

Criminological Studies

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ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ

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VOLUME 5 / ΤΕΥΧΟΣ 5

ANAGNOU GEORGIA

*The family context as a factor of intensifying
or mitigating crime insecurity*

TSIKNI DIMITRA

The crime of torture: Social and cultural dimensions

ΑΝΑΓΝΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ

Το οικογενειακό πλαίσιο ως παράγοντας έντασης ή
άμβλυνσης της σχετικής με το έγκλημα ανασφάλειας

ΤΣΙΚΝΗ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑ

Το έγκλημα του βασανισμού:
Κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές διαστάσεις

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PROGRAMME OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES (MA) "CRIMINOLOGY"

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VOLUME 5

Anagnou Georgia
Tsikni Dimitra

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CRIMINOLOGICAL STUDIES

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PREFACE

The Programme of Postgraduate Studies (MA) “Criminology” has undertaken this publishing initiative since 2015, with the aim of enhancing the important research work produced in the framework of its postgraduate studies through the publication of some of the most valuable research studies. The bilingual version of this publication has been selected to contribute to the exchange of scientific knowledge and experience internationally.

This volume is the fifth in the Series of “Εγκληματολογικές Μελέτες/ Criminological Studies» and includes two studies, which are based on the diploma theses of their authors which were evaluated as excellent and are presented briefly below.

The first study is devoted to *“Family context as a factor of intensifying or mitigating crime insecurity”*. This is an original study with regard to Greek data that examines the influence of family structural and functional characteristics and parental practices on creating a framework of vulnerability in the developmental process of a child associated with the manifestation of insecurity and fear of crime. It also examines the interaction of the family context with other environmental factors in order to lead to proposals for a holistic approach to this phenomenon.

The second study examines *“The Crime of Torture: Social and Cultural Dimensions”*, which approaches it through the definition of the infliction of pain, physical or mental, by a state agent to a civilian. Thus, it classifies it as state crime that occurs in all societies over time. The techniques used by separate cultures are adapted to the culture’s specific characteristics. In this context, human rights and democratic institutions are being discussed.

The expenses of the issue are covered by the annual budget of the M.A. “Criminology” and thanks are owed to the administrative and financial services of Panteion University for their cooperation and support of this project. For editing and creative design, we thank the DIONIKOS publications.

We congratulate the authors of this volume and hope that many more worthwhile empirical studies will be hosted in this series.

Athens, February 2020

Professor Christina Zarafonitou

Director of M.A. «Criminology»

Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

PART A': «THE FAMILY CONTEXT AS A FACTOR OF INTENSIFYING OR MITIGATING CRIME INSECURITY»

Anagnou Georgia

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At the end, I could not omit to express my indescribable gratitude to all my loved ones, and especially to my husband, who assisted me by showing me great support and patience.

***Athens, 30/01/2020
Anagnou Georgia***

«In family life, love is the oil that eases friction, the cement that binds closer together, and the music that brings harmony».

Friedrich Nietzsche

INTRODUCTION

The fear of crime and the insecurity associated with it is part of modern socio-political phenomena and has been studied since the 1970s¹. What was at the forefront of the scientific interest was that «the same real situations give rise to fear in some people while in others they do not, but, moreover, the same person in front of the same events sometimes feels fear and sometimes not,²» prompting the scientists to investigate, firstly, the individual factors contributing to the heightened fear of crime and relative insecurity, such as vulnerability³ and victimization experience⁴, and secondly, environmental factors, such as the lack of social cohesion⁵ that have a similar effect.

However, despite the undoubtedly prominent influence of the family context on one's personality and psychosocial development⁶, it is only in the last two decades that the impact of the family on crime insecurity has been studied⁷. In view of the above, it is appropriate in this study, which is a summary of the author's thesis⁸, to investigate in depth this relationship, namely the impact of the family context on fear of crime and on the relative insecurity. We will then try to answer the questions of whether the family can be included in the list of factors that create and- or heighten fear of crime, in particular by

¹ Zarafonitou Christina (2002), *The fear of crime. A criminological approach and inquiry based on an empirical study of the phenomenon within the city of Athens*. Athens-Komotini: A Sakkoulas, p. 27, (In Greek and in English).

² Alexiadis S. (2004), *Criminology*, Sakkoulas A.E., p. 267, (in Greek).

³ See Killias M. (1990), "Vulnerability: Towards a better understanding of a Key Variable in the Genesis of Fear of Crime", *Violence and Victims*, vol. 5, p. 99.

⁴ See Rader Nicole (2017), Fear of Crime, in Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology, p. 8 from <https://oxfordre.com/criminology/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.001.0001/acrefore9780190264079-e-10?print=pdf>, p. 8, Skogan W.G. (1987), "The Impact of Victimization on Fear", in *Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 33, pp. 135-154.

⁵ See Hinkle C. Joshua (2013), "The relationship between disorder, perceived risk, and collective efficacy: a look into the indirect pathways of the broken windows thesis", in *Criminal Justice Studies: A Critical Journal of Crime, Law and Society*, vol. 26:4, pp. 419-420.

⁶ See Eccles, Jacquelynne S., Midgley, and other (1997), *The evolution of psychology: Fifty years of the American Psychologist*, (pp. 475-501). Washington, DC, US: American Psychological Association.

⁷ See: Cops Diederik, Pleysier Stefaan & Put Johan (2012), "Worrying about the future and fear of crime among young adults: a social psychological approach", *Journal of Youth Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, p. 193.

⁸ Anagnou G. (2019), The family context as a factor of intensifying or mitigating insecurity related to crime, *thesis*, MA Criminology, Panteion University, Athens (in Greek).

examining the impact of the family's structure, its functional characteristics, and the relationships among family members. We will also study the possible interaction of the family with the other factors of fear of crime, and at the end, we will give a brief overview of the consequences in order to reach valid conclusions.

1. DEFINITIONS OF BASIC CONCEPTS

1.1 Conceptual definition of the crime insecurity and the fear of crime

The starting point of our study, in order to be able to delve into the phenomenon of the fear of crime and the insecurity, is to delineate the key concepts that will concern us, namely insecurity, fear, vulnerability and family. Crime insecurity is often distinguished depending on whether insecurity arises out of concern about possible victimization of family members or friends, or whether it comes from considering crime as a serious social problem⁹. In addition, more general insecurities emerge during criminological studies, which may have a connection with «ontological» security¹⁰, a «general concern»¹¹, and the experience of general insecurity¹², and they are only partially related to the criminal phenomenon, as they are reflecting wider concerns¹³.

Relevant to the concept of insecurity is the concept of fear. Fear as an unpleasant, emotional feeling is linked to the «likelihood of losing a familiar, safe or pleasant state and condition»¹⁴. However, it can also be functional as it urges the person experiencing it to take protective measures¹⁵. In an attempt to interpret fear of crime, various definitions were given. The present study adopts the definition that fear of crime is the «collective anxiety of the inhab-

⁹ Farrall, Stephen (2007), *Experience and Expression in the Fear of Crime: Full Research Report ESRC End of Award Report*, RES-000-23-1108. Swindon: ESRC, pp. 16-17.

¹⁰ Giddens, A. (1991), *Modernity and Self-Identity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 35-38.

¹¹ Hough, M. (2004), "Worry about Crime: Mental Events or Mental States?", in *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 173-176.

¹² Bauman, Z. (2002), "Violence in the age of uncertainty", in A. Crawford (ed.) *Crime and Insecurity: The Governance of Safety in Europe*, Cullompton: Willan, p.55.

¹³ Barker Anna and Crawford Adam (2011), "Fear of Crime and Insecurity: Some Reflections on Developments within Anglo-American Research", in *Déviance et Société*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 64.

¹⁴ Tsalikoglou F. (1996), *Mythologies of violence and repression*, Papazisi publ., p. 72, (in Greek).

¹⁵ Jackson Jonathan and Gray Emily (2010), *Functional fear and public insecurities about crime in British journal of criminology*, vol. 50 (1). pp. 3-5 and 14.

itants of a region, a city or a country, which derives from the fear of possible victimization of themselves or their intimate persons by violent criminal attacks.¹⁶». It includes both the fear at the individual level, that is, the fear for themselves or their intimate persons becoming victims of the criminal act, as well as the fear at the social level, which is namely the feeling of lack of public security stemming from the assessment of the crime as a genuine and serious problem. This is why insecurity has a fundamental influence on one's daily life¹⁷. In addition, it should be noted that fear of crime is directly influenced by the subjective element, and in particular by the interpretation of vulnerability¹⁸, the others' experiences, as well as by broader concerns about life¹⁹, thus expressing the most fundamental and abstract social concerns²⁰.

1.2 The concept of vulnerability

The concept of vulnerability introduced by Skogan and Maxfield in 1981 is crucial to the conceptual model for the fear of crime. Based on research findings, they argue that demographic characteristic, such as gender, age and ethnicity are somehow related to the underlying causes of fear²¹. They, then, linked the above elements to the physical and social vulnerability, on the basis of which, people judge whether or not risk of victimization is present²². Nearly a decade later, Killias, supported that the fear of crime depends firstly on the exposure to significant risk, secondly on the loss of control, and thirdly on the prediction that potential victimization would provoke very serious consequences for the victims themselves. He also pointed out that, it was their interaction that ultimately increases fear of crime²³. Subsequently, he argued that vulnerability is influenced by the physical, social, and incidental factors of the risk exposure, the severity of consequences, and the loss of control, thus synthesizing the nine dimensions of vulnerability, whereby a person perceives themselves or

¹⁶ Léauté J. (1981), *Criminologie et Penologie, Le cours du droit*, Paris, Cujas, p. 16, in Zarafonitou Ch. (2002), *ibid*, pp. 31-33.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 33.

¹⁸ Zarafonitou Ch. (2009), "The fear of crime, A greek "paradox"", in *Poeniki Dikaiosyni & Eglimatologia (Penal Justice & Criminology)*, vol. 1, p. 1, (in Greek).

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 1.

²⁰ Hollway Wendy and Jefferson Tony (1997), "The risk society in an age of anxiety: situating fear of crime", in *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48, no. 2, p. 263.

²¹ Skogan, W.G., & Maxfield M.G. (1981), *Coping with crime: Individual and neighborhood reactions*, London /Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, p. 69.

²² Skogan, W.G., & Maxfield M.G. (1981), *ibid*, pp. 69.

²³ Killias M. (1990), *ibid*, p. 98.

their loved ones vulnerable to the risk of being victimized, causing them feelings of crime insecurity²⁴.

1.3 The concept of family

The institution of the family is «the primordial cell of society²⁵» performing numerous functions²⁶ and creating a solid bond between its members²⁷. Of course, the form of the family keeps up with the developments in society and its value system²⁸. Thus, from the traditional- «patriarchal» family whose members were united for the same purpose²⁹, we passed on to the «nuclear» family, where the absence of a common purpose is often the cause of conflicts³⁰. In the 1970s, the «single parent» family emerged, which was a transformation of the nuclear family, and subsequently the «blended family» resulting from the increase in divorces, new marriages and unmarried cohabitation, creating two families for the children, who have on the one hand the biological family that is divided, and on the other, the «new» family with which they live³¹. However, all of these developments cause a variety of problems in the family and especially in the children who suffer from serious consequences on their psychosocial development³². So, we will seek to investigate whether changes in family structure have any influence on insecurity and fear of crime.

²⁴ Killias M. and Clerici Christian (2000), “Different Measures of Vulnerability in their Relation to Different Dimensions of Fear of Crime”, in *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 40, p. 437.

²⁵ Katsigaraki, Eutuxia (2003), “The impact of the family environment on the development of deviant behavior”, (PhD), Panteion University, Athens, p. 42 (in Greek).

²⁶ Mousourou M. Loukia (1999), “Family crisis and value crisis”, in *Review of Social Research (Epitheorisi Koinonikon Ereunon)*, vol. 98-99, p. 5 (in Greek).

²⁷ Katsigaraki, Eutuxia (2003), *ibid*, p. 42.

²⁸ Mousourou M. Loukia (1989), *Sociology of the Contemporary Family*, Gutenberg publ., p. 17 (in Greek).

²⁹ Kourakis E.N. (2012), *Juvenile Delinquency Law*, Athens- Komotini, Ant.N. Sakkoula, second publ., p. 219 (in Greek) and Katsigaraki, Eutuxia (2003), *ibid*, pp. 42-43.

³⁰ Kourakis E.N. (2012), *ibid*, p. 219 and Piperopoulos, G. (1999), *Sociology*, Thessaloniki, Zigos publ., p. 89 (in Greek).

³¹ Kourakis E.N. (2012), *ibid*, p. 219.

³² Drosinou Maria (1999), *Organization and Mechanisms of Juvenile Delinquency through Social and Psychological Structures*, (PhD), Panteion University, Athens, pp. 33-36 (in Greek).

2. THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY AS A SOCIALIZATION BODY AND AS A FACTOR OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME INSECURITY

The family is a multifunctional institution that seeks to satisfy the biological and psychosocial needs of its members, contributing to their personal and educational development³³. At the same time, the security provided by the family context³⁴ through feelings of affection³⁵ satisfies the «need for belonging - togetherness³⁶». However, there are some structural and functional familial features that determine whether the family can provide this security to its members. In cases where the family cannot provide it, individuals, and especially children, are at a disadvantage, as they do not have strong foundations for their evolution³⁷. These characteristics have been studied in relation to their influence on juvenile delinquent behavior³⁸.

In the absence of relevant literature, we will begin by examining the relationship between the structural and functional familial features with juvenile delinquency in order to establish whether there is a similar relationship with the fear of crime and the insecurity. However, it should be noted that since these will be theoretical conclusions- hypotheses, it is imperative to conduct empirical investigations, so that the above hypotheses can be either verified or rejected.

³³ Katsigaraki, Eutuxia (2003), *ibid*, pp. 45-46, Miller J.G. (1965), "Living Systems Theory: Basic Concepts", in *Behavioral Science*, vol. 10, no.3 , pp. 193-237.

³⁴ Ainsworth, M.D.S., & Bell, S.M. (1969), "Some contemporary patterns of mother infant interaction in the feeding situation", in A. Ambrose (ed.) *Stimulation in early infancy*. London & New York: Academic Press, pp. 133-170 and Ainsworth M.D.S., "Security and Attachment", (2010), in Volpe Richard (ed.), *The Secure Child: Timeless Lessons in Parenting*, Information Age Publishing, Charlotte, North Carolina, pp.46-50.

³⁵ See Maccoby E. Eleanor (1992), "The Role of Parents in the Socialization of Children: An Historical Overview", in *Developmental Psychology*, vol. 28, no. 6, p. 1006.

³⁶ Minuchin Patricia (1985), "Families and Individual Development: Provocations from the Field of Family Therapy", in *Family Development and the Child*, vol. 56, no. 2, pp. 289-302.

³⁷ Salter, M.D. (1940), *An evaluation of adjustment based upon the concept of security*. University of Toronto Press. (University of Toronto Studies Child Development. Series no. 18, p. 45.

³⁸ Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *Family and Delinquency*, Athens-Komotini, Ant.N. Sakkoula, pp. 53 and 58 (in Greek).

2.1 The structural features of the family

2.1.1 The Broken family

The broken family is defined as a family structure which is differentiated from the ideal society-based structure, that today is the nuclear family, consisting of two parents, a man and a woman and children. Consequently, dissociation occurs when one or both parents are absent due to death, divorce, separation or abandonment, while it is reasonably expected that this type of family will adversely affect the psychosocial development of their children and the behaviors, they adopt³⁹. As early as 1954, Burgess was drawing attention to the increasing number of divorces and juvenile delinquency rates⁴⁰. However, the investigation of the influence of the broken family in juvenile delinquency had been mobilized by the publication of Shaw and McKay study in 1932. In the above study, the percentages of broken families in the sample of the juvenile offenders were slightly higher than in that of the students. But there were the unprecedented high rates of broken families which were observed among the sample of the students that triggered scientific reactions and motivated the conduct of similar research⁴¹.

In this context, Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck compared five hundred juvenile offenders with five hundred non-offenders in their study by examining numerous possible factors. They concluded that juvenile offenders came predominantly from broken families because of the insecurity and lack of discipline that tended to prevail in these families⁴². Although there have been several reviews for inadequate interpretation of the research findings and for methodological problems⁴³, multiple studies have confirmed the above findings⁴⁴. Some researches differentiate the consequences, depending on the

³⁹ Rosen, Lawrence (1970), "The broken home and male delinquency", in Marvin Wolfgang, Leonard Savitz and Norman Johnson (eds), *The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency*, New York: John W. Wiley and Sons, Inc. p. 490.

⁴⁰ Burgess, Ernest W. (1954), "Economic, cultural, and social factors in family breakdown", in *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, vol. 24, no. 3, p. 462.

⁴¹ Shaw Clifford R. and McKay Henry D. (1932), "Are Broken Homes a Causative Factor in Juvenile Delinquency?", in *Social Forces*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 520-522, Katsigaraki, Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 57.

⁴² Glueck Sheldon and Glueck Eleanor (1950), *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

⁴³ See Johnstone, J.W.C. (1981), "Delinquency and the changing American family", in Shicher, D. and Kelly, D.H. (eds), *Critical Issues in Juvenile Delinquency*. Heath Lexington Books, Lexington, MA, pp.83-97.

⁴⁴ See Hawkins, J.D., Herrenkohl, T., Farrington, D.P., and others (1998), "A review of predictors of youth violence", in R. Loeber & D.P. Farrington (eds), *Serious & violent*

cause of parental loss⁴⁵, pointing out that in cases of divorce, the effects on children's psychosocial development are graver, as children often feel panic, phobia⁴⁶ and insecurity, while they have increased chances of adopting deviant behaviors⁴⁷ due to the duration of tensions⁴⁸ and the neglect⁴⁹.

In addition, some researchers often include in broken families, the «intact family» with a working mother, although this has provoked strong reactions in the scientific community⁵⁰. According to the conclusions of empirical studies⁵¹, the effect of a working mother in a family was identical to that of the parent loss in single parent families, meaning that in both cases children were more likely to adopt delinquent behaviors due to parental (maternal in this case) deprivation and alienation⁵². The «blended family⁵³» also appears to be related to juvenile delinquency⁵⁴, since there is often a rivalry between the child and the stepfather- stepmother, creating a hostile familial atmosphere⁵⁵.

juvenile offenders: Risk factors and successful interventions, Thousand Oaks, CA, US: Sage Publications, Inc, pp. 137-138, West Donald James (1982), *Delinquency, Its Roots, Careers, and Prospects*, Heinemann London, pp. 55-57, Hirschi, T. (1969), *Causes of delinquency*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

⁴⁵ Wilson James Q. and Herrnstein Richard J. (1985), *Crime and Human Nature*, New York: Simon and Schuster, and West D.J. (1982), *ibid*, p. 55.

⁴⁶ Kendler K.S., Neale M.C., Kessler R.C., Heath A.C., Eaves L.J. (1992), "Major Depression and Generalized Anxiety Disorder: Same Genes, (Partly) Different Environments?", in *Arch Gen Psychiatry*, vol. 49, no. 9, pp. 716-722.

⁴⁷ Hatzichristou, C. (1993), "Children's adjustment after parental separation: A teacher, peer and selfreport in Greek sample", in *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, vol. 34, no. 8, pp. 1469-1478 and Livaditis, M., Zaphiriadis, K., Fourkioti, A., Tellidou, C., & Xenitidis, K.I. (2002), "Parental loss and problem behaviour in Greek adolescents: student and teacher perspectives", in *International Review of Psychiatry*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 60-65.

⁴⁸ Wadsworth M. (1979), *Roots of Delinquency - Infancy, Adolescence and Crime*, New York, Barnes and Noble.

⁴⁹ Johnson, R.E. (1986), *ibid*, pp. 65-84.

⁵⁰ Norland, S., Shover, N., Thornton, W., & James, J. (1979), "Intrafamily Conflict and Delinquency", in *The Pacific Sociological Review*, vol. 22, no. 2, pp. 233-237, Canter, R.J. (1982), "Family correlates of male and female delinquency", in *Criminology*, vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 149-168.

⁵¹ See Glueck Sheldon and Glueck Eleanor (1950), *ibid*, Hirschi, T. (1983), "Families and Crime", in *the Wilson Quarterly*, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 138, Hirschi, T. (1969), *ibid*, p. 237.

⁵² Hirschi, T. (1983), *ibid*, p. 138 and Hirschi, T. (1969), *ibid*.

⁵³ Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 81.

⁵⁴ Hirschi, T. (1969), *ibid*, Dornbusch Sanford M., Carlsmith J. Merrill and others, *ibid*, pp. 326-341, Rankin Joseph H. (1983), *ibid*, pp. 466-479, Manning, W.D., & Lamb, K.A. (2003), "Adolescent Well-Being in Cohabiting, Married, and Single-Parent Families", in *Journal of Marriage and Family*, vol. 65, no. 4, pp. 876-893.

⁵⁵ Dornbusch Sanford M., Carlsmith J. Merrill and others, *ibid*, pp. 326-341.

2.1.2 Family size - child birth order

An additional structural familial feature, which has been linked to the juvenile delinquency by various studies, is the family size⁵⁶. It has been found that juvenile offenders were more likely to derive from large families⁵⁷, as any parental disability, such as neglect, worsens with the number of children⁵⁸, and any benefits to their children (such as privacy⁵⁹) are limiting⁶⁰. Parents, striving to normalize the situation, become authoritarian and punitive⁶¹. However, in this way, they cause even more tension in the family's environment and they affect negatively the psychosocial development of their children⁶².

In addition to the family size, the couple Glueck has also introduced the birth order variable, since middle and younger children are raised in a relatively large family⁶³. Many studies have proved that middle children and, to a lesser extent, the younger children are more likely to adopt deviant behaviors, because the firstborns are being more socialized, taking solely advantage of the parental care and supervision⁶⁴, and they are becoming more responsible, as their parents often entrust them with the supervision of their younger siblings⁶⁵. It has also been observed that the only children are the least represented in the sample of juvenile offenders due to increased parental supervision and protection. However, some argue that the firstborns could be more

⁵⁶ Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 84.

⁵⁷ Hirschi (1969), *ibid*, Glueck and Glueck (1952), *ibid*, West D.J. (1982), *ibid*, pp. 35-36, Kierkus, C.A., & Hewitt, J.D. (2009), "The contextual nature of the family structure delinquency relationship", in *Journal of Criminal Justice*, vol. 37, pp. 123-132, Farrington David P. (2001), "Key Results from The First Forty Years Of The Cambridge Study In Delinquent Development", in Thornberry, T.P. and Krohn, M.D. (eds) *Taking Stock of Delinquency: An Overview of Findings from Contemporary Longitudinal Studies* New York: Kluwer/Plenum, p. 15.

⁵⁸ West D.J. (1982), *ibid*, p. 35.

⁵⁹ Gove Walter R., Hughes Michael and Galle Omer R. (1979), "Overcrowding in the Home: An Empirical Investigation of Its Possible Pathological Consequences", in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 44, pp. 59-80.

⁶⁰ West D.J. (1982), *ibid*, p. 35.

⁶¹ Hirschi T. (1983), *ibid*.

⁶² Marjoribanks Kevin (1979), *Families and their Learning Environment*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

⁶³ Glueck Sheldon and Glueck Eleanor (1950), *ibid*.

⁶⁴ Glueck Sheldon and Glueck Eleanor (1950), *ibid*, Hirschi (1969), *ibid*, McKissack, I. (1974), "A Less Delinquent Cohort", in *The British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 159-161.

⁶⁵ Rahav, G. (1980), "Birth Order and Delinquency", in *The British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 385-395.

prone to delinquency, because their parents usually spoil them⁶⁶ and they also have a special mentality, since they are at the same time the eldest and the youngest child in the family⁶⁷.

Since, therefore, the structural features of the family have a critical influence in the development of human personality, we reasonably assume that the same factor, that is, the origin from broken and large families, contributes to the creation and intensification of crime insecurity, while the older children are also prone to the expressing insecurity, as they are generally fearful and insecure. However, as mentioned in the introduction of the chapter, empirical studies are required to confirm or not the above assumptions.

2.2 Functional features of the family

2.2.1 The influence of parental control on the delinquency and the crime insecurity

Theories of social control and in particular Hirschi's theory of "bonds"⁶⁸ and Nye's theory of "parental controls"⁶⁹ assist in interpreting the association of parenting practices with juvenile delinquency⁷⁰. Hirschi argued that there are four types of social bonds that deter the onset of delinquent behavior, that are attachment to important individuals, which facilitates internalization of the rules, faith in their value, commitment to a lawful lifestyle and participation in socially acceptable activities⁷¹. Attachment, that is the degree of emotional connection between parents and children, through which parental ideals and expectations are transmitted⁷², plays a key role in influencing the development of the other social bonds, the parental control and the psychosocial development of the child⁷³. Thus, when the attachment bond is sufficiently developed, the child realizes that their parents are present both physically and psychologically⁷⁴, thereby preventing them from adopting deviant behaviors⁷⁵.

⁶⁶ West D.J. (1982), *ibid*, p. 35.

⁶⁷ Iliopoulos I., *Family and school education, Family and school life, Teaching speeches to parents about the proper upbringing and education of a child from birth to adulthood*, Patra, Petrakis publ., p. 31 (in Greek).

⁶⁸ See Hirschi (1969), *ibid*.

⁶⁹ See Nye, F.I. (1958), *Family relationships and delinquent behavior*. Oxford, England: John Wiley.

⁷⁰ Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, pp. 92-93.

⁷¹ Kourakis E.N., *ibid*, pp. 155-156.

⁷² Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 100.

⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 100.

⁷⁴ Hirschi (1969), *ibid*, p. 88.

⁷⁵ Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 102.

It has even been argued that indirect parental control, is more effective⁷⁶, as opposed to direct control, that is, restrictions on the interactions and activities of their children⁷⁷. Parental control also varies with age and sex of children⁷⁸, since younger children and girls are being under stricter parental control⁷⁹.

Since inadequate social bonds between children and parents that result in inadequate parental control and alienation from the parental pattern contribute to juvenile delinquency⁸⁰, then it is assumed that they also contribute to the intensification of crime insecurity.

2.2.2 The influence of learning in the adoption of juvenile delinquent behavioral patterns and in the intensification of crime insecurity

The association of parental practices with the adoption of delinquent behaviors was also sought through the theory of social learning⁸¹. Its core position is that parents encourage and discourage their children according to their values, through reward and punishment, contributing decisively to the formation of their character⁸². One of its original advocates was Watson, who pointed out that people's actions and emotions are primarily the result of learning processes⁸³. Subsequently, Sears argued that all that a person learns is structuring his personality, finding that children assimilate their parents' values and rules, especially when a positive family environment prevails⁸⁴. In addition, Bandura supported that human behavior is on a continuous interaction between internal forces and external factors⁸⁵. Thus, one learns through observation of others, who become models and, according to the consequences that are anticipated,

⁷⁶ Nye (1958), *ibid*, p. 7.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 5-7.

⁷⁸ Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 111- 115.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 102.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 115.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 116.

⁸² Gewirtz R. (1969), "Mechanisms of Social Learning: Some Roles of Stimulation and Behavior in Early Human Development", in Goslin D.A. (ed.), *Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research*, Chicago: Rand Mc Nally, pp. 68-59.

⁸³ Watson, J.B. (1913), "Psychology as the behaviorist views it", in *Psychological Review*, vol. 20, pp. 158-177.

⁸⁴ Sears, R.R., Whiting, J.W.M., Nowlis, V., & Sears, P.S. (1953), "Some child-rearing antecedents of aggression and dependency in young children", in *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, vol. 47, pp. 135-236.

⁸⁵ Bandura, A. (1977), *Social Learning Theory*. New York: General Learning Press, p. 2 from http://www.asecib.ase.ro/mps/Bandura_SocialLearningTheory.pdf.

they regulate their own behavior. So, it is reasonable for children to regulate their behavior based on their parents' reactions, and on the quality of their relationships, thereby enhancing their ability to predict the consequences in order to adopt or abstain from corresponding behaviors⁸⁶. As a result, it was confirmed by several studies⁸⁷, that minors may adopt deviant behaviors, either because of a low self-esteem⁸⁸, either because of imitation of their parents⁸⁹.

Consequently, the social learning theories suggest that minors can adopt deviant behaviors as a result of the parental practices, or by their acting as models of delinquent behaviors⁹⁰. In the same way, children through observation and imitation, adopt fearful behaviors⁹¹, a process that applies accordingly when fear and insecurity are related to crime.

2.2.3 The influence of emotion in the adoption of juvenile delinquent behavioral patterns and in crime insecurity

Through psychoanalytic theories, Hirschi's theory of emotional attachment and Bowlby's theory of secure attachment, the absence of the mother and the inadequate attachment was associated with juvenile delinquent behaviors and negative emotions⁹². Early on, Freud had emphasized the crucial role of

⁸⁶ Bandura, A. (1977), *ibid*, pp. 27-35, Bandura, A., & Walters, R.H. (1959), *Adolescent aggression: A study of the influence of child-training practices and family interrelationships*. Oxford, England: Ronald.

⁸⁷ See: Wolfgang, Marvin and Ferracuti Franco (1982), *The Subculture of Violence*, Beverly Hills: Sage, pp. 282-283, Maccoby, E.E., & Martin, J.A. (1983), "Socialization in the context of the family: Parent-child interaction", in P.H. Mussen (ed.) & E.M. Hetherington (Vol. Ed.), *Parenting Style and Its Correlates. Handbook of child psychology: vol. 4, 4th ed., Socialization, personality, and social development*, New York: Wiley, pp. 42-43.

⁸⁸ Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 124.

⁸⁹ Bandura, A. (1965), "Vicarious processes: A case of no-trial learning", in L. Berkowitz (ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, San Diego CA: Academic Press, vol. 2, pp. 14-34.

⁹⁰ Maccoby, E.E., & Martin, J.A. (1983), *ibid*, Farrington, D.P. (1989), "Early predictors of adolescent aggression and adult violence", in *Violence and Victims*, vol. 4, no. 2, pp. 79-100, Farrington, D.P. (1977), "The Effects Of Public Labelling", in *The British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 17, no. 2, pp. 112-125, Hawkins, Maguin, E., J.D. Catalano, R.F., Hill, K., Abbott, R., and Herrenkohl, T. (1995), "Risk factors measured at three ages for violence at age 17-18", *Paper* presented at the American Society of Criminology, November 1995, Boston, MA.

⁹¹ Bandura, A. (1977), *ibid*, p. 2.

⁹² Katsigaraki Eutuxia (2004), *ibid*, p. 137, Bowlby, J. (1995), *Creation and Break of the Emotional Ties*, (translated by P. Strati), Athens, Kastanioti publ. pp. 200-201, (1979 year of the first publication) (in Greek).

the mother-child relationship and of how the child's identification with their mother assists in shaping their personality⁹³. In the same direction, Spitz argued that maternal deprivation sets a defective basis for the development of human personality⁹⁴. However, the association of maternal deprivation with juvenile delinquency and personal development was generally based on Bowlby's theory of secure attachment. According to this theory, a prerequisite for developing mentally healthy personalities is that «*infants and young children must experience a warm, intimate and uninterrupted relationship with their mother (or with whom/who has replaced the mother), of which both sides get satisfaction and enjoyment*⁹⁵ », affecting all subsequent ones, since it serves as a benchmark.

Moving in the same direction, Mairy Ainsworth favored the natural course of the bonding relationship between child and mother, which could be adversely affected, if the mother failed to fulfill her role⁹⁶. Of course, Salter had already supported that when these relationships are of quality, they provide a safe base for the child in order to be able to discover both themselves and the world around them⁹⁷. So, depending on the quality of attachment, they distinguished firstly, the safe children, secondly, the insecure- avoidant children, thirdly, the insecure- anxious children and finally the disorganized-disoriented children⁹⁸. It has also been pointed out that attachment can be developed in the context of abuse and fear, but then it could be considered as an 'insecure attachment'⁹⁹. However, based on numerous studies, both

⁹³ Freud, S. (1964), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud* (J. Strachey, Ed.). Oxford, England: Macmillan, pp. 141-207.

⁹⁴ Emde, R.N. (1992), "Individual meaning and increasing complexity; contributions of Sigmund Freud and Rene Spitz to developmental psychology", in *Developmental Psychology*, vol. 28, no. 3, pp. 347-359.

⁹⁵ Bowlby, J. (1951), "Maternal care and mental health", in *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, vol. 533, p. 13.

⁹⁶ Ainsworth, M.D.S., & Bell, S.M. (1969), *ibid*, pp. 133-170 ,Ainsworth M.D.S., "Security and Attachment" (2010), in Volpe Richard (ed.), *The Secure Child: Timeless Lessons in Parenting*, Information Age Publishing, Charlotte, North Carolina, pp. 46-50.

⁹⁷ Salter, M.D. (1940), *ibid*, p. 45.

⁹⁸ Main, M., & Solomon J. (1986), "Discovery of an insecure-disorganized/disoriented attachment pattern", in T.B. Brazelton & M.W. Yogman (eds), *Affective development in infancy*, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, pp. 95-124.

⁹⁹ Rutter, M. (1979), "Protective factors in children's messages to stress and disadvantage", in M.W. Kent and J.E. Rolf (eds), in *Primary Prevention of Psychopathology*, vol. 3: Social Competence in Children. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, pp. 49-74.

insecure attachment¹⁰⁰ and maternal deprivation¹⁰¹ have been associated with delinquent behaviors, psychopathological symptoms, social inadequacy, and negative emotions such as fear and depression. In consistency with the above scientific data, we believe that the child's secure attachment to their mother performs a similar function in concerning with the fear of crime, with secure attachment alleviating it and insecure attachment intensifying it.

3. THE IMPACT OF THE FAMILY ON THE FEAR OF CRIME

Having studied the association of structural and functional family features with juvenile delinquency and insecurity of crime, it is crucial to investigate the possible impact of the family on the fear of crime. An overview of the relevant literature reveals the lack of study of this issue, and of the children's fear¹⁰², which could illuminate the role of the family, due to its crucial influence on shaping the human personality as a whole¹⁰³. Only in recent years has there been an increase in interest from the scientific community in this direction¹⁰⁴, although most research studies the family only as a demographic factor¹⁰⁵.

3.1 The fear of children and adolescents concerning to crime and the parents' impact

The fear of crime and the insecurity is reasonable to assume that, because of their psychological nature, they are at least partly shaped during childhood and they are influenced by various socializing factors¹⁰⁶, and in particular by the parents who transmit these feelings to their children, as they do with rules and values¹⁰⁷. This «transmission» usually reflects the way parents exercise their role and the bonds they have developed with their

¹⁰⁰ Ainsworth, M.D.S. (1985), "Attachments across the life span", in *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine*, vol. 61, no. 9, pp. 792-812.

¹⁰¹ Bowlby, J. (1995), *ibid*, pp. 32, 200-201.

¹⁰² De Groof, S. (2008), "And My Mama Said: The (Relative) Parental Influence on Fear of Crime Among Adolescent Girls and Boys", in *Youth & Society*, vol. 39, no. 3, p. 268.

¹⁰³ See: Gewirtz R. (1969), *ibid*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁰⁴ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva (2018), "The impact of parenting style on fear of crime among adolescent girls and boys", in *Journal of Youth Studies*, vol. 21:8, p. 1077.

¹⁰⁵ Goodey, J. (1994), "Fear of crime: What can children tell us?", in *International Review of Victimology*, vol. 3(3), pp. 195-196.

¹⁰⁶ Goodey, Jo (1996), "Adolescence and the Socialization of Gendered Fear", in Martin Schwarz and Dragan Milovanovic (eds) *Race, Gender and Class in Criminology*, pp. 271-273, London: Garland Publ.

¹⁰⁷ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva (2018), *ibid*, p. 1078.

children. Simultaneously, the parents may also have a more indirect influence in their children's fear, such as by choosing their extracurricular activities and their peers¹⁰⁸.

3.1.1 The relationships between parents and children, the parental supervision and the fear of crime

May, Vartanian, and Virgo were the first to attempt to link the notions of the parental attachment and the supervision to the adolescent's fear of crime¹⁰⁹. Starting from Bowlby's psychological attachment theory and Hirschi's criminological theory of social bonding¹¹⁰, they hypothesized that attachment to parents as well as appropriate parental supervision would reduce children's fear of crime as the risk of victimization would be more distant¹¹¹. Contrary to their expectations, it was found that adolescents who were more supervised by their parents, they presented higher rates of fear of crime, although they knew they were at lower risk¹¹². This result was interpreted on the basis of the constant reminder of the risks associated with adolescence by their closely supervising parents¹¹³. The positive association between the close parental supervision and the child's fear of crime was also confirmed by latter studies, but without finding strong interaction¹¹⁴, or variations depending on the gender of the children¹¹⁵. It has also been argued that increased parental surveillance depicts their fear for their children's safety, and at the same time, they are transmitting this fear to their children¹¹⁶.

¹⁰⁸ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid* pp. 1080-1081.

¹⁰⁹ May, David C., Lesa R. Vartanian and Keri Virgo (2002), "The Impact of Parental Attachment and Supervision on Fear of Crime among Adolescent Males", in *Adolescence*, vol. 37, no. 146, pp. 267-288, in Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid* p. 1081.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 267-287.

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, pp. 267-288.

¹¹² *Ibid*, pp. 267-288 in De Groof, S. (2008), *ibid*, p.272.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, p. 283 in De Groof, S. (2008), *ibid*, p. 272.

¹¹⁴ Cops, D. (2010), "Socializing into Fear: The Impact of Socializing Institutions on Adolescents' Fear of Crime", in *Young*, vol. 18, no. 4, p. 396, Cops, D. (2013), "The Role of Autonomous Mobility in Public Space on Fear of Crime Among Adolescents", in *Journal of Youth Studies*, vol. 16, no. 8, p. 1116 and May, D.C., S. Keith, N.E. Rader, and R.G. Dunaway (2015), "Predicting Adolescent Fear of Crime Through the Lens of General Strain Theory", in *Sociological Focus*, vol. 48, no. 2, p. 183.

¹¹⁵ See Cops, D. and S. Pleysier (2011), "'Doing Gender' in Fear of Crime: The Impact of Gender Identity on Reported Levels of Fear of Crime in Adolescents and Young Adults", in *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 51, no. 1, p. 69.

¹¹⁶ Cops, D. and S. Pleysier (2011), *ibid*, p. 185.

In contrast, the effect of parent-child relationships on the children's fear is inhomogeneous¹¹⁷. Wallace and May's research found lower rates of fear of crime in the children who were closely emotionally attached to their parents, especially the boys¹¹⁸. On the other hand, two studies of Cops have shown that maintaining good relationships with the mother works as an indicator of the most fearful children¹¹⁹. In addition, subsequent research¹²⁰ have concluded that the more supportive parents are, the higher the fear rates, fact that may be interpreted by the overconfidence and the parents' fear that ultimately causes a familial pessimistic atmosphere and intensifies the fear of crime¹²¹. The differentiated influence of parents' relationships according to gender, since close relationships alleviate fear in boys and intensifying it in girls¹²², may be the result of differentiated socialization within the family¹²³.

3.1.2 The parental support for adolescents' autonomy and its connection to children's fear of crime

As mentioned above, adolescence is a transitional period during which adolescents must gradually become independent from their parents in order to prepare themselves for adulthood. Autonomy has been defined as *"the ability to direct one's life by setting goals, feeling skillful and being able to define one's actions¹²⁴"*, while studies have shown that adolescent's autonomy contributes to their psychosocial adjustment¹²⁵. So, it is reasonable to assume that it has

¹¹⁷ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid*, p. 1081.

¹¹⁸ Wallace, L.H. and D.C. May (2005), "The Impact of Parental Attachment and Feelings of Isolation on Adolescent Fear of Crime at School", in *Adolescence*, vol. 40, no. 159, pp. 457-474, in Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid*, p. 1081.

¹¹⁹ Cops, D. (2010), *ibid*, p. 396 and Cops, D. (2013), *ibid*, p. 1117.

¹²⁰ Sacco F. Vincent (1993), "Social Support and the Fear of Crime", in *Canadian J. Criminology*, vol. 35, pp. 187-196, in De Groof, S. (2008), *ibid*, p. 273, Zani, B., Cicognani E., and Albanesi C. (2001), "Adolescents' Sense of Community and Feeling of Unsafety in the Urban Environment", in *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, vol. 11, no. 6, p. 485.

¹²¹ Zani, B., Cicognani E. and Albanesi C. (2001), *ibid*, p. 487.

¹²² Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid*, p. 1089.

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 1089-1090.

¹²⁴ Noom, M.J. (1999), *Adolescent Autonomy: Characteristics and correlates*. Delft, The Netherlands: Eburon, in Noom Marc J., Dekovic' Maja And Meeus Wim H.J. (1999), "Autonomy, attachment and psychosocial adjustment during adolescence: a double-edged sword?", in *Journal of Adolescence*, vol. 22, no. 6, p. 771.

¹²⁵ Noom Marc J., Dekovic' Maja and Meeus Wim H.J. (1999), *ibid*, pp. 772 and 776, Freud, A. (1958), "Adolescence", in *Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, vol. 13, pp. 255-278.

an equally positive impact on alleviating fear of crime and insecurity¹²⁶. De Groof found that parental support for their children's autonomy and freedom during their leisure time contributes to reduction of fear of crime only for boys¹²⁷, while, other researches have found no gender variation¹²⁸.

The interpretation of these results is based on the fact that children learn through autonomy to decide for themselves and to deal with unprecedented situations¹²⁹. Consistent with this approach, Cops and Pleysier argued that adolescents' presence in public spaces without parental supervision exposes them to dangerous places and situations, thus educating them and making them less fearful¹³⁰.

3.1.3 The impact of siblings on fear of crime

Having studied the parental influence on children's fear of crime, it is appropriate to investigate whether any impact arises from siblings. The only relevant research that could be found was carried out in Canada¹³¹, in which there were used as a theoretical background theories relating to gender¹³², socialization, altruistic fear, and to sibling influence¹³³. Its results revealed a trend of slightly

¹²⁶ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid*, p. 1082.

¹²⁷ De Groof, S. 2008, *ibid*, pp. 281 and 283.

¹²⁸ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid*, p. 1086 and McElhaney K.B., J.P. Allen, J.C. Stephenson and A.L. Hare (2009), "Attachment and Autonomy During Adolescence", in *Handbook of Adolescent Psychology*, vol. 1: Individual Bases of Adolescent Development, 3rd ed., edited by R.M. Lerner, and L. Steinberg, pp. 358-403. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, in Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid*, p. 1083.

¹²⁹ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid*, p. 1082.

¹³⁰ Cops, D., and S. Pleysier. 2011, *ibid* pp. 58-74, Cops, D. 2013, *ibid*, pp. 1108-1109.

¹³¹ Ashbourne Jessica (2014), "Evidence for a Big Brother Effect in Survey-Based Fear of Crime Research", in *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology*, vol. 3, p. 148.

¹³² Kornreich, Jennifer L., Kimberly D. Hearn, Giovanna Rodriguez and Lucia F. O'Sullivan (2003), "Sibling Influence, Gender Roles, and the Sexual Socialization of Urban Early Adolescent Girls", *The Journal of Sex Research*, vol. 40, no. 1, pp. 101-110, Stoneman, Zolinda and Gene H. Brody (1986), "Same-Sex and Cross-Sex Siblings: Activity Choices, Roles, Behaviour, and Gender Stereotypes", in *Sex Roles*, vol. 15, pp. 495-511.

¹³³ See Sulloway, Frank J. (1996), *Born to Rebel: Birth Order, Family Dynamics, and Creative Lives*. New York: Vintage Books, p. 60, Brody, Gene H. (2004), "Siblings' Direct and Indirect Contributions to Child Development", *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 124-126, Jenkins, Jennifer M. and Marjorie A. Smith. (1990), "Factors Protecting Children Living in Disharmonious Homes: Maternal Reports", in *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, vol. 29, no. 1, pp. 60-69, Gass, Krista, Jennifer Jenkins, and Judy Dunn (2007), "Are Sibling Relationships Protective? A Longitudinal Study", in *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, vol.

higher rates of fear of crime in only children, probably thanks to the only optimum relationships that they have with their parents which can outweigh the negative factor of not having siblings¹³⁴. In addition, lower rates of fear of crime were observed, as the number of siblings in a family increased, maybe because of reduced parental supervision in children of large families¹³⁵.

Furthermore, the impact of siblings on fear of crime was also investigated in the light of gender. The only connection that emerged was the role of “big brother effect”, with women having older brothers to be much less afraid of crime and the more brothers they had, the lesser fear they expressed¹³⁶. These findings could be interpreted based on vulnerability¹³⁷, and on gender-differentiated socialization¹³⁸. Another explanation can be established on parental supervision¹³⁹, as parents with older sons might supervise less their daughters¹⁴⁰.

3.2 Altruistic fear

Since the beginning of the study of fear of crime, researches have focused on fear for personal safety, ignoring the fear for the safety of others, usually spouses and children¹⁴¹. This fear is called altruistic, it concerns a larger number of people, and it can be even more intense than personal fear¹⁴².

48, no. 2, pp. 167-175.

¹³⁴ Ashbourne Jessica, *ibid*, p. 150-153.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*.

¹³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 153, Rader Nicole E. (2010), “Until Death Do Us Part? Husband Perceptions and Responses to Fear of Crime”, in *Deviant Behaviour*, vol. 31, no. 1, pp. 50-52, Jackson, Jonathan (2009), “A Psychological Perspective on Vulnerability in the Fear of Crime”, in *Psychology, Crime & Law*, vol. 15, no. 4, pp. 365-390.

¹³⁸ See Kornreich, Jennifer L., and others, pp. 101-110, Rader, Nicole E. and Stacy H. Haynes (2011), “Gendered Fear of Crime Socialization: An Extension of Aker’s Social Learning Theory”, in *Feminist Criminology*, vol. 6, no. 4, pp. 291-307.

¹³⁹ See 3.2.1 unit with its references.

¹⁴⁰ Ashbourne Jessica, *ibid*, p. 155.

¹⁴¹ Warr, M. (1992), “Altruistic fear of victimization in households”, in *Social Science Quarterly*, vol. 73, no. 4, p. 723.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, pp. 724 and Warr, M. & Ellison, C. (2000), “Rethinking social reactions to crime: Personal and altruistic fear in family households”, in *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 106, no. 3, pp. 552-553.

3.2.1 The fear of crime within marriage

The effect of marriage on altruistic fear of crime has already emerged even from the first relevant study, but also from later ones, as it has been confirmed that the rates of altruistic fear for spouses are higher in husbands than in wives, while they highlighted the prevalence of altruistic fear of crime over the personal one¹⁴³. Similar conclusions were reached by qualitative surveys, with husbands expressing greater fear for their spouses than their wives for them. Indeed, husbands even change their habits after their wedding in order to provide more protection to their spouses¹⁴⁴. Furthermore, it appeared that husbands had increased rates of altruistic and personal fear, as they felt that they had consciously taken over the responsibility for their wives' safety. Therefore, married men had to live longer for their family¹⁴⁵, and they were adopting protective behaviors towards their spouses¹⁴⁶. In contrast, wives were less afraid for their personal safety and not at all afraid for that of their husbands, believing that they were not at risk¹⁴⁷. Consequently, it seems that marriage is intensifying men's personal and altruistic fear, while it is alleviating that of women.

3.2.2 The parents' fear of crime

Studies concerning the altruistic fear of crime are also examining the impact of having children. Early surveys showed that mothers were more concerned about their children's safety¹⁴⁸, either because they were traditionally taking over their upbringing¹⁴⁹, or because they viewed their neighborhoods as a less secure place than their husbands did¹⁵⁰. However, subsequent researches have shown that parents' gender does not significantly differentiate their fear for their children¹⁵¹, as opposed to their children's age and gender, which appears

¹⁴³ Warr, M. & Ellison, C. (2000), *ibid*, pp. 558-559.

¹⁴⁴ Snedker, Karen A., (2006), "Altruistic and Vicarious Fear of Crime: Fear for Others and Gendered Social Role.", in *Sociological Forum*, vol. 21(2), pp.173-174.

¹⁴⁵ Rader, Nicole E. (2010), *ibid*, pp. 44-46.

¹⁴⁶ *ibid*, pp. 46-49.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid*, pp. 50-52.

¹⁴⁸ Warr, M. (1992), *ibid*, p. 729.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid*, p. 730.

¹⁵⁰ Drakulich M. Kevin (2015), "Concerns for Self or Family? Sources of and Responses to Altruistic Fear", in *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, vol. 30, no. 7, p. 19.

¹⁵¹ Warr, M. & Ellison, C. (2000), *ibid*, p. 561, Drakulich M. Kevin, *ibid*, p. 16, Vozmediano Laura, San-Juan César, Vergara I. Ana and Alonso-Alberca Natalia (2017), "Watch out, Sweetie: The Impact of Gender and Offence Type on Parents' Altruistic Fear of Crime", in *Sex Roles*, vol. 77, no. 9-10, p. 682, Tulloch, M. (2004), "Parental fear of

to play a decisive role¹⁵². Thus, parents are more fearful when their children are younger, which declines as they grow older, though there are still gender variations, since they are more afraid for girls' safety¹⁵³.

Similar conclusions were also reached by Tulloch who interpreted the above studies' findings on the basis of parents' perception that childhood is a vulnerable period and, consequently, it is perfectly normal to be concerned for their young children's safety. On the contrary, adolescence is perceived as a period of emancipation, so parents feel that they should limit their control by showing their children confidence. Similarly, parents who have whose children are young adults consider them as independent and capable of coping with the adversities of life by expressing even less fear for their safety¹⁵⁴.

4. THE FAMILY'S IMPACT ON THE CORRELATION BETWEEN FEAR OF CRIME AND OTHER GENERATING FACTORS OF FEAR

4.1 Family and vulnerability

Given the crucial role that vulnerability plays in generating feelings of insecurity and fear of crime, it is essential to study how it is related to the family context in particular. The family context can affect a person's vulnerability, especially the severity of consequences and the loss of control. In particular, the consequences of a potential criminal victimization are taken more seriously when there is no supportive background¹⁵⁵, which is of course mainly the family. Therefore, when a person is surrounded by their family, they feel less fear and insecurity, knowing that even if they are victimized, their family will assist them in the painful process of recovering. On the contrary, when the family is absent the person feels more vulnerable and consequently their fear and insecurity of crime intensify, as they know in advance that if they become victim of a criminal act, they should take care of themselves. Likewise, the family influences the vulnerability and thus the fear of crime regarding the loss of control, since lonely people, in whom are obviously included those who do not have family or relationships with them, may find it harder to deal with criminal danger to avoid it¹⁵⁶. In addition, the family contributes also indirectly to the

crime. A discursive analysis", in *Journal of Sociology*, vol. 40, pp.362-377, in Drakulich M. Kevin, *ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p. 559.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 559-560.

¹⁵⁴ Tulloch, M. (2004), *ibid*, pp. 362-377, in Heber Anika, *ibid*, pp. 261-262.

¹⁵⁵ Killias M. (1990), *ibid*, p. 101 and Pantazis, Christina (2000), "Fear of Crime, Vulnerability, and Poverty", *British Journal of Criminology* 40, pp. 414-436.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 103.

individual's sense of vulnerability and consequently to the intensification of insecurity through its gender differentiated socialization¹⁵⁷. Consequently, the family assists in the creation and the maintenance of the perceptions that a woman is more vulnerable, thereby intensifying crime insecurity of women.

4.2 Neighborhood incivilities as an intensifying factor in crime insecurity and their link to family context

An additional factor that affects levels of fear of crime and insecurity is the incivilities that may exist in a neighborhood¹⁵⁸. Incivilities are divided into social, such as the presence of drug addicts in the street, and in physical that include broken windows, graffiti, etc.¹⁵⁹. According to the theory of broken windows, physical deterioration, such as a broken window, as well as unsolved social disorders are progressively becoming graver, since residents are being persuaded of the rise in criminality, thus fearing and modifying their lives in order to feel more secure. As a result, they are gradually withdrawing from their neighborhood and informal social control is reduced. So, their neighborhood becomes vulnerable to the rise of incivilities and criminality¹⁶⁰. Studies have shown that both physical and social neighborhood incivilities intensify fear of crime¹⁶¹, insecurity¹⁶² and perceived risk of victimization¹⁶³.

Therefore, it is reasonable to ask how these incivilities can be linked to the family context in the light of crime insecurity. Initially, it is obvious that if the family originates from the lower socioeconomic class, then they will reside in less favored areas that usually display signs of abandonment and incivilities, thereby exacerbating fear and insecurity. In addition, it can be suggested that since neighborhood incivilities reinforce an impression of heightened

¹⁵⁷ Podaná Zuzana & Krulichová Eva, *ibid* pp. 1089-1090, Cops, D. (2010), *ibid*, pp. 385-402, Cops, D., and S. Pleysier (2011), *ibid* pp. 58-74, Cops, D. (2013), *ibid*, pp. 1105-1122, Goodey, Jo (1996), *ibid*, pp. 195-210, Sutton, R.M., and S. Farrall (2004), *ibid*, pp. 212-224, Sacco, V.F. (1990), *ibid*, pp. 485-506, Goodey, J. (1997), *ibid*, pp. 401-418, De Groof, S. (2008), *ibid*, pp. 283-284 and 286.

¹⁵⁸ Rader N. (2017), *ibid*, p. 9.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid* p. 10.

¹⁶⁰ Wilson J.Q., Kelling G. (1982), *ibid*, p. 2.

¹⁶¹ Pietsch Juliet and Aarons Haydn, *ibid*, pp. 71-73 and Borooah K. Vani and Carcach A. Carlos (1997), *ibid*, pp. 646 and 654.

¹⁶² Hale (1996), "Fear of Crime: A Review of the Literature", from https://scholar.google.gr/scholar?cluster=10137317148133863424&hl=el&as_sdt=0,5&as_vis=1, p. 37, Skogan and Maxfield (1980), *ibid*, p. 159.

¹⁶³ Hinkle C. Joshua (2013), *ibid*, pp. 419-420 and LaGrange, R.L, Ferraro, K.F. and Supancic, M. (1992), *ibid*, p.312.

criminality¹⁶⁴, intensifying personal and vicarious fear of crime¹⁶⁵, parents take additional measures to protect their children, such as intense supervision, which in turn leads their children to feeling more fear and insecurity¹⁶⁶.

4.3 Victimization as a factor of increasing crime insecurity and its connection to the family context

The experience of direct personal victimization was incorporated by researchers along with the risk of victimization in the original concepts of fear of crime¹⁶⁷. However, results of studies with reference to whether prior victimization increases fear of crime and relative insecurity are not homogeneous, as some correlate them positively with previous experiences of victimization¹⁶⁸, others indicate a more indirect impact by affecting the victims' attitudes¹⁶⁹, and others don't conclude in such a correlation at all¹⁷⁰. Apart from immediate victimization, the fear of crime and relative insecurity are influenced, perhaps more strongly, by the experiences of indirect victimization, that is, experiences of victimization by relatives and neighbors¹⁷¹.

Therefore, the question arises as to whether and how the family context enters into the above correlation. Firstly, we must point out within the family that there can be domestic violence, that is «*the constant experience of physical, psychological or even sexual abuse at home used to impose authority and control on another person in the family*¹⁷²», with the most common victim

¹⁶⁴ Borooah K. Vani and Carcach A. Carlos, *ibid*, pp. 646, 654, Hinkle C. Joshua (2013), *ibid*, pp. 419-420, LaGrange, R.L, Ferraro, K.F. and Supancic, M. (1992), *ibid*, p.312.

¹⁶⁵ Drakulich M. Kevin, *ibid*, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ See May, David C., Lesa R. Vartanian, and Keri Virgo (2002), *ibid*, p. 283, in De Groof, S. (2008), *ibid*, p. 272, Cops, D. (2010), *ibid*, p. 396, Cops, D. (2013), *ibid*, p. 1116.

¹⁶⁷ Sookram Sandra, Saridakis George and Mohammed Anne-Marie (2011), *ibid*, p. 129.

¹⁶⁸ Garofalo J. (1979), "Victimization and the Fear of Crime", in *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, vol. 16 (1), pp. 80-97, Gray E., Jackson J. and Farrall S. (2006), Reassessing the fear of crime: Frequencies and correlates of old and new measures, in *Experience and Expression in the Fear of Crime: Working Paper, No. 3.*, pp. 24-25, Tseloni A. and Zarafonitou C. (2008), "Fear of crime and victimization: a multivariate multilevel analysis of competing measurements", in *European Journal of Criminology*, vol. 5 (4), p. 388.

¹⁶⁹ Zarafonitou Ch. (2002), *ibid*, pp. 119-125, Killias, M. (2001), *ibid*, p. 399.

¹⁷⁰ Tseloni A. and Zarafonitou C. (2008), *ibid* pp. 387-388.

¹⁷¹ Arnold. H. (1991), "Fear of crime and its relationship to directly and indirectly experienced victimization: A binational comparison of models", in *Developments in Crime and Crime Control Research: German Studies on Victims, Offenders, and the Public.* (K. Sessar and H-J. Kerner, eds.) Springer-Verlag, New York, p. 119, Hale, *ibid*, p. 28.

¹⁷² Flitcraft Anne, Hadley S.M., Hendricks- Matthews M.C., McLeer S.V., Warshaw C.

being the woman or the children. Numerous studies have revealed the seriousness of the consequences, since victims suffer *inter alia* from post-traumatic stress, fear, insecurity, depression and others¹⁷³. However, children are injured by their mere exposure to incidents of domestic violence¹⁷⁴, presenting problems similar to those of children who have been victims of domestic violence, like fear¹⁷⁵. Consequently, it is concluded that children who have been directly or indirectly victims of domestic violence have higher rates of fear of crime and insecurity. At the same time, the family can also influence indirect experiences of victimization, when the victim transfers their traumatic experiences to their close family members, heightening their fear and insecurity¹⁷⁶.

4.4 The Mass Media as a Factor of creating/intensifying crime insecurity and their interaction with the family context

One of the prominent sources of information on the criminal phenomenon is the Mass Media¹⁷⁷. Numerous studies illustrate their important impact on the creation and reinforcement of fear of crime, as they selectively highlight crime-related issues, exaggerating violent crimes and sidestepping other types of crime¹⁷⁸. Of course, there are also studies whose results conclude in poor interaction between the mass media and fear of crime¹⁷⁹, or even in the

(1992), *Diagnostic and treatment guidelines on domestic violence*, Chicago, Ill: American Medical Association.

¹⁷³ Campbell Jacquelyn C. (2002), "Health consequences of intimate partner violence", in the *Lancet*, vol. 359, no. 9314, pp. 1331-1334.

¹⁷⁴ Groves, B. (1999), "Mental Health Services for Children Who Witness Domestic Violence", in *The Future of Children*, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 123-124, Wolfe, D.A., Zak, L., Wilson, S. and Jaffe. P. (1986), "Child witnesses to violence between parents: Critical issues", in *Behavioral and social adjustment*, vol. 14, no. 1, pp. 95-104, Stiles M.M. (2002), "Witnessing Domestic Violence The Effect on Children", in *American Family Physician*, vol. 66, no. 11, pp. 2052-2055, Herrenkohl, T.I., Sousa, C. and others (2008), "Intersection of Child Abuse and Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence", in *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, vol. 9(2), pp. 85-92.

¹⁷⁵ See Stiles M.M. (2002), *ibid* p. 2052, Groves, B. (1999), *ibid*, pp.123-124.

¹⁷⁶ Hale, *ibid*, p. 28 and Arnold. H. (1991), *ibid*, p. 119.

¹⁷⁷ Zarafonitou Ch. (2002), *ibid*, p. 55.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 59, and Curiel Rafael Prieto & Bishop Steven Richard, (2018), "Fear of crime: the impact of different distributions of victimization", in *Palgrave communications, Humanities, Social Sciences, Business*, vol. 4, p. 2.

¹⁷⁹ Dowler K. (2003), *ibid*, pp. 119-120.

absence of any interconnection, when demographic factors¹⁸⁰ or local crime rates are taken into account¹⁸¹.

But how is the family context related to the influence of the mass media in fear of crime? Initially, parents determine their children's information and entertainment through their supervision and their role as models of behavior. So, when children spend many hours watching programs with scenes of violence, either because their parents do not exercise the necessary control or because the parents themselves set the example, children are more exposed to fear of crime and insecurity. On the other hand, parents can enhance their children's critical thinking by monitoring them, contributing to the reduction of mass media's impact and thereby alleviating their children's fear of crime and insecurity.

4.5 Linking citizens' confidence in the criminal justice system and in particular in the police to crime insecurity and its interaction with the family context

Numerous studies have included citizens' attitudes toward the Criminal Justice System, and in particular the police in the factors of crime insecurity¹⁸². So, people who are most afraid of crime do not trust the police, while people who trust them feel less fear and insecurity¹⁸³. Relevant studies have revealed multiple predictors that lead to a lack of confidence, such as prior victimization¹⁸⁴, gender¹⁸⁵, type of the police and the city, and the social context¹⁸⁶.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that if children observe their parents adopting favorable or negative attitudes toward the police and the other

¹⁸⁰ Hirsch P. (1980), *ibid*, pp. 408 and 449-450.

¹⁸¹ Doob, A.N., & Macdonald, G.E. (1979), "Television viewing and fear of victimization: Is the relationship causal?", in *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, vol. 37, no. 2, pp.173-177.

¹⁸² Meško Gorazd, Fallshore Marte, Rep Mojca and Huisman Aletha (2007), "Police Efforts in the Reduction of fear of Crime in Local Communities – Big Expectations and Questionable Effects", in *Kriminologija Sociologija Mintis ir veiksmas*, vol. 2, no. 20, pp. 78-80, Skogan, W.G. (2009), *ibid*, pp. 301-318.

¹⁸³ Dowler K., *ibid*, pp. 117-118.

¹⁸⁴ Singer Alexa J., Chouhy Cecilia, Lehmann Peter S., Walzak Jessica N., Gertz Marc, and Biglin Sophia (2019), "Victimization, Fear of Crime, and Trust in Criminal Justice Institutions: A Cross-National Analysis", in *Crime & Delinquency*, vol. 65, no. 6, p. 826..

¹⁸⁵ Mattison, J., & Mirrlees- Black, C. (2000), *Attitudes to crime and criminal justice: Findings from the 1998 British Crime Survey*, London, HMSO, p. 8.

¹⁸⁶ Alda Erik, Bennett Richard R. and Morabito Melissa S. (2017), "Confidence in the police and the fear of crime in the developing world", in *Policing an International Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, vol. 40, no. 2, p. 368.

actors, then they are more likely to exhibit similar, positive or negative attitudes, imitating their parents. As a result, family, and in particular parents can intensify or alleviate their children's mistrust in the criminal justice system with negative or positive attitudes respectively, thereby contributing to the augmentation or mitigation of crime insecurity.

5. CONSEQUENCES OF FEAR OF CRIME AND OF CRIME INSECURITY

Fear of crime and subsequent insecurity have been the focus of scientific attention in recent decades, since the consequences that emanated at both individual and social level are very grave¹⁸⁷.

5.1 Individual level

At individual level, fear of crime and insecurity can cause numerous health problems, both physically¹⁸⁸, and psychologically¹⁸⁹. In addition, fear of crime also affects people's daily lives by actuating them to change their habits¹⁹⁰, adopting avoidant behaviors¹⁹¹ or protective measures¹⁹². The elderly, in particular, have been labeled as 'prisoners in their own homes', because it has been observed that they largely stay in their homes in order to feel secure¹⁹³. However, the same applies to all people who are self-limiting because of fear, since as Eduardo Galeano characteristically states that: «*In our modern cities - huge prisons where prisoners of fear are fortified - forts are called homes and armor suits. Situation of a siege*¹⁹⁴».

¹⁸⁷ Visser Mark, Scholte Marijn and Scheepers Peer (2013), "Fear of Crime and Feelings of Unsafety In European Countries: Macro and Micro Explanations in Cross-National Perspective", in *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 54, no. 2, p. 278.

¹⁸⁸ Warr (2000), "Fear of Crime in the United States: Avenues for Research and Policy", in *Criminal Justice*, vol. 4, pp. 453-454.

¹⁸⁹ Perkins, D.D., & Taylor, R.B. (1996), "Ecological assessments of community disorder: Their relationship to fear of crime and theoretical implications", in *American Journal of Community Psychology*, vol. 24, no. 1, p. 66.

¹⁹⁰ See Baker, M., Nienstedt, B. and others (1983), "The Impact of a Crime Wave: Perceptions, Fear, and Confidence in the Police", in *Law & Society Review*, vol. 17, no. 2, p. 320.

¹⁹¹ Garofalo (1981), *ibid*, p. 847.

¹⁹² Warr, M. (1985), "Fear of rape among urban women", in *Social Problems*, vol. 32, no. 3, p. 248.

¹⁹³ Hale, *ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁴ Galeano, E. (2005), "Demons with past and future" *Le Monde diplomatique*

5.2 Social level

The effects of fear of crime and insecurity are extended at social level as well¹⁹⁵. Changing people's daily lives because of fear involves prevalence of individualism and withdrawing from neighborhoods¹⁹⁶. In addition, there can be a displacement of criminality to socially and economically disadvantaged people who cannot take protective measures¹⁹⁷. All these processes gradually lead to demographic collapse which in turn results in an increase in crime¹⁹⁸. However, the most important consequence lies in contributing to punitive attitude that «*involves the infliction of pain, harm, and suffering on persons in a forced but impersonal manner, by specialized, often legally authorized, actors*¹⁹⁹». Punishment is linked in particular to the insecurity stemming from citizens' general concern about crime²⁰⁰. However, citizens' demand for more repression slows down the development of Criminal Policy²⁰¹, as it moves to the doctrine of "zero tolerance"²⁰².

EPILOGUE

At the end of this study, it can be concluded that the family context plays a crucial role in fear and insecurity of crime. Both structural and functional features of the family, as well as parental methods, sometimes contribute to the

– *Kyriakatiki Eleutherotypia*, 8st year, No 400, October 16, 2005, p. 42 (in Greek).

¹⁹⁵ Box Steven, Hale Chris and Andrews Glen (1988), "Explaining fear of crime", in *British Journal of Criminology*, vol. 28, p. 341.

¹⁹⁶ Hale, *ibid*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁷ Lea J. and Young J. (1984), *What is to be Done about Law and Order? – Crisis in the Eighties*, Harmondsworth, United Kingdom: Penguin, Sampson. R.J. and Wooldredge, J.D. (1986), "Evidence that high crime rates encourages migration away from central cities", in *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 70, no. 4, pp. 310-314.

¹⁹⁸ Skogan. W.G. (1986), "Fear of crime and neighborhood change", in *Communities and Crime* (A. Reiss and M. Tonry, eds.) University of Chicago Press; Chicago, p. 215.

¹⁹⁹ Matthews R. (2006), "punitiveness" E. McLaughlin and Muncie J. (eds), *The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*, 2nd ed., Sage publ., p. 327, in Zarafonitou, Ch. (2008), *Punitiveness, Contemporary trends, dimensions and criminological inquiry*. Athens: Nomiki Vivliothiki, (in Greek). p. 22.

²⁰⁰ Zarafonitou Christina (2008), *ibid*, pp. 100-103, Zarafonitou Ch. (2011), "Punitiveness, fear of crime and social views" in Kury, H., Shea, E. (eds) *Punitiveness – worldwide perspectives*, Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. Brockmeyer, 2011, pp. 277.

²⁰¹ Zarafonitou, Ch. (1996), "The city and the fear of Crime: Factual Empirical Approaches and Local Prevention Policies", in Kourakis N., Memory II, Daskalopoulou, Stamati, Baka, Volume III, Ant. Sakkoulas, p. 803, (in Greek).

²⁰² Zarafonitou Christina (2008), *ibid*, pp. 23-24.

augmentation and at times to the mitigation of crime insecurity. Thus, broken, dysfunctional and large families whose members are not linked by close and qualitative relationships, as well as close parental surveillance, influence the outbreak of fear and insecurity of crime. In contrast, “intact” families, as well as parental support on children’s autonomy, alleviate fear. In addition, family appears to interact with the other individual and environmental factors, varying the extent of their influence.

Furthermore, given the seriousness of the consequences of crime insecurity and fear, it is imperative that solutions be sought to address them. The most important way of reaction is to support the family context in every possible way and direction. Adopting Bowlby’s statement that «if society cares for its children it must take care of their parents²⁰³» we strongly support that the State should design and implement a social policy that is tailored to the needs of the family, strengthening it as an institution. So, it is crucial that parents are constantly supported in their difficult role *inter alia*, by being trained with etc. In an era when values and institutions are increasingly disrupted, we must realize promptly that the proper functioning of the family is the most effective response to all social problems, including the fear of crime and the consequent insecurity.

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²⁰³ Bowlby J., (1951), *ibid*, p. 84.

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PART B': THE CRIME OF TORTURE: SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

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ABSTRACT

Torture is an act of extreme violence, performed by one person in power to another, aiming at the infliction of pain, in order to elicit information and confessions, to intimidate, or to punish. Torturing is used in almost all known cultures and social organizations worldwide over the years. We will be considering torture as a state crime. In many respects, torture is considered as a crime of obedience. The methods and techniques used for torture are influenced by the distinct characteristics of the social and cultural framework within which those are used, displaying nevertheless, simultaneously an impressive similarity, even among cultures not related with each other. Over time and in distinct state organizations (authoritative vs. democratic states), the torturing techniques moved from the infliction of physical pain to psychological, or mental pain, that leaves no marks, aiming at more subtle human functions. There is no single, comprehensive theoretical foundation for the crime of torture, neither does exist a theory to explain the transformation of an individual into a torturer. The media tend to depict the crime of torture in a flattering way, allowing for misconceptions and misunderstandings concerning its characteristics and the consequences it causes to societies. The perpetrators of torture do not fall under a specific psychological profile, neither do they receive formal education. They become familiar with the science of pain and function under specific conditions. The crime of torture causes significant impairment to the torturer, the victim and the entire society, and thus, the visibility of cases of torture is important to motivate further scientific research and social reaction.

Key words: Torture, culture of torture, social impact of torture, the torturer's profile

I. INTRODUCTION – THE CRIME OF TORTURE

Torture is a paradoxical behavior, that people use, either in their private relationships, or as a form of official state reaction. The term “torture” is erroneously used in everyday language to describe distressful situations, without always making clear, whether it only concerns an unpleasant action, or a torturous one (Rejali, 2009).

Over time, torture has been used by, rational people, who though, held the belief that using this method would help to maintain the civilization, at least the way they knew it (Conroy, 2000: 27). Going back to history to examine the presence of torture within the human civilization, we ascertain that it is an especially popular technique for achieving different goals, mainly: elicit information, punish, enforce change of beliefs, intimidate the society (Conroy).

Here, torture is examined as a state crime, and with respect to its social and cultural dimensions. We are going to examine several methods of torture the degree to which the use of this technique is exclusively prominent in authoritarian state formulations, or it also extends in democracies too, and to determine the form it takes in each state structure. We will also study the social and cultural dimensions of the phenomenon and the impact torture has on societies. We are not going to discuss the official legal response to this crime.

Research data suggest that torture is used by official state institutions as a means to elicit information, to interrogate, to attain confession of crimes, true or false (O’Mara, 2015: 6). The prevailing perception about torture is differentiated, depending on time, social and cultural context within which it takes place.

The crime of torture consists a universal reality, since it is present in all known cultures, all political and state structure and all societies historically (Austin, 2016; Austin, 2017). What changes each time, is the type of torture used, and the justification behind the choice of this action. It could be presumed that torture is extensively used as an effective method, but this is not true (Anderson & Nussbaum, 2018: 231).

1. Definition and Practical Difficulties

The concept of torture, a lot more, the determination of an act as torture is extremely difficult to be defined. In order to perceive the concept of torture, one should focus on the systematic infliction of physical torment on detainees by state agents for purposes of confession, revelation of information or intimidation, or, alternatively on the activity of non-state servants under specific circumstances (Rejali, 2009: 35).

The greater difficulty in defining the concept of torture consists mainly on the way tortures are committed. Besides the infliction of physical pain, which is a rather safe way of distinguishing actions as torturous or not, it is not always

easy to classify methods and techniques of psychological violence under the definition of torture (Conroy, 2000: 37).

The General Assembly of the United Nations, in the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment ("Torture Convention"), adopted in 1975 the extended definition, suggesting that torture is *"every act by which sever pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions"*. The parameter of "discrimination of any kind" was introduced in the updated version of the definition, in 1984, as one of the motives to torture, while this extended version of the definition also includes the practices of state agents in closed institutions, such as military camps and prisons, against detainees, even in cities and villages, with intense policing that do not does have significant differences from life in prison (Patel, 2018: 63).

Bybee and Yoo, legal advisers in the government of George W. Bush, in the US, after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York, suggested that "torture is not the simple infliction of pain; the suffering experienced by the tortured victim should be equal to the suffering that would result from physical injury, severe enough, to possibly lead to death, organ failure, permanent damage, or loss of a significant physical functioning. In the case of mental suffering, the pain should occur due to any of the actions ordered and cause a long-term mental damage" (Jefreys, 2009: 30-31; Yoo & Bybee, 2005: 183).

Many scholars maintain that the definitions used from time to time are quite restrictive, since all of them cover in large only the cases of "intense" pain, claiming that the approach to tortures is entirely wrong. Marcy Strauss (2003) claims that if abusive conditions, such as the overpopulation of cells, are considered as tortures, part of the repulsive effect of the term might be lost.

It becomes, thus difficult to identify as tortures, actions that aim to exert psychological pressure, the so called "clean" or "stealth" tortures according to Rejali. He is the one, though, to claim that clean tortures target the body, as do the physical tortures, too (Rejali, 2009: 4).

2. Tortures as a Crime of Obedience

Many researchers consider torture as a crime of obedience. Kelman and Hamilton (1989: 46) have defined as crime of obedience “an action that is performed in response to the authorities’ orders, although considered illegal or immoral by society” and are prohibited by international conventions and declarations.

A common crime becomes crime of obedience, when the offenders commit it with enthusiasm and innovation, correctly holding the belief that their action is approved, anticipated, tolerated and justified by the authorities. This is in reality confirmed by the policies applied, which reflect their superiors’ desires (Kelman 2005). The fact that the torturer does not necessarily take direct, specific orders by a superior, but the order is deduced within the entire hierarchical structure, that expresses its tolerance through the policies it applies, allows the establishment of a context, in which the middle-class officers translate general instructions into specific acts of torture.

3. Torture over Time and across Cultures

Tortures are a universal practice of the mankind, not always perceived as criminal action, had though, powerful cultural and social dimensions (Ryley Scott, 1959: 36). In Greece, ample evidence about the use of torture, show that even the classical Athenian democracy, had legalized torture, when applied exclusively on slaves (Gagarin, 1996), considering their testimonies valid and reliable only if obtained after torture. Respectively, in Rome, torture was allowed to be implemented originally only on slaves, and on free citizens only for offenses of treason. Since the fourth century, free citizens, could also be tortured with crucifixion, amputation, or delivery as prey to wild animals in the arenas, etc. (Conroy, 2000: 27-28).

Christianity could have had a catalytic effect in the use of torture, since the Christian Church was initially opposed to these techniques; however, since the 13th century, by mouth of Pope Innocent III, it was declared that heretics deserved to be tortured and the authorities should apply such techniques (Conroy, 2000: 28).

During the Medieval and Renaissance, torture was used equally as an interrogation means and as a punishment tool, especially given that incarceration was not part of the criminal punishment toolkit, but only some kind of detention until the actual, physical punishment would be imposed (Conroy, 2000: 30). Physical punishment was particularly famous in Europe during this period of time. The penalty was escalating depending on the severity of the crime committed (Langbein, 2006).

Since the second half of the 18th century, Europe started to broaden its legal system, by developing less physical and more alternative punishments, without though, eliminating torture: imprisonment in appalling conditions, workhouses, exiles in distant lands, working in galleys, were offered as alternatives to capital punishment after torture (Conroy, 2000: 30).

The 18th and 19th centuries are marked by significant changes in criminal punishment in general and the use of torture in particular. In his emblematic book "Discipline and Punish" (1995:7), Michel Foucault pinpoints a new theory about law and crime, a new political or moral justification of punishment. Within this framework, he also includes the abolition of torture from the sphere of public entertainment, that was accompanied by the corresponding transformation of almost all penal codes and criminal justice institutions. The physical body was not anymore, the main target of the criminal justice intervention, and this change removed a significant part of the theatrical nature of punishments, up to this point. After this change, the punishment ended up, according to Foucault (8-11), to be the most covert part of the criminal procedure, going from the realm of everyday perception to that of abstract consciousness. Meanwhile, the punishment seems to derive its effectiveness from the inevitable of its enforcement, rather than its visible intensity. The physical body was no longer a component of the criminal justice system and thus, the infliction of unbearable pain was replaced by restriction and suspension of rights.

As we approach more modern times, we would expect the total abolishment of these types of treatment, given the advancement of technology, that could possibly offer information to the state authorities, without the mediation of torturous practices on detainees. Reality disproves this expectation, with tortures still be included in the long list of the methods used, by military forces during wartime, and by national and local police authorities during peacetime. Despite the continuous, gradual democratization of most of the countries worldwide, the 20th century, did not finally distinguish itself, by eliminating tortures. On the contrary, it sadly demonstrates incidents, such as the massacre of Armenians, the Holocaust, the Gulags, and all the suffering these brought to humanity (Cesereanu, 2006).

4. The Universality of Torture: Authoritarian and Democratic States

The use of torture, as a state policy is considered a given, universal and diachronic fact, assuming some differences in the methods used, according to the needs, desires and manipulations pursued in every context (Vreeland, 2008). The universality of tortures can easily be detected on the basis of evidence,

provided in the relevant tables with codified cases, perpetrators, motives and legal reactions, as well as inabilities in treating such cases, issued by Amnesty International (Ill-Treatment & Torture Data Collection Project Dataset). At least according to 2005 data, the use of torture, irrespectively to any other state feature, concerns almost all modern countries (Nolack, 2014).

Rejali (2009: 2) claims that dictatorships, in general, are not interested in the impact caused by obvious violence. On the contrary, not only did they permit the marks of violence to be visible, but they showed them off, especially on dissidents, as a way to intimidate and display power. Democracies, on the other hand, due to the fear of citizens' monitoring and reaction to state violence, seem to develop more covert methods. For democracies, it is important not to diffuse the sense that the state exercises violence.

The differences in the use of torture between democratic and authoritarian states are structural and refer principally to the ways tortures arise, are legalized or permitted over time, whereas the similarities, mostly concern the justification for the use of torture, as formulated by the states' leaderships. The frequency of torturing is not included among the similarities, since the democratic states show a remarkable oscillation in the use of this technique, in contrast to authoritarian states, that very often use torture as a part of their everyday policies repertoire (Austin, 2016).

According to Rejali (2009: 4), the techniques used by democratic states, meaning clean tortures, are not purely psychological methods, but rather physical; they only differ in the avoidance of causing visible traumas. Respectively, the methods that do not target directly the body, but aim the mind, such as deprivation of perceptual stimuli or sleep, or sweatboxes, or exposure to intense noises, have in parallel, a significant physical dimension.

The universality of torture also becomes evident should one examine the kinds of techniques applied. We can observe that similar techniques are used around the world. Of course, they might be displayed in specific patterns, more favorable in some areas in relation to others, they remain nevertheless, impressively similar among them, irrespectively of conditions, culture, or any other particular characteristic. The same techniques in many cases are referred to with different names (Sironi & Branche, 2002).

The fact that the methods of torture used around the world do not vary significantly, irrespectively of culture or state structure, is a fact rather surprising, since the use of common practices within different contexts, can be attributed neither to an orderly and systematic training of torturers, nor to the commitment to any specific dogma, or the compliance to specific orders, without any doubt that the latter condition might be true (McCoy, 2012; Williams, 2013; Blakeley & Raphael, 2017).

5. Theoretical Hypotheses about Tortures

The crime of torture is not supported by any thorough theoretical documentation, that could lead to safe assumptions about the methods, the ways of use or the causes of torture. One of the most well-organized attempts comes from Rejali (2006), in the form of theoretical hypotheses. Those hypotheses, mainly attempt to explain the use of clean and visible tortures by authoritarian and democratic states and not to document the crime of torture per se as a widely used states' practice for treating detainees, that goes beyond legitimacy and the protection of public interest, that is as a state crime.

The regime type hypothesis. According to this hypothesis, democratic states, due to the freedom of the press, monitoring for the violation of human rights, and public accountability, adopt methods of clean torture. However, the use of clean torture by authoritarian states as well, renders this hypothesis rather insufficient, since it cannot provide a safe interpretation for this choice, neither can it explain the use of traditional techniques by democratic states during war conflicts (Rejali, 2009: 9-10).

The universal monitoring hypothesis. This hypothesis suggests that techniques that leave no visible marks are more likely to be used in democratic contexts, for reasons of public monitoring by national and international institutions, in order for the state to avoid the outcry and conviction for brutal treatment that surmounts the barriers of legality and safeguarding of human rights. It is important to remember that the concept of human rights is of great significance in democracies (Rejali, 2009: 262).

The universal distributor hypothesis. This is an alternative hermeneutical hypothesis, suggested by Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman. They maintained that a technique of torture is not selected based on the international monitoring and the protection of human rights, but rather, in accordance to the desires of a global elite as a façade of legality for their actions. This is certainly a targeted and restrictive hypothesis, that focuses exclusively on one group and does not take into consideration any other parameter.

The craft apprenticeship hypothesis. In this hypothesis it is stressed that the selection of a torture method is not dependent on official training, but on trial and error and the imitation among torturers. The selection of any method is considered opportunistic: the torturers adopt techniques well-known from other fields of activity (e.g., use of animal marking apparatuses), or techniques they are informed of from rumors (Rejali, 2009: 263). This hypothesis is considered highly persuasive.

The scientific hypothesis does not look particularly attractive, since, in reality, the methods of torture are not based on advanced technological means, mainly for fear of detection (Rejali, 263). Other attempts, such as the *tradition hypothesis*, do not explain why some traditional methods of torture are

abandoned and others are still in use (Rejali: 264), or *the ideology hypothesis*, which, also cannot explain the heterogeneity of methods used by states with similar ideologies, while the opposite would be anticipated.

6. From Body to Soul: Classical and Modern Tortures

The physical punishment for offenders and suspects for criminal actions was for several centuries the only option for penal reaction. In classical torturing, the victim's body was marked with visible scars, to bear witness of the state power and discourage similar behaviors (Rejali, 2009: 35). The methods used within this context, constitute the blatant proof of the brutality with which the criminal procedures were addressed, during the period of classical torturing (Anonymous, 1701, as referred to in Foucault, 1995: 12).

In clean tortures, it seems that pressure and humiliation play an important role (Rejali, 2009). The detainees were forced to eat liquids from the interrogator's nose in the interrogation rooms of North Ireland, or their own feces in the concentration camps, (Conroy, 2000: 35), to undergo mock executions in war zones and the Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib prisons (Rejali). In Uruguay, the interrogators were playing with the detainee's mind (Weschler, 1998), changing constantly the prison's rules, making prisoners bathe without water, leaving them for entire days in absolute silence or intense noise, or charging them with exorbitant amounts of money for the "hospitality" provided to them (Conroy, 2000: 37).

Both physical and clean tortures have similarities when used in states with different cultures. For instance, the use of water and electricity, beating, exhaustion and stress exercises, sleep and food deprivation, are kinds of torture that we can find in almost all cultures. The differentiation lies in the way those techniques have been applied, the tools used (e.g., magnetos in Latin America, Turkey, India, Israel, telecommunication apparatuses in the Vietnam war, cables in Europe and the USA, etc.). The device selection was made based on availability or the tradition of the region (Rejali, 2009: 179).

Respectively, tortures with the use of water are deeply rooted in time, in almost all cultures. Indicatively, the water was used in some cultures to create conditions of drowning, or for the extreme change of temperature. The two most popular ways of torture with water, though, are waterboarding and pumping. In waterboarding, the victim is either submerged in a great amount of water forced into their nostrils and mouth, until breathing becomes impossible. In pumping, a hose is forced into the victim's mouth or anus, for the direct flow of water inside the internal organs, that will shortly be full, dilate and cause such a sharp pain (Peters, 1996: 167), that can lead the victim to shock (Duncan, 1964: 51). The torturers' intention is to keep the victim alive, experiencing extreme feelings of drowning or pain and agony (Crewdson, 2005).

II. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DIMENSIONS

7. Torture in Different Cultures

Every culture adjusts usual methods and techniques of torture in its own reality. For instance, North Ireland used common clean torture methods, and integrated them within the framework of “five techniques”, applying them simultaneously: perception, food and sleep deprivation, exposure to constant, intense noise and stress positions (Conroy, 2000: 6). This combination can cause temporary psychotic episodes, insanity and significant long-term consequences.

Respectively, in communist countries, such as the Soviet Russia, China, North Korea, common techniques flourish, similar to those used by police forces in Europe and the USA. Reports, such as the one by Hinkle and Wolff, describe the methods of the alternation of interrogators in one interrogation that lasts for hours, even for days, power lights in the eyes of the detainee, sleep deprivation, fluctuation of the temperature to create an intensely dysphoric atmosphere, until the detainee’s “breaking” (Wickersham Commission, 1931).

8. The Culture of Europe: Medieval, Inquisition, 20th century

Europe has been diachronically, the arena for several political and social reclassifications and action for a multitude of peoples. Each one of them carried their own attitudes towards the penal treatment of offenders, their own law codes and the concomitant punishments. The transition to more civilized conditions and the change of religious beliefs, did not contribute to the elimination of torture, but rather to a different use of them (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011:45).

Religion significantly affected the criminal justice system, the list of punishable acts and the appropriate punishments for those acts (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 48). The foundation of the Inquisition lies within the context of the involvement of religion to justice and has been emblematic in treating people in torturous ways. It constituted the Roman Catholic Church’s court for the repression and elimination of heresies.

The suspects for heresy were tortured even since their imprisonment, in dark, dump, with stuffy smells cells (Ryley Scott, 1959: 65). The inquisitor judges converted torture into an art, managing to break even the tougher and most determined defendants, progressively increasing the pressure: they started with a deliberately diabolical appearance and continued with threats, procession of the victim around the torture chambers and demonstration of the tools that were about to use on them, ending up to stripping, binding and finally, torture (Ryley Scott, 66-67).

One of the most typical Inquisition's methods of torture was the "pulley": the victim was customarily naked, with shackled ankles and arms behind their back. A rope lifted the victim's body towards the ceiling, while having weights adjusted to their legs. For as long as the victim would not confess, the executor would hoist high and suddenly drop the body, until the victim suffered a shock due to the abrupt movement under the pressure of the weights to their limbs. The result was usually dislocations, fractures and unbearable pain in the bones and the nerves in the extremities (Ryley Scott, 1959: 169).

The "Spanish Horse", flagrant during that period, was a horizontal wooden basis, at some distance from the ground, with spikes on its surface. The victim was placed on this basis, with arms and legs tied on pulleys that were moving towards opposite directions. In some cases, the use of water was combined, to cause a sense of drowning (Ryley Scott, 1959: 64-85).

The "wheel" was one of the most notorious tortures of the Middle Years. The victim's body was torn apart, tied on the external surface of a wooden wheel, that was rolling down a hill, or on iron nails planted in the ground. Sometimes, the nails were adjusted on the wheel surface and the victim's body was directly lying on them (Ryley Scott, 1959: 180).

Other, typical methods of that time included: "the scavenger's daughter", a metal device in the shape of A, with hinges for the neck, the arms and the legs, that made the victim crouch their body in a position of extreme stress. The damage provoked could reach the dislocation within minutes, due to the unnatural posture of the spine (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 138).

The "Iron Maiden", a German invention, resembled an Egyptian mummy case. In the outside it looked like a woman figure and in the inside, it had spikes both in the surface of the door and of the case. The spikes pierced the victim's body, in specific spots, but not in the heart, in order to avoid immediate death (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 149).

In the not-exhaustive list of torture methods and tools of the Medieval, we also see: marking with hot iron, burning, crushing of the head and limbs, amputations, stoning, that is still applied until today (e.g., in the Sharia law), waterboarding, boiling, and sinking in the sea. The Vikings used the technique of "Blood Eagle": The back of the victim was hacked open from the spine and the lungs were carefully removed from the inside of the body, so as not to cause immediate death, giving for a few hours the impression of a pair of bloody wings, hanging outside the body; the "Heretics' Fork", with the one end of a metal rod, in the shape of a fork, entering the body beneath the chin and the other in the hollow at the bottom of the throat; "sawing" was the method of cutting the body in the half with a saw, while the victim was hanging upside down from a wooden surface, with legs wide open. Bridles, metal face masks, hanging inside cages for purposes of humiliation and pillory (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 127-179).

Torturing is a tradition that accompanied the European history till today, introducing in parallel new means of torture, such as electricity. France, for instance, during the war in Algeria, used techniques, such as electric beds, the so called *gegene*, the implementation of electric charge on the body, mainly the genitalia, amputations and brainwashing (Fanon, 1968: 287-288). Spain, respectively, during the war against the Basques, used the torture of the “bag”, with the victim’s head covered with a bag until their suffocation, and the “submarine”, that is the submersion of the victim’s head in filthy water, urine or saliva, hanging and dragging on grave, etc. (Cesereanu, 2006).

In Greece, during the seven-year Junta, some of the infamous techniques were the “falaka” (blows on the feet), punching, electric shock, choking with inserting in the detainee’s throat, clothes dipped in feces, pumping, use of washing or acid powder or hallucinogens, that could lead the victim to insanity (Amnesty International, 1977). In Turkey, falaka was also used, and further genitalia amputations, cigarette burns, inserting of objects with or without electricity in the anus and the vagina of the victim, mainly in the treatment of the Kurds by the Turkish authorities (Cesereanu, 2006).

Finally, during the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Chechenia there was an extensive use of methods, such as cigarette burning, rapes, dogs, specially trained to cause injuries, emasculations, beating to amputation in “death camps”, starvation and dehydration, coercion to eating feces and sand, sodomy or coercion to sodomy among detainees (Gutman, 1993).

9. East and South Asia Culture: China, North Korea, Japan, India

Eastern countries are considered as pioneers in the use of tortures. China, for instance, is considered to be rife with exotic methods of torture. The truth is that China does not exhibit greater brutality in comparison to European countries. Its attitude toward torture though, remained unchanged for a long period of time, with its criminal system being grounded on the Tang Code from 200 BC until the 20th century, allowing the use of tortures. (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 108).

One of the most imaginative ways of torturing, implemented in China, wanted the detainee “kneeling on chains”, hanging from their fingers, with arm behind their back, with all their body weight falling on their knees and toes, while leaning on sharp chains. The injuries were usually that deep, that would sever the tendons, causing permanent damages (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 109).

In Chinese jails, position tortures were used during the night sleep, coercing detainees to sleep shackled in one position. Torture was calibrated according to the crime committed and could range from ears twist and skin disruption, to whipping, pressing the body on bamboo reeds, until reaching a level of exhaustive pain, but not permanent damage (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 110).

Other techniques, popular in Chinese culture, are blinding with a cloth dipped in lime, blowing till death, decapitation or strangulation (Hinkle & Wolff, 1956: 155), running from one interrogator to the other with shackled legs (Lifton, 1961: 23), the torture of drop, that could lead to insanity and did not expand in other cultures (Innes, 1998: 63) and the method of “death through partition”, or “death by a thousand cuts” (Ling Che), in which, the victim was literally, ritualistically cut in slices, while the torturer could decide the length of the time till the final target, death (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 113). Chinese authorities also involved the cellmates in the torture, connecting each one’s behavior with the others’ fate (Lifton, 1961: 22-50), on the basis of the group culture, popular in China (Rickett, 1971) and brainwashing (Hsiao-tsu). Even though this method was rather painless, it could degrade one’s way of thinking. It was conducted by older, “trained” detainees (Cesereanu, 2006).

North Korea practiced methods of long-lasting standing position (that could last up to 30 hours) with the detainee standing inside puddles with freezing water (Carlson, 2002: 135), or walking, while the guards would throw cold water on their feet. In many cases, all of the above were performed, with the detainee holding a big rock on their hands. Hanging was also a popular method and left many detainees disabled for life, or led them to a slow, torturous choking, since the guards would place the victims’ heads inside the ropes from which they were hanging (Farrar-Hockley, 1995: 278).

Although hara-kiri was the punishment of choice in Japan for reasons of honor, tortures were also used. For example, “death by 21 cuttings”, similar to the Chinese Ling Che practice, burning the detainee, whipping with sharp edges, “hugging the stone”, with the detainee forced to kneel on knife-sharp flint stones, while more stones were piled in their lap. In their modern form, the Japanese tortures are similar to those practiced in Europe, customized to the particular characteristics of the country (e.g., Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 114).

In countries with strict social segregation and strong religiousness, such as India, the use of torture was widespread, targeted and brutal. According to the Manu Law, intense pain would increase the likelihood of purification for the “unclean” victim (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 116). Frequently, members of the victim’s family were threatened with torture, so as the accused would be convinced to indulge to the authorities. The heavy climate of the region, has also been used for purposes of torturing: tying the victim on trees, covered with honey to attract insects, that would penetrate their skin, or lying while elephants walking on them (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 116-117).

10. The Culture of Africa

The African continent is in a similar condition of arbitrary enforcement of torture, under religious, cultural and social circumstances, as the Indian subcontinent. The African tribes suffered different types of tortures, imposed mainly by European conquerors and other torture types by the indigenous. The conquerors applied methods, similar to those used in Europe, adapted to the means available in each region (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 118). The indigenous were torturing for social and cultural reasons, with purely local criteria. For instance, the exceptionally severe crime of adultery, was punished with death by stoning, or with coercion to public intercourse, that climaxed with drilling the lovers' bodies with a stake. Alternatively, the adulterers were tied on trees, deprived of food and water; when reaching the limits of starvation, they were fed with the flesh of their lover (Ibo tribe) (Donnelly & Diehl: 117).

During the 20th century, a period of upheaval for Africa, in some countries, such as South Africa, former Rhodesia (now called Zimbabwe) and Namibia, torturing became an official state practice. On the effect of the Arab barbarism in this region, tortures became sexual in nature, with burning or binding of the genitals, castrations, sodomy, urination on the victim's face, rape by specially trained dogs, etc. (Comite Algerie, 1994). In Rwanda, during the ethnic cleansings between Tutsi and Hutu, torturing sky-rocketed, with the Hutus engaging in acts that targeted the national characteristics of the Tutsis: amputation of the women's breasts, piercing their uteruses with arrows and spears, cutting of fingers, toes and the nose, which are racial traits (Des Forges, 1999; Cesereanu, 2006).

11. The Culture of the NAZIS

Nazi atrocity remains in the human conscience interwoven with the inhuman treatment, not only against specific groups, that were anyway the main target of the Nazi politics, but against all humans. The Nazi occupation forces undoubtedly proceeded to savagery. However, the torture practices they applied did not become more unified. On the contrary, these techniques were developed on the basis of precedent and local traditions of torturing (Rejali, 2009: 91).

In France, for instance, as became evident by the archives of the Nuremberg Trial, the German conquerors used the whip or lash, the bath (sinking the victim in frozen water, until drowning and staying in a freezing cell wearing wet clothes), electricity for the arms, legs, ears, anus or penis, pressure and twist of the testicles (IMT, 1949:173); alternatively, breaking the fingers with the use of special crimping tools (IMT: 6:173, 37:293), hanging with the arms behind the back and abruptly lift and drop, resulting in dislocation or loss of

functioning and burning with lamps, matches, torches, red-hot iron, electric bench, i.e., practices that were popular in the country before the war (IMT: 173; d'Orcival, 1971: 163).

Although there are records by French detainees for attacks by dogs, piercings and burnings of the eyes, removal of teeth and nails, use of salt in the wounds, injuries with razors, etc. (Delarue, 1964), there isn't enough evidence available, especially for the German military personnel: the Nazi soldiers, officers and politicians, destroyed the relevant archives, significantly limiting our perception for what happened during that period (Rejali, 2009: 94). The information we have, originates in large, from the testimonies of torture victims, that agree with the belief that torture was neither organized, nor unified, but every torturer used unscrupulously any means available to achieve their goal, without following official commands (Crankshaw, 1994: 130; Johnson, 1999: 286). It is though, well-known that ever since the beginning of the German sovereignty, guidance was provided with respect to the proper conduct of interrogation, permitting only blows on specific parts of the body, and under supervision (Muller, 1991: 178-179). From 1942 onwards, at the behest of Heinrich Muller, Gestapo Chief, the approved torture methods were expanded with the use of clean tortures, such as sleep and food deprivation, exhaustion exercises and isolation (Rejali: 77).

The techniques used by Gestapo in Germany, show greater imagination: whips dipped in oil or water so as to cut deeper, screws in the fingers, vices on the body, standing positions with the toes and the nose touching the wall and the arms tied behind the back, sudden blows on the body or insertion of sharp objects in the shoes. Especially in Germany, it was very popular to coerce the victim to kneel for long hours on nails or gravel (Valtin, 1941: 514). Also popular were the "Bear Dance", that wanted the detainee running while carrying with shackled arms a bucket with water and getting beaten whenever water dripped out of the bucket (Valtin: 573).

Infamous during that period were the experiments that took place in the concentration camps, with the prisoners confined in decompression chambers, till their painful death. The target was to investigate the reactions of the human body under extreme pressure, so as to improve the conditions for German pilots. The coagulation in the body and the reaction to extreme temperatures were examined, with the victims reaching near death. Other prisoners would be infected with deadly viruses, so as the relative vaccines would be developed, or suffered radiations, anatomical interventions while still alive, ending up to death or disability (Cesereanu, 2006).

12. Authoritarian Communist Regimes: the Paradigm of Russia

In brutal regimes, such as the Stalinist Russia, the methods of choice were those that led to marks, incurable damage or death. Russia pioneered in the combination of physical and psychological methods (Rejali: 2009, 70). Testimonies about the methods used by Cheka (the soviet secret police) during the 1920s, refer to interrogation procedures that consisted inhumane treatment: the detainee would stand barefoot on red-hot metal surfaces, while flogged with whips with metal ends, until the flesh of their back would be torn apart (Gerson, 1976: 143-44); the torturers inserted needles under the finger nails, lighted candles in the genital area, gave enema with shattered glass, "marked" the body with red-hot iron, or hit victims in the face with an iron glove, covered with metal spikes (Melgounov, 1926: 163-165; Hingley, 1971: 128; Leggett, 1981: 198). Further original torture methods, in which the Russian police officers seemed to have some expertise (Melgounov, 1926: 128), included the insertion of detainees in the oven, the scalp removal, the removal of the arms skin and its transformation to glove, the transformation of the detainee to a living statue (running in arctic freezing temperatures while soaked into water) and many other (Leggett, 1981: 197-198).

During mass cleanings, very frequent in soviet Russia, besides the clean and visible tortures (Conquest, 1990: 121-123), the stay in brutal labor camps, till starve and cold to death, was also very common (Lipper, 1951: 162-191; Meier, 2003: 159-308). Respectively, during mock trials, very common in soviet Russia, for purposes of publicity (Rejali, 2009: 78), the interrogators needed to find techniques that left no obvious physical marks. For these purposes, the methods of choice covered almost the entire spectrum of clean tortures (Leites & Bernaut, 1954: 22). Techniques such as sexual amputation, removal of skin and eyes, burning with fire or acid, tickling, and also the absolute humiliation of the detainee, with the guards urinating on their bodies or mouths, and psychological pressure with mock recordings of family members' screams, were part of the repertoire in the Goulak Archipelago and elsewhere (Cesereanu, 2006).

The most effective way of manipulation for purposes of maintaining the confessions in Russia is "Yezhov". In this method, the torturer evaluated the detainee's personality, pretended to be a friend, even crying with them during the confession, and then used the evidence collected against the detainee (Conquest, 1990: 278; Schapiro, 1971: 431). The "prisoner's dilemma" was also frequently played, using the confessions of less important detainees, to force the most important ones to confess and used the latter as a means of pressure for the toughest and most unruly ones (Kitchin, 1970: 16-17).

One method that we only see in Russia, mainly when treating Jew prisoners, is “the Conveyor”: the detainees were transferred from the cells to rooms where employees of the regime were sitting. They were obliged to go from one employee to another, being insulted and threatened in order to hand in their valuables. They had to run among the employees and rooms until the delivery of their money and gold, should they have any, or until the loss of their conscience. Once regaining their strength, they returned in the interrogation process, that could last for several hours (Tchernavin, 2010: 102-104).

13. The Culture of the American Continent

The American continent has over time shown a great eagerness in using torture, from the racist action of Ku Klux Klan, to the Latin dictatorships and the police activity. The Latin American countries, in particular, generally authoritarian, frequently supported by the US, applied tortures as a means of imposing national security. They set up squads that kidnapped, tortured and executed citizens. Countries such as Brazil, performed tortures, psychological, physical and sexual in front of the victim’s family members. They also used a method, typical for this country, the “parrot’s perch”; the victim was hanging and twisting around a perch, with arms and ankles tied together, incurring blows and electric shock on different parts of the body (Cesereanu, 2006).

Pinochet in Chile equipped the military centers around the country with tools for torture, transforming the sports stadiums into concentration camps, applying: burning with cigarettes and acid, mock executions, massive rapes, amputations, dipping detainees in water or oil, the “parilla”, a device where the victim was tied with metal electrified cables, “picana” (an electrified tool used in livestock farming), and coercive violent acts from one member of the family to another (Garcia Villegas, 1990).

Most Latin American countries developed similar techniques, since they share common cultures. In parallel, the northern part of the continent is also of extreme interest, with the USA performing tortures within its borders and abroad, using traditional and innovative techniques. In fact, the rationale of ill-treatment, mainly during police interrogation procedures, was and remains highly prevalent in the American culture (Wickersham Report, 1931).

The American police stations around the country, especially during the first half of the 20th century, were infamous for the combination of torture techniques, known as “third degree”. The term was introduced in 1910 by Richard Sylvester, the president of the International Association of Police Chiefs, who described the functions of the police forces in three degrees: arrest in the

first degree, transportation to the police station in the second and interrogation in the third degree (Larson, 1925: 221-225). According to the Wickersham Commission report (1931), this procedure included: a long interrogation with a constant alternation of interrogators, in parallel, imposition of sleep deprivation to the detainee, until a true or false confession was obtained. The use of clean beating, i.e., blows with heavy objects with no sharp edges, with rubbers, silk sacks full of various material, boxing gloves, etc., so as not to leave marks, were also popular interrogation methods.

Electricity was also used extensively by the American authorities: lights in the detainee's face (O'Sullivan, 1928; Larson, 1932), electric shocks, detainment in cells with electrified walls (Villard, 1927: 611-612). The position tortures are equally popular in the USA, with the detainee's body staying in a natural position, for an exhaustive period of time though (Rothman, 2002: 153) and exhaustion exercises, that demanded the repetition of simple body movements, before or during the interrogation (Larson, 1925). Air deprivation (e.g., tightening of the tie) and the use of water in ice-cold bathing, pumping or waterboarding, were also frequently applied and are still used (Wickersham Commission, 1931).

Techniques, such as sweatboxes, i.e., detention in places with excessive heat, cold, humidity, repulsive odors, were widely used during the American Civil War (Larson, 1925: 222). Over time, these places were transformed into dark isolation cells, with prevalent the "Denver black hole" (Mannix, 1964; Sears, 1948). Equally, the use of substances, such as scopolamine and amobarbital (barbiturate drugs), as known as "truth serum", and the use of alcohol constituted methods of coercion to confession (Deeley, 1971; McDonald, 1986). In any case, in the beginning of the 20th century, the infliction of physical and psychic pain on detainees by police officers, was a systematic and generally acceptable method (Leo, 2004).

The American secret services and more particularly the CIA, not only applied methods of torture, but, according to relevant reports, sponsored research programs for the development of coercive confession methods on detainees. CIA even released KUBARK, a manual, that describes the methods that could be used. While the manual was promoted as a guide to effective interrogation, in reality, thoroughly analyzed the coercive practices of limitation, arrest, detention, deprivation of sensory stimuli, threats, infliction of fear and pain, deterioration, hypnosis, sedation and detection of lies (KUBARK, 1963: 82-104).

Practices, such as those presented by Naomi Klein, in her book *The Shock Doctrine* (2010: 43-73) about CIA's financing torturing programs for universities and professors, display terrifying consequences for the victims. For instance, the sensory stimuli deprivation causes extreme confusion, hallucinations and

decrease, even temporary, of the mental ability. These consequences make the victims highly suggestible to all kinds of messages. The perceptive deprivation can be achieved with the confinement in white cells, meaning in places absolutely isolated and soundproofed, or with only white noises and exclusion of any other stimulus with the use of earplugs and paperboard rolls applied in the arms, that restrict the perception of the self-image.

14. The American Army Culture – The Ticking Time-Bomb Scenario

As it becomes obvious, the use of torture continues and is acceptable over time in the American culture, since slavery times until today. The nodal point, though, that reinforced in a decisive way, these methods of eliciting information, intimidation or, at least, showing off of power, was the terrorist attack in New York and Washington DC, the September 11th, 2001.

The American government, under the presidency of George W. Bush (2001-2009), after September 11, developed the theoretical hypothesis of ticking time-bomb scenario. This scenario, in practice questioned the need for total ban of torture. The assumption claims that if a potential offender of a terrorist attack, which could cause the death of civilians, is in the hands of authorities, and could likely reveal information that could prevent the attack, only if tortured, then the torture should be allowed (Association for the Prevention of Torture, 2007). This point of view acts in a manipulative, dilemmatic way, gives a dramatic tone in this situation, develops the admiration and sympathy towards the torturer, creates strong images and subjects the need for at least some exceptions in banning tortures. The most powerful argument against this scenario, meaning the proven ineffectiveness of this method, seems to be overlooked, since the American government officially, and other governments unofficially, keep using torture as if it was effective, despite the contrary evidence (Stout, 2011).

A great number of torture occurrences from several places around the globe, where the USA conducts military operations, have been publicly available for the last years. Those practices typically occur outside the US territory, in places known as “black sites”. According to Amnesty International (2019), when we talk about black sites, we refer to certain points in countries, that have not signed or ratified the international conventions against tortures and inhuman treatment of detainees. People considered by the US as suspects for terrorist attacks are transferred there and incur abusive treatment, without necessarily the relevant evidence to support this accusation.

This is an American tactic of restricting human rights, in the context of the War against Terror. Within this framework, the American services use practices

of torture on detainees considered of great importance, with no scrutiny, in about 20 such places around the world, in Thailand, Poland, Russia, Lithuania, Syria, Egypt, Afghanistan, Jordan, Morocco, Kosovo, among others (Amnesty International, 2019). The human rights support organization, “*Reprieve*” (2019), depicts the authorities activity in these places: the American secret services detain people they call “enemy combatants”. According to the legal definition, this is a temporary status of an accused, during which they are detained without charges, judicial review (habeas corpus), or access to an attorney (Duhaime, legal dictionary, 2019). The alleged as enemy combatants are handing through an operation known as “exceptional rendition”. This means they are kidnapped and transported in black sites, abruptly and in complete perceptual deprivation, without themselves, or their family, or any official state agency, or anyone else knowing where they are. During their stay in black sites, they incur “enhanced interrogation techniques”, as euphemistically tortures are called, including insults, humiliation focusing mainly on individual characteristics, such as sex, religious and ideological beliefs and any other torturous treatment. After a long stay in these places, lasting up to four years, the detainees are released and return to the country from which they have been kidnapped, in exactly the same way (Siems, 2011: 35).

These practices have been integrated in the CIA’s Rendition, Detention, Interrogation Program (Siems, 2011: 67), and some of them are even described in the press, as shown in the article of *The Guardian*: the detainees stayed in cells, that mostly resembled dungeons, in complete darkness, chained, in isolation, listening to loud music, with a bucket to use as a toilet, in freezing conditions, necked, shackled with their arms behind their head. The officers would often drag the detainee down a long corridor, while shouting, cutting their clothes, hooding them or tying them with a tape or waterboarding them. People’s stay in these places was accompanied by sleep deprivation, lasting in some cases even 180 hour, standing on broken extremities, bathing with ice-cold water, shackling on the wall, and of course, rectal feeding and hydration, that is almost the entire spectrum of torturous techniques, that leaves the minimum of physical marks, but terrifying mental traumas, due to the intense emotional burden the victims incur, caused by fear, overwhelming agony and despair they experience, besides the physical pain.

Although the torturers in generally do not get any official training, in the case of the US there is a particularity: many of the professionals who practice torture have been through the military training SERE (Survival, Evasion, Resistance, Escape) and apply protocols, as those approved by Donald Rumsfeld, the Secretary of Defense in Bush administration. Those protocols allowed acts of torture that intend to inflict pain or intimidate the detainees. Some of the SERE trainers, such as John Rankin and Christopher Ross, who

have been in Guantanamo, prove the governmental authorization for these practices (Lowth, 2017).

After recourses to international courts and the International Committee of the Red Cross, by former prisoners, torture victims in USA black sites, such as Abu Zubaydah's prisoner in Thailand, Mohammed Jawad's, prisoner in Guantanamo, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed's, Abd al-Rahim al Nashiri's and others', prisoners in other black sites in Europe, countries such as Romania and Lithuania were forced to admit that they facilitated the American secret services and allowed them to use places in their territories, for the abusive and torturous treatment of detainees (Siems, 2011: 19). Although this kind of allegations increase the visibility and the reaction of the international community against states that implement similar practices, they have not yet achieved the elimination of these methods.

15. Torture and the Mass Media Culture

From the rites of passage and religious ceremonies in primitive societies and the public tortures in Medieval, until the depiction of torturing humans in the mass media during the last several decades, pain seems to be fascinating. Once tortures stopped being a spectacle for public consumption and were restricted in confined environments, impenetrable by public eyes, the public's imagination was excited (Enders, 1999: 6). Thus, cinema and the mass media started presenting tortures, evoking emotions of allurements and indignation (Flynn & Salek, 2012: 8).

Although tortures are one of the most clumsy methods of extracting information, they are presented, mainly in the entertainment media, in a way that attributes them impressive properties: the victims are presented as determined not to speak, providing, though in the end detailed information, with an accuracy that rarely occurs in reality. The torture ends with the confession, leaving the false impression that this way the case opens, building the confidence that tortures are effective (Flynn & Salek, 2012: 3).

The depiction of tortures is important, initially because the film and television production are deeply influenced and directly correlated with the political, cultural and historical contexts of the era within which they are formulated. They reflect, question, undermine, in any case they get involved with the current circumstances (Kolker, 2000: 13-14). Cinema, as a pluralistic medium (Braudy, 2002: 10), "articulates the world" (Kolker: xiii), describing reality through the lens of artistic rendition and culture (Flynn & Salek, 2012: 4-5). Generally, torture, as depicted in the media, is a male activity, supporting the male identity, as stereotypically emerges in the Western world (Huggins, Haritos-Fatouros & Zimbardo, 2002: 85). The culture of extreme masculinity, that is widely cultivated as a way of socializing in military

environments, is vividly illustrated, mostly in the American filmography. The gender-specific culture, on the other hand, is not attributed accordingly, as it should be. An indicative example is Guantanamo, where a rate of about 20% of the torturers were women, who adopted techniques, such as sexual insults, with the use of menstrual blood, in order to make the detainees feel dirty and suppress their ability to pray, physical contact with them until the infliction of erection that they then ridiculed, threats for rape, enforcement to use female underwear, and insults to their religious beliefs, with coercion to violate their religious rules; all these are gender-oriented techniques (Center for Constitutional Rights, 2006: 10).

What happens when depicting torture in the cinema and television, is that the participants and situations are presented in a specific way: torture is presented as an effective method and the torturer as the man who can intervene and shortly break the victim's resistance making them disclose information, that could not otherwise be revealed, and who has the authority to free the tortured from their pain, either through salvation, or death (Foucault, 1990). Within this context, the fantasy that the infliction of physical pain will lead to the disclosure of terrifying conspiracies is enhanced, but, this is clearly not the case; It stresses though, a persistence to confession and a significant uncertainty about the quality of the national security services and more particularly the intelligence services (Flynn & Salek, 2012: 10).

While in reality, watching an act of torture, basically evokes feelings of revulsion for the action per se and for the perpetrator, (Scarry, 1985: 35), when displayed in cinema, the torturer is usually illustrated as a messianic figure, or at least, as a serious man, whose management and painful acts, are not only right, but necessary. Respectively, the victim's pain appears as a substantial, useful quality, critical for the restoration of social order and saving innocent civilians. Thus, the torturer is not depicted as a criminal offender, but as an outlaw savior of the civilization, who does not hesitate to take the leap in order to accomplish his purpose to protect the civilians. This way, feelings of sympathy are evoked towards the torturer and not towards the victim (Flynn & Salek, 2012: 10-11).

The cinema and television products are not only influenced by the social and cultural conditions, but within the context of a two-way relationship, shape it up to a point. This two-ways relationship is reflected in the increased number of films and tv-series with tortures, and also in the shift of the torturers description, no longer as fascist, outlaw or perjurer, corrupted or insane employees, to counter-terrorist agents, with moral values and professionalism, capable of effectively eliciting information from unscrupulous terrorists, with the use of violent methods, that after 9/11 are almost legalized (Rejali, 2009: 478). Even the torture perpetrators themselves seem to be supplied

with ideas originating from television shows, in order to apply them in their practice. The US tv-series "24" is indicative. Soldiers, interrogators, even trainers claimed to copy, and repeat techniques displayed in this show, for their own real-life practice, or as an example for their trainees, future military personnel (Sands, 2008: 63).

16. Tortures and the Science of Pain

Tortures are occasional acts, that pursue immediate result, without any special organization, knowledge or scientific basis. According to the prevailing view, inflicting pain can coerce to conformity and submission, however, this aspect is not scientifically documented. It is rather based upon folklore, unproven perceptions. As supported by the science of psychology and neuropsychology, extreme pain constitutes an exceptionally complex condition (Melzack & Wall, 1982: 15-19), that is likely to stop being experienced (desensitization), as the infliction of pain is expanded in duration, as shown by relevant testimonies (Rochester & Kiley, 1999: 148). This is also true for the prolonged exposure of the body to extreme cold (Bini et al., 1984; Osgood et al., 1990). The torturers are familiar with these properties of pain; they understand that they cannot increase the provoked intensity of physical distress for a long time, because ultimately it will become ineffective. This is why the torturers often choose to alternate among different types of torture (Deeley, 1971: 69). After all, pain is an individualized experience: every victim of torture has a different sense, tolerance and level of resistance, a property with a cultural dimension too. People with different cultural experiences, beliefs, origins and aspirations react differently in pain. This ascertainment makes torture a unique phenomenon for every victim (Glücklich, 2001). For instance, hardcore rebels, or peasants from tough regions seem to endure more (Thomas, 2002: 94). Many people use means of psychological and mental control, such as distraction, so as to withstand pain (Melzack & Wall, 1982: 30-43).

Experienced torturers, who are familiar with the properties of pain, follow two basic rules while inflicting it: (1) everybody has a limit; the limit should be as high as possible since the beginning (Alleg, 1958: 60), so that the victim would not have the time to desensitize, (2) due to the unpredictable impact of each method, a series of several methods should be applied abruptly, to bring a result (Wright & Onate, 1998: 81-82). Switching techniques is based on experience and intuition (Fanon, 1968: 269).

The function of pain in the human organism contradicts the American inspired theory of ticking time-bomb scenario: the torturer is usually eager to confess anything, to escape the excruciating pain, not necessarily the correct information, though. In addition to that, a human incurring torture,

underperforms or malfunctions mentally and cognitively, with consequence not to be in position to recall accurate information, even if they wish to. Therefore, a timely intervention in an imminent terrorist attack, becomes particularly questionable (Perl, 2012, as evident by testimonies).

17. The Creation of a Torturers

We now know that torture does not always occur on the instructions of someone hierarchically superior. In fact, several torturers in their testimonies stress that their engagement in torturous activity is difficult for them to explain (Austin, 2016), and despite having official instructions about the recommended interrogation methods, they overacted. The American soldiers' atrocities in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo prisons, that surmounted even the loose boundaries of interrogation methods, issued by Yoo and Bybee, are indicative of this claim (2005).

Although there is no official training to create torturers, the authorities have, nevertheless ways to "construct" them. For instance, it is found that all Greek officers of GMP (Greek Military Police – ΕΣΑ) during the Colonels' dictatorship (1967-1974) followed a similar course and an informal training, rather a kind of propaganda guidance: they were serving in the army and then in special units, that required harsh treatment for prisoners. They were initially evaluated in terms of physical strength and political beliefs, and then, with respect to their confidentiality, intelligence, reliability and obedience. They, themselves suffered physical brutality, tortures and insults in relevant rites, while simultaneously, they were forced to declare their obedience to the regime and the symbols. They were brainwashed about how fortunate they were to be the chosen ones, getting this way in the uncommon position of the victim and the perpetrator at the same time. They all adopted a common language and codes, considering themselves as part of a special world (Gibson & Haritos-Fatouros, 1986). The prisoners were presented as inferior, enemies of the state, and for this reason they should be crushed (Gibson & Haritos-Fatouros). Besides the initiation processes, there is no other evidence to support that some people are predisposed towards violence or have sadistic personalities. In fact, evaluations of Nazi torturers showed no evidence for severe disorders or personality deviations (Gibson & Haritos-Fatouros).

There is still a great difficulty in detecting those mechanisms that turn an individual into a torturer. Until now, there is no universally acceptable conceptualization about torturers (Austin & Bocco, 2016). In an initial, general attempt for theoretical foundation of the torturer's profile, three distinct categories are identified: the professionals, the zealots and the sadists. The former, have no intention or disposition or innate tendency to torture, but they torture, should that be necessary. The zealots torture principally in an

ideological context, for the sake of the purpose to be served, whereas the sadists are driven by personal satisfaction (Wantchekon & Healey, 1999). The professionals are preferred, since in the execution of any torturous act, everyone will behave sadistically, the zealots and sadists though, will have discipline, control and management problems (Haritos-Fatouros, 2002: 90-116; Huggins, Haritos-Fatouros & Zimbardo, 2002: 136-191).

It is maintained that humans generally perceive violence as evil (Keeley, 1996: 180) and find it difficult to become violent, even towards people who are radically different, or within a context of brutalization (Grossman, 1996; Waytz, Epley & Cacioppo, 2010). Thus, no one wants to torture anyone, even if an action like this can be supported. This aspect renders the act of torture incomprehensible, even to the torturer, and requires the investigation of psychopathology, when the factor of command by a superior is removed (Danchev, 2008).

The torturers' personal characteristics, that were examined mainly through their own and their victims' testimonies include contradicting and negative emotions: fear, envy, despair, low self-esteem (Liscano, 2004), lack of sense of self-worth and of life satisfaction (Tognato, 2010). The feelings of frustration and of alienation from normal life, seem to exacerbate and strengthen even more, due to mental disorders, such as nightmares, substance use, etc., that result from the violence in which they are exposed to (Fanon, 1968: 199).

The torturers in their testimonies report confusion, since they cannot detect the starting point of this activity: American soldiers in Afghanistan said that they were overwhelmed with intense negative feelings against the victim (Bell, 2011: 42); French officers in Algeria claimed that it was a slippage to this behavior, for which they cannot identify any conscious decision or choice. They just slipped towards this direction (Sanyal, 2010: 64).

The torturers' autobiographical reports (Ringmar, 2016) often provide contradictory information. The explanation of brutalization disconnects the torturer from their actions, connecting the latter with the society's ideological attitude for treating people, who are not perceived as humans. Certainly, this is not a sufficient justification for perpetrating tortures (Austin, 2016), it is combined, though, with further 'strategic' explanations, usually with reference to the interrogation target, that is the urgent need to extract information (Matthews, 2012). In any case, the most common, spontaneous answer torturers give, is 'I don't know why I did it'.

Austin (2019) attempted to explain how a human turns into a torturer, examining three parameters: (1) the situations, (2) the materials and (3) the knowledge. Situations refer to the conditions in which the interrogators, army officers, guards etc., familiarize themselves with violence; this is a reality in which they are trained (pedagogie noire) and requires the restriction of the

innate human aversion to violence per se (Sironi, 1999; Belkin, 2012). The situations represent the context in which one comes in contact with new conditions (Collins, 2007), that can formulate behaviors in unexpected ways.

The materials or the objects, available to the torturer are the second parameter. It is stressed that the presence of specific objects may encourage some types of behaviors; for instance, the electric torture is encouraged by the easy access to handy objects, such as electroshock devices (Berkowitz & Lapage, 1967; Austin, 2016, 2017). According to this theory, the way these objects, available in the environment, will be used, depends on the preexisting knowledge, which in its turn, is based on the culture (Austin, 2016). Therefore, it is claimed that the stimuli one will get from the situation and the available materials, are integrated to peripheral knowledge, that is activated when the appropriate conditions are formulated in the torturer's conscience (Haas & Ham, 2015). Indicatively, the tortures in Abu Ghraib, that were made publicly known, wanted the detainees piling up in specific positions, similarly to the corresponding positions used by players in the American football, or to those used in the entrance ceremonies in fraternities in the US universities, with which the guards-torturers were very familiar (Reeves Sanday, 2007).

The combination of situations, material and knowledge also explains sufficiently the diffusion of torture methods in space and time (Austin, 2016). Thus, in this model, it becomes evident the creation of a torturer as the passage from one point of transition to the next, when the circumstances are appropriate and not as a result of a specific and conscious decision.

The course of a torturer develops and escalates from the novice to the specialist. In this latter category, are included specialist torturers, who "innovate" during their practice, deliberately contrive new methods of torturing or of implementing already known methods. They often travel around the world, to bring their expertise and disseminate their knowledge and experience. This kind of specialist torture "technocrats" exist since the Nazi Germany, with Alois Brunner, SS officer, who acquired his experience in the gas chambers and conveyed it in Damascus, as partner of the Syrian secret services, the Mukhabarat (Chandler, 2014). Similar examples also come from America, with veteran torturers from the Vietnam war, such as James Steele, a high-ranking torturer, who conveyed his know-how in the French Algeria, the Soviet Russia, Latin America, etc. (Mahmood et al., 2013; Austin, 2016).

The knowledge transferred by specialists to novice torturers, and the effect of violence to the torturers themselves, results to the concept of "social spiral": the person, who has committed tortures for a long time, experience conflicting emotions: pride for their skills, competition, uncontrollable emotions of violence, that are channeled to society. The condition experienced (mainly) by specialist torturers, resembles a disease. It is paradoxically necessary

special care to be provided to them, since, after the completion of their work, they return in society, bringing in their new self. Without holding accountability for their actions, they usually continue their torturous activity in other environments, such as the family and their community. The state's incapacity to appropriately treat and take care of the torturers as patients, leads to the development of this spiral, that transfers violence in the society and perpetuates it, rendering the community vulnerable to this "disease" (Fanon, 1968: 198; Austin, 2019).

18. Torture's Impact on the Victim's Psyche – Social Consequences

A human's torture is an experience that causes horror and leaves terrifying, indelible, mental and existential traumas, even after the physical traumas have been healed (Anderson & Nussbaum, 2018: 45). Torture victims suffer psychological detachment, that is a "structured separation from processes, such as memory, sense of identity, even emotions and thoughts", accompanied by "invasive thoughts or images of terror, during which people experience a complete secession from themselves and reality, in ways that look unreal or distorted" (Ray et al., 2006; Ataria, 2015).

Flashbacks from the scenes of torture, and a constant feeling of dread and threat in the presence of any human, and feelings of abandonment and alienation when alone, are also often. The deliberately caused suffering, especially by people who, in the victim's conscience, had a protective role (e.g., police-officers), disrupts the feeling of security and connection, fundamentally developed in humans, due to their social nature, leaving them with a sense of distress and sorrow (Anderson & Nussbaum, 2018: 45) and undermining their ability to normally connect with other humans and trust them. This usually drives to desperation (Janoff-Bulman, 1989).

The consequences of torture can be emotional, behavioral, cognitive and physical, with culture playing a significant role in the way they are manifested. The physical consequences depend on the methods of torture. Most of the techniques used, usually result in structural injuries and disruption of the physical functioning (Skylv, 1992: 38-55) and the problems caused refer to all the systems of the body (Gerrity, Keane & Tuma, 2001: 37): fractures, burned tissues, sensory problems, sexual dysfunctions, dislocations, amputations, paraplegias, (Goldfeld et al., 1988), increased risk for infectious diseases, malignancies, cardiovascular diseases, etc. (Goldman & Goldston, 1985).

There are no accurate recordings of the physical consequences of tortures, mainly due to the extended time-intervals between the act and its evaluation and also due to the doctors' reluctance or ignorance while certifying the

damage, since it is not always feasible to connect the damage to the source that caused it (e.g., clean torture, such as stress position). Often, the victims do not have access to medical exams, due to their financial condition, or their inability to commute in order to be evaluated (Forrest, 2002: 164-165; McColi, Bhui & Jones, 2012; Freedom from Torture, 2016).

The emotional consequences of torture to victims vary according to the time, the personality of the victim, the cultural background and other factors. We usually encounter emotions of sadness, acute and chronic pain, inability to manage and express emotions, such as affection or anger, complicated grief, accompanied by exhaustion, sleep and substance abuse disorders, emotions of helplessness and impotence, hopelessness, existential and spiritual crises, suicidal ideations, unprovoked mood swings, emotional dysregulation, constant vigilance, anger and rage problems, inability to relax and to engage in daily routine, loss of motivation and sense of meaning or purpose in life, failure to enjoy simple, daily habits, alienation or complete loss of the sense of personal identity and self-worth (Gorman & Zakowski, 2018).

Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) is also often. It is a disorder, relevant to trauma and other stressors, that can be diagnosed to people, who have experienced traumatic events, or have witnessed similar events experienced by others, or have even been part of traumatic events for professional reasons (APA, 2013: 271).

The disruption of the victims' cognitive function is manifested with problems in the thought process, such as: involuntary recollection of memories and inability to voluntarily recollect memories, cognitive fixations about the personal identity, with repeated thought patterns, constant rumination of self-demeaning ideas (Gorman & Zakowski, 2018) and more rarely, disorientation of thought that reaches even psychotic syndromes, accompanied by full loss of contact with reality (Morrison, Frame & Larkin, 2003).

The emotional and cognitive distortions, lead to similar behavioral manifestations, that vary according to the physical problems that have occurred, and also the victim's special characteristics, the cultural background and the environment in which the victim lives after the traumatic experience (Watters, 2011).

III. DISCUSSION – CONCLUSIONS

Torture has been examined as a state crime, meaning, as the way the state authorities interfere with the citizens in order to extract information, punish or intimidate through inflicting pain. The cultural and social parameters of torture have been emphasized, focusing on separate cultures that have used practices of torture. The religious and traditional practices have been omitted and

the analysis of the relationship between torture and the mass media has been promoted, since the impact that the latter have on the society is catalytic, almost universal and such, that shapes opinions and consciousness.

What became evident in the examination of the issue of torture, was that it is a phenomenon, common among human societies, across cultures and time. The continuous and uninterrupted presence of tortures across the entire human history, until today, shows that despite the progress, the cultural evolution and the knowledge that has been accumulated with respect to the ineffectiveness of the methods of torture, and also despite the battles fought for human rights, we are still far from the elimination of this humiliating for the human kind activity.

Testimonies and reports from all around the world (e.g., ACHR, 2009; Amnesty International, 2010; Anderson & Nussbaum, 2018; Conroy, 2000; Murey et al., 2011; Perl, 2012), at least those becoming public, support the belief that torture is a crime that affects us all, even if we live in democratic and seemingly non-violent societies.

Amnesty International, the Red Cross, the Council of Europe, the United Nations Organization, are few from many institutions, preoccupied with tortures, either individually, or in cooperation with each other. European Union is closely cooperating with the UN and with the bodies formulated for dealing with tortures. These bodies include, among others: the UN Committee against Torture, the Commission on Human Rights, the Committee on the Enforced Disappearances, the Committee for the Prevention of Torture of the Council of Europe (CPT), and also, the Committee for the Prevention of Torture in Africa, the Inter-American System of Human Rights, the Asian Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, the UN Special Reporter on Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Punishment Practices (Council of Europe, 2019). With respect to the criminal-law part, the International Criminal Court, and the European Court of Human Rights, are two of the most active judicial investigation bodies for phenomena of torture. Similarly, non-governmental organizations also participate in this effort to deal with tortures. Organizations of this kind are the Medical Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims (M.R.C.T., 2019), member of the International Council of Victims' Rehabilitation Centers, aiming to prevention, revelation and abolition of tortures, the medical and psychological support for the victims, the promotion of public awareness and cooperation with local bodies and associations for institutionalizing the protection of human rights.

International instruments often give directions about the policies that should be pursued by the national states and the legal framework for dealing with tortures. Indicative of this, is the revised text of guidelines, by the Council of Europe, since September the 16th 2019 (12107/19), with which is

recognized the issue of tortures and ill-treatment, that go against the Universal Declaration for Human Rights.

Despite the fact that many international bodies and organs exist, responsible for dealing with the crime of torture, both member countries and third countries too, the former being accountable to the international community with respect to practices they use and safeguarding of human rights under their jurisdiction, they often show insufficient compliance to the international instruments.

Greece, for instance, as a member state of the EU, that has also signed a plethora of international conventions, has included in its Constitution and the Penal Code articles, relevant to torture. More particularly, Article 7 of the Constitution, as revised in 2008 by the 8th Revising Assembly of the Greek Parliament, in the section about individual and human rights, stipulates that “tortures, any physical injury, harm to health, or psychological violence, and any other infringe of human dignity are prohibited and punished, as provided by the law”. Likewise, in the last revision of the Penal Code, the Articles 137A-137D, as in force since 1984, were replaced by the Article 137A, as codified by the Law 4619/2019, defining both the acts that fall within the crime of torture and the corresponding punishments, that follow these acts. This revision came to cover now the deficiencies arising from the application of the previous framework and have been mentioned by the Amnesty International (2012: 26-29). The recent modification of the Penal Code, however, does not allow the retrieval of evidence about the practical improvement in the treatment of prisoners, especially those representing minority groups (e.g., asylum seekers, Roma, etc.), a tipping point for Greece. In any case, the referrals of police officers, according to the International Amnesty report (2012), even more the convictions for acts of torture, fall short with respect to the extent of the phenomenon in Greece.

The initial belief about tortures claims that it is a practice that refers to specific state structures, cultural level of development and social organization. This belief seems to be proved wrong, since the torturing of humans by humans within the context of a state criminal activity neither is limited to the “usual suspects”, that is the authoritarian states, nor is it an atavistic act. On the contrary, it appears as a universal, diachronic phenomenon, that simply differentiates according to the characteristics of the social structure within it evolves, changing the methods and the degree of visibility (Rejali, 2009). Impressive remains the fact, that tortures have been proved ineffective and insufficient in achieving the objectives pursued. Nevertheless, they are still maintained as one of the most used methods for these purposes.

In contrast to the practical ineffectiveness of the technique of torture, the prevailing impression of the society is based on what is selected to be displayed from the viewpoint of screenwriters, directors, journalists, etc., in

the cinema and mass media, without though, this depiction to highlight the terrifying reality of torture, as implemented by the mankind throughout the centuries (O' Mara, 2015: 6). In addition to that, the publication of official governmental reports, such as the one issued by the General Inspector's Office in 2004 (85) after the revision of house data with respect to the effectiveness of tortures, describing them as a "subjective procedure", that "causes some concern" with a small data volume, though, for the assessment of its effectiveness (89), drive the public opinion to forming a rather distorted and inaccurate perception about the nature of tortures and their effectiveness.

From time to time, it has been attempted a theoretical foundation of the phenomenon of torture, and also an explanation of its permanent presence in the human history. The development of a specific theoretical framework has not yet been achieved; however, hypotheses have been formulated, with respect to the reasons that made tortures emerge. These hypotheses have focused on the interpretation of those mechanisms that maintain or convey the methodology of tortures within any culture, or among distinct cultural contexts, without though providing any sufficient documentation regarding the onset of the development of tortures or highlighting other parameters (Rejali, 2009).

Those hypotheses showed that despite the lack of official training, there are many similarities in almost all the environments, where torture takes places and also many differences, that are mainly the result of several factors, such as the cultural context, the torturer's culture and the available means. It would not be possible in any case to talk about a scientific, officially organized method of implementing state power or of eliciting information (Austin, 2019).

There are many who argue (Donnelly & Diehl, 2011: 122) that the practice of torture does not derive its origins from anywhere else than the need or the desire of a group to maintain its power over another group, either it comes to political, religious, social or any other type of group. It presupposes, in other words, the existence of an actual or imaginary enemy, over whom, domination should be imposed. Equally, the existence of fearful leaders, and the pleasure of the people when bloodthirsty, cruel justice is being served, amplify the tolerance for such practices, or at least the aversion of gaze from brutal and inhuman acts, as those of torture.

If there is one thing that we can be taught from history, this is that any potential to eliminate tortures is in danger by the very existence of cruelty, in any form and for whatever purpose it occurs. In any condition or time period, cruelty can easily evolve into torture or lead to the development of new types of torture. This is why even the slightest tolerance or acceptance or approval of acts of cruelty is dangerous and alarming (Ryley Scott, 1959: vii).

Ryley Scott (1959: 10) stresses that the societies are the decisive contributor, if not in the appearance, definitely in the tolerance and maintenance of tortures, due to the primitive thirst for revenge, innate in the mankind. He claims, in other words, that the integration of the method of torture in a criminal system, either as a means for extracting confessions or as a form of punishment, leads inevitably in the acceptance that it is a justified and reasonable procedure for the entire community and carries the risk of extending whenever the conditions are favorable.

The lists of tortures used in the relevant cultures, as mentioned above, are not exhaustive. In all of the environments that have supported and applied tortures, many more techniques than those mentioned here, and several variations have been used. It was attempted, though, to point out the most indicative ones for every context, with the intention to bring to view their individual characteristics, their development and differentiation. The thorough analysis of each environment would offer a more extensive description of the suffering the detainees have been through, by the state forces in time and space. This, though, goes beyond the scope of this presentation, which is limited in the exploration of the state crime of torture and its social and cultural dimensions and not the detailed record of all methods of torture ever used.

Ideally, it would be useful the phenomenon of torture to take the place it deserves as one of the most heinous state crimes, so as to become even more clear the way with which it should be treated within well-governed states and the respective national and international criminal legislations. Visibility of as many cases as possible and the conscious attitude of the society towards the phenomenon of torture, could become important parameters, as could also be the challenging of traditional stereotypes, both about the power and the human in total. It is though, a rather slow and time-consuming procedure, that leaves much room for the creation of conditions that favor the maintenance of the phenomenon (e.g., ongoing exposure to torture scenes, by media that are considered *ipso facto* acceptable and valid). Within this framework, both social conditions and cultural influences play a significant role, and it would be necessary both to be equally modified, in order to formulate a new perception about the need to use cruel practices against people, and about the tolerance, or, even worse, the acceptance of applying torturous practices. Recording and recognizing the social and cultural conditions that favor the maintenance of torture, is the first step for better understanding the phenomenon, and therefore for more effectively dealing with it.

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