage*, but goes through the whole research process from its initial conception to the publication of its findings. It is the mechanism of awareness, the *"research consciousness"* (Labiri-Dimaki, 1990: 231) that researchers activate to produce research

practices that approach comprehensible, descriptive, explanatory and/or interpretive subfields of the social space.[1]

Implications and challenges of the interpreted interview

If we are to access the 'hidden voices' of the community (Kagan and Lewis, 1998: 6), we need to consider how to bridge the linguistic and cultural gap between researcher and participant. Baker (1981) notes that one way to overcome this problem in relation to culture is to use an interpreter. Interpreters can take different approaches: They can provide a verbatim translation where the interpreter only acts as a mediator between interviewer and interviewee when appropriate, or they can act more independently –dominating the interview– when involved with an intervention. In this sense, important methodological issues arise in relation to the multiple mediations of communication between participants (researcher, interpreter, research subject) and the interpretation of the meanings and nuances that words convey between different cultural frames. In addition, the process of selecting the interpreter, the code of conduct, issues of confidentiality, and the reliability of the interpretation greatly form the context and content of the research. Although there are many guides on how to use an interpreter, little had been written about the implications of introducing them into the communication process during research (for exceptions, see Edwards, 1998; Temple, 1997a & b, 1999). So far, there has been very little discussion about the influence of the interpreter or translator in cross-language research.

Translators and interpreters

The literature on translation, which is more theoretical than technical, shows that communication between languages involves more than just a literal transfer of information (Bhabha, 1994; Simon, 1996; Spivak, 1992; Temple, 1997b). Simon (1996) shows that the translator is not only talking about words but also about concepts and that context plays an important role in deciding whether meaning is

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1. As far as reflexivity see more indicatively in Berger (2013), Bruce & Yearley (2006), Dowling (2008), Chalkia (2011).

equivalent or different. It is not a case of finding out the meaning of a text from a culture. In fact, the process of transferring meaning has less to do with finding the cultural inscription of a concept and more to do with reconstructing its value." (Simon, 1996: 137-138). The speaker puts an account forward, and the translator reads and translates from his or her own perspective. Translators are active producers in research, not neutral transmitters of messages. And so, researchers should assume that there is not one version of a text that can be agreed upon by focusing solely on the "right/correct" choice of words. Translation is more than an exchange of words from one language to another. Translators, like researchers, produce texts from their own perspective. In other words, translation is also about interpretation in the broadest sense of the word.

The study of process is not only about clarifying linguistic skills and roles, but also about the translator's position in relation to research. Discussing the process is as much about perspective as it is about language skills.

The "double role" of the interpreter

In a positivist paradigm, that is, in a "traditional, value-free, unreflexive model of the research process" (Edwards, 1998: 1), researchers conducting cross-linguistic research continue to look for ways to control the 'effects' of the interpreter/translator, to treat them as a threat to validity, and to make them invisible in the process and product. And so, translation and interpretation are treated as a technical act; it is about eliminating errors (Shklarov, 2007).

Contrast this with the social constructivist approach to translation: translators are seen as active producers of knowledge (Temple, 2002). They are seen as important informants who provide information about the social environment being researched and mediate between the researcher and the group being studied (Edwards, 1998). It is recommended that their intellectual autobiographies be explored and discussed, including their social location, perspectives and specific skills and competencies (Stanley, 1990: 62).

Moreover, the translator should be seen as an "interpretive guide and co-researcher" (Larkin, De Casterlé and Schotsmans, 2007:

474-475). This inclusion of the translator as a key team member is intended to strengthen the rigour and trustworthiness of qualitative cross-linguistic research (Squires, 2009). This "double role" (Shklarov, 2007: 530) of 'bicultural translators" can help negotiate different perspectives and cultural perceptions, which they believe is beneficial from the perspective of the research process, both to protect participants from harm and to maintain the integrity of the research.

The three-way production of data

The most obvious difference between the traditional research interview and the interpreted interview is that three people, not two, are actively involved in the production of data. Both the researcher and the interpreter adopt roles in which they attempt to get answers from the participants that are important for the research topic. It is important to reflect on the potential impact of this process on the depth and quality of the resulting data (Murray and Wynne, 2001: 16). Like researchers, interpreters bring their own assumptions and concerns to the interview and research process. The research is thus subject to a 'triple subjectivity' (the interaction between research participant, researcher and interpreter) and this needs to be made explicit (Temple and Edwards, 2002: 11).

Selective translation

It should be recognised that it is impossible for interpreters to provide accurate, unambiguous translations of a person's dialogue, especially in the context of a dynamic interview (Murray and Wynne, 2001: 17). Those working within the traditional positivist model claim that translators pose a variety of problems. Some studies (see, for example, Aranguri, Davidson, & Ramirez, 2006) suggest that more is said in the interpreting context than is translated, and that interpreters further alter meanings through omission, revision and reduction of content. They also suggest that some aspects perceived as 'informal' by the interpreter are omitted. Translators may thus produce knowledge that is not in line with the researcher's objectives. In this model, translators' actions are treated as suspect

and their influence on the translation process must be controlled by various means.

In contrast, Edwards (1998) argues that translators' independent action can strengthen research, especially when dealing with sensitive issues, rather than being a weakness and something that researchers need to control. Thus, the aim of this post-positivist approach is not to minimise such effects, but rather to ensure mutual coordination between researchers and translators in the translation process (Temple & Young, 2004). Translators' decisions help shape the data that is passed on to other researchers for secondary analysis. Researchers who are not privy to translation need to set up processes to open up discussion about the basis of these decisions if they are to fully grasp the context of meaning production. Otherwise, researchers are stuck with a method of accessing unmediated, raw primary data that is in fact secondary data and meaning is manufactured rather than found directly in the language.

As part of the debriefing sessions after each interview, field researchers were asked to point out the places in their translation where they had noticed decisions regarding equality of meaning. Examples of such decisions included translating words for which there was no direct equivalent or where they felt that the corresponding word in their mother tongue (Greek) did not convey the correct 'meaning" in another language, as well as decisions about the extent to which the translation into Greek adhered to the sentence construction used by the interviewees in their own language.

In our study, then, the question of the contribution and/or intervention of interpretation emerged as an important parameter of the collected material, in relation to the following:

— As for the *relationship between the interpreters and the researchers:*

The more the research progressed and the longer the interviews lasted, the stronger the communication bond between the two parties became through the exchange of opinions and/or more personal everyday experiences and discussions that took place in the "gaps" between waiting times, transports, etc. before and/or after the end of the interviews. This enabled the two sides to communicate more quickly and effectively during the interview because they had

already got to know each other. Often, for example, a communicative movement 'with the eyes" is enough for the interpreters to understand that they need to speak louder, slower, etc.

— As for the *relationship between interpreters and interviewees:*

We observe that the age and gender of interpreters play an important role in their contact with the interviewees. For example, we mention that during our research, male respondents only looked into the eyes of the male interpreter and rarely looked into the eyes of the female and younger researchers. In these cases, the parameter of gender and age may negatively affect the very essence of the interview, especially when the researchers are the 'unsuspecting victims' of the intimate relationship that develops between the same-language and culturally identified representatives of the respondents' populations and the interpreters. Moreover, as the 'untrained intermediary element' of face-to-face interviews, the interpreters themselves are sometimes unable to resist pity or sympathy. Finally, at the end of the interview, the interpreters may offer of their own accord to provide information and explanations about the socio-cultural background of the interviewees in a way that directs the thinking of the 'unsuspecting' researchers.

We decided to conduct our research project keeping in mind the 'risks' mentioned above, as similar research attempts are rare in our country. At the same time, we appreciate that the topic of our research project could provide useful and unique research results.

Issues addressed

Based on the important issues already mentioned, we have tried to provide meaningful answers to the following questions:

- *How does the researcher deal with a vulnerable participant?*

  At this point it is useful for the researcher to be aware of the diversity of experiences and the constant reflexivity about themselves and their own socio-historical background. In order to develop an 'objective' view and understand the lived

experience of the 'other', it is useful for the researcher to use 'empathy' as a valuable guide to overcome 'sympathy', avoid subjective perceptions and emotions and not identify with the research subjects.

- *How does the researcher deal with the participants' culturally diverse discourse?*

Through language structures and cultures are met. We all know how important the tool of language is for interpretation, understanding and analysis. However, as mentioned above, in our case, the researcher's lack of knowledge of language is somewhat of an obstacle. We have also already mentioned the risks of interpreting. However, since the interview is recorded, there is always the possibility of a secondary translation - a back-translation - by a second interpreter, at least at the points that need further investigation and scrutiny. This kind of triangulation (Jupp, 2006: 445-446) during the research process is a valuable evaluation technique to minimise any bias related to interpreting.

We generally assumed that the translators/interviewers were working 'for' us, not 'with' us. Rather than attempting to exert control over the translator and the translation process, it is time for researchers to reconceive translators as partners in the research process (Edwards, 1998; Larkin et al., 2007; Temple & Young, 2004) and to acknowledge the many roles they can play beyond translator (roles that include, for example, focus group moderator, transcriber, interpreter or community researcher). Neglecting this issue has consequences. For example, the lack of partnership with translators has limited our data analysis. Better collaboration with translators as research partners might have allowed us to analyse in depth and uncover nuances that we missed. However, the material we collected is rich in lived experiences, conceptualisations of terms and values that help us to decipher important aspects of the refugee experience and related social practices.

Preliminary research results

In assessing the results, it is important to bear in mind that our research population of Syrian refugees experienced a state of war that led to a prolonged breakdown of the rule of law in their country of origin. At the same time, they were still in a state of disorganised refugee experience being in constant motion. This also affected the narratives. The interviewees first had to recall in memory, the conditions and conventions of life before the war. This led to a reordering of their narrative chronicle. Secondly, it was evident that they were anxious to 'get things right". Syria was not a traditional community of travellers, but a modern, Western-organised state with normative orders. Thirdly, in certain cases, the conditions of war and the regime in power seem to have influenced their notions of justice, equality and democracy. And finally, the narratives seem to have been filtered through the experience of fleeing to the Westernised destination country. Against this background, we have chosen, for reasons of economy, to refer to the following points from the rich material we have collected (Tsiganou, Chalkia, Lempesi, 2021):

- On the narrative framework of the pre-war rule of law in the country of origin

The respondents were clear about what was permitted and what was forbidden in Syria in the pre-war period. Let no one question that the rule of law was applied in Syria, regulating lawful and unlawful conduct. After all, Syria had entered the age of modernisation and had left traditional nomadic practices behind:

> *"We are not Bedouins! Some people think that we have no laws and regulations, that we have no government, that we have nothing. On the contrary, we had not only laws but also a legal system. The lawbreakers faced the courts, the police, they risked imprisonment or fines".*

Among other things, in quotations such as the one above, we recognise the attempt often made in the international history of nations by Western-oriented reformers to set countries and societies on the road to modern government and a clash between

the conditions of modernity and tradition within the perspective of modernisation. But even before the war, the political regime in Syria was not allowed to be questioned, so the list of political crimes (in the sense of 'resistance to the regime' in the Western classification of the crime index) was very long.

> *"It is not permitted to speak in favour of politics, otherwise we will face a prison sentence".*

This is in accord with identical evidence provided in all countries witnessing war but especially civil war, globally. To this respect, the Syrian political regime is conceived as the dominant field of defining what one should or should not do. Within this vein of narratives the rule of law includes issues of criminal justice and its administration. Syrian refugees mainly focus on the authoritative, as they put it, political regime in Syria. In particular, they have mentioned either subtly or literally the violation of the rights of freedom of expression and opinion which became more pronounced through global communication technologies. Moreover, respondents often expressed fears towards the political status quo in Syria, as they felt oppressed because of their political opinions, their ethnicity and/or their religious background.

- On the more generic narrative framework of obedience to the law in the country of origin

The interviewees' conceptualisations of the rule of law in Syria were underlined by a more or less consensus on the following points:

The rule of law is seriously undermined and its effects are damaged by extensive corruption practices fuelled by the ruling authoritarian regime. The serious breach of trust in the administration of criminal justice, which raises questions about its operational legitimacy, and the police brutality often exhibited in arrests for offences that are not merely political, exacerbate criminal liability. To set things right, custom is used. Thus, taking justice into one's own hands is legitimised and a reactionary notion of retributive justice is widely accepted. On the other hand, religious laws determine the justification of decisions.

"It is not allowed to talk about politics, otherwise we will face a prison sentence".

"Before we had no internet and only watched our 'own' Syrian radio stations /TV. With the internet, we learned that others live more freely, that they can speak freely, without fear. And we had rebelled and demanded a change... But he (the president) 'ate' us, 'slaughtered' us".

"The strictest prohibitions and punishments are on politics. The rules forbid interference in politics. We have a Kurdish party and even if we want to gather secretly, the state knows about it."

"In Syria, everything is allowed... However, something is forbidden... to speak about the government".

"We are oppressed, we have Shiites and we are Sunnis. I really want to join the army (military school). If I am not a Shiite... I will not be accepted as an officer; I will not be accepted in the school. Here in Greece, in Europe, you do not have such a problem".

- The rule of law in Greece – as a host country: Attitudes and beliefs

Turning now to an examination of respondents' attitudes and beliefs about the rule of law in Greece-as-host-country, we should bear in mind that our respondents arrive in Greece with an already structured mentality and ideals. However, they are aware of their refugee status, which prevents them from engaging in unlawful behaviour, and they are eager to affirm their conformity to the laws and regulations of the host country. Finally, they believe that these are not very different from their own in terms of criminality. Most importantly, the ideal of justice is reinforced by concepts of equal treatment.

"I want to abide by the law. Since this is not my country, I must be under the law".

"To be a wise man... stay away from problems, drugs, etc. What I see here is that they are using drugs and I am sorry for that. I see those who take drugs in public... I wonder how Greece, as a civilised country, as a tourist

country, copes (with drug addiction).... it's not good to see this kind of thing. It's not good for me, it's not good for Greece".

"If I see someone stealing something, I go and catch them (at the police station). I do not let that happen. I do not want to do anything wrong".

- Conceptualisation of equal treatment

The ideal of justice is abstract, but it is also universal. In modern times, any rule or principle that says members of one social group should be treated less favorably than members of another is considered wrong and contrary to the fundamental values of the system worldwide. The same is true for the respondents in our case study. As stated, one of the most important questions to ask about criminal justice is how close it comes to the ideal of treating everyone equally. To the extent that the system falls short of this ideal, it is either inconsistent and incoherent or systematically discriminatory; in either case, it is unjust and loses legitimacy (Smith, 1994: 742)

A central aim of our research was therefore to find out to what extent the different social groups in Syria are treated equally. What our respondents meant by equal treatment is more in line with the Hudson thesis (Hudson, 1993), according to which any policies, rules and procedures that result in a higher proportion of one social group being punished than another is unjust and that laws and policies should be adjusted to achieve equal outcomes (e.g., in terms of the proportion of those imprisoned) for different groups or social classes. On this basis, the attitude of impunity can be explained.

In certain cases, respondents wonder why justice may not be "good".

"Justice can be good or not be good?"

In other cases, they praise justice in the host country.

"The Greek state has justice, the good stands out".

Often enough, they express the wish that justice prevail worldwide, because they come from a country that is treated unjustly.

"I wish the whole world had justice..."

"Justice is justice.... When there is justice, the person feels safe... The symbol comes first. Justice is not here on earth, it is there with God".

"When there is equality, there is justice".

"I hear about the rights of women, children, people. But only words. That is my opinion... Every human being has rights and I have rights to live... When a person has all his rights, he feels alive... (But if there were rights), we would not have come this far. I would not have gone through all this; I would not have crossed the sea and I would not have come here to meet you".

However, the status of a refugee puts a strain on equal treatment, so that the refugee population feels prevented from exercising their rights. In their opinion, exploitative and discriminatory practices take place not only under authoritarian regimes, but also under democratic conditions.

"Here... is democracy... We have no democracy, we have nothing. And if someone needs a certificate, they say come again, come tomorrow until you have the required amount of money... It's like bribery".

- Conceptualizing democracy and equality

In the narratives of our respondents, democracy also represents an ideal yet to be realised.

"We have not lived in a democracy in Syria".

"We do not have democracy, we have nothing".

For some of our interviewees, one of the main obstacles to the establishment of a democratic regime is the extensive and widespread corruption in all spheres of governance. For others, democracy is synonymous with freedom, especially freedom of speech, respect and security.

"We all want democracy; all people should be free..."

Democracy is also often enough conceived as the ideal counterpart to equality, as equal rights for all, regardless of their gender and religious preferences or commitments.

"God has said that we are all equal, and I think that we should all be equal... "

"Democracy exists only under conditions of equality. Democracy only exists when men and women enjoy the same human rights and are treated equally."

"Democracy means freedom.... Reason..."

Democracy is also perceived as a regime of respect and support for the most vulnerable, whether by the state or the community.

"This is democracy... the younger respect the older and vice versa".

Democracy also means meritocracy, in which people receive what they have rightfully earned. In the eyes of our respondents,

"Greece is an example of democracy... The Greek state has democracy..." and in their own experience, "democracy is just a word on paper that does not exist in the real world... Nothing, zero, does not exist at all! Only in books..."

Concluding remarks

Our findings so far suggest that *Values* are universal and people struggle for justice, equality, a life of dignity and security. However, universal values are not enough to "destabilise the national framework", which in our case study is determined not only by a Western-style rule of law, but also by tradition, customs and religion. The local may resist the global, as certain milieus that vary historically and geographically complicate our "zooming out" to the planetary level. Certain "locations" allow us to draw analogies to somehow serve the global convergence vision. In this respect, global convergence is possible. However, universal values[2] are not enough to destabilise the "national framework", which in our case

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2. Universal values (i.e., peace, justice, freedom, equality) and concensus, in principle, towards them are represented in the universal instruments of Human Rights and the International Human Rights Law.

study is determined not only by a Western-type rule of law (which is fruitful in elaborating analogies), but also by tradition, customs and religion. The political situation also plays an important role in the elaboration and implementation of the rule of law. Moreover, state authoritarianism and state democracy do not coincide in the policies and practices that are important in guiding behaviour. Both do not attain legitimacy equally. Finally, the historical phase and place of a society on the path to modernisation cannot be ignored. It plays a role in drawing the global map of interconnectedness.

What our case study has shown in our attempt to use the migration experience to establish interconnectedness by bridging 'outside in" and 'inside out" is that while the universality and convergence of values is not to be questioned globally, specific claims are produced and promoted locally. One indication of this is that in Inglehart's cultural world map of the last round (2017-19), the value of democracy in Greece today interconnected with the value of security, while in Syria it is apparently linked to the value of freedom (Inglehart, 1971; 2003; Inglehart & Catterberg, 2002; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Koniordos, 2018; Fanaras, 2018). This distinction is important in guiding personal claims, aspirations, beliefs, reactions and attitudes also towards crime and its control.

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THE EVOLUTION OF PROTESTS IN THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITIES: LEARNING FROM THE PAST AND IMAGINING THE FUTURE

*Manos Karousos**

ABSTRACT

The end of slavery did not mean the end of the problems for the members of the black community in the USA. They have always fought for their rights, social, political, and human. This created a condition that was passed down from generation to generation, as a kind of legacy. This condition was defined by the demonstration, which in some cases was expressed through riots and protests. African Americans have come to the point where they were treated as second-class citizens, which was the case until at least the late 1960s.The bravest and most radical of them (the African Americans) set the framework on which they would fight but at the same time, prepared the ground for the next generations to develop this struggle and achieve significant victories in aspects of everyday life. All the above gave birth to important movements such as the Civil Rights Movement and the Black Lives Matter movement. The latter is in progress and invites us to study, research and think about what it will be like in the future and what characteristics the protester of the next day will have.

Keywords: *protest, community, motion, social transformation.*

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Introduction

Historically, the African American communities in various states protested and marched against injustice. For example, the Red Summer, as it is known, in 1919 lead to a race riot between black and white communities resulting in numerous victims – especially from the first racial group. The Detroit race riots in 1943, the Montgomery Bus boycott in 1955, the rise of the Black Panther Party in 1966 were some of the most notable acts from the African Americans against systemic racism and violence. Thus, the assassinations of cultural icons such as Martin Luther King Jr and Malcolm X tested the tolerance of the black communities. For many years there was a belief that African American organizations were invincible until the death of Trayvon Martin and the formation of the Black Lives Matter movement. From that period and so on there is a shift in protests especially mass and multiple protests while the turning point in black communities was the George Floyd murder and its aftermath.

Mass protests reflect organization, mobilization, and coordination that is intentional and deeply political. All the above can lead to a global motion in societies. New age protesters and revolutionaries were given the torch from the previous generations, and they are trying to advance the struggle. While the old model had failed, they do not seek to follow a reformistic path but a more radical one, and they have all the necessary tools to achieve it. Surprisingly, we notice social turmoil in almost every country and a huge will for change. Thus, there is a growing need for the replacement of the old and conservative. People tend to challenge social norms more often than in the past. They do not necessarily follow a particular ideology, with strict limits. The formation of a collective ideology and the rejection of individuality is the new key factors when we are referring to the social struggle. On the other hand, many queries could arise such as why was the revolution not completed? Which are the changes that we have seen in protests on black communities during all these years? Are there any social and societal transformations through protests?

Additionally, every young generation blames the previous for past failures, but they tend to follow in the same footsteps. Is today's young generation capable of a counteraction? To answer the

above queries, it will be used the historical approach by studying documents. To be more specific, the qualitative approach based on the use of primary (photographs, journals, recordings, etc.) and mainly secondary sources (textbooks, articles, etc.) would be the dominant research method. Thus, it will be showcased what it means to think historically, observe, and evaluate how these protests evolved during all these years and take some valuable lessons for current and future protests.

The troubled decades from the 1920s to the 1950s

To begin with the summer of 1919, mostly known as Red Summer, a race riot between black and white communities was led, resulting in numerous victims. The reason was the death of the 17-year-old Eugene Williams, who was on a raft, inadvertently drifted over the invisible line that separated the black and white sections of the 29th St Beach. One white beachgoer, insulted, began throwing rocks at the black kids. Eugene Williams slipped off his raft and drowned (Grisby Gates & Fuller, 2019).

Two years later we meet a similar violent incident known as the 1921 Tulsa Massacre when, Dick Rowland, a black man, was imprisoned for allegedly assaulting a white woman (Clark, 2021). By dawn, the next day, Greenwood, known as "Black Wall Street," or "Little Africa" by others, was ruined. The Tulsa Race Massacre results in as many as 300 deaths and millions of dollars in property damage in one of the worst episodes of racial violence in American history.

As we move forward, during the 40s we are still witnessing riots instead of protests. This is because of the tremendous violence that African Americans had suffered. African Americans were always the minority, they were always the victims, and they also had a long history of slavery. They could not find justice and especially after WWII, the USA did not fulfill its promises towards those blacks who would join the war. The 1941 March on Washington, (Garfinkel, 1969) had as its goal to pressure the U.S. Administration to end discrimination in the government, the armed forces, and defense

industries, and the 1943 Detroit race riots (Jackman,2018) were the most notable events. Existing social tensions and housing shortages were exacerbated by racists bout the arrival of nearly 400,000 migrants during that era. The new migrants competed for space and jobs.

> *"In the spring of 1946, Irene Morgan, a black woman, boarded a bus in Virginia to go to Baltimore, Maryland. She was ordered to sit in the back of the bus, as Virginia state law required. She objected, saying that since the bus was interstate, the Virginia law did not apply. Morgan was arrested and fined ten dollars. Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP took on the case. They argued that since an 1877 Supreme Court decision ruled that it was illegal for a state to forbid segregation, then it was likewise illegal for a state to require it. The United States Supreme Court agreed:"As no state law can reach beyond its border nor bar transportation of passengers across its boundaries, diverse seating requirements for the races in interstate journeys result. As there is no federal act dealing with the separation of races in interstate transportation, we must decide the validity of this Virginia statute on the challenge that it interferes with commerce, as a matter of balance between the exercise of the local police power and the need for national uniformity in the regulations for interstate travel. It seems clear to us that seating arrangements for the different races in interstate motor travel require a single, uniform rule to promote and protect national travel. Consequently, we hold the Virginia statute in controversy invalid."The court did not rule that segregated transportation within the state was unconstitutional. The ruling, while another defeat for segregation in law, did not have an immediate impact. Buses still segregated its passengers until the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s put an end to the practice once and for all"* (Wormser, n.d.).

In June 1953 took place the first large-scale bus boycott in Baton Rouge. It was a sign of protest against racial segregation in public transport. The Jim Crow law forced African Americans to sit in the back of the bus, even when the front of the bus was empty. Thus, state laws prohibited black citizens from owning private buses outside the city systems. Reverend T.J. Jemison, a pastor of Mt. Zion First Baptist Church, the largest black church in Louisiana, made a complaint to the city council.

In response, they passed Ordinance 222, which allowed blacks to sit in "white" seats if the bus was not crowded and those seats were unoccupied. Blacks, however, could not sit next to whites or in front of them. Ordinance 222 was later overturned by Louisiana Attorney General Fred Leblanc, who claimed it violated state segregation laws. Rev. Jemison, local businessman Raymond Scott, B.J. Stanley, head of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and other black leaders, formed the United Defense League (UDL) called on black Baton Rouge residents to boycott city buses and urged them to drive, take taxis, or walk to work. Ordinance 251 was the compromise between the two groups which conflicted. With the risk of being hurt financially, the bus company made some changes such as the reduction of the white-only seats. Blacks still had to sit behind whites and would have to have to stand even if some white seats were empty.

> *"The Baton Rouge Bus Boycott did not end segregation on the buses, but it showed that peaceful, well-organized, and supported grassroots protests could be effective in the Deep South. The system of ride-sharing provided a model that was used by the Rev. Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Improvement Association during the Montgomery Bus Boycott."*(Momodu, 2018).

On Aug. 1, 1952, Pfc. Sarah Louise Keys traveled from Fort Dix, N.J., to her family's home in Washington, NC. During a stop to change drivers, she was told to relinquish her seat to a white Marine and move to the back of the bus. Keys refused to move, whereupon the driver emptied the bus, directed the other passengers to another vehicle, and barred Keys from boarding it. When Keys asked why she shouldn't ride the bus, she was arrested and spent 13 hours in a cell. Keys was eventually ordered to pay a $25 fine for disorderly conduct, was released, and put on a bus to her hometown. Her case was brought before the Interstate Commerce Commission with Dovey Johnson Roundtree as her lawyer and wasn't settled until 1955. In Sarah Keys v. Carolina Coach Company, the ICC favored Keys Evans, ruling the Interstate Commerce Act forbids segregation (Menkart, n.d.). Keys v. Carolina Coach was the only explicit rejection ever made by either a court or a federal administrative body of the Plessy

v. Ferguson doctrine (Plessy, 163 US 537 (1896)) in the field of bus travel across state lines (Barnes, 1983, p. 86-107).

On March 2, 1955, Claudette Colvin was arrested at the age of 15 in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to give up her seat to a white woman on a crowded, segregated bus. This occurred nine months before the more widely known incident in which Rosa Parks, secretary of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) helped spark the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott. Colvin was one of five plaintiffs in the first federal court case filed by civil rights attorney Fred Gray on February 1, 1956, as *Browder vs Gayle* challenge bus segregation in the city. In a United States district court, she testified before the three-judge panel that heard the case. On June 13, 1956, the judges determined that the state and local laws requiring bus segregation in Alabama were unconstitutional. The case went to the United States Supreme Court on appeal by the state, and it upheld the district court's ruling on November 13, 1956. One month later, the Supreme Court affirmed the order to Montgomery and the state of Alabama to end bus segregation. The Montgomery bus boycott was then called off after a few months (Laughland, 2021).

In summer 1955, the 14years old Emmett Till was visiting his grandparents in Mississippi. On Wednesday, August 24, Till along with his cousin Maurice Wright and other family members arrived at Bryant's Grocery and Meat Market in Money. There, Emmett had an encounter with Carolyn Bryant, the store's owner's wife. There are many theories concerning what happened that day. There is also speculation on what Till told and did to Carolyn during his visit to the store. The press wrote, according to Bryant's testimony, that either he whistled rudely to her, or he grabbed her hand in his attempt to flirt with her. On the other hand, Simeon Wright highly doubted that testimony because as he said they have spent too little time there. Three days later, on Saturday, August 27, Roy Bryant accompanied by a group of people visited the Wright household and kidnapped Emmett. Four days later, the dead body of the teenage Emmett Till was found in the muddy waters of the Tallahatchie River.

Next, in December 1955 occured the Montgomery Bus Boycott (The Henry Ford, 2021). It was a civil rights protest during which

African Americans refused to ride city buses in Montgomery, Alabama, to protest segregated seating. The boycott lasted almost a year and is regarded as the first large-scale U.S. demonstration against segregation. Four days before the boycott began, Rosa Parks, an African American woman, was arrested and fined for refusing to yield her bus seat to a white man. The press coverage during that time tried to demonize blacks, provide false information, and promote a negative stereotypical view of African Americans calling them beasts with primitive instincts.

Those related incidents were preparing the ground for the "no tolerance" acts. The requests of the members of the African American community were changing fast and at the same time, they were setting a more political tone in everyday life. They just needed to be more organized and that is what happened during the 60s and so on.

The awakening of the 1960s

The 60s had a heavy political legacy and action for the African Americans. The formation of black student unions and political parties, the assassination of two black leaders, and the marches nationwide were some of the key elements that established the new sociopolitical view.

> "The Albany Movement was a campaign against segregation formed on November 17, 1961, in Albany, Georgia. Local activists from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Ministerial Alliance, the Federation of Woman's Clubs, and the Negro Voters League mainly created the movement The Albany Movement challenged all forms of racial segregation and discrimination in the city. Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Leadership Conference (SCLC) also joined the movement in December 1961." (Momodu, 2016).

The Albany Movement also formed a biracial committee to discuss further desegregation and called for the release of those jailed in earlier segregation protests. Movement protestors used mass demonstrations, jail-ins, sit-ins, boycotts, and litigation. Although

the first protestors were mostly students, the campaign eventually involved large numbers of black adults of varied class backgrounds.

"In April 1963 Martin Luther King Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) joined with Birmingham in a massive direct-action campaign to attack the city's segregation system by putting pressure on Birmingham's merchants during the Easter season resulting in his arrest after violating the anti-protest injunction and was kept in solitary confinement." (Momodu, 2016).

We should underline the fact that the Birmingham campaign was never on the newspaper frontpages. Even the white community wanted to know the requests of the black community and the reason why the press did not cover them. On May 10, 1963, King and Fred Shuttles worth announced an agreement with the city of Birmingham to desegregate lunch counters, restrooms, drinking fountains, and department store fitting rooms within ninety days, to hire blacks in stores as salesmen and clerks, and to release of hundreds of jail protesters on bond.

The Selma to Montgomery marches were three protest marches, held in 1965. The marches were organized by nonviolent activists to demonstrate the desire of African American citizens to exercise their constitutional right to vote, in defiance of segregationist repression. By highlighting racial injustice, they contributed to the passage that year of the Voting Rights Act, a landmark federal achievement of the civil rights movement (Lowery, 2015).

The fight against segregation, racism and discrimination moved to the city of Chicago, which was the center of all the demonstrative tactics.

"As an industrial epicenter, Chicago was home to a thriving labor movement comprising the old CIO industrial unions and the old AFL craft unions. Because of the influence of the craft unions, the Chicago Federation [of Labor] took a cautious approach to the Chicago Freedom Movement. No one could have anticipated the energy, resources, manpower, and focus needed to take on the institutional racism embedded in the economic institutions and policies of the North. For the movement to succeed, it would require a melding of labor's organizing experience and SCLC's nonviolent philosophy and organizing vision…The strategy was

to develop a strong, on-the-ground organizing partnership among SCLC, Chicago community organizations, and organized labor. The enterprises that emerged from this newly constructed partnership were the tenant unions, which evolved into a collective bargaining campaign and resulted in the formation of the Lawndale Community Union." (Cornfield, Heaps & Hill, 2018).

So, on January 7, 1966, Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) announced plans for the Chicago Freedom Movement, a campaign that marked the expansion of their civil rights activities from the South to northern cities. The movement included rallies, protest marches, boycotts, and other forms of non-violent direct action, addressing a variety of issues facing black Chicago residents, including segregated housing, educational deficiencies, income, employment, and health disparities based on racism and black community development. The Chicago Freedom Movement, the most ambitious civil rights campaign in the northern United States, lasted from mid-1965 to early 1967 and is credited with inspiring the Fair Housing Act passed by the U.S. Congress in 1968 (Momodu,2016).

The African American community was strongly opposed to the Vietnam war. The black antiwar groups often protested in separate events than the white groups and mostly did not cooperate with the ideas of white antiwar leadership. They criticized the draft because only men who were coming from poor and minority groups were affected by conscription (Tischler, 1992). In 1965 and 1966, African Americans accounted for 25 percent of combat deaths, more than twice their proportion of the population. As a result, African Americans who were enlisted began to protest. After taking measures to reduce the fatalities, apparently in response to widespread protest, the military brought the proportion of blacks down to 12.6 percent of casualties (Appy, 2015).

African Americans who were part of the antiwar movement formed their groups, such as Black Women Enraged, National Black Anti-War Anti-Draft Union, and National Black Draft Counselors. In these groups, however, many black women were seen as subordinate members by black male leaders. Thus, African American women viewed the war in Vietnam as racially motivated and sympathized

with Vietnamese women respectively. Such concerns often propelled their participation in the antiwar movement and their creation of new opposition groups (Jackson, 2007, p. 309).

Martin Luther King Jr. was not only interested in fighting racial segregation, voting, and housing problems. He believed that a strong financially African American would bring change to the community. By having access to more resources someone could pressure the government to end that nonsense towards the minorities. For that reason, he along with SCLC formed the Poor People's Campaign. The motive of this program was mainly the economic justice and as Dr. King was saying:

> *"it's as pure as a man needing an income to support his family"* and *"We believe the highest patriotism demands the ending of the war and the opening of a bloodless war to final victory over racism and poverty"* (Burns, 2004).

Although the campaign had little success it brought some changes such as free and reduced lunches for school children and Head Start programs in Mississippi and Alabama, the expansion of food stamps and some federal welfare guidelines were streamlined. Thus, Marian Wright Edelman formed a network of agency bureaucrats concerned about poverty issues (Mantler, 2013, pp. 183-184).

During the 70s and 80s, we meet no notable protests. On the one hand, during the 70s we see an improvement in the everyday life for many African Americans and on the other hand, during the 80s the black communities faced another huge danger, the crack epidemic. The communities were flooded with drugs, that kept the people hypnotized with no desire to fight.

The New-Age protest

The early years of the 1990 decade were stigmatized by the death of Latasha Harlins and the Rodney King beating by police. Harlins was fatally shot in 1991 by Soon Ja Du, a convenience store owner. Du thought wrongfully that Harlins was stealing a bottle of orange juice and after a small altercation, Du shot Harlins from behind killing

her immediately. The store owner was tried and convicted to five years of probation, 400 hours of community service, and 500$ fines (Duran, 2017).

The acquittal of the four officers who had beat bad Rodney King, back in March 1991, was the reason that sparked the Los Angeles riots in 1992. Residents set fires, looted, and destroyed businesses. It was one of the first incidents ever that were captured on camera. They insisted that they were rioting to express their social needs calling at the same time for more community investing and to defund the police.

Nowadays black communities are protesting mainly due to police brutality issues. BlackLivesMatter was founded in 2013 in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's shooter (Grisby Bates, 2018), George Zimmerman and it became recognized for street demonstrations following the 2014 deaths of two African Americans, that of Michael Brown (McLaughlin, 2014), and Eric Garner (The Guardian, 2014)in New York City.Since the Ferguson protests, participants in the movement have demonstrated against the deaths of numerous other African Americans by police actions or while in police custody.

On May 25, 2020, George Floyd, a 46-year-old African American man, was killed in Minneapolis, Minnesota, while being arrested for allegedly using a counterfeit bill. During the arrest, Derek Chauvin, a white police officer with the Minneapolis Police Department, knelt on Floyd's neck for several minutes after he was already handcuffed and lying face down. Two police officers, J. Alexander Kueng and Thomas Lane assisted Chauvin in restraining Floyd, while a further officer Tou Thao prevented bystanders from interfering with the arrest and intervening as events unfolded (BBC, 2021).

Floyd had complained about being unable to breathe before being on the ground, but after being restrained he became more distressed, and continued to complain about breathing difficulties, the knee in his neck, and expressed the fear he was about to die and called for his mother. After several minutes passed Floyd stopped speaking. For a further two minutes, he lay motionless and officer Kueng found no pulse when urged to check. Despite this Chauvin refused pleas to lift his knee until medics told him to. The following

day, after videos made by witnesses and security cameras became public, all four officers were dismissed. Two autopsies found Floyd's death to be a homicide. Chauvin was initially charged with third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter, to which was later added second-degree murder. The three other officers were charged with aiding and abetting second-degree murder (Hill, Tiefenhäler, Triebert, Jordan, Willis & Stein, 2021).

Floyd's death triggered worldwide protests against police brutality, police racism, and lack of police accountability. In early June, the Minneapolis City Council voted an intent to restructure the police department as a "*new community-based system of public safety*". The Minneapolis Police Chief canceled contract negotiations with the police union and announced plans to bring in outside experts to examine how the union contract can be restructured to provide transparency and "*flexibility for true reform*". (Evelyn, 2020). It is extremely interesting and inspiring to realize that the community's anger and frustration overcame the fear of a pandemic, as we have seen in pictures where crowds of people participated in protests. They considered police brutality a chronic disease that needs an immediate solution.

As Bill Russell, the famous former basketball player, recently wrote on the players tribune.com*:*

> "*Real change takes time… America is a country of contradictions because of its foundation. On the one hand, there's the idea of what America is supposed to be, and on the other, what America is. America claims to be the land of the free, but it was founded on indigenous genocide and built on slavery. As a result of this discordant origin, America is a country at odds with its past. As long as large swaths of Americans regard slavery, Jim Crow, and racism as historical footnotes – missteps long since corrected – there is no way to move past racism. Fifty-three years won't do it, and 153 years won't do it. It's like apologizing for something without knowing what you're apologizing for – no real understanding comes of it. If America doesn't reckon with the past, divisions will only worsen*" (Russel, 2020).

To conclude, it is obvious the continuous switching between rioting and protesting. The race relations are not in complete harmony, the

old and conservative model hasfailed, injustices still exist, people tend to challenge the social norms more often than in the past, they do not necessarily follow a particular ideology, with strict limits. On the other hand, it is strongly advisedto pick up the baton from the previous generations and try to advance the struggle, converting the energy of demonstrations into a platform. Thus, the formation of a collective ideology and the rejection of individuality is the new key factors when we are referring to the social struggle. They do not seek to follow a reformistic path but a more radical one. Surprisingly, itis noticed social turmoil in almost every country and a huge will for change. Mass protests reflect organization, mobilization, and coordination that is intentional and deeply political. So, therefore, all the above can lead to a global motion in societies.

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(RE)DRAFTING RESEARCH ON THE TREATMENT OF SEX OFFENDERS' PRISON EXPERIENCES AND SOCIAL REINTEGRATION SUGGESTIONS IN THE PANDEMIC

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents the impact of restrictive measures adopted in Greek prisons since March 2020 to prevent the spread of the pandemic on a research concerning the experience of imprisonment and the social reintegration prospects of pretrial and convicted prisoners for sexual offences. The adoption of restrictive measures and their implementation during the COVID-19 period affected seriously prison research planning and methodologies. Researchers had to redraft methods and techniques. The shift of the field of the research as well as the target group (released, ex-prisoners who refer to social reintegration services) and the use of alternative methods of contact and interviewing are explained and documented, while additional research ethics issues and concerns raised, are discussed. The paper focuses on the use of new technologies and online research methods and the challenges generated thereof. The use of a mixed method approach is analysed and a focus on new methodologies of approaching and interviewing the participants is

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presented, in a qualitative research based on interviews and data collection. The paper concludes with the inherent restrictions and further opportunities of qualitative research methods.

Keywords: *sex offenders, released prisoners, online interviews, COVID-19*

1. Introduction

In recent years, the internet is all the more gaining ground in the field of qualitative research, especially with the spread of COVID-19 virus and the pandemic experienced globally. Therefore, due to restrictive measures and proximity prohibitions, researchers worldwide are increasingly resorting to alternative and at the same time innovative methods of collecting qualitative data (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 603; Janghorban, Roudsari & Taghipour, 2014; Sullivan, 2012: 54-55; Rezabek, 2000).

Research via the internet is approached in bibliography in two basic forms: either as an *asynchronous* procedure where participants answer, discuss and interact at a different time, using emails, chat rooms or bulletin boards (Abrams & Gaiser, 2017: 435; Bryman, 2016: 515; Krueger, 2015: 211-212; Kenny, 2004) or as a synchronous procedure where participants take part in the research simultaneously via teleconference-videoconference, voice calls and/ or chat rooms(Abrams & Gaiser, 2017: 435; Bryman, 2016: 515; LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Sullivan, 2012: 54-55).

The presented research is a synchronous procedure of collecting data via the use of internet. It was carried out with individual semi-structured interviews conducted with ex-prisoners who have committed sexual offences and have served their penalty in Grevena and Tripolis prison facilities, where prisoners of this category are held. The separation of prisoners for sexual offences from other prisoners is a long-standing practice of the Greek prison administration, although the Greek Penitentiary Code does not provide for any offence-based category and treatment of prisoners, recognizing gender, age, legal status (pretrial, convicted and debtors), sentence (imprisonment or incarceration)and health condition as criteria to separate and allocate prisoners in different custodial

institutions or units. This practice –based on sex offenders' social stigmatisation and exclusion which is also found within the prison community and defines them as people in need of protection from potential victimization– constructs a *de facto* category of prisoners and is expressed in Circulars 61966/1997 of the Secretary General of the Ministry of Justice and, especially and clearly 14/2020 of the Supreme Court Public Prosecutor, adopting a similar scientific approach as regards the devaluated position of sex offenders in prisons (Paraskevopoulos & Fytrakis, 2011: 76 [=2021: 58].

1.1. Internet as a research field

The reason that led to the use of this particular method (interviews via the use of internet) was necessitated by the restrictive measures that followed the spread of the COVID-19 virus. The initial research plan exclusively included prisoners who had committed or were accused of sexual offences and therefore the research plan provided for visits to Grevena and Tripolis prison establishments. However, after the first lockdown (March 2020), a period that coincided with the beginning of the research plan, a number of problems emerged regarding the procedure for granting access permissions to the above two prison establishments. Due to the extension of the restrictive measures and the project funding authorities' deadlines to deliver the research outcomes, alternative solutions were sought to approach the research targeted population.

Thus, the research plan turned its focus to ex-prisoners who have been imprisoned for sex offences, and the research team targeted prisoners' aftercare institutions, such as EPANODOS (Legal Entity of Private Law for the Social Reintegration of Ex-Prisoners subjected to the Ministry for Citizen Protection) and the Special Social Groups Office of the 2nd Employment Center of the Manpower Employment Organisation (OAED). The following presentation of the research methodology and the online interviews is limited to the beneficiaries of EPANODOS, because OAED supported released prisoners either did not respond or refused to participate.

EPANODOS is based in Athens, where the coordinator of the research team resides, while the researchers reside in Thessaloniki,

where the unit of OEAD contacted is located. The time when the interviews were conducted coincided with the second period of restrictive measures resulting in further delays for researchers' access to prison facilities to conduct face-to-face interviews. For that reason, internet as a means to conduct the interviews became a necessity and prior familiarisation of the research team with online communication platforms was also important (O' Connor & Madge, 2017: 418).

The internet-based interviews will be used supplementarily to other data collection tools (face-to-face interviews, focus groups with prisoners, interviews with prison staff, etc.) (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016); the findings of interviews with released prisoners were used to draft the interviews with prisoners conducted at a later stage (Rezabek, 2000).

2. Finding the participants

Interviews that are conducted via the internet have common characteristics with those conducted face-to-face, as their differencelies in the milieu where they take place (Abrams & Gaiser, 2017: 435; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 608). Technology, thus, is approached as a means to collect data (Salmons, 2012: 12). The selection of participants follows the logic of face-to-face interviews (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016). They are intentionally chosen with selection criteria stemming from the research agenda and interviewed after their availability to participate is considered. More specifically, in the present research participants were chosen by identifying the targeted population (released ex-prisoners for sexual offences), while other criteria were set too (regarding the specific custodial institution where they served their sentences) (Babbie, 2011: 291-292; Fox, Morris & Rumsey, 2007: 543· Glesne, 2018: 99; Salmons, 2012: 13-15; Sullivan, 2012: 57· Ritchie, Lewis & El am, 2003: 78-80).

Subsequently, the staff of EPANODOS, after a permission granted to researchers by the organisation's Administrative Board, processed their archives and made a selection among beneficiary released

prisoners meeting the research criteria. The sample frame, therefore, was extracted from the existing database of the aforementioned after-care organisation (Babbie, 2011: 316-321; Salmons, 2015: 152; Salmons, 2012: 14-15).

Online research offers the possibility of participation to persons from all around the world (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 603). However, despite the fact that the internet has reached most parts of the world, the selection of participants is affected and therefore limited respectively, as not all potential participants are internet users nor have access to it (Fox, Morris & Rumsey, 2007: 545). Obstacles of this kind inevitably become additional filters for participant selection as someone might fit the criteria of a research project but in the end be excluded from it (Salmons, 2015: 141-144).

In our research such obstacles could affect the participation of identified ex-prisoners. According to most of them (with the exception of one, the youngest of all), they were not fluent digital technology users and they did not have access to the internet, some of them being homeless and all of them being deprived of basic goods. However, the innovative aspect of the research is that it combined the traditional research procedures with those that could take place through the use of the internet. More specifically, the participants were called to participate in interviews at an office kindly offered by EPANODOS, where the coordinator of the research was present, with the use of a laptop brought there by him and linked to the internet account of the institution. The coordinator facilitated the connection of the researchers and the participants to the electronic platform used and familiarised the latter with the aims of the research. During the interviews, the coordinator left the room and the participant was alone with the researchers. Furthermore, the coordinator was present during the interviewing procedure in EPANODOS, next to the interview office, available to help in cases of technical failures. Thus, despite the lack of knowledge on the part of the participants regarding the use of the internet and communication platforms, their participation was achieved, with no exclusions or bias issues, problems arising as regards research participants in internet-based interviews but avoided in the present research (O' Connor & Madge, 2017: 424-425; Salmons, 2015: 143).

Finally, regarding the number of participants considered appropriate for an internet-based research, the same principles and procedures apply as with face-to-face interviews. In qualitative methodologies the aim is not the statistical representation of a sample of individuals, but the in-depth research of a small number of participants fulfilling certain conditions (Salmons, 2015: 134). In any case, both the participant selection procedures and the number of persons that will be included in a qualitative research project do not follow representative sampling standards and guidelines. Those procedures depend on the criteria posed, which eventually are affected by the aims of the research and its questions (Glesne, 2018: 101-103; Salmons, 2015: 136-140). In the particular research seven (7) interviews have been conducted. According to the personnel of EPANODOS only a small number of the organisation's beneficiaries meet the criteria of the research. From the list of eligible released prisoners who were receiving some kind of support at the time of the research, all volunteered and participated, except for one who initially agreed but then he cancelled twice his appointment due to work related obligations.

Research with ex-prisoners has inherent difficulties regarding the identification of potential participants, as it is not easy for them to be traced.[1] Furthermore, EPANODOS provides services mostly to people residing in Attica and other neighbouring regions of Central and Southern Greece. For that matter, the research group approached OAED Office in Thessaloniki (Northern Greece) so as to include as many persons from the two largest urban centers of the country in order to examine reintegration issues and difficulties in both areas. The effort to interview released prisoners residing in the wider area of Thessaloniki failed, as none of them accepted to meet researchers either online or in person (see above, 1.1).

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1. Other formal social control institutions that could provide relevant information, such as police authorities and prison administration, were not considered as researchers' options, due to their wish to approach released prisoners through organisations they have been addressed themselves, voluntarily. This, of course, is a conscious limitation for the research: all participants, by definition, were in need for social support after their release from prisons and tried to obtain it. On the other hand, the same choice, was a "must" for the research, as one of its aims was to define ex-prisoners' social reintegration suggestions and needs.

3. Conducting online interviews

3.1. Research method's advantages

The choice to conduct interviews online as a method to collect qualitative data offers important advantages; distances are eliminated (Sullivan, 2012: 54) and costs to access participants are minimised or nullified. In the present research, researchers utilised the aforementioned "pros" due to the pandemic that resulted in prohibitions to access custodial institutions and travel there to conduct the interviews (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 603-604; Fox, Morris & Rumsey, 2007: 545; O' Connor & Madge, 2003: 135-140; Rezabek, 2000).

Beyond such barriers, participants might have been excluded if all interviews were to be conducted face-to-face, as persons living in distant places and/or unable to bear transportation costs would not easily participate in such a research (Abrams & Gaiser, 2017:436). Therefore, the method employed is allowing the participation of persons and groups that otherwise might face severe access issues. Bibliographic inquiry shows that the Greek criminological discourse regarding sex offenders (prisoners and ex-prisoners) is rather poor. Sex offenders, at least in Greece, as it happens with groups and communities of people that are marginalised due to geographical, political, social and financial characteristics, being thus isolated (Beaton et al, 2017: 563), constitute a largely marginalised group, in terms of research dedicated to issues arising from their special characteristics. Usually, research conducted with these groups focuses on processes of marginalisation and does not shed light on the needs of people constituting them. Consequently, the planning of policies, projects or interventions do not address the reality that those persons experience. Online interviews offered a means to achieve this end.

Beyond the cost reduction and overcoming geographical/distance barriers, saving time is also important (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016) both for participants, who simply connect online, and researchers, who do not have to organise face-to-face meetings that, especially when they must be re-scheduled, are time consuming and

costly. In that way, also, important logistic issues, such as the location, microphones, tape recorders, etc. (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 608), are resolved as the internet offers high flexibility. Also, recording via various teleconference platforms (Skype, Zoom, etc.), allows researchers to analyse data with greater accuracy, having at their disposal sound and video means that offer the opportunity to avoid faults arising from tape recorders (failed battery, etc.) (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Hanna, 2012: 241). Furthermore, most teleconference platforms are offered online free and are easy to use (Cater, 2011).

Where participants are familiarised with technology, a device (computer, tablet, smartphone) and an internet connection suffice to conduct the interview (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 608; Sullivan, 2012: 57). Furthermore, participants can stay in an environment of their choice, familiar, safe and comfortable for them (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 608; Hanna, 2012: 241; O' Connor & Madge, 2003: 139), without the need to socialise with unknown people (Fox, Morris & Rumsey, 2007: 540). In this way, conditions of conducting the interview/discussion are better than those where physical presence is mandatory (Janghorban, Roudsari & Taghipour, 2014). In the present research participants might not have been at their own place or a place of their choice, residence or other location, but were called to participate from the headquarters of EPANODOS, a place they were familiar with, while also people who they knew contacted them, invited, received and spoke to them before introducing the coordinator of the research and the researchers. Shy and introvert participants feel more comfortable in an internet mediated meeting and feel freer to disclose information or to express themselves regarding more sensitive issues (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Fox, Morris & Rumsey, 2007: 543-544; O' Connor & Madge, 2003: 139; Rezabek, 2000).

3.2. Research limitations and alternative practices

Teleconference and video-interviwing though, still cast doubts regarding their use (Hanna, 2012: 241· Sullivan, 2012: 54). In non-face-to-face research, body language is not observable, and it is not

possible to be used as relevant information from the researcher, as non-verbal communication is absent. However, in the present research the visual contact via the camera was clear and the researchers were in position to understand the gestures and body language, as much as the frowns of participants (O' Connor & Madge, 2017: 420-422, 427-428; LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Seitz, 2016: 231-232; Salmons, 2015: 214-219· Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 605; Janghorban, Roudsari & Taghipour, 2014; Cater, 2011). As restrictive measures were in place when online interviews took place, participants entered the interview room wearing a mask and kept wearing it until the research coordinator left, after presenting the research to them and introducing them to the researchers. Then they took their masks off and stayed in the ventilated room, being heard better by the researchers, who could also see their whole face.

Another issue is whether the lack of physical proximity in online interviews-based research obstruct the creation of familiarity and trust between the participant and the researcher and, subsequently, whether that could affect the collection of data (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 605 & 610). A solution proposed to strengthen the relation of the involved parties is the exchange of electronic messages before the interview or even the exchange of photos and other personal and biographical information that would help them to get to know each other better (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016· Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 605 & 610-612). However, other research findings suggest that the good relationship between the participant and the researcher depends on both their personality and the research subject (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 610); also, where participants are hesitant to share personal information, this could be attributed to the means used and not to the quality of their relationship with researchers or lack of trust (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016).

In the present research two paths have been followed to build a positive researchers'/participants' relationship. First, participants were contacted via an organisation that/by people who they already knew and collaborated, initially informed of the research and invited to visit a place familiar to them. Second, the research coordinator

welcomed participants in person, explained to them the purposes of the research and introduced them to the researchers (who were present online). The fact that the interviewing researchers were two allowed participants to experience the procedure more as an open discussion and less as a formal interview.

Relevant literature shows that the familiarity between a researcher and a participant might be affected also by various technical problems that could emerge during the interview (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016). Connectivity delays and low visual or audio quality, the distance from the microphone, sounds from the environment, are the most common problems that arise (Seitz, 2016: 231; Sullivan, 2012: 59). For those cases the researcher should have a back-up plan, for example continuing the interview only with sound or using chat, or to re-schedule the interview in cases where the technical problem might interfere with the quality of the data collected (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 611· Hanna, 2012: 241· Salmons, 2012: 26-27· Sullivan, 2012: 59· Fox, Morris & Rumsey, 2007: 545).

To address assumed technical issues the two researchers changed roles, being either interviewer or interviewer assistant. The assistant was in charge of the technical aspects of the procedure, following up with the conversation and recording. Furthermore, the coordinator of the research was present, next to the interview room, ready to assist in cases where a technical problem arose, as was the case with certain interviews. Only in one interview the research team had to abandon the teleconference, a few minutes before the completion of the discussion as the connection collapsed. In that case, the researchers, who were connected to each other, decided to continue, resorting to a phone call with the speaker on, so that both could hear the answers to the few remaining questions, which were recorded both in the platform and to a tape recorder with no compromise regarding sound quality. The tape recorder was used in all interviews as a supplementary recording means, upon interviewees consent, and it was very useful in one occasion where online recording was not possible.

Internet use might be very common in our times in most parts of the world, but access to it is affected by socioeconomic background, income, gender, ethnicity and age (O' Connor & Madge, 2003:136),

resulting sometimes in the exclusion of possible participants (Seitz, 2016: 233). Consequently, digital accessibility and familiarity may be on the one hand valuable assistance to conduct research and on the other hand a factor excluding some candidate participants (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 605; Janghorban, Roudsari & Taghipour, 2014). In our case, the presence of the research coordinator, the use of his own equipment and the connection offered by EPANODOS, gave all invited participants the opportunity to have their experience heard.

Furthermore, the ability of participants to choose the environment where the discussion will be held, i.e., their house or their workplace, may help to conduct an interview smoothly, but also cause some perplexities (Seitz, 2016: 231; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 609; Janghorban, Roudsari & Taghipour, 2014). For this reason, participants should be informed of all these advantages and disadvantages and advised to choose a quiet place (Seitz, 2016: 233). The fact that EPANODOS offered a room exclusively for conducting the interviews where nobody else was present safeguarded that participants could be interviewed focused on the process (Salmons, 2015: 215).

In addition, the use of video and recording could negatively affect some participants and make them cautious as regards researchers' intentions and use of data (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016; Seitz, 2016: 232-233). Moreover, abandoning an online interview is easy, as leaving an electronic platform can be achieved by pressing one button, which is not the case in a traditional, face to face interview (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014: 610; Janghorban, Roudsari & Taghipour, 2014). In the present research, the video communication proved to be a very helpful tool and the interaction of the participants with the researchers in real time contributed to the quality of interviews. Besides, one of the most important benefits of the synchronous online interview is that it resembles face-to-face methodology (O' Connor & Madge, 2017: 421). In the present research, all interviews took place smoothly and offered rich data.

3.3. Description of the online interviewing procedure

As mentioned above, conducting qualitative online interviews resembles much of face-to-face interviews (O' Connor & Madge, 2017: 425). Therefore, bearing in mind the purposes of the project, the research questions and the digital environment where procedures took place, researchers used semi-structured interviews (Salmons, 2012: 19-20). A set of pre-determined research questions was drafted, creating a framework for discussion and simultaneously promoting flexibility for participants to freely answer, even respond not strictly following the series of issues of concern or skip some questions in the course of the interview (Iosifides, 2008: 112; Bryman, 2004: 321, Salmons, 2015: 215; Salmons, 2012: 21).

The interviews began with an introduction to the subject and purposes of the research and the intended use of the findings, an introduction of the researchers and an explanation regarding the content of the questions. The opening questions concerned demographic data and issues relevant to participants' legal status and criminal history, the following main section was dedicated to participants' prison experience and the interview concluded with their post-release life, concerns and prospects (O' Connor & Madge, 2017: 425; Salmons, 2015: 210-211). Immediately after the introductory remarks, the researchers asked for the consent of the participants regarding the visual and/or audio recording of the interview, and, depending on their answer, they had to tick the relevant choice offered in the consent form which they signed with the presence of the coordinator of the research; a copy of the consent form was given to all participants.

The participants were eager to discuss and they answered to all questions unreservedly. Some slight hesitation was observed at the start of some interviews, but later on it was understood that it was due to the terminology researchers used in relation to the offences for which interviewees had been imprisoned, namely "offences against sexual freedom and exploitation of sexual life" called by the latter "vice offences". Hesitation was especially observed in cases where the victim was a minor and/or an interviewee's relative, but it was overcome as researchers and participants got to know

each other at the course of the interview (O' Connor & Madge, 2017: 426-427). The researchers also avoided discussions insulting participants or making them feel pressed and embarrassed for their offences.

At the end of the interviews' participants were asked if they wished to refer to something that was overlooked by the researchers or something that they consider worthy to add or mention at that point. Concluding each interview, researchers thanked participants for their time and for sharing with them their experiences. Finally, participants were asked to offer their feedback answering "what went well, what went wrong and what could have been done differently" and researches shared their thoughts and feelings (Salmons, 2015: 212).

4. Ethics and deontology in online research

As challenges, dilemmas and ideas are discussed regarding the procedures that have to be followed in an online interview, some concerns on the use of digital technology also arise, in terms of research ethics and deontology. These refer to data storage, identification of the participants, video/audio recording and the online environment (LoIacono, Symonds & Brown, 2016), as well as the participants' informed consent procedures (Abrams & Gaiser, 2017: 446-448; Sullivan, 2012: 58; Fox, Morris & Rumsey, 2007: 541).

In the present study, the web was used as the research venue, where the collection of data took place in a way that assimilates traditional methodologies (Eynon, Fry & Schroeder, 2017: 27-30; Sugiura, Wiles & Pope, 2017: 186; Shelley-Egan, 2015: 3-4; Markham & Buchanan, 2012: 3). In any case deontology rules should be observed and adjusted to every different framework where research with the aid of technology takes place (ibid: 26).

Furthermore, the deontological issues regarding the identification of the personal data of the participants were overcome as they, with one exception, were linked with the use of the computer and account of the research coordinator and thus the disclosure of their personal data was avoided, as they only used their first name. As for the one person who participated from his residence his personal data were

not kept, and the emails exchanged to prepare the interview were immediately deleted. Regarding audio and visual recording, the archives were stored in the personal computers of the researchers with the use of a code and not in the "cloud", where data are more exposed, and were immediately deleted upon transcription. As it was mentioned before, the consent form was signed by the participants in the beginning of the interviews with the presence of the coordinator.

5. *Concluding remarks*

Conducting qualitative research with interviews involving released prisoners convicted for sex offences is a challenging endeavour, should one consider the particularities of the target group (ex-prisoners belonging to one highly stigmatised group of offenders, even within the prison community, and bearing the burden of their conviction and imprisonment). This research becomes more complicated during the pandemic, as restrictions imposed on movements and socialising of people hamper the participants' – researchers' communication and contact, and impact negatively on planning, arranging and conducting meetings and interviews. It is a condition that is setting the stage for a digital technology explosion (also) in the field of social research, that is able and ready to overcome any distance and cost barriers, even set aside the formal and informal ethical restrictions of previous decades. Then it is the researchers' duty to turn the necessities stemming from-and the potential exaggerations this condition poses to the integrity and dignity of all involved parts in an ethically clear, safe and sufficiently regulated research methodology, taking advantage of the possibilities and the facilitation digital technologies offer, while respecting conventional research quality rules and legal safeguards. In our work, an effort was made to combine the strengths of the internet (that made the research possible during the pandemic) with the respect of the participants' rights, protected through the established research standards (which allowed our positive and sincere interaction with them).

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SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL INCLUSION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS. THE CITY OF KRANIDI

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ABSTRACT

Inclusion is a philosophy associated with the recognition of the rights of all children. In practice, however, its denaturation is accompanied by difficulties related both to the functioning of schools and to society in general. The aim of this qualitative study is to investigate the extent to which the social and educational inclusion of foreign pupils is realised in Greek schools, using the region of Kranidi in Argolis as an example. In order to collect the research data, 16 semi-structured interviews were conducted with parents of foreign students and 16 semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers at public schools in Kranidi. Analysis of the data revealed that both social and educational inclusion of foreign pupils outside and within primary and secondary schools is achieved only to a limited extent. It should be noted that there was no significant difference between the responses of teachers and parents. The research findings have mainly highlighted the difficulties in social integration of foreign students inside and outside the school context, as well as the difficulties at the academic level. However, there are some factors, such as the individual characteristics of the students, that influence the degree of integration and determine whether it is successful or not. In addition, the length of a foreign student's stay in our country and the support he or she receives are crucial for success. It is worth noting that educational inclusion is a key factor for social success and vice versa.

Keywords: *Foreign students, social inclusion, educational inclusion*

1. Sociologist, MSc Sociology & Current Industrial Society: special issues of education, labor, social minorities and childhood, MSc Adult Education.

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to examine the extent to which the social and educational inclusion of foreign students is achieved within and outside the school context, based on the views of teachers and parents of foreign students. The philosophy of inclusion refers to the acceptance of all students as members of the learning community, regardless of their ethnicity, culture, religion or special educational needs (Ashman & Elkins, 2005). It reinforces children's right to a shared education so that no student is excluded (Loreman, & Deppeler, 2002). Until recently, the belief was that there should be 'different kinds of education for different kinds of children' (Armstrong, Armstrong & Spandagou, 2011: 29). However, this separation was challenged and the focus turned to finding ways for all children to co-exist in a common context despite their differences. Thus, the vision of inclusive education emerged as the most effective means for educating all children, fighting discrimination and creating an inclusive society (Papapetrou et al., 2013).

In international literature, inclusion or inclusive education refers to the education of all students from the same structure, without taking into account individual differences (Ainscow, Farrell & Tweddle, 2000). Inclusive education is about creating an inclusive and non-discriminatory society in which human rights are a central part of policy-making (Armstrong and Barton, 2007: 6).

In addition to the educational purpose and role of inclusion, there is also a social purpose. Inclusion also has a social function, both in the micro-society of the school and in the wider society. The main purpose of social inclusion is not only to place all students in the same classroom and have them live together, but also to improve their social participation inside and outside the school context. According to the Greek school curriculum, the organised activities where educational inclusion can be achieved have a duration of 45 minutes. Between lessons there is also free time for activities for which students are responsible for how they use them. During this free time, the level of social inclusion of each student and their social position in the classroom becomes apparent. The children's attitudes during the lesson also reveals the role each pupil occupies within the

social group of the class. Social inclusion coexists with educational inclusion and within the course. This is shown, for example, in the selection of certain classmates to sit at the next table, in the selection of certain children to form a group in an educational activity, and even in the help they give to some children in a test. But we also see the concept of social integration outside of school, in the neighbourhood. The choice of friends and the attitude of peers towards other children indicate the extent to which social inclusion is achieved.

Inclusion or co-education is the process by which the school seeks to meet the needs of all students on an individual and collective level. To achieve this objective, the school's organisation and curriculum are being revised. These changes allow more and more pupils with special needs to attend the same school. The children are taught in the same classrooms as their peers and receive supportive teaching whenever they need it. The main goal of the school is for all students to come together and train together regardless of their differences. It also aims to recognise and value the unique gifts and potential of each individual. Finally, the right of pupils with special needs to attend mainstream schools is emphasised as this enhances their socialisation through interaction with other children.

2. Theoretical framework of the investigation

It is not uncommon for conflicts to arise between native and foreign pupils both inside and outside the school environment. This behaviour is usually encouraged by the native family environment, the media and social interaction patterns. Most parents associate foreign students with poor school performance, deviant behaviour and delinquency (Evangellou, O. & Palaeologou, N. 2007). Importantly, schools can also unintentionally reinforce such behaviours through the curriculum. For example, if only the dominant language is formally taught in school, a message about the value of other languages is implicitly conveyed (Coelho, 2007: 487).

Many scholars believe that the large number of people of common ethnic origin in a region favours the preservation of the language of their country of origin. For example, Clyne argues that the number of

people is positively related to language preservation only when there are close interpersonal relationships (Kostoula - Markaki, 2001: 81). Minority groups usually use the language of their country of origin because they want to feel they belong to their group. Often, they use it for reasons of internal cohesion (Koiliari, 2005: 43).

It is a fact that peers' attitudes towards foreign students affect their social and emotional spheres as well as their level of adjustment (Arabatzi, 2009). According to a survey in England, over 50% of migrants have experienced racial harassment, expressed in offensive behaviour, while over 15% have been physically assaulted. Foreign-born students are racially insulted by both native and coloured pupils (Richman, 1995: 13-56). Schools in Finland show a similar picture. According to the results of a survey conducted in 2001 among eight different racial groups of students, it was found that foreign-born students are quite satisfied with educational opportunities but are very often subjected to racist verbal harassment and less kindness from classmates and teachers (Haeyrinen, 2001: 12). The results of the study show that children of Muslim origin (Arabs, Somalis) have the highest rates of negative favouritism from their classmates and experience bad situations (ridicule, irony) quite often in the school context (Jaakola, 1999: 213).

As for the Greek reality, the results of previous and current surveys show that Greek students are prejudiced against their foreign classmates. The 1994 survey by Argyrakis et al. on the attitudes of Greek primary school students towards their foreign classmates found that 63% of Greek students did not want children of Gypsy origin in their class, 56% wanted children from Albania, 16% wanted children from the former USSR and the Eastern countries, and 7% did not want to be in a class with children from the European Union (Argyraki et al., 1994: 19-22).

Another study in 1995-1996 examined social relations between native and foreign students from the perspective of 1336 teachers working in Reception and Tutorial Classes. (61%) of teachers reported that returning students mostly form mixed groups, while 39% reported that they mainly form relationships with other returning students. In addition, 36% report that there is a phenomenon of "cliques" and 18% observe conflicts between natives and returnees.

It is also important to note that 71.6% of the teachers surveyed reported that foreign students, especially returning students, associate 'exclusively" (11. 6%) or "mainly" (60%) with people from their own group outside school (Damanakis, 1998: 194-195).

Similar conclusions were reached in a 2001 survey by the Centre for Research and Support for Victims of Abuse and Social Exclusion. The results of the survey reveal the negative attitude of high school students towards Albanian students in particular. Most stated that they would not welcome them into their homes and would not establish friendly relations with them (Rimos, 2007: 32-33). Importantly, a survey of students conducted in Lavrio, Attica, showed that Greek citizens with a refugee background are highly xenophobic. Similar results were obtained from a survey in the Municipality of Renti, Attica, where the sample showed negative views about the minority group of Albanians (Tsoleridou, 2009).

The relationships of foreign students with their Greek classmates can be greatly influenced by their academic performance in the classroom and their general participation in the school community (Georgogiannis, 2009). Of course, there is also the view that foreigners may initially be treated with prejudice and hostility, but in the process, with the contribution of the school environment, they improve their attitudes towards minorities (Mitilis, 1998). It is also important to note that the foreign student sometimes expects marginalisation from hisor her peers and drives himselfor herself to isolation and aggressive behaviour (Nikolaou, 2000).

Several studies have shown that there are differences in teachers' attitudes towards foreign and native students. A considerable number of studies show that teachers' expectations of their students' performance can change children's behaviour at school (de Boer, Bosker, & van der Werf, 2010; Jussim & Harber, 2005). Thus, both the direct and indirect effects on student achievement suggest that teacher bias may contribute to the educational disadvantage of students from migrant and refugee backgrounds.

McKown & Weinstein, 2008 examined teacher expectations according to children's ethnicity. The results of the study show that teachers treat foreign students differently than native students. In fact, this behaviour had a negative impact on the school performance

of foreign minors (McKown & Weinstein, 2008). Researchers Terrill & Mark (2000) report that because white teachers have not experienced diversity in their schools, they do not have positive attitudes towards teaching children from other cultural backgrounds (Terrill & Mark, 2000).

Many teachers stress that they are unable to eliminate differences when foreign students are in their classrooms (Androussou & Askouni, 2004: 13). Although many feel effective in their work, they do not feel prepared to teach in a cultural environment (Benton-Borghi & Chang, 2012: 34). In Karras' (2007: 232-235) research, teachers from Cyprus, Italy and Germany express concern about the practices they are expected to use in a cultural classroom. They themselves said that foreign students cause them stress and make their teaching job more difficult, which highlights the changes that need to take place in schools and in society at large in order for them to better fulfil their role. According to research by Daniilidou and Vorvi (2014), philologists seem to consider their training in intercultural education to be very important, as teacher training in intercultural education is seen as a prerequisite for teaching to have an intercultural dimension. Others report that they are confident in teaching students from different cultural backgrounds without the support of other colleagues (Aimée Premier & Miller, 2010: 41-42). Holland's (2006: 199) research shows that encouraging the exchange of views and ideas in an environment that supports diverse opinions helps to change native students' attitudes towards minorities.

3. Part b: investigation

3.1. Developing the objective and research questions

The aim of the study was to investigate, based on the perceptions of teachers and foreign parents, the extent to which the social and educational inclusion of foreign students is achieved within and outside the school context in the city of Kranidi. Furthermore, it was tested whether the perceptions of teachers and parents differ according to their role.

3.2. The research population and the selection criteria

Qualitative research was used in an attempt to gain a deeper understanding of information related to the research subject. In order to implement the objectives of the research, we concluded that the most appropriate sample-size would be 32 interviews, 16 of which would be from teachers and the remaining 16 from foreign parents whose children attend schools in Kranidi. As for the interviews with teachers, it should be noted that the first ten were from primary school teachers and the next ten were from secondary school teachers.

In this study, the technique of purposive sampling using the snowball method was used. Snowball sampling is based on the principle that individuals in the sample have common characteristics and know other individuals with similar characteristics. First, some people were approached, who then provided contact information (telephone numbers, names) of other people belonging to the same subpopulation. In this way, the persons interviewed, the 'key persons', led to the identification of other participants (Iosifidis, 2008: 61).

3.3. Description of the research procedure

The research process was conducted in schools in the Kranidi region in May and June 2019. Communication with participants took place face-to-face in schools in the Kranidi region. Interviews were conducted in school settings where participants felt more comfortable and could express themselves better. In particular, interviews were conducted in teachers' offices or in empty classrooms or school libraries to avoid disruptions during the process.

3.4. Data collection tool

In order to conduct this study, two different interview protocols were prepared, one for teachers and one for parents of foreign students. The time taken for each interview is on average 30 minutes. The questions included in the two protocols (20 questions for teachers

and 20 questions for parents) were created following a literature review of Greek and foreign literature on social and educational inclusion.

The questions were structured along four thematic axes related to the research questions of the study. The majority of the questions were common and appropriately designed to be answered by teachers and parents. This would help to compare their answers in order to highlight similarities and differences in the way they perceive the social and educational inclusion of foreign students.

Furthermore, in order to achieve the aim of the study and report the extent to which the social and educational inclusion of foreign students is achieved, three subcategories of answers per research question were also expected in relation to teacher and parent responses (to a satisfactory extent, to a small extent, not at all).

3.5. Reliability and validity of the investigation

The validity of the research is ensured by creating questions that correspond to the research questions and by reducing bias. To increase the credibility of the interview, we tried to be as objective as possible, as participation in the process and direct communication with participants can influence the accuracy of the results (Bryman, 2016: 418). For this reason, an appropriate climate was created so that respondents felt safe to express their views.

It is also important that common questions for parents and teachers were selected and not modified in their wording so that we can be sure that they were understood in the same way by all. In addition, all interviewees were asked to sign the interview protocol and consent form to ensure anonymity and confidentiality (Bryman, 2016: 420).

To increase the validity and reliability of the study, all participant interviews were recorded to ensure transparency of all data. The interviews were then transcribed and cited as quotes in the paper so that the reader could assess the usefulness of the analysis. Finally, our findings were cross-checked with the results of similar studies to achieve a form of triangulation.

3.6. Method of data analysis

The content analysis method was used to analyse the data. The analysis of the interviews began with rereading the interviews to achieve depth and a sense of the whole. The data was then re-read to focus on the key opinions of the participants. At a later stage, first impressions and thoughts from the initial analysis were noted. During the process, codes emerged that replaced one or more of the main themes. Finally, depending on the relationships between the subcategories, the large number of subcategories was eventually combined and organised into smaller groups of categories (Tsiolis, 2014).

4. Results

This paper has attempted to answer the following research questions:

- What are and how are the social relationships described that foreign students develop outside the school context?
- What are and how are the social relationships described that foreign students develop in the school context?
- What are the difficulties foreign students face at school and what are their relationships with teachers?
- What practices do teachers and parents use to support the social and educational inclusion of these children?

In relation to the first research question, most teachers answered that the social relationships that foreign students develop outside the school context are mainly with their peers. They also agreed that foreign children tend to be more shy than Greek children, while many of them tend to speak their mother tongue with their peers. Finally, most respondents stated that several foreign students reported receiving racist comments outside the school context.

According to the responses of the foreign parents, the social relationships their children develop outside school are mainly with peers. They also agreed that their children are usually shyer with Greek children, while many speak their mother tongue with their peers. Finally, most respondents said that their children reported racist comments outside the school context.

Comparing the views of the two population groups, it is found that their responses do not show any differences.

The above is in full agreement with what has already been stated in the literature. In particular, foreign students interact with foreign students and feel safe and secure in a group of peers (Kanakidou, Papagianni, 1994; Damanakis, 1998: 194-195). Many scholars believe that the large number of people of common ethnic origin in a region favours the retention of the language of their country of origin (Kostoula-Markaki, 2001: 81). Minority groups usually use the language of their country of origin because they want to feel they belong to their group. Often, they use it for reasons of internal cohesion (Koiliari, 2005: 43). Furthermore, foreign students are exposed to racist behaviour and are treated with prejudice (Richman, 1995: 13-56; Jaakola, 1999: 213; Argyraki et al., 1994: 19-22).

In relation to the second research question, the teachers indicated that most foreign students prefer to socialise with their peers at school, while they choose mixed groups during breaks. Foreign students also tend to follow the school rules. More importantly, they receive bad comments about their origin from their classmates and argue as often as Greeks.

Most parents stated that their children's friends at school and during breaks are both Greek and foreign students. They reported that their children follow the school rules without any significant difficulties and that the teachers do not complain in this regard. They also claimed that their children receive bad comments from the local students while scolding them because they are usually provoked by the Greeks.

Comparing the views of the two populations, it is found that their responses do not show significant differences.

The above is in full agreement with what has already been stated in the literature. In particular, foreign students interact with foreign students and feel safe and secure in a group of peers (Kanakidou, Papagianni, 1994; Damanakis, 1998: 194-195). Foreign students are exposed to racist behaviour and are treated with prejudice (Richman, 1995: 13-56; Jaakola, 1999: 213; Häyrinen, 2001: 12; Jaakola, 1999: 213; Argyraki et al., 1994: 19-22; Rimos, 2007: 32-33).

Most teachers reported that foreign students have more difficulties in class than Greek students. They face difficulties especially in the literarature subjects (language, essay, history, antiquities, etc.) and usually have poor grades. It was also reported that teachers are usually interested in helping foreign students integrate and that they usually do not discriminate and treat all children equally.

The parents of foreign students admitted that their children have more difficulties in class than Greek students. The difficulties they face are mainly in literature subjects (language, essay, history, antiquities, etc.) and they usually have poor grades. The majority of parents stated that not all teachers help their children, but most of them have a good attitude towards them.

Comparing the views of the two population groups, we find that there are no significant differences in their responses. The only difference worth mentioning is that teachers believe that most of their colleagues are interested in helping foreign students integrate, while parents believe that they do not help their children.

Teachers are responsible for shaping the learning climate and the teaching framework. They are the ones who evaluate students' performance and set the school rules. Teachers' expectations of their students' performance can change children's behaviour at school (de Boer, Bosker, & van der Werf, 2010; Jussim & Harber, 2005). There is also a high likelihood that teachers expect lower academic achievement from students from different ethnic backgrounds (Terrill & Mark, 2000).

According to most teachers, the majority of parents of foreign students encourage their children to participate in social activities with Greek children. To deal with heterogeneity in their classrooms, the teachers themselves mainly use different teaching techniques. They also try to inform their students about "diversity" through discussions in order to avoid phenomena of social exclusion in the school environment. They also explained that they modify the material and differentiate the exercises for foreign students in order to promote their educational integration. Finally, the teachers argued that Greek schools need changes to become inclusive.

On the other hand, parents stated that they encourage their children to participate in social activities with Greek children and

that they usually deal with their children's problems with social exclusion through discussion. They discuss with their children the steps they need to take to protect themselves emotionally and physically. Most teachers give separate tasks to some students who have learning difficulties, but do not make an effort to address their children's difficulties. Changes need to be made so that all children have the same rights at school.

Comparing the views of the two population groups, we find that there are no significant differences in their answers. The only difference worth mentioning is that teachers believe that most of their colleagues use sufficient pedagogical methods to help foreign students, while parents believe that they do not help their children. Evangelou and Palaeologou (2007: 80) also support the above view. Specifically, they note that teachers are only able to apply new teaching methods and strategies adapted to the needs of foreign language learners if they receive high-quality scientific training. Many teachers stress that they are unable to address differences when foreign students are in their classrooms (Androussou & Askouni, 2004: 13). Although many feel effective in their work, they do not feel prepared to teach in a cultural environment (Benton-Borghi & Chang, 2012: 34).

According to Kessidou (2007: 21), teaching in multicultural contexts requires the adaptation of teaching and school work to the learning needs of all students. To deal with diversity in the classroom, the teacher needs to differentiate learning objectives, learning techniques, assessment or psychological and emotional support. Individual intervention according to the needs and characteristics of each student is essential (Arabatzi, 2013: 67). As mentioned earlier, teaching in multicultural classrooms requires a high degree of specialisation on the part of teachers so that they can adapt their teaching to the needs of all students (Coelho, 2007: 399).

Through the strategy of differentiated teaching, teachers modify the lessons and the teaching tools they use to maximise the learning experiences and potential of each student. In the context of a democratic school, differentiation of teaching aims to learn about the particular characteristics and needs of each student. In this way, teaching becomes more effective for these children (Bina & Papathanasiou, 2007: 90).

Of course, parental involvement in education is considered essential for children whose language is different from the language of the host country (Swap, 1993; Constantino et al., 1995). There is also important research evidence to suggest that parental influence is related to children's school performance. It is emphasised that school performance depends on the social, economic and educational level of parents (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2005; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Weiss et al., 2005).

Social inclusion outside and within the school context is achieved only to a small extent, as the choice of friends and the attitude of peers towards foreign children Also, educational inclusion in school is achieved only to a small extent, as foreign students face some difficulties compared to Greek students.

To sum up, we can say that the general schools still have a lot to do to accept foreign pupils fully and without weaknesses in their premises. The children may benefit to some extent in their social development, but their educational progress should not be neglected under any circumstances. Parents of foreign students should cooperate with the school and play a role in the social and educational inclusion of their children. On the other hand, teachers in mainstream schools, if they have foreign pupils in their class, should know how to adapt their teaching so that no child is excluded from participating in class.

The results of the research have mainly highlighted the difficulties of social integration of foreign students within and outside the school context, as well as difficulties at the academic level. However, there are certain factors, such as the individual characteristics of the students, which influence the degree of inclusion and are decisive for their success or failure. In addition, the length of the foreign student's stay in our country and the support he or she receives are crucial factors for success. It is worth noting that educational inclusion is a key factor in the success of social integration and vice versa.

5. Limitations of the investigation

The first major limitation is the small number of participants and their heterogeneity. Heterogeneity among teachers is related to age, gender, education and years of service, while among parents it is related to age, gender, personal situation and years of residence in Greece. It is quite possible that the results of the present research would have been different if more people had participated or if the individual groups had been homogeneous. The next important limitation is the nature of the chosen instrument, which lacks reliability and validity. Interview responses can be influenced by the mood and psychological state of the interviewer and interviewees.

6. Proposals for future research

In view of the above and the fact that social and educational inclusion of foreign students has not been sufficiently researched, it would be of particular interest to initiate new studies in the future. It would certainly be important to replicate them on a larger scale. In addition, interesting results could be obtained if studies were conducted with a different methodology and with the participation of the foreign students themselves. It is believed that an ethnographic study observing everyday life at the children's meeting places and in the classrooms would provide important insights to verify the subjects' statements in practice.

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RAPE AS A GENDER WEAPON OF MALE DOMINATION. CASE STUDIES IN THE GREVENA DETENTION CENTER

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ABSTRACT

Rape is a highly complex and multilayered interpreted phenomenon of violent aggression and is a subject of research in various fields of knowledge. Power relations between the two sexes are extended on the basis of a model based on the complete control of the female body, which is considered the property and thus the asset of the male family members. Sexual violence is a particular form of violence that differs from all other forms in that the gendered body plays a primary role. The concept of the body is a cultural, historical, linguistic and social construct rather than a mere fact of nature, because it has provided every culture with the material basis to construct its imaginary meanings and thus build political systems, systems of exploitation and power relations. The main feature of rape that distinguishes it from other forms of violence is the male rapist's conviction that he has not done violence to the woman, since the male pleasure in the power-property relationship is almost self-evident and can eliminate violence to the extent that it provides a sense of legitimacy in practice.

The present study was carried out in Grevena Prison in Greece, after the Ministry of Civil Protection had issued an appropriate entry permit, where three men convicted of rape were interviewed. The first rapist was sentenced to 19 years in prison for raping a

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minor for bribery. The second was sentenced to life imprisonment for raping his 3 minor children and the third was convicted of raping and murdering a woman and is waiting for his case to go to the Court of Appeal. The findings of the research show that the concept of rape in all three cases differs from the widely held view that rape is much more about imposing, controlling and exercising force, while the act itself is more the means for the rapists, who have pointed to the role of the female body in trying to justify their actions with the unconscious consent of the victims. From the three cases of rape studied, it is clear that the forms of male dominance that lead to rape do not take the same form in all social formations and in all types of social institutions, but have particular characteristics in each specific socio-cultural setting, while these forms penetrate the individual consciousness of the rapists with varying intensity.

Keywords: *rape, rapist, victim, male domination, victim's unconscious consent*

1. A historical overview of sexual violence

The history of sexual violence is different from the history of any other form of violence because it is a narrative in which the body, power relations and morality are interwoven. The synthesis of rape and victimisation of women is a historical fact that proves that the male-dominated model of social organisation involves violence as the result of a process that has developed over a long period of time.

We begin by examining the concept of rape from a historical perspective. In the earliest monogamous patriarchal societies, the rape of a woman was considered a crime against the property of the "rightful owner", i.e., the father or the husband. The immediate victim of rape was not the woman but the man - "her master", since this act diminished the value of his property and consequently constituted a theft of private property (Tsalikoglou, 1996, p.95)

The concept of rape in ancient Greece could refer to any form of rape without the consent of the woman's "master" and was the central axis of the concept of "hubris", which was legally linked to the honour and dignity of the man. In 5th century Athens, rape

–whether it involved a woman, a free person or a slave– was, according to the law of Solon, a criminal offence punishable by a fine to be paid within a certain time limit in double the amount: to the victim and to the state (Vrisimtzis, 1995, pp. 58-59).

In the European societies of the late Middle Ages (from the late 13th to the mid-14th century), rape –even if it was sometimes harshly condemned in domestic law as an act of ordinary violence– was rarely prosecuted, and judges often vacillated between leniency and cruelty.

In the 15th century, there was the first attempt by French jurisprudence to classify acts of sexual violence in terms of the gender, marital status and social class of the perpetrator/victimizer and the victim. According to the perceptions of the time, rape was an act of violence usually committed against women of "bad reputation", distinguished from married "honest" women.

In the 16th century, with the rise of Protestantism, the 'mediaeval body"was transformed and became the object of purification from natural and non-natural passions, so that it lost any individual narrative and became completely controlled by the mind (Mellor & Shilling, 1997, pp. 46-47). In this century, rape was considered an act that violated morality and was associated with the lack of socialisation of the perpetrator/victimizer, who was usually described as a violent and marginalised person. However, victims rarely reported the rape for fear of social outrage and contempt because they had "lost their virginity" or because the act of rape as such could have jeopardised their husband's "honour" (Vigarello, 1998, pp. 54- 55).

In the 17th century, sexuality (Lazos, 1997, pp. 14-16) became the focus of economic and political interest, and population policy adapted the needs of the population to the needs of capital. Sexual intercourse was now subject to control through the production of heterosexual sexuality, which, according to Foucault, took place in the dipole of the "acceptable-deviant" relationship, in terms of the sexual choice and behaviour that the individual must adopt. This policy was also the link between body discipline and population control (Foucault, 1979, pp. 37-38).

In the next century (18th century), when the Enlightenment was the dominant ideological orientation of Europe, the concept of liberation

of human being from the constraints of nature was promoted; his/
her mastery of his/her body through the positive sciences and his/
her liberation from monarchical rule and ecclesiastical dogmatism
through the acquisition of a person's knowledge were also promoted.
Rape was presented as a sexual act that usually took place with the
consent or "provocation" of the woman, as it was assumed that she
was endowed with "virtue" by "her own nature" so that she was
responsible for restraining the male passions (Rousseau, 1762/w.y.,
pp. 34-35). From the 18th century onwards, the body became the
foundation of the gender difference, as this difference was now seen
as natural, bypassing the biological and metaphysical views that had
prevailed in previous centuries.

In the 19th century, prohibitions of sexual intercourse acquired a
clear legal character, i.e., sexual intercourse was interpreted legally,
as it was within the power of the legislator to define the spectrum
of prohibition (Foucault, 1979, pp. 99-100). The law of the time
considered rape a "moral" offence. The offence of "honour" was also
key to the stigmatisation of women to the extent that virginity was
understood as a necessary condition for marriage and the woman's
"marital fidelity" as a self-evident rule of cohabitation with the
man/husband. From the end of the 19th century onwards, sexuality
in Europe took on a collective dimension and became intertwined
with public ideology as the development of a nationalism was
observed that was directly linked to the "ethics" of the bourgeoisie.
"Masculinity" became a key element of national bourgeois self-
determination. By the end of this century, sexual behaviour became
a "public stake between the state and the individual", in the sense
that sexual behaviour became a "pre-planned economic and political
education" (Foucault, 1979, p. 38).

Since the late 1960s, under pressure from feminist movements,
most European laws gradually recognised rape as "moral violence",
independent of physical force or coercion. However, rape as a
crime was not found in court records until the late 1960s, as it
was generally assumed that the adult woman had "consented" to the
sexual act as such.

In the late 1970s, there was a significant shift in the legal and
cultural view of rape in Europe. Rape gradually became a "social

phenomenon", victims spoke out and a debate about morality in male-dominated societies was gradually being raised.

Since the 1980s, important feminist studies have highlighted the use of physical violence against women in the family as a means of reinforcing male dominance, focusing on the emergence of the field of victimology and incorporating women's issues into important political and social issues. Nevertheless, the need to (re)define the forms of violence against women and to intensify protection measures emerged. The changes were not "accompanied by the necessary messages to change behaviours regarding sexual relations between the sexes, especially in social strata where stereotypes of men and women are still very valid" (Magganas, 2004, p.140).

2. Sociological and feminist approaches to rape

2.1. Sociological approaches to rape

In the social sciences, many theories have been put forward to explain the phenomenon of sexual violence. One of the most widely used sociological theories on sexual violence is that of the "subculture of violence" put forward by Wolfgang & Ferracuti (1996). The study was based on the 1972 Supreme Court rulings in the State of Georgia in the USA that sentenced perpetrators/victimizers of rape to death. These decisions were based on the enactment of a relevant law that allowed judges and juries to impose the death penalty as an alternative to life imprisonment, thereby circumventing constitutional guarantees. In the context of the present study, it was argued that rape is committed by perpetrators/victimizers who come from low socio-economic backgrounds and have the characteristics of a subculture that breeds sexual violence. The motive for the crime in this case is not sexual, but concerns perpetrators'/victimizers's need to gain prestige and power that they lack and believe they can achieve through sexual violence.

According to Baron and Straus (1987), another theory proposed to explain the phenomenon of rape is the theory of "social disorganisation". Proponents of this theory argue that crime and deviance reflect conditions that disrupt the unity of local communities

and weaken the regulatory power of social norms. Disruptive factors such as migration, family breakdown and cultural heterogeneity have been linked to various criminal activities. For example, research has shown that rape rates are higher in areas where there are disproportionate numbers of separated and divorced people, and that geographic mobility is associated with rape.

2.2. Feminist approaches to rape

Until 1970, very little had been written about the crime of rape, and according to feminist approaches, everything was going in the wrong direction. The prevailing theoretical orientations until then were two: (i) the woman was responsible for her rape and (ii) rape was a psychopathological behaviour confined to a few mentally ill men. Since 1970 and with the development of the women's movement and radical feminist theory, the phenomenon of rape was for the first time linked to social, sexual, economic and political inequality between men and women.

2.2.1. The women's movement

From the mid-19th century, the "first phase" of the women's movement for women's suffrage began in the West (Gaddy, 2013). The women's movement began in parallel with the development of other movements that were emerging at the time. In the United States, for example, the movement to free black slaves and the proletarian movement were an important part of socio-political change in the 19th century and were supported (in the 1830s and 1840s) by the women's movement (Gaddy, 2013). Following their multi-layered intervention, the feminist movements of this period helped to regulate women's rights and define rape as a crime in the domestic law of most Western states.

The central premise of the feminist approach is that rape is the product of more institutionalised sexism rather than the psychopathology of the perpetrator, the subculture of violence and the provocation of the victim. Feminists argue that rape and the threat of rape have traditionally served the purpose of maintaining women's subordination in an unequal social system. Like anthropologists,

feminists have focused on the relationship between rape and the general relationship between men and women. According to Smith and Bennett (1985, p. 296), "... rape appears in these theories as both a symbol and an instrument of male domination".

3. The present study

3.1. The methodological tool used

The present study was carried out in Grevena Prison in Greece, after the Ministry of Civil Protection had issued an appropriate entry permit, where three men convicted of rape were interviewed. The first rapist was sentenced to 19 years in prison for raping a minor for bribery. The second was sentenced to life imprisonment for raping his 3 minor children and the third was convicted of raping and murdering a woman and is waiting for his case to go to the Court of Appeal. The semi-structured interview was the main methodological tool of our qualitative research. This type of interview was preferred over structured and unstructured interviews because in the semi-structured interview, the researcher has a questionnaire from the beginning that serves as a guide and provides some structure, but at the same time allows the researcher to freely explore the areas of interest that may emerge from each participant (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008). More specifically, the semi-structured interview that we used as a technique in our research has the character of a narrative interview (Chamberlayne, et al., 2000), which engages the participant by referring to a lived experience from their school life, so that they make their own personal experiences meaningful by recounting what happened, without making distancing statements of a descriptive nature. Therefore, the semi-structured interview method was used in this research, for which a protocol of questions was designed to guide rather than impose the course of the interviews (Mason, 2003). For the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the interview data, which will be presented in more detail in the next sections of our paper, the technique of thematic analysis was used, according to the thematic axes on which the interview protocols were based.

3.2. Ethical issues: Confidentiality and Anonymity

Ethics and ethical issues often arise in almost all types of social research (either qualitative or quantitative). However, in qualitative social research these issues are of particular weight and importance as the researcher comes into direct contact and engagement with the social subjects who participate in the research (Iosisfidis, 2008). In general, ethics and ethical issues in qualitative social research refer to the means the researcher uses to achieve the purpose and goals of his/her research. Achieving the research objectives does not justify the use of all possible means, but only those that are socially and scientifically acceptable, appropriate and meet the consent of the participants in the research process (Iosifidis, 2008). In other words, the researcher's priority and concern is the protection and preservation of participants' personal information so that they do not suffer social or emotional repercussions as a result of their participation in qualitative social research.

In conducting our research, due to the particular nature of the social phenomenon under study, special attention was paid to the ethical principles followed in planning, conducting and presenting the research findings. In particular, confidentiality and complete anonymity were respected, as the personal information that participants shared with the researcher was not published under their surnames or other privacy characteristics. This helped to establish a very good relationship of trust between the researcher and the participants, and thus substantive rather than superficial information and data could be obtained. Thus, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality not only has an ethical dimension, but also affects the quality of the research process (Iosifidis, 2008), as it protects participants from any risk that could affect their social relationships, self-esteem, privacy, etc. Complete anonymity is also maintained in the presentation of the research results, as in the actual quotes from the interviews, the names that appear are falsified so that the personal data of the participants can be fully protected.

3.3. Wording and handling of the questions

At the same time, within the framework of ethics that must be observed in qualitative research, attention was paid to how the interview should be designed and conducted, after the researcher had very carefully considered the nature and wording of the questions so as not to offend the participants. In addition, while conducting the interview, the researcher paid special attention on how she would handle the questions and how the interview would progress and develop in general.

Furthermore, special attention was paid to the presentation and analysis of the research results and special caution was devoted not to cause any harm to research participants. Honesty and trust were established between the participants and the researchers, as the researchers explained the purpose and objectives of the research to the participants from the beginning of the interview, so that they were fully informed and well acquainted with the subject of the research in which they were to participate (Iosifidis, 2008).

4. Discussion of results – Conclusions

The results of the research have shown that the concept of rape in all three cases differs from the popular belief that rape has much more to do with imposition, control and display of force, while the act itself serves as a means for the rapists who have pointed out the role of the female body trying thus to justify their actions with the unconscious consent of the victims.

> "I had sexual intercourse with the girl with consent. I talked to her about some sexual fetishes that we both have, and within the framework of these fetishes there was the possibility of having sex with another man at the same time, so I invited my male friend, since she herself agreed to such a thing" (Man, 3).

> "... It was not rape; it happened with the girl's choice / consent, and it is unfair to accuse me of it" (Man, 3).

The peculiarity of rape lies in the connection of the female body with "morality". Traditionally, a "sexual double standard" has

emerged that sets different rules for the sexual behaviour of men and women (Reiss, 1992, pp. 51-97). This morality has evolved into a "conditional morality" that allowed women to have sex in a morally binding and exclusive relationship with one partner, while men were not imposed by the same condition and it was considered acceptable for them to have more than one sexual partner (Crawford & Popp, 2003, pp. 13-26).

> "The girl who accuses me of rape has already been 'seduced' by someone else, not by me" (Man, 1).
>
> "If I could go back in time, I would have done two things: first, I would have killed the other person who beat and killed her, and second, I would not have shared my girlfriend with anyone else; she had to refuse a threesome" (Man, 3).
>
> "A few days ago, I had suicidal thoughts, but I thought of writing on the wall of my cell ' You are master of yourself', and so I see it every morning and become stronger. I want to be released from prison and find a "serious" girl to marry and start a family with." (Man, 3).

It is clear from the three different cases of rape examined that the forms of male dominance that lead to rape do not take the same form in all social formations and in all types of social institutions, but have particular characteristics in each specific socio-cultural setting, while penetrating individual consciousness with varying intensity.

> "I had not understood my act, because when I was under the influence of drugs, everything was blurred, and I thought I was having sex with my wife, I did not realise that they were my children, I just did this act, as I did with my wife" (Man, 2).
>
> "If the girl had been alive, she could have been the woman of my life, but in the end (no, she could not), because I learned from friends that this girl had generally had some experiences with other boys... so it's better that way... I could not have had a 'serious' relationship with her" (Man, 3).

The main feature of rape that distinguishes it from other forms of violence is the male rapist's belief that he is not committing acts of violence against women, since the male pleasure in the power-property relationship is almost self-evident and can eliminate violence insofar as it provides a sense of legitimacy in practice.

"...During the alternate sexual intercourse with the girl, the other young man became a little more aggressive with the girl in the (sexual) intercourse, and the girl reacted. I did not react because I thought she liked it" (Man, 3).

"We began to argue about these manly things - about size and who was better at it. The girl then took a stand and the other man did not like what she said and he became very aggressive and hit her for insulting him; the girl reacted when she heard us arguing and she started saying that we see her as an object and that we would argue for that reason. She should not have taken a stand; that was her big mistake" (A, 3). (Man, 3)."

Finally, the privilege of rape as a "male" act is affirmed by all three defendants.

"Women and men have some physical and biological differences; women are more easily influenced, and in the case of the girl who accused me of rape, she was influenced by her uncle and testified against me" (Man, 1).

"The woman cannot rape the man, so here in prison there are only men and no women with this accusation. When I read somewhere that a woman raped a man, I wondered and said, 'is that possible?'" (Man, 2).

"... A man uses the strength of the body and can treat a woman differently from a woman who, because she is weaker, cannot brutally rape a man." (Man, 1).

The association of masculinity with energy and strength on the one hand and femininity with passivity and submission on the other, has created a widely accepted perception of sexuality in which the man is expected to be the active subject and the woman the passive subject, i.e., the man is expected to try to seduce and be seduced and the woman to seduce and be seduced. Thus, the more individuals are socialised in this frame of reference, the more they learn to deal with sexuality according to the above principles, i.e., they learn either to be rapists or rape victims. The above consideration leads us to the conclusion that the more some men adhere to traditional and conservative attitudes towards the role of gender, the more likely they are to engage in aggressive sexual behaviour.

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RELATIONS OF DIFFERENCE
IN THE MEMORANDA DISCOURSE:
A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GOVERNMENT
AND OPPOSITION LEADERS

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ABSTRACT

Whether something is said or not is a matter of power relations, since such a decision delineates what is socially acceptable, while it subjugates those signified in a secondary or an implicit level. This analysis aims to describe what is assumed or what is not said in the political speeches that were expressed in parliamentary voting dates during the Memoranda era (2010-2018) in Greece. Discourse analysis reveals the power relations that dictate consequent behaviors, as well as the salience of explicit ideological products. The research under suggestion conscripts the question of what relations of difference are described in those political speeches that are going to be examined. Relations of difference is a term regarding relations described in a discourse, which imply a kind of inequality between institutions, persons, policies e.t.c. A discourse –among other features– consists of such differences, which do always have effects to social structures. There is a juncture between relations of difference and social control as social practice.

Keywords: *Discourse analysis, relations of difference, Memoranda, Greek crisis*

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Introduction

The present paper is based on a research which concerns the relations of difference described by Greek politicians that either managed the Greek crisis or they expressed their disagreement to it as the official opposition during a period of austerity and impoverishment. This period refers to the Memoranda era, when the Greek state had been in a regime of surveillance in order to get by the financial crisis that brought severe problems to the Greek economy. The first Memorandum of Understanding was signed (May 2010) between the Greek state and its creditors, the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The former borrowed 110 billion euros and as a part of the deal it had to apply major changes according to a strict fiscal programme which was dictating an active and open-ended neoliberalization process for the Greek economy. Following the derailment of the first programme, a second Memorandum of Understanding was signed (February 2012) providing the Greek state an even huger loan of 130 billion euros. The second programme was found out of its targets even a couple of months after its beginnings (Varoufakis, 2014: 218). The Greek bailout programme finally needed a third agreement (2015 summer), in order to be completed. The third Memorandum of Understanding led the Greek economy to the end of this period (2018 summer). However, nothing was the same and the expectations of the Memoranda originators were dashed. As a result, the Greek Gross Domestic Product was reduced to 200 billion euros, although it had been to 330 billion (World Bank Group, 2017) when the first memorandum was signed.

Based on the above, the research aim is twofold. First of all, it attempts to examine the relations of difference either as findings or as a set of subcategories. Relations of difference are analyzed to narrower categories, while this conference's object has to do with issues of methodology. By highlighting them in the political discourse on the Memoranda, relations of difference are going to be classified according to the subjects' identity into left and right discourses, as well as into governmental and oppositional divide. The second aim is to present differentiations between different

political actors. These differentiations may contribute to a further comprehension of the political situation in Greece, during the 2010-2018 period.

The theoretical framework is based on three terms: discourse theory, relations of difference and the political discourse on the Memoranda. The first one leads to the second, which is going to be applied as an analytical tool to the third one. A section on methodology comes after the theoretical framework sections. Followingly this paper presents specific classifications of relations of difference in the political discourse on the Memoranda. The paper ends with the conclusion section, which includes four main findings.

Discourse theory

Discourse theory emerged in the 70's mainly through the work of Michel Foucault. It is a scientific field known for its priority to revealing ideas, practices and behaviors that are hidden between the words spoken and the decisions made. Discourse analysis explains how a subject interprets the world, how it thinks of reality, its theory about what makes the world go round and what values lying at the top of its head. Discourse is practiced daily via any talk activity that people do. Through speaking, behaving and doing the subjects create meanings (Young, 2008: 1987), which are not taken as a given in discourse theory (Angermuller, Maingueneau & Wodak, 2014: 3). These meanings need a decoding processin order to be interpreted, highlighted and attached to a system of ideas.

The analytical gadget of discourse theory is discourse analysis. It is a specific method aiming to highlight how discourse is formed *in situ* (Amossy, 2014: 298). Among the most central characteristics that form a discourse is the context. It is a concept which brings together the conditions under which a discourse emerges and, at the same time, the emerging discourse signals the notions, the comprehension and the most important frames chosen to interpret that specific situation. This research focuses on a specific tool of discourse analysis, relations of difference and attempts to describe the most important categories of them that were chosen

by governmental and oppositional actors to advocate or reject the Memoranda programmes in the Greek House of Parliament.

Relations of difference

Laclau & Mouffe (1985) considered power relations as a constitutive element of a discourse. Discourses tend to describe power relations by placing things, concepts and ideas in an evaluative order. Saying what I want to say means that I reject saying something else. Similarly, suggesting a specific solution means rejecting a set of another possible solutions. Relations of difference are a term suitable for analyzing power relations under this scope. Studying power is a way to comprehend the dynamics of control in the contemporary societies (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 10).

Relations of difference, a term proposed by Wodak& Meyer (2009: 10), falls into power relations. Power relations are encoded to the message spoken by the subject. Each discourse represents a specific attempt for dominance. That's why it has to be interpreted as a matter of- at least internal- struggle. Language is used as the vehicle of a specific power balance which is expressed through difference. Discourses place ideas in order, form and present social relations, as well as generate differences between subjectivities (Kuhn et al., 2008: 165-166). Therefore, relations of difference as an analytical tool contribute towards highlighting the difference between ideas, people, things and institutions and estimating how the subject, the bearer of discourse, place them according to its preferences and values.

In this work, relations of difference are used as an indication of hierarch, preference and closeness. By saying something, the subject tends to place it in a wider system of hierarchy, to suggest it as a more or less preferable solution among others and to show off an intimacy or an aversion towards it. Under the same sense, relations of difference also include a distinction of what is said from what is not said, while they reveal what is implied by the subject. These implications are expressed in specific sentences and each of them is considered as a relation of difference.

Political discourse on memoranda

Earlier, it was referred that the context is a central concept in discourse analysis. Van Dijk (2001: 356) defines *context*as "the mentally represented structure of those properties of thesocial situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse". In the present research, the context emanates from the 2010-2018 period and the aforementioned Memoranda. Discourse on the Memoranda refers to a hard decade of contemporary Greek history, which began with the Greek debt crisis.

The MoU's were signed between the three aforementioned international institutions and the Greek state. The former demanded the latter to adopt neoliberal austerity fiscal programmes. As a result, one out of three dollars of the Greek Gross Domestic Product was lost (World Bank Group, 2017). Memoranda programmes included a set of neoliberal policies that seek after theneoliberalization of the Greek economy (Madjd-Sadjadi & Karagiannis, 2013: 13; Lapavitsas et al., 2012: 180; Queiroz, 2016: 234-235).

Four governments applied these neoliberal policies but the expected results were by far less satisfying in comparison with the expectations that the governmental discourse on the Memoranda had announced. On the other hand, the corresponding discourse of the opposition failed to articulate a viable programme for responding to the crisis. When the official opposition consisted of a neoliberal party (New Democracy), the dominant demand was about furthering neoliberalization. When the official opposition was a left party (SYRIZA), its discourse was based on exploiting people's indisposition to the negative bills, actions and taxes that the government was suggesting, as well as the subsequent political and electoral costs that the government had to pay.

As a result, despite the complication of the Greek crisis (Papathanassopoulos & Karadimitriou, 2013: 138) which could be seen as an extension of the 2007-2008 financial crisis that passed to the European Union (Blundell-Wignall, 2011: 2; Lapavitsas et al., 2012: 59), the relations of difference as an analytical toolintimated a subjects' tension to compose them via emphasizing differences

between the governmental practices and decisions, while their conceptualizations of the crisis remained purely neoliberal.

Table 1

Governments of the Memoranda period (2010-2018)

Years	Prime Minister	Governing parties (pol. position)	Official opposition
2009-2011	Papandreou	PASOK (left/center)	ND (right)
2011-2012	Papademos	PASOK (left/center), ND (right), LAOS (right-wing)	KKE (left)
2012-2015	Samaras	ND (right), PASOK (left/center), DIMAR (left)	SYRIZA (left)
2015-2019	Tsipras	SYRIZA (left), ANEL (alt-right)	ND (right)

Method

The research method is a discourse analysis implemented to thirty-two political speeches. Sixteen of them were governmental, while the rest of them were presented by the opposition. The speeches took place in the Greek parliament, in eight different dates. Three of them were voting dates of an MoU and five of them concerned the voting for a Medium-Term Budgetary framework. The governmental texts belong to the respective Prime Minister and the Minister of Economics. The sixteen oppositional texts belong to the respective leader of the official opposition and the leader of a smaller parliamentary party.

The relations of difference are classified with an open view, as an inductive approach was followed. Each sentence considered as a relation of difference could belong to one or more categories of those proposed here. Anyway, the examples apposed here are classified according to their primal meaning. These texts are used as discursive events which could give us useful findings as instances of discourse practice (Fairclough, 1992). The last sentence reveals the way this discourse analysis works, while the same text could undergo

multiple different approaches of discourse analysis (Angermuller, Maingueneau & Wodak, 2014: 2; Gumperz, 2014: 221).

This paper presents a set of classifications of relations of difference that were referred to the political discourse on the Memoranda. The relations of difference found in the discourses under analysis tended to reflect some specific themes. The following section will crystallize them into finite categories.

Classification of governmental discourse on the memoranda

By proceeding to the taxonomy proposed for analyzing the governmental discourse of the Memoranda period, five main categories of relations of difference were found. Each category is attempted to be grounded on three indicative examples taken from the texts under analysis.

The first category of governmental relations of difference is called *blaming institutions to which the subject belongs*. The subject blames an institution for inadequate performance. In these cases, the relation of difference is based on the fact that the subject belongs and works for these institutions for a long time. For example, Papandreou and Venizelos had been ministers since the early 90's.

> *"We let our democratic system be occupied, our democratic system be taken prisoner"* (Giorgos Papandreou, Prime Minister, MoU I, 06/05/2010).

> *"We were investing on the wrong basis and we were eventually led to a truly tragic impasse"* (Evangelos Venizelos, Minister of Economics, MoU II, 12/02/2012).

> *"The real national issue is that we have lost decades"* (Evangelos Venizelos, Minister of Economics, MoU II, 12/02/2012).

The second category of relations of difference is called *reversal of reality* and it seems like a prophecy after Christ. However, the austerity measures included on the Memoranda led the programmes to a deadlock just some months later. What happened with the implementation of these programmes, it had been previously

presented as a risk of voting against of them, as it is seen in the next sentences.

> *"With the aim of achieving a primary surplus to stop the accumulation of debt"* (Evangelos Venizelos, Minister of Economics, MoU II, 12/02/2012).

> *"The transmission of problems to the next generations stops here"* (Giannis Stournaras, Minister of Economics, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

> *"Today we have a completely new landscape ahead of us, a new social, political, economic landscape"* (Alexis Tsipras, Prime Minister, MoU III, 14/08/2015).

According to the third proposed category, *invoking the people*, the Greek people are presented either as forceful or as individuals whose modus vivendi led to the crisis. We notice two opposite approaches here, while the subjects tended to conceptualize the people either as a promising force or as responsible for the crisis.

> *"It is enough for us, the Greeks, to believe in our potential, in our values, in ourselves"* (Giorgos Papandreou, Prime Minister, Message from Kastellorizo, 23/04/2010).

> *"They do not vote for a Greece of deficits. They vote for a Greece of production"* (Giorgos Papandreou, Prime Minister, MTBF I, 29/06/2011).

> *"The key question now is how to allow the largest capital of the country, which is its human resources -business, scientific, professional-, to be led back to the path of creation"* (Giannis Stournaras, Minister of Economics, MTBF III, 09/05/2014).

The fourth category of relations of differenced concerns *acceptance of inequalities or other unpleasant situations*. Inequalities –or other unpleasant situations– are presented as factors which not only cannot change or be mitigated, but they define or dictate the proposed solutions for the crisis. So, the government appears as having not to solve them, but to get adapted to them.

> *"The country produces nothing, imports everything, is dependent on the fact that it has no productive base. This is what has affected our financial independence"* (Evangelos Venizelos, Minister of Economics, MoU, 12/02/2012).

"It is a very difficult deal, a deal that has many thorns" (Euclid Tsakalotos, Minister of Economics, MoU III, 14/08/2015).

"And you tell us, Mrs. Bakoyannis, that it is a shame. As shameful as it is now, it was then" (Euclid Tsakalotos, Minister of Economics, MTBF, 14/06/2018).

The final category concerning the governmental discourse is *scaremongering or fearmongering* and it is a form of manipulation. I think that the subject's implications fall into this category of relations of difference, when the subject describes hazards that will be released if its exit-from-the-crisis programme be rejected by the Greek parliament. It shows a tension of governmental propaganda to discipline citizens by scaring them.

"It is an option suggested by various portions. To say 'We do not have to pay' and put the country in a decade of recession and utter misery, especially regarding the poorest sections of the population" (Giorgos Papakonstantinou, Minister of Economics, 06/05/2010).

"We founded democracy in this place and that is why we do not play with democracy" (Antonis Samaras, Prime Minister, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

"Hell is brought about by the loss of competitiveness, for which everyone has a huge responsibility" (Antonis Samaras, Prime Minister, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

Table 2

Classification 1: Relations of difference in the governmental discourse

Classification of relations of difference found in the political discourse on the Memoranda	
A	Blaming institutions to which the subject belongs
B	Reversal of reality
C	Invoking the people
D	Acceptance of inequalities or other unpleasant situations
E	Scaremongering

Classification of oppositional discourse on the memoranda

Concerning the discourse of the leaders of the opposition and the leaders of smaller parliamentary parties, the relations of difference are distinguished into six categories. They consist of one category more than the corresponding governmental discourse.

Blaming the government is a category that includes attacks to the governmental management and policies. These cases could probably also fall into the conflict frame category, but they are primarily blaming the government. The research showed that this category was by far the most common in the discourse of the opposition.

> *"The majority of hooded riots, the basic core, belongs to your mechanisms"* (Aleka Papariga, General Secretary of the Communist Party, MoU II, 12/02/2012).

> *"You do not seem to recapitalize the banks but the bankers"* (Alexis Tsipras, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

> *"You are building a new client state"* (Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF IV, 18/05/2017).

The second category, (speaking like they were) *born the day after the elections*, concerns relations of difference described by politicians who tend to forget that they had also governed the country earlier and the problems they present were also obvious during their past services as ministers or as members of the government. This category was prominent mainly after the 2015 elections, when a left party came took over the governance and the opposition was composed mainly by New Democracy and MfC (a new version of PASOK), the two parties that had been running the country since 1974.

> *"You left the Greek economy behind"* (Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF IV, 18/05/2017).

> *"Under a way of thinking and practices of the regime, they try to build the client and under control state"* (Fofi Gennimata, Leader of MfC, MTBF IV, 18/05/2017).

> *"You created a large mass of desperate people who are drowning in debt and have no hope for the future"* (Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF V, 14/06/2018).

The third category, *deeper causes of the crisis,* appeared almost only in the discourse of the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece. It includes a tense to reveal deeper and systemic problems. A systemic problem is a problem which is a consequence of issues inherent in the overall system.

> *"The crisis is not an accounting issue, it is purely political, it is a matter of property relations"* (Aleka Papariga, General Secretariat of the Communist Party, MoU I, 06/05/2010).

> *"The recipe was a matter of class, it was not wrong"* (Aleka Papariga, General Secretariat of the Communist Party, MoU II, 12/02/2012).

> *"Even if Greece develops its competitiveness, other countries will develop their corresponding more"* (Aleka Papariga, General Secretariat of the Communist Party, MoU II, 12/02/2012).

The fourth category, *revealing a truth,* describes relations of difference based on the subject's tense to reveal a secret truth which, according to it, is unspoken or hidden by the governmental discourse. The first two of the cases could be probably classified as conspiracies. However, they primarily attempt to persuade the Greek people that there is an alternative truth out there. The analysis does not take into consideration if this truth is real, fictional or a conspiracy.

> *"His government with Greek Statistical Authority by its side distorted statistics"* (Panos Kammenos, Leader of the Independent Greeks, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

> *"The result is that the National Bank of Greece is handed over to Mr. George Soros"* (Panos Kammenos, Leader of the Independent Greeks, MTBF III, 09/05/2014).

> *"Net exit? Enough with this fairy tale"* (Fofi Gennimata, Leader of MfC, MTBF V, 14/06/2018).

The relations of difference falling into the *conflict frame* category have to do with subject's implications that the concept "we and

the other" –in that case, the opposition and the government– leads inevitably to comparisons and conflicts between the two.

> *"Are you talking about old-fashioned partisanship?"* (Alexis Tsipras, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

> *"You invented the social dividend, the surplus of the surplus, the new Greek statistics"* (Alexis Tsipras, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF III, 09/05/2014).

> *"Yes, we were criticized. And you had criticized us very harshly"* (Vagelis Meimarakis, Leader of the Opposition, MoU III, 14/08/2015).

Hidden trump cards are conscripted by the opposition in order to reveal a crucial factor that justify or legitimize its suggestions. This category mainly includes (1) the people as a promising capital –in correspondence with *invoking the people* category of governmental discourse–, (2) promises that seem to be populistic and (3) conspiracy theories which tend to exaggerate. The following examples concern an indication of the people as promising capital, a conspiracy and populistic demands, respectively.

> *"Greece, however, is a country with inexhaustible geopolitical dynamics"* (Alexis Tsipras, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

> *"Don't you understand that this is how Thrace is Kosovoizated"* (Panos Kammenos, Leader of the Independent Greeks, MTBF III, 07/11/2012).

> *"Sixty-nine years since the Greek governments put this historic issue, which remains unfulfilled, on the shelf: Germany's debts to the Greek people, to the dignity of the country and SYRIZA is committed that, if it has the support and trust of our people, these sixty-nine years of inaction and indifference will not become seventy. This historic debt will be fulfilled"* (Alexis Tsipras, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF III, 09/05/2014).

Table 3

*Classification 2: Relations of difference in the discourse
of the opposition*

Classification of relations of difference found in the discourse of the opposition on the Memoranda	
A	Blaming the government
B	Born the day after the elections
C	Deeper causes of the crisis
D	Revealing a truth
E	Conflict frame
F	Hidden trump cards

Relations of difference used by each government

Despite the emphasis on methodological issues some results are presented in order to underline the merits of the methodology used. Main results concern the issue of governmental discourse presenting the reversal of reality as its main category concerning the relations of difference. All four governments of the Memoranda period referred to relations of difference by reversing the reality.

> "*Since 2004 and for five years, sixty thousand additional new civil servants were appointed, although we were under surveillance*", "*We will not allow bankruptcy and speculation against our country*" (Giorgos Papandreou, Prime Minister, MoU I, 06/05/2010).

> "*We will reduce public debt by around € 100 billion*", "*The second goal is to restore competitiveness, promote growth and increase employment*" (Loukas Papademos, Prime Minister, MoU II, 12/02/2012).

> "*Not only banks will be saved, as some demonize. The whole banking system will be saved*", "*Hell was brought by those who paralyzed the cities every day for years, it was brought by those who constantly asked for benefits and privileges that do not exist in other developed countries*" (Antonis Samaras, Prime Minister, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

"The rift that has opened today and which reveals the evolving, albeit low-intensity, confrontation between the conservative and progressive forces in Europe is not insignificant or indistinguishable", *"Returning to the political crisis, because this is what a loan-bridge means, means returning to a crisis, without end"* (Alexis Tsipras, Prime Minister, MoU III, 14/08/2015).

However, the second most commonly emerging category was different for each government. Papandreou's government used to blame institutions to which the subject belongs secondarily (*"We have a Europe of cacophony, which allowed and allows the scaremongering to top over the head of Greece and other countries"*, Giorgos Papandreou, MTBF I, 29/06/2011). Samaras' government developed the scaremongering strategy to compose relations of difference (*"Others want to take us back to where no one wants to go anymore"*, Antonis Samaras, MTBF II, 07/11/2012), while Papademos' (*"It's a tough program, which means painful sacrifices for the widest strata, for almost our whole society, following the sacrifices that have already been made"*, Loukas Papademos, MoU II, 12/02/2012) and Tsipras' (*"We do not triumph, nor do we mourn this difficult agreement"*, Alexis Tsipras, MoU III, 14/08/2015) governments were based more on the acceptance of inequalities or other unpleasant situations.

Relations of difference used by left and right opposition

On the other hand, the opposition, which is distinguished into left and right parties, attempted to compose relations of difference mainly by blaming the government.

"You are terrorizing the Greek people that if they do not bow their heads and give up basic trade union freedoms that in two or threemonths, they will not be able to be paid their pensions" (Aleka Papariga, General Secretariat of the Communist Party, MoU I, 06/05/2010).

"Either you are incurably dogmatic neoliberals to adopt this logic, or you want to serve specific interests" (Alexis Tsipras, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

"It cannot be everyone else's fault, except from you and, especially during those six months that you managed to ruin everything" (Vagelis Meimarakis, Leader of the Opposition, MoU III, 14/08/2015).

"But, after accepting memorandum 1 and memorandum 2, the mortgage of Greece, what does it matter if memorandum 3 is not governed by English law" (Nikos Michaloliakos, Leader of Golden Dawn, MoU II, 14/08/2015).

"Under the support of Golden Dawn and Independent Greeks, SYRIZA dragged Greece into early elections, while the country was coming out of the crisis" (Kyriakos Mitsotakis, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF IV, 18/05/2017).

"You drove it to the brink of bankruptcy in the summer of 2015 with capital controls" (Fofi Gennimata Leader of MfC, MTBF IV, 18/05/2017).

Furthermore, the left opposition secondarily used the category of revealing the truth, with the exception of the Greek Communist Party which preferred to reveal deeper causes of the crisis. However, regarding Aleka Papariga's speeches an example is identified that combines revealing the truth and deeper causes of the crisis.

"You want to convince people that it is nothing more than mismanagement and theft" (Aleka Papariga, General Secretariat of the Communist Party, MoU I, 06/05/2010).

"It is not only Greece that needs Europe. Europe also needs Greece" (Alexis Tsipras, Leader of the Opposition, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

"A committee that is here, is tough and will be strengthened and will continue throughout the rest of the period" (Fofi Gennimata, Leader of MfC, MTBF V, 14/06/2018).

Finally, concerning the right parties of the opposition, the second most commonly identified category of relations of difference was hidden trump cards, which referred either to the people as a promising force, or to promises, or to conspiracy theories. An example is apposed here for each of the aforementioned cases, respectively.

"Farmers are the soul of the nation. This nation relied on its agricultural production for three thousand years" (Nikos Michaloliakos, Leader of Golden Dawn, MoU II, 14/08/2015).

> "*The same goes for the ports, where similar concession projects can be made by the public, where the public will give the land and the private capital will build infrastructure projects*" (Antonis Samaras, Leader of the Opposition, MoU I, 06/05/2010).

> "*What happened at the moment with the goings-on of the various Turkish officials and the acquisition, in essence, of the whole of bankrupt Thrace*" (Panos Kammenos, Leader of the Independent Greeks, MTBF II, 07/11/2012).

Conclusions

Our research attempted to produce a map of relations of difference expressed in the political discourse on the Memoranda question. In the present paper the focus lies on methodological issues. Nevertheless some results by using specific examples have been discussed in order to underline the methodological issues raised. The next possible step could include investigating if the same classification scheme adopted could be applied to other political discourses, either in an international lever or in Greece but in another political context.

The main conclusions which could be drawn from our research endeavor include the following:

A taxonomy of relations of difference gives us the opportunity to solidify an element of discourse which is almost indiscernible. Difference is almost omnipresent in subjects' discourses, especially if we take into consideration the class factor in a society based on advanced capitalism. We finally counted five categories of relations of difference in the governmental discourse and six in the respective oppositional. However, the proposed categories are non-mutually exclusive. Each sentence was classified in this research according to its primal meaning. This does not mean that relations of difference are the only way to interpret them. In any case, when the political discourses are narrowed to competitive comparisons between actors that apply similar economic strategies, the emphasized difference between them functions as a central concept in the political process.

The governmental discourse on the Memoranda was based on reversing reality, a concept that appertains to what Bauman considers

as the Titanic Syndrome. Although the Greek economy had been close to a bankruptcy, the advisers of the Memoranda were celebrating based on what-ifs and noton the tangible effects of what they were proposing. Finally, the oppositional discourse mainly attempted to blame the government and secondarily to reveal an alternative truth. This finding suits well with the aforementioned tension of emphasizing the difference and explains why analyzing relations of difference remains a special element in decoding, interpreting and understanding a political discourse.

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REVEALING POST-TRUTH POLITICS BIASES IN SOCIAL CONTROL AND OPINION MANIPULATION RELATED TO DEVIANT ACTS

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ABSTRACT

Revealing biases and assumptions hidden within *post-truth politics* is a tedious task, since these are interwoven within the fabric of culture and civilization. They may be rooted in superstition, metaphysics, existential anxiety e.t.c. When intentionally used for opinion manipulation or social control, aiming to keep individuals bound to conventional standards, they are hard to detect and thus, to restore an inherent system of meaning based on facts.

A multidisciplinary qualitative approach is proposed to reveal, interpret and understand such aspects of *post-truth politics* related to deviant acts. In the proposed research the principles of *Phenomenology*, *Cultural Evolution* and *Art* are combined in a novel, three-layer, conceptual framework for qualitative analysis, as follows: in the first layer, *Phenomenology* principles determine *intentionality* in perception, with all its biases and assumptions reflected in deviant act narrations and discourses; the next layer, *Cultural Evolution* sheds light to these biases and assumptions by associating the new *dynamics of change* to the variety of preconceptions, cognitive biases and ethics of humanity

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through the ages; the third layer, *Art*, supporting beauty, form and structure, provides its tools to further scrutinize post-truth politics, as presented by the media.

A case study on *post-truth politics* involving an incident of violent confrontation of a group of squatters with the heads of a Greek University, is analyzed using the proposed framework. Hidden intentions for all parties are revealed, as also are their vague conceptions of causality. The proposed analysis shows how deviance, power dynamics and social inequalities come into play.

Keywords: *Post-truth politics, Media, Phenomenology, Cultural Evolution, Art Deviance*

Introduction

Post-truth politics describe a political culture in which debate is framed largely by appeals to emotion, where facts are ignored (Christensen, 2020). Consequently, this limits our ability to react to political events and to engage in a democratic process of opinion-formation (Suiter, 2016). Post-truth differs from traditional falsifying of facts by relegating facts and expert opinions to be of secondary importance relative to appeal to emotion (Suiter,2016; Waisbord, 2018). This can mean, for instance, denying something obvious, or making up an event that never happened (Godler, 2020). Additionally, in today's world, we experience a crisis of faith in institutional authority and truth claims (Gibson, 2018). Also, the introduction of Postmodernism has created a different place full of uncertainty, ambiguity and contradiction (Nguyen, 2010; Mair, 2017; Sim, 2005). The post-truth world emerged as a result of societal mega-trends such as a decline in social capital, growing economic inequality, increased polarization, declining trust in science, and an increasingly fractionated media landscape (Lewandowski etal., 2017; Mair, 2017).

As phenomenology studies the structure of various types of experience, we argue that it is best suited to analyse the structure of post-truth politics (Zahavi, 2003). Phenomenology introduces the concept of *Intentionality* i.e., the directedness of experience towards things and ideas. However, possible cognitive biases, assumptions

and previous understandings of ourselves may mislead us (Dermot, 2000; Stubbersfield et. al, 2018). A broader context to understand intentionality can be attained through a broader historically, culturally and socially specific horizon (Bendixen, 2020).

Towards this purpose, the history *Cultural Evolution* and the concept of *Gene-Culture* coevolution (Colagè, 2016; Mesoudi & Whiten, 2008) can provide us with the variety of concepts and cognitive biases of humanity, starting from the age of *superstition* and then successively proceeding to the age of *religion*, the age of *reason*, the age of *ideas* and finally the age of *intuition* (Creanza et al., 2017). These can be directly fed to the '*Epoche*' process of phenomenology to block biases and assumptions and explain a phenomenon, especially post-truth politics manifestations.

Finally, since art leads cultural evolution, it is the place to seek new, innovative ideasand concepts. The creator's imaginationor technical skillare intended to be appreciated primarily for their original beauty or emotional power (Scruton, 2014). But can someone employ the expertise and knowledge of art critics in reverse, for the detection of fake works of art? Although hard to determine, we believe that such knowledge about beauty, form and structure would be invaluable if it could be applied in an analogous way to the post-truth politics culture.

In this paper the creation of a conceptual, multi-layer sieve for post-truth politics analysis is presented. Manifestations of post-truth politics in the media are filtered by the three successive layers of the sieve and their undesirable components are determined and removed, hopefully leavings us with meaningful interpretations of reality based on facts. The first layer is based on the principles of phenomenology, and uses the concept of *intentionality* to identify motivation, reasoning and the dimensions of awareness affected by post-truth politics (Kalpokas et al., 2019). The next layer utilizes the concepts of cultural evolution, as developed throughout the ages, to help us understand and remove cognitive biases and assumptions (Mesoudi, 2013). Finally, the last layer, art, provides innovative, advanced ideas that when applied in an analogous manner to post-truth politics further elucidate their characteristicsand the way they are served and presented to us.

2. Methodology: developing the distinct layers

2.1. Phenomenology layer

Phenomenology studies the structure of various types of experience ranging from perception, thought, memory, imagination, emotion and desire (Smith, 2018). The structure of these forms of experience typically involves '*Intentionality*', that is, the directedness of experience toward things in the world, the property of consciousness that it is a consciousness of or about something (Gutland, 2018; Zahavi, 2003). Whether this something that consciousness is about is in direct perception or in fantasy (or memory, Dermot, 2000) is inconsequential to the concept of intentionality itself (Berghofer, 2019).

Phenomenology develops a complex account of temporal awareness, spatial awareness, attention, awareness of one's own experience, self-awareness, the self in different roles (as thinking, acting, etc.), embodied action, purpose or intention in action, awareness of other persons (in empathy, intersubjectivity, collectivity), linguistic activity (involving meaning, communication, understanding others), social interaction (including collective action), and everyday activity in our surrounding *life-world* (Marratto, 2021; Zahavi, 2003).

This *life-world* displaces us from science world, which is strictly based on objectivity and material forms, towards the immersive idea of a lived world (Kraus, 2015) where things matter to us, make sense and have significance.

Cognitive biases, assumptions, and previous understandings of ourselves may mislead us and limit our sense of understanding (Berghofer, 2019; Zahavi, 2003). A broader context to understand intentionality can be attained through objects, people and in general, culturally specific assignments of meaning (Sepp & Embree, 2010).

This brings about the concept of '*Epoche*', borrowed from ancient Greek philosophy and more specifically the Skeptics: suspension of justice and normality when there were equal reasons against an argument as there were for it (Gutland, 2018; van Manen, 2017, Zahavi, 2003). *Epoché*, or *Bracketing* in phenomenological research, is described as a process involved in blocking biases and assumptions in order to explain a phenomenon in terms of its own inherent system of meaning (van Manen, 2017).

Another related concept is that of existential 'Anxiety'. Structural world should provide meaning and orientation, connectiveness to events and identification (Shokey, 2016). If these are taken away, panic strikes due to the introduction of absurdity and ambiguity. Thus, we desperately need new, critical ways of thinking to deal with uncomfortable uncertainties and the ability to live with chaos (van Manen, 2017).

Finally, *Postmodernism* rejects some scientific achievements that have brought disasters to life leading to environmental crises and mass killing, challenging traditional assumptions of rationality, certainty and truth (Nguyen, 2010; Sim, 2005). As Foucault proposes (Daldal, 2014; Foucault, 1977), truth has a close association with systems of power, which in turn produce truth and sustain it at their will.

2.2. Cultural Evolution layer

Examining cultural evolution under a historical perspective we may distinguish at least five distinct eras (Creanzaet al., 2017, Henrich, 2011):

(1) *The Age of Superstition*: beliefs resulting from ignorance, fear of the unknown, trust in magic, chance and fate, or a false conception of causation andworship of the supernatural, nature, or God resulting from superstition (Drinkwater & Dagnall, 2018).

(2) *The Age of Religion*: It succeeded the Age of Superstition, as a social-cultural system of designated behaviors and practices, morals, worldviews, texts, sanctified places, prophecies, ethics, or organizations that relates humanity to supernatural, transcendental, or spiritual elements (Morreall & Sonn, 2013).

(3) *The age of Reason*: It is the age of science and machines, trusting physical Laws such as Newton's and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Empiricism prevails, emphasizing measurable evidence, especially the kind gathered through experimentation and by use of the scientific method (Mercier & Sperber, 2017).

(4) *The Age of Ideas*: New or original ideas are considered valuable, leading to innovation. Examples include the Ford automotive industry that by improving the concept of 'efficiency' at the production line made the otherwise expensive car, available to

the public. Unfortunately, ideas can be unethical or catastrophic, e.g., improving 'efficiency' in inhumane, cruel procedures used in war periods etc. But some question whether new, revolutionary and inspiring ideas are still produced in our age. Rather, they criticize the empty, insubstantial ideas produced just for entertainment and consumed as candy (Alvesson, 2013; Smith, 2015).

(5) *Age of Intuition*: Probably a new rebalancing of all the men's capabilities is required in order to proceed beyond ideas. We should get more in touch with our instincts and intuition. Intuition can encompass the ability to know valid solutions to problems and decision making (Buskell et al., 2019). For example, under time pressure, high stakes, and changing parameters, experts can use their base of experience to identify similar situations and intuitively choose feasible solutions (Klein, 1998) by a blend of intuition and analysis. The intuition is the pattern-matching process that quickly suggests feasible courses of action. The analysis is the mental simulation, a conscious and deliberate review of the courses of action.

Overall, it should be noted however that transitions form one era to the other are not absolute and sharply defined (Colagè, 2016, Mesoudi & Whiten, 2008). Rather, all eras coexist in every period, like layers in a cliff face (Smith, 2015).

2.3. Original Art layer

Today we do not only have to deal with original art but, also, with fake art and the fake expertise of the critics. We must ignore factors that distort our judgment and seek meaningful concepts that may distinguish original art from fake (Wolz & Carbon, 2014; Harrison & Wood, 1992).

There are two kinds of untruth and must be distinguished: *Lying*, that is simply deceiving people and *Fake*: the fake, like propaganda, tries to pass unrecognizable by hiding relevant facts and is projected to the public with all the apparatus required to be perceived as the real thing (Cooke, 2019). And it seems that fake has considerable appeal to our institutions (Bendixen, 2020). A possible reason maybe that

popular taste has become corrupted with sentimentality, banality and Kitsch. People are perceived as naïve and the fake usually creates a plague of fake emotions (Bendixen, 2020). We consider that a clear analogy exists to invoking the emotions post-truth politics are aiming for (Kalpokas et al., 2019). Another reason is that the ways of rejecting tradition are easier and cheaper (Scruton, 2014).

Initially, modernist art came as reaction to fake emotions and clichés of popular culture (Hoving, 1996). One way to do that was by attack and offense. But original shocks (as original art) cannot be repeated no matter how new artists need to convince us they are true progressives (Harrison & Wood, 1992). Artists and sometimes a self-contained circle of critics in cultural institutions, praise originality, need originality and therefore, they may fake it (Wolz& Carbon, 2014). We believe that clear analogies to faking originality in news by the media, and post-truth politics based on attack and offense can be drawn.

Art criticism is about critical thinking – including analysis, synthesis, judgment and reflection (Broome, et al., 2018). It sought to reconcile both the intuitive and affective and the intellectual and analytic components of seeing and understanding works of art (Anderson, 1988).

In order to distinguish true art for fakes three concepts are proposed: Beauty, Form and Redemption (Scruton, 2014).

(1) *Beauty*: Art presents us with an image of human lifein analogy to the *life-world* of phenomenology. The need for beauty arises from our moral nature (Hromas, 2016). Otherwise, we have to face alienation, distrust, resentment and suspicion as opposed to harmony with self and others. The beauty world is already ordered in our perceptions. The very essence of art is its communicative nature, its capacity to encourage personal growth, its ability to reveal deep aspects of the human condition, to challenge preconceptions, to help us reconceptualize a question we are grappling with, and to provide clarity on ambiguous concepts or ideas (Sherman & Morrissey, 2017). This distinguishes it from Kitsch. Kitsch promotes self-admiration and creates easy feelings on the cheap (Ayers, 2008). Kitsch is vicarious experience and faked sensations that change according to style (Harrison &

Wood, 1992). The affinity of beauty to truth and of Kitsch to fake is obvious.

(2) *Form*: A consciously created work of art is characterized by form (Broome, et al.,2018). The human need for form triumphs over the randomness of the world. Our lives are fragmented, with a sense of no completion. The uncertainty and ambiguity concepts introduced by postmodernism make things worse. The form in art advocates completion, character and meaningful unity (Scruton, 2014). This form is hard to achieve. Requires discipline, knowledge and attention to detail. The search for this form can distinguish true from fake in art. True art all takes ordinary life in all its disconnectedness and brings it to fullness and harmony (Sartwell, 2017), as opposed to random noise. In this paper we argue that the existence of such form and structure could be central to post-truth politics analysis.

(3) *Redemption*: Art is considered by many as a meaningful answer to our existential anxiety. Ancient Greek tragedies for example, show the triumph of dignity over destruction and compassion over despair, as at their endings, the Moral Equilibrium is restored. Art appreciation as a practice can lead to a richer understanding and appreciation of one's own moral values, commitments and conception of who and what one is (Sherman & Morrissey, 2017).

2.4. The multi-layer sieve as a conceptual framework for post-truth politics analysis

The application of the principles of phenomenology, cultural evolution and original art, as presented analytically in the previous sub-sections, are combined to create a conceptual framework for interpreting and filtering post-truth politics presented in the related media. This is shown schematically in Figure 1 and analytically in the first column of each of Tables 1a-c, respectively. Following an almost one-to-one correspondence with the concepts and ideas presented in the previous sub-sections, and after the combination of all layers (eachacting as a respective filter), the following six, self-explanatory *Conceptual Groups* for dealing with post-truth politics, are obtained:

Conceptual Groups

❯ Motivation
❯ Dimensions affected
❯ Biases and assumptions
❯ Presentation
❯ Characteristics
❯ Actions

These form the main axes of analysis and initially, all actors contributing to the subject in question are identified. Post-truth politics, as expressed by each of the actors are filtered by the three successive layers of the sieve and their undesirable components are determined and removed by each layer, as shown in Figure 1.

Next, the *Conceptual Elements* (corresponding to the specific notions discussed in the previous subsections) within each *Conceptual Group* are determined, as shown analytically on the first column of Tables 1a-c,

Figure 1: A conceptual multi-layer sieve for the interpretation of post truth politics

respectively. The proposed grouping of concepts may serve as a set of guidelines to be applied to post-truth manifestations (as it will be shown in the case study presented in the next section), with the analysis for the actors being shown on the rest of the columns of Tables 1a-c, for ease of reference and comparison.

3. Case study: University Asylum

We decided to investigate the post-truth politics references in the media, relating to the invasion of squatters in the office of the Rector of a University of Athens, Greece, on October 29, 2020. Invaders occupied his office and harassed the rector himself, hanging a sign on his neck ironically stating his solidarity to the university *squatter's* movement (López, 2013). They provided little explanations further to their solidarity to squatters elsewhere in Greece. Upon leaving they destroyed documents, equipment and broke furniture. Following this attack, formal statements were issued to the press by the Greek

Association of Rectors, the Government and Ministry of Education, and the Ministry for Public Order (politically supervising police forces). The attackers made additional statements to the media in the following days, trying to justify their actions. We collected several articles in the high circulation newspapers and the respective social media and selected the most representative ones for analysis using the proposed methodology of the multi-layer sieve. Additional information was collected from official sites and press releases by the government and rectors' association. Characteristic extracts from the media articles and statements are shown on Table 2.

The main actors identified in this case are the Squatters, the Greek Association of Rectors, and the Government/State. All articles and statements issued to the media by each actor were analysed using *Thematic Analysis*, which is a flexible method 'for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun & Clarke 2006: 79). We have chosen to perform manually the thematic analysis, immediately after collecting the articles and statements, to get full grasp of all detailed information presented in them while the facts were still recent. During the analysis, we read and re-read the articles and statements and coded the text segments in correspondence with the concepts of the proposed conceptual framework shown in the first column ofTables 1a-c. Initially, a list of codes was generated, corresponding to the specific *Conceptual Elements* within each *Conceptual Group*, for each actor. Subsequently, more general categories were abstracted forming the *Conceptual Groups* presented in section 2.4. Thus, analysis is performed according to the conceptual framework presented in the first column of Tables 1a-c, and results for each actor are presented in the rest of the columns (2-4) of Tables 1a-c, respectively, and in a one-to-one correspondence to the principles of the multi-layer sieve.

In the following days, additional statements were issued by the government, further specifying its intentions to form a new police branch especially for policing university campuses. This fired another round of dispute with the opposition parties and the rectors' association and the matter was even taken to the House of Parliament (the concept of university 'asylum' was always a matter of dispute since the step down of the Greek Junta in 1974).

Table 1a: *Post-truth politics analysis using multi-layer sieve, for each actor*

Conceptual framework of Analysis	Squatters	Rectors Association	Government/State
Post-truth politics Motivation Exercise behavioral control by: ❯ Rejecting traditional processes, impressing in an easy and cheap way ❯ Promoting fake emotions ❯ Attacking and offending the status quo, to appear original	– Cheap impressions, with the sign hanged by the neck of the rector recalling memories of Nazis treating Jews and public humiliations by Greek Junta. – Promotes a direct perception of life-threatening emergency – Attacks and offends the whole of the university, leaving a sense of great system subversion	– States that it strongly supports rector. But no real manifestation of that, only a press announcement, using vague expressions with the danger of slipping towards clichés and cheap impressions – Rightly, but arbitrarily defining it as an attack to Democracy. – No motivation towards promoting solutions. No power for initiatives.	– Aims in using media to gain political advantage. – Puts squatters at the same level as Nazis and in analogy to guerrilla warfare in Greek civil war (exaggerated claim-creates fake emotions).
Dimensions of lifeworld affected ❯ Temporal and spatial awareness ❯ Self-awareness in different roles (as thinking, acting, etc.) ❯ Purpose or intention in action ❯ Awareness of others (in empathy, collectivity) ❯ Communication and understanding ❯ Social interaction	– Affects our awareness and way of thinking in terms of the university operation and its relation to societal actors. – Unclear, fuzzy purpose of intention in action: protesting and impressing, intimidating. – Provokes strong empathy to rector under severe physical threat and distress. – Disrupts communication, resembling a 'call for arms' – Distorts significantly any terms of social interaction	– Unclear purpose of intention – Condemns and expresses empathy but no real actions. – No communication attempted	– Unclear purpose of intention; condemns and calls the rest political parties to support. – no real action is mentioned – neither any social interaction nor empathy – No communication or understanding attempted.

Table 1a

Conceptual framework of Analysis	Squatters	Rectors Association	Government/State
Biases and Assumptions introduced (or aimed for) ❭ Cultural Evolution • Superstition and false conception of causality • Religious (moral/ethics, supernatural, transcendental) • Reason (measurable evidence and scientific experimentation) • Ideas (innovation versus empty ideas or unethical) • Intuition (pattern matching, instinct) ❭ Existential Absurdity ❭ Ambiguity ❭ Phenomenological Anxiety	– False conception of causality: The rector in previous positions held, allegedly promoted actions against the occupy movement. This action of humiliation will 'rectify' that. – Similarly, 'unknown' students aided by ideologically allied partisans show what they are capable of doing by destroying social order. – Violence exerted is against religious morals and ethics – Not any reasonable, measurable evidence is given. – Empty ideas, non-completed just creating impressions. No solid ideological background clearly claimed, slipping towards irrationality. – Strongly unethical physical attack, creating fear. – Intuitively matched to guerrilla warfare. – Instinctively perceived as an extreme action. – Concept ambiguity as to whether areas of the university are under occupation by 'unknown' social actors (students, partisans etc.), and at the same time, the demands are vague. – Attacking a well-established institution causes distrust and suspicion. – Thus, promotes anxiety, disorientation.	– Vague conception of causality. Resorts to ethics and ideology. – Doesn't show any measurable evidence for the explanation of the phenomenon. – Doesn't satisfactorily explain reason, motivation. – Ambiguous reference to '*a bunch of only in name unknown persons*', raises questions about motivation. – Similarly for the term '*isolated minorities*' that reinforces ambiguity and introduces a degree of absurdity as to why these groups exist, why they are isolated etc.	– Vague conception of causality. – Hints the existence of ideological allies of the squatters within academics, thus, increasing absurdity. – Rhetorical (empty) claims – Ambiguity in defining the concept of asylum. – Doesn't explain ideological background, apart from a reference to protecting human rights and property. – Attempts pattern matching with other fascist attempts in totally different context. – Causes anxiety

Table 1b: *Post-truth politics analysis using multi-layer sieve, for each actor*

Conceptual framework	Squatters	Rectors Association	Government/State
Means of Presentation and dissemination **(official sites, media)** ➤ Served with apparatus to be perceived as the real thing ➤ Appeal to sentimentality, banality or Kitsch ➤ Deceive people treating them as naïve	– Photographed and circulated to the media in purpose. Showing physical abuse. Causing extreme distress. – Hanging sign, signifying abuse and showing disdain for human dignity and life. – Appeals to empathy and sentimentality. – An exaggerated and kitsch, however seriously life-threatening setup	– Weak serving and presentation of a strong statement. Restricted to a single announcement. – Appeals to sentimentality and an unjustified connection to democracy, neither self-explained nor clear. – Excessive verbalism (banality) exists in media presentation, 'no-violence', 'strongly condemns', 'strongholds of anomy', 'actions of blind violence' etc. – Unjustifiable claims of support by the academic community and society (misleading-deceiving)	– Presents protesters as masked, hooded fascists. – Tries to take political initiative by calling the rest of political parties to act. – Excessive verbalism in terms *'unnegotiable goal'*, *'true sense of asylum'*, not supported by any specific references (banality). – Draws direct parallels to the conviction of fascist groups.
Characteristics ➤ Causes alienation, distrust, resentment or suspicion ➤ Against moral nature / Disrupts moral equilibrium ➤ Against harmony and order ➤ Causes disconnectedness and distraction ➤ Against integration (promotes no completion)	– Act of violence, set up deliberately, causes alienation, resentment and suspicion – Disrupts moral equilibrium. Vaguely explaining reasons for the action. – Totally against harmonious way of operating in an institution of knowledge. A countercultural, 'ugly' sight.	– Although fundamentally right, the unjustified connection to 'democracy' and the call for support from 'democratic citizens' seems week and vague causing distraction and possible disconnectedness. – Promotes self-admiration	– Promises line of action, but no specifics at to the kind and means. Causes confusion. – 'Innuendos' cause disconnection and distraction. – Vagueness is against meaningful unity. Causes distrust

Table 1b

Conceptual framework	Squatters	Rectors Association	Government/State
Characteristics ➤ Against character (intuition) form and meaningful unity ➤ Promotes knowledge that does not require discipline and attention to detail ➤ Promotes Kitsch, self-admiration, easy feelings on the cheap ➤ Reinforces existential anxiety ➤ Entails hatred or cruelty ➤ Postmodernist challenge to certainty and truth	– Fully distractive, no real problems presented no discussion of possible solutions, thus against any integration. – No clear ideological cal reasons provided. Vaguely supporting occupation of universities areas. No real information why, by whom, where, under which conditions etc. Sparse and disconnected information. No structure or form detected. – Resembles a theatrical performance that entails both hatred and physical cruelty. – Reinforces existential anxiety by justifying call to arms with no well-supported reasoning. – Promotes non-democratic practices, the law of *'might is right'*. – Challenges rationality but without clear reference to which traditional assumptions are challenged.	– Causes alienation to many groups of people (e.g., students, parents) not familiar with the concept of asylum. – Succeeds in revealing the actions against moral nature and violent attacks. – Since it doesn't provide course of actions for solving the problem cannot promote integration and unity.	– Reinforces anxiety as to whether overall conditions of democratic operation of the university are satisfied. – Promotes self-admiration on fully solving the problem, raising questions about its re-emergence. – Foucauldian association of truth and power

Table 1c: *Post-truth politics analysis using multi-layer sieve, for each actor*

Conceptual framework	Squatters	Rectors Association	Government/State
Actions to be taken (Epoché, or Bracketing) Temporarily suspend normality and justification in order to: ❭ Block biases ❭ Block assumptions ❭ Restore inherent system of meaning	– Block claims on the existence of ideological background – Block cheap impressions – Block distorted social interaction and call to arms. – Block false causation of reality, in revenging the rector. – Highlight violent acts against moral and ethics. – Depict empty ideas and irrationality – Stress fear and despair caused – Investigate ambiguity on the existence of occupy movements – Avoid disorientation and mistrust by highlighting the role of the democratic university. – Focus on condemning life-threatening attack, violent and cruel – Restore moral equilibrium and harmony – Encourage the search for real life solutions – Encourage communication and understanding – Restore trust to democracy	– Block verbalism and justify non manifested, arbitrary claims on attacks on democracy. – Empathy to rector should be accompanied by actions. – Restore causality by explaining the phenomenon through evidence. – Clear ambiguous terms of 'unknowns' and 'minorities'. – Clear absurdity by being specific on the number and size of the phenomenon of the occupy movement within universities. – Establish channels of communication and understanding – Claim power to act.	– Elaborate the unsupported hints of action for punishment or mobilizing police and justice – Block over the top parallelism to fascism, hoods and masks. – Dispute claims on a real solution on the aging problem of asylum. Request evidence. – Block hints for the existence of allies of squatters within university. – Do not put all attacks under the same 'fascist' umbrella – Seek communication and understanding

Table 2: *Characteristic extracts from articles and statements made to the media by each actor*

Squatters	Rectors Association	Government/State /Police
We are thankful to the rector for showing his solidarity in his own '*special*' way. This intervention is an action in the context of the nationwide call for solidarity during this October, in defense of the squatters throughout the country. The rector of the University was targeted because through his institutional role in the past, he was co-responsible for the evacuation of the so called 'Vancouver Apartment' occupation and also of the autonomously managed occupation within his own university. He envisions a Europeanization of universities by sterile standards and under constant monitoring and supervision. The vandalism and evacuation of the Rector's office comes as a minimum response to the violation and evacuation of our own premises.	The Rectors Association unequivocally strongly condemns the attack of a group of masked and hooded individuals in the office of the Rector, to whom we express our full support. Acts of blind violence within the university pose a serious threat to democracy, violating fundamental rights of freedom A bunch of, only in name, '*unknowns*' have as their constant aim to abolish the academic asylum in universities. They will have to face the firm resistance of the entire academic community as well as of every democratic citizen of the Greek society. Guarding the university and its property should be placed under the autonomous self-governed operations of the universities.	The whole of Greece is in a shivering shock from the dangerous reprimand of a rector and the posting of a photo, which shows him worn out and overwhelmed, with a noose-like inscription hanging from his neck that uses the word '*solidarity*' totally out of context, ironically. Such signs were hung by the Nazis on the Jews and the guerrillas, during war. The whole of the democratic world is outraged. The answer is one and only one: As with the fascist party Golden Dawn, fascism will not be tolerated. Our unnegotiable goal is one of free universities that are safe, modern, extroverted, with no morbid phenomena that have no place in academia. And those from within the academia who tolerate the violation of the University asylum and the violation of academic freedom, must assume their responsibilities at last.

4. Results and discussion

After applying the proposed methodology, it becomes clear that biases and assumptions are largely removed allowing for intentions of actions and statements to be revealed and the inherent system of meaning to be restored.

Under the analysis, squatters are stripped of from all ideological and political biases (López, 2013). Their ideological claims are very diverse, and loosely coupled to practice (Pruijt, 2013). Their action is perceived as an act of cheap impression, however leading to life-threatening emergency, contrary to the preservation principles of the squatter movement (Pruijt, 2013). Their intentions are unclear, aiming simply to protest, impress and intimidate. They exhibit a false conception of causality, as shown on Tables 1a-c, '*revenging*' the rector, without any reasonable arguments to support their claims. It is perceived as an act of violence and cruelty, set up deliberately and causing alienation, resentment and suspicion. A 'call to arms' that totally discourages any means of communication and understanding and blocks any empathy with the squatters. If they claimed respectability, that might have enabled part of the public to identify with them (Pruijt, 2013). Here, it seems that there does not even exist an inherent system of meaning to be restored and squatters need to try alternative ways if they want to protest social and economic inequalities, a struggle that they only superficially touch (Foucault, 1982).

The Rectors' Association have a very weak reaction to the fact. Although they condemn it and expresses empathy, no real action is taken neither any social interaction nor further communication for understanding is attempted. Their purpose of intention is vague, simply claiming to support democracy principles, human and academic rights. They exhibit a vague conception of causality, resorting to ethics and ideology but their statement is characterized by verbalism e.g., by claiming they are the forefronts of democracy as shown in Tables 1a-c and that they are supported by the overall academic community and the whole of society. The lack of reasoning about the incident causes alienation and distress to many groups of people (e.g., students, parents) not familiar with the concept

of asylum within university. If academics want their views to be herd, they should provide stronger arguments, clearing ambiguity and absurdity and by establishing channels of communication and understanding. They should also claim the power to act autonomously within universities.

The analysis for the state reactions reveals their intention to present a *success-story* over the political matter of 'asylum'. They also want to bias public opinion by putting the squatters and their actions at the same level as Nazis or, in analogy, to crimes committed during the guerrilla warfare in Greek civil war, or even to fascist political groups. A vague conception of causality is presented, resorting to ethics and ideology and even going as far as hinting the existence of ideological allies of the squatters within academics. They also try to bias and impress by using excessive verbalism, threatening to use excessive police force and promoting a sense of self-satisfaction on fully solving the problem. Foucault's concept of power-truth association becomes obvious (Prozorov, 2019). The use of '*innuendos*' against the integrity of academics causes disconnection and distraction. Finally, the statements do not show any intention of communication and understanding.

5. Conclusions

In the proposed research a combination of the principles of phenomenology, cultural evolution and art are integrated in a conceptual framework to process post-truth politics. Phenomenology introduces the concept of intentionality in perception, with all its biases and assumptions. Cultural evolution sheds light to these biases and assumptions whereas art, supporting beauty, form and structure, led us these tools to further scrutinize post-truth politics, as presented by the media. The overall approach resembles a multi-layer sieve, each layer corresponding to one of these sets of principles.

A case study on post truth politics is analysed by the proposed methodology revealing the true nature and meaning of the subject at hand, based on facts and data about all the actors involved. Intentions for all parties are revealed, as also are their false and

vague conceptions of causality. Concept ambiguity, irrationality and absurdity lead to Phenomenological Anxiety and cause disconnectedness and distraction. The actions taken and the views expressed are against meaningful integration, they do not possess form, structure or character. After removing certain assumptions and biased using the multi-layer sieve we conclude that communication and understanding are the only ways to restore harmony and equilibrium.

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CHALLENGING SOCIAL NORMS.
FEMALE FIGHTERS IN THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

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ABSTRACT

The present research addresses the gendered dimension of the Greek civil war through analyzing the experiences and choices of female fighters in the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG). The study examines female memory and experience; social and collective commonalities are present, as well as changes in gender relations and shifts in women's social roles. A perspective of power imbalances between men and women is also showcased, along with domesticity after the end of the war. The study discusses how the women's politicization before the civil war and their armed participation in the war, are the turning points which offered them the chance to act against gender stereotyping and masculinities and challenge the existing social norms and folkways. During their time as fighters, they break free from their traditionally acceptable roles and grow dynamic elements of politicization and emancipation. Sexual relations, marriages, pregnancies, cases of sexual violence and rape, are also described by the women. Yet, the dynamic elements they cultivate as armed fighters do not follow them when the war is over. The anticipated new identity is not assimilated, and the abolition of gender segregation is not forwarded in the political area or in everyday life. Women return to their traditional gender roles and their identification with domesticity and motherhood

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as part of their 'nature' restricts them again to the private sphere. The study is based on twelve interviews I conducted with female fighters in the DAG.

Introduction. Gendering the 1940's in Greece

In the period prior to the Second World War, Greek women afford little personal freedom in a society influenced by sexist cultural notions originating from mythology, tradition, and Greek Orthodox religion (Hart, 1996: 99). Women, especially in the rural areas of Greece, are restricted to the private sphere, as a means of ensuring family structure, continuity, and stability. Modesty and virginity, but especially the moral code of honor, are the means of this restriction (Stefatos, 2011: 253). Women are illustrated as mothers and housewives with a passive role in the family and the society. Young women depend on their morality and virginity to find a husband through "proksenio", an arranged marriage, a very popular way of matchmaking where the family members select the bride or the groom. Before the Triple Occupation, nobody disputes that a woman's place is at home and her destiny is to marry and nurture children. Socio-economic and political changes caused by wartime breach the ideology of the patriarchal family. In many cases the male members of a family are imprisoned, exiled, or hidden due to their communist or leftist ideology while the female members must support their family.

The '40s is a decade of inversions when it comes to woman's position in society during wartime. Changes in people's minds follow which are not easily assimilated, especially if one considers that they do not conform to the traditional stereotypes of the rural patriarchal areas of Greece (Vervenioti, 2006: 4). During the occupation the female presence in the partisan movement is more of a prolongation of their traditional social role. Women's participation in the Resistance is mostly oriented to traditional 'female' activities –social welfare, nourishment and education– yet to a degree they give women the chance to enter the public sphere (Vervenioti, 2000:

106-107). As the hardships of the struggle arouse, women are given the opportunity to join the National Liberation Front (EAM) and act in 'male' roles, thus women's groups and platoons (military units) of the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS) are created. According to Poulos (2009: 94) joining ELAS forces is the greatest expression of political empowerment for many women. The participation of women in ELAS is a fight for personal liberation and the shift of their socially acceptable role. In ELAS, most of the partisan women are girls, aged 14-18 years old, who have the chance to undertake activities and initiatives outside fixed gender frames (Vervenioti, 2000: 114). Thanks to their young age and the radical spirit of the Resistance, these young girls do not have time to assimilate traditional gender roles (Vervenioti, 2000: 114).

Status of women during the civil war

As Vervenioti (2000: 115-116) points out, the women who fought for EAM are not only "Bulgarians" but also "whores, prostitutes, dishonored and immoral". Through propaganda but also through raw violence, these women are forced to return to their 'traditional duties' and submit themselves to the rules of the patriarchal society (Vervenioti, 2000: 115-116). The women who are exiled during the civil war are estimated up to 3,000 (Vervenioti, 1992: 53-54). They are mainly sent to the islands of Chios, Trikeri and Makronisos. Violence is carried out by right-wing gangs, policemen and soldiers of the Greek Government Army who torture women of the Resistance by "tonsure and public ridicule" and rapes (Vervenioti, 2000: 116). The number of rape victims during this period is unknown to us and it will remain so (Van Boeschoten, 2003: 43). Besides when it comes to rape in wartime, it is often overlooked or folded into a larger category of crimes against civilians (Niarchos, 1995: 651). In most of the wars it is "the forgotten crime", mostly due to the silence of the victims and perhaps due to lack of physical evidence, as for example countable bodies. Particularly in the '40s war rape is considered a "normal" by-product of war operations (Van Boeschoten, 2003: 42).

The DAG was the Greek Communist Party's (KKE) army that acted from the years 1946-1949. One of the particularities of the

participation of women in the DAG, according to Vervenioti, is its size since women constitute nearly half of the army's dynamic (30% fighters and 70% in auxiliary services) (2002: 127; 2006: 164). In contrast to ELAS, there are no separate female combat units in the DAG. During 1948 the DAG starts recruiting women primarily from areas under its control. These women are confronted with three options: join the DAG, flee back home at the first opportunity or surrender to the government forces (Vervenioti, 2016: 116). Women's involvement in the struggle is mainly due to two reasons: a) the persecution of women during the "white terror" period and b) a critical reserve shortage in the DAG (Poulos, 2000: 421-422). For the Right, the handling of weapons by women indicates the destruction of society's order, the flourishing of sexual promiscuity and enunciates a new era of licentiousness and dreary indifference for everything the religion stands for (Kassianou, 2006: 167). Within the outset of the Cold War, the history of the partisan struggle is twisted, trivialized, and marginalized and that goes twice as much for the female fighters in the DAG (Poulos, 2000: 419). The conservative press depicts these women as "blood-thirsty hyenas" and "traitors of the nation, of the family and their sex", whereas the communist literature portrays them as martyrs, heroines and patriots (Poulos, 2000: 421).

Methodology

The basic and primary sources of this research are twelve personal interviews I conducted with women who actively participated as armed fighters in the DAG during the Greek civil war. A guideline was designed combining the Oral History guidelines for interviewing and the practical instructions of EPI (Union of Oral History in Greece). All of the interviews were videotaped. Transcription and translation of parts followed with the purpose of conveying the oral speech close to the written one. For the transcription and discourse analysis I followed the instructions of Van Boeschoten (1988). Charmaz's practical guide, 'Grounded Theory' was used for the qualitative analysis of the interviews (2006) along with Abrams's book on the

Theory of Oral History (2010). The main topic addressed to women was life during their time in the mountains and gender relations. The data were separated and synthesized through qualitative coding. Labels were attached to segments of data which were sorted and compared with other segments (Charmaz, 2006: 3-10).

Female fighters in the mountains

Regarding the Greek civil war, much of the existing official historiography is focused on males; men's experiences and involvement in the war. Men's writing about the civil war usually identifies them as the main actors and fails to address women as active actors, depriving them from their agency. This 'gender blindness' does not take into consideration the shifts or expansions of the sociocultural roles assigned to women. In the present research an effort is made to examine the gendered dimension of the Greek civil war through analyzing memory, the experiences and choices of female fighters in the DAG. Social and collective commonalities are present, a perspective of power imbalances between men and women is also showcased, along with domesticity after the end of the war.

Childhood, politicization and recruitment

'They punished us, they burned our house and we were not able to go anywhere. When we left from the prison and returned to the village, after granting us amnesty, we did not have a house. The state gave amnesty and when we returned to the village we were staying in the place where we kept the animals'.

The feelings of terrorization and intimidation are articulated in the childhood experiences. Sofia Gavriilidou is imprisoned at the age of fourteen in 1943 in the warehouses of Alexandroupoli and later in the military prisons of Thessaloniki. Her mother does not have anywhere else to leave her, so she takes her along in prison. The children arrests are precautionary and aim at avenging the leftish. These retaliation practices are a common practice the civilians

suffer, due to establishment of the joint responsibility (Vervenioti, 2003: 31). These practices apply not only to the institution of family –every member of a family is responsible for the acts of even one of its members– but to the population of villages as well.

'We were afraid. We had to go (to join the DAG). We were hiding all the time inside our village […] When the 'mpourantades' (armed paramilitary gangs) came to do their damage, a female neighbor was knocking on my window and I was going to her house.. And I was going to her.. But when the partisans were coming, she would come knocking in my door and stayed at my place, in order not to be harmed. She belonged to the opposite… But we were pretty close to each other. We had an exceptionally good relationship'.

The second case is about a woman and her fellow-villager friend, whose family belongs to the opposite political side (the Right). They hide alternately, the one in the other's house. Here the word 'harm' and the phrase 'do damage' probably refer to rape, as will discuss later.

For the majority of women under examination, their politicization comes during their childhood. Most of these women's fathers, brothers or relatives are exiled, imprisoned or killed during Metaxas' dictatorship, the triple occupation and the "white terror" period. The formation of their political identity is mainly created due to the leftish political ideology of the male relatives, indicating an active gendered hierarchy within the family. Women are encouraged by males to be involved in politics and seem interested in acquiring a voice of their own, gaining gender equality, social justice and autonomy of action. At this point we can witness the shift from traditional female roles to more radical ones.

'We were organized. Our brother had brainwashed us: "A Day will come that we will be fine; we will have electricity and a good life." We were hearing about these from an early age. As a result, we liked the so-called socialism. So, we were not afraid'.

'My friends' uncles were partisans so they were closely linked to them. They started organizing girls and I went with them to a meeting. I went there and liked what they said. A girl and a man talked to us. They told us that we should have the same rights as men'.

Women fighters in the DAG can be distinguished in volunteers and recruited. The volunteers usually support proudly their personal desire to join the DAG and fight with a gun (Vervenioti, 2002: 137). As reflected in the following narratives, many women who volunteer are motivated by a sense of freedom and camaraderie:

'We were 14 women that night and 50 men. The partisans came but they didn't take us, they escorted us, showing us where to go. And we were so happy because we wanted to be partisans'.

'When I decided to join the DAG my mother with my sister hugged me and said to me "Where are you going my girl?" And I responded "don't worry mom, I will return". My sister was crying "I will also come; I will also come". And my mother said "No you will not go because if you both leave, I will lose my mind".

In the last excerpt we witness the dynamic way in which the young girl's personal agency is expressed. Her narrative indicates she acts independently and makes her own free choice. Notwithstanding, voluntarism is often a life-or-death matter. The atrocities of the armed paramilitary gangs and the policemen that roam the countryside are a propulsive factor for joining the DAG. In the following narratives the women express this fear:

'Yes, I wanted to leave because they were oppressing us all the time, they didn't leave us alone. We were working during the day and during the night they kept knocking on our doors, wanting to come inside. It was them, the paramilitary forces and they could do anything and my mother was so scared. […] And mostly she was afraid for us because they were dishonoring girls. […] The police itself allegedly took testimonies from the girls and they raped one of the girls because her father was collaborating with the partisans. It was one girl, bleeding and unable to walk. They informed her father and went to take her with the cart. Bleeding… When my mother was hearing those kinds of things she was saying "You have to leave my girls, to leave, I would not like to see you like that".

Another woman in her interview describes the inevitability of her participation in the army:

'We didn't become partisans because we wanted to. They made us, the state. If you have your son and your husband in exile, you go to the mountain to die. What else can you do?'

In another part of the narration the sense of everyday fear prevails, resulting in a type of "forced voluntarism". The limits between voluntarism and recruitment are not distinct but are rather fluid since decisions are made under the pressure of necessity (Vervenioti, 2002:127).

Gender and sexual relations

When the question comes to the relationships with men during their time in the mountains, the use of the phrase "We were like brothers and sisters" is the first thing the women answer. Possibly it is a phrase used and encouraged by the KKE. The DAG seems like a safe environment for these young women. Maybe this can be attributed to the communist party's ideological commitment for gender equality. Some women choose to postpone any thoughts of sexual relations or marriage and pursue only sibling and companion relations with their fellow male comrades (Van Boeschoten, 1997: 187). They choose this survival strategy with a view to addressing the breach in traditional family relations and the dominant propaganda for their loose ethics (Van Boeschoten, 1997: 187).

'[...] nobody showed their emotions. We didn't have an order to be engaged with each other or marry. And that is why nobody dared to say "I love you"...'.

Regarding sexual relations, whereas in ELAS they are forbidden since it is considered that they would harm and 'contaminate' the struggle, in the civil war all everything changes. The KKE emphasizes in non-exploitative relations between the sexes which are often formalized through the validation of an informal marriage from a military commander (Van Boeschoten, 1997: 186-187).

'If there was a couple engaged from their village in the past, they could live as a couple. It was a mountain, you could sleep anywhere. In the center, on the grass, wherever you wanted...' (S. Gavriilidou, 2018, interview 7 March).

'That was free because they both wanted it. It was happening' (Referring to the sexual relations).

'If the girl wanted and they would go to let the battalion know, they would say "Ok. But you are not going to stay together in the

group. One of you will go elsewhere and the other elsewhere". Because it was not allowed... If there was a battle, maybe she would have been killed, maybe he, and in this way, they were affecting each other'.

'They married them right there, their fellow companions: the platoon or the military unit. But after that they separated them. Because of the fear of pregnancy... They separated the couple for avoiding both of them being killed and for fear of pregnancy. But the mother of Vasilis gave birth to him during her time in the mountain. [...] They always separated them. Because they didn't want both of them to be killed. The one who should remain, had to suffer'.

Yet, when it comes to children the case is different. The communist party discourages pregnancies, due to the war's unrest and the unsuitability of the environment in order to raise a child. The fighters that are impregnated go 'outside' to give birth, although there are cases of women that give birth in Greece.

'My mother's daughter Stavroula in Czechoslovakia (she is referred to her stepmother) was conceived during their time in the mountain. [...] It seems they were close by and were seeing each other. And then she came to Bulgaria to give birth and then my father came also'.

'If both of them wanted, it could happen but secretly. They would sleep with the one or the other. As did one of my friends, she had a child, she fell in love in the mountain, she did what she did and then he was killed'.

Gender violence

One of most sensitive and difficult topics is gender violence. Both parts, the researcher and the interviewee, may feel uncomfortable when it is brought up. The vulnerability of women to sexual violence is one of the many dangers women face as civilians but also as fighters during civil wars (Walker, 2009: 19). The leadership of the DAG established a sum of written and spoken rules of behavior concerning women, based on equality and respect whereas offending behaviors towards the female fighters were dealt with severity (Karagiorgis, 1949: 179).

'No man attacked any woman. If the woman didn't do the first move... He would find himself in a very bad situation if he harmed a woman. His life would come to an end'.

'Men were like our brothers. They did not harm you. Once someone tried to harm a girl and they almost killed him. He said he loved her but can't you see that she didn't want? She didn't want. You are in war, how could you love? I didn't love anyone during the war'.

A commonality in the two aforementioned cases, as well as in the one that follows, is the use of the word 'harm' to describe the act of rape. The use of a puritan word and the avoidance of the word 'rape' is not a harmless coincidence. Language reflects culture, and this is a culture in which talking about rape is made difficult and confusing. What is more, in the second foregoing narrative the procrastination for sexual desire is again present.

'Sometimes you could find a bad man. But they were afraid. Because they told them "If you do something, no good will come. You shall not harm the girls, you can talk to them, laugh, love. But no children... Because then, what will we do?".

'No, they didn't kick him out (the rapist). They laid him in discipline. She was alone and killed herself. She was from Notia. Do you know it? Notia is really high. [...] Something happened with this girl. We couldn't understand exactly because they were afraid and kept secrets. This girl committed suicide. And from then and forwards, the men were afraid and everybody was afraid. [...] They said that they will move him to another division. Now only God knows what really happened to him. [...] Yes that must have been the case (responding to the question if he raped her). And she told someone and her friend told another friend and then the 'upper people' found out'.

If there is an issue capable of raising silence, it is rape. The aforesaid narrative of Marika Della describes a case of rape and the subsequent suicide of the victim. Perhaps the victim resulted in taking her life, unable to seek help or feeling ashamed since those in the higher power positions found out. As Van Boeschoten points out, rape destroys the woman's body and mind, and the community which she belonged to (2003: 51). In the narrative the punishment for the rapist seems to be his transfer to another division. This

practice comes in disagreement with the collective narrative of 'six meters'. When the discussion is about gender violence, the most popular punishment was the execution with gunfire from six meters distance. The next four narratives refer to this form of punishment:

'They put these men in six meters distance' (Referring to the execution of rapists).

'Whoever harms a girl goes to six meters. That means they would kill him. And everybody kept that in mind and they didn't dare to act'.

'There was a law, if I can say it... If a partisan harms a girl who doesn't want to have any contact with him, he will be shot. So, they didn't dare. Once, someone came to me and I told him, I will report you. And he said I am sorry and he left'.

'[...] things were really strict. They could put you in six meters. You couldn't do this kind of things. [...] We would call him in the morning debrief. Every day we had the debriefing of the group. If somebody did something illegal, we would call him them and interrogate him. He couldn't do it for a second time'.

The aftermath

'Yperoria' is a term used by the partisans and the KKE so as to describe their forced deportation or exile for evident political reasons. All the women in this study spent more than thirty years as political refugees in the Soviet Union and the People's Republics. They had to adjust to new cultural, social, labor (even climatological) environments, managing the sorrow and bitterness from the defeat and their personal drama, the uncertainty from their status as refugees, as well as their growing, as time passed, homesickness. All of them married fighters of the DAG, most of whom were heavily wounded and met them in nursing and recovery camps.

'When we went inside (USSR) they told us that we should arrange to get married with each other [...] Someone would marry somebody from his platoon, someone else from his military unit'.

The narrator implies that the KKE urges them to marry to each other. The concept of ethnic endogamy was a widespread practice among the Greeks that married to each other in order to maintain

the Greek identity, a practice that was embraced by the communist party (Tsekou & Chatzianastasiou, 2015: 35). The KKE organizes dance nights and theatrical performances in order for the fighters to get to know each other. The higher purpose behind these tactics is the marriage. As Tsekou (2010: 463- 464) underlines in the People's Republic of Bulgaria political refugees were motivated to participate in the 'Lesxi' (Greek association of political refugees) in order to have the opportunity to make new acquaintances and perhaps start a love affair. As claimed by Mazurana and Cole (2013: 209) many women ex-combatants find it difficult to get married and adjust to traditional gender norms in societies where marriage is the expected norm. The following narratives are about women that did not have any interest in getting married but may have felt the pressure of the KKE and of their milieu's gossiping:

'Petros was telling me "*You should marry, time goes by*". What time? I was 20 years old. But when you are single they are always gossiping. And those from Thessaly were so bigmouths but not all of them. They were pushing me to marry a boy that we were together in Kolkhoz. I didn't have such a purpose'.

'But I didn't want to get married. But there were other guys that wanted me. When I said that I am not getting married, it stopped. And then they were saying, a guy named Giorgos, "*She has someone that "ksefournizei" her, (used metaphorically for the sexual act) that's why she doesn't want*". Who could I have? And then by obstinacy, I said I will marry him and let it be. [...] He seemed to me very fat and also dark-skinned. He was a Pontic Greek (her husband)'.

In the earlier mentioned narratives, one can see the indifference of the above towards matrimony. The narrators defy their traditional acceptable roles as fighters and do not feel the need to return back to domesticity. In addition, the cases address the issue of gossiping, which probably is the reason that led them eventually to marriage. More specifically, in the second case, a man named *Giorgos* makes unfounded speculations that she is having a sexual relationship with someone. According to the opinion of *Giorgos* the status of a woman can only be defined by having a sexual relationship with a man. This insult to her morality degraded the young woman's subjectivity and may have resulted in her getting married to a man she hardly liked.

'My mother said "*Look at this boy, he has good qualities and he loves you a lot*". "*I don't want anyone*" I used to say. "*When the struggle is over, I will marry*". To date, the struggle hasn't finished, nonetheless I got married, I had children and I lost them and that's it...'.

'Once a man came and asked me to marry him but I said to him "*I am not getting married. We still have war*". If I didn't like someone, what could I say? That I don't like you? I had an excuse; I was not getting married because I was young'.

In the women's narratives a first resistance to marriage is evident but the strong social construct of the arranged marriage prevails. None of the twelve women of this research chose their future husband or married a native in the countries they lived in. Some of them mention they had no interest in getting married. Their political identity, their loyalty to the struggle and having fought as armed fighters in the DAG are the impediments for their marriage.

Conclusions

There never exists a single unique truth in history, but every period has its 'truth' that is reinterpreted from future generations under the prism of the present (Van Boeschoten, 1998: 30). Social and collective commonalities, changes in gender relations and shifts in women's social roles were found before, during and after the civil war. For all the women of this study, their politicization before the civil war but most importantly their participation in the DAG, was the point at which their horizons expanded beyond their domestic worlds. They had the chance to act against gender stereotyping and masculinities and challenge the existing norms and folkways. What is more, their armed participation in the war contributed to their emancipation and politicization, as well as the surpassing of die-hard perceptions and deeply rooted mentalities.

Nevertheless, there exist objections on whether these dynamic elements of emancipation and politicization followed the women in 'yperoria'. Some academics claim that the anticipated new identity was not assimilated and that the abolition of gender segregation was not forwarded in the political area or even in everyday life (Bontila,

2005: 177-178). This case is verified in the present study since none of the twelve women continued being active or interested in politics. Their participation in the DAG influenced their perception of gender roles during their time in the mountains and maybe during a first period in 'yperoria', when they expressed a first resistance to marriage. The women returned to traditional gender roles, as housewives and mothers, through a process of forced domesticity. This identification of women with domesticity and motherhood as part of their 'nature' restricts them to the private sphere (Avdela & Psarra, 2005: 68).

These women are conscious social subjects that lived the history of the civil war; they are the living memory and can offer an interpretation 'from the inside'. Their experiences provided this research with a representative picture of life in the DAG. These stories have been shared by female fighters who experienced the effects of war at close range and their testimonies may contribute to shape how the Greek civil war is collectively remembered. What is more, their stories can help towards the understanding of the collective trauma and transcend it through a therapeutic public discussion and repositioning. The twelve interviews establish a 'history from below' and within the academic and public history form their own "community of memory", putting an end to their status as "voiceless" historical subjects. The civil war was experienced by its anonymous protagonists in different ways and the promotion of their experiences can lead to a better historical awareness of the past and a greater understanding of the power imbalances between men and women during wartime.

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A CULTURAL TOPOGRAPHY
OF THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN IN GREEK MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

The present paper wishes to contribute to the critical understanding of the visual representations of domestic violence in printed media in Greece, affecting multiple aspects of social life. The cultural topography described corresponds to the image of the cultural identity of the victim and the offender, as well as the depiction of the act of domestic abuse against women. The paper is based on qualitative research on visual representations of domestic violence through the daily press. Since research is still in progress, the present paper is based on newspaper clippings that were selected by sampling through the case study of a single newspaper. The material under investigation is covering the whole period of the last decade. This period is chosen as an example of a period during which Greece is undergoing multiple and successive crises; economic, refugee and sanitary. Furthermore, the research focuses on the examination of the methodological and epistemological issues that rise from the study of the image as text. A primary issue that rises from the research, to be further analyzed, is the extensive usage of evaluative adjectives accompanied with the repetition of corresponding images. On second note, the present paper attempts to describe the multiple mediations of the interpretation of visual language and the transitions between virtual and textual

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representation. Finally, a finding of the study of the Greek printed media, that will be explored, is the concept of violence against women as a result of cultural learning.

Keywords: *visual sociology, critical criminology, cultural victim*

1. Introduction

The critical understanding of the visual representations of domestic violence in printed media in Greece is a multidimensional matter that challenges both our consideration of the communication of the phenomenon of domestic violence, (Kohlman et al., 2014; Gracia, 2014) as well as the mere content of communication itself. (Baudrillard, 1988; Fiske, 1982; Barthes, 1967) Mapping the cultural topography of the domestic violence, examining the representations of the cultural identity of the victim and the perpetrator as well as the depictions of the cultural background of the act of domestic violence is of great importance to understand the complex sociopolitical implications of the mediations of the phenomenon in printed media. (Karlsson et al., 2020; Breen, 2016; Wolf, 2013; Couldry, 2012) The following analysis is based on a project of qualitative research on representations through the daily Athenian press, while the analysis is based on newspaper clippings selected by sampling through the case study of a single newspaper of daily, morning circulation, as part of a wider research programme concerning media representations of the phenomenon. The visual content that is presented here consists of images that accompany news and opinion articles in cases of domestic violence against women.

2. Characteristics of the research

As for the characteristics of the research, the material under investigation covers the whole period of the last decade. These years were chosen as an example of a period during which Greece was, and in some ways still is, undergoing multiple and successive crises (economic, humanitarian and sanitary) that have influenced

the greek society in diverse ways; However, we should clarify that despite the existing myths and the stereotypical depiction of the incidents, domestic violence is a timeless phenomenon, the dynamics and reproduction of which do not depend exclusively on external factors. (Peters, 2008) Content analysis and visual analysis were applied in order to substantiate identity, culture and ideology as characteristics of the visual material. (Eco, 1986) In the light of the aforementioned circumstances, Lasswell's Model of Communication was also applied as a tool of analysis (Lasswell et al., 1979; Lasswell, 1943) in order to identify the representations of the victim and the perpetrator in printed media. (Berger, 1995)

3. Cultural aspects of victimhood

Cultural patriarchal values and violence

In most press articles, violence against women is credited as culturally acceptable in societies based on traditional patriarchal values. Acts of possessiveness of African men towards female bodies such as genital mutilation are referred to as a "*routine affair*" and marital rape is referred to as "*socially acceptable*". In this context, the articles focus on the representation of violence against women, as part of the cultural heritage of the east, rather than an international phenomenon (UNESCO, 2019; European Comission, 2010; United Nations, 1993), resulting to the image of the violent African man. Addressing the matter of social representations, we refer to the depictions of domestic violence and within these *images* the *image* of the perpetrator, the *image* of the victim, the *image* of the act, the *image* of the consequences of the act and the *image* of the evaluation of the act. (Moscovici, 2000) It must be noted that formulations as the above identify with the stereotype of the invisible and dark cycle of violence against women (Tsigkanou & Thanopoulou, 2012), providing a recycling view of repeated violence and abuse. Respectively, men of Asian origin are also credited as potential perpetrators. The articles contain a strong usage of evaluative terms such as "*conservative*" and "*patriarchal*" referring to Asian society,

underlying religion as an important cultural difference. Patriarchy is often considered as inherent with the cultural, historical and ideological structures of domestic violence. (Peters, 2008) The extensive usage of evaluative definitions acts as a *risk amplifier* for the media, (Kasperson et al., 2003) emphasizing the representation of the oriental man, calling the reader to be vigilant.

Eurocentrism and cultural privilege

In this context, the idea of the peaceful Western world rises as an opposition to the barbarity of the East. Eurocentrism enhances the cultural attitude of the western world towards the countries of the East, as a post-colonial offshoot. (Said, 1978) Under a critical reading of the media sources (Carroll, 2000; Browne & Stuart, 1997) enormous titles are indicative of the cultural differentiation that is implied. In one of the collected images, the phrase "*With Emma Thompson*" is highlighted in white and the phrase "*in Africa*" in orange, splitting the content of the title into the western and the eastern world. Also, in an article entitled "*Female victims of the climate change*", domestic violence appears to be found "*especially in the poorest countries*", mainly in Southeast Asia and Africa. The illustration of the landscape, as well as the women's clothing, prevents the European reader from identifying with the exotic situation described.

Domestic violence against women
as a result of cultural learning

Another finding of the analysis is the concept of violence against women as a result of cultural learning. Often, the perpetrator's profile is credited with the cultural ritual of the crime, as experienced in his country of origin. It is through this visual assumption that the representation of the perpetrator as a foreigner emerges. The article on Asian men makes the connection between violence and culture even clearer, explaining that "*this phenomenon has cultural causes, as it stems from feudal tradition*". In another picture, in support of some kind of traditional charity, the actress Emma Thompson is depicted posing in front of the Liberian flag with her adopted son. One could

think that this image illustrates the attitude of the western world towards the countries that are considered as underdeveloped by the Western standards, implemented by protectionism and supervision. (Said, 1978)

The narrative of the cultural superiority of the Western world towards the considered "uncivilized" third parties, leads to a phenomenon conceptualized under the term "*cultural imperialism*". (Tomlinson, 1991) The next image depicts Thompson accompanied by African Women, and the contrast between the two representations indicates to the reader the "*preferred meaning*" of the photo's content. We refer here to Stuart Hall's theoretical approach that an image was considered worthy to be posted, because of the dominant narrative it illustrates. (Fiske, 1982) In this case, the photos are indicative of the cultural differences between the so-called passion and intensity of the African culture and Western prudence and moderation. Still, the actress looks significantly taller and is placed in the center of the photo, punctuating the evaluative comparison between the two cultures. The cultural evaluation noted here, corresponds to what Edward Said conceptualizes as an Orientalist attitude of the West. (Said, 1978)

4. Mediative effects of printed Media

Evaluative attributes meanings and projected images

Another primary issue that rises from the analysis is the role of media in constructing and reconstructing the identity of the victim as well as the perpetrator. (Sutherland et al., 2016) It is claimed that the picture of social representation and gender roles painted by the media remains distorted (Tsiganou, 2012) serving a traditional reproduction of gender stereotypes (Tastsoglou et al., 2019) while media discourses are acknowledged as important factors in the creation of stereotypes. (Serafis & Herman, 2018) A main concern in this direction is the extensive usage of evaluative adjectives, accompanied with the repetition of corresponding images, with the predominance of the terms "*dangerous*" and "*unsafe*". It is noteworthy that a press article is entitled "*South Asia is dangerous for women*".

In another press article, a map presents the cultural topography of domestic violence, as the large caption quotes: "*the most dangerous places in the world for women*". On the top of the page, a graphic chart informs us about the statistics of several countries. These countries include Afghanistan, Pakistan and Democratic Republic of the Congo, countries with traditional migration flows towards Greece. In this context, we can observe a dynamic process of construction of the profile of Afghan, Pakistani and Congolese men and their connection to violence against women (Tomlinson, 1991) that reinforces the profile of the violent immigrant and therefore constructs some aspects of the so-called immigration problem.

Mediations of the Representations in Media

From the beginnings of Visual Culture Studies in the 70s, to modern Visual Sociology today, the present paper aims to examine the visual aspects of identity, culture and ideology, that encourage connections to the science of sociology. (Harper, 2016; Becker, 1974) Examining the representations of immigrants that emerge from these images, we must keep in mind that the immigrant is not the recipient of this impression, but it is addressed mainly to the readers of the publication, who are themselves non-immigrants. In other words, we distinguish a triangulation of the relationship between the reader's impression in relation to the original event and the author's impression of the original event. (Frangiskou, 2009) This way, the representation here reaches its final recipient, multiply mediated and therefore filtered by the perceptions of both the author and the reader. The multiple mediations, when the news come from abroad, are linked to the concept of "*closure*" of the text according to its solid ideological framework. Addressing the matter of closure, we refer to a proven reading of the text with a solid ideological framework. (O' Sullivan et al., 1983)

Emancipation of the Object

Finally, another feature of the traditional media that is punctuated by the analysis is the emancipatory function of visual sociology on the subjects, allowing them to perceive and define the experience

of certain facets of social life. One of the images accompanies an article where women of color are described as "*creatures of a lesser god*". The *image* of the victim as a weak social subject is underlined (Crenshaw, 1991) with a photograph that depicts women with their faces covered by the hijab, bowing their heads. However, we could say that despite the passivity, the central woman is depicted in a rather emancipated way, with her gaze penetrating the third wall of the image, meeting the reader's gaze unmediated. Representations like this subvert the norm of printed representations of secondary victimization of the victims (Artinopoulou & Magganas, 1996), allowing more realistic representations to emerge.

5. Conclusions

The paradox of the depiction of victimhood

In conclusion, we can say that a fundamental belief that rises from the research is the identification of the image of the woman of color as an alleged victim of domestic violence against women. The majority of the images collected illustrate the concept of the woman of color as victimized and conceived as a passive receiver of violence emanating from men. In the same time, we notice the paradox of the lack of images of women portrayed as physical victims, with visible results of the violence inflicted on them and therefore the absence of stereotypical depictions of victimhood. The linkage between the alleged victimhood of the depicted women and the images is blurry and seems to be indicated only through textual references and repetitive images, focusing on the cultural characteristics of the victim. (Mocombe, 2020)

The other perpetrator and the cultural topography of the domestic violence

As for the dominant representation of the perpetrator, he seems more likely to be a man that belongs to a different ethnic, cultural or religious group (Tomlinson, 1991) with a Greek or even a European

man appearing as less likely to constitute the perpetrator. Often, his representation is absent in the images and emerges only from the text, constituting the representation of the latent perpetrator (Kalampaliki, 2021) and leaving the visualization of the perpetrator to the imagination of the reader, cultivating the fear of the unknown and the oriental Other. (Said, 1978) Topographic maps of the East and of the African continent, statistic research results, repetitive images and evaluative adjectives such as "*dangerous*" and "*unsafe*" portray the cultural topography of the domestic violence against women, mapping the world of domestic violence and constructing and reconstructing the image of the perilous African and Asian Other.

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