

Criminological Studies



PANTEION UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY - SECTION OF CRIMINOLOGY
POSTGRADUATE PROGRAMME "CRIMINOLOGY"

Criminological Studies

VOLUME 2

*The official labeling of juveniles
and the effect of such a labeling on secondary deviance*

Eleni Kontopoulou

ATHENS 2015

CRIMINOLOGICAL STUDIES

Editor: Professor Christina Zarafonitou, Director of the M.A. "Criminology",
Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

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PREFACE

The title of the study which is published in the second issue of the series “Criminological Studies” by the Program of Postgraduate Studies (MA) in Criminology of Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences is: “The official labeling of juveniles and the effect of such a labeling on secondary deviance”.

The current topic falls within a criminological research field which came to the fore after World War II and is expressed through “Criminology of Social Reaction”. The study forms part of an excellent Ph.D. thesis which I had the pleasure to supervise and whose presentation is going to be summary.

The aim of this series is the publication of the most important criminological studies which are conducted under the Program of Postgraduate Studies (MA) or Doctoral Studies in Criminology at the Section of Criminology of Panteion University. The choice of a bilingual edition will allow a more direct communication of such an important research work as well as the exchange of scientific knowledge and experience. At the same time, an opportunity is given to both distinguished and new scientists to communicate their scientific work to Greece and abroad.

The initiative of the M.A. “Criminology” is implemented within the annual regular budget and we hope that it will be continued in the future.

Athens, January 2015

Professor Christina Zarafonitou

Director of the M.A. “Criminology”

Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences





***To my beloved ones:
Nikos, Ioanna, Stavros and Andreas
for their sincere and unceasing support***





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INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of the 1960s a major shift was observed in the study of crime and criminal behavior from the positivist perception to a more radical approach, based on the concepts of social control and social reaction. During this period the scientific community concentrated its scientific interest mainly in the study of the effect of criminal justice involvement in controlling juvenile delinquency on recidivism, emphasizing the stigmatizing character of the penal process and the contribution of such a process in the solidification of a criminal career. Yet, during the 1970s the positivistic theoretical approaches relevant to criminogenic factors seemed to regain their popularity.¹

The present study forms part of a Ph. D. dissertation titled: “The official labeling of juveniles and the effect of such a labeling on secondary deviance”. Our goal is the exploration of the consequences of early criminal justice involvement and consequently the effect of stigmatizing adolescents as deviant on recidivism. Furthermore, we explore the role of various criminogenic factors, because an integrated criminological theory should take them into consideration as well as the criminalization factors and the interaction between them.

In the theoretical part of this particular study, we make a brief reference to the most important theories about juvenile delinquency, including labeling theory. Furthermore, we present briefly the bulk of the empirical studies conducted in the field of labeling theory based on literature review. Then, we present our empirical research. More specifically, we present the aim and objective of our study, the methodology, the application framework of our research tools, the analysis of our primary empirical data as well as the conclusions based on the interpretation of these data.

¹ The key characteristic of the positivistic theoretical approaches relevant to criminogenic factors is the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social behavior, which are actually grounded in the empirical observation and analysis of the social phenomena. According to these theoretical approaches the social phenomena are seen as a consequence of cause and effect relations. Furthermore, according to positive criminology, biological, psychological or social factors are the only antecedents that determine one’s social behavior beyond his free will. See the books titled (in Greek): Chaidou A., *Positivist Criminology: Etiological approaches of the criminal phenomenon*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., 1996 (In Greek) and Farsedakis I. *Elements of criminology*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., 2005 (In Greek). See also Muncie J., *Positivism*, The Sage Dictionary of Criminology compiled and edited by McLaughlin E., Muncie J., Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 302-304.



I. SCIENTIFIC THEORIES ABOUT JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND THE LABELING THEORY

1. INTRODUCTION

A scientific theory is a systematic explanation of observations. That is, a theory makes statements-hypotheses about the relationship between observable phenomena. Theories are neither true nor false and consequently they are not falsifiable and by definition not testable. In contrast, theoretical hypotheses which do have a truth value are testable. The process of attempting to falsify the hypotheses, which are made by a scientific theory, involves systematically observing the relationships described in the theory and then comparing the results of such observations to statements of the theory itself. This process is called empirical research. In other words, the arguments of a theory are tested against the empirical reality.² In an attempt to explain criminal behavior a large number of scientific theories have been formulated within the criminology field. According to positivist criminology human behavior is determined by biological, psychological, environmental or social factors beyond individual's control. Within such a frame of reference positivist criminologists attempted for over 100 years to identify the causes of criminal behavior focusing their scientific interest on one type of factor or on a multiple-factor approach.³

1.1. Biological theories

The first biological approaches were presented within Italian Positivist School by Lombroso (1835-1909), Garofalo (1852-1934) and Ferri (1856-1928).⁴ The earliest formulation of Lombroso's theory about the "born criminal" is considered to be the most characteristic theoretical approach within the field of biological determinism.⁵ However, in the 5th edition of his well-known

² Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *Theoretical Criminology*, Oxford University Press, 4th Edition, N.Y, 1998, pp. 2-3, Skoll G. R., *Contemporary criminology and the criminal justice theory: Evaluating justice systems in capitalist societies*, Palgrave- Macmillan, N. Y., 2009, pp. 43-44.

³ Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 7-9.

⁴ See: Chaidou A., 1996, *op.cit.*, pp.26-30 (In Greek), Spinelli K.D., *Criminology: Contemporary and older approaches*, Sakkoulas Publ., 2nd ed., Athens-Komotini, 2005, pp. 190-193 (In Greek), Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-87. See also (In Italian): Lombroso C., *L' uomo delinquente*, Hoepli, Milano, 1876, Ferri E., *Dei limiti fra diritto penale ed anthropologia criminale*, *Archivio di psichiatria*, vol. I, pp. 1880-1881, Garofalo R., *Criminologia*, Napoli, 1885.

⁵ According to Lombroso's theory the "Criminal man" is a peculiar type of man identified in terms of physical stigmata. These physical stigmata distinguish him from "nor-

book titled “The criminal man” he highlighted the importance of the influence of both social, environmental and economic factors on criminal behavior. Furthermore, both Garofalo and Ferri acknowledged the significance of psychological and social factors too. Scientific studies relevant to biological criminogenic factors which explore the role of heredity on criminal behavior are: (a) studies about genealogical trees like the one of Dugdale (1877),⁶ (b) studies about criminality among twins like the one conducted by the German psychiatrist named Lange (1929) as well as the one conducted by Christiansen (1974),⁷ (c) studies about the syndrome XYY like the one of Jacob (1965) and Price and Whatmore (1967)⁸ and finally, (d) studies about adoptions and criminality like the one that was carried out by Mednick (1977).⁹

1.2. Psychological and psychiatric theories

Psychological positivism was developed in order to be the critical answer to the statements of biological and genetic theories. This theoretical framework was expressed through psychoethical and biopsychological approaches. According to the core idea of psychological positivism, an individual cannot distinguish between a criminal and a non-criminal act due to lack of self-control originating in various psychological “abnormalities.” Psychologists and psychiatrists attempted to link criminal behavior to mental illness by studying factors such as psychological disorders, intelligence, personality attributes and psychopathy. The premier theoretical approach within the framework of psychoethical thought was Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalytic approach (1856-1939).¹⁰

mal” people. Due to an atavistic throwback to an earlier stage of evolution, this type of person is not able to adapt to the social environment.

⁶ Dugdale R. L., *The Jukes: A study in crime, pauperism, disease and heredity*, New York, NY, US: G P Putnam’s Sons, 1877.

⁷ Christiansen K. O., *Seriousness of criminality and concordance among Danish twins*, R. Hood, *Crime, Criminology and Public Policy, Essays in Honour of Sir L. Radzinowicz*, The Free Press, N.Y., 1974, pp. 63-77.

⁸ Jacobs P. A., Burton M., Melville M. M., *Aggressive behavior, mental subnormality and the XXY male*, *Nature*, 1965, 208, p. 1351, Price W. H., Whatmore P. B., *Criminal behavior and the XYY male*, *Nature*, 1967, 213/25, p. 815.

⁹ Mednick S., *A bio-social theory of the learning of law-abiding behavior*, S. Mednick & K. O., Christiansen, *Biosocial Bases of Criminal Behavior*, Gardner, N.Y., 1977.

¹⁰ The theories of De Greff, and Pinatel as well as those of Aichorn, Abrahamsen, Halleck, Jung and Eysenck, who were considerably influenced by Freud, are also included within the psychoethical approach. The theories of Kretschmer, Sheldon, Di Tullio, Kinberg and Pende can be categorized as biopsychological theories. See: Zarafonitou Ch., *Empirical Criminology*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., 2004, pp.75-81 (In Greek), Chaidou A., 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 70-114 (In Greek), Farsedakis I., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp.105-108 (In

1.3. Sociological theories

The first study about the causes of delinquency within the framework of sociological positivism was conducted in the beginning of 19th century by Quetelet and Guerry in terms of exploring the geographical distribution of delinquency based on French crime statistics. Yet, the first integrated sociological studies on causality of criminal behavior were carried out by the French Sociological School of Social Environment and Emile Durkheim.¹¹ Durkheim's theoretical formulation is the most well-known theory within the framework of structural functionalism. Durkheim disengaged positivism from individualism while he is considered to be the most important representative of the consensus model. He contended that crime is inherent to society, that is, it's a "natural phenomenon," which secures social coherence and social evolution. He developed the idea of anomie, which occurs especially during periods of social and economic crisis, holding that anomie is the main cause of delinquent behavior. Under conditions of anomie, due to the lack of normative constraints imposed by society on individuals, a person's appetites would rise to unattainable heights and consequently individuals' desires outstrip their means. As a result frustration is generated leading to criminal behavior.¹² Durkheim's theory influenced not only Ecological

Greek), Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 203-226 (In Greek), Alexiadis S., *The mentally retarded criminals*, Thessaloniki, 1971, p. 63 (In Greek). See also Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *op. cit.*, pp. 52-67 and pp. 88-107, Blackburn R., *The psychology of criminal conduct: theory, research and practice*, John Wiley, Chichester, 1993, pp. 111-116, Freud S., *Criminals from a sense of guilt*, Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, Hogarth Press, London, 14, pp. 332-333, Redl F., Toch H., *The psychoanalytic explanation of crime*, Hans Toch (ed.), *Psychology of Crime and Criminal Justice*, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, N.Y., 1979, Halleck S. L., *Psychiatry and the dilemmas of crime*, Harper and Row, N.Y., 1967, Abrahamsen D., *The psychology of crime*, Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1960, Aichorn A., *Wayward youth*, Viking, N.Y., 1963, Eysenck H. J., *Crime and personality*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 3rd ed., London, 1977, Glueck S., Glueck E., *Unraveling juvenile delinquency*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1950, Sheldon W. H., *Varieties of human physique*, Harper, N. Y., 1940 and *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th ed., American Psychiatric Association, Washington, D.C., 1994, pp. 645-650.

¹¹ See: Zarafonitou Ch., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 54-59 and 97-98 (In Greek), Chaidou A., 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 119-122 (In Greek), Farsedakis I., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 91-95 (In Greek). See also Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *op.cit.*, pp. 28-32 and pp. 108-11.

¹² Durkheim E., *The division of labor in Society*, Macmillan Press, 1984, Durkheim E., *Professional ethics and civic morals*, Bryan S. Turner (ed.), *Routledge Sociology Classics*, Taylor & Francis Group, London-N.Y., 1992, Durkheim E., *Sociology and Philosophy*, Routledge Revivals, Taylor & Francis Group, 2010, Durkheim E., *Suicide: A study in sociology*, Routledge Classics, Taylor & Francis Group, London – N.Y., 2002 and Cullen F. T., *Rethinking crime and deviance theory: the emergence of a structuring tradition*,

School of Chicago but also various American criminologists like R. Merton, A. Cohen and R. Cloward and L. Ohlin. Merton redefined the concept of anomie developing a formulation based on the notion that anomie is a disjunction between cultural goals and institutional means, which generates stress or pressure to individuals (strain theory). He maintained that when people suffer a means-goal disjunction, then deviant behavior is a probable outcome. Merton also developed a typology of five modes of individual adaptation to anomie, that is, conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism and rebellion.¹³ Merton's theoretical framework of anomie was applied in the most interesting way through subcultural theories formulated by Cohen, Cloward, Ohlin and Miller. According to these theories an individual's participation in a subculture is considered to be the cause of delinquent behavior.¹⁴ Cohen argued that various groups create value systems that stand in antithesis to the mainstream culture colliding with social order. Under such conditions of anomie and cultural conflict a delinquent subculture emerges. Furthermore, Cohen maintained that participation of working-class boys in subcultural groups and gangs was due to the cultural conflict between their values and the culture of middle-class. In other words, participation in subcultural groups constitutes a reaction against the oppressive values of middle-class and the crimes perpetrated by the members of such groups are mainly "blind" and non-utilitarian.¹⁵ Cloward and Ohlin developed the theory of "differential opportunity system" combining elements from

Rowman & Allanheld, 1983, pp. 55-73.

¹³ Merton R. K., *Social Structure and anomie, Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, The Free Press, IL., 1948a, pp. 131-160, Merton R. K., *Social Structure and anomie: Revisions and extensions, The Family: Its function and destiny*, Ruth Anshen (ed.), Harper & Row, New York, 1948b, pp. 226-257, Merton R. K., *The socio-cultural environment and anomie*, New Perspectives For Research on Juvenile Delinquency, H. L. Witmer and R. Kotinsky (eds.), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1955, pp. 24-50, Merton R. K., Social conformity, deviation and opportunity – structures: A comment on the contributions of Dubin and Cloward, *American Sociological Review*, 1959, 24 (2), pp. 177-189, Merton R. K., *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Free Press, N.Y, 1968, Merton R. K., *On theoretical sociology: five essays, old and new*, Collier- Macmillan Limited, The Free Press, London – N.Y., 1968.

¹⁴ See: Chaidou A., 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 160-190 (In Greek), Zarafonitou Ch., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 117-121 (In Greek), Kourakis N. E., *Law for juvenile offenders*, Sakkoulas Publ. Athens-Komotini, 2004, pp. 99-108 (In Greek), Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 252-258 (In Greek).

¹⁵ Cohen A. K., *Delinquent boys: The culture of gang*, The Free Press, N.Y., 1955, Cohen A. K., *The study of social disorganization and deviant behavior*, in *Sociology Today*, Merton R., Broom L., Cottrell L. (eds.), *Basic Books*, N.Y., 1959, Cohen A. K., Short J. F., *Juvenile Delinquency*, Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet, *Contemporary Social Problems*, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc, New York, 1961.

Merton's theoretical scheme, Sutherland's differential association theory as well as elements such as "cultural transmission of delinquent roles" grounded in the theoretical perspective of Chicago School. However, they asserted that in order for a person to engage in criminal activity there must be an access to illegitimate means, that is, specific illegitimate opportunities should exist. In other words, they integrated into their formulation not only the concept of differentiation in availability of legitimate means but also of differentiation in availability of illegitimate means. The modes of an individual's delinquent adaptation will be determined by the differentiation in opportunities to have access to illegitimate means.¹⁶ Finally, Miller formulated the theory of "focal concerns." According to Miller, juvenile gangs' subculture is not just a reaction against middle class values. Rather, it is an autonomous system of subcultural values and perspectives which Miller called "focal concerns." Consequently, within Miller's theoretical scheme criminal behavior is seen as a result of the working-class value system rather than as a result of conflict between two value systems.¹⁷

The most dominant non-stress theoretical tradition has long been the one propounded by Chicago School of Criminology. Theorists of Chicago School explored potential links between environmental factors and crime. "Ecological Criminology" studied delinquency distribution in certain areas. More specifically, Robert Park, newspaper reporter and sociologist, focused his scientific interest on studying delinquency within the city of Chicago. He found a parallel between the distribution of plant life in nature and the symbiosis of the plant and animal life and the organization of human life in societies. He contended that within a city there are "natural areas" that have "organic unit," like the ones observed in plant and animal life, in which different types of people are living, for example, different racial or ethnic communities such as Chinatown, Little Italy and Black Belt. Within such a frame of reference Park, Burgess and McKenzie developed the theoretical model of concentric circles, on which later Shaw and McKay based their research. According to this model Chicago is divided in five zones:

¹⁶ With reference to the different types of deviant adaptation they argued that there are 3 different types of subcultures that young people might enter into: (a) criminal subcultures, (b) conflict subcultures and (c) retreatist subcultures. Cloward R. A., Illegitimate means, anomie, and deviant behavior, *American Sociological Review*, 1959, 24, pp. 164-176, Cloward R., Ohlin L., *Delinquency and opportunity: A theory of delinquent gangs*, Free Press, N.Y., 1960.

¹⁷ According to Miller focal concerns are: (a) "trouble" which means being involved in deviant acts and arrested, (b) "toughness" which means being masculine and brutal, (c) "smartness" which reflects the use of tricks and fraudulent means, (d) "excitement" which is related to the pursuit of strong emotions, (e) "fate", that is, the notion that fate plays crucial role in life and (f) "autonomy" which is related to protestation against any kind of coercion and control. See Miller W., Lower class culture as a generating milieu of gang delinquency, *Journal of Social Issues*, 1958, 14, pp. 5-19.

loop, zone in transition, zone of working men's homes, residential zone and finally, commuters zone. The second zone which was the oldest residential section of the city had the highest rates of delinquency. Furthermore, being the most degraded in reference to housing quality, the second zone was comprised of lower-class residents while the last zone was comprised of upper-class residents. This model, which, was elaborated mainly by Burgess, was based on the sequence of "invasion-dominance-succession." Each of these five zones is growing and thus is gradually moving outward into the territory occupied by the next zone. Park called such a process a "vicious cycle of a continuous alteration of social formations in the same natural area." Shaw and McKay rooted their analysis of juvenile delinquency within the city of Chicago, in the Park and Burgess model. They concluded that the areas with the highest rate of crime were the social disorganized regions close to the city center and to the industrial district as well. Those areas were commercial or industrial, with houses in disrepair, with high population density, high-speed immigration, high rates of unemployment, low rates of family income and home ownership and weakening social control. Shaw and McKay, however, observed that high rates of juvenile delinquency decreased when juveniles moved out into the more prosperous zones. Finally, they concluded that delinquency was a result of juveniles being residents of high delinquency areas. In fact, they formulated a model which was comprised of the concept of social disorganization (control model) as well as that of cultural transmission (cultural transmission model). According to this theoretical formulation living in a social disorganized area isn't sufficient enough to cause delinquent involvement. Rather, the experience of living in a social disorganized zone should be coupled with an exposure to a delinquent value system, which is transmitted down through successive generations of boys like any other cultural tradition, irrespective of the area's racial or national demographic composition. Finally, Shaw and McKay highlighted the significance of the presence of criminal groups or gangs within high delinquency areas because they serve as the mechanism through which criminal values and techniques are transmitted.¹⁸ However, Sutherland rejected

¹⁸ See: Zarafonitou Ch., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 135-146 (In Greek), Chaidou A., 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 132-145 (In Greek), Kourakis N.E., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 87-89 (In Greek), Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 241-248 (In Greek). See also Hayward K., *Chicago School of Sociology, The Sage Dictionary of Criminology*, Compiled and edited by: Mc Laughlin, E./J. Muncie, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 37-40, Bruce S., Yearley S., *The Sage Dictionary of Sociology*, Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 2006, pp. 224-225, Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *op.cit.*, pp. 140-158, Cullen F. T., *op.cit.*, pp. 102-122, Park R. E., Burgess E. W., McKenzie R. D., *The city: The ecological approach to the study of human community*, Chicago, 1925, Shaw C. R., *Delinquency areas*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929, Shaw C. R., McKay H. D., *Juvenile delinquency and urban areas*, University of Chicago Press,

the notion implicit in his predecessors' formulations that only the crime of slum residents results from contact with criminal values. According to Sutherland criminal value systems exist elsewhere in society even in the upper classes. Influenced by Mead's symbolic interaction theory and the Chicago School's thought, he developed the "differential association" theory. Social learning or socialization theories argue that criminal behavior is learned through the same processes as any other legal or conventional behavior. Sutherland held that criminal involvement occurs due to "differential association", that is observed in situations of social disorganization and cultural conflict. In short, two ideas constitute the essence of his theory: (a) "systematic" criminal behavior which is caused by "differential association" and (b) social disorganization, a term which he replaced later with that of "differential social organization". The core idea of Sutherland's theory which he termed the "principle of differential association" is that an individual will commit a crime when he comes into contact with a higher portion of "definitions favorable to violation of law" than "definitions unfavorable to violation of law". In other words, when a person associates not only with deviants but with non-deviants as well, his experiences are contradictory. The superiority of criminal definitions is the crucial factor for causing criminal involvement. In fact, Sutherland developed a set of nine propositions based on the concept of "differential association": (1) criminal behavior is learned, (2) criminal behavior is learned in interaction with other people, (3) the learning of criminal behavior demands intimate personal relationships, (4) the learning of criminal behavior includes techniques of committing a crime and specific direction of motives, drives, rationalizations and attitudes, (5) the specific direction of motives and drives is learned from definitions of legal codes as favorable and unfavorable, (6) a person gets involved in criminal acts due to an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law over definitions unfavorable to violation of law, (7) differential associations may vary in frequency, duration, priority and intensity, (8) the process of learning criminal behavior includes all of the mechanisms which are involved in any other learning process and (9) while criminal behavior is an expression of general needs and values, it is not explained by those needs and values because conventional or legal behavior expresses the same general needs and values. Finally, it must be underlined that "differential association" theory was developed by Sutherland in order to explain individual criminal behavior. However, although he never constructed a systematic theory of "differential social organization", he elaborated that concept in an attempt to explain group rates of crime as well.¹⁹

Chicago, 1942, Thrasher F. M., *The gang: A study of 1313 gangs in Chicago*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1927.

¹⁹ See: Chaidou A., 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 190-202 (In Greek), Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 264-268 (In Greek), Cullen F. T., *op.cit.*, pp. 114-120, Sutherland E. H., Cressey

Structural functionalism, stress theories, their theoretical extensions and Chicago School tradition have been the most popular paradigms during 20th century. However, a group of theorists, known as control or social bond theorists questioned whether the exposure to stressful circumstances and contact with deviant cultures are responsible for the causation of criminal behavior. While admitting that such conditions may give rise to deviant motivations, they argued that such an observation is of little scientific interest because all people would deviate under certain conditions.²⁰ Within Hirschi's theoretical scheme and all of the control theorists' formulations as well, the main question was "why do people not commit crimes regardless of the effect of social structure". In other words, their scientific interest was focused on the study of factors that hold the behavior of individuals within the bounds of accepted norms, that is, the factors that preclude deviant motivations from being actualized in deviant behavior. According to Hirschi the absence or the weakness of social bonds gives rise to criminal behavior. Individuals who do not engage in delinquent acts are characterized by 4 elements that constitute the essence of the concept of social bonds: (1) attachment to significant others, especially parents, school and peers. Attachment is said to be the basic element necessary for the compliance with significant others' expectations and the internalization of social norms, (2) belief in social norms, (3) commitment in a way of life in accord with social norms and (4) involvement in conventional activities. According to a subsequent theory of Hirschi and Gottfredson, delinquent behavior is said to be explained by the person's low self-control. They maintained that low self-control is established early in life during childhood, remaining stable for a lifetime and is seen as a result of inadequate child rearing, incapability of parents to recognize and punish deviant behaviors, absence of affective ties between parents and child, absence of parental supervision and parental involvement in delinquency. In other words, low self-control emerges due to an ineffective socialization process during childhood, which is related to parenting and has a negative impact on the individual's ability to develop social bonds later in life. However, Hirschi and Gottfredson argued that in order for a person to engage in

D. R., *Criminology*, 8th edition, J.B. Lippincott Co, Philadelphia, 1970, pp. 75-76, Sutherland E. H., *The professional thief-By a professional thief*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937, Sutherland E. H., *White collar crime*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1983 (Dryden Press, N.Y., 1949), Frazier C. E., *Theoretical approaches to deviance: An evaluation*, A Bell & Howell Company, Columbus Ohio, 1976, pp. 13-14, Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *op.cit.*, pp. 179-200.

²⁰ See: Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 270-275 (In Greek). See also Cullen F. T., *op.cit.*, pp. 137-147, Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *op.cit.*, pp. 201-219, Frazier C. E., *op.cit.*, pp. 49-71.

criminal acts low self-control should be coupled with availability of illegitimate opportunities.²¹ Furthermore, Matza, another well-known control theorist, claimed that the commission of a crime is dependent on a person's possessing "techniques of neutralization" of moral responsibility. Through "techniques of neutralization" a person neutralizes society's control over him/her and frees himself/herself from social restraint. Sykes and Matza asserted that there are 5 "techniques of neutralization": (a) denial of responsibility, (b) denial of injury, (c) denial of the victim, (d) condemnation of the condemners and (e) appeal to higher loyalties. Although "techniques of neutralization" lead to breaking the ties to the conventional moral order, they do not necessary lead to engagement in criminal behavior. Rather, they create a state of "drift", that is, "a limbo between convention and crime". According to Matza within a state of "drift" the missing element which provides the thrust of impetus by which the delinquent act is realized is "will". But will like drift must be set in motion or activated. Matza maintained that under two specific conditions the activation of "will" is possible: (a) "preparation" and (b) "desperation". In short, Matza and Syke's theory could be seen as a bridge between differential association theory and control theories.²² Finally, within the framework of control tradition one can also include: (a) Reiss's internal control theory, (b) Reckless's containment theory and (c) Nye's theory about parental controls.²³

At this point it is worth mentioning briefly the primary notions of conflict criminology as well as those of the Marxist criminological perspective in reference to crime and criminal behavior. According to Marxists crime is considered to be a result of unequal distribution of wealth due to the possession of means of production by bourgeoisie. In other words, private property and consequently class society themselves are held to be criminogenic. Although Marx and Engels did not concern themselves with crime, it is still possible to discover something of their perspective on crime and its control.²⁴ According

²¹ Hirschi T., *Causes of delinquency*, University of California Press, Berkeley-L.A., 1969, Gottfredson H., Hirschi T., *A general theory of crime*, Stanford, California, 1990.

²² Sykes G. M., Matza D., Techniques of neutralization: A theory of delinquency, *American Sociological Review*, 1957, 22 (6), pp. 664-670, Matza D., *Delinquency and drift*, John Wiley, N.Y., 1964 and Matza D., *Becoming deviant*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1969. See also: Chaidou A., 1996, *op.cit.*, pp. 210-212 (In Greek).

²³ Reiss A. J., Delinquency as the failure of personal and social controls, *American Sociological Review*, 1951, 16, pp. 196-207, Reckless W., *The crime problem*, N.Y., 1967 and Nye I., *Family relationships and delinquent behavior*, N.Y., 1958.

²⁴ See: Farsedakis I., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 115-118 (In Greek), Farsedakis I., *History of criminological theories*, Vol. A, 1986, pp. 38-39 (In Greek), Alexiadis S., *Criminology*, Sakkoulas Publ., Thessaloniki, 3rd ed., 1989, pp. 126-134 (In Greek), Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 38-45 and 226-234 (In Greek), Arximandritou M., *The intertemporal*

to conflict criminology, which includes Marxist perspective as well, every society is composed of different social groups with different interests. As a result and in contrast to the notions of consensus model theorists, within society there is no common perception and acceptance of values and rules.²⁵ In short, within society there are not only antagonistic social groups with contradictory interests but a dominant group as well which exercises power on the less powerful groups by establishing and implementing laws in order to protect its own interests. Consequently, law is the basic means by which those who have the political power control those who can challenge their interests and cause of crime lies not in criminal behavior but in the power to criminalize behaviors of the members of the less powerful groups. Within such a frame of reference criminality becomes a natural response of groups with less political and economical power struggling to maintain their own way of life.²⁶

1.4. Labeling theory

Labeling theory is grounded in both a conflict and a symbolic interactionist theory, the origins of which are located within pragmatism²⁷ tradition and specifically within the 2nd generation pragmatists' theoretical approach like the one formulated by G. H. Mead.²⁸ Those two theoretical approaches, as suggested by Paternoster and Iovanni (1989), contributed to the development of two major premises of labeling theory: (a) within society the dominant group with political and economic power determines what is

approach of labeling theory, Sakkoulas Publ., Thessaloniki, 1996, p. 113 (In Greek), Marx K., *Theories of surplus-value*, Vol. IV, *Capital*, Synchroni Epochi Publ., Athens, 1984, pp. 432-434 (In Greek). See also Vold G. B., Bernard T. J., Snipes J. B., *op.cit.*, pp. 260-283, Bonger W. A., *Criminality and economic conditions*, Little Brown, Boston, 1905.

²⁵ Bernard T. J., *The consensus-conflict debate: Form and content in social theories*, Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1983.

²⁶ Vold G. B., *Theoretical Criminology*, Oxford University Press, N.Y, 1958, Turk A. T., *Criminality and Legal Order*, Rand McNally, Chicago, 1969, Quinney R. *Crime and justice in society*, Little, Brown & CO, Boston, 1969, Quinney R., *The social reality of crime*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1970, Quinney R., *Critique of the legal order*, Little, Brown, Boston, 1974, Dahrendorf R., *Class and class conflict in industrial society*, Stanford University Press, 1967, Muncie J., *Conflict Theory*, The Sage Dictionary of Criminology, Compiled and edited by: Mc Laughlin, E./J. Muncie, Sage Publications, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, 2001, pp. 64-65.

²⁷ See: Xidia E., *Pragmatism, Philosophic, Sociological Dictionary*, Vol. D., Kapopoulos Publ., Athens, 1995, pp. 238-239 (In Greek).

²⁸ Mead G.H., *Mind, Self and Society: From a standpoint of a social behaviorist*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, 1934, Mead G. H., *The psychology of punitive justice*, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1918, 23 (5), pp. 577-602.

labeled and who is labeled – the conflict tradition and (b) the experience of being labeled contributes to the creation of both a stable deviant identity and a criminal career – the symbolic interactionist approach.²⁹ First of all, not only conflict theory but labeling theory as well, attempt to explain the phenomenon of exercising social control³⁰ on the basis of power relations and social stratification. Practically, what is being accepted not only by conflict theorists but by labeling theory adherents as well is: (a) no act is inherently deviant, (b) the formulation of a deviant definition depends on the social context within which a social act takes place, (c) social rules that define who and what is deviant are enforced in the interest of the most powerful social group within a specific social context at a given point of time and finally, (d) age, sex, race and socioeconomic status are the most important offender characteristics that establish patterns of differential criminal justice decision-

²⁹ Paternoster R., Iovanni L., The labeling perspective and delinquency: An elaboration of the theory and an assessment of the evidence, *Justice Quarterly*, 1989, 6 (3), p. 361.

³⁰ See: Lampropoulou E., *The social control of crime*, Papazisis Publ., Athens, 1994 (In Greek), Papatheodorou Th., *The social control of crime, Chronicles of the Laboratory of Criminology and Judicial Psychiatry*, Law Department of Democritus University of Thrace, Sakkoulas Publ., Athens-Komotini, issue 4, 1992, pp. 55-67 (In Greek), Foucault M., *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison*, Rappas Publ., Athens, 1989 (In Greek). See also Innes M., *Understanding social control: Deviance, crime and social order*, edited by Mike Maguire, Crime and Justice series, Open University Press, 2003, Ross E., *Social Control: A survey of the foundations of order*, Cleveland, 1901, London, 1969, Turk A., *Social control and social conflict*, J. Gibbs (ed.) *Social Control*, Sage, Beverly Hills, 1982, Althusser, L., *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, New Left Books, London, 1971, Cohen S., *Visions of social control: Crime, punishment and classification*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1985, Cohen S., The punitive city: notes on the dispersal of social control, *Contemporary Crises*, 1979, 3 (4), pp. 341-363, Lowman J., Menzies R. J., Palys T. S., *Transcarceration: Essays in the sociology of social control*, Aldershot, Gower, 1987, Meier R., Perspectives on the concept of social control, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 8, 1982, pp. 35-55, Black D., *Social control as a dependent variable*, D. Black (ed.), *Toward a General Theory of Social Control: Fundamentals*, Vol. 1. Academic Press, New York, 1984a, Black D., *Crime as social control*, D. Black (ed.), *Toward a General Theory of Social Control: Selected Problems*, Vol. 2., Academic Press, New York, 1984b, Horwitz A., *The Logic of Social Control*, Plenum Press, New York, 1990, Hudson B., *Punishment and social control*, M. Maguire, R. Morgan and R. Reiner (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*, 3rd ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, Lemert E. M., The grand jury as an agency of social control, *American Sociological Review*, 1945, 10 (6), pp. 751-758, Mead G. H., The genesis of the self and social control, *International Journal of Ethics*, 1925, 5 (3), pp. 251-277.

making.³¹ As far as the impact of symbolic interactionism is concerned, it is important to note G.H. Mead's major contribution to its development and thereby to laying the foundation of labeling theory and offering a different approach to concepts such as human behavior, individual and social action, function of social groups and mechanisms of social control compared with the traditional sociological and psychological perspectives. Indeed, according to the dominant perspective within the field of sociology and psychology human beings are seen as static organisms and human behavior is considered to be caused by several biological, environmental, sociological or psychological factors. In other words, human beings are responding

³¹ Wellford C., Labeling theory and criminology: An assessment, *Social Problems*, 1975, 22 (3), pp. 333, Pollner M., *Sociological and common sense models of the labeling process*, Roy Turner (ed), *Ethnomethodology: Selected Readings*, Penguin Books, Baltimore, 1974, pp. 29 and 33, Lofland J., *Deviance and identity*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, NJ, 1969, p.14, Davis N. J., Labeling theory in deviance research: A critique and reconsideration, *The Sociological Quarterly*, 1972, 13 (4), pp. 453-454, Goode E., On behalf of labeling theory, *Social Problems*, 1975, 22 (5), pp. 571-572, Pope C. E., Lovell R., Stojkovic S., Rose H., *Minority overrepresentation: Phase II, Study Final Report*, Milwaukee, WI: Wisconsin Office of Justice Assistance, Governor's Commission on Juvenile Justice, 1996, Sampson R. J., Effects of socioeconomic context on official reaction to juvenile delinquency, *American Sociological Review*, 1986, 51 (6), p. 876, Liska A. E., Tausig M., Theoretical interpretations of social class and racial differentials in legal decision-making for juveniles, *Sociological Quarterly*, 1979, 20 (2), pp. 197-207, Dennefer D., Schutt R., Race and juvenile justice processing in court and police agencies, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1982, 87 (5), pp. 1113-1132, Thornberry T. P., Race, socioeconomic status and sentencing in the juvenile justice system, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1973, 64 (1), pp. 97-98, Sessar K., *Les conditions d'action du Ministère public compte tenu des facteurs administratifs, normatifs, pragmatiques et sociaux, Le fonctionnement de la justice pénale*, 1979, pp. 103-117, Petersilia J., *Racial disparities in the criminal justice system*, Santa Monica, RAND, CA, 1983, Poole E., Regoli R. Race, institutional rule breaking, and disciplinary response, *Law and Society Review*, 1980, 14, pp. 931-46, Leiber M. J., *The contexts of juvenile justice decision making: When race matters*, State University of New York Press, Albany, N.Y, 2003, Kochel T. R., Wilson D., Mastrofski S. D., Effect of suspect race on officers, arrests decisions, *Criminology*, 2011, 49 (2), pp. 473-512, Leiber M. J., Fox K. C., Race and the impact of detention on juvenile justice decision making, *Crime and Delinquency*, 2005, 51 (4), pp. 470-497, Irwin J., *The jail: Managing the underclass in American society*, University of California Press, Berkely, CA, 1985, pp. 18-41, Hirschfield P., Maschi T., White H. R., Traub L. G., Loeber R., Mental health and juvenile arrests: Criminality, criminalization, or compassion? *Criminology*, 2006, 44 (3), pp. 593-630, Tapia M., Untangling race and class effects on juveniles arrests, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 2010, 38 (3), pp. 255-265.

organisms who react to external and internal factors.³² However, Mead in his classic book titled “Mind, self and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist”, which was published during the interwar period, addressed the concepts of subject, social act and society from a different point of view. First of all, he maintained that human behavior is formed due to interpretations and definitions which the subject assigns to various objects, social events and social behavior of other subjects. Consequently, society’s structure and function is being understood on the basis of human interpretation. Mead conceived the idea of a human being as an organism with a self which he termed “a social self”, that is, he argued that a self is a social construction which arises and evolves through a process of social interaction composed of “significant symbols”.³³ According to Blumer, Mead regarded the self as a process and not as a structure. Moreover, he contended that according to Mead’s perspective a human being by self-interacting meets and handles his/hers world through a defining process instead of merely responding to it while he/she is forced to construct his/hers action instead of merely releasing it.³⁴ Paternoster and Iovanni contended that the core idea of labeling theorists, according to which the experience of being labeled by social control agents may result in an exclusion from the normal routines of everyday life triggering a series of events that will lead to a greater involvement in delinquent acts, has its roots in symbolic interactionism tradition.³⁵ When a person is the recipient of a deviant label, he/she must assign meaning to that label in terms of his/her own understanding, i.e., he/she interprets subjectively an objective fact determining its significance for his/her line of future action.³⁶ Consequently, through apprehension-subjective interpretation- determination of subjective action, the labeled person internalizes the “deviant label” making it an essential part of his/her personal identity. As a result the person redefines and reconstructs his/her actions based on his/her new identity.

Besides, Becker claimed that being arrested and publicly designated “a deviant” has a major negative impact on the social life and public identity of the stigmatized person contributing crucially to the consolidation of a criminal

³² Blumer H., *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and method*, University of California Press, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, N.J., 1969, pp. 14-15, 66, 72-73 and p. 82.

³³ Mead G. H., *op.cit.*

³⁴ Blumer H., *op.cit.*, pp. 62-64.

³⁵ Paternoster R., Iovanni L., *op.cit.*, pp. 362-363.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 375-379. See also Berger P. L., Luckmann T., *The Social Construction of Reality*, Doubleday, N.Y, 1966, p. 18 and p. 129.

career.³⁷ Thus, self-fulfilling prophecy is triggered. Treating a person as though

³⁷ Regarding the term “criminal career” you can see: Zarafonitou Ch., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp.87-94 (In Greek). You can also see: Farrington D. P., Jolliffe D., Hawkins J. D., Catalano R. F., Hill K. G., Kosterman R., Comparing delinquency careers in court records and self-reports, *Criminology*, 2003, 41(3), pp. 933-958, Blumstein A., Cohen J., Roth J., Visher C.A., *Criminal careers and career criminals*, vols 1 &2, DC-National Academy Press, Washington, 1986, Blumstein A., Cohen J., Farrington D. P., Criminal career research: Its values for criminology, *Criminology*, 1988, 26 (1), pp. 1-35, Blumstein A., Farrington D., Moitra S. D., Delinquency careers: Innocents, desisters, and persisters, *Crime and Justice*, 1985, vol. 6, pp. 187-219, Petersilia J., Criminal career research: A review of recent evidence, *Crime and Justice*, 1980, Vol. 2, pp. 321-379, Land K. C., Nagin D. S., Micro-Models of criminal careers: A synthesis of the criminal careers and life course approaches via semi parametric mixed Poisson Regression Models with empirical applications, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 1996, 12 (2), pp. 163-191, Farrington D. P., Loeber R., Elliott D. S., Hawkins J. D., Kandel D.B., Klein M.W., McCord J, Rowe D.C., Tremblay R. E., Advancing knowledge about the onset of delinquency and crime, *Advances in Clinical Child Psychology*, 1990, 13, pp. 283-342, Glueck S., Glueck E., *Later criminal careers*, Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1937, Glueck S., Glueck E., *Juvenile delinquents grown up*, Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1940, Paternoster R., Dean W. C., Piquero A., Mazerolle P., Brame R., Generality, continuity, and change in offending, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 1997, 13 (3), pp. 232-240, Hirschi T., Gottfredson M., Control theory and the life-course perspective, *Studies on Crime and Crime Prevention*, 1995, 4 (2), pp. 131-142, Greenberg D., Modeling criminal careers, *Criminology*, 1991, 29 (1), pp. 17-46, Rowe D., Osgood D. W., Nicewander W. A., Latent trait approach to unifying criminal careers, *Criminology*, 1990, 28 (2), pp. 237-270, Osgood D. W., Rowe D., Bringing criminal careers, theory, and policy through latent variable models of individual offending, *Criminology*, 1994, 32 (4), pp. 517-554, Nagin D., Farrington D. P., The stability of criminal potential from childhood to adulthood, *Criminology*, 1992, 30 (2), pp. 235-260, Delisi M., *Career criminals in society*, Sage, Thousand Oaks, CA, 2005, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., Crime and deviance over the life course: The salience of adult social bonds, *American Sociological Review*, 1990, 55 (5), pp. 609-627, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., Crime and deviance in the life course, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 1992, 18, pp. 63-84, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., Understanding variability in lives through time: Contributions of life-course criminology, *Studies on Crime & Crime Prevention*, 1995, 4 (2), pp. 143-158, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., *Crime in the making: Pathways and turning points through life*, Mass: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1993, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., *A life-course theory of cumulative disadvantage and the stability of delinquency*, Terence P. Thornberry (ed.), *Developmental Theories of Crime and Delinquency*, Transaction, New Brunswick, N.J., 1997, Nagin D., Farrington D., Moffitt T., Life-course trajectories of different types of offenders, *Criminology*, 1995, 33(1), pp. 111-140, Blokland A. A. J., Nieuwebeerta P., The effects of life circumstances on longitudinal trajectories of offending, *Criminology*, 2005, 43(4), pp. 1203-1240, Barnett A, Blumstein A, Cohen J.,

they were generally rather than specifically deviant produces a self-fulfilling prophecy since it sets in motion a process that contributes to shape the person in the image other people have of them. The person branded “a deviant” by accepting peoples’ evaluations as indicative of their identity will be excluded from interaction with conventional others and consequently have limited or no access to conventional opportunities and normal routines of everyday life. It is worth mentioning that deviant identity comes to be of primary importance and thereby, deviant ascription becomes a “master status”.³⁸ Thus, the stigmatized and socially marginalized person eventually will join an organized subcultural group (gang) internalizing and reproducing its subculture and consequently consolidating their criminal activity. Finally, due to such a participation in a subcultural group their deviant identity will be crystallized and as a result the vicious cycle of recidivism and stigmatization will be perpetuated.³⁹ However, such a course of events could be reversible since prophecies are not always fulfilled. The fulfillment of a prophecy depends on a series of factors which will either increase or decrease the chances of further involvement in deviance. Such factors are related to the structure of family and social context within which the stigmatized person acts as well as to the availability of opportunities and choices, i.e., to the existence of alternative lines of action and life events.⁴⁰

Farrington D. P., Not all criminal career models are equally valid, *Criminology*, 1992, 30(1), pp. 133-140, Paternoster R., Brame R., Multiple routes to delinquency? A test of developmental and general theories of crime, *Criminology*, 1997, 35(1), pp. 48-80, Moffitt T., Adolescent-limited and life-course persistent antisocial behavior: A developmental taxonomy, *Psychological Review*, 1993, 100(4), pp. 674-701, Moffitt T., Natural histories of delinquency, *Cross-National Longitudinal Research on Human Development and Criminal Behavior*, 1994, 76, pp. 3-61, Moffitt T., Caspi A., Dickson D., Silva P., Stanton W., Childhood-onset vs. adolescent-onset antisocial conduct problems in males: Natural history from ages 3 to 18 years, *Development and Psychopathology*, 1996, 8(2), pp. 399-424, Levi K., Becoming a Hit Man: Neutralization in a very deviant career, *Urban Life*, 1981, 10(1), pp. 47-63, Shover N., The later stages of ordinary property offender careers, *Social Problems*, 1983, 31(2), pp. 208-218, Shover N., *Great pretenders: Pursuits and careers of persistent thieves*, Westview Press, Boulder, CO, 1996, Uggen C., Work as a turning point in the life course of criminals: A duration model of age, employment, recidivism, *American Sociological Review*, 67, 2000, pp. 529-546, Ulmer J., Spencer W. J., The contributions of an interactionist approach to research and theory on criminal careers, *Theoretical Criminology*, 3(1), 1999, pp. 95-124, Wolfgang M. E., Figlio R. M., Sellin T. H., *Delinquency in a birth cohort*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1972.

³⁸ Becker H. S., *The outsiders*, Free Press, N.Y., 1963, pp. 33-34.

³⁹ See: Becker H., *The outsiders*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., Athens, 2000, pp. 75-90 (In Greek).

⁴⁰ Merton claimed that the vicious circle of self-fulfilling prophecies could be broken

As far as it concerns classic labeling theorists it is worth mentioning that the concept of labeling was first introduced in the work of Tannenbaum titled "Crime and the community" (1938).⁴¹ Tannenbaum developed the conception of "dramatization of evil". He suggested that the "dramatization of evil", that is, a process of evaluations and typifications of the subject contributes in a drastic way to the making of the criminal. Practically, according to Tannenbaum the making of the criminal is "a process of tagging, defining, identifying, segregating, describing, emphasizing, making conscious and self-conscious; it becomes a way of stimulating, suggesting, emphasizing, and evoking the very traits that are complained off".⁴² Lemert, the most significant proponent of labeling theory, after having systematically elaborated and developed Tannenbaum's idea of the "dramatization of evil", he formulated a theoretical model based on the conceptual distinction made between primary and secondary deviation. Lemert characterized primary deviation as polygenetic, arising out of a variety of social, cultural or psychological factors. Based on an etiological perspective, he considered primary deviation as a result of the contribution of multiple factors, highlighting the limited significance of such a deviation for the explanation of criminal behavior. To Lemert what is of primary importance and plays a key role to the stabilization of systematic deviant behavior, is secondary deviation, which refers to "a special class of socially defined responses which people make to problems created by the societal reaction to their deviance".⁴³ In his book "Human deviance, social problems and social control" Lemert refers to a paper written by Kitsuse on the societal reaction to deviant behavior, which was first read at meetings of the American Sociological Association in 1960 and published in 1964⁴⁴, as one of the most important attempts to explain deviance within the field of labeling theory. Kitsuse raised two major questions: what are the behaviors which are defined by members of the group, community or society as deviant and how do those definitions organize and activate the social reactions by which persons come to be differentiated

if the initial definition is challenged and abandoned and a new one is introduced. See Merton R. K., 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 478.

⁴¹ Tannenbaum F., *Crime and the community*, McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1938.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

⁴³ Lemert E. M., Some aspects of a general theory of sociopathic behavior, *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society*, State College of Washington, 1948, 16, pp. 23-29, Lemert E. M., *Social Pathology*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1951, Lemert E. M., *Human deviance, social problems, and social control*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 2nd ed., New Jersey, 1972, pp. 62-63.

⁴⁴ Lemert E. M., 1972, *op. cit.*, p. 15, Kitsuse J. I., *Societal reaction to deviant behavior: Problems of theory and method, The Other Side: Perspectives on Deviance*, Howard Becker (ed.), The Free Press, New York, 1964, pp. 87-102.

and treated as deviants.⁴⁵ In order to find answers he conducted a research about social reactions to homosexual behavior. One of the most interesting findings of this research was the concept of “retrospective interpretation”. Retrospective interpretation is “*a process by which the subject re-interprets the individual’s past behavior in the light of the new information concerning his deviance*”. Such a process is conducted in an intensive and comprehensive way penetrating every aspect of the labeled person’s past behavior in order to verify the deviant ascription.⁴⁶ Kitsuse concluded that if an individual’s behavior is being observed and defined as deviant but the observer does not accord the individual differential treatment as a consequence of that definition, the individual is not sociologically deviant.⁴⁷ Goffman is also considered as one of the most popular labeling theorists due to his classic works titled “*Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*” (1961)⁴⁸ and “*Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*” (1968).⁴⁹ Goffman did not focus his scientific interest exclusively on deviant behavior but on any kind of behavior which diverges from social stereotypes. What is being highlighted by Goffman is the issue of mixed social interactions, i.e., interactions between “normal” and stigmatized people.⁵⁰ Using the term “management of spoiled identity” he refers to all techniques that are used by the stigmatized person during his interaction with “normal” people in order to degrade or eliminate the negative consequences of his stigma. Finally, Goffman also studied extensively “degradation ceremonies” since he considered them to be integral parts of labeling processes. In order to describe in a vivid way the ritualistic character of such degradation ceremonies he used the example of total institutions. Degradation ceremonies have been the field of scientific interest for Garfinkel as well. In his paper titled “Conditions of successful degradation ceremonies”, that was published by American Journal of Sociology in 1956, he used the term “status degradation ceremony” for “*any communicative work between persons, whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social*

⁴⁵ Kitsuse J. I., Societal reaction to deviant behavior: Problems of theory and method, *Social Problems*, 1962, 9(3), p. 248.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁴⁸ Goffman E., *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*, Anchor Books, Garden City, 1961.

⁴⁹ Goffman E., *Stigma: Notes on the management of the spoiled identity*, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1968.

⁵⁰ Goffman E., *Stigma: Notes on the management of the spoiled identity*, Alexandria Publ., Athens, p. 67 (In Greek).

types”.⁵¹ The former identity stands as accidental while the new identity, which is successfully applied, is the basic reality.⁵² According to Garfinkel the most effective mechanisms of status degradation are those within the system of formal social control and specifically, the agents of criminal justice system.⁵³ From the above mentioned, it becomes clear that a successful “status degradation ritual” depends on the presence of a social audience which witnesses the whole degradation process. The conception of “social audience” and its significance for the labeling process is attributed to Erikson. According to Erikson, if a deviant act has not been detected by a social audience during the time of committing the act or at a later time, then the deviant will not be stigmatized and the mechanism of self-fulfilling prophecy with all the dramatic consequences, that implies, will not be activated. He considered a court proceeding to be the most representative paradigm of a degradation ceremony. He thought of such a process as a perfect degradation mechanism due to the combination of ritual and formal. In addition, such a degradation process causes permanent and irreversible results that mark the beginning of the activation of self-fulfilling prophecy.⁵⁴ At this point it is worth reminding that Becker elaborated extensively on the concepts of “self-fulfilling prophecy” and “master status” presenting the most important criminal career model based on labeling theory.⁵⁵ He maintained that the labeling process, especially the one taking place within the criminal justice system, can be a starting point to a criminal career, since it leads the stigmatized person eventually to join organized deviant groups, thereby, increasing the likelihood of further deviance. In addition, Cooley,⁵⁶ who was a pragmatist and a student of John Dewey as well, by using the term “looking glass self” treated the person’s self as an outcome of the person’s social interaction with others. In his work titled “Human nature and the social order” (1902) he argues that self-perception is constructed through interpersonal communication. During such a communication the person imagines how he/she appears to other persons and eventually perceives himself/ herself based on how he/she feels others perceive him/her. This conception, which is based on symbolic interactionism, is considered to be very important not only for the analysis of stigma management but also for the

⁵¹ Garfinkel H., Conditions of successful degradation ceremonies, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1956, 61(5), p. 420.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 421-422.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 424.

⁵⁴ Erikson K. T., Notes on the sociology of deviance, *Social Problems*, 1962, 9 (4), p. 311.

⁵⁵ Although Becker knew that a criminal career could be short-term, he focused his study on life persistent offenders. See Ulmer T. J., Spencer W. J., *op.cit.*, p. 108.

⁵⁶ Levine D., *Charles Horton Cooley, The Cambridge Dictionary of Sociology*, edited by Bryan S. Turner, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 92- 93.

understanding of the process, through which a self-concept and a self-perception are being reformulated on the basis of a deviant ascription.⁵⁷ Finally, Schur, who elaborated concepts such as “stereotyping”, “secondary elaboration”, “role engulfment” and “deviance disavowal” treating them as integral parts of the labeling process, attempted to explain deviance from the standpoint of a theoretical integration perspective on micro-sociological level. More specifically, he referred to three major categories of variables that determine not only the probability of engaging in deviation but the degree of susceptibility to negative labeling as well. Within the first category he included status characteristics such as economic and social status, age, sex, race, education etc. while the second category referred to the factor “opportunity”. Finally, psychological factors such as personality traits, individual alienation and negative or positive self-concept were included within the third category.⁵⁸

Although labeling theory is considered to be a single theoretical framework, there have been several different propositions about the most likely process through which official labeling affects secondary deviance. Liska and Messner (1999) refer to two different approaches.⁵⁹ According to the first one labeling somebody a deviant could lead to further deviance through the alteration of self-concept.⁶⁰ According to the second theoretical approach labeling could

⁵⁷ Cooley C. H., *Human nature and the social order*, 1902, N.Y, 1964, Cooley C. H., *The social process*, N.Y, 1920.

⁵⁸ Schur E. M., *Reactions to deviance: A critical assessment*, *American Journal of Sociology*, 75(3), 1969, pp. 309-322, Schur E. M., *Labeling deviant behavior: Its sociological implications*, Harper and Row, New York, 1971.

⁵⁹ Liska A. E., Messner S. F., *Perspectives on crime and deviance*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, N.J., 1999, pp. 118-125.

⁶⁰ This theoretical conception was elaborated by Matsueda who focused on the role of the self and the dynamic of symbolic interaction. He argued that recidivism occurs when the stigmatized person adjusts his/her self-concept and consequently his/her behavior to stereotypical expectations of social audiences. See Matsueda R., *Reflected appraisal, parental labeling, and delinquency: Specifying a symbolic interactionist theory*, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1992, 97 (6), pp. 1577-1611. As far as it concerns empirical research in terms of exploring the effect of labeling on recidivism through the alteration of self-concept see: Ray M. C., Downs W. R., *An empirical test of labeling theory using longitudinal data*, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 1986, 23(2), p. 170, Chassin L., Presson C. C., Young R. D., Light R., *Self-concepts of institutionalized adolescents: A framework for conceptualizing labeling effects*, *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 1981, 90 (2), pp. 143-151, Chassin L., Eason B. J., Young R. D., *Identifying with a deviant label: The validation of a methodology*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 1981, 44 (1), pp. 31-36, Thomas C. W., Bishop D. M., *The effect of formal and informal sanctions on delinquency: A longitudinal comparison of labeling and deterrence theories*, *The Journal of Criminal Law & Criminology*,

lead to subsequent involvement in deviant activity due to social marginalization caused by the stigma attached to the deviant label. More specifically, criminal behavior is consolidated due to the individual's exclusion from "conventional" opportunities and "conventional" others.⁶¹ In addition, empirical studies

1984, 75 (4), pp. 1222-1245, Bliss D. C., *The effects of the juvenile justice system on self-concept*, R & E Associates, Inc. As cited in Criminal Justice Abstracts, San Francisco, 1977, 10, pp. 297-298, Dinitz S., Dynes R., Clarke A. C., *Deviance: Studies in the process of stigmatization and societal reaction*, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1969, p. 187, Jensen G. F., Delinquency and adolescent self-conceptions: A study of the personal relevance of infraction, *Social Problems*, 1972, 20 (1), p. 84, Ageton S. S., Elliott D. S., The effects of legal processing on delinquent orientations, *Social Problems*, 1974, 22 (1), p. 89, Harris A. R., Race, commitment to deviance and spoiled identity, *American Sociological Review*, 1976, 41 (3), pp. 432-442, Evans R. C., Levy L., Sullenberger T., Vyas A., Self-concept and delinquency: The on-going debate, *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 1991, 16 (3), pp. 59-74, Welzenis I., The self-concept of societally vulnerable and delinquent boys within the context of school and leisure activities, *Journal of Adolescence*, 1997, 20 (6), pp. 695-705, Kolstad A., Gabrielsen A., Veisetaune A. K., Social psychological consequences of punishment: A comparison of imprisonment and community work, *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law*, 1995, 2, pp. 179-198, Byrd K. R., O' Connor K., Thackrey M., Sacks J. M., The utility of self-concept as a predictor of recidivism among juvenile offenders, *Journal of Psychology*, 127 (2), 1993, pp. 195-202, Cechaviciute I., Kenny D. T., The relationship between neutralizations and perceived delinquent labeling on criminal history in young offenders serving community orders, *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 2007, 34 (6), p. 817.

⁶¹ As far as it concerns the effect of labeling, especially the effect of official labeling, on recidivism through the exclusion from "conventional" opportunities and "conventional" others see Bernburg J. G., Krohn M. D., Labeling, life chances and adult crime: the direct and indirect effects of official intervention in adolescence on crime in early adulthood, *Criminology*, 2003, 41(4), p. 1289, Bernburg J. G., Krohn M. D., Rivera C. J., Official labeling, criminal embeddedness and subsequent delinquency: a longitudinal test of labeling theory, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 2006, 43 (1), pp. 67-88, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., *op.cit.*, 1993, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., *op.cit.*, 1997, Hagan J., Destiny and drift: Subcultural preferences, status attainment, and the risk and rewards of youth, *American Sociological Review*, 1991, 56, pp. 567-582, Link B., Mental patient status, work, income: An examination of the effects of psychiatric label, *American Sociological Review*, 1982, 47 (2), pp. 202-215, Link B., Cullen F. T., Struening E., Shrout P. E., Dohrenwend B. P., A modified labeling theory approach to mental disorders: An empirical assessment, *American Sociological Review*, 1989, 54, pp. 400-423, Schwartz R. D., Skolnick J. H., Two studies of legal stigma, *Social Problems*, 1962, 10 (2), pp. 133-143, Hjalmarsson R., *Criminal justice involvement and high school completion*, *Journal of Urban Economics*, 2008, 63 (2), pp. 613-630, Sweeten G., *Who will graduate? Disruption of high school education by*

within the field of labeling theory focused on the comparison between labeling and deterrence theory in terms of the impact of criminal justice involvement on recidivism. Because of the various methodological limitations of such empirical studies their conclusions are often contradictory sometimes confirming labeling theorists and sometimes deterrence proponents.⁶²

arrest and court involvement, 2006, 23 (4), pp. 462-480, Li S., Legal sanctions and youths' status achievement: A longitudinal Study, *Justice Quarterly*, 1999, 16 (2), pp. 377-401, Boshier R., Johnson D., Does conviction affect employment opportunities?, *British Journal of Criminology*, 1974, 14, pp. 264-268, Bernburg J. G., The subtle role of deviant labeling: An empirically grounded analysis, 39-49 in *Crime and Crime Control in an Integrating Europe: NSfK's 45th Research Seminar*, Helsinki, Finland, Helsinki: Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology, 2003a, Zhang L., Peers rejection as a possible consequence of official reaction to delinquency in Chinese society, *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 1994, 21(4), pp. 387-402.

⁶² With regard to the comparison between labeling and deterrence theory in terms of the effect of criminal justice involvement on recidivism see Gold M., Williams J., National study of the aftermath of apprehension, *Prospectus*, 1969-1970, 3, pp. 3-19, Gold M., *Delinquent behavior in an American city*, Brooks/Cole, Belmont, California, 1970, Haney W., Gold M., The juvenile delinquent nobody knows, *Psychology Today*, 1973, 7, pp. 48-55, Eachern A. W., The juvenile probation system, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 1968, 11, pp. 1-45, Spohn C., Holleran D., The effect of imprisonment on recidivism rates of felony offenders: A focus on drug offenders, *Criminology*, 2002, 40 (2), pp. 329-358, Farrington D. P., The effects of public labeling, *British Journal of Criminology*, 1977, 17 (2), pp. 112-125, Farrington D. P., Osborn S. G., West D. J., The persistence of labeling effects, *British Journal of Criminology*, 1978, 18 (3), p. 283, Klein M. W., Labeling, deterrence and recidivism: A study of police dispositions of juvenile offenders, *Social Problems*, 1974, 22(2), pp. 292-303, Klein M. W., Labeling theory and delinquency policy: An experimental test, *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 1986, 13 (1), p. 77, Smith D. A., Gartin P., Specifying specific deterrence: The influence of arrest on future criminal activity, *American Sociological Review*, 1989, 54 (1), pp. 94-105, Smith D. A., Paternoster R., Formal processing and future delinquency: Deviance amplification as selection artifact, *Law and Society Review*, 1990, 24 (5), pp. 111-113.



II. THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

2.1. OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The present study forms part of a Ph.D. dissertation. We investigated the effect of criminal justice involvement and official labeling during minority⁶³ on further deviance⁶⁴ as well as on the arise of a criminal career. The working hypotheses posed by our research addressed the issues below: (a) the more, the earlier and the deeper someone is involved in criminal justice system the higher the probability of feeling stigmatized by criminal justice agents and consequently of engaging in further deviance, (b) juveniles of lower socioeconomic status are arrested more often than juveniles of upper classes, (c) juveniles with deviant and convicted parents are more likely to feel stigmatized by criminal justice agents than juveniles with no such family background, (d) criminal justice involvement during minority has a negative impact not only on the juvenile offenders' relationship with school, family and peers but also on employment opportunities, (e) criminal justice involvement and official labeling during minority increase the likelihood of associating with deviant peers and consequently of participating in an organized criminal group, (f) the participation in an organized criminal group facilitates the continuation of the deviant activity and consequently increases the likelihood of recidivism and (g) the early and repetitive involvement in criminal justice system during minority increases the likelihood of establishing a criminal career.

⁶³ By using the term minority we refer to childhood and adolescence.

⁶⁴ The terms deviant or delinquent or criminal and the terms deviance or delinquency or criminality are used interchangeably.

2.2. METHODOLOGY

2.2.1. Sample's characteristics and sampling method

The current research has both quantitative⁶⁵ and qualitative⁶⁶ characteristics. Our research design included both an experimental and a control group. The experimental group consisted of 40 adult males incarcerated in the correctional institution of Malandrino (general institution of detention type B). These adult males were convicted of committing or participating in committing an accomplished or attempted intentional criminal offense (misdemeanor or felony). Furthermore, they had committed their first criminal act during minority and they had been subject to educational or therapeutic measures or punished with penalty in accordance with articles 54, 122, 123, 127, 130 or 131 of the Penal Code (hereinafter P.C.). The experimental group also consisted of 16 males (14 adults and 2 juveniles) who at the time of our research were subject to educational or therapeutic measures according to articles 122, 123, 130 and 131 P.C. These males were subject to such measures for committing or participating in committing an accomplished or attempted intentional criminal offense (misdemeanor or felony) during minority. In addition, they had been involved in criminal justice system at least once more for committing an intentional criminal act. The sample of the 40 adult males was drawn from the correctional institution of Malandrino and the sample of the 16 males was drawn from the Juvenile Probation Service of Athens. The experimental group had characteristics of both a purposive and convenience sample.⁶⁷ For our control group we contacted freshman and sophomore college students from the Department of Sociology of Panteion University and the Department of Geology of University of Patras. At this point it should be mentioned that our control group was a convenience sample.⁶⁸ The original control group consisted of

⁶⁵ See: Kiriazi N., *The sociological research: A critical review of the methods and the techniques*, Ellinika Grammata Publ., Athens, 2005, pp. 46-50 and 99-102 (In Greek), Mouton J., *Basic concepts in the methodology of the social sciences*, H.S.R.C. Series in Methodology, Mouton J. (ed.), Human Sciences Research Council, 1990, pp. 45-46, Frankfort – Nachmias C., Nachmias D., *Research methods in the social sciences*, St's Martins Press, 4th ed., 1992, pp. 97-146.

⁶⁶ See: Kiriazi N., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 51-54 (In Greek). See also Cassel C., Symon G., *Qualitative research in work context*, in C. Cassel – G. Symons (Orgs.), *Qualitative methods in organization research: A practical guide*, Sage, London, 1994, pp. 3-7, Morse M. J., Field A. R., *Nursing research: The application of qualitative approach*, Chapman & Hall, London, 1996.

⁶⁷ See Kiriazi N., 2005, *op.cit.* pp. 118 (In Greek).

⁶⁸ Singh K., *Quantitative social research methods*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2007, p. 107, Carter D. C., *Quantitative psychological research: The complete student's*

53 college students from whom we chose 12 students who had committed a criminal act without ever having been arrested.⁶⁹

2.2.2. Data collection and research tools

Regarding the research tools employed for the experimental group we chose to use the technique of personal interview as well as the study of case files, personal and penal records (combination of primary and secondary data - triangulation).⁷⁰ For the control group we employed the technique of the self-completion standardized questionnaire.⁷¹

2.2.3. Structure of interview questionnaire and self-completion questionnaire-application of research tools

For the experimental group we used the technique of structured interview.⁷² Interview's questionnaire included both closed and open-ended questions.⁷³ For the control group we employed the technique of structured questionnaire with closed questions and very few open-ended. Before applying our research tools we undertook a pilot study in order to locate potential structural problems in our questionnaires. As far as it concerns the conduct of the interviews with the individuals of the experimental group, it took place within the correctional institution and the Juvenile Probation Service without the presence of third parties. Regarding the self-completion questionnaires and our control group, we distributed the questionnaires during university lecture courses in cooperation with the professors of the university departments.

companion, Psychology Press, Taylor & Francis Group, N.Y, 3rd ed., 2010, p. 156.

⁶⁹ From the remaining 41 subjects of the control group, 40 students had never been involved in criminal acts and 1 student had been involved in criminal activity but he had been arrested.

⁷⁰ In cases where a mismatch between self-reported information and information derived from official records was located, we took into consideration the official records' data. See Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, p. 106 and pp. 132-133 (In Greek). See also Denzin N. K., *The research act*, McGraw-Hill Book Co, 2nd ed., N.Y., 1978, pp. 101-103, Klein M. W., 1986, *op.cit.*, Gibson H. B., Morrison S., West D. J., The confession of known offences in response to a self-reported delinquency schedule, *British Journal of Criminology*, 1970, 10, pp. 277-280, Blackmore J., The relationship between self-reported delinquency and official convictions among adolescent boys, *British Journal of Criminology*, 1974, 14 (2), pp. 172-176.

⁷¹ See Kiriazi N., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp.120-122 (In Greek). See also Warwick D. P., Lininger D., *The Sample survey: theory and practice*, McGraw-Hill, N.Y., 1975, pp. 182-219.

⁷² See Kiriazi N., 2005, *op.cit.*, p.122 (In Greek). See also Carter D.C., *op.cit.*, p. 72.

⁷³ See Kiriazi N., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 127-131 (In Greek). See also Force D. P., Richer S., *Social research methods*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973, pp. 160-163.

Finally, for the study of the official records we employed content analysis in order to convert secondary qualitative data in quantitative form.⁷⁴

2.2.4. Methods of data analysis

For the analysis of our data we used descriptive statistics due to the lack of a random (“representative”) sample.⁷⁵ According to the prevailing view in scientific literature the use of inferential statistics requires random sampling in order to ensure a “representative” sample and be able to infer from that sample to the general population.⁷⁶ By descriptive statistical analysis we can examine across cases of one variable at a time or the degree of a simple – not a causal- relationship between two variables. By univariate analysis we described 3 major characteristics of a single variable: (a) distribution, (b) central tendency and (c) dispersion. For the bivariate analysis we used crosstabs and simple linear correlation (r-pearson correlation coefficient).⁷⁷ Finally, for our descriptive statistical analysis we used the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS STATISTICS 20.0)

2.3. RESEARCH FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

2.3.1. Individual characteristics of experimental and control group - family variables

By our research findings, the presentation of which is going to be summary, we did not try to reach conclusions that extend beyond our research data, that is, we did not attempt to explore causal relationships or infer from our samples to the general population. However, our findings indicate possible relationships between variables which might prove useful in further future study using inferential statistical analysis.

⁷⁴ See Kiriazis N., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 284-285 (In Greek). Spinelli K.D., 2005, *op.cit.*, pp. 132-134 (In Greek). See also Jupp V., *Content analysis, The Sage Dictionary of Criminology, op.cit.*, pp. 70-71, Graneheim U. H., Lundman B., Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness, *Nurse Education Today*, 2004, 24, pp. 105-112.

⁷⁵ See Bechrakis Th., *Statistics for human and social sciences: Methods and paradigms*, Livanis Publ., Athens, 2010, pp. 81-84 and 85-118.

⁷⁶ Potter W. J., Cooper R., Dupagne M., Reply to Spark’s critique, *Communication Theory*, 1995, 5(3), pp. 280-286, Lang A., Standpoint: The logic of using inferential statistics with experimental data from nonprobability samples: Inspired by Cooper, Dupagne, Potter and Sparks, *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 1996, 40 (3), p. 425 και Edgington E. S., Statistical inference and non-random samples, *Psychological Bulletin*, 1966, 66, pp. 485-487.

⁷⁷ See Bechrakis Th., 2010, *op.cit.*, pp.14-15 (In Greek).

First of all, the majority of the experimental group had low socioeconomic status, low educational attainment and grew up in disadvantaged and dysfunctional families in contrast with the control group. Such a result is consistent with a series of empirical studies which conclude that there is a relationship between the above variables and criminal behavior.⁷⁸ More

⁷⁸ See West D. J., Farrington D. P., *Who becomes delinquent?*, Heinemann, London, 1973, Farrington D. P., Gallagher B., Morley L., Ledger R. J., West D. J., *Cambridge study in delinquent development: Long term follow-up*, Cambridge University, Cambridge-England, 1985, Farrington D. P., Early predictors of adolescent aggression and adult violence, *Violence and Victims*, 1989, 4 (2), pp. 79-100, Loeber R., Dishion T., *Early predictors of male delinquency: A review*, *Psychological Bulletin*, 1983, 94 (1), pp. 68-99, Glueck S., Glueck E., 1950, *op. cit.*, Maguin E., Loeber R., Academic performance and delinquency, *Crime and Justice*, 1996, 20, pp. 145-264, Maguin E., Hawkins J. D., Catalano R. F., Hill K., Abbott R., Herrenkohl T., Risk factors measured at three ages for violence at age 17-18, *Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology*, Boston, MA, November 1995, Catalano R. F., Hawkins J. D., *The social development model: A theory of antisocial behavior*, *Delinquency and Crime: Current Theories*, J. D. Hawkins (ed.), Cambridge University Press, New York, 1996, pp. 149-197, Herzog E., Sudia S., *Children in fatherless families*, Caldwell B., Ricciuti H., (ed.), *Review of Child and Development Research*, vol. 1, Chicago University Press, 1973, pp. 149-154, Henry B., Avshalom C., Moffitt T. E., Silva P. A., Temperamental and familial predictors of violent and non-violent criminal convictions: Age 3 to age 18, *Developmental Psychology*, 1996, 32 (4), pp. 614-623, McCord J., Ensminger M., Pathways from aggressive childhood to criminality, *Paper presented at the American Society of Criminology*, Boston, MA, November 1995, Wells E. L., Rankin J. H., Direct parental controls and delinquency, *Criminology*, 1988, 26 (2), pp. 263-285, Wells E., Rankin J., Families and delinquency: A meta-analysis of the impact of broken homes, *Social Problems*, 1991, 38 (1), pp. 71-93, Laub J., Sampson R., Unraveling families and delinquency: A reanalysis of the Glueck's data, *Criminology*, 1988, 26 (3), pp. 355-380, Van Voorhis P., Cullen F. T., Mathers R. A., Chenoweth C. G., The impact of family structure and quality on delinquency: A comparative assessment of structural and functional factors, *Criminology*, 1988, 26 (2), pp. 235-261, Coughlin C., Vuchinich S., Family experience in preadolescence and the development of male delinquency, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 1996, 58 (2), pp. 491-501, Rodgers B., Pryor J., *Divorce and separation: The outcomes for children*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, N.Y., 1998, McCord W., McCord J., Zola I., *The origins of crime*, Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1959, McCord J., Some child-rearing antecedents of criminal behavior in adult men, *Journal of personality and Social Psychology*, 1979, 37 (9), pp. 1477-1486, Goodwin D. W., Alcoholism and genetics: The sins of the fathers, *Archives of General Psychiatry*, 1985, 42, pp. 171-174, Johnson G. M., Schontz F. C., Locke T. P., Relationships between adolescent drug use and parental drug behaviors, *Adolescence*, 1984, 19 (74), pp. 295-299, Widom C. S., *The cycle of violence*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, National Institute of Justice, 1992, Stouthamer-Loeber M., Loeber R., Homish D.L, Wei E., Maltreatment of boys and the development of

specifically, the overwhelming majority of the experimental group (91,2%) had low educational level⁷⁹ and low income jobs (93%). In addition, the majority of the experimental group were drug addicts (57,14%) and had started abusing substances during childhood or adolescence. In contrast, in the control group no case of drug addiction was reported. This result is consistent with a bulk of researches' findings regarding the positive relation between drug use and delinquent behavior and especially between drug use and serious juvenile delinquency.⁸⁰ Although the direction of such a positive relationship between delinquent behavior and drug use is not clear, it is an indisputable fact that these two types of behavior coexist and feed each other not only during childhood and adolescence but also during the development of the criminal career over the life-course. As far as it concerns the structure of the family within which the subjects of the experimental group grew up, the majority of them grew up in a two-parent home. However, at a large percentage, which for the age period 13-18 was found to be almost 43%, the subjects of the experimental group were living in "broken homes" or in other environments such as institutions or orphanages. In contrast, the overwhelming majority

disruptive and delinquent behavior, *Development and Psychopathology* 2001, 13 (4), pp. 941-955, Ireland T. O., Smith C. A., Thornberry T. P., Developmental issues in the impact of child maltreatment on later delinquency and drug use, *Criminology*, 2002, 40 (2), pp. 359-400, Lansford J. E., Johnson S. M., Berlin L. J., Dodge K. A., Bates J. E., Pettit G. S., Early Physical Abuse and Later Violent Delinquency: A Prospective Longitudinal Study, *Child Maltreatment*, 2007 12 (3), pp. 233-245.

⁷⁹ By using the term "low educational attainment" or "low level of education" we refer to all the cases where the subjects never attended school or attended only primary education or did not completed primary or secondary education.

⁸⁰ See Arrestee Drug Abuse Monitoring Program, *Annual Report on Drug Use Among Adult and Juvenile Arrestees*, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice, 1999, Huizinga D., Jakob-Chien, C., *Contemporaneous co-occurrence of serious and violent juvenile offending and other problem behaviors*, In *Serious and Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions*, R. Loeber & D. P. Farrington (eds.), Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, CA, 1998, Wilson, J. J., Rojas N., Haapanen R., Duxbury E., Steiner H., Substance abuse and criminal recidivism: A prospective study of adolescents, *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, 2001, 31(4), pp. 297-312, Johnston L. D., O'Malley P. M., Bachman J. G., *Monitoring the Future National Results on Adolescent Drug Use: Overview of Key Findings*, 2005, Bethesda, MD: National Institute on Drug Abuse, NIH Publication No. 06-5882, 2006, Dembo R., Williams L., Fagan J., Schmeidler J., The relationships of substance abuse and other delinquency over time in a sample of juvenile detainees, *Criminal Behavior and Mental Health*, 1993, D'Amico E. J., Edelen M., Miles J. N. V., Morral A. R., *The longitudinal association between substance use and delinquency among high-risk youth*, *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, 2008.

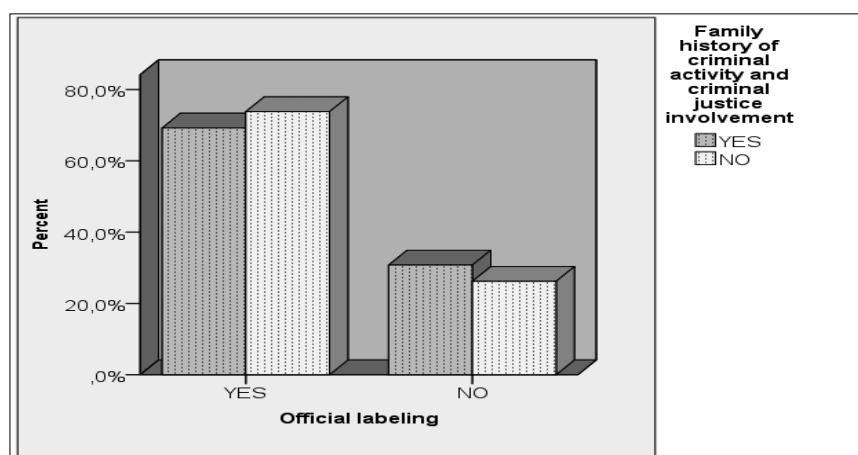
of the control group (83,3%) grew up in “intact homes”.⁸¹ With respect to family dysfunction, the majority of the experimental group (58,9%) grew up in a dysfunctional family environment. As far as it concerns the control group no case of family dysfunction was reported with the exception of one subject who grew up in an institution. Furthermore, domestic violence, parental conflict, serious illness of a parent, divorce and parental alcohol abuse were the most commonly reported family dysfunctions among the subjects of the experimental group. Regarding parental criminal behavior or other family member’s criminal activity and criminal justice involvement, 23,6% of the experimental group and 8,3% of the control group reported such a case. In every case where the involvement in criminal activity of one or more family members was reported, at least one parent was involved. In those cases where the delinquent family members were more than one, either one or both parents or parents and siblings combined were involved. Finally, 69,23% of the experimental group stated that a family member had been convicted for committing a criminal offense in contrast with control group where no case of a convicted family member was reported.⁸² However, correlating

⁸¹ See Katsigaraki E., *Family and deviance*, Sakkoulas Publ., Athens-Komotini, 2004, p. 63 (In Greek).

⁸² Regarding the relationship between parental deviance or sibling deviance and juvenile delinquency see: Glueck S., Glueck E., 1950, *op.cit.*, Ferguson T., *The young delinquent in his social setting*, Oxford University Press, London, 1952, Farrington, D. P., 1989, *op.cit.*, Loeber R., Stouthamer –Loeber M., *Family factors as correlates and predictors of juvenile conduct problems and delinquency*, Michael Tonry & Norval Morris (eds.), *Crime and Justice: An annual review of Research*, Vol. 7, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1986, pp. 29-40, McCord W., McCord J., Zola I., *op.cit.*, Johnson G., *Delinquent boys, their parents and grandparents*, Copenhagen, Munksgaard, 1967, Osborn S. G., West D. J., Conviction records of fathers and sons compared, *British Journal of Criminology*, 1979, 19 (2), pp. 120-133, Brook J. S., Whiteman M., Gordon A. S., Brook D. W., The role of older brothers in younger brothers’ drug use viewed in the context of parent and peer influences, *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 1990, 151(1), pp. 59-75, Lauritsen J. L., Sibling resemblance in juvenile delinquency: Findings from the National Youth Survey, *Criminology*, 1993, 31 (3), pp. 387-409, Brownfield D., Sorenson A. M., Sibship size and sibling delinquency, *Deviant Behavior: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 1994, 15 (1), pp. 45-61, Farrington D. P., Jolliffe D., Loeber R., Stouthamer-Loeber M., Kalb, L. M., The concentration of offenders in families, and family criminality in the prediction of boys’ delinquency, *Journal of Adolescence*, 2001, 24 (5), pp. 579-596, Farrington D. P., Barnes G. C., Lambert S., The concentration of offending in families, *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 1996, 1(1), pp. 47-63, Rowe D., Farrington D. P., The familial transmission of criminal convictions, *Criminology*, 1997, 35 (1), pp. 177-201, Fagan A. A., Najman J. M., Sibling Influences on Adolescent Delinquent Behaviour: An Australian Longitudinal Study, *Journal of Adolescence*, 2003, 26 (5), pp. 546-558.

by crosstabulation- within the experimental group- the variable “parental deviance and involvement in criminal justice system” with the variable “official labeling”⁸³ during minority, we concluded that the negative answer to the question about official labeling tended to be paired with the positive answer to the question regarding history of family criminality and criminal justice involvement, whereas the reverse was true for the positive response to the question about official labeling.

Figure 1 Association between official labeling during minority and history of family criminality and criminal justice involvement



Thus, the subjects, who had deviant parents that were involved in criminal justice system, were less likely to feel stigmatized by criminal justice agents during minority compared with those whose parents were never involved in criminal acts and criminal justice system.⁸⁴

Family socioeconomic status is usually measured in terms of family income, family’s reliance on outside aid, educational level of parents, parental occupation and neighborhood characteristics.⁸⁵ By measuring the family

⁸³ By using the term “official labeling” we refer to the result of any act of negative characterization or evaluation as well as to any form of verbal, psychological or physical abuse of a juvenile offender by the agents of formal social control or criminal justice system.

⁸⁴ However, it should be mentioned that the relationship between the two variables was simple- not causal. Furthermore, the Φ coefficient was -0,0444 and consequently the relationship was weak. See Kiriazi N., 2005, *op.cit.*, p. 200 (In Greek).

⁸⁵ Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., 1993, *op. cit.*, p. 72, Etim E. T., Egodu A. U., Family socioeconomic status and delinquency among senior secondary school students in Calabar South, Cross River State, Nigeria, *American International Journal Of Contemporary*

socioeconomic status in terms of parental educational attainment, we found that the majority of the experimental group grew up in underprivileged families, that is, in families with social and economic disadvantage (71,4% reported low educational level for their mothers and 76,2% for their fathers).⁸⁶ In addition, although 52,7% of the experimental group grew up in families with average economic status, there were several cases where the family economic status was described as low or very low. It is worth mentioning that 25,4% of the experimental group described their family economic status as low or very low while 21,8% described it as high or very high. In contrast, the subjects of the control group have reported that their parents' educational level was average (54,5% regarding mother's educational level)⁸⁷ or high (27,3% regarding mother's educational level and 70% regarding father's educational level)⁸⁸ at a greater percentage compared with those of the experimental group. The majority of the control group also described their family economic status as high (36,4%) or average (36,4%) while a total of 45,5%-in contrast with the 21,8% of the experimental group- described the economic status as high or very high. Finally, 18,2% of the control group described their family economic status as low. At this point it is worth mentioning that many empirical studies highlight the relationship between family socioeconomic status and delinquent behavior. However, in several cases the results of those studies are mixed or they do not locate the exact direction of the relationship between the variables.⁸⁹ As it has already been mentioned, according to several studies such

Research, 2013, 3 (4), pp. 83-88, Glueck S., Glueck E., 1950, *op. cit.*, Regolli R., Hewitt J., *Delinquency in Society: A child – centered approach*, Mc Graw – Hill Inc, 1991, p. 323, Ling M. O, The Relationship between family socioeconomic status and lifestyle among youth in Hong Kong, *Discovery – SS Student E-Journal*, 2013, 2, pp. 135-168.

⁸⁶ By using the term "low educational attainment" we refer to all the cases where the subjects' parents never attended school or attended only primary education or did not completed primary or secondary education.

⁸⁷ By using the term "average educational attainment" we refer to all the cases where the subjects' parents completed secondary education.

⁸⁸ By using the term "high educational attainment" we refer to all the cases where the subjects' parents completed tertiary education.

⁸⁹ Defoe I. N., Farrington D. P., Loeber R., Disentangling the relationship between delinquency and hyperactivity, low achievement, depression, and low socioeconomic status: Analysis of repeated longitudinal data, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 2013, 41(1), pp. 100-107, Carney T., Myers B. J., Louw J., Lombard C., Flisher A. J., The Relationship between substance use and delinquency among high-school students in Cape Town, South Africa, *Journal of Adolescence*, 2013, 1(1), pp. 1-9, Le T. N., Stockdale G., The Influence of school demographic factors and perceived student discrimination on delinquency trajectory in adolescence, *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 2011, 49(3), pp. 407-413, Glueck S., Glueck E., 1950, *op.cit.*, West D. J., Farrington D. P., *op.cit.*, pp. 26-32.

a relationship between socioeconomic status and juvenile delinquency might reflect the class effect on police and court decision making.⁹⁰ Consequently, these studies raise concern about whether the relationship between class position and juvenile delinquency is true or might reflect a differential treatment and selection by criminal justice agents.⁹¹ According to Goldman (1963) policemen hold that juvenile delinquency is a reflection of disturbed home conditions and inadequate family structure. Consequently, police tend to arrest more frequently lower- than middle- and upper-class juveniles as well as juveniles who live in “broken” or dysfunctional homes.⁹² Our research findings suggest that there might be a differential selection-based on the socioeconomic status of the juvenile offenders-by criminal justice agents. Such a suggestion is made due to the difference between the experimental and the control group regarding parental educational level and family economic status, combined with the fact that the subjects of the experimental group were involved in criminal justice system during minority as opposed to those of the control group. In addition, by comparing the mean number of criminal justice contacts⁹³ of the experimental group during minority on the basis of parental educational level, we found that the mean number of criminal justice contacts decreased as father’s educational level increased. In other words, the higher the father’s educational attainment the lower the mean number of criminal justice contacts. Although the differences between the compared mean numbers were small,⁹⁴ such a finding supports the notion regarding

⁹⁰ See Lemert E., 1951, *op. cit.*, p. 311, Thornberry T. P., 1973, *op.cit.*, Piliavin I., Briar S., Police encounters with juveniles, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1964, 70 (2), pp. 206-214, Sessar K., 1979, *op.cit.*, Tapia M. 2010, *op.cit.*, Tapia M., Gang membership and race as risk factors for juvenile arrest, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 2011, 48(3), pp. 364-395, Irwin J., 1985, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-41.

⁹¹ See Zarafonitou Ch., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 109, 173-175, 236-244 (In Greek).

⁹² Goldman N., *The differential selection of juvenile offenders for court appearance*, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1963. See also Inderbitzin M., Bates K., Gainey R., *Deviance and Social Control: A Sociological Perspective*, SAGE Publications, California, 2013, Cicourel A. V., Kitsuse J. I., *The social organization of the high school and deviant adolescent careers*, E. Ryubington & M. Weinberg (eds.), *Deviance: The interactionist perspective*, MacMillan: N.Y., 1968, pp. 124-135.

⁹³ By using the term “criminal justice contacts” we refer to police arrest regardless of further insertion into the justice system such as prosecution, referral to court etc.

⁹⁴ The mean number of criminal justice contacts for those whose father had low educational level was 4,47 with standard deviation 3,91 and standard error 0,71. The mean number for those whose father had average educational level was 4,33 with standard deviation 3,05 and standard error 1,76. Finally, the mean number of criminal justice contacts for those whose father had high educational level was 4,00 with standard deviation 2,34 and standard error 1,04.

differential selection of juvenile offenders by criminal justice agents. However, we should point out that the mean number of arrests based on the mother's educational level or the family economic status were not similar to those based on the father's educational level.

2.3.2. Criminal behavior and criminal justice involvement

2.3.2.1. Age of criminal onset, age of first arrest, type and frequency of criminal offenses

Regarding the criminal behavior of the two groups as well as the criminal justice involvement of the experimental group, we will present only the research findings related to the general conclusions of the present study.

First of all, the subjects of the experimental group seemed to have initiated their criminal behavior 3 years earlier compared with those of the control group. Furthermore, the experimental group displayed more serious delinquency in contrast with the control group. This serious criminal activity was displayed whether it was followed by arrest or not. More specifically, the average age of law-breaking onset for the experimental group regarding criminal acts not followed by arrest was 12,13 years while the average age for criminal onset regardless of whether it was followed by an arrest or not was 12,34 years. For the control group the average age of criminal onset was 14,9 years. The average age of arrest onset for the experimental group was 14,14 years while the 34% of that group were arrested at age less than 14 years. At this point it is worth mentioning that Wolfgang, Figlio and Sellin (1972) in their cohort study found that the average age of the first arrest was 14,4 years.⁹⁵ However in another study (Max Plank) it was revealed that more than 40% of the males of the sample had been contacted by police before the age of 14 years.⁹⁶ In addition, Wolfgang in a subsequent research on 567 members of the original Philadelphia cohort concluded that those who were engaged in criminal activity during minority were 4 times more likely to be arrested during adulthood than those who were not.⁹⁷

With respect to the criminal activity of the experimental group, our research findings revealed a wide range of criminal offenses, both minor and serious, as opposed to the nature of the criminal activity of the control group. This result is valid regardless of whether the subjects had been arrested or not for those

⁹⁵ Wolfgang M. E., Figlio R. M., Sellin T. H., *op.cit.*

⁹⁶ See Zarafonitou Ch., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 90-94 (In Greek), Schneider G., Sutterer P., Karger T., Cohort study on the development of police- recorded criminality and criminal sanctioning, Part I & II, *Crime and Criminal Justice*, 1988, pp. 72-88 and pp. 89-114.

⁹⁷ Wolfgang M., *Crime in a birth cohort*, R.Hood, *Criminology and Public Policy Essays in Honor of Sir L. Radzinovitz*, The Free Press, New York, 1974, pp. 79-92, Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., 1993, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

offenses. The serious criminal activity of the experimental group indicates a very high degree of involvement in delinquency since minority compared with the respective activity of the control group. Moreover, such a serious criminal activity suggest that offense –related variables (type of offense, police record etc.) could be crucial to the explanation of variance in criminal justice decision-making. Beyond this, our research findings are consistent with the results of previous empirical studies which indicate a relationship between family variables and juvenile delinquency. More specifically, the high degree of the experimental group’s involvement in delinquency during minority could be a reflection of the disadvantaged and dysfunctional family context in which the majority of the group grew up. The most frequently reported offenses by the experimental group for which the subjects had been arrested were offenses against property (mostly thefts and aggravated thefts), offenses against life or bodily injuries, violations of gun law and drug related crimes. As far as it concerns control group the most frequently reported offenses were crimes against property (thefts or property damages) and minor drug law violations. The following figure (figure 2) shows the type of offenses committed by both the experimental and the control group. Regarding the experimental group the following figure shows offenses which were not followed by arrest.

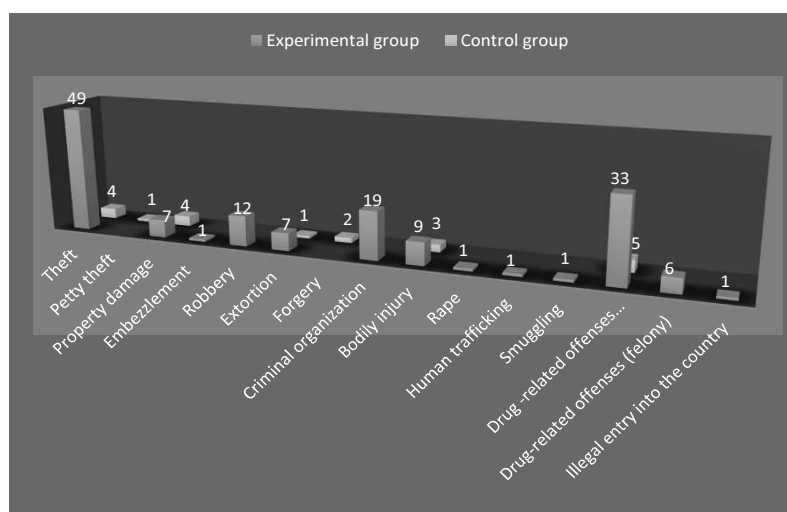
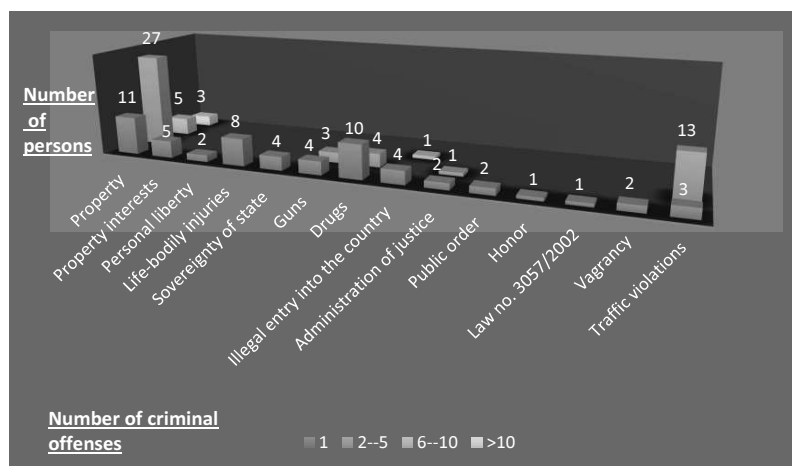


Figure 2 Type of offenses**Figure 3 Type and frequency of offenses**

The following figure presents the type and frequency of committed offenses during minority by the experimental group for which measures or penalties were applied during minority or adulthood.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ In the category of property crimes we included theft, aggravated theft, robbery, property damage and aggravated property damage (art. 372, 374, 380, 380 par.3, 381, 382 P.C.). In the category of crimes against property interests we included extortion, acceptance and disposition of proceeds of crime and fare evasion (art. 385, 391 and 394 P.C.). In the category of crimes against personal liberty we included illegal retention and threat (art. 325 and 333 P.C.). Furthermore, in the category of crimes against life or in that of bodily injuries we included intentional homicide, simple bodily injury, unprovoked bodily injury and hazardous bodily injury (art. 299 par.1, 308, 308A, 309 P.C.). Resistance and escape from legal custody were included in the category of offenses against public order (art. 167 and 173 P.C.). Possession, carrying and use of weapons were included in the category of gun law violations (αρ. 5, 6, 9 of Law no. 495/1976). Regarding drug law violations see Law no. 1729/1987, Law no. 3459/2006 and Law no. 4139/2013. As far as it concerns illegal entry into the country see Law no. 1975/1991, N. 2190/2001, Law no. 3386/2005. In the category of crimes against administration of justice we included the offenses of false deposit and false accusation (art. 225 and 229 P.C.). In the category of crimes against public order we included the offenses of criminal organization (art. 187 P.C.) and in the category of crimes against honor the offense of insult (361 P.C.). Law no. 3057/2002 is about sports legislation. For traffic violations see Law no. 2696/1999, Law no. 2963/2001 and Law no. 3542/2007. Finally, the offense of vagrancy (art. 408 P.C.) was abrogated.

2.3.2.2. Correlations between variables regarding the experimental group

2.3.2.2.1. Correlation between the number of criminal justice contacts during minority and the number of criminal justice contacts during adulthood

A Pearson correlation analysis was conducted in order to examine whether the number of criminal justice contacts⁹⁹ during minority co-varied with the number of criminal justice contacts during adulthood. The correlation coefficient (r-pearson) measures the strength of the linear association between two quantitative variables.¹⁰⁰ Due to age heterogeneity of the sampled individuals of the experimental group, we divided the group to homogeneous age subgroups.¹⁰¹ Our research findings revealed that certain age subgroups or combined age subgroups significantly differed.¹⁰² More specifically, for the age subgroup 31-36 we found a significant positive correlation ($r=+0,6$) between the two variables.¹⁰³ When we combined the age subgroups 25-30 and 31-36 we found a moderate positive correlation ($r=+0,3$), but after eliminating two outliers¹⁰⁴ the correlation coefficient increased to 0,5 (significant positive correlation). Moreover, we found a significant positive correlation ($r=+0,5$) between the two variables for the combination of the age subgroups 31-36 and

⁹⁹ By using the term “criminal justice contacts” we refer to arrests regardless of whether a further insertion into the criminal justice system took place or not.

¹⁰⁰ See Simeonaki M., *Statistical analysis of social data by using SPSS 15.0*, Sofia Publ., Thessaloniki, 2008, p. 181 (In Greek), Bechrakis Th., 2010, *op.cit.*, pp. 47-55 (In Greek).

¹⁰¹ The age subgroup 17-21 consisted of 17 individuals (15 adults and 2 minors), the age subgroup 25-30 consisted of 20 individuals, the age subgroup 31-36 consisted of 12 individuals and finally, the age subgroup 37-42 consisted of 6 individuals. We did not include one individual who was 53 years old at the time of our research due to the extreme value of the variable.

¹⁰² We did not include two subjects who were minors at the time of our research.

¹⁰³ In order to quantify a correlation, that is, to measure the strength and the direction of a linear relationship between two variables we use the Pearson correlation coefficient (r). The closer r is to +1 or -1 the stronger the relationship between the two variables. The weakest linear relationship is indicated by a correlation coefficient equal to 0. If the absolute value of r is $0 < |r| < 0,2$ (weak correlation), $0,2 \leq |r| < 0,4$ (moderate relationship), $0,4 \leq |r| < 0,7$ (significant correlation) and $0,7 \leq |r| < 1$ (strong correlation). See Simeonaki M., 2008, *op.cit.* (In Greek), Tsagris M., *Statistics using the SPSS 19 package*, MSc in Statistics, Athens-Nottingham, 2011, p. 56 (In Greek).

¹⁰⁴ We eliminated one subject with 29 criminal justice contacts during minority and 4 criminal justice contacts during adulthood (30 years old) and one subject with 18 criminal justice contacts during minority and 7 criminal justice contacts during adulthood (26 years old).

37-42. Consequently, we concluded that for some age subgroups there were indications that the more a person was involved in criminal justice system during minority the greater his involvement in further deviance during adulthood.

2.3.2.2.2. Correlation between the number of judicial decisions by which measures or penalties were imposed during minority and the number of criminal justice contacts and penal convictions for criminal acts committed during adulthood

In order to examine the correlation between the number of judicial decisions, by which measures or penalties were imposed during minority, and the number of criminal justice contacts during adulthood, we used a subsample of 39 individuals drawn from the original sample. We excluded all the cases where no measure or penalty was imposed during minority. We also excluded two subjects who were minors at the time of the research, since one of the two variables referred to the number of criminal justice contacts during adulthood. By forming homogeneous age subgroups we found the strongest bivariate correlation for the subgroups 31-36 and 37-42. More specifically, for the age subgroup 31-36 (7 subjects) the resulting correlation coefficient was + 0,8 (strong positive correlation).¹⁰⁵ For the age subgroup 37-42 (6 subjects) the correlation coefficient was found to be +0,74 (strong positive correlation). In addition, when combining the above two age subgroups the correlation coefficient slightly decreased to +0,62 (significant positive correlation).¹⁰⁶ Thus, our research findings indicate that for some age subgroups the more and the deeper someone is involved in criminal justice system during minority the greater his involvement in further delinquency during adulthood. When we correlated the number of judicial decisions, by which measures or penalties were imposed during minority, with the number of convictions for criminal acts committed during adulthood, the correlation coefficients were similar to the above for the same age subgroups. For the age subgroup 31-36 the correlation coefficient was + 0,8 (strong positive correlation) and for the age subgroup 37-42 we found a strong positive correlation ($r=+0,72$). The combination of the two previous age subgroups produced a correlation coefficient of +0,6 (significant positive correlation).¹⁰⁷ These findings reinforce the previous results according to which for certain age subgroups the more and the deeper someone is involved in criminal justice system during minority the greater his recidivism during adulthood.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ The p value was $0.034 < 0,05$ (statistically significant relationship between the two variables). However, due to the lack of a random sample we are not able to use inferential statistics.

¹⁰⁶ The p value was $0,024 < 0,05$ (statistically significant relationship between the two variables).

¹⁰⁷ The p value was $0,029 < 0,05$.

¹⁰⁸ Wolfgang M., 1974, *op.cit.*, Gold M., Williams J., National study of the aftermath

2.3.2.2.3. Correlation between age of first arrest and number of criminal justice contacts during minority

A moderate negative correlation was found between the age of first arrest and the number of criminal justice contacts during minority ($r = -0,3$).¹⁰⁹ However, after eliminating 4 outliers¹¹⁰ the correlation coefficient increased to $-0,4$ (significant negative correlation). Consequently, for the experimental group the early involvement in criminal justice system seems to relate to greater engagement in further delinquency during minority.

2.3.2.2.4. Correlation between age of first arrest and number of criminal justice contacts cumulatively during minority and adulthood

In order to examine the correlation between the age of first arrest and the number of criminal justice contacts not only during minority but also during adulthood we used once again homogeneous age subgroups including the two minors of our sample. We found a significant negative correlation ($r = -0,4$) between the two variables only for the age subgroup 37-42. Consequently, only for one age subgroup there were indications that the earlier the arrest onset the greater the involvement in further delinquency. Such a finding, although limited to a small age subgroup, might prove useful in further future research on the relationship between early involvement in criminal justice system and recidivism. This result is also reinforced by the previous results regarding the correlation between the age of first arrest and the number of criminal justice contacts during minority.

of apprehension, *Prospectus*, 1969-1970, 3, pp. 3-19, Gold M., *Delinquent behavior in an American city*, Brooks/Cole, Belmont, California, 1970, Haney W., Gold M., *The juvenile delinquent nobody knows*, *Psychology Today*, 1973, 7, pp. 48-55, Farrington D. P., *The effects of public labeling*, *British Journal of Criminology*, 1977, 17 (2), pp. 112-125.

¹⁰⁹ A negative correlation indicates that high values on one variable are associated with low values on the other. It should be mentioned that although we found a moderate correlation the p value was equal to $0,030 < 0,050$ (statistically significant relationship between two variables). However, due to our non random sample we are not able to use inferential statistics.

¹¹⁰ One subject who was arrested for the first time at the age of 14 and had 22 criminal justice contacts during minority, one subject who was arrested for the first time at the age of 14 and was involved in criminal justice system during minority 26 times and one subject who was arrested for the first time at the age of 13 and was involved in criminal justice system during minority 29 times. Finally, we eliminated one subject whose age of arrest onset was 15 and the total number of his criminal justice contacts during minority was 18.

2.3.2.2.5. Correlation between the number of criminal justice contacts during minority and the age of last arrest

We investigated the correlation between the number of criminal justice contacts during minority and the age of last arrest in order to see whether an increased number of criminal justice contacts could relate to a wider time-range of criminal career. Once again we used age subgroups including the cases of the two minors of our sample. For the age subgroups 31-36 and 37-42 the correlation coefficients were found to be + 0,5 (significant positive correlation) and + 0,7 (strong positive correlation) respectively. However, it is worth mentioning that when we explored the correlation between the age of first and last arrest we did not find any significant or strong negative correlation between the two variables.

2.3.2.2.6. Association between the detention in an educational or correctional institution for minors and recidivism during minority and adulthood

By associating the restriction of personal liberty during minority with recidivism during the same period, we found that the subjects, who had been deprived of their personal liberty during minority, displayed a higher mean number of criminal justice contacts during the same period compared with those who had never been detained in an educational or correctional institution for minors. More specifically, 30,4% (17 subjects) of the experimental group had been detained in an educational or correctional institution when they were juveniles, while 69,6% (39 subjects) had never been deprived of their personal liberty as juveniles. For the subgroup of the 17 subjects the mean number of criminal justice contacts during minority was 8,00, while the respective mean number for the subgroup of the 39 subjects was 5,59. However, there was difficulty in interpreting such a result because we were not able to determine the exact time sequence of the variables. In particular, in 6 cases the detention in an educational or correctional institution for minors occurred at the age of 13-14, in 5 cases the detention took place at the age of 15-16, and finally, in 6 cases the subjects were detained at the age of 17. Thus, there are indications that detention in an educational or correctional institution for minors and consequently official labeling, could increase the likelihood of recidivism during minority in those cases where the restriction of personal liberty took place at the ages of 13-14 or 15-16 and was followed by new criminal justice contacts during minority (8 cases). Regarding the relation between the restriction of personal liberty during minority and the number of criminal justice contacts during adulthood, we concluded that the mean number of criminal justice contacts was higher for those who had been detained compared with those who had not. Such results were found in the age subgroups 25-30, 31-36 and

37-42.¹¹¹ In particular, for 5 subjects of the age subgroup 25-30, who had been detained in an educational or correctional institution for minors, the mean number of criminal justice contacts was 16. For 15 subjects of the same age subgroup, who had not been detained the respective mean number was 7,93. For 5 subjects of the age subgroup 31-36, who had been detained in an institution during minority, the mean number of criminal justice contacts was 14,8. In contrast, for 7 subjects of the same age subgroup, who had never been deprived of their personal liberty, the respective mean number was 13,29. Finally, for 3 subjects of the age subgroup 37-42, who had been detained in an institution during minority, the mean number of criminal justice contacts was 20. For 3 subjects of the same age subgroup, who had not been deprived of their personal liberty during minority, the respective number was 12,33.¹¹²

2.3.3. Official labeling during minority and secondary deviance

2.3.3.1. Criminal justice involvement during minority, official labeling and recidivism (experimental group)

The overwhelming majority of the experimental group (92,7%) reported negative comments about the attitude of the juvenile justice agents towards them. The most commonly reported attitudes were physical, psychological or verbal abuse and racist or offensive behavior by magistrates.¹¹³ Furthermore, the majority

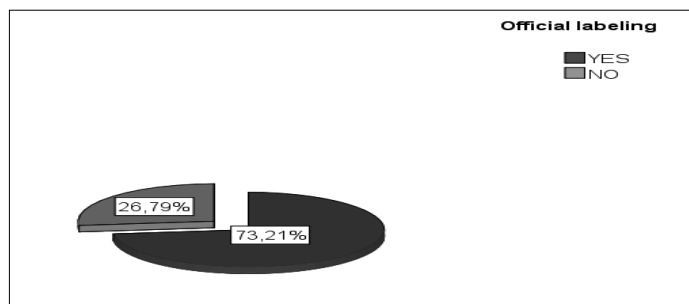
¹¹¹ In the age subgroups, as already mentioned, we did not include one subject who was 53 years old and two subjects who were minors at the time of our research.

¹¹² Giudicelli-Delay (1983) found that the larger proportion of his sample of recidivists have been deprived of their personal liberty during minority. He concluded that restriction of personal liberty at an early age increases the likelihood of recidivism. See Giudicelli-Delaye G., *Le récidivisme dans le département de la Vienne, Le Récidivisme*, PUF, Paris, 1983, pp. 91-101. See Zarafonitou Ch., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 229-232 (In Greek), and Daskalakis I., Andritsou A., Papadopoulou P., Pappas P., Perantzaki I., Tsabarli D., *The administration of criminal justice in Greece*, N.C.S.R. (E.K.K.E.) Athens, 1983, p. 248 (In Greek). See also Gosselin M., *Influence de la longueur de l'incarcération sur la récidive*, Univ. de Montréal, 1970, *La Criminologie Empirique au Québec*, 1985.

¹¹³ Hazel N., Hagell A., Brazier L., Young offenders' perceptions of their experiences in the criminal justice system, Policy Research Bureau, End of Award Report to the ESRC, 2002, Anderson S., Kinsey R., Loader I., Smith C., *Cautionary tales: A study of young people and crime in Edinburgh*, Edinburgh: Centre for Criminology, University of Edinburgh, 1990, Smith D., *Young people and the police*, Leicester: The National Youth Bureau, 1976, Hurst Y. G., Frank J., *How kids view cops: The nature of juvenile attitudes towards the police*, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 2000, 28, pp. 189-202, Rogowski S., *Young offenders: their experience of offending and the youth justice system*, *Youth and Policy*, 2000, 70, pp. 52-70, Tisseyre C., *The image and attitude of young people*

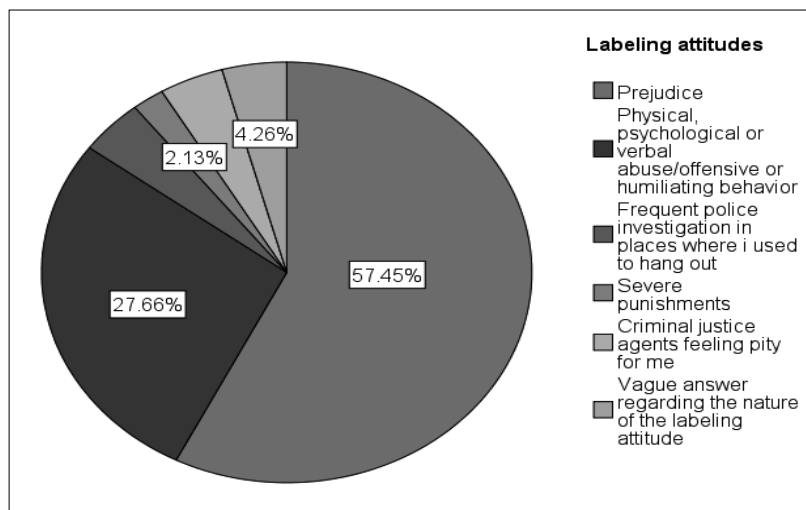
of the experimental group (75,47%) stated that the presence of other people during their involvement in juvenile justice system made them feel discomfort. Characteristically, 85% of the experimental group reported feeling ashamed.

Figure 4 Official labeling during minority



As far as it concerns official labeling during minority, 73,2% (41 subjects) of the experimental group stated that they have been official labeled as deviants or criminals, whereas 26,79% (15 subjects) reported that they had never been subject to such labeling (see figure 4). The most commonly reported labeling attitudes were: (a) prejudice, (b) physical, psychological or verbal abuse and (c) offensive behavior or humiliation by criminal justice agents (see the following figure 5).

Figure 5 Nature of the criminal justice agents' labeling attitudes



towards the police, International Child Welfare Review, No. 30-31, 1976, pp. 94-105.

It is worth mentioning that the overwhelming majority of the control group reported that they had not been labeled as deviant or criminals by other people. In particular, 8,3% (1 subject) of the control group reported having been labeled as criminal or deviant by other people during minority, whereas 75% (9 subjects) gave us a negative response. Finally, in 2 cases (16,7%) our data were incomplete. Furthermore, with regard to the 1 subject who reported having been labeled by other people, he stated that he had been labeled as deviant or criminal by people in his work environment.

Mention should be made to the fact that we compared -within the experimental group- the mean number of criminal justice contacts during minority of those who reported having been officially labeled during minority, with the respective mean number of those who reported not having been subject to such a labeling process. According to our research findings the mean number of criminal justice contacts during minority for those who had been official labeled during the same period, was 5,51. The respective mean number for those who had never felt being official labeled during minority, was 3,38. However, it is only a simple –not a causal- relationship between two variables. Furthermore, due to our inability to determine the exact time sequence of the variables the above relationship could be interpreted in two different ways. More specifically, the above simple relationship could suggest that official labeling during minority could relate to greater involvement in further delinquency or that the more someone is involved in juvenile justice system the greater the likelihood that he will feel stigmatized. We also explored the relationship between official labeling during minority and the number of criminal justice contacts during adulthood. In particular, we compared the mean numbers of criminal justice contacts during adulthood for those who had felt stigmatized by criminal justice agents during minority and for those who had not. We concluded that only for the age subgroup 25-30 the subjects who had felt stigmatized had a higher mean number of contacts (12,07) – greater recidivism- compared with those who had not felt stigmatized (3,60).

2.3.3.2. The impact of the criminal justice involvement (experimental group) as well as the impact of the involvement in criminal activity (control group) during minority on the juvenile's relationship with school

As far as it concerns the experimental group 16,07% (9 subjects), whose school was aware of their criminal justice involvement,¹¹⁴ reported that

¹¹⁴ In some cases the subjects had already stopped attending school at the time of their first arrest, or never attended school or did not know if the school had knowledge of their criminal justice involvement (experimental group) or their involvement in

their relationship with teachers and classmates was negatively affected by their involvement in justice system. In particular, 8 subjects (53,3% of the responses) stated that their teachers distrusted them and 4 subjects (26,7% of the responses) reported that their classmates were skeptical about them. Furthermore, 2 subjects (13,3% of the responses) reported having been marginalized by their classmates and 1 subject (6,7% of the responses) did not explain how his relationship with school was affected. Regarding control group, 4 subjects reported that their school knew about their criminal activity. Out of the 4 subjects only 1 (33,3%) stated that his relationship with school was affected. Specifically, he claimed that his engagement in criminal activity had a positive effect on his relationship with classmates. Finally, for 2 subjects (66,7%) our data were incomplete. Out of the 9 subjects of the experimental group, who stated that their criminal justice involvement had a negative impact on their relationship with school, 2 subjects (22,2%) reported that they left school due to that impact, 6 subjects (66,67%) did not left school and 1 subject (11,11%) was not sure if he left school due to the negative impact of his criminal justice involvement on his relationship with the teachers and classmates or not. The above results concern a small proportion of the experimental and control group. However, criminal justice involvement had a negative impact on the relationship between the juvenile offender and school (school officials and classmates). We did not find similar results for the control group, that is, criminal activity per se did not seem to have had such a negative impact.¹¹⁵

2.3.3.3. The impact of criminal justice involvement (experimental group) as well as the impact of the involvement in criminal activity (control group) during minority on employment opportunities

With reference to the occupational status of the experimental group during minority, 80,4% (54 subjects) had been working, 12,5% (7 subjects) had not been working and 7,1% (4 subjects) reported that they had never exercised a profession. Furthermore, 58,3% (7 subjects) of the control group stated that they had been working during minority, 25% (3 subjects) stated that they had not been working and for 2 subjects (16,7%) our data were incomplete. Out of the 45 subjects of the experimental group, who reported that they had been working during minority, 22,2% (10 subjects) stated that criminal justice involvement impeded their employment opportunities, whereas 77,78% (35 subjects) claimed that they had never encountered rejection from employers. Regarding control group, out of the 7 subjects, who had been working during minority, 66,7% (6 subjects) reported that they had never

criminal activity (control group).

¹¹⁵ Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., 1997, *op. cit.*, Hagan J., *op. cit.*, Hjalmarsson R., *op. cit.*, Sweeten G., *op. cit.*, Bernburg J. G., Krohn M. D., 2003, *op. cit.*

experienced rejection from employers, while 11,1% (1 subject) reported that he encountered such a rejection due to his engagement in criminal activity. Finally, for 2 subjects (22,2%) our data were incomplete. Moreover, out of the 35 subjects of the experimental group, who reported that despite their criminal justice involvement they had no difficulty finding a job during minority, 80% (28 subjects) had been employees and 20% (7 subjects) had been working in a family business. Out of the 28 subjects, who had been employees and despite their police record they never had any difficulty finding a job during minority, 17,86% (5 subjects) claimed that their employer was aware of their police record, while 60,71% (17 subjects) claimed that he was not. Finally, 21,43% (6 subjects) reported that either they did not know or did not want to answer that question. Out of the 10 subjects of the experimental group, who stated that criminal justice involvement limited their employment opportunities during minority, 70% (7 subjects) reported that their failure to get a job enhanced their involvement in further delinquency. They also stated that the lack of income accounted for such an involvement. In contrast, 30% (3 subjects) reported that failing to get a job had no effect on their subsequent delinquent activity. We were not able to obtain further data regarding the effect of blocked employment opportunities on recidivism for the 1 subject of the control group, who stated that his engagement in criminal acts had a negative impact on such opportunities. In addition, for 2 subjects of the control group our data were incomplete.

In short, our research findings revealed that only a small portion of the experimental group had difficulty finding a job during minority due to criminal justice involvement. However, we should bear in mind that having difficulty finding a job depends not only on the nature of the job but also on whether the employer is aware of the police record or not.¹¹⁶ Finally, the majority of the subjects of the experimental group, who reported having difficulty finding a job, reported also that such a difficulty reinforced their involvement in further criminal activity during minority. We did not find similar results for the control group.

¹¹⁶ Regarding the effect of official labeling on employment opportunities and consequently on recidivism see Sampson R. J., Laub J. H., 1997, *op.cit.*, Hagan J., *op.cit.*, Bernburg J. G., Krohn M. D., *op.cit.*, Schwartz R. D., Skolnick J. H., *op.cit.*, Buikhuisen W., Dijksterhuis F., *Delinquency and stigmatization, British Journal of Criminology*, 1971, 11, pp. 185-187, Boshier R., Johnson D., *op.cit.*, Li S., *op.cit.*

2.3.3.4. The impact of criminal justice involvement (experimental group) as well as the impact of the involvement in criminal activity (control group) during minority on family

Regarding the effect of criminal justice involvement during minority on the interpersonal relationships between the subjects of the experimental group and their family members, it is important to mention that 91,1% (51 subjects) of the group reported that their family members knew about their encounter with the juvenile justice system. In addition, 8,9% (5 subjects) had not been living in family environments at the time of their encounters with the juvenile justice system, but in institutions or orphanages, and consequently we did not ask them whether their family was aware of their criminal justice involvement or not. With regard to the control group, 33,3% (4 subjects) stated that their family members had knowledge of their criminal behavior, 41,7% (5 subjects) reported that no family member was aware of their involvement in criminal acts and for 2 subjects (16,7%) our data were incomplete. Finally, 1 subject (8,3%) grew up during minority in an institution or orphanage.

As far as it concerns the cases, where the subjects of the experimental group had been living with their mothers at the time of their encounter with the juvenile justice system, and the reaction of the mother to such an encounter, our research findings revealed the following: 61,7% (29 subjects) reported that their mothers were supportive, 19,1% (9 subjects) reported that their mothers displayed a rejecting or negative attitude towards them, 10,6% (5 subjects) stated that their mothers' attitude was partly supportive or positive and partly rejecting or negative, while 8,5% (4 subjects) claimed that their mothers were indifferent. For the control group, our research findings showed that 50% (3 subjects) reported that their mothers reacted supportively or positively when they became aware of their criminal behavior, while 16,7% (1 subject) stated that his mother displayed a rejecting or negative attitude towards him. For 2 subjects (33,3%) our data were incomplete. With respect to the cases where the subjects of the experimental group had been living with their fathers at the time of their encounter with the juvenile justice system and also with respect to the reaction of the father to such an encounter, our research findings indicated the following: 50% (20 subjects) stated that their fathers were supportive, 30% (12 subjects) reported that their fathers' attitude was rejecting or negative towards them, 12,5% (5 subjects) claimed that their fathers' attitude was partly supportive or positive and partly rejecting or negative and 7,5% (3 subjects) described their fathers' attitude as indifferent. For the control group the variance of the responses was the following: 40% (2 subjects) reported that when their fathers became aware of their engagement in criminal acts they reacted positively by being supportive, whereas 1 subject (20%) described his father's attitude as rejecting or negative. For 2

subjects (40%) our data were incomplete. With reference to the subjects of experimental group, we should underscore that some of them had been living with a parent and a guardian or with grandparents or with relatives at the time of their encounters with juvenile justice system. The guardian's reaction was supportive or positive at a percentage of 60% (3 subjects) and rejecting or negative at a percentage of 40% (2 subjects). Furthermore, 2 subjects (3,6%), who had been living with grandparents and relatives respectively, reported that their attitude was supportive or positive.

Although the majority of the experimental group reported that their interpersonal relationships with family members were not disrupted due to their criminal justice involvement, at a large percentage the reaction of family members was reported to be rejecting, partly rejecting or indifference (38,2% regarding mothers and 50% regarding fathers).¹¹⁷ In contrast, with reference to the control group, the negative impact of criminal activity per se on the interpersonal relationships between juvenile offenders and family members was reported to be far more limited.

2.3.3.5. The impact of criminal justice involvement (experimental group) as well as the impact of the involvement in criminal activity (control group) during minority on peer relations

2.3.3.5.1. Type of friends before arrest onset (experimental group) or before criminal onset (control group)- friends' reaction to arrest or criminal onset

In order to examine the effect of criminal justice involvement during minority on peer relations, we investigated the type of friends with whom the experimental group associated before arrest onset. We did the same thing for the control group by investigating the type of friends with whom the subjects associated before criminal onset in order to explore the effect of criminal activity per se on peer relations.

The majority (66,07%- 37 subjects) of the experimental group associated not only with delinquent but also with non-delinquent peers. Furthermore, 23,21% (13 subjects) associated exclusively with delinquent peers and 10,71%

¹¹⁷ Regarding the negative effect of criminal justice involvement on the interpersonal relationship between parents and child see Matsueda R., *op.cit.*, Heimer K., Matsueda R., Role-taking, role commitment and delinquency: A theory of differential social control, *American Sociological Review*, 1994, 59 (3), pp. 365-390, Stewart E. A., Simons R. L., Conger R. D., *The effects of delinquency and legal sanctions on parenting behaviors*, 257-279 in *Families and Crime*, edited by Greer Litton Fox and Michael Benson, Samford, CT:JAI, 2000, Stewart E. A., Simons R. L., Conger R. D., Scaramella V. L., Beyond the interactional relationship between delinquency and parenting practices: The contribution of legal sanctions, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 2002, 39 (1), pp. 36-59. See also Katsigaraki E., 2004, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-187.

(6 subjects) had no delinquent friends. With reference to the control group 58,3% (7 subjects) reported that they associated with both delinquent and non delinquent friends, whereas 16,7% (2 subjects) reported that their friends were exclusively non-delinquent. Finally, for 3 subjects (25%) our data were incomplete. In short, according to the above results the majority of both the experimental and the control group associated with delinquent friends before arrest onset (experimental group) or criminal onset (control group). More specifically, the majority of both groups belonged to friendship networks containing both delinquent and non-delinquent members. As far as it concerns the experimental group, mention should be made to the fact that almost 24% of the group was involved exclusively with delinquent friends. In contrast, the subjects of the control group associated exclusively with non-delinquent friends at a greater percentage compared with the experimental group (16,7% versus 10,71%). A bulk of empirical studies¹¹⁸ have emphasized the importance of peer-relations to the etiology of juvenile delinquency. However, the interpretation of the peer-delinquency association remains controversial because the exact direction of the bivariate relationship it is not entirely clear.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ Akers R. L., Krohn M. K., Lonza-Kaduce L., Radosevich M., Social learning and deviant behavior: A specific test of a general theory, *American Sociological Review*, 1979, 44, pp. 636-655, Elliott D. S., Huizinga D., Aegeton S. S., *Explaining delinquency and drug use*, Sage, Beverly Hills, CA, 1985, Elliott D. S., Huizinga D., Menard S., *Multiple problem youth: delinquency, drug use, and mental health problems*, Springer-Verlag, N.Y., 1989, Elliott D., Menard S., *Delinquent friends and delinquent behavior: Temporal and developmental patterns*, The Institute of Behavioral Science, University of Colorado, CO, 1991, Erickson M. L., Empey L. T., Class position, peers and delinquency, *Sociology and Social Research*, 1965, 49, pp. 268-282, Hardt R. H., Peterson S. J., Arrests of self and friends as indicators of delinquency involvement, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 1968, 5, pp. 44-51, Kandel D. B., Adolescent marijuana use: role of parents and peers, *Science*, 1973, 181, pp. 1067-1070, Kandel D. B., Homophily, selection, and socialization in adolescent friendships, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1978, 84, pp. 427-436, Krohn M. D., *An investigation of the effect of parental and peer associations on marijuana use: an empirical test of the differential association theory*, M. Riedel & Thornberry T. P. (eds.), *Crime and Delinquency: Dimensions of Deviance* (75-87), Praeger, N. Y., 1974, Matsueda R. L., Anderson K., The dynamics of delinquent peers and delinquent behavior, *Criminology*, 1998, 36 (21), pp. 269-299, Patterson G. R., Dishion T. J., Yoerger K., Adolescent growth in new forms of problem behavior: Macro and micro-peer dynamics, *Prevention Science*, 2000, 1, pp. 3-13.

¹¹⁹ Advocates of the "self-selection" model (Gottfredson-Hirschi) argue that delinquent behavior precedes selection of delinquent friends. See Gottfredson M., Hirschi T., The methodological adequacy of longitudinal research in crime and delinquency, *Criminology*, 1987, 25, p. 597, Gottfredson M., Hirschi T., 1990, *op.cit.*, Loeber R., *Review of explaining delinquency and drug use by D. S. Elliott*, Huizinga

According to many studies peer groups are usually heterogeneous with both delinquent and non delinquent members.¹²⁰

As far as it concerns the reaction of the experimental group's delinquent friends¹²¹ with reference to the involvement of the experimental group in juvenile justice system, the variance of the responses was the following: 16% (8 subjects) reported that their delinquent friends were supportive, 48% (24 subjects) reported a rejecting or negative attitude, 24% (12 subjects) reported a neutral attitude and 12% (6 subjects) stated that some delinquent friends were supportive and some showed a rejecting or negative attitude towards them. For the control group and the reaction of the delinquent friends regarding the group's engagement in criminal acts,¹²² our findings revealed the following: 25% (2 subjects) reported that their delinquent friends have been supportive, 37,5% (3 subjects) reported that their delinquent friends' attitude was neutral and for 37,5% (3 subjects) our data were incomplete. As far as the reaction of the non-delinquent friends is concerned,¹²³ with reference to the involvement of the experimental group in juvenile justice system, our research

and S. S. Aegeton, *Aggressive Behavior*, 1987, 13, pp. 97-99, West D. J., *Review of explaining delinquency and drug use by D. S. Elliott*, D. Huizinga, S. S. Aegeton, *Journal of Adolescence*, 1985, 8, pp. 376-377. Learning theories reverse the above ordering and assume that non-delinquent adolescents are socialized into delinquency by their delinquent friends. See Akers R. L., *Deviant behavior: A social learning approach*, Wadsworth, Belmont, CA, 1985, Burgess R. L., Akers R. L., A differential association-reinforcement theory of criminal behavior, *Social Problems*, 1966, 14(2), pp. 128-147. Finally, social interactional model suggests that both a personal antisocial trait (self-selection model) and an exposure to deviant peers (social learning theory) contribute to delinquency by interacting with each other. See Thornberry T. P., Toward an interactional theory of delinquency, *Criminology*, 1987, 25, pp. 863-891 and Thornberry T. P., Lizotte A. J., Krohn M. D., Farnworth M., Jang S. J., Delinquent peers, beliefs and delinquent behavior: A longitudinal test of interactional theory, *Criminology*, 1994, 32, pp. 47-84.

¹²⁰ Elliott D., Huizinga D., Menard, S., *op.cit.*, Haynie D. L., Friendship Networks and Delinquency: The Relative nature of peer delinquency, *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 2002, 18 (2), pp. 99-134.

¹²¹ In all 50 cases, where the respondents reported having delinquent friends, the delinquent friends knew about the respondents' involvement in juvenile justice system.

¹²² Out of the 7 cases, where friendship with delinquent peers was reported, only in 5 the delinquent peers knew about the respondents' engagement in criminal acts while for 3 subjects our data were incomplete.

¹²³ In all 43 cases, where the respondents reported having non-delinquent friends, the non-delinquent friends knew about the respondents' involvement in juvenile justice system.

findings showed the following: non-delinquent friends were reported to have been supportive at a percentage of 39,53% (17 subjects), they were also reported to have had a rejecting or negative attitude at a percentage of 39,53% (17 subjects), while 11,63% (5 subjects) stated that the attitude of their non-delinquent friends was neutral. Finally, 9,3% (4 subjects) reported that some of their non-delinquent friends were supportive and some displayed a rejecting or negative attitude towards them. For the control group and as far as it concerns the group's engagement in criminal acts,¹²⁴ 25% (3 subjects) reported that their non-delinquent friends were supportive and 50% (6 subjects) reported that their non-delinquent friends displayed a neutral attitude. Finally, for 3 subjects (25%) our data were incomplete.

Overall, our research findings revealed that involvement in juvenile justice system during minority had a negative impact on the interpersonal relationships between the experimental group and both delinquent and non delinquent friends. However, the delinquent friends were more likely to be reported as not supportive compared with the non-delinquent friends. For the non-delinquent friends, both supportive and rejecting attitudes were reported at equal percentages. Finally, it is worth mentioning that the delinquent friends displayed neutral attitude at a greater percentage compared with the respective percentage for the non-delinquent friends. Regarding the control group and the reaction of the delinquent friends to the group's criminal activity, we found that both supportive and neutral attitudes were reported at similar percentages. However, with reference to the reaction of the non-delinquent friends our findings showed that the neutral attitude was reported at a higher percentage than the supportive attitude. In short, our findings indicated that for the control group there was no report of negative or rejecting attitude, neither by delinquent nor by the non-delinquent friends. Therefore, based on the above results, it seems that criminal activity per se does not influence negatively the interpersonal relationships between the juvenile offender and his friends, as opposed to criminal justice involvement which had a negative impact on the juvenile offenders' friendships.

2.3.3.5.2. *Type of friends after arrest onset (experimental group) or after criminal onset (control group) and official labeling*

Regarding the type of friends with whom the experimental group associated after arrest as well as the type of friends with whom the control group associated after criminal onset, our data revealed the following: (a) with reference to the experimental group, association with delinquent friends was reported at a percentage of 21,43% (12 subjects), association with non-delinquent friends was reported at a percentage of 12,5% (7 subjects) and finally, association with

¹²⁴ In all 9 cases, where the respondents reported having non-delinquent friends, the non-delinquent friends knew about the respondents' engagement in criminal acts while for 3 subjects our data were incomplete.

both delinquent and non-delinquent friends was reported at a percentage of 66,07% (37 subjects) and (b) with reference to the control group, association with non-delinquent friends was reported at a percentage of 41,7% (5 subjects) –higher percentage compared with the respective percentage of 12,5% for the experimental group- while 33,3% of the group (4 subjects) stated that they associated with both delinquent and non-delinquent friends. Finally, for 3 subjects (25%) our data were incomplete. Consequently, no case of association exclusively with delinquent friends was reported by the control group (the respective percentage for experimental group was 21,43%).

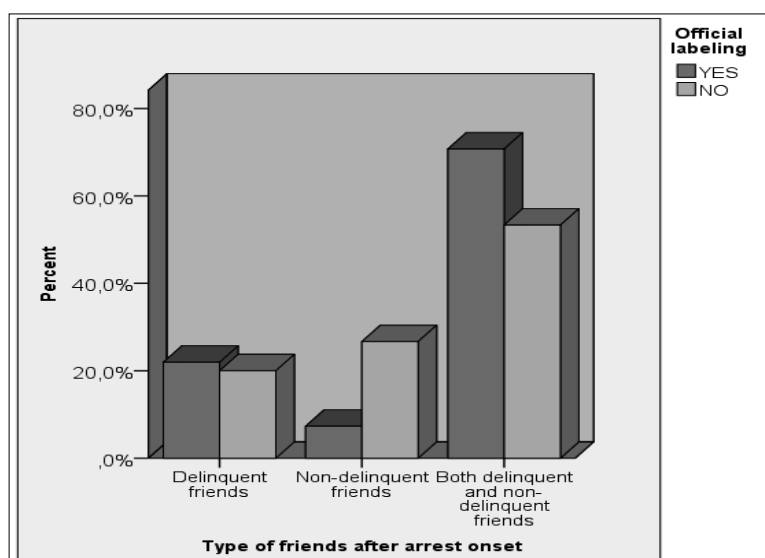
We asked the subjects, who reported that after arrest onset (experimental group) or criminal onset (control group) they had associated with delinquent or both delinquent and non-delinquent friends, whether such an association was due to personal choice or to other factors. Out of the 49 subjects who reported having associated with delinquent or both delinquent and non-delinquent friends after arrest onset, 79, 59% (39 subjects) stated that they chose to be involved with delinquent friends, 14,29% (7 subjects) reported that such an association was due to other factors and 6,12% (3 subjects) reported that such an association was partly a matter of personal choice and partly due to other factors. As far as it concerns the 10 cases where the association with delinquent friends was reported to be due or partly due to other factors, those factors were drug use (30%- 3 subjects), exclusion from “conventional others” (40%- 4 subjects), being contacted persistently by delinquent peers (10%- 1 subject), detention in an educational institution for minors (10%- 1 subject) and long-term stay at an orphanage (10%- 1 subject). Finally, all the 4 subjects (57,1%) of the control group, who reported having associated with both delinquent and non-delinquent friends after their criminal onset, stated that they chose to be involved with delinquent friends while for 3 subjects (42,95%) our data were incomplete. As we can see in the following figure (figure 6), by relating-within the experimental group- official labeling during minority and type of friends after arrest onset, we found that the positive answer to the question regarding official labeling tended to be paired with the association with both delinquent and non-delinquent friends while the negative answer to the question of official labeling tended to be paired with involvement with non-delinquent friends.¹²⁵ In other words, those subjects who reported not to have been officially labeled tended to associate with non-delinquent friends while those who reported having been officially labeled tended to associate with both delinquent and non-delinquent friends.¹²⁶ The above relationship reinforces the hypothesis according to which

¹²⁵ The above relationship is a simple –not a causal- relationship and the Cramer’s V coefficient was +0,261 and consequently the strength of the relationship is weak.

¹²⁶ As far as it concerns the relationship between criminal justice involvement and the exclusion of juvenile offenders from “conventional others” see Dodge K. A.,

criminal justice involvement and official labeling could lead the juvenile offender to associate with delinquent peers or friends, even though we were not able to determine the exact time sequence of the variables.

Figure 6 Association between official labeling during minority and type of friends after arrest onset (experimental group)



2.3.3.5.3. Involvement in organized delinquent groups or gangs and recidivism

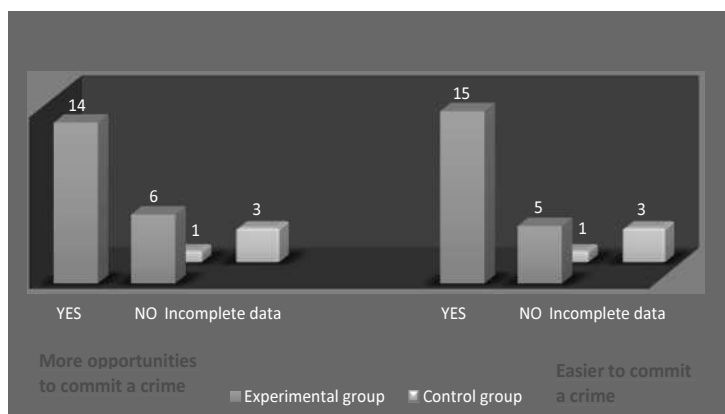
We asked the subjects of both groups whether they had ever joined an organized delinquent group or gang due to their association with delinquent friends after arrest onset (experimental group) and after criminal onset (control group) respectively, in order to examine the relationship between association with delinquent friends and delinquent group or gang membership. More

Behavioral antecedents of peer social status, *Child Development*, 1983, 54 (6), pp. 1386-1399, Bernburg J. G., *op.cit.*, Zhang L., *op.cit.*, Zhang L., Messner S. F., The severity of official punishment for delinquency and change in interpersonal relations in Chinese society, *Journal of Research in Crime and delinquency*, 1994, 31 (4), pp. 416-433, Becker H., *op.cit.*, Johnson L. M., Simons R. L., Conger R. D., Criminal justice system involvement and continuity of youth crime: a longitudinal analysis, *Youth & Society*, 2004, 36(1), pp. 3-29, Matsueda R., *op.cit.*, Heimer K., Matsueda R., *op.cit.*, Bernburg J. G., Krohn M. D., Rivera C. J., *op.cit.*, Wiley A. S., Slocum L. A., Esbensen F., The unintended consequences of being stopped or arrested: an exploration of the labeling mechanisms through which police contact leads to subsequent delinquency, *Criminology*, 2013, 51 (4), pp. 927-966.

specifically, our research findings revealed the following: (a) with reference to the experimental group 40,8% (20 subjects) had been part of a delinquent group or gang, while 59,2% (29 subjects) reported that they had never been involved in such a group and (b) regarding the control group, out of the 4 subjects, who reported having associated with both delinquent and non-delinquent friends after their criminal onset, only 1 subject (14,3%) had been part of a delinquent group or gang compared with the remaining 3 subjects (42,9%), who had never been members of such a group. Finally, for 3 subjects (42,9%) our data were incomplete. Consequently, according to our research data the subjects of the experimental group had been members of a delinquent group or gang at a greater percentage compared with those of the control group.

Out of the 20 subjects of the experimental group, who had been members of a delinquent group or gang, 12 subjects (60%) stated that their involvement in such a group contributed to their engagement in further delinquency while 8 subjects (40%) reported that being a member of such a group did not affect their involvement in subsequent delinquency. With reference to the control group, the 1 subject (25%), who claimed to have been a member of a delinquent group or gang, reported that his membership in such a group did not affect his involvement in further delinquency. Furthermore, for 3 subjects (75%) our research data were incomplete.

Figure 7 More opportunities and easier to commit a crime under organized criminal activity



Finally, according to the above figure (figure 7) the majority of the above 20 subjects of the experimental group, reported that being a member of a delinquent group or gang facilitates the commission of criminal acts (70% of

those who had been members of a delinquent group or gang) and provides more opportunities for engagement in criminal activity (75% of those who had been members of a delinquent group or gang). We did not find similar results for the control group.

In summary, our research findings revealed that those involved in criminal justice system (experimental group), were more likely to have been members of a delinquent group or gang than those who did not have any encounter with criminal justice system (control group). Such a finding could relate to the fact that the experimental group displayed a higher degree of involvement in serious delinquency as opposed to the control group. A bulk of researches have concluded that individuals, who are members of organized delinquent groups or gangs, are usually involved in serious violent criminal activity.¹²⁷ Although

¹²⁷ Spergel I. A., *Street Gang Work: Theory and practice*, Reading, MA: Addison Wesley Publishing Co, 1966, Spergel I. A., Violent gangs in Chicago: In search of social policy, *Social Service Review*, 1984, 58 (2), pp. 199-226, Spergel, I. A., *The Youth gang problem: A community approach*, Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1995, Klein, M. W., *The American street gang*, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1995a, Klein, M. W., Maxson C. L., Miller J., *The modern gang reader*, Roxbury Publishing, Los Angeles, 1995, Klein M. W., Maxson C. L., *Street gang violence*, Marvin E. Wolfgang & Neil Weiner, (Eds.), *Violent Crime, Violent Criminals*, Newbury Park, Sage Publications, CA, 1989, Moore J. W., *Homeboys: Gangs, drugs and prison in the Barrios of Los Angeles*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1978, Vigil J. D., *Cholos and gangs: Culture change and street youth in Los Angeles*, Gangs in America, C. Ronald Huff (ed.), 116-28, Newbury Park, Sage Publications, CA, 1990, Vigil J. D., Urban violence and street gangs, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2003, 32, pp. 225-42, Short J. F. Jr., Strodtbeck L. F., *Group process and gang delinquency*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965, Short J. F. Jr., *Exploring integration of theoretical levels of explanation: Notes on gang delinquency*, 243-59 in *Theoretical Integration in the Study of Deviance and Crime: Problems and Prospects*, edited by Marvin D. Krohn, Steven F. Messner, and Allen E. Liska, State University of New York, N.Y., 1989, Hagedorn J., *Back in the field again: Gang research in the nineties*, C. R. Huff (Ed.), *Gangs in America* (240-262), Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, CA, 1990, Huff C. R., *Comparing the criminal behavior of youth gangs and at-risk youth*, Washington DC: National Institute of Justice , 1998, Huff C. R., *Gangs in America* (3rd ed.), Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, CA, 2002, Decker S., Winkle B.V., *Life in the gang*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, England, 1996, Horowitz R., *Sociological perspectives on gangs: Conflicting, definitions and concepts*, C. Ronald Huff (Ed.), *Gangs in America*, Newbury Park, Sage Publications Inc., CA, 1990, Fagan, J., *Social processes of delinquency and drug use among urban gangs*, C. R. Huff (Ed.), *Gangs in America* (183-222), Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, CA, 1990, Tracy P., *An analysis of the incidence and seriousness of self-reported delinquency and crime*, Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1978, Esbensen F. A., Winfree L. T. Jr., He N., Taylor T. J., *Youth gangs and definitional issues: When is a gang a gang, and why*

many researchers consider the experience of gang membership as “qualitatively different”¹²⁸ compared with the experience of associating with delinquent friends or peers, most empirical studies do not distinguish between them.

2.3.4. Concluding remarks

Before presenting our general conclusions, we should bear in mind that we did not attempt to investigate causal relationships or infer from our samples to the general population. In other words, our conclusions based on simple bivariate relationships do not extend beyond our research data.

First of all, those involved in criminal justice system seem to have initiated their criminal behavior earlier compared with those who did not have any encounter with juvenile justice system. Furthermore, those involved in criminal justice system displayed a far more serious delinquent activity compared with those who were not involved. The nature of the criminal acts committed by those who were involved in criminal justice system indicated a high degree of involvement in delinquency since minority, as opposed to those who did not have any encounter with the criminal justice system. Moreover, the nature of such a serious criminal activity suggests that offense –related variables (type of offense, police record) could be crucial to the explanation of variance in criminal justice decision-making. In addition, the low socioeconomic status of those involved in the criminal justice system as opposed to the status of the non-involved, could suggest that there might be a differential selection -based on the socioeconomic status of the juvenile offenders -by criminal justice agents. The high degree of the experimental group’s involvement in delinquency during minority could be a reflection of the disadvantaged and dysfunctional family context in which the majority of the group grew up. As far as it concerns the effect of criminal justice involvement during minority on recidivism our research findings were consistent with the claim that the more

does it matter?, *Crime and Delinquency*, 2001, 47 (1), pp. 105-130. Two important longitudinal studies explored the effect of gang membership-not the effect of the association with delinquent peers or friends- on delinquent behavior. See Battin S. R., Hill K. G., Abbott R. D., Catalano R. F., Hawkins J. D., The contribution of gang membership to delinquency beyond delinquent peers, *Criminology*, 1998, 36 (1), pp. 93-115, Battin S. R., Thornberry T. P., Hawkins J. D., Krohn M. D., Gang membership, delinquent peers and delinquent behavior, *Juvenile Justice Bulletin*, U.S. Department of Justice, O.J.J.D.P., 1998, Thornberry T. P., *Membership in youth gangs and involvement in serious and violent offending*, Serious & Violent Juvenile Offenders: Risk Factors and Successful Interventions, edited by R. Loeber and D. P. Farrington, Thousand Oaks, Sage Publications, Inc, CA, 1998.

¹²⁸ Moore J. W., *Going down to the Barrio: Homeboys and homegirls in change*, Temple, Philadelphia, 1991, p. 132 και Klein M. W., 1995, op.cit, p. 197.

and the deeper someone is involved in criminal justice system during minority the greater his/her engagement in further delinquency during adulthood. Furthermore, our research findings led to the conclusion that an increased number of criminal justice contacts during minority could relate to a wider time-range of criminal career. In addition, early criminal justice involvement seems to relate to greater recidivism during minority. Juvenile offenders, who were involved in the criminal justice system were more likely to feel stigmatized compared with those who were not. According to our research findings the more and the deeper someone is involved in juvenile justice system the more likely he/she will be to feel stigmatized. Furthermore, we found that criminal justice involvement could have a negative impact on the relationship between a juvenile offender and his school, family or friendships as well as on employment opportunities. As far as it concerns the relationship between type of friends and juvenile delinquency, our findings were consistent with the claim that juvenile offenders usually belong to friendship networks containing both delinquent and non-delinquent friends. Furthermore, the high degree of involvement in delinquency as well as the association with delinquent friends could account for the fact that those involved in the criminal justice system were more likely to be part of an organized delinquent group or gang. Finally, being part of a delinquent group or gang not only facilitates the engagement in further criminal activity but also provides more opportunities for such an activity and consequently it could increase the likelihood for the group or gang members to recidivate.



EPILOGUE

The purpose of the current study is not to provide general explanations and predictions about the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency but rather to be descriptive and useful not only for the development of a fruitful discussion regarding the relationship between official labeling and recidivism but also for further future study and research on this topic. Even though our research findings cannot be generalized, they can provide us with a first picture regarding the multilevel effect of criminal justice involvement on the reinforcement of criminal behavior. Furthermore, our research findings highlight the role of various criminogenic factors.

It is worth mentioning that a rational crime policy should take into consideration both the offender and the victim as well as the society. In any case the debate about official intervention or radical non-intervention still exercises a significant effect on crime policy making. However, what should policy makers bear in mind is that juvenile offenders develop differently from adults and their behavior is malleable. Therefore, their rehabilitation is a realistic and viable goal. In such an effort, policy makers should not adopt stigmatizing or punitive and “disabling” policies. Rather, they should implement a polymorphic and multilevel policy which aims to the disapproval of the delinquent behavior and not the delinquent person themselves. One other area where great improvements could be made is community cohesion by enhancing mutual trust between the juvenile offender and the community in which he/she belongs. Furthermore, since youth crime is very much an outcome of the combination between social structural and family factors, the prevention of juvenile delinquency demands more social and structural change rather than repressive policies. Investment in prevention and not suppression, combined with the application of less stigmatizing policies where necessary, could lay the foundations for a realistic response to youth crime. Besides, Beccaria had said that it *“is more useful to prevent crimes than to punish them”*.



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