



# Criminological Studies





PANTEION UNIVERSITY OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY- SECTION OF CRIMINOLOGY  
PROGRAMME OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES (MA) "CRIMINOLOGY"

# Criminological Studies

VOLUME 3

*Social Representations of Adult Prisoners Students around the criminal  
phenomenon. The case of the Second Chance School of Korydallos Prison*

Kalliopi Orfanaki

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CRIMINOLOGICAL STUDIES

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***Devoted to all the students of the  
Second Chance School of Korydallos Prison***





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***Athens, 2017***  
***Kalliopi Orfanaki***



## INTRODUCTION

This present study, which forms part of a Ph.D dissertation titled *“Social Representations of Adult Prisoners Students around the criminal phenomenon. The case of the Second Chance School of Korydallos Prison”* is the presentation and analysis of the social representations of the incarcerated student population around the criminal phenomenon, as they emerge in the Second Chance School, in the judicial prison of Korydallos, during the period 2007- 2015. The central research question was how the criminal phenomenon is represented in the consciousness of the offender of criminal offenses who is incarcerated and is at the same time member of an educational structure. To investigate the research goals, a qualitative research is conducted with the holding of free semi-structured group and individual interviews with qualitative content analysis of written evidence of the detainee students as well as participant observation in the field of research.

The first part of the study concerns the brief presentation of the theoretical framework, while the second contains the empirical research. Specifically, in the first part are outlined the contemporary criminological theory, the theory of social representations in the context of Social Psychology and the physiognomy of Korydallos prison. In the second part of the study, research findings are presented. The subjects of the research were placed on the definition of the crime exposing social representations which they express both towards the System of Criminal Justice (police, interrogation, defense lawyers, courts) and against the penal groups (supervisor prosecutor, prison director, warden, prison staff) as well as other prison staff (doctors and social services) and groups as church, KETHEA, artists and journalists, school, NGOs and volunteers. Then the presentation of the social organization of prisoners follows, as shaped both by reference to the classifications of the guarding system as well as those of prisoners in order to attempt to defend the social identity and “Self”. This work concludes with the presentation of the conclusions of the research and with the juxtaposition of Greek and foreign literature.



## CHAPTER ONE

# THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE KORYDALLOS ATHENS PRISON

### 1. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of criminal behavior has occasionally attempted by a number of interpretative approaches (classical, psychoanalytic, sociological, positive, psychological etc).<sup>1</sup> In general, criminological approaches analyze the phenomenon of deviance through two broad categories of theories. In the first category scientific theories fall (theories of anomie, of differential association and of social control), while in the second, the so-called humanitarian or phenomenological approaches (the theory of characterization and theory of the conflict). The differentiation criterion between the two categories is that, the first focuses on the causes of social deviation roagation, while the second on the meaning of the deviation<sup>2</sup>. The phenomenological criminological theories give several answers to the interpretation of social representations of subjects and therefore a brief reference of the basic principles is essential.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1.1. Conflict theory

Theories of social conflict focus on criminalization as the process which expresses the correlation of forces and the maintenance of social cohesion.<sup>4</sup> The foundation of the conflict theories is based on Marxist thought and the later work of Simmel.<sup>5</sup> For the Marxist analysis, the nature of the crime and

<sup>1</sup> Karmakolia D.G., *Deviant Behavior and Crime. Some Introductory Notes*, Deltio Eglimatologikis Enimerosis, First Issue. 2, February, 1986, p. 13, (In Greek). Also Farsedakis I., *The Criminological Thought*, Nomiki Vivliothiki, Athens, 1990, (In Greek). Farsedakis I., *History of criminological theories*, Vol. A, 1986 p. 38-9. (In Greek), Alexiadis S., *Criminology*, Sakkoulas Publ., Thessaloniki, 3rd ed., 1989, p. 126-134 (In Greek).

<sup>2</sup> Becker H., *The outsiders*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., Athens, 2000, p. 9, (In Greek).

<sup>3</sup> Rock P., *Sociological theories of crime* in the «The Oxford Handbook of Criminology», Maguire M., Morgan R., Reiner R., (Ed) N.York Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 52-82.

<sup>4</sup> Robert J. L., Cullen F.T., Ball R.A., *Criminology Theory-Context and Consequences*, Sage Publications, USA 2007, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Georgiou G., *George Simmel and the Chigago School*, in Tatsis N. Ch.- Thanopoulou M. (ed.) *The sociology of the Chicago School*, ed. Papazisis, Athens, 2009, p. 83-101,

the criminal justice system is analyzed in political terms since capitalism as an economic system accentuates the distinction of social groups among which competitive relations develop under the current correlation of forces.<sup>6</sup> The criminalization process precedes criminal behavior, crime defined as such by the criminal law and the law in turn serving economic interests, is a political settlement of the conflict in favor of the powerful. For Dahrendorf<sup>7</sup>, the mechanistic link between criminal justice system and economic structure of Marxist analysis is overcome, if we look at the cohesion of society as something that is ensured through the triple of domination, conflict and social change. Vold<sup>8</sup>, in turn, says that the conflict between groups, occurring during the phase of creating the social rules, expresses the dynamics of interest arrangement which allows the emergence of the existence of a criminal minority. For Turk, the criminalization is a consequence of the behavior of the legal system, which operates selectively and defines the individual as a criminal. However, the potential for conflict depends on both the degree of weaker team organization and knowledge of the opponent's behavior, and the degree of internalization of prevailing rules. Therefore, the attention of criminological researches should according to Turk turn to criminal status and selective administration of justice.<sup>9</sup>

Central to the analysis of the conflict theories is the position that the social situation in which the offenders obtained in the serving of their sentence becomes understandable if we take into consideration that the criminal phenomenon is a political issue in terms of the causes, treatments but also its history. If the theories of conflict are an interpretive approach that attributes the causes of crime and reaction to terms of reproduction of power relationships of any kind, the scientific research must take into account both the structural causes and the macro- and micro-economic factors which jointly shape the social representations of prisoners in response to their attempt to survive from the threatening hegemony of the ruling elite.<sup>10</sup>

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(In Greek). Farsedakis I., 1986, op.cit., p. 38-39, Alexiadis S., 1989, op.cit., p. 126-134, (In Greek).

<sup>6</sup> 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, p. 64-65.

<sup>7</sup> Dahrendorf R., *Class and class conflict in industrial society*, Stanford University Press, 1967.

<sup>8</sup> Garland D., *Of Crimes and Criminals. The development of criminology in Britain* στο The Oxford Handbook of Criminology Maguire M., Morgan R., Reiner R (Ed) N.York Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 7-50.

<sup>9</sup> Lazos G., *Critical Criminology*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., Athens, 2007, p. 160, (In Greek).

<sup>10</sup> Bernard T. J., *The consensus-conflict debate: Form and content in social theories*, Columbia University Press, N.Y., 1983.

## 1.2. The theories of characterization

The Labeling theory appeared shortly after the middle of the previous century in the US, in a period of general change and questioning of the current organization of power mechanisms.<sup>11</sup> As an interpretive approach, it appears as a development and continuation of the theory of symbolic interaction, whose main representative is G.H.Mead (Faculty of Philosophy of Chicago). For Cohen, the theory of symbolic interaction puts too much emphasis on the role of the “Other”, reducing the importance of the structural conditions and factors leading to the primary deviation. The labeling theory, with Becker, Lemert and Erikson as key theorists, gives to the analysis of the deviance a more political tinge<sup>12</sup>. In response to the question of H. Becker «Who sets the rules and why,” the center of gravity shifts from the individual characteristics of the offender to the process of interaction between him and the social environment in the context of which the characterization of the deviant is attributed to the individual. The characterization is the event leading to the formation of the identity of people, only when in the next phase<sup>13</sup>, the person accepts the characterization<sup>14</sup>. It is a process which is rather more a product of some social decisions than capacity of the specific action of the subject (Lemert), since social control selectively sets, based on the balance of power and force, which behaviors are characterized as delinquent or not.<sup>15</sup>

This “criminal” manufacturing process takes place through three stages: a) projection of an attribute of personality, b) connection of stereotypic behavior with one’s personality (retrospective reading)<sup>16</sup> and reassessment of personality based on new information and, finally, c) the characterization of the person as deviant<sup>17</sup>. It should be noted that the process of designation is not a static time process, but on the one hand includes a variety of characterizations, on the other it is connected with ceremonial assessments, through which the new derogatory role is attributed to the person that re-establishes his place in

<sup>11</sup> Arximandritou M., *The intertemporal approach of labeling theory*, Sakkoulas Publ., Thessaloniki, 1996, p. 6-7 (In Greek).

<sup>12</sup> Lazos G., 2007, *op.cit.*, p. 160, (In Greek).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, p.106.

<sup>14</sup> 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. 362-363.

<sup>15</sup> Zarafonitou Ch., *Empirical Criminology*, Nomiki Vivliothiki Publ., 2004, p. 157-8, (In Greek).

<sup>16</sup> Kitsuse J. I., *Societal reaction to deviant behavior: Problems of theory and method*, Social Problems, 1962, 9(3), p. 248.

<sup>17</sup> Lampropoulou E., *The social control of crime*, Papazisis Publ., Athens, 1994, p. 120 (In Greek).

society or rather on the sidelines<sup>18</sup>. It is important to note that for Becker the focus of analysis shifts to the “moral entrepreneurs”<sup>19</sup>, that is, the groups with strong negotiating power, who projecting a rise of “moral indignation” shape the regulatory framework in order to protect their interests.

In conclusion, according to the labeling theory, the search for causes of deviant behavior is meaningless. The center of interest is the process of interaction and stigmatization.<sup>20</sup> The stigmatization of the criminal results in the perpetuation of criminal activity, due to the difficulty of his social readjustment to society because of the image that he has formed for himself. The contribution of this interpretative approach is summarized in the revelation of the importance of official power bodies in the production and reproduction of aberrant behavior and the reproduction of characterization in a particular social reality. The labeling theory highlights the role of social reaction to the psychology of deviant individuals, the importance of relapse in criminal activities and the way strategies, plans and measures in the legislative, political and social level are configured in order to prevent deviant behavior.<sup>21</sup>

The theoretical contribution of E. Goffman plays an important role in the analysis of the impact of imprisonment on social representations of prisoners. With the works «Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates» (1961) and «Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity» (1968), Goffman focused on the study of daily behavior, through the distinction of social life into two parts, the foreground and the background. Social life can be compared to a scene where the actors represent themselves and interpret roles according to a “situation”.<sup>22</sup> This dramaturgical metaphor does not imply at all that social life is falsified and social actors necessarily realize that they “play”. Instead, very often they are strongly involved in the game and feel it as spontaneous. Goffman puts special emphasis on the key element of the co-presence in the formation of individual and social behavior. In the

<sup>18</sup> Rock P., *Sociological theories of Crime*, in the Maguire M., Morgan R., Reiner R (Ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology* N.York Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 71.

<sup>19</sup> Becker H.S., *op.cit.*, p. 68, (In Greek).

<sup>20</sup> Goffman E., *Stigma and Social Identity*, p. 56-72 in the Pontell N. H., “Social Deviance Readings in Theory and Research” 3th ed., University of California, Prentice Hall, 1999.

<sup>21</sup> Lampropoulou E., *op.cit.*, p. 115, (In Greek).

<sup>22</sup> For Goffman, the first concern of social meeting is the definition of the situation, which includes a cast of social roles and a certain representation of the action. The definition of the situation also depends on the social class as presented in person, and his personal history. There is competition between the definition which the person spontaneously gives in a situation and in the definitions of the society. Goffman E., *Stigma: Notes on the management of the spoiled identity*, Alexandria Publ., Athens, 2001 (In Greek).



everyday environment of the total institution<sup>23</sup>, and this may be a hospital, or a prison, interactions between residents and staff are analyzed, through which the meanings imparted to the action of the members are manufactured.

Reducing Goffman's analysis of mental hospitals in the operation of the prison, we commented that the prison sets limits and barriers which enclose not only the prisoners in a ground environment but form a frame which restricts all aspects of daily life.<sup>24</sup> The detainee receives an image of himself, which allows him to keep self- image to the outside world or at least not to lose it. The prisoner is stripped from the outfit of identity, resulting in the personal distortion and involvement in activities, whose symbolic connotations are incompatible with the idea of the holder's identity for himself. The fate of inmates is that of forced infantilism which the system of the prison takes advantage of in order to facilitate or enhance the control over personal life.

But the inmate does not constitute an entirely social wreck. In the effort of the prisoner to manage the "spoiled identity", he employs techniques to degrade or eliminate the consequences that bring about negative traits, which have already been assigned or could be reimbursed in the course of mixed contacts with the "normal Other". Examples are the stories or "secondary harmonizations". The detainee may enlist his ingenuity, his sharpness and even cunning to create defense distractions to those imposed by the institutional system. He can nurture countervailing interaction mechanisms that reproduce and begin to attack the status quo. Many of the methods used by the inmate involve behaviors that may seem indecent. In reality, however, this is a subject's attempt of the recovery of individual and social identity.<sup>25</sup> In confinement and isolation, indecent behavior can be accentuated, seem perfectly normal and can be a self-confirmation medium. In this way, the prison disturbs the image of the self and the individual is required to prove that he has the necessary skills of social subject.

It is worth noting that in recent years a shift of scientific interest dominates from the knowledge of generating factors to the interpretation of the multiplicity of causes of crime. The deviant phenomenon is multiperspectival as it poses a dynamic of historical, social and inter-individual factors. At the same time, along with the role of structural conditions and the ways in which the person experiences the status of the outsider, the tendency to defend the social meaning, which the aberrant or criminal action entails, is particularly important for the offender himself. We must emphasize that the analysis of the social microcosm of the prison is not intended to present the detainees

<sup>23</sup> Goffman E., op.cit., p. 67, (in Greek). Also Goffman E., *Asylums*, Evrialos Publ., Trikala, 1994, p. 19. (In Greek).

<sup>24</sup> Goffman E., op.cit., p. 31.

<sup>25</sup> Goffman E., op.cit., p. 79.

as simply role holders, who in the context of social interaction simply “present” themselves nor to minimize the role of the structural conditions in the formation of deviant behavior. The culture of the prison, as developed in the Judicial Prison of Korydallos, is formed on the basis of holistic social mechanisms through which organized nets of social relationships emerge that affect the content of social representations of detainees. But what is social representation?

### 1.3. The Social Representations

The first systematic theoretical elaboration of social representations was realized by Moscovici (1961), in his “Psychoanalysis, the image and the public” who reformulating the concept of collective representation of Durkheim (1895)<sup>26</sup>, created a detailed tool for the study of how attitudes are formed in the social Self and the social Other<sup>27</sup>. In general, the social representations concern the way in which the subjects perceive the events of everyday life, the environmental data, and information. They are collective products expressing the identity of the group that produces them, the interests of its members, its history<sup>28</sup>. The social representation is naive, spontaneous knowledge, knowledge of public opinion, but it is not simply a reflection of objects or phenomena, which occurs in the minds of people for the person of the near or distant surroundings.<sup>29</sup> Social representations are social illustrations which mostly are illustrations variant<sup>30</sup> given that the entire process of shaping and

<sup>26</sup> Papastamou S., *Social Psychology Handbook*, Fourth Edition, Odysseas Publ., Athens, 1993, p. 418 (In Greek).

<sup>27</sup> Zarafonitou Ch., *The role of social attitudes in the policy formulation, for the confrontation of major societal problems*, Exartiseis Publ., Issue 10, 2006, p. 82, (In Greek).

<sup>28</sup> ... The social representation is a construction method, specific functions and intentions and refrain from the taste, respect, opinion, attitude or belief, especially when it comes to survival issues of individual and collective integrity, exploitation, equality, democracy, human rights, unemployment, migration, mass destruction and threat of national, issues with social meaningfulness. All social subjects do not share the same values, the same rules, the same experiences, the same representations or ideologies. However, they all construct a vision of reality and their own truth, which bears the stamp of their identity and makes them different from others. Mantoglou A. & Meleti K., *Scientific Discourse on social representations and ideologies*, Papazisis Publ., Athens, 2013, p. 12 (In Greek).

<sup>29</sup> Angoustinos, M. & Walker I., *Social Cognition*, Chapter 6, Social Representations, London, Sage, 1995, p. 136.

<sup>30</sup> Moscovici S., *Psychoanalysis, the image and the public*, Odysseus Publ., Athens, 1999, p. 72. Moscovici writes that, through representations, we study the “...anonymous phenomena which are played out in silence, silent thoughts and silent speeches we do

consolidating, operates in a specific social context. Consequently, the social representation is the modified mapping of images, objects, ideas, a translation of reality, because of the interference of social variables, which has established the cognitive reception structure. The concept of social representations are given very clearly by Jodelet: «The concept of social representation designates a form of expertise, knowledge of the public, whose contents indicate the venture of genital and operating procedures which are socially sealed. More broadly, it defines a form of social thought. Social representations are ways of practical thinking.... As such, they have specific characteristics at the level of organization of contents, cognitive endeavors and logic. The social seal of contents or representation procedures must be standardized at the conditions within the framework through which representations emerge, in communications through which circulate, in the functions that are used to interact with the world and others.”<sup>31</sup>

The term representation shows two alternative dimensions: a passive and an active<sup>32</sup>. The passive dimension refers to the truth copy of external reality. The active dimension of the representation relates to the construction and reconstruction of stimuli and is manifested when we meet someone or refer to some groups and, on the basis of this meeting or reference, preconceived ideas about a person or group are activated. The social representations, therefore, focus on the interactional relationship of the individual and society, and to the ways in which people appropriate the surrounding world. Consequently, the analysis of social representations implies a socio-cognitive approach.

According to Abric, social representations perform the following basic functions: a) cognitive function since through social representations individuals embody skills in their value system in an organized manner, b) identification function on condition that the representations allow groups to be distinctive compared with other groups, c) orientation function, on the condition that individuals are placed for or against a behavior and finally, d) an explanatory functioning provided that they justify a hostile behavior of a group against each other. By performing these functions, the social representations are promoted at an intergroup relationships level to ideologies with key features a. The selectivity of the behavioral characteristics that enhance social identity and the predictability insofar that even before the intra-group interacts with the outside-group, features are attributed to the latter that justify the behavior of the former.<sup>33</sup>

not hear or see.... they are infinite discussions, meetings, rumblings, opinions which weave most relationships and decorate a large part of our concrete existence.

<sup>31</sup> Papastamos S., *Current Research in Social Psychology - Social Representations*, Odysseas Publ., Athens, 1993, p. 132, (In Greek).

<sup>32</sup> Papastamos S., op.cit., 1993, p. 17, (In Greek).

<sup>33</sup> Mantoglou A. & Meleti K., op.cit., p. 76-77, (In Greek).

The formation of social representations takes place through the anchoring (selection of information and integration of the unknown object in cognitive social group structure) and objectification (specification of the concept in figure)<sup>34</sup>. The production of a representation is influenced by three social conditions: a. spread of information, b. focus of attention and c. pressure to conclusion. Additionally, social representation is characterized by its content and organization. The organization and operation of social representations at Abric and Flament, define the internal structure, the way information, knowledge, ideas etc. are articulated and classified. This organization is determined by a two-dimensional system<sup>35</sup>: a. of its components (regional) and b. the internal structure (core). The first corresponds to the information, attitudes and views of the person for the issue of social representation. The second dimension relates to the core, which is defined as any item that gives to the representation its importance and its cohesion. Around the central core regional data will take place and it is this that will determine their weight, their value and their relationships with each other. The core provides stability and duration of the representation, which evolves or transforms very slowly. Accordingly, in the representations there are flexible and moving elements (peripheral data) and other rigid and fixed (central core), which resist change. According to Abric, any study of representations must be used to identify the central core. The analysis of these dimensions allows an understanding of how social representations are transformed<sup>36</sup>. According to Flament, the transformation of social representations happens when there is conflict and contradiction between social reality and its representation. This conflict initially affects the peripheral system and may, if intensified, challenge the central core, causing a change of representation. The conflict or contradiction between reality and representation is solved either by returning to old practices or through the reconstruction of the field of representation. This last solution conduces to a sudden modification of the representation and break with the past.

We must emphasize that social representation is sealed both by the social position of the subject and by all information, images, opinions, attitudes, etc., pertaining the object of the representation. It becomes therefore necessary to consider the position of individuals within the social structure.<sup>37</sup> We cannot understand the effects of a series of probabilities, of the subculture, of crime, of social norms unless we consider them from the perspective of the research subject, as holder of a social position in the structure. In this way, the analysis of representational talk can bring to light both social expression

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p.60.

<sup>35</sup> Angoustinos, M. & Walker I., (1995), op.cit., p.155.

<sup>36</sup> Papastamos S., (1995) op.cit., p.33.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.132-133.

and the structure of individual consciousness. It is necessary in order to come to a safe conclusion that we know the cultural meanings of representational articulation produced by subjects who live in deprivation of their liberty in a particular prison, the detention facility of Korydallos. But what are the features of this total institution?

## 2. THE PROFILE OF THE DETENTION FACILITY OF KORYDALLOS

### 2.1. The Detention Facility of Korydallos

Korydallos prison is the largest prison in the country, which is at the heart of criminal practices because of its promotion in public discourse as well as the reactions to its existence from the local community.<sup>38</sup> The findings regarding the conditions of detention in Korydallos is a result of both the on-the-spot observation during the conduct of the research and the information provided during the survey by the prison of Korydallos (2007-2015), the statistics of the Ministry of Justice<sup>39</sup> and of the autopsies carried out at times in prison by official bodies<sup>40</sup>.

Note that from time to time variations in the quantitative data appear relating to social characteristics of the population of Korydallos prison. But despite all changes made to the application of Law 4322/2015 on decongesting and improving living conditions in Greek prisons, the profile of Korydallos prison retains its characteristics (recycling of administrative staff, attempts to decongest and return to overcrowded conditions, continuation of complaints by prisoners). This fact certifies that Korydallos prison is a total institution whose structural features are formed historically, socially, economically and politically and survive regardless of individual political decisions, which lead to short-term transformations.

Regarding the story of the erection of Korydallos prison, Dimopoulos<sup>41</sup> writes that following a competitive tender in 1931, a site of 100 acres was purchased in Korydallos district for the construction of prisons. The war, however, the assignments of work to friends of political power, inconsistencies, the

<sup>38</sup> Zarafonitou Ch., (ed) & Students Research Group, (*In security, victimization and attitudes of citizens toward crime and local prevention policies: Diagnostic Research in Korydallos municipality, Report Research Findings*, Athens, July 2014, (In Greek). Also look at the official side of municipality of Korydallos <http://www.korydallos.gr/Default.aspx?tabid=503&currentpage=6&language=el-GR>

<sup>39</sup> Official side of Ministry of Justice, <http://www.ministryofjustice.gr/site/el>

<sup>40</sup> <https://www.synigoros.gr/resources/ekthesi-autopsias.pdf>.

<sup>41</sup> Dimopoulos C., *The Prison. Historical and architectural approach*, Sakkoulas Publ., Athens-Komotini 2003, p.711, (In Greek).

worsening of incarceration conditions in already existing prisons, the general political instability delayed the completion of the project. On December 17, 1958 Korydallos prison was inaugurated, which began operating in 1962, after the closure of Kallithea Prison and the transfer of prisoners. Of course the area which covered then the prison facilities was much smaller than today. During the dictatorship (1967-1974) the establishment of Women Prison was also decided, while the building of the current psychiatric hospital followed. Today, the Judicial Korydallos prison occupies a territorial area located within the urban web. As for the architectural design, the building- Korydallos follows beige, dull, rectangular, pericentral arrangement with a strict morphological appearance. The original architectural design of the Korydallos prison provided for a four-wing, the layout of which would form an "H". In 1980 one more a wing was built for juvenile prisoners and by 2002 even another one was built, which housed members of terrorist organization "November 17". It is noted that Korydallos prison has, apart from the administrative rooms and offices, space and rudimentary facilities for medical examinations, infirmary, a gym, a garden, workshops-workplace (printing, carpentry, canteen for each wing, smithery, school, KETHEA, cafe for store employees), shower rooms, a library, a place of worship and special courtyards for each wing separately.

As for the interior design, the Prison of Korydallos has six wings, although the so-called "ST' wing" is not actually considered as wing, mainly because of its small size. Prisoners are placed in the wings, which are separated at particular points (known as points T) with siderails, which are placed in order to restrict the movement of prisoners from one wing to the other. Each wing consists of a ground floor and two floors. They are painted in a beige color. In wing A Greek prisoners are usually placed, prisoners for economic crimes and members of the organization "Nuclei of Fire". Wing B consists of Arab prisoners and drug addicts, wing C, of prisoners from Georgia, Albania and generally from the Balkan countries, the wing D consists exclusively of prisoners from Albania, wing E of Arab prisoners, workers and transferred prisoners (ie prisoners who have come to present at a court) and the wing F is a small ward in which prisoners for economic crimes, mainly Greeks and white collar prisoners live. This spatial discrimination creates territories in the form of borders. The territory of the prison, that is, is crossed by borders with cartographic projections (railings, posts and recently magnetic gates) and cultural (mainly through language).

## 2.2. The social and penal status of prisoners

1. Based on the official data of the Ministry of Justice and the Prison Service of Korydallos prison<sup>42</sup>, the inmate population is characterized by ethno-cultural heterogeneity. The largest group is the Greek one but at a reduced rate (25% of the total population of inmates). In Korydallos prisoners from 71 countries are found with greater representation than that of the Balkan countries. The inmates of Korydallos prison are young men (33.8 years), with children, married or unmarried (31.5% reported having children - 723 people, and the unmarried are 60%).

2. The population of Korydallos prison has a lower level of education compared to the overall population (35.1% are primary school graduates or attended some grades of primary school), most belong to the religious group of Muslims (46.2%) and is of working-class origin, with a wide representation in unemployed rates.

3. With regard to criminal profile of prisoners in Korydallos prison there is an increase of offenders waiting for trial and reduction of convicts. Although Korydallos prison is a judicial prison, 30.4% of prisoners have undergone trial. It should be noted that a large number of convicted prisoners serve longstanding sentences. Specifically, according to prison data, from 2292 people present at Korydallos prison on October 1, 2012, 1587 persons were waiting for trial (69.2%), 696 offenders (30.4%) and debtors 9 people (0.4%). 19.7% are recidivist offenders and have many judgments to their credit, but their ranking in offense made by the prison administration is based on the predicate offense for which they are indicted. Most common offenses are violations of the Law on Drugs (39%) while new offenses are added to the list (on terrorism and conspiracy), classified in the past in other types of crime.

## 2.3. The conditions of detention

The recording of the conditions of detention in prisons is done by visits of the National Committee of Human Rights and the Ombudsman, who carry out an autopsy on the current situation in prisons. The Constitution of Greece, the Penitentiary Code<sup>43</sup> and the Internal Regulation of prison<sup>44</sup> constitute the national legal framework that defines the conditions of detention in prisons. At the same time, the process, the prerequisites and the detention conditions are set by the international legal framework, both by the rules of international

<sup>42</sup> We thank Williams Aloskofis, sociologist of Korydallos Prison for the granting of official data. Aloskofis Williams, *Social Characteristics and Criminal Status of Prisoners, Statistics October 2012*.

<sup>43</sup> Penitentiary Code (Government Gazette A' 291/24.12.1999).

<sup>44</sup> Internal Regulation of Prison, side <http://www.korydallosca.gr/>

law and European Union law. Failure to meet obligations of the country or their poor implementation have drawn criticism and convictions both from various organizations and international bodies and from prisoners themselves. In particular, features of the living conditions are:

1. Congestion and overcrowding of places. Overcrowding combined with long confinement time has obvious and immediate effect on the living conditions of prisoners. Bear in mind that Korydallos prison has a capacity of 800 people, in 2014 it housed about 2,300 prisoners while in 2017, 1506 prisoners<sup>45</sup>, a number which, although reduced, describes the overfilling of positions. It should be noted that the separation of prisoners is rudimentary and that in the same space people waiting for trial, convicted and immigrants without legal papers are enclosed due to lack of space.

2. Building facilities. Korydallos is characterized by small and unhealthy cells, aging infrastructure and overcrowded wards. In all areas besides resident density, there is lack of ventilation and lighting, as well as non-compliance with health and hygiene rules. The lack of access to toilets (WC) is responsible not only for the transmission of infectious diseases (Hepatitis-AIDS) but also for creating feelings of humiliation to prisoners. In a cell made for 2 people 4 prisoners usually stay. The space is rectangular which is a shape particularly annoying for the detainees, who thus are forced to walk in their cell only back and forth in one direction.<sup>46</sup> The limited longitudinal surface of the cell does not also allow a wide variety in the layout. Thus, in this area there are two bunk beds, where there may be a curtain, a portable refrigerator, a sink, a toilet Ottoman type in which there is a curtain, an electric stove, a radiator. Depending on the financial capacity of the prisoner, there may be a TV and if someone wants and can pay, there can be pay TV. Additionally, there is a 1X1 size window on the diametrically opposite wall of the door of the cell, which provides minimal light during the day. There, there is a curtain and usually prisoners dry their clothes, placing a stick out, or in some cases there may be a plant. Artificial light exists in all cells. In cells there are also switches and sockets, so the prisoner is able to control at least the artificial lighting. Since most inmates are smokers, the window is always open after consultations that "cellmates" make together. The cell door is made of steel and has a round hole

<sup>45</sup> With the implementation of N.4322 / 2015 a reduction of the encapsulated population was observed but the measure worked for a short time, since January 2015, the influx of prisoners in detention Korydallos started to increase. Look 'Statistical table of prisoners of 1st and 16th each month' in <http://www.ministryofjustice.gr>

<sup>46</sup> Fairweather L., *The evolution of prison, in Prison architecture – An international survey of representative closed institutions and analysis of current trends in prison design*, United Nations Social Defence Research Institute, Publ. The Architectural Press Ltd., 1975, p.33.



through which the prison officers can check the inside of the cell when passing through the area corridor. The toilet is in the same room where prisoners sleep, and usually separated by a makeshift screen (Curtain) that has been placed by them. The cells are characterized by a lack of hot water and heating in winter, while the summer heat is unbearable. Each wing has a courtyard, which is characterized by lack of green areas, sports facilities, sheds and seats. The cement and wiring dominate. The premises of visiting are also inadequate and there is a lack of space for free visiting.

3. Korydallos is characterized by inadequate basic essential items (toiletries, soap, shampoo, toilet paper, bed linen) and services (catering, cleaning). When these are given, the inmates claim that they are insufficient in quantity and of poor quality. Satisfaction of needs in basic essentials burden the prisoner himself or rather his family. Thus, the basic needs coverage is shifted from the prison to the person himself. Destitute prisoners or prisoners who either do not have the appropriate supportive family network or their place of residence is far from Korydallos are forced to join an illegal market of purchasing these products and services.

4. The infirmary of the prison looks clean, but the equipment is inadequate. Medical personnel and general health workers are insufficient to meet the population's health needs. Physicians have flexible working relationship (temporary contracts) with the prison. The use of psychotropic drugs is widespread. The distribution of drugs is done in the cells and in the chambers according to prescriptions. If the clinic cannot address an incident, the prisoner is transferred to the hospital of Korydallos prison and when the hospital of Korydallos fails for the same reason, the prisoner is transferred to a public hospital.

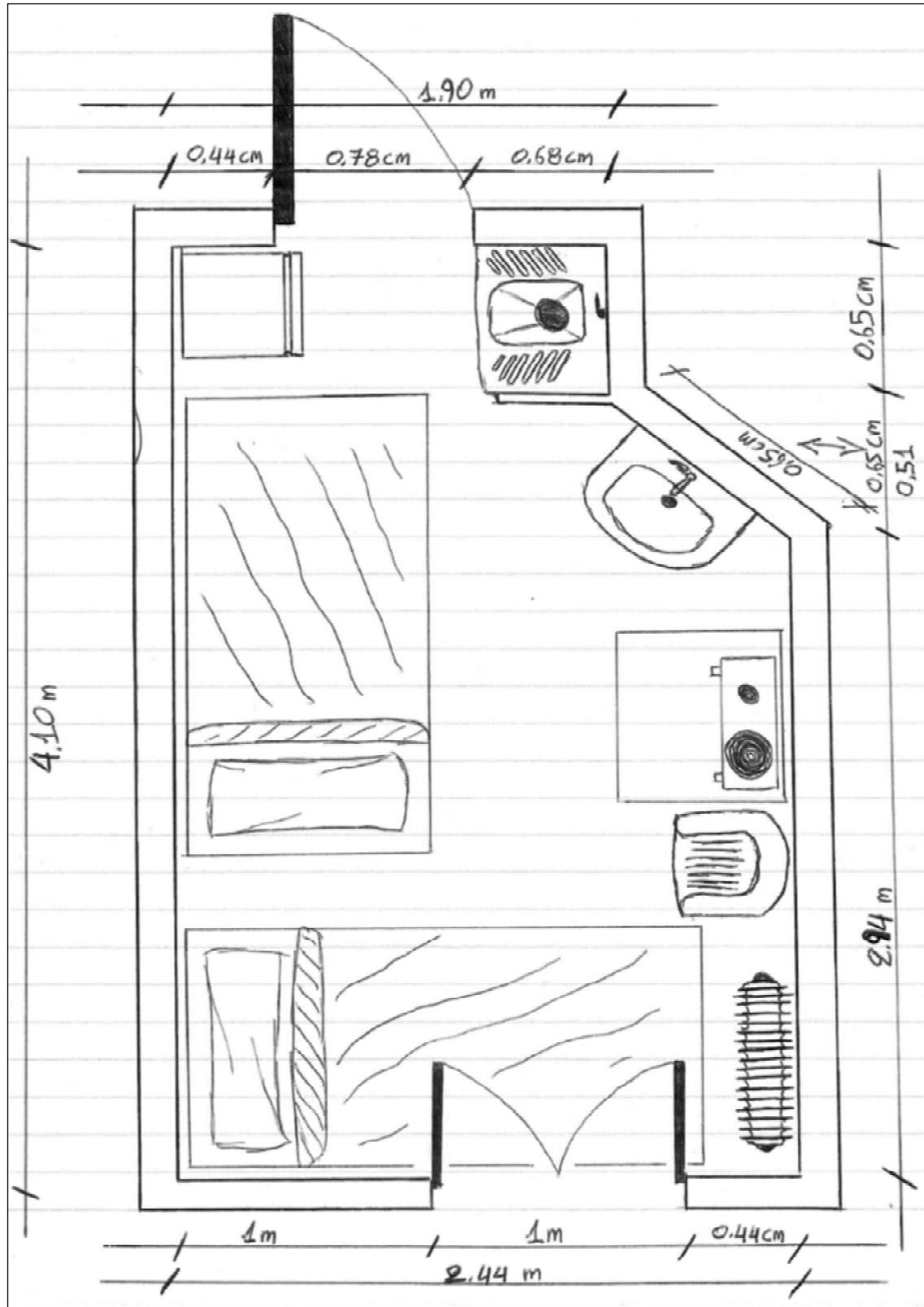
5. According to the weekly menu, the food is good. Inmates complain, however, that it is of poor quality and therefore most cook in the cell alone. Moreover, many prisoners complain that in recent years the amount of the food portion has decreased.

6. In Korydallos the use and marketing of drugs is widespread.

7. Inmates complain about the overcharging of phone calls and of various items from the prison canteen.

8. Most prisoners are not placed in jobs (there are about 600 jobs) so the majority is deprived of the possibility to utilize detention time in a creative way and the beneficial calculating of the penalty reduction.

**FIGURE 1. Design cell imaging in Korydallos prison by prisoner**





9. There is also a lack of administrative and prison staff, resulting in heavy workload, while there is a corresponding lack in social services staff and scientific staff. Consequently, some of the staff struggles to meet its obligations in an environment characterized as explosive due to the conditions while others are limited to the standard management of prisoners' cases and only when the latter take the initiative to contact the service. The inadequate training of personnel guard should also be pointed out which is responsible for the inability to manage crises in prison.







## CHAPTER TWO

### EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

#### 1. THE RESEARCH'S PHYSIOGNOMY

##### 1.1. Objective and research hypotheses

The current research aims to answer questions related to the characteristics of social representations of prisoners, around criminal phenomenon, as reflected in the contemporary correctional context of liberal modernist tradition. The study was focused on the period 2007-2015, during which the punitive policy of the country adapted to the trends of European criminal policy, whose key feature was to become stricter both towards non-EU citizens and users of prohibited substances. The search for answers took place in the largest prison in the country, the Detention Facility of Korydallos, with a sample of male prisoners and women prisoners who studied at the prison school, 2nd Second Chance School of Korydallos. As to the characteristics of the sample, the social speakers belong mostly to the middle class social organization of prison inmates (society of captives). Within society, however, they are part of the population that is considered to belong to the social category of poverty (immigrants, drug addicts, members of single-parent families, underclass).

The scientific investigation of social representations of inmate students of the Second Chance School (SDE), Branch of Korydallos Prison, around the criminal phenomenon was based on the following main research hypotheses:

1. The inmate population acquires during his imprisonment a particular social identity. The research interest focuses not so much on the social past of the inmate but mainly on the impact of imprisonment.
2. Since prison as total institution affects the thinking and behavior of inmates, it also contributes to shaping concrete social representations around the criminal phenomenon.
3. The social representations of inmate students differ from the dominant social representations.
4. The prison system is formed in direct connection with the detention and living standards and reproduces a supervisory and disciplinary system which is spread through a variety of mechanisms, reconstructing the prisoner's perception of the authoritarian system.
5. The administration of penal justice system dismantles the prisoner, who in turn deals with the plight of confinement in order to safeguard his individual and social identity.

## 1.2. Methodology of Research

To develop the survey qualitative data was collected, with the holding of free semi-structured group and individual interviews with qualitative content analysis of written and visual evidence of inmate students, as well as the participatory observation in the research. The research subjects were asked to narrate their experiences, beliefs, ideas, and opinions under a basic condition: That of the lived experience of confinement and the educational process developed in prison. Prerequisite for the research was the situation of confinement itself, so to explore the way in which the prison and living arrangements affect the formation of social representations of subjects and the formation of consciousness.

The gathering of the material data from the group interviews was done in a total sample of 80 men and 35 women prisoners who attended the Second Chance School (SBS) Branch of Korydallos Prison during school years 2007-2009. In the remaining school years (2010-2015), the empirical material was collected with the techniques of individual interviews and observation on a random representative sample of inmates from a total number of 235 people. The methodological change from the total to the random representative sample was due to informational abundance which was ensured with collective interviews from the first period of the research. The random representative sample of subjects of the research, which was conducted between 2010-2015, was chosen with the aim of achieving informational saturation (grounded theory).

The study of empirical material was done with the method of content analysis based on the inductive way of forming conceptual categories, taking into account the research questions and the purpose of the research. With regard to the qualitative content analysis, the group and individual interviews, the written presumptions of inmate students and research diaries compiled during the survey were considered as conceptual producers of content. The issue (item) was used as a classification unit and as context unit, all the units of each narrative related to the issue. The items were determined from the basic questions of semi-structured interviews. The perceptions and expectations of prisoners were considered as values or objectives (values or goals). Finally, a key actor subject (actor) of the analysis was the incarcerated student. The issues of the analysis were as follows:

1. The social representations of prisoners for the crime,
2. The social representations of prisoners for the offender,
3. The social assessment of prisoners for the penal justice system and, finally,
4. The identity of the prisoner through the penal justice system.

Towards this direction three methodological tools were used: interviews, field observation and written and visual evidence (data).

## 2. THE CONDUCT OF THE RESEARCH

### 2.1. The Interviews

After the administration of all required permits by the institutions to conduct the research (Ministry of Justice and the Council of Prison, INEDIVIM - Ministry of Education and the School Teachers) and information of subjects for research goals, the technique of the group interview was chosen as the most appropriate means of finding data that is useful in qualitative analytical process. For the research requirements 15 groups were created, each of which numbered 6 and 7 subjects. The separation and the formation of groups were done through the free choice of prisoners. The prisoners chose to establish specific groups on the basis of the logic of school classes and the already formed "groups of friends" in the prison area. The groups that arose were homogeneous in terms of socio-economic characteristics. The place of the interviews was the school room, in Korydallos prison, during morning hours. The duration of interviews varied at two hours on average, but sessions lasted approximately two and a half hours, and sometimes longer.

For the choice of site and the timing of the interviews the following criteria were posed:

1. The research process should happen in a framework which forgoes in terms of time from the entry of the students in the area of the prison school, so that research subjects have the ability to think reflectively on the issues.
2. The information collected will be sufficient to lead to safe and reliable conclusions as much as possible.
3. The investigation area should not upset the daily operation of the school.
4. The framework should enable the development of effective relationship between the researcher and the study population, a necessary criterion for the conduct of quality research.

Initially five pilot interviews were made in a sample of 25 imprisoned students (male and female) using a tape recorder, when quickly the first weaknesses appeared. However, from a systematic reading of the pilot interviews material the first key issues emerged, which came as research questions for the beginning of the main interviews. In a second phase, the research proceeded in conducting major interviews with other teams. The interventions of the researcher at the interview simply provided stimuli to the research subjects or generally took the form of return to the theme, when the speech drifted away of what had developed during the research process. A support and understanding attitude was followed without viewing opposing arguments, and as a result the research subjects were brought to formulating questions and comments on a dialogue between them, and prisoners, who originally were not actively involved in discussions, gradually interfered in

the process. The number of interviews was determined through information saturation, which was reached in the seventh interview. In the third phase, we proceeded to the processing of empirical material. More specifically, the steps followed during treatment were follows:

- A. Direct transcript of interviews with the aim of not repeating errors in subsequent interviews and mainly of formulating comments that would lead to the formation of categories. At the first hearing, there was verbatim record of the content of the interviews, with special attention to linguistic details or nonverbal phrases like speech breaks, coatings or even self-correcting, while there were totally three flashbacks hearings.
- B. Reading the transcripts of interview material and divide them by topic.
- C. Recording theoretical, methodological and descriptive notes. The notes were in the form of footnotes, references and side head on the text of the transcripts, while cards with key points were created with regard to theoretical issues.
- D. Creation of folders and lists of the information provided. Specifically 10 folders were created with the following titles:
  1. Crime
  2. Criminal
  3. I, the prisoner and the other (non prisoners)
  4. I, the prisoner and other prisoners
  5. Police
  6. Courts
  7. Sentences
  8. Prison Officials/Staff
  9. Prison
  10. Return in prison
- E. Categorization of the lists in ways that outline what each snippet of narration is referred to. The emergence of classes was in the form of titles of narratives. To ensure the validity of the categories system, the characteristics of conceptual categories were taken into account. The goal was the conceptual categories to classify all content, be exclusive, that is, the same data not to belong to multiple categories, and be properly matched in relation to the objective and the content under study.
- F. Linking categories and ranking them according to their importance to major and minor.
- G. Check if two or more categories fit together to form one.
- H. Return to the original text.
- I. Check the sections of the texts that are not classified in any category.



## 2.2. The on-spot observation and research diaries

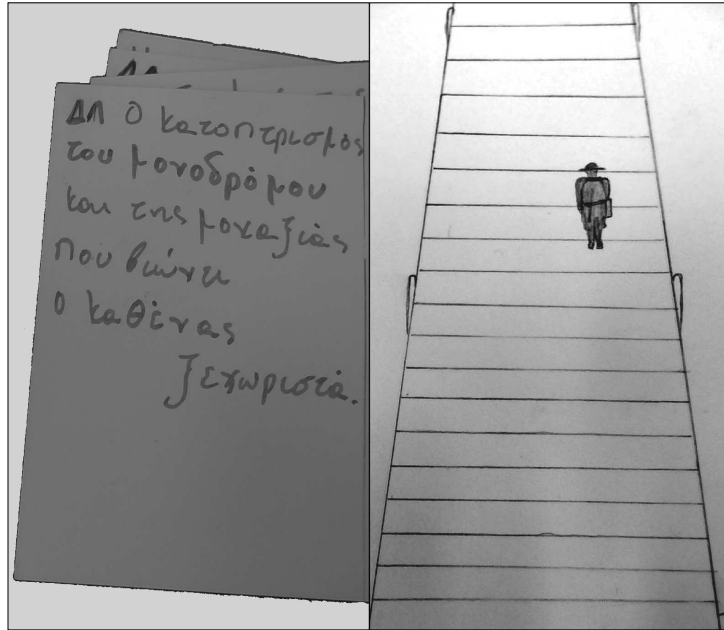
In closed social spaces, such as the prison, the researcher must address the problem of the underlying resistance, which occurs either because people feel that it is unwise and unkind to speak about an issue or because their testimony could “break” a code of silence. This resistance can result in the alteration of the information, which is sometimes difficult to detect through the distorting lens of the interview. The participatory observation comes to help avoid mistakes, because through the acquisition of a framework of experience, the researcher will gain awareness of mismatched and unexplained events and will better adjust its theoretical orientation. This does not mean that the observation destroys the analytical usefulness of the interviews. It functions complementarily and ensures the accuracy of the data on the observable fact. The perfect research condition is the long-term stay of the researcher in the field of research.

The observation was accompanied by the accurate data recording in a research diary. The journals are products that were eventually produced through participatory observation, the processing of which was based on the same procedure followed in the analysis of the interviews. Two types of journals were created. The men journal and the women journal. The recording on the journal occurred according to the calendar. So each journal respectively consists of chapters of the year of observation. The journals were enriched until 2015, based on the topics and categories that had emerged from the interviews.

## 2.3. The written and visual evidence

The texts are written records (student projects, prisoners poems, drawings) used in the research, after the subjects were informed. It is emphasized that this material works in parallel but essentially reinforces the interview text. It is an alternative perspective approach angle, which adds another dimension, reinforcing or even adding research findings.

**FIGURE 2. Sample of written and visual evidence of a detainee on the representation of the prison**



### 3. THE DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLE

The sample consisted of men and women who attended the SDE of Korydallos Prison. The students of the Second Chance School of Korydallos are inmates in custody awaiting trial and convicted, who are enrolled in school after an application of interest, which is presented by the Prison Social Service. Thereafter, the approval process is followed by Prison Labour Council. Regarding gender, of 115 inmates, 80 were men and 35 women prisoners. The low representation of women is due to the fact that the women's school was closed in 2008 and moved to Thebes prison<sup>47</sup>. In general, women students are fewer in number, which is partly due to the smaller number of female prisoners in the whole of the general inmate population, and secondly to the fact that many women do not wish their school enrollment, and prefer their integration into programs that gave more "wages" (reduction of sentence). Remarkably, women prisoners had larger dropout rate too, due to the greater impact of the incarceration suffering to women.

<sup>47</sup> This created problems to the research. For this reason I visited twice school of female prison in Thebes in 2009, where I was able to talk to my former students and enhance the data with more details.

Concerning the age, the prevailing figure regarding the registration age at school is 25-29 for women and men. The minimum figure corresponds to 18 years and the maximum to the 60th. The oldest student was a Greek student and the youngest was a young man from Albania. On the national origin of 110 students, the majority are foreigners (75 of foreign and 35 of Greek origin). These are first and second generation immigrants originating mainly from Albania and other Balkan countries (Romania, Bulgaria, Krakow). Few Roma pupils (typically only two in total) as most hadn't graduated from primary school and could not enroll in school.<sup>48</sup> Regarding the level of education is primary school graduates. Most Greek prisoners have attended one or two classes of high school without having completed their studies. Regarding the Albanian students, their level presented higher education, to the extent that in Albania the primary school includes 9-year education, and therefore it is as if they have completed compulsory education. Regarding marital status, the majority of inmate students are parents. On the legal situation, 67 were defendants and the others repeat offenders. On the main category, the majority of subjects serve a custodial sentence for offenses against property and offenses of the Drugs Law.

In conclusion, the survey sample refers to humans, for the most part men and women, average age 35 years, mostly foreigners (mainly from Albania), married or divorced, parents, families with many children, with elementary education, repeat offenders, who are involved with the penal justice mechanism for small or medium-scale offenses, and they do not have discipline penalties during the serving of their sentences and belong to the middle class social organization of prisoners.

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<sup>48</sup> Of course it should be noted that when in 2015 the Law on the beneficial calculating of attendance days was revised, that is there was an increase of wages, the same year the representation of Greek prisoners in the school population was increased. From 2015 onwards the total population of the school is half Greek and half foreigners mainly Albanian.



## CHAPTER THREE

### THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

#### 1. THE SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS FOR CRIME

In the present research, the prisoners were asked to provide their own definitions for the crime. The prisoner is a kind of empirical criminologist, who takes in a systematic way a theoretical position regarding the determination of the crime and the passage to the act. Often the subjects construct an interpretation, passing from one theoretical model to another. This is achieved through a kind of classification the subjects themselves make in defining the crime, but when they try to evaluate the criminal treatment as well. Thus, in a deterministic class of the crime a criminological word emerges, which sometimes defends the classical model, sometimes the positivist. The study of the definitions given by the subjects focuses on three levels: the individual or experiential, social (the group of prisoners) and the ground level, the social space of the prison, in which behaviors occur.

Prisoners rarely use the term crime or criminal.<sup>49</sup> The terms crime or delinquent are negatively charged characterizations that have materiality, only when they have brought punishment and in particular confinement. In counterpoint to the characterizations of official speech production mechanisms, the prisoner calls himself prisoner, illegal, inmate, but never criminal. In the ward, in the cell, in the corridors, in the playground, at work, illegality and sentences are common ground for discussion. Consequently, the encapsulation and illegality are the basic culture media and self-report of the subject. It means the story of the Self, since the related activities (encapsulation, courts, transfers, visiting, lawyers, school programs) inspire both his views and the references. This keen interest does not only reflect concern about the influence of illegal action at this stage of the prisoner's life and his future, but also about the interpretations of the subjects about the causes of crime, which are processed through their experiences.

STELLA: *"The word crime sounds cruel. Maybe we deserve it. I may be a criminal. For some people who do not know, maybe yes, I am a criminal. Maybe not"*.

The indiscriminate use of the term crime to all breaches of the rules results in the retroactive reversal of the identity of the offender, after confirming the

<sup>49</sup> This situation of absence of speech constitutes "symbolic material," and is open to interpretation Lidaki A., *Qualitative Methods of Social Research*, Kastaniotis, Athens, 2001, p. 21.

validity of a “moral universe” from which the inmate is repelled. From this point, the negotiation begins. The prisoner is placed opposite to the question of what is a crime, highlighting stigmatizing procedures and “slips” through other alternative “acceptable to the audience of the prison definitions”, in the desire to demonstrate a politically correct decorum.

As regards the identification of the crime by the prisoner, the narration of subjects revolves around the distinction between deviant- illegal and the deviant-criminal. The area of social identity of the subjects seems to be formed through two main dimensions: a) a positive evaluation of representational units which subjects attributed to the group “illegal” and respectively the negative evaluation of the “criminal” group and b) the descriptions concerning the Self refer to the identity of the illegal while the descriptions relating to the identity of the Other, the identity of the criminal. These two dimensions result in the categorization of prisoners population into two broad categories: identification group (“we illegals”) and diversity group (“these criminals”). The two dimensions can be visualized as two intersecting axes, which form the elementary area of social identity as follows: a) “Myself”. Positive pole of the Self- Negative Pole of Self and b) the “Other”. Positive pole of the Other- Negative Pole of Other.

In these identity axes, significant due to repeatability, representational units of the respondents were placed for matching and diversity groups that define crime and illegality in their interweaving with the major theme units. The subjects, when talking about illegality, sculpt the portrait of the criminal, a fact that led research to the analysis of the phenomenon through the analysis of its inverse, that is, of the illegal.

## **1.1. What is not Crime or else what is Illegality**

To the identity team “We illegal” illegality consists of delinquent acts which are put in a linear rating scale. During narratives four cases of illegal actions emerged -non criminal. These actions include bank robbery, safe robbery, use and sale of small amounts of drugs, prostitution and financial debts. It is noted that the financial debts are a form of illegality which is not represented as declarative of the identity group. Criteria for the designation of an act as illegal are: a) the minimum degree of social harm, b) the compliance with rules based on respect of values during the execution of operations, c) the dangerous game, d) the degree of coercion and e) the percentage of individual responsibility and choice.

### **1.1.1. The Bank Robbery**

For the prisoner, the bank robbery is a purely male practice group behavior, which has organization, hierarchy and rules that define the behavior and action plans that will ensure the success of the outcome.

ALDO: "The issue of society is how I break into a bank, how long I need to get in touch and do the robbery (laughs). Look, robberies have rules too. You don't do what you want..."

Success means avoiding arrest, no loss of life and large quantity of stolen goods. For taking action there is planning, during which the group strategy is formed through the guidance of a leader who sets the regulatory framework, assigns responsibilities in the form of orders and instructions and addresses the overall responsibility for the success or failure of the action. The organization of a robbery, therefore, is a rational activity and is represented as the product of free will of the people involved in it. Under this principle, the robbery is a proactive and personalized practice, the success of which is due to the coordination or, better, the administrative capacity and the personal characteristics of the group leader. The constant reminder from the side of the prisoner interviewed on committing large numbers of robberies without arrest is the declarative representation on the one hand that the leader is charismatic, on the other that since the group operates successfully, the incarcerated person is familiar with the rules of collective conduct, so the myth of criminal or better unlawful as antisocial being is rebutted.

On no condition is the bank robbery equated with a theft of any other form whatsoever. The bank robbery is a crime against property, which means long-lasting sentences.<sup>50</sup> The perpetration of an offense involving high risk automatically means that not only is the bank robbery placed on the top of the pyramid in terms of hierarchy of the illegalities but also that the organization of this action is classified in the upper layers of the social organization of the inmates system<sup>51</sup>. An additional criterion for this placement in hierarchical panel is the content of the illegality itself. In narratives, the bank is represented as the sacred place of worshipping money, as a fetishized place, charged with multiple meanings.

One of these is the predatory nature of banks, perception which leads to the representation of robbery as a socially just act. The prisoner bank robber defines himself as social robber, the robber hero<sup>52</sup>, who brings justice to an unjust system which legalizes inequalities. The ideological construction of the robbery takes the form of value and favor, as with the rhetoric of a political theology, the robbery-requital is presented as the answer to the sharing of social injustice. Revenge and retribution are for the collective consciousness

<sup>50</sup> In order to understand the social effects of the sentence it is therefore necessary to analyze not only the negative mode of control of the derogation, and its positive capacity to produce meanings and construct the "normality". Garland D., *Punishment and Modern Society. A study in Social Theory*, Clarendon Press, 1990, p. 295.

<sup>51</sup> Usually heads of prisoners group emerge as bank robbers.

<sup>52</sup> Cohen S., *Lessons in moral behavior: A few heroes*. Childhood Education, Spring, 1993, p.168-170.

of the subjects, forms of primitive justice, fair and necessary acts as to restore a lost balance, an insulted honor, a hacked code. Concepts such as “fair punishment”, “retaliation”, “reciprocation” acquire a new legitimacy. It seems that the brute force derives its superiority from this very oxymoron. It may impose the intelligence of a cockroach on the intelligence of a genius, simply because the right of enforced possession can.

ALDO: “.. *the money I steal, I steal it from the bank. Nobody will lose his money. The only one who will lose is the bank. And the bank has to lose. Because the bank has stolen it from you, from me. Got it? I did not steal from you or anyone else. I steal the bank. I steal the state. Because they are stealing me too. And they steal from you. Only they do it legally. Well, as they steal from me, so I steal too. Our difference is that I am illegal and the bank is not. Got it? “*

This view may seem to have the character of a kind of economic fundamentalism for the prisoners, but the robber of bank has the same weight as that of illegal political prisoner. Illegals represent themselves as symbolic figures that incite the masses of society in reflection and action, fulfilling fair social objectives. That is why special emphasis is given to the regulatory framework of behavior in the performance of the act. The kindness, the chivalry, the care for the weak, the protection of the poor are dominant values that come in first degree in proportion to the achievement of a utilitarian objective which is to gain wealth. The prisoner knows, however, that total acceptance of the robbery is not given. For this reason, he seeks alliances in conducting the robbery from the public bank client himself, while he is strict to what breaks these alliances.

ELIAS: “... *I hear sometimes, someone told me that (in the bank) he robbed an old lady. When I heard this, I slammed him on the face. I’ve never robbed the poor. I’ve never hurt a woman. “*

Thus, the violation is socially acceptable, if placed under conditions of justice and good conduct. This attitude lends prestige both to himself and to the contact with normal Others, as it essentially reveals the contrast with the predatory face of the bank. In the speech of the subjects the robbery incident is converted from illegality into crime, when there is infringement of moral-political rather than juridical rules, as an expression of a rather picturesque diabolic state. In this way, the social subjects show to the dominant audience that they do not develop “immunity” against the observance of the dominant regulatory framework.

### **1.1.2. The Safes Robber**

Representations, regarding the safe burglary, exhibit many similarities with the bank robbery, although the act is placed second in the hierarchical classification scale of illegalities.



The safe burglary is usually a small group's male action, which takes place at night, but it is associated with the idiosyncratic characteristics of the burglar of the object. The success of the enterprise is considered to be due to the skill and courage of the person who will open the safe-usually leader- so in most accounts, this type of robbery is represented as a solitary path. The burglar, apart from skilled and nimble, must have expertise in security systems. So the subjects narrate that many practitioners of this kind have worked in alarm systems companies, have mechanical knowledge or have worked as private security personnel. The previous experience in robberies also plays a key role in the success of the mission. Precisely because the safe robbery is associated with male gender and idiosyncratic characteristics, it is why the interpretation of subjects in terms of engagement with this kind of illegality is given with individual, psychological and even medical terms.

COSMIN: *"...this is the third prison. Every time I say, I will not get into trouble again. I want to have a normal life... But the robbery is in my thoughts. I try not to think about it. I work out, go here, go there, but again I think... I think the moment I open the safe. And when I find myself there, (he means in the place of the robbery) as if something happens. (Make a move, like a punch in the face). This thing is so powerful that I cannot describe it. While I open it, I feel my adrenaline rises. I feel good when I steal. And then... as if I unload. This is why I continue. And I will do it again. And I will come back to prison. Because I cannot cope without it. I am addicted to unlawfulness. That's why I applied to get with the program. Because I am an addict. It's just that I am addicted to unlawfulness".*

What is the meaning people attach to safe robbery? For the illegal, the safe is a symbol of the accumulation of wealth and economic behavior which is characteristic of the upper class members. Even if the safe is not in a business such as a jeweler, but in a house, it stands for a small treasure, a fetish object, not exploited and thus its conquest of the have-nots is legitimized as a loot of war and its rendition to the have-gots, that is the members of the intra-group. The robber, as a challenger of the Protestant ethics, to remember Weber, advances in rational action to reverse this status quo.

In total for these two cases of infringing acts, subjects construct their inner reality, juggling between making themselves heroes and self-rejection on the basis of fear of non-acceptance of the social audience and their need to declare their diversity. The bank or safe robbery is interwoven into a network of concepts that articulate a heroic image of the Self as a hero but also as a social victim who is sacrificed for others. Subjects create their own culture, a collective and individual orientation, which is common in empirical and imaginary networks of the meanings mentioned.

### 1.1.3. Use and Trafficking of small amounts of Drugs

The definition of substance use as illegal operation and not as a crime is based on three main arguments:

A. The widespread use of substances by the members of society. The prisoners consider the use of drugs, especially cannabis, so widespread, that it is compared with the consumption of tobacco. The use is associated with the stereotype of normality particularly in groups of prisoners where drug use was the daily practice of their cultural group to which they belonged.

BLEDAR: *"I believe that we all drink. All. You do not drink?... Strange! Because I know that we all drink. This, I do not consider a crime."*

This social image of drugs is reinforced by the daily routine of the prison. For many prisoners, the use of mainly 'soft' drugs is a safe and familiar reality, connected with friends and fun. Sometimes the ironic attitude toward treatment programs in prison reflects the criticism of the prisoner's attitude towards irrational concern and the exaggerated reactions of people "outside the wall" as far as the consequences of drug using are concerned.

B. The use of substances as a result of individual choice and not causing harm. Respondents included in the user-illegal group, raise their self-esteem by the fact that drug use is on the limit of the generalized, of free choice and decision, but also of non-harm to members of society and therefore permissible. Consequently, since the intra-group is not motivated by violence, benefits and coercion, the intra-group is not a criminal group, is a group of "illegals." For the prisoner, his involvement with the penal justice system is a consequence of a dominant ideological attitude which at a decision making level adopts the policy of repression against the drug problem, and is depicted by the subjects as illogical and hypocritical.

ROLAND: *"... because smoking kills. It's written on the package. But I do nothing wrong. Man is asking for more. Let it free and write it, more like the writing on the package. Anyone wanting it takes it, anyone who does not want it, does not get it. This is up to you."*

C. The use as a disease. It is expected when a group represents the use as a product of individual will and choice, to also adopt the medical or psychiatric rationale of individual pathogenicity and culpability. In conclusion, the use and trafficking of small amounts is represented as unlawful, and not as a criminal activity. This form of illegality is the result of policy control strategy of the ruling class, which, through its policy of prohibition ensures its interests. Substance use is a normal social event as it has been generalized in nature, has individual consequences for the user himself and not for society and its criminalization conflicts with freedom and rights issues, since it is the product of individual responsibility and choice.

### 1.1.4. Prostitution

In the course of narratives, prostitution is initially represented as sex work, carried out with terms of individual responsibility and rights. The representation of prostitution as a personal choice refers to the liberal feminist tradition<sup>53</sup>, in which the responsibility for the exercise of prostitution is deposited exclusively on prostitutes. The prohibition and criminalization of prostitution is a violation of the principle of self-determination of individuals. When analyzing the narratives we should bear in mind that several of the women prisoners are involved in exchange mechanism of sexual services. Regardless of the degree of their involvement with the prostitute system, what the prisoners point out, however, is that prostitution, despite the negative effects on the mental state of the prostitute, concerns an issue of wrong choice and a woman's right to self-determination of her body.<sup>54</sup>

VICKY: *"I think it should not be prosecuted. This is a choice of each person. It is considered illegal. But someone does what he wants, with his body, right?"*

The inmate women noted that the issue of the choice of prostitution is included in the wider context of the difficult social circumstances. Nowhere in the speech of subjects the fact that prostitution is part of women's liberation is evident, but it is rather represented as a wrong choice of the woman, which should not be criminalized. However, the narrative of the subjects revolves around female prostitution throughout. When the subjects were asked about other forms of prostitution, the narration goes from prostitution to pimping, which constitutes a distinct act, illegal and criminal.

The narratives about prostitution highlight the gender dimension of social representations of prisoners. Unlike the female prisoners, male prisoners refer to these stories more to prostitutes as women and less as women in the prostitute position. During the observation male prisoners narrate with ease their acquaintance incidents with female prostitutes in their lives before incarceration. In these narratives, experiences with women prostitutes do not constitute a waiver or something challenging the self, instead they affirm masculine identity and traditional gender role in sexual behavior. The absence of mentioning of male or child prostitution issues is characteristic.

In conclusion, for the subjects of the investigation any act, such as female prostitution, is an individually chosen product with no consequence

<sup>53</sup> Samiou D., *Women, Sex and Policy (late 18th - early 21st century.) Historiographical and political bibliographic approaches: an introduction*, University of the Aegean, Department of Social Anthropology and History in 2006 <http://www.aegean.gr/gender-postgraduate/ Documents>

<sup>54</sup> Lazos G., *Prostitution and transnational trafficking in modern Greece: The prostitute (v.1)*, Routledge, Athens 2001, (In Greek).

on the “Other” and is not represented as criminal. The narrative, however, reveals a partial representation of the prostitution world, as it has taken into account neither the social uncertainty of porn people nor the class and social determination of women prostitutes (members of the underclass, women victims of trafficking from Balkan countries), who are involved in a violent and complex power mechanism, where the woman is treated as a sexual object.

### **1.1.5. Financial Debts**

Prisoners follow the prevailing regulatory framework of values where freedom as a value, is considered a superior good against the value of money. In the first level, where social adversity leads the person to the violation of the law, aberration entails the sympathy of detainees, if he deviates from the standard of the law-abiding citizen. However, is the prisoner for financial debts illegitimate? Persons who are imprisoned for financial debts are not defined or define themselves in illegal community. In their custody the elements of heroism, danger, the social character of the operation are absent, properties that give identity to the illegal and differentiate the act from the crime. Under this perspective, since the consequences of the act have no consequences for the community, offenders of this category not only have no place in prison but they can not “cope with” the harsh environment of the prison. Moreover, the prisoner who defines himself as illegitimate, endorses custody as an imprisonment without objective, since “you will not take from the one who has not, no one is indebted to make the impossible.” The imprisonment is unfair because the person lacks the good of freedom for materialistic reasons but this does not mean that this concept follows the white collar criminal.

## **1.2. What is crime?**

For research subjects there is a consensus on the definition of the crime. In the word of prisoners crime constitutes serious crime, the one with the greatest impact on society and the stunning, the rare, the paradox, the abominable one, performed by offenders identified as such. In particular, the bloody crime is defined as a crime, an act against persons, imputable, extremely violent, and often repeated or to be repeated, so it must be punishable either by law or by taking the law into one’s hand.<sup>55</sup>

In the category of crimes-criminal, central ideological axis of social representations of the subjects is a linear representation of criminal actions, starting from the positive, less positive, less negative, to negative. This means

<sup>55</sup> Giotopoulou-Marangopoulou A., *Handbook of Criminology*, Nomiki Vivliothiki, Athens, 1984, p. 39, (In Greek).

that violations of social rules are classified in a hierarchy, from small to large and large is what enables us to characterize the infringement as criminal and subsequently punishable. At one level, the characterization of an act as criminal is not made under the terms of criminal law<sup>56</sup>, but primarily with moral terms, related to the damage caused by the act to another person or a group of people. The social stereotype of criminal is hinged basically on two parameters, that is, on the one hand, the characterological and psychological peculiarities of criminals and on the other, his socioeconomic position.<sup>57</sup> The stories highlighted as crimes the following acts, starting with the one evaluated as major: pederasty-pedophilia, child prostitution, infanticide, murder with intention, the “informer”(stool pigeon), and the unfair administration of justice. It is noted that women revealed, pimping as a crime.

### 1.2.1. The Sexual Abuse of Minors

Sexual abuse of minors is defined as the greatest crime in the hierarchy of values of the prisoners, which raises strong reactions not only in the community of prisoners, but also in public in general.<sup>58</sup>

GETNOR: *“It’s very heavy. Pederasty is the most severe crime. No other exists larger than this. This is my opinion. It’s better to kill the man, but to make such disgrace. It is the worst crime. ”*

BLEDAR: *“This crime is not forgiven by the greatest criminal.”*

The placing the sexual abuse of minors to the top of the criminal hierarchy pyramid is made on the basis of the maximum damage caused not only to a child but to the community. It is a crime against the person, which is represented as major not concerning the consequences in the continuation of the victim’s life but mainly in the insult suffered by the victim, and in what it embodies, that is, the continuity of the family and by extension, the reproduction of society itself. Pedophilia is represented as an honor crime; it constitutes a derogatory act to be penalized as it causes shame. Let us not forget that the sexual abuse of minors is associated with breaching the taboo of incest, a universal prohibition which is considered an essential element of social structure, family organization and structuring of personality.

<sup>56</sup> Zarafonitou Ch., *Le rôle de la recherché criminologique francophone à l’ étude de la criminalité urbaine*, 2014, p. 6, in <http://criminology.panteion.gr/attachments/article/396/>.

<sup>57</sup> Tsalikoglou F., *Mythologies of Violence and Repression*, Papazisis Publ., Athens, 1996, p. 63, (In Greek).

<sup>58</sup> “The majority agrees that the penalty provided by law is highly elastic and 81.4% wants a more severe penalty.” Papamichail S., *Crimes against life - Sexual offenses - crimes against women and minors*, p. 518, to Maganas A., *The criminal phenomenon in practice*, Nomiki Vivliothiki, 2004, Athens, (In Greek).

The most important in repeatability representational units the study subjects attach to the pedophile group are pictures where people are deprived of human existence, both in moral and psychological level. The reference to the characteristics of the offender is in relation to a perceived notion of a biological or mental impairment of the offender, which is reflected in a prior choice of evil.<sup>59</sup>

VAGGELI: "... *Rapists, pedophiles. They have committed the greatest crime to a child who will carry the trauma for his entire life, I perceive them as crazy. They do not bring them here....* "

Pedophiles represent a negative perception of the Other as inferior of the Self. The pedophile, as a non-rational being, on the one hand lacks motivation for committing his act, on the other hand he seems to choose crime because of his desire to cause harm. Although the criminal act is interpreted with medical and biological terms, free will should logically be annulled since the disorder or mental illness leads to fatalistically imperative behavior. But in the word of subjects, this does not seem to be invalidated. But why does the prisoner go to psychologization of the crime and how is this perception linked to the intra-group picture?<sup>60</sup>

The psychologization is triggered by the intra-group of prisoners (We the illegal) because it changes the representations of minority. Seeking an intra-group identity and a position of power within a stigmatized environment such as a prison, a group of prisoners searches apart from points of differentiation from a society that stigmatizes, similarity points. The word of prisoners is therefore a word of a minority, but at the same time the social organization of prison creates layers where this minority- We the illegal- is converted into a majority group within the social world of prison. But pedophiles remain a minority group, both within and outside the walls. Stigma and punishment of pedophiles must therefore be strong, since it is the base through which the unjust character of the stigma for himself weakens. The psychologization is that a 'double' participation: First it presents as problematic the minority-pedophiles, secondly it demonstrates the objectivity of the majority. The only way perhaps for a minority to "modernize", to articulate speech and opinion, was to become "Caliph in place of the caliph", to manage to evolve

<sup>59</sup> "... In the context of those considerations, the reference to the individual impairment for the explanation of violence is replaced by the reference to social dysfunction. However, social dysfunction is used as explanatory factor for the individual pathology again. The intrapsychic determinism of biopsychological approaches gives way to a social determinism and the institution of violence as a peculiar biological or psychological occasion turns into peculiar social case" .Tsalikoglou F., 1995, op. cit., Ibid, p. 65.

<sup>60</sup> Papastamos S., *Current Research in Social Psychology - Social Representations*, Odysseas Publ, Athens, 1993, (In Greek).

in that position which would allow it to manifest its different discourse. The attribution of “abnormal” data to the outer-group allows the identification of the normality of “us”, the dominant social group and thus the strengthening of social cohesion. The criminal behavior of pedophile is originally considered as a functional defect, which implies a deviation from the intra-group norms. This divergence becomes more evident when the criminal-pedophile is banished linguistically and symbolically outside the human race, as a monster-being.<sup>61</sup>

MARY: *“Well to rape your child, I do not know what kind of heart you have, you cannot have a heart. If I did not have the disciplinary offences and the like, I would have done many things. I would have killed him, I would have strangled him. It’s too bad this thing. I do not know. Or putting your child to do sexual things to make money?”*

At the same time, the existence of pedophile prisoner is linked to the validation of stigma and the hardships of confinement experienced by the whole community of prisoners. The pedophile as a prisoner and member of the group within the walls is responsible for generating images of prison as a place of concentration of dangerous and extremely violent people. For this reason the distance between the prisoner pedophile and the illegal inmates must be safe. The distance is the defensive arsenal which ensures the protection of the rebuked, threatened image of the self.

VOULA: *“Those who exploit children. In my opinion. I wouldn’t like to speak with such types, it would bother me a lot. I don’t even think about it.”*

The association and the proximity of the detained with juvenile rapist entails a symbolic infection process. The illegal must be away from him who represents crime and almost ritually he entrenches the space from the infection of the contact with him. The retaliation, the extermination of pedophile from prison, reminds the Others, that prison is a society with moral norms and values, which it defends without the hypocritical mask of bourgeois law and order or the terms of political correctness.

ROLAND: *“Death penalty, okay for the rapists there must exist. How can I tell you? Torture. It’s not that he’s a...”*

ALEXANDER: *“If I had met one (pedophile), we would have killed him. Them, they put them in a special wing.”*

For the incarcerated community, it is an exaggeration if the pedophile enjoys rights or the protection of the law. As a corollary to the above, the impacted community appears to flank a rigorous judgment of judges who imposed the

<sup>61</sup> “By definition, of course, we believe that a stigmatized is not completely human. Based on this assumption we distinguish,..., construct an ideology to explain his inferiority and describe the danger it represents, rationalizing sometimes an animosity based on other differences, such as that of social order”. Goffman E., op. cit., 2001, p. 67, (In Greek).

penalty and the “request” for imposition of the death penalty is the dominant request. This is the well-known scape goat mechanism. Pedophiles are offered to defuse the unconscious anger, anxiety and sadistic instincts as to reduce the tense of the remaining. Pedophiles in prison seem to play the same role as that played by prisoners for the whole society.

### **1.2.2. Child prostitution and child abuse**

Corresponding representational units are identified in the prostitution of minors, especially when prostitution comes from a member of the family. The difference in the representation of this type of crime is that there is no reference to a personality disorder or mental illness issues. The interpretation of the subject focuses on the economic nature of criminal behavior while he is tacitly accepting social roles by gender. Thus, if the subject who pushes a minor into prostitution is a woman, particularly the mother of the child, the reaction seems to be larger to the extent that the expected behavior associated with the role of the woman- mother is violated.

ESMA: *“Because you can not talk to this woman and tomorrow you learn that she has done this thing. You will feel disgusted with yourself. So...”*

The interaction with the Other affects the purity of intra-group, which reinforces its identity through the entrenchment and bound limits. The member of intra-group that violates this entrenchment forms a threat to the recognition of the social self. That is why the contact must be prohibited. Violating the ban draws social reaction of the group which is attack and violence, towards what threatens the coherence.

ESMA: *“... and a girl made friends with her, you know this girl, and when we catch her and tell her, how can you hang out with this girl, she has done this and that she grabs her down in the toilet and gives her a good smacking”.*

However, it is felt that the prisoner assaults to prove that he is a member of the group of illegal, even if the exercise of physical violence is out of his wishes and culture. The expansion of the collective anger through rituals of retribution performs an additional function in the social structure of the prison. The “torture” means the transfer of power by the perpetrator to the victim, enhancing internalisation of disciplining the subjects, to the extent that by imposing the penalty which in normal circumstances prison would have done as power carrier, prisoners punish confirming the correctness of the prison as the effective mechanism of the enforcement of rules.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> “... Even in the 18th century there are scenes like those that accompany the torment of Montigny ‘while the executioner executes the convict, females from the fish market parade a dummy and cut its head. And often they had to fend criminals off the mob who led them to pass slowly through it- by way of exemplification and target, potential



COSMIN: *"I think that there must be death penalty, for the abuse of infants. I have met such a guy. I even told them. You see them, when they go through transfers. Because they are in a separate wing. And when I was passing by, they happened to be downstairs. And I told them. Death penalty. In front of the policemen. And I have discussed with them. And what happened and what you did. And after that I kicked him. Sometimes deliberately, policemen put him there. I know this. Since they put him in front of me. And the officer says, do not do the banging in front of me. And I said, then why did you put him here?"*

### 1.2.3. The intentional Murder

In case of other crimes against life, such as murder, the focus of the narrative shifts from the offender to the act. Homicide is a crime for the prisoner, the highest manifestation of anti-social behavior. Taking a human life is the negative result of the act of an individual, but it is relativized when through the narratives of subjects, social conditions emerge.

ALEXANDER: *"The crime starts from somewhere. Not by itself. In order for someone to commit a crime, which crime should I take? To kill, thousands of reasons must be preceded, you should have made too many bad things to me or feel so wronged, that I cannot take it any longer. The cause lies somewhere. Someone doesn't go through this like that, unless you are crazy. That's something else. But to get to a crime, no one wants to go to prison, no one wants to take a life. For someone to end up there, it means that he has taken the final straw. He has tried everything else and this is the only thing left."*

### 1.2.4. The "insider scum"

Providing information about a prisoner is a major crime for the inmate which is punishable incrementally (ranging from isolation to beating) on the basis of the principles of informal social control of the prison.

DIMITRIS: *"For me, criminal is when man exploits man obscenely... in all cases. It's not only the rapist, not just the killer; it is even the ruffian rat, the one who goes and says something about you that is not true."*

The "ruffianism" is represented as a crime against persons, insofar as they violate the regulatory framework of the prison, the value code and honor rules, threatening social cohesion and unity. The characterization informant affixes

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threat and purvey smooth and prohibited. When the supreme ruler called the mob in the manifestation of his power, he momentarily tolerated violence, which he used as evidence of obedience, but he immediately opposed the limits of his own privileges." Foucault M., *Discipline and Punish, the birth of prison*, Plethron Publ., 1975, p. 71, ( in Greek).

a negative identity to the subject by the other members of the community of prisoners, so the prisoner can develop a behavior to avoid the characterization.

MARIANNA: *"When I got in Korydallos, two things I feared. Not to be called an informant and not to be called a lesbian. I was beware of both."*

VAGGELI: *"Being called 'rat' in prison does not happen unfairly. Even if you haven't done anything, the moment will come."*

The reputation, the information and the advantages from the prison is the evidence confirming the designation of informant. The suspicion is strong and the recognition of the behavior of the informant as condemnatory and not tolerable is proof of commitment to the community prisoners. The swing and the image of "tender-hearted" is a sign of weakness and perhaps a sign that you are one of them. The detainee, therefore, has to recognize the shades of behavior which is classified as suspicious of spying, to comply with the rules of "listen, see, shut up," to be vigilant and to stigmatize the informer by punishing him and leading him into a social and spatial isolation<sup>63</sup>. Therefore, it is a punishable act while at the same time it is connected to the collective consciousness with another crime, the one that is carried out before entering prison, which is none other than the unfair administration of justice.

### **1.2.5. The Unfair administration of Justice and the White Collar Criminals**

The unfair administration of justice is represented as a crime but also as a cause for the increase in crime in Greek society. It is a crime that takes place through the imposition of severe penalties without adequate evidence or with data from persons who are not reliable (witnesses, police officers or informants). This is commonplace in narratives and is considered reprehensible and cause for violent retribution behavior within prison. This perception is reinforced through the narratives about the selective administration of justice and the favorable treatment of white collar criminals.

### **1.3. The Etiology of Crime and Illegality**

In their justification of behavior related to crimes, subjects seem to distinguish two types of codes that add meaning to the passage to action. The first code on the category crime (child rapist, murderer, child murder, informant) depicts the

<sup>63</sup> Very common tactic in the area of prisons is the prisoner's request who has been blamed as an informant to be transferred to another wing or even to another prison to survive.

criminal as a person, entity-owner of a potentially violent, greedy character<sup>64</sup>, a person who lacks the feelings of honesty and respect towards fellow man and therefore capable of committing odious crimes. Any discussion initially revolves around the personality of the offender and at a second level around the criminal act itself. The crime is represented as the result of individual choice and action of a particular subject, the criminal, a rational decision or a disturbed personality, whose content is considered as able to be discovered and must be prevented.

The second code of interpretation concerning category illegality (robbery, use and sale of drugs, etc.) focuses more on the environment. Subjects highlight as primary causes of illegality the following: a) Poverty, unemployment, homelessness and deficient education, b) The problematic situation on the society caused by immigration, c) the amplification of underclass resulting in the lack of opportunities and d) the policy at a decision-making level, particularly in the field of drugs and immigration. The illegality arises from social disorganization, political interests and is a reaction to the "unjust society," the law of anger, righteous indignation. Moreover, illegality is represented as an inevitable given in the society, which is multifactorial, meaning that it is attributed to multiple causes: economic, historical, social, political and sometimes psychological- psychogenetical.

#### **1.4. The utopia of a non-criminal society, the hidden charm of breaking the Law and the fear of crime**

Although crime is represented as a social evil that disrupts the balance and causes fear while it is a natural event, a social inevitability that cannot be overcome by the existing court system, but only through the implementation of a rendering retributive penal model.<sup>65</sup> But the passage to those operations that characterize the world of illegality changes the nature of standpoints for social deviation. For the prisoner who identifies himself as illegal, illegality is

<sup>64</sup> "... the causal approach is shaped and is determined by reference to a deterministic model of physics for the cause and effect. The behavior of the person is understood with reference to specific and strictly entrenched causes, which act upon him following specifications of a simplistic, mechanistic relationship of cause- effect. The knowledge of causes implies knowledge of the result, that is the final outcome of human specifically behavior. Within this context, the violent behavior is defined and predetermined by causes, biological, social or psychological." Tsalikoglou F., 1996, op.cit. p. 65, (In Greek).

<sup>65</sup> For Durkheim crime "...is firstly inevitable or necessary due to the differentiation of individual consciousness and the fact that there can be no society where people do not deviate more or less from the collective way..." Farsedakis I., 1996, op.cit., p. 24, (in Greek).

what breaks the routine, the monotony of social coexistence. The illegality is unavoidable and charming.

ESMA: *"Crime will always exist. It cannot happen, guys! Society without crime doesn't exist... Man needs it, crime..... Illegality is sweet. Sweet illegal, guys. That's it."*

MARIA: *"So, it is not that you cannot live and don't have food to eat, and you reach underground..."*

During the narratives around the illegality two sides are revealed. The law as a kind of game and opportunity and as an exercise of logic. The involvement with the criminal mechanism is attributed to the need for the unexpected, colorful and roaring, the menacing and charming piece of life. For the prisoner risky activity composes a personal experience, an act to impress and mature, which provides knowledge of the world.

HELEN: *"While in the illegal, you're tense, on the edge. You want this thing. You crave for it. "*

VICKY: *"So you believe that there is addiction to the underground?"*

ELENI: *"Hey, I love this thing, the risk."*

MARY: *"To be in danger all the time. To be hunted. The hunting. "*

SOFIA: *"Adrenaline raises. But until when? Do something else. Go diving, surfacings (laughs) "*

Taking risks as self-realization opportunity and as a process that contributes to the empowerment of the individual, in control of courage and personal boundaries, empowers players in the social dialogue. Simultaneously, the risk creates social relationships, helps to create a common history, common memories and shapes identity and group cohesion. Many times during the narrative, subjects compete in describing the conditions of risk they faced before incarceration, to the point of reaching the limits of exaggeration or myth. This racing demonstration allows prisoners to maintain their social ties, especially in their confrontation with the "normal interlocutors", whereas their self-image or their individual progress is not decisively overturned.

MARIANNA: *"To tell you the truth? Me, yes. That is, I started because I liked it. That is, I didn't start because I did not have money, I could not find work, and on the other hand, I started elsewhere and then I went underground. I started working night and I said let's see that too. And when you get in, it's hard to... "*

When the prisoners speak about the night they project marginality, as a positive state, as a moment of self-realization with alternative insurgent operations. Later, of course, the subject of the research evaluates the compulsions and deadlocks. The world of illegality, of the night can make you free, powerful, but it also makes you subservient to his rules and requirements or to these groups that predominate. Finally, the illegality is not represented as an alternative to the day conventions, but staying in it ends up being described as a process from which you cannot escape. The passage to act is not finally

the person's intention to be engaged in risky experiences. Subjects deviate or not deviate, depending on their degree of commitment to the interests of the social group to which they belong<sup>66</sup>. And because the deviation is a social process, the illegal manages the consequences of social coercions, forming a worldview to safeguard himself against the conduct of the social game. There are typical narratives that highlight the gendered nature of social representations around the passage to act. Women prisoners recount:

SOFIA: *"Let it go. This is it, leave it. (Laughs) After a time, however, I liked it. I liked to be in danger. All the time. The adrenaline was rising. That you had a fast car, that you would walk by and the other won't speak to you, you knew that you walked past and a boy won't flirt you, because he knew that you are with a guy" (she means a powerful person of the night).*

TINA: *"Enthused!"*

SOFIA: *"You feel strong!"*

In a world in which night work is projected, the underground, the sociability of the night, the fraternities, gangs and associations, transgressive sexualities, lawlessness becomes a form of resistance in the dark. The illegal woman feels strong, protected from young male figures and claims a new stance, in a frame where the daily agenda of male power finds her opponent to night delinquency. It is certain that in this synthesis of the story of the night, one learns many and sees again others, claims a new position in the social space of illegality in the darkness. Under this implied dichotomy, a thematic topic of narcissism of self, and of intra-group is delineated<sup>67</sup>. But perhaps it involves a management of impressions, so that the person inside the walls can prepare the public Self.

Inmates are involved in crime, either as actors of crime or as victims or simply as members of society. The different involvement with crime does not always familiarize the subjects with its existence. The inmate subject experiences the fear of crime<sup>68</sup> in a different format from the other members

<sup>66</sup> "... In considering cases of intentional non-compliance, we must ask how the person manages to avoid conflict with contractual commitments. This can be done in two ways. Firstly, in the course of development, the person can avoid engaging in alliances with conventional society. It can therefore be free to follow his moods. The person does not have a reputation to maintain or a conventional job to keep, he can follow his impulses. It has no interest in continuing to appear conventional. "Becker S.H., 2000, *ibid*, p.78.

<sup>67</sup> Doxiadis K., *The Narcissism as sovereignty Exercise weapon*, Avgi Sunday News, the 31.01.99., (In Greek).

<sup>68</sup> In criminology, the fear of crime "is defined generally as the collective anxiety of the inhabitants of a region, a city or country, which comes from the fear of possible victimization of their own or nearby persons from violent criminal attacks. It is manifested both at the individual level in the form of fear of victimization, and collectively, as a lack of public security. Through the reference to the" feeling of

of society. The expressions of fear of crime for detainees are: a) The public space and the fear of moving around at night for women, b) Fear of arrest, c) The private space and the invasion of criminals and d) Fear of retaliation outside and inside prison.

## 2. THE SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF PRISONERS STUDENTS REGARDING THE PENAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

The penal justice system consists of two main social control bodies, who through the investigative and judicial organs, constitute a mechanism, which not only requires the control of crime, but also influences the shaping of social images in juxtaposition to what is called crime, criminal, victim or penalty. The first body is the police and the judicial justice and the second, prisons. Briefly, the stages of the mechanism of criminal justice are: Police, the Prosecutor, the Interrogator, the Temporary detention or restrictive conditions, the Accusation, the Trial of the case, the Sentencing and finally, the serving of a sentence.

Starting from these stages, the study of social representations of prisoners around the penal mechanism<sup>69</sup> follows this path<sup>70</sup>, beginning from the stage of abduction and the arrest of the accused, -which relates only to the action of the police and the prosecutor-, the stage of questioning -concerning the Examiner and the police- and of the court-judges and lawyers- concerning the trial of the case and the enforcement and serving the sentence.

### 2.1. The police

Police are represented negatively as a criminal organization because of the violent nature, which is manifested in every phase of its contact with the

insecurity” the impression is meant that crime is a real threat and adequately severe so as to affect the everyday management at an individual level.” Zarafonitou Ch., *The Fear of Crime*, Sakkoulas Publ., Athens, 2002, p. 31-33, (in Greek).

<sup>69</sup> “However, the effect of representations on the operation of the penal system does not run out in the preliminary phase. The studies suggest that the criminal justice system make choices that result in the construction of the final product. These choices are made during the successive stages which a case passes, involving the representation of the bodies of the penal system.” Zarafonitou Ch., *Empirical Criminology*, Nomiki Vivliothiki, Athens 1995, p. 204, (in Greek).

<sup>70</sup> “In conclusion, the investigation concluded that the representations of the public on the crime, the criminal and penal system, significantly depend on the ideas and attitudes that individuals have in society, values and rules that regulate human behavior and judgment. For this reason, the same event or the same situation can be interpreted differently depending on everyone’s perceptions, beliefs and experiences.” Zarafonitou Ch., 1995, *Ibid.*, p. 276.

prisoner. For the prisoner, physical and psychological violence is a systematic and consistent treatment technique of suspects by the police, to the point that the beatings and psychological pressure are taken for granted.

THANASSIS: *“Look beating is a fact. When you get caught, two people get caught. Each one says different things. So to learn the truth they beat. Just like that, to make sense. Me, I was beaten a lot.”*

BLEDAR: *“How is that all prisoners are thought to be wronged to what they say, something is happening.”*

The practice of violence is experienced by the prisoners as degrading and as an attempt to humiliate and de-personalize the Self. Prisoners refer to incidents of systematic use of force by the police in the following cases: a) During their arrest and adduction, b) as means to extort confession, statement or declaration, c) as a means of intimidation and finally, d) as a means of repression during a revolt in prisons.

For the social speaker, selective police action against a suspect or perpetrator is determined by the social characteristics of the suspect, with particular emphasis on ethnic origin.

ALEXANDER: *“Too much beating. Too much. Us foreigners, we have been severely beaten. That is I faint from beating. A week in detention centers, there was a lot of battering. When I came here I was beaten up.”*

ELIAS: *“But there is the outcry, you Albanian, you villain.”*

FATION: *“Let alone the police. We, we are foreigners, we who are Albanians, they thrash us much worse than those who are from another country.”*

During narratives the diversification of police behavior by gender was highlighted. The treatment of suspect women is characterized softer compared to men, while usual police practice is to bring to court people who are characterized as usual suspects<sup>71</sup> only because they happened to be in certain places of “high” criminality or because they are of a different ethnic origin.<sup>72</sup>

ARIDON: *“It has happened to me..., because I had parked for two minutes and some honked. Wait a minute, I was talking to someone, wait a minute, I said. And immediately, we were not moving, and they grabbed me and a friend of mine. Come in, he says. Why? I tell them. Go in... eh ....f....., let’s no talk about it now. We went in a jeep from there we did not go directly to the department, we went to another place. And the policemen spoke with each other. Hey asshole, the one says to the other, 2 3kg he says, we will not get a*

<sup>71</sup> According to Article 74 par. 15<sup>th</sup> c. I of PD 141/1991 the police are given the right to drive to the police people who are deprived of elements of proof of their identity or because of the place, time, circumstances and behavior they create suspicions of committing a crime. Simeonidou-Kastanidou E., *Police violence and human rights*, p.1., in to side, <https://athens.indymedia.org/media/old/129.pdf>.

<sup>72</sup> Sorvatzioti D., *Poverty of Justice*, ΚΨΜ Publ., Athens, 2011, p.70-71, (In Greek).

*penny. How should we do the job? I knew a few things, I too was underground and I was wondering. They went somewhere, they took a bag, and then they took us to the police department...policemen do not do a better job than us..."*

The venue of violent action of the police mainly occurs in detention centers.

ANTRIANNA: *"7 days I stayed in the detention center. There, let it go. Better to sit here for two years instead there for one night. They hit me. He was a policeman, he tried to hit me, but the other tells him, leave her alone she is not well. My man, they were roughed him up..... (In detention) time didn't pass by. Let alone that you wanted to make a phone call and they didn't let you. They flew into a bowl and threw it inside, blankets, laundry, there were others too, who were vomiting, leave it... And the policeman says, you will see now you will go jail how you will get by, and the other asks me, you've been in jail? And I said, yes, five years. And he did not speak to me again then."*

Apart from beatings and bullying, the prevalence of degrading detention conditions (such as overcrowding, inadequate facilities for the satisfaction of physical needs, poor ventilation, dirt, waste etc.) is experienced as an additional form of violence against prisoners which are not conducive to human dignity and respect for the individual.<sup>73</sup>

VICKY: *"To break my morale, I do not know, I do not know... okay there is now... yes, they spoke badly to me. And they swore I got beaten up, and they hit me... I was badly beaten by the cops..."*

The detainee describes in detail the process. Immediately after the suspect's abduction, in an informal interrogation, the suspect or perpetrator of a case is informally asked to answer questions but the answers are filed in writing at the police covering document and influence the development of the case to the investigator. At this stage, the police manage the quantity and the weight of the cases and they have the uncontrolled power to charge more thefts in one person, than those that might be committed, to charge him with unsolved cases and to send them to the Attorney with the covering document, encumbering him as the offender/suspect is assessed negatively with more evidence.

VASSILI: *"The policemen catch a man and they report what they want, and in the end, they have the upper hand. That is, what they would say, they are correct. (he means the testimony of the police officer in court). Without evidence, ..."*

ANDREW: *"The mistake, for us the big one, my own opinion is that you 'hear' 3-4 categories. How do you charge with so many, why?"*

YETNOR: *"To tie you."*

VASSILI: *"And without proof, without anything. This is great injustice. You understand me; This enrages you!"*

DIMITRIS: *"The belief is, to cover their own people. What is in the drawer*

<sup>73</sup> Simeonidou-Kastanidou E., op.cit., p.11, (in Greek).



*you will sign, you will get a battering until you sign. If they want to do their job, they can. This is what the police do, write, write, after that you sign and that's it. And then the lawyers. I have seen them."*

The offender usually does not know the context of the official document, he signs the testimony, and the file is established with documents prepared by essentially the police authority. The police send the file to the investigator and the investigating magistrate in turn confirms the aggravating accusations with a view of the non-disturbance of the balance mechanism. The ability of the police to forward a case to the next stage of the mechanism of penal procedure has as a result the officer to be represented as a judge, as the one who has the first and last word on the outcome of the case. Prisoners tell that the courts keep a favoring attitude towards the police, resulting in the detainee as appellant, to be weak in the case of violation of his rights. Thus any possible complain at this stage, therefore will result in the police charging the case with more offenses, and on the other hand more aggravating testimonies of the witness policemen, with adverse effects on the future outcome of the trial.

MAREGKLEN: *"What to report? Are you serious? If you denounce the police you are not going to get out of prison, ever. The police will load you with everything and you will be racked by the cops after court."*

For the intervention of the police in the penitentiary branch, the Correctional Code lays down the conditions and limitations.<sup>74</sup> During the investigation, at riot incidents the intervention of the police presents the following identical image. The space outside prison is "filled" with police vans. Crews of TV channels normally appear. Administrators are removed from prison (teachers, social workers), although the operations occur mainly in the evening. With the permission of the Prosecutor and the prison a violent invasion of MAT(Rehabilitation Order Unit) takes place in the wings and the cells, using fumigants, tear gas, and mainly police rods (globs). The prison sirens begin to sound. MAT police beat indiscriminately, enter the cells, and do research throwing things, confiscating objects, ripping photos of prisoners. In this circumstance, the prisoner stands still in his cell and gets out in the hallway when ordered. He patiently waits for the end of the operation, while he does not complain if beaten. Resistance is equivalent to disciplinary action mainly by switching to another prison. The next day, we find outside the headquarters, stacks of objects, (improvised heaters, beams, weights, cables, furniture wood, spoons, etc.), while the smell of tear gas is still fresh.

Next to this the police image the representation of the police is also added as a collective body consisting of people who are not only characterized by inability to resolve a case due mainly to sloth, but attribute their success to corruption and giving information from third parties, behavior which is characterized as

<sup>74</sup> Correctional Code, article 65.

dishonest, cowardly and unjust. In conclusion, in the narratives, police features emerged as the suppressive function, its ineffectiveness of the limitation of the crime, the abuses of the police in the performance of their duties, corruption, the use of illegal and unethical methods to obtain information and corruption. Negative representations against the police are connected with the violent police action, bringing fear, anger and hatred of the subjects on the one hand towards the face of the police who is characterized as criminal and on the other against the criminal mechanism, which is adopted by the unequal treatment against specific social groups or groups that deny its power.

## 2.2. The investigating Interrogator

In everyday legal practice it seems that the investigator follows the file which has been created by the police (ie that includes the covering of the police document, the indictment drawn up on the basis of this, the apology that has been prepared by the police and other aggravating reports also from the police). Often lack of time, workload and attitude to support the criminal mechanism, the Examiner seems to terminate the process without carefully examine the case. Hence, during the course of investigation, the detainees did not refer to the role and importance of the interrogator in the case.

MAREGKLEN: *"The investigator doesn't anything. He looks at the documents, and the case goes to court. It has nothing to do with the investigator, no, what will happen to your case."*

## 2.3. The defense lawyers

The selection and appointment of a lawyer is a key concern of the prisoner and his family. In prison, the prisoner is informed about which lawyer is good, what cases he has defended, in which he lost and in which he won the case, if he has acquaintances. And good lawyer is the one who gets high payment, since he has not only the legal knowledge and the experience to convert categories to lighter ones or to succeed in the court taking into account the extenuating circumstances, but especially the one who is in the legal game and has the appropriate contacts and acquaintances in order to ensure the best legal treatment of his client. Consequently, the social speaker believes that "defense lawyers by profession" are characterized by ignorance, inexperience in terms of knowledge of the system, while they are unable to handle a difficult criminal case due to lack of time in its preparation. As an accused mentions *"... the lawyer appointed by the court has an hour or so to read the file."*

FATION: *"What is this? The lawyer appointed by the court? It's better not to have a lawyer. He will burn you. Everyone says that, in prison."*

What we think is worth noting is that the prisoners interpret this predicament with terms that mainly concern the conscience of lawyers. Accordingly the institution of legal aid of lawyers is represented.

The importance attributed by the prisoner in the presence of a competent lawyer someone would expect to lead to the formation of positive social representations towards him. The detainee depends on the advocate for his treatment in court whereas the appointment of branded lawyers indicates status in prison. However, the widespread belief is that lawyers fall into a wrong context of interlacing and acquaintances, so the lawyer is represented as a “luxury liar”. This characterization is certified each time the advocate is trying to deceive the court, in a game of courage and truth where everyone knows the rules and where his interest lies in his client having a favorable legal treatment. The falsity game, though, is not limited to court. The lawyer advises the accused under trial on his behavior in court, directs the lie in order to accomplish the goal, (how to talk, how to dress, when to tell lies), promises a positive outcome of the case, despite knowing the ugly result from the beginning. And when the reality belies the promise, the promise of Appeal comes. This advice works as a relief for the prisoner, since it is a fact, that the years are actually reduced, but the lawyer’s attitude is represented as a deceptive strategy leading to the reproduction of the system through which the inmate feels more aggrieved.

FATION: *“Lawyers are all liars. They tell you that you’ll get this penalty, do not worry and finally you ‘hear’ life imprisonment and you get crazy. You should not trust lawyers. Lawyers are to get money.”*

Overall, the detainee represents the lawyer with non-law properties as a person who is characterized by self-interest, since by exploiting the predicament of his client, pushes for higher financial rewards in order to achieve the expected results. For the prisoner, the lawyer is an important factor in the progress of the case and when the financial rewards are considered high, the expectation of the prisoner to the favorable outcome of the trial takes the form of demand. The asymmetric relationship between prisoner and lawyer reinforces the negative image of the latter, as a person who uses illicit means for the defense of his client, in a rationale of assurance of high salaries and future customers, and not a solidarity and support attitude to the prisoner.

## 2.4. Sentence and Courts

The prisoner recognizes the importance of the legal justice mechanism and cannot imagine a context of alternative perspectives (reform, social and professional reintegration) regarding the penalty. The punishment for the detainee is tantamount to applying exclusively to prison units, but also the need of society to punish the offender. The imposition of a custodial sentence

is represented as the repayment of a debt to society, as a short-term realism to ensure the cohesion of society. The acceptance of punishment in prison, however, does not mean that the prisoner approves of its enforcement too. Common basis of social representations of prisoners is the belief that there is no justice in the sense of legal philosophy. The detainee as a collective subject, experiencing a situation where he feels nonexistent for the law and for whatever moves inside a circle where "law-free zones" are formed, areas where the current legality does not exist.

The subjects' narratives revealed the social representations around the courts, through two axes; the social perceptions of the courts as a **mechanism** and social perceptions of judges **as persons**. The common basis of perceptions of prisoners regardless of ethnicity or other social characteristics is the conviction that justice bodies speak through their decisions, inevitably reflecting political and social correlations and dominant ideologies. The court imposes crippling sentences using discrimination criteria mainly based on nationality and eliminating procedural principles of proportionality, fair treatment, good faith and personalization, through the social relation and political context (eg scandal of judges). In addition, the severity of the court is strengthened through tactics of heavy categories (members of a criminal organization), which do not appear to be generalized to cases where the accused comes from the upper social classes.

As for the proceedings of the trial, the pulse of the court is such that the sensation for a fast process dominates so as the court can get to the next case. This representation is linked to confutation of innocence presumption of the accused. Instead the prisoners believe that in the court the presumption of guilt exists, which the accused and his lawyer are called to overthrow. The long sentences are represented as reformatory and vindictive, which function as anything but that, instead they are described as the evil which the law selectively imposes to those who dared to undermine the existing social order.

MARIGKLEN: *"He was the judge and he was bored. He was sitting thoughtfully, as if he was asleep. He put his hand on the head and neither spoke nor waved. And he gave sentences. The first says, you lifelong deportation, you lifelong deportation and you lifelong deportation. And the prosecutor says. How Mr. President, lifelong deportation!! He is Greek! We will send him too to Albania? And the president says. Ahh!! He is Greek, okay then. Got it how they give sentences? They are bored and give long sentences and years. And for me at that time, my life is on the line."*

Besides scandals, increased punitiveness is interpreted as a natural consequence of the conduct of judges who due to the workload are overwhelmed mentally and sink to a bed of routine and boredom. Malfunctions of Justice, the enormous volume of case files that accumulate in the courts, the

snail speed at which justice moves (often touches the limits of denial of justice) are the main factors determining the malfunction of justice for the prisoners.

For judges as persons, prisoners sculpt the judge's profile, who anchored to the typical application of the law and buried in the files, is isolated from social life and imposes severe penalties, not with the logic «Dura lex, sed lex» (hard law, but law), but rather trying to convince that they are not corrupt. For the prisoners, judges are afraid to say the word «innocent», since their austerity is interpreted by of the judicial mechanism as a condition of their ranking in the category of incorruptibility.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, the judge is represented as a person with weaknesses and he avenges the accused by imposing strict penalties. An additional feature of the judge for the incarcerated subject is the lack of empathy. Because of the hearing of many cases, the judge distances himself from people who ask for his support, without being influenced by them. Through this detachment process, the judge becomes aggressive, cynical and impersonal. Detainees generalize regarding these characteristics attributing these properties to all judges without exception and which are not refuted under another social occasion. Despite this though, the common belief of the incarcerated population is the view that judges should live in prison for some time. Sometimes they even cite examples of other countries where the judges as part of their education acquire practical experience through their stay in prisons.

Giving this social picture, prisoners reveal a structural function of the criminal justice system, according to which judicial class support itself as an impersonal and impenetrable body (of the court immunity) with its own internal rules. The prisoner recognizes an "ostracism" philosophy in the criminal mechanism, based on social exclusion and the principle of social consolidation.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> "Well they go and give life sentences to every poor guy. Look at Ervis. He heard life sentence. But is it possible? Since he is imbecile. Can he deal in the drug trade? Well, they do not understand. Once they see it in court. He's stupid. Is he possible to be a trader? No, but they give life imprisonment. We are talking about inapt, assholes. Or Ramadan. Is he a merchant? He is a petty dealer. It is obvious. Do you have to put much thought? Since what a man is, it shows. And yet they give life sentence."

<sup>76</sup> "The excommunication is the third and most extreme form of recruitment of criminal justice and quantitatively, the narrower (17%). The idea of rehabilitation is non-existent and in its place there was exclusion and exemption. In comparison with conventionalism, the act does not really matter as much as the offender. Justice is recruited in this context, as an ostracism," as the only way to restore the lost social harmony. The criminal route is considered as exclusively competent for social eurhythm and detention as a key tool of marginalization, discipline, pain, revenge and shame. «The penalty is almost expressive and able to stigmatise with emphasis on

### 3. THE SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS OF PRISONERS STUDENTS OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT

In prison, the inmate subject is realized through the dynamics of the crossing of two complex processes: the de-construction and reconstitution.<sup>77</sup> The deconstruction refers to the test of confinement, the prison of suffering and deprivation, targeting at the degradation of the personality of the prisoners and at the break of their collectivity. The dynamics of de-construction refers to prisoners' representations of prison, which are determined by the conditions of detention, life in prison and the politico-economic context of each correctional policy. The reconstitution refers to the collectivity of prisoners which, through the organization of everyday prison life has been deconstructed and reconstructed through the development of a new identity.

As it has been said, although detainees represent imprisonment as a milder penalty than the physical punishments of the past and their necessity for maintaining social peace and cohesion is not refuted, the crushing sentences and detention conditions have resulted in the deconstruction of the subject. Life in prison, through ritual stages of entry, residence and exit of the incarcerated subject, multiple deprivation, hardships and stigma cause the imprisonment to be represented as a place of elimination. In narratives, the operation of the prison is located at least at four levels: a) clearance of society b) stultification, c) reorientation downwardly and d) stigmatization. How is this stigma expressed according to the research subjects? The stories highlighted three points: a) the stigma through the shame of familiar faces of friendly environment, b) the stigma through the abandonment of the individual from members of his family and c) the stigma through the abandonment of the individual from the state.

At the heart of this situation, the reconstruction of the mental world of the prisoner is attempted. When the subject is experiencing stigma, his attempt to live with it, both in everyday transactions with members of the out-group (family, employees, teachers, social services, etc.), and with the other prisoners leads to the formation of the new identity. This psychosocial self-forming process occurs in confrontation with penal sector, with prison staff groups such social workers and other groups which have a specific function in prisons.

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the severity, as a compensation to a menacing insecurity. The criminal is categorized, is basically the other- the stranger, the addicted, the mentally disturbed." Zarafonitou Ch., *Social Perceptions of the Criminal Justice and punitiveness*, op.cit., p.9-10, (In Greek).

<sup>77</sup> Voglis P., *Becoming a Subject. Political prisoners during the Greek Civil War*, Alexandria Publ. Athens, 2004, P.20-21, (In Greek).

The penal sector (ie the supervisor prosecutor, the director, the warden, the prison officials) and staff groups such as social workers, doctors, etc. (circa penal sector) are represented as the main sources of power inside the prison, who define the space through the restriction of movement, coercion, punishment and consulting. For the prisoner a kind of penal groups such as church, NGOs, schools, volunteers, journalists, artists, etc.,-except the Church-are represented in more positive terms, as they offer (not in solving problems) the perspective of entertainment of the routine, through the opportunity of getting together with people outside the walls.

### **3.1. The Representations of the incarcerated population of out-team inside the walls**

#### **3.1.1. *The penal sector***

##### **a) The Supervisor Attorney**

Representations of prisoners to the Prosecutor Supervisor stem from the enhanced institutional role to the Disciplinary Board and the Labour Council of prison and therefore the asymmetrical relationship that is formed between the two parties. The enhanced role of the authority of the Supervisor Attorney is reflected in prisoners' beliefs since the latter recognize in his face a role of power, highly centralized but impersonal, which acts through his decisions, both in the way of living in prison and in the possibility of fast release. Detainees describe the Attorney with non-judicial properties (suspicious, indifferent, disdainful, with complexes) and during the encounter with him in the respective councils, the subjects of research recount that they experience on his behalf a hostile and negative behavior in any request and primarily the creation of a court climate where through brief proceedings their placement in a job or the granting of an exit permit is usually rejected or approved.

##### **b) The Director of the Prison**

The Director being responsible for the maintenance of order and security is presented as the main form of power which directly affects the daily life of prisoners as his decisions are crucial for the living conditions in prison. The sparse meetings of prisoners with the Director of the Prison however result in the Administration being represented as a distant center, as an invisible power or invisible administrative authority which has the legal right to impose its strength without reversing the physical and social distance between the two parties. Many times the Director is represented as a person who does not always know "what's going on in his jail" and is evaluated mainly on the basis of the elements of his personality (abilities, gender, tenure in previous

detention facilities, personal life, past, etc.) which are brought to prisoners through continuous dissemination of information that exist in prisons. Note that the prisoners believe that the driving force of the Director is the corruption behavior.

### **c) The Sergeant**

The power of the sergeant is supervisory, regulatory, advisory, and especially disciplinary. The role of the sergeant depends on the situation in prison and its characteristics. In Korydallos Prison, the Sergeant is the visible leadership, although the main and parallel power structure is typically underlying to the Director. The sergeant is the person who is typically behind the Director nevertheless he is recognized by the prisoners, as he the one who knows “prison firsthand.”

The relationship between the Sergeant and prisoners is based on awareness and not on personal contact. Personal contact between a detainee and the sergeant is determined by the hierarchical classification of prisoners. The Chiefs of prisoners or «prominent prisoners» have a more regular and direct contact and present more often in Headquarters to regulate matters related to prison management. Instead, the common prisoner who is excessively in the sergeant’s office is stigmatized as ‘scum’, which implies a corresponding social reaction. This strategy is not an option of the prisoner but a penal reasoning of governance of the overcrowding in the sergeant’s office.

### **d) The Prison Officials**

The prison employees are the largest group of prison professionals. The detainee calls the member of the security personnel as “employee” or “guard” or “man guard” negative characterizations that suggest the social distance and the lack of willingness to establish personal relations.

The profession of security personnel is represented as undignified and offensive, a profession lacking moral framework. Although prison officials have personal and direct contact with the prisoner, the guard is the external enemy and the civil servant, the trustee, who is serving a punitive mechanism without having the opportunity to control it.

SOPHIA: *“There are good guys too. Again ‘quote unquote’, I say this. Because I think that anyone who wears uniform, the prison guard has no compassion. My opinion.”*

For the prisoner, the prison employee affects the living standards of the prisoner through prohibitions and the tolerance he shows. This means that within prison, there are “bad” and “good” employees. The distinction between “good” and “evil servant” is made with social characteristics (gender, age), without this meaning that the descriptions of the narrators do not focus on



an identical type of behavior. The “good employee” is evaluated on the basis of seniority, knowledge of the disciplinary framework and informal violations of margins to make everyday life manageable in prison. Conversely, “a bad employee” is featured as rigid to the rules of prison, lacking empathy, bad communication level or the one who is characterized by indifference and authoritarianism.

ESMA: *“Some officials are human, they understand what you go through, it is so many years that they work here, and they have compassion. The old guards are better... some new ones have come, and Christ and the Virgin Mary! They shout, scream, they do not know anything. Just a minute! Can’t you see how the other treats you? Behave well you too. Don’t say, eh your destination is there. You will not show me my destination. I know my destination... Each one knows its destination. There is no need for you to come and to tell us, which is our destination. You cannot do that. We respect you, you should respect us. That’s it.”*

Many social speakers have detected as characteristic of the “evil servant” in synetismo as a basic practice for extracting information in prison. Common belief is also the view that the employee is a collective fearful subject, who forms a behavior of neglect and indifference because of fear of retaliation from ‘hard’ prisoners in prison or their homeys outside prison.

### **3.1.2. Circa penal sector**

#### **a) The Health Professionals**

The prison doctor, nurse, dentist, the health professionals are represented as insufficient, as the “genteel professionals” who relativise medical knowledge as they arbitrarily define, what is normal and what is abnormal. Thus, in the eyes of subjects the provision of primary care in prison is exerted at quackery level while nursing at a nearby hospital in the region is represented as equally problematic.

#### **b) The Social Services**

There is a diversification of prisoners’ stance between the social worker, who is represented with terms related to a person and the social service, which is represented with structural terms.

The social worker as a service provider or provider of the protection of prisoners is represented as a solidarity pole, independent from the rest of the prison administration. The detainee considers the sub-staffing of the prison with social workers part of the plight of prison. The social worker is connected with the amenities, he is considered necessary, he is the facilitator who helps the prisoner to surpass the total deprivations.

It seems that social service as a structure does not earn the same trust of prisoners. In most narratives, social service is represented as bureaucracy with key features the delay of work, the formalism, rigidity and factionalism. Malfunctions are perceived by the subjects as collective indifference of workers and they consequently fret against social services considering them as an extra gear of the punitive mechanism. Even in the event that any social care is based on informal practices undertaken by individual professionals, it is represented as penal practices that mitigate the malfunctions of social service acting as safety valves for prison. Frequent is the reference of narrator to the hypocritical role of social workers, since not only minimize the benefits but redirect them to reward prisoners who respond to the prison discipline system. Thus, the demand to social service turns out to be a derogatory act that the prisoner makes while the coverage of needs by the service (clothes, food, etc.) is considered low-status indication and classification criterion in the social organization of prisoners.

### ***3.1.3. Other non staff prison groups with penal function. (The parapenal sector)***

#### **a) The Church**

For the subjects of research, the social assessment of the Church stems from the hegemonic role within the prison, as part of the organizational structure of the formal mechanism of prison (the internal rules clearly define the role of the religious worker and the church functioning within prison) and by organizing visits and events by bodies and representatives of the Church. Established speeches - sermons, the gift offers of little value to the prisoners, visits at religious anniversaries or celebrations are dominant practices, where high-level representatives or simple persons of the Church (cantors, verger etc.) are represented almost daily on the premises of prison. How is the prisoner represented and the prison in the performance of these religious practices and what is the character of ecclesiastical rhetoric?

In the speeches of the representatives of the church, inmates are represented as «the stray children, lost sheep.» The encapsulation occurs as a punishment for a sin that has been committed and the prisoners are called for the period of their inclusion, to seize the opportunity to repent and receive forgiveness. The imprisonment and poor living conditions are not represented as a result of the detention framework or prison policy that leads to abandonment of the encapsulated population, but it is more focused on the unfair social fate of inmates, who as paupers and foreigners, experience the results of their deeds, because they went astray from the path of God. On the basis of this theological and social view, the detainee is asked to meet the encapsulation trials,

where the soul is tested, treated and finally saved. Consequently, during the imprisonment the prisoner is called by the Church to have a proper behavior which is characterized by repentance and patient perseverance.

The plethora of ecclesiastical rhetoric in prison with content sometimes of discrimination and conflict, and religious practices cause negative social reaction of prisoners. The Church is identified with the prison mechanism, while dominant is the perception of the prisoners that the Church is «everywhere» and operates in prison to manage interests and expedencies. Although the majority of prisoners have strong religious feelings (a general belief of detainees is that religion and church are two different things), they resent when they refer to incidents of informal ban of foreign prisoners from Sunday service, because they believe in a different religion or when they need to manage the hostile or paternalistic behavior of visitors of the Church at the branch. However the detainee attends various religious ceremonies and events but in a logic of compliance, facilities and intercourse with other prisoners.

## **b) KETHEA**

A stable structure that operates in Korydallos prison since 2008 is KETHEA, which unfolds the phase of intensive drug treatment of prisoners who have completed the preparatory counseling program in the branch itself<sup>78</sup>. The therapeutic program KETHEA in Korydallos prison follows a psychosocial direction and does not grant pharmaceutical or substitute substances for the treatment of addiction. This is the so-called “dry” program, which operates in a separate area, on a 8-hour daily basis aiming at the abstinence from use and delinquency.

In prison space, a line between inmates and medicating prisoners of KETHEA community is constructed. Medicating detainees construct a radically different identity than that of other prisoners. They define themselves as a distinct social field (“We KETHEA ‘) which has its own culture, values, attitudes, beliefs, habits, etc., while the medicating prisoner believes that he lives under intense pressure providing that he leads the difficult struggle of rehabilitation in the harsh environment of the prison (“serve double prison”). For other groups of prisoners, KETHEA is represented negatively as a privileged space in which the “good guys” benefit (wages, paper for the court, removal from the wing many times, good quality food, cleanliness, etc.) it constitutes a separate intra-group which is opposed to the collectivity of prisoners (typically KETHEA is called the “scum’s village”), which operates on reaction conditions given that it operates autonomously and with absolute compliance with the conditions of the prison regime. Negative feelings of prisoners towards KETHEA become apparent with the arson of the therapeutic community in the 2012 uprising.

<sup>78</sup> It is noted that today Unit Therapy with methadone operates in Korydallos Prison – Program OKANA.

### **c) The School - Second Chance Schools (SDE)**

The inmate students form a small group of prisoners, who is part of the student capacity of the school after the approval of their request by the Council of Prison. The rejection of many applications of interest of detainees and the selective manning of the school from prison affects the social images of prisoners towards the role of the school. The core of these social representations is the concept that attendance at school is a privilege of elite inmates, who “enjoy” the administration of privileges which attendance at this entails (wages in non-manual posts, stay in Korydallos during attendance, certificate of attendance on the court, freer movement in space at prison etc.).

Similarly, the prisoner who survives by the scavenging selection procedure and enrolls in the educational structure, disposes the previous weight and feels obliged for his enrolment both towards school and towards prison. Having participated in this privilege process and deprivation, detainee students confirm the title of school (Second Chance School) as an opportunity site on the prospect of quick release and pleasant management of serving time, consequently social behavior is shaped by conditions of symmetry with the disciplinary framework of prison. But unlike treated- KETHEA prisoners, the prisoner student does not define its identity in terms of school, but total institution. A student may not be in the wing, but he still is under the watchful eye of the employee. The prison is present in the school. The detainee student lives more a kind of «moral holiday» because of his studies and he is not a member of a distinct social group in the social organization system of prisoners nor is attendance a social classification criterion.

### **d) Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and volunteers**

In the area of prison programs are executed in the form of short-term actions such as information meetings primarily of medical orientation, member visits, offer of objects (food, clothes etc.) involving either exclusively prisons or the total population. NGOs and various voluntary organizations tour every prison and operate either after the invitation of the prison itself, or by self-invitation in order to provide services to the vulnerable group of prisoners.

NGOs are represented by the prisoners in positive terms as they appear as the worthy rival in the absence or poor quality of service which the prisoners feel that social services of the prison provide. It is an attitude, which is mutually nourished by two contradictory meanings. Acceptance is limited to a first and short term level, as to the point of people out of prison coming in, who are always welcome since they break up the routine and boredom of everyday life in prison. At a second level, however, the prisoners express their continuing

reservation towards the services of NGOs and the internal debate between their groups is displayed with terms of impeachment or rejection.

It seems however that the negative social reaction is the result of an orthological counting of the special efficacy of these informal forms of action, coming from outside prison. Often, when actions are organized by NGOs (information and awareness workshops, medical control), prisoners requiring their continuity at the level of practical implementation, they receive the promise of continuity, which is never realized for self-evident reasons. The breach of this promise creates feelings of frustration in the inmate population, thus they adopt the rhetoric of «lack of sincerity» of «selling out» or «integration» of NGOs with the prison system. Finally, NGOs are represented as an out-group, which offers services within the prison and in cooperation with it, which is by definition negative, since for the prisoner nothing good happens in prison. On the one hand, NGOs are represented as a focus directly connected with the penal part of prison, as they collaborate with it and thus support and are supported by its choices, on the other hand it is an out-group that offers good quality services compared to the ones offered by the branch but lacks the knowledge of the prison context.

### **e) The Artists - entertainers - Journalists**

Writers, directors, actors, artists, journalists, people of entertainment visit the area of the prison, either voluntarily or after the invitation of responsible bodies (such as social services, school, KETHEA). As in the case of NGOs or voluntary organizations, prisoners as a collective subject are favorably inclined to visits from people outside prison. The advent of new persons breaks the routine and is a central theme in discussions in the wing. In a first reaction, firstly what breaks the routine of daily life is welcomed, but secondly everything coming from a body of the prison (school, community service, KETHEA etc.) concerns prison and not themselves.

The detainee will comment on the «field trip» if the journalist, artist or the means, have recognizability or are prominent Others. In this case, he will be interviewed, photographed, and he will speak and little by little he will open up. When deciding this, he should be careful because returning to the wing he will suffer the social reaction of his fellow prisoners, whether he stated correctly the condition of confinement or he was drifted on to findings that do not help the living conditions at all. For the prisoner conversation with persons who are carriers of information or who have access to groups of influence is a kind of political act. Otherwise if these people are not recognized by the general public, the detainee is not engaged and withdraws to the wing.

## 4. THE RECONSTITUTION OF PRISONER THROUGH THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF PRISONERS

In modern criminological thought, three interpretive models of the social organization of detainees are highlighted on the basis of the way of reaction and adaptation of prisoners to the requirements of a total institution.

### I. The Functional model

According to this model, the deprivations produced by encapsulation are the product of the disciplinary framework of prison, which lead to the production of defense and adaptation mechanisms in order for the prisoner to survive in the demands of the institutional environment and living needs with fellow inmates<sup>79</sup>. The inmate subject is integrated either gradually or in the interim period of his stay in prison with the prisoners' society, key features of which are solidarity and opposition to the prison rules. He coincides with his intra-group and is incorporated through the acceptance of the respective rules and values (institutionalization - personalization). This approach focuses on the inner workings of the system but it does not link its proper functioning with the social characteristics of prisoners.

### II. The cultural transmission model

This model shows that experiences of integration prior to imprisonment are milestones in the shaping the social organization of prisoners. According to Irwin<sup>80</sup>, the social roles of prisoners, such as the examples of reasonable and measured prisoner (square John), relate to the pre-criminal socialization of the individual in order to shape an identity as it is evidenced by the new interaction context. Consequently, underlying factors that influence the formation of classifications of prisoners may be factors such as the delinquent culture that the subject has adopted before incarceration or even post-institutional factors such as the expectation of reintegration that can affect his overall course during his detention. - eg members of a therapeutic community in prison. This approach, however, takes the social values of sub-cultural groups for granted, thus focusing on the effect of pro-institutionalization past in the

<sup>79</sup> "The position that the deprivations of inclusion in prison lead to the creation of a subculture of criminals who appears only in the jail and is called in criminology theory of endogeneity or deprivation (indigenous origin / deprivation theory)" Archimandrite M., *The Imprisonment as a form of detention and as a form of serving the sentence*, Sakkoulas Publ., Athens, 2012, p.243. (In Greek).

<sup>80</sup> Irwin J., *The jail: Managing the underclass in American society*, University of California Press, Berkely, CA, 1985.

experience of incarceration. The prison disclaims responsibility regarding its contribution to the formation or effect on social organization of prisoners. The detention, however, affects the formation of the culture of prisoners and of social behavior as well as the social past of the inmate subject but also the prospects of meta- institutional factors do.

### **III. The synthetic model**

The synthetic model focuses on complementary functioning of both the prison and the social profile of the prisoner in influencing social organization and this is followed in this analysis. The cultural heterogeneity of prisoners, the size of the prison, the detention condition, the spread and dominance of heroin,<sup>81</sup> the rivalry with the staff, the weakening of solidarity, these and other factors affect the formation of groups and identities in prison in a determining way. In Prison Athens Korydallos the social organization of prisoners is analyzed through the rebuilding effort of the subject, as regards the deconstruction of the personality by the multiple deprivations of imprisonment.

In particular, through the narration of the subjects specific features of that social organization are highlighted, which revolve around two axes: a) classifications shaped by the guard system itself and which produce a first categorization / organization of inmates in the branch and b) social classifications produced by the community of prisoners in response to the formation of social organization that derives from the system. The integration of new prisoner in intra-groups is not done voluntarily. A deeper investigation of the system of social relationships reveals that it is a social process of classification and demarcation, originally produced by the very structure of the prison and then completed by the classifications of inmates. Therefore both axes are complementary and not contradictory. The prison produces categorization in a reasoning of criminal economy of the incarcerated population, while detainees expand their social organization so as to manage the hardships of prison.

#### **4.1. The guarding system classifications**

Criteria for classification of prisoners by the guard system are:

a. **The social profile of the prisoner before encapsulation.** The first division of detainees which occurs from the prison itself refers to the separation of prisoners on the basis of their socialization prior to imprisonment. Typically we mention as an example the professional prisoner. The professional prisoner is the one who will suffer a different treatment, not always negative, from

<sup>81</sup> Aloskofis W., *The inmates informal code of conduct. Coping strategies in the modern prison*, Sakkoulas Publ, Athens, 2010 (In Greek).

the prison. The recidivist prisoner may be considered a “lost cause” for the judiciary mechanism, for the guarding system however he is an “easy” case, as he knows the regulatory framework of Korydallos so he is treated as known and predictable. Another example is a small in number category of inmates, the eminent deviants. Different reception and placement in the wings or in jobs of this social category is a prison segregation strategy undertaken under the pretext of order maintenance and security of these people in the branch. But actually it produces a further classification, with the result that eminent deviants are represented, not as a group of prisoners, but as an out-group, composed of a kind of occasional prisoners. Thus, those prisoners are not recognized either by the guarding system nor the social organization of prisoners as member of the intra-group and their relationship with the penal justice mechanism seems to be fully bypassed by prison. Even the way of speaking of the members of staff towards this category of detainees is different than that towards the other “ordinary” prisoners.<sup>82</sup>

b. **The income situation of the prisoner.** The purchasing power of a prisoner is a classification criterion which is clearly shown through the granting or removal of privileges inside the branch. Although the prisoner avoids referring to his assets because of the risk of falling victim to economic exploitation by inmates, for some categories of prisoners, the wealth demonstration strategy is an expression of dominance and power that supports social relationships.<sup>83</sup> The subject experiences the conspicuous consumption as a mandatory strategy, which is expressed mainly through the continued reference to the purchasing ability before and during incarceration. The conspicuous consumption is both the practical demonstration of social classification and social position of the prisoner, and the safety valve by creating a materiality (*maintain the canteen*), in order to consolidate this social classification and position. Let us not forget that the conspicuous consumption creates an informal facial validity and strengthening of Self which penetrates the social organization of prisoners and is diffused into the ranks of the prison establishment. An example is an elite of prisoners that reproduces its validity through its position in the illegal market

<sup>82</sup> Deconchy J.P. & Dru V., *The authoritarianism*, (ed.) Papastamou S, Pedio Publ., Athens, 2011, p.88, (in Greek).

<sup>83</sup> Bourdieu analyzes the “strategies of discrimination” with the principle that economic strength means primarily and predominantly for somebody to be able to distance himself from the economic. In his work “The distinction” Bourdieu suggests a connection between the consumption of goods and the establishment of classes in the sense that distinct types of capacities and choices play a specific (and instrumental) role in the formation of social classes and their conflicts. Bourdieu P., *The discrimination*, K. Kapsampeli, proline. N. Panagiotopoulos, Patakis Publ., Athens, 2000, (in Greek).



of substances or other goods, such as mobile phones, etc.. This prisoner can display the profile of an exemplary prisoner, polite to staff, well dressed always in accordance with the prison dress code, who works in special jobs, does not exercise personal violence to prisoners who owe, does not participate in riots or other violent incidents. He is an exemplary prisoner who derives prestige through consuming, since through it, he is represented as the one who always knows where his material interests are and he moves directly toward them.

c. **The ethno-cultural background of the prisoner.** Initially, this criterion takes territorial dimension, since the prison puts prisoners in wards according to their descent as a criterion (Albanians, Romanians, Georgians, etc.). This grouping driven by the discernible feature of ethnicity contributes to the formation of cliques, which are organized to settle their differences with the branch or to address issues relating to the accommodation and the smooth operation of the prison. Moreover, the ethno cultural background makes identifiable groups within the vast environment of prison (prisoners characterize a wing as “the wing of the black or” there, there are blacks”) and simultaneously contributes to the formation of social clustering and cooperation. Thus, the social classifications stemming from the interconnection of ground and establishment result in describing distinct social worlds. The wing acquires territorial characteristics and through the ethnic - cultural division of space, social borders emerge, contributing to the negative or positive induction of individuals, to which they relate.

d. **The response to discipline and work performance.** A further classification criterion is the consistency with the general climate conditions in prison. The productive worker is the disciplined subject rewarded with benefits, one of which is the feeling of more freedom of movement in space. The disciplined prisoner is not necessarily the novice detainee or prisoner who is confined for a minor crime. The opposite. It may be a recidivist or incarcerated for crimes of great value. The exemplary prisoner, whose basic virtues are work discipline and dedication to the reality of prison, is a tangible proof that the plight is not permanent, that it is in the prisoner’s hand to receive better treatment from prison and that the differences between prisoner and prison are negligible. This has as a consequence power relations be concealed and new dividing lines are deleted between good and bad prisoners, which might take territorial boundaries too. The wing is a kind of property, which is safeguarded by tooth and nail by prisoners who work unpaid (without the beneficial calculation of the penalty) to protect and safeguard this form of “house”. Here, it seems that the prison itself produces a specific functional strategy, where unpaid chores offer (agaria) is presented as a privilege and it is experienced as such. Performing chores is the personal challenge of the disciplined prisoner, who connects work with his very existence since it takes

the form of personal achievement. This attitude is completed when in the eyes of the disciplined prisoner, a small allowance by the branch, such as the possibility that the employee will turn a blind eye to the use of a mobile phone or a freer movement in space, gets magnifying proportions. However, the exemplary prisoner functions symbolically. Once the prison produces social classification of prisoners with individual terms (capacity, skills) at the same time it addresses inmates as a group of people of a delimited collectivity, in a sense that good prisoners “do good prison”.

Despite the differences, however, imprisonment ends up being represented by the prisoner as a kind of “common collective path” which refers to a community, a social world or a social class. This means that imprisonment is represented as an event that exceeds the individual and leads to a substantially different view of self and personal story. As a result, the detainee answers with its own hierarchies.

## **4.2. The classifications and the characteristics of the captive community**

The classification of prisoners is represented in the collective consciousness as a product of the free will of the prisoner. The social organization of the prisoners becomes accepted by the penal system, as it also seems that emerging social hierarchy contributes in a special way to maintain social cohesion and balances within the branch.

In Korydallos prison the criteria to include prisoners in groups are: a) the ethno-cultural origin and the place of origin, b) the racial characteristics, c) the old and the new prisoner / recidivist and under trial prisoner, d) The size of the sentence, e) Other criteria such pro-criminal past, sexual behavior, religious identity, personality elements, existence of common interest (for example groups that focus on profitable financial illegal activities- gambling, production of alcohol, drug trafficking, selling cell phones, etc.), desire for cooperation in the design of unlawful acts after release etc. These factors may act complementary or independently in the above criteria, but they play a role in shaping the types of prisoners with the Weberian sense.

### **4.2.1. The social classification.**

In Korydallos prison, the social classification of prisoners displays the following form:<sup>84</sup>

<sup>84</sup> Koulouris N., *The conflictual situation in prison and the management of the continuing prison crisis, Intercultural training program for the detention staff*, KEK Project, Company Study of Human Sciences Company, Athens, 2011, (In Greek).

- A. The Leaders. Higher social class characterized by prestige and a force in shaping public opinion of the prisoners. Heads vary by ethnicity and consequently per wing, while for the axiom, criteria are used which differentiate in time and per group of prisoners.
- B. Families. This is the elite detainees solidified mainly by ethno-cultural criteria and aspire to be included in the leadership core.
- C. The middle layers.<sup>85</sup> These groups of prisoners that reproduce and maintain the informal code of prisoner organization are the guardians of its safeguarding. In the same class, types of prisoners are included who have purchasing power and adopt roles of distancing from service or families in prison. Here organization Nuclei of Fire fit.
- D. The lower layer. It includes prisoners with a low educational level, small sentences, without special privileges. They are the largest group. Various types of prisoners are included here.
- E. Various types of prisoners at the base of the pyramid (the “taxi”, the “inter-group deviant”, the “junkies”). They are rarely activated, especially when any, large in extent, conflict takes place with one or many groups.
- F. Out of the “caste.” (Pedophiles, rapists and scums) They form a kind of “untouched” placed outside the social context because of social distance. The social distance is expressed through the collective feeling of impurity involved when a prisoner has a contact with them. The “untouched”, put out of context are those to whom the social reaction is expressed mainly through the exercise of physical and psychological violence. Note, however, that in Korydallos prison in recent years the acidity of negative social reaction and the penalties applicable in the past have declined. The response focuses on the social disapproval, the hostility, but not with the harshness of the past. So an scum can for example go out in the yard.

It should be noted that social ends (upper and lower layers or outcasts) is compact, in middle class, however, a kind of social mobility may appear, which can be upward (for example when someone acquires the identity of the old prisoner) or downward (when for example, a prisoner who belonged to the middle class is deducted, when he begins to “owe” due to declining purchasing power). The group of prisoners on the basis of institutional behavior (eg student, member of KETHEA community etc.) is an example of how the social situation of the prisoner might change. However, because the dominant identity of the prisoner is formed by other criteria (origin, purchasing power, oldness and so on), we would say that the groupings of this type have been temporary. In prisons that do not follow the restorative model, such as the

<sup>85</sup> We use the term layer and not class as there are significant differences between the prisoners both in their purchasing power and the range of their activities, as well as in their social power.

Korydallos prison, the integrations of prisoners in groups like school, which are represented as preferential treatments which best serve the system and less the prisoner, result not in formulating an identity of the prisoner as a collective subject and exist for a certain time. Thus, the student who graduates from school and works in other jobs or the prisoner who leaves or is kicked out of the Community, he returns sometimes smoothly other times a bit harder in previous groups. Additionally, the new social situation in prisons marked by the Balkanization of the penal population and the criminalization of new social behaviors (Nuclei of Fire, Members of the Golden Dawn, guest prisoners etc.), the imposition of major penalties, and the deterioration of living conditions led to changes in the prison population and thus their social stratification.

Below are depicted some ideal models of prisoners. Note that the following types are not the only ones. They are indicatively mentioned the ones who emerged as categories through the narratives of subjects and participatory observation. The following types are displayed in order of the hierarchical layout in the social organization of prisoners at Korydallos prison.

#### 4.2.1.1. The Leaders

In public, the leader in prison is represented as an authoritarian figure who manages the groups of prisoners, in the form of command and communications, sometimes using various forms of violence. In fact, there are several factors that affect the form and the kind of exercising leadership to prisoners. The leader is a central figure, certainly centralized, who is responsible for taking decisions in prison, but the leader's management style differs both from prison to prison, and per group of inmates. Factors that affect the model of leadership are the type of prison, the model of the correctional administration, the ethno-cultural factors, the lack of consensus, the existence of cliques in prison, living conditions, but also extra-institutional factors. These factors also affect the promotion criteria of the head. Regarding social participation, leaders must be representative of the group they represent. Thus, the leader of the Albanian team will be Albanian, of the Greek, Greek and so on and so forth.

Each group has its leader, in the person of whom faith and dedication of the team is expressed. The reference of prisoners to the existence of leaders of other groups of prisoners is in negative definitions, a fact which highlights the competitive relationship between the groups. Because of different ethno-cultural backgrounds and different treatment of groups of inmates inside the branch, the system of leadership not only varies, but a different degree of solidarity and of hierarchical organization among members of any intra-group is also presented.

*"... The Albanians have the Albanian, Kurds the Kurdish, Russians the Russian. The leader is not always promoted in the same way. Sometimes the*

*leader is the one who they respect. The way he walks, stands, talks. Other times, the leader is the one if you do not go with, you'll be stabbed. To understand who he is, the leader. When I was in Patras, K. was the leader. He shouts all the time, pulls a knife and all that. In this, I had two options. I had to be stabbed or chicken out. You cannot do anything else. I had to chicken out. Because if I hit him, I would stay in jail for long. So I chose to chicken out. Got it?"*

In general, however, the leader is a kind professional, who represents the group and comes to this position, either because he is imposed by force, or because he is assessed by the team as someone who due to his social characteristics (type of offense, age, knowledge of the system, education level) is considered to be more appropriate to deal with the service, better networked and that can be absorbed with cases of intra-group all day. Once a person occupies the position of leader, a career is imposed on him. This enforcement is carried by either the service itself, which is looking for representatives of the prisoners to be able to deal with them and resolve problems (primarily security assurance but not disturbance the silence of the foundation, avoid revolts etc.), or by the group prisoners, or by the prisoner leader himself. The fact is that all three factors play an equivalent role in the emergence of the leader. From the time this new career is imposed on the leader, he depends on the group he represents (the number of its members, and its degree of danger eg Georgians are considered as a dangerous prisoner group) and assumes the responsibility to represent the group at any social occasion.

The leader is under pressure as a person, but also pushes. The leader is obliged to have dealings with the prisoners of the group, with prisoners (mainly through chiefs and their adjutants), of other groups, and the prisons service (especially the sergeant). Consequently, the leader becomes a person who is in the circle of the similars but outside of it. In social interaction with the service, therefore, the person who comes into contacts with the normal Other, more often. At the same time, the role of the leader imposes social distance, which is guaranteed by the lack of visibility. The previous obligations of the leader impose his presence in different places in the branch (conversation with sergeant's office, with lawyers, with other leaders, etc.). Consequently, the leader may be present through others, a cycle of prisoners-adjutants, whose presence maintains a continuous monitoring climate.

The culture of the prison is organized around ideas of risk due to the large number of criminals. The powerful rule stipulating that, the aid plea to deal with the risk in the branch is prohibitive, is the one around which the necessity for the existence and importance of leaders is strengthened in the consciousness, as the intermediate link. The leader is represented as a person exercising power, authority and influence under an arbitration role and role of risk manager which a detainee may face (eg a conflict between prisoners members of different groups). An important criterion for the selection of the

leader is his educational background, as a necessary tool in his interactions with others and especially with the service. In Korydallos prison, several ideal models of leadership are identified (traditional, charismatic and rational), depending on the assurance needs of the prisoners group.<sup>86</sup>

In an environment of continuous deprivation, a key element of leadership claimed by the prisoners is the paternalistic role of the leader. The leader has to cover basic needs of prisoners who are in dire straits, highlighting his necessity, as the only body of care and responsibility in prison. Improving conditions in prisons is represented as something due to the bargaining power of individual leaders. In addition to providing services, the leader enhances many times the power through a demonstration of power, which manifests itself in various phases of everyday interaction. The power of the leader has a real basis, but a technical manipulation of prisoners is sometimes the fact that he exaggerates in managing situations by himself, as the prison has a control mechanisms in which the prisoner, leader or not, cannot easily intervene.

The asymmetric relationship between leader and prisoners is manifested not only through the acceptance but also through the occasional doubt to the person of the leader. The challenge in the face of the leader is within limits, so that nothing upsets the balance and social peace in the jail. Besides, the rotation of individuals of leaders in a violent way would cause significant disruption to the system, which is why the placement of the leaders is somehow permanent, almost hereditary. The paternalistic way of issue management from the leader does not mean that the prisoner does not recognize the purpose of the service, personal, authoritarian, either openly or behind the scenes. For the prisoner, the leader is a Janus: one face looking is at the power, the other is ignoring it, to strengthen his own power into the branch.

GEORGE: *"... the leader is taking advantage of you. But he will protect you. If you owe, they will not spanked you. You will not be beaten."*

#### 4.2.1.2. "Families" and middle layers

The existence of elite groups presents similar characteristics to those of the leader. These groups, which are called "families" from the prisoners, usually expect a share in the conquest of power, through obtaining a leading role. The groups of elites are formed with criteria similar to those which promote the leader (ethnocultural, racial, etc.) they are closed groups, unseen and few in number, they enjoy privileges and maintain their prestige both by providing facilities to the prisoners and by their dominion in specific areas of action within the prison (eg drug trafficking). Many times, the prisoner represents

<sup>86</sup> So we can see for example in groups of Algerians the religious criterion overrides, or institutional factors while respectively other groups eg in Greeks or Albanians more rational criteria prevail such as acquaintances, education or purchasing power.

families as the dangerous Other and the interaction with their members, although prohibited in essence, constitutes a trap on the grounds that it is part of the field of service exchange, which may have the form of solicitude, care but also extortion. In other cases, the families are represented with less painless terms for the prisoner, especially the early-stage, (new) who confirms their validity through the respect feelings he expresses to the group. The inmate subject recognizes that the source of family power stems from the prison system while their rigid or not character determines the balance of forces inside the prison.

#### **4.2.1.3. The lower layers**

The most numerous group concerns the low layers of detainees, who are characterized by young age, low education, low penalties and lack of support from both the reformatory frame of prison but also extra-institutional factors. (Lawyer, family, friends, etc.). The change in the composite of the prison population (Balkanization of prisoners) and changes in crime (domination of drug law offenses) have as a result this layer of the prisoners to be characterized by compliance to the prison rules, as a key feature of their social behavior is the anticipation to serve the sentence.

Prisoners of low social layers, who lack facilities and privileges and are in full state of weakness both towards prison as bureaucratic and impersonal power carrier, and the powerful groups of prisoners. They are characterized by mistrust, fear of the extension of the sentence and exploitation. The institutional life for the prisoner for the low layers becomes stressful, since a sense of continuous collapse is felt due to the imbalance in the community. But despite the changes, the teams retain some elements of the old informal social code of prisoners. For example, the reduction of rivalry with the staff does not mean that the relationship with staff members is permissible.<sup>87</sup> Basic social pursuit of these people is the search for security and ensuring access to goods. Consequently, it is observed that most detainees are rarely involved in riots, as this is considered folly and naivety indication, they distance themselves and every thought of collective protest and solidarity exists only when the immediate payback and efficiency is ensured. Therefore the new generation of prisoners belonging to lower layers is characterized by the old prisoners, as soft and with erratic behavior.

#### ***4.2.2 Exemplary ideal models the base of the pyramid***

At the base of the pyramid various types of prisoners are identified. The types are not simply characterized by a lack of economic, political and social

<sup>87</sup> Koulouris N., op.cit., p. 3, Athens, 2011, (In Greek).

power, but treated as scapegoats, to whom various deprivations are added by the community of prisoners and prison. Below some types of prisoners are presented whose placement at the base of the social pyramid is associated with the value system of the enclosed community and the allocation of roles and behaviors.

#### 4.2.2.1. The intra-group deviant

The prison is a strictly heterosexual social space, where any deviation from the expected social behavior is severely punished by the community of prisoners. The gay prisoner is a particular type of prisoner who either falls outside social organization as a pariah, or intrudes in other walks of detainees' community depending on the management of individual and social identity. In each case he is represented as intra-group deviant, as a member of the intra-group that deviates either in his actions, or as to the characteristics that he bears or in both. The intra-group deviant ends up playing a specific role and assume different functions and as a consequence the intra-group refuses to pay to him the respect attached to full members.

**The story of Tzevat.** Tzevat is a 30 year- old Muslim from Komotini, gay, drug addict, a member of a large farming family (parents with seven children), who were wiped out in a car accident and has spent most of his life in prison for offenses related to crimes either of property (theft) or of the narcotics Act. Within prison, Tzevat is a student at the school where he excelled at his performance in Arts while he is part of the network providing sexual services. Due to the second property, Tzevat's homosexual identity is represented as the dominant one. Tzevat becomes the center of attention, who joins the other participants in a circle around him. It is the person who, while having all the qualifications to be a regular member of the group (he's a student) he is approached with social distance, as the "mascot" of the group. Detainees address Tzevat with various female names and treat him as younger at age. According to Goffman he is called intergroup deviant to remind that he is aberrant compared to the group but not with regulatory standards. The intergroup aberrant distinguishes from other deviants because unlike them, he has a distorted relationship to the moral life followed by the members. Tzevat faces the obsolescence of the team, not so much for his sexual orientation, as for the feminine identity. It is considered a person who engages in a kind of collective denial of the social order. He represents, that is, a jam in the value system of prisoners' society.

**Another case of male couple.** The typical case of two Russian prisoners (Apostolis and Constantine). The two men lived in the same cell, studying both at school in prison and lead a common life. In this case the social reaction was mild. There were comments, but they didn't have the form of social



disapproval faced by Tzevat. Constantine was the man of the couple, who had a “male” behavior, according to traditional terms. In the case of Constantine the national identity outweighed the sexual one.

**The case of ethnocultural group.** Different is the social reaction to ethnocultural groups who exhibit homosexual behavior as a dominant practice regarding sexual orientation. Detainees negatively describe these groups as out-groups as samples of cultural disablement, which ensures social cohesion of the intra-group in its confrontation with the Other. Again the criterion of characterization was the ethnic and not the sexual identity.

#### 4.2.2.2. “Junkies”

The representational units towards this type of prisoner focus on negative traits (snitches, not moral, thieves) and are invested with properties of unwanted adverse Other. This outer-group whose members can do anything, can violate any code of moral values in order to ensure their “fix”. The “junkie” is characterized by insolvency and works disruptively for the cohesion of the group of prisoners. It is noted that the ascription of the term “junkie” does not refer so much to the people who use substances. Several prisoners also are either systematic or occasional users and reflect a positive attitude towards the use of toxic substances. The rejection attitude towards junkies has another character. So the junkie is not the one who simply makes use of toxic substances, but the one who allies with the prison system, the police, etc., he is an unworthy of trust person, who in order to “be accommodated” is ready to do anything and especially to break the informal code of conduct of prisoners.

The image of the devaluation is accompanied by negative evaluative ratings. The junkie is the one who due to the use is deprived of cognitive and emotional qualities, and is depersonalized; he is the «bedside cabinet», as called by the prisoners.<sup>88</sup> The prisoner-bedside cabinet is an object placed here and there, without the sense of the environment and the people around him. For this reason, it cannot rise to the occasion and serve “prison correctly”. So the prisoner resents a forced intercourse with him. The interaction with the junkie is considered as degrading for the prisoner and it is reason for expulsion from the cell.

ANI: *“School has been ruined. They have brought here all the junkies. And there is fuss. Why they took these? They want to break up the school.”*

<sup>88</sup> According to the narration of a prisoner, the term is derived from the existence of a bedside cabinet which existed in the past in the chambers. The detainee bedside cabinet who is constantly lying in bed, lying down or sleeping, does not go to the yard and the only contact he has is with the furniture next to him, on which toxic substances exist (pills, syrups etc.).

Overall, the junkie is the prisoner who cannot withstand the pressures and works with the prison, he is inconsistent in what he undertakes so he may not carry out a mission, he is absent from school or from any work depriving jobs from his co-prisoners, owes and never repays his debts, he is an hypocrite he pretends to be a friend and constantly begs for basic items (clothes, shoes) in order to exchange them with drugs, pushing his family to bring drugs into the jail and acts recklessly so his “blunders” result in the intensification of control and surveillance systems. For these reasons, the junkie is dealt with exclusions and expulsion.

#### 4.2.2.3. “Taxi”

Taxis are a class of indigent prisoners who ensure the necessary goods to satisfy their needs, carrying the food of the service which is distributed in the wing to the cells for an exchange ratio. Taxis are usually prisoners who cannot buy from the “canteen”, have no support from the family environment, who accept the offer of another prisoner instead of taking another obligation, that is this of food transportation. In other words, it’s about an informal job set by the community of prisoners and not the service.

In Korydallos prison, the taxi service is a status indicator for the prisoner, while respectively the personal delivery of the food from the service is a degrading behavior. The «right» prisoner chooses the food being delivered from the service (bread, legumes, etc.), hires a taxi and cooks in the cell. Taxis are tangible proof that somebody «has canteen”, ie purchasing power and support by their other out-group. The detainee via taxi ensures his place in the middle or upper layers of the prison. Similarly the taxi is assessed as a person who performs a degrading work, which is in a position of subordination compared with other groups of prisoners. In this way a classification of social organization of prisoners is ensured while practical problems of goods allocation are solved in a prison which is characterized by overcrowding and inadequate supportive social network.

Overall, the social organization of prisoners is a result of the dislocation of the Self to the restrictive environment of prison which threatens him. It is the result of social reaction to the hardships of prison and to the stigma experienced and expected in the release.

SOPHIA: *“Certainly what you see is a different prison, from what you expect to see. We are also people, who are behind bars. We were outside too once.”*

The detainee as a collective subject reacts in two ways to the assault he receives during his imprisonment. One way is the grouping which strengthens social identity and self-confidence. The other is the undergrounding, the avoidance of social situations and persons, traffic in specific areas, the use of specific objects etc. Both solutions, however, are used without preventing the

catalytic effects of incarceration. Conversely, insecurity, lack of solidarity, fear of self-attack both from prison and from the branch further seal the prisoner. The prisoner tries to manage his stigma, he internalizes it and he is introjected by the subjects to whom he is addressed. In response to social abandonment, the interaction within the prison comes.

MARINA: *"... And I knew it, for what I did, I'm here, and I will pay. But I got in a lot, how can I tell. I lost any feeling of fear. That is, to fear, how to manage it, I was just thinking every moment of what to do in order to survive, and what happened to me.... I felt safe as I was with the prisoners. When I saw an guard, and whatever was associated with the authorities I felt a fear. That is, they spoke to me, and I said, what they want from me? There was always this fear. When I was with the prisoners I felt as they did, so I felt more secure."*

The picture of the prison and the prisoners is reversed from former negative to positive. For the prisoner, detention and forced interaction forms a microcosm, where the prison is represented as a normal social place where fantasy serves as a general life situation for all members of society. This perception is a figment of one's effort to resolve magically social gridlock created by the self-attack, shifting the image of a healthy and normal reality to prison.

MARY: *"... That is the 95% in society has done prison. That is, I believe so. A few years ago it was a shame to have done jail. Now it is not so. And now the society should tell, ah! You have done jail. I don't care. Me, I paid for what I had to pay, thereafter whatever everyone thinks..."*

ARMANDO *"... when you have done so much prison, and after that you are not impressed. The first time is when you feel sad. You wonder what you should do, I can not make it. I now after so many prisons do not understand anything. I say, I got caught, ok I will get out again. Life is war. In this war, mind you, have a good time. You are in prison, you've chosen it, you did something, okay, mind you to spend it in the best possible way."*

This means that the prisoner is proceeding in a simulation of the society within the prison. Transporting the need to integrate, he transforms the prison into a social model, where the classifications and divisions are reproduced in terms of a collective unconscious. The detainee categorizes and classifies, he manages the suffering of imprisonment and the stigma through stigmatization procedures for other intra-groups. Once the subject is stigmatized, the self is attacked, he would stigmatize, he would attack. So biased opinions and judgments are imposed in the social perception of the members of the various intra-group, the enclosed community, thereby fueling the intergroup rivalries. It is about the defense where the separation and classification is transferred in hegemonic terms within the stigmatized environment of prison.



## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

This essay attempted to answer questions related to the special characteristics of social representations of students-prisoners of Athens Prison Korydallos for the criminal phenomenon, as they were elaborated in the period 2007-2015.

In response to the first hypothesis, during the conduct of the research it became apparent that the Korydallos prison is a total institution that acts totally in the consciousness of the prisoner. The space-time framework of Korydallos prison is experienced by the first prisoner on terms of hostility and then in terms of intimacy, which affects the Self, without invalidating the feeling of prison's property relationship towards the prisoner.

With regard to the second hypothesis, the research showed that imprisonment affects the construction of social representations about the criminal phenomenon. In particular, regarding the identification of the crime, the distinction between crime and illegality and the corresponding classifications in rating scales are guarding strategic of intra-group (I illegality) which is enhanced through its continuous comparison with the outside-group members (the Other the criminal). The consequence of this strategy is the reconstruction of the crime as a very negative phenomenon that is the result of individual choice and action, rational decision or product of disordered personality and illegality as a heroic social act produced under social conditions. The penal justice system bodies are described in particular negatively charged terms. Negative representations against Police are linked to the violent police action, the Interrogator is represented as a mediator- bureaucrat while, the Defence Lawyers are represented as individuals characterized by selfishness, they work with the motivation of high earnings and future customers. For the prisoner, the judges speak through their decisions, inevitably reflecting political and social correlations and dominant ideologies.

The penal sector and staff groups in prison such as social workers or doctors are represented negatively since their bodies are described as "the downfallen professionals" but also as the main sources of power that define the living, through the restriction of movement, coercion, and consulting. With the exception of the Church, however, the sector of other groups such NGO, artists are represented in more positive terms, as they offer the opportunity of getting together with people outside the walls.

In response to the third hypothesis a detachment is experienced by the inmate from the world of non-prisoners. Prisoners develop a worldview in which "society is to blame for everything, everything is lies" and continue to be measured by 'how you play other people's game in order to have fun.' In

cases of narratives where there is identification of beliefs with the dominant notions this appear as a guarding attempt of the Self in the circumstance of conversation with the normal Other.

As regards the fourth hypothesis, the experience of deprivation deconstructs the detainee not with the aim of revenge but the effectiveness of social control. The plight of incarceration, bureaucratization and the impersonal nature of the branch along with the application of mainly positive sanctions by the criminal mechanism form a disciplining model not just upon the inmates but mainly through the inmate subjects.

As to the fifth hypothesis: The response of the subject to the deconstruction of the Self continues through reconstitution of identity that occurs with his inclusion in groups that would ensure him self-strengthening. Initially, prison produces the classification at a rationale of criminal economy, but then the detainees follow the integrations in order to manage the plight of prison. The social classification of prisoners is characterized by exclusion regarding the mobility perspective. Social ends are solid, but the middle class may receive a restricted social mobility, which can be upward or downward. The membership in social groups does not complete the recovery process of the subject to the extent that most of the population of prisoners is left unprotected, and as a consequence individualism (*idiotia*) becomes the dominant strategy.

Overall, the confinement leads to collective repression mechanisms, with which the individual is required to find the strength to cope. Encapsulation is a painful time for the individual and the environment, but is also the time when "... you find the time to think about it. up to two years you can stand it... afterwards it is difficult." Overall, however, the operation of the prison and criminal mechanism with its irrationalism, its class character and the tightening of sentences are experienced as unfair and outdated. The poor living conditions and the exterminating imprisonment do not help the revaluation of experiential situations. The reintegration is Impressionism to be expelled.

Which type of prisoner does modern prison produce? The prison is a place of cultural establishment, of imposition of the arbitrary and of production of unbalanced setups. This "ethos" is imposed through psychological but mainly physical violence and is legitimized and consolidated to prisoners mainly through exercise of a positive enforcement for the benefit of prisoners' groups, who hold the requisite means (purchasing power, specific ethnic group, etc.), thus existing competitive relationships are strengthened. The positive choices and provision of privileges ensure the consent of these groups who enjoy them, who in turn have the power and the influence to broaden it to the remaining classes of the detainees' community. Encapsulation causes corresponding changes in the conscious mind and perceptions (about reality, capabilities of the Self, the various social objects around which the participant

discusses), social attitudes and actions of the subject. It seems that the detainee understands each new Self as intertwined with a new social integration, but he also wants to present these quests as his own choices, to be finally the ultimate creator of his actions. He realizes his social integration, incorporating the identification system of the specific cultural information offered by the culture of each membership group (group of prisoners, etc.). But the creation of categories of prisoners in the prison, which is achieved through the granting of privileges or restrictions, operates more as a control strategy, as it leaves unprotected most of the population of prisoners. The prisoner is asked only to handle his living and to face threats with multiple costs in most cases. The risk, the suspicion make privatization the only option. The prison, by cultivating individualism and suspicion, forms the conscience, produces the prisoner.





## EPILOGUE

The prison is changing year by year, but the transformations are difficult to achieve. With the implementation of Law 4322/2015 on decongesting and improving living conditions in Greek prisons and the significant reduction of the encapsulated population coexisted simultaneously with the reduction of the same administrations, poor conditions and killing sentences. It seems that in today's globalized world, the era of zero tolerance and generalization of precarious work continues and strengthens the role of prison as an irreplaceable mechanism of protection from the dangerous underclass. Despite the changes, the inmate population is still numerically high and the trend appears to be prisons still tightly filled, as the Korydallos gate is a revolving door that leads to a social place where the reformatory frame and especially the subsistence level remain the same. When in 2015 I asked a prisoner about how he sees the prison with the new decongesting measures, he told me: *"Many have left. But then others come. Korydallos is not going to empty. Because it is a judicial prison. And others will come and come... Korydallos will always be full."* And indeed he was confirmed. In 2017 prisoners at Korydallos prison have reached the magic number of 1800. So, we return within the prison frame. What is jail? The health threats, economic exploitation, poor feeding, the decline of educational and social activities, lack of staff, the few jobs, the lack of respect and dignity against the detainee and his family, legal uncertainty, these and other that prisoners themselves narrate, reproduce prison as a place of punishment, as a hostile environment for the rights of people who enter coercively therein, an environment that easily deprives and hardly provides, an environment unfavorable for the systematic preparation of people to return smoothly in free social life and organize their lives through recourse to legal means to achieve legitimate objectives.

In this social context the responsibility is attributable to the detainee. He is to blame for the encapsulation and the plight. The penal practices operate through granting facilities and rewards, rather than punishments and penalties, with successful results. The prison provides food, school, theater etc. rewards. The prisoner is the one who does not exploit the opportunities he is given and does not face threats. Putting the blame on the detainee results in even him accepting them, as a collective subject. The detainee believes the other prisoner responsible for his condition. For the inmate subject to ensure social peace comes from the protection of the inmates criminals, from safeguarding the limits set by the "us and the others." The dimension of the collective subject prepares the ground for defense of the purpose by any means. Prisons, of course, always favored the meanness and deception,



both in relations between the prisoners and the relations of prisoners with management and other staff. But today hypocrisy is sanctified and falsehood is rewarded more than ever. The reactionary ideology described by L.Wacquant of «make prisoners smell like prisoners» begins and permeates the guarding system and it is what society will sooner or later have to pay.



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