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# Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment in Greece and the Factors Underlying their Construction

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**PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN GREECE AND THE FACTORS  
UNDERLYING THEIR CONSTRUCTION**

By

**MAGDALINI DIMITRIOU PIPINI**

A thesis submitted to Plymouth University in partial fulfilment for the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Plymouth Law School

Faculty Plymouth Business School

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## Abstract

**Title:** 'Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment in Greece and the Factors Underlying their Construction'.

Public opinion regarding crime-related issues is a challenging matter for researchers and politicians alike. An ill-informed public with regards to crime, punishment and other aspects of the criminal justice system leads to discontent and demands for harsher policies to strengthen public safety. Politicians harness public opinion to secure votes, and this can result in punitive policies that are founded on erroneous beliefs. The objective of this study is to look more deeply into people's attitudes towards crime and punishment, and to consider why Greek people hold the views that they do and how these views are constructed. A multi-method approach was adopted for the implementation of this study. Quantitative methods were used to map the scope of attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece. Qualitative methods were then appropriate to analyse and explore how attitudes are constructed and investigate specific factors in more depth. Greek culture was found to be one of the core issues, and in this context the Greek Orthodox faith and the traditional tight Greek family unit indicate that the stronger are the Greek people's adherence to their traditional religious and family values, the less punitive are their attitudes towards crime and punishment. However, factors such as the media, attitudes towards immigrants and the contemporary political scene were found to cause distorted perceptions, leading to lack of confidence in the Greek criminal justice system.

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# Introduction

## Chapter 1

Public attitudes towards crime and punishment have been found to play a critical role in constructing criminal justice policies (Roberts et al., 2003). Public confidence in the Criminal Justice System (CJS) is essential for the effective functioning of justice (Roberts and Hough, 2005). However, understanding public attitudes to crime and punishment has yielded conflicting findings, depending on the factors that underlie their construction. For example, public attitudes on crime and punishment were found to be strongly shaped by the media (Caventer, 2004). There is a long tradition of studies in Britain (Roberts and Hough, 2005), USA (Greene and Doble, 2000), and Australia (Butler and McFarlane, 2009), along with very recent but limited research in Greece (Cheliotis and Xenakis, 2011), exploring public attitudes towards crime, punishment and the CJS. These studies sometimes have produced contradictory findings, but confirm that public attitudes can change according to the culture and the depth of knowledge people have about crime. Despite the complications, there are relatively consistent findings, for example that the public believe that crime rates are dramatically increasing, when in reality crime rates are frequently either decreasing or only slightly increasing.

Relevant Greek literature mainly focuses on the increase of fear of crime interrelated with the public's confidence in the Greek CJS (see, for instance, Zarafonitou, 2009). Research on public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece is limited. The need of fundamental research through conjectural and empirical elaboration led me to undertake this current study, whose main objective is to assess the Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment and investigate in more depth the factors underlying Greek public attitudes and knowledge about aspects of crime. Cheliotis and Xenakis (2011) introduce initial thematic elaboration into the issue of Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment, but as the scholars suggest themselves, future work was needed to investigate the mechanism by which public attitudes towards crime and punishment are constructed, which encouraged me to pursue my research.

One of the most significant current discussions around the world nowadays is the financial emergency, with Greece being the centre of attention in the global economy. The issue of criminality in Greece has also received considerable critical attention, with Greek scholars progressively increasing their interest on public attitudes. However, very limited research has been conducted in Greece on public attitudes towards crime and punishment, which suffer from major drawbacks. Greece being the centre of attention, and Greek literature on attitudes towards crime and punishment being lacking, let me to become interested to examine the emerging role of Greek attitudes and whether they impact crime control policies.

I am Greek and was raised in my country, but have spent several years recently studying criminology in Britain and have a particular interest in attitudes towards crime and punishment. I am aware of the main variances in policy between the two countries. That helped me in identifying and selecting the main factors that appeared to have an impact on Greek attitudes towards crime and punishment. Initially, the current political situation, which was exacerbated by the financial crisis and repeatedly changing, and how the media promoted distorted images were the main focuses. Then, exploring the Greek literature, the issue of race appeared vital. However, all these issues have already been discussed in international literature and I was concerned to see if other factors were relevant. I found this in examining the dual and complementary roles of the Greek Orthodox religion and close-knit Greek family ties on attitudes towards crime and punishment. I believe my findings in this area could be described as unique as they flow from the originality of the Greek culture.

This study draws on international literature, aiming to provide clarity and insight into the role of public attitudes to crime in the context of Greece. This is another reason for choosing to collect evidence in Greece since I am a native Greek speaker, and this helps in maintaining the richness of the data, that may be a non-Greek speaker could lose in translation. The research methodology used for this study is also considered unique in the light of Greek literature. Quantitative and qualitative research designs were adopted to provide interpretive and empirical data as one method flowed and elaborated from the other. As a researcher, I started being heavily influenced by a positivistic social science position, reflected in my attempt to measure scientifically public attitudes towards crime

and punishment. However, this study transformed me to a more reflective and insightful researcher, exploring and comprehending the subtleties and nuances of Greek concerns about crime and punishment in a time of austerity and crisis.

The current study is significant, as it the first in Greece that both empirically maps the area of Greek attitudes to crime and punishment and investigates their construction by looking at specific social, individual and cultural factors that impact on Greek people's crime-related opinions. It explores relationships, for example between fear of crime and potential victimisation in relation to media consumption by the Greek public, using both quantitative and qualitative data to fully analyse results. Assessing a variety of issues, such as those surrounding the subject of Christian Orthodox religion and its influence on people's attitudes towards crime and punishment, contributes to the knowledge of Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment and the unique factors in attitude formation.

The thesis is divided into 7 chapters, each unfolding in a developmental sequence towards the goal of understanding and addressing the issues relating to Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment and their underlying construction.

Chapter 1 will introduce the issue of public attitudes and the gap in knowledge, which this study endeavours to cover and further, contains an explicit outline of the thesis structure.

Chapters 2 and 3 will explore the literature that is relevant to understanding the development of, and interpreting the results of this study.

Chapter 2 will define the concept of attitudes and outline the trends and interpretations that are more relevant to be applied to my own research. International research will be considered as a foundation to the understanding of public attitudes to crime and punishment, and these issues will be further contextualised into the situation in Greece.

Chapter 3 of the literature review provides a picture of the major factors that appear important in the investigation of how the public attitudes are constructed, including media, race, religion, culture, politics and demographics, and how the factors intermingle in the formation of attitudes.

Chapter 4 introduces the methodology used for the implementation of this study. Considering the complexity of measuring public attitudes, this study used a quantitative survey to map the area of Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment as well as qualitative semi-structured interviews to investigate in more depth the underlying construction of attitudes. This chapter provides methodological approaches, research designs and describes the procedures used to conduct the fieldwork. Data analysis methods and sampling figures are also discussed. This chapter explains the ethical considerations that were taken into account while conducting the fieldwork, and deliberates on the strengths, weaknesses and limitations of the methodological approach used in this study.

Chapters 5 and 6 will present the main research findings and provide a critical analysis that integrates in depth Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Chapter 5 maps the Greek public attitudes towards the two main areas investigated within this study, that are crime and punishment. The chapter delves into the core issues that have been identified as important for what Greek people believe about crime and punishment, including fear of crime, increases in crime, victimisation, causes of crime, confidence towards the Greek CJS, philosophies of punishment, labelling of offenders and demographic issues.

Chapter 6 elaborates further on the themes raised in chapters 5 and investigates why Greek people hold these perceptions and how they construct them, paying attention to the major factors that were revealed in the literature review. Both chapters 5 and 6 use the qualitative data to elaborate and investigate themes and issues which emerged in the quantitative survey, and are considered in the light of relevant literature from Chapters 2 and 3.

The final Chapter 7 draws together the conclusions of my study, indicating the implications and pointing to further research that could follow. I consider that confidence in the Greek CJS must be perceived to be of great importance by Greek politicians and government. I suggest it is essential to restore trust in the system, taking into account and interrelating the core factors that are both a reflection of and a possible influence over Greek criminal justice practices.

# Literature Review

## Chapter 2: Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment

Public attitudes towards crime and punishment are a complex issue and that the public hold many different perceptions influenced by sociological and demographical factors. There are a number of concepts which are essential to an understanding of public attitude formation and the review of the existing literature is an attempt to explain the most relevant areas, integrated into a cohesive conceptual framework that serves as the foundation for my research. The literature review is divided into two main sections, each covering an area essential to the understanding of public attitudes towards crime and punishment. This chapter identifies what public attitudes towards crime and punishment are and chapter three explores how these attitudes are constructed, each covering the most essential areas to the understanding of the current study.

The first chapter sets the theoretical foundation of attitudes as a psychological concept, covering four areas essential to the understanding of the subject area upon which this study bases its research findings. The focus here is not to develop an exhaustive review of the many concepts on the psychological topic of public attitudes, but instead to outline the trends and interpretations that are more relevant to my own research. Then I address public attitudes towards crime and punishment by drawing on international research and suggest how public attitudes influence policies like, for example, the emotional level of fear of crime. In discussing the nature of public attitudes towards crime and punishment, I explore the extent of change in attitudes and the debates around whether improvements in knowledge or experience can have an impact on changing attitudes towards crime and punishment.

The last part of the first chapter contextualises relevant issues into the situation in Greece, introducing the key criminological areas that have become evident in recent decades with an emphasis on evidence revealing the scenario of public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece. Additionally, chapter three involves key factors that unite the chapters as a whole to the investigation of how the attitudes towards crime and

punishment are constructed. The issues of media, race, religion, culture and politics, all applicable to the Greek scene, and the demographic factors reinforce the multidimensionality of the construction of attitudes towards crime and punishment.

## **2.1 Attitude as a Psychological Concept**

There are substantial variations in public attitudes and many significant variables that can shape them. This part is important as it introduces the premise that it is possible to change attitudes, and that certain messages received by people about alternatives are found to be more influential than others depending on the strength of the message or the existing attitude. Studying issues such as crime and punishment for example, people might form attitudes towards the criminal justice system (CJS) that are influenced by their actual experience and involvement.

Nevertheless, attitudes as such might change depending on the strength of attitude or an additional negative experience they might later have, such as being a victim of crime and treated with less dignity by the police. It would be remiss not to indicate how attitudes function in a study that clearly looks at people's attitudes. It is necessary to investigate if an attitude to crime or punishment is enduring or might change depending on the strength of the attitude itself, or if the particular attitude leads to certain kinds of behaviour. For that reason the four aspects selected for consideration, are whether (a) an attitude might be enduring or stored in memory, which is subject to (b) the attitude's strength; (c) the attitude-behaviour relationship which explores how people may act inconsistently with their beliefs; and finally (d) the eight models of attitude change showing how people do change attitudes by using single and dual processes to do so. These four aspects are of great importance, informing this study's research questions by relating the main characteristics of the psychological concept of attitudes shaping and change, to criminological research into the public's attitudes toward crime and punishment.

### 2.1.1 Definition of Attitude

The term attitude has been a fundamental concept for many years, since Allport (1935: 784) described it as a '*most distinctive and indispensable concept*'. Attitude research has produced extraordinary and unremitting interest and numerous studies have for 75 years engaged with almost every topic that attitudes might cover. The first part of this chapter emphasises recent developments in attitude research, including the debate on whether representations of attitudes are stored in memory or are temporary evaluations (Eagly and Chaiken, 2007; Fazio, 2007; Schwarz, 2007), the study of attitude strength and stability (Prislin, 1996), the influence of attitudes on behaviour (Ajzen and Fishbein, 2005) and consideration of change and persuasion (Wood, 2000). This section responds to the need to examine the importance of attitudes and offers an attempt to predict the way in which attitudes may develop, change and manifest in behaviour such as speech or physical behaviour. This contributes to an understanding of the psychology of attitude and informs how people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### 2.1.2 Attitude as an Enduring or Stored in Memory Object

Constructive definitions view attitude as somebody's '*evaluation of an object of thought*' (Bohner and Wänke, 2002: 5). An attitude object is represented by concrete, abstract or inanimate things, persons, groups or behaviours. Given this complexity, several debates seem to take place around the concept of attitudes. The issue argued here is that the debate around the psychological concept of attitudes is still unresolved. The first point of consideration is whether the evaluation of an object is enduring and stored in long term-memory (Allport, 1935; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993, 2007) or is temporary and formed when needed (Schwarz, 2007). The latter conception is identified as the attitudes-as-constructions model and indicates a change in the attitude itself. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) propose that attitude is a unified and enduring state of readiness to respond. They accept that stored evaluations come to mind automatically, guiding through and directing behaviour. Consequently people have stored beliefs about issues of crime and punishment that dictate their responses and attitudes. Recently, Cohen and Reed (2006) clarified the position that people are more likely to rely on a stored attitude rather than constructing an evaluative

judgement. The controversial position of the attitudes-as-constructions model is further supported by Wood and Cannon (2009) who discuss issues of parsimony and comprehensiveness. Their response to the former researchers is based on Schwarz's (2007) statement that evaluative judgements remain stable because the evaluative aspects of the material retrieved in order to construct an attitude remain stable. For example, the public construct the attitude that community punishment has low visibility and this leads people to have less confidence in community punishment. If this received information or message remains stable, then the public will continue to have less confidence in community punishment.

### *2.1.3 Attitude Strength*

Following on from the discussion in the previous section, Maio and Haddock (2009) suggest that the answer to this debate depends on attitude strength. They state that strong attitudes are more stable and enduring because they are stored in memory, in contrast to weak attitudes that are more likely to be constructed on the spot. Strong attitudes are, among other things, expected to be more persistent over time, relatively more resistant to change, more likely to influence information processing, and finally, more influential in predicting behaviour (Krosnick and Petty, 1995). The concept of attitude strength is multi-dimensional consisting of aspects such as the experience and knowledge of an attitude object (Prislin, 1996). Additionally, strong and stable attitudes are related to the experience with the attitude object (Regan and Fazio, 1977; Doll and Ajzen, 1992), the certainty that is held towards the attitude object (Pelham, 1991) its importance (Schuman and Presser, 1981), extremity (Abelson, 1995) and accessibility (Fazio, 1995). These aspects reflect the strength of the evaluative response itself, and might be responsible for affecting the stability of attitudes. This demonstrates that once people gain experience with aspects of crime and the influences informing the public lead them to greater certainty, then people's attitudes to crime and punishment would be more stable and positive. Attitude strength might consist of many related constructs rather than a single one and although some dimensions of attitude strength are strongly related, most are not (Krosnick et al., 1993). In short, strong attitudes come to mind more readily and depending on the above aspects they moderate the degree of stability and strength. Direct experience of an object and having a great

interest in it, will make an attitude more accessible, strong and stable. For example, people who live in a neighbourhood with high crime rates will have stronger and more clearly defined attitudes regarding their safety and related risks. This in turn will have a greater impact on their behaviour and they may be more involved in protests against crime or may have more contact with police.

#### *2.1.4 Attitude – Behaviour Relationship*

Ever since researchers revealed the concept of attitude in literature, exploring what people think about things, they have been interested in the question of the attitude – behaviour relationship, explaining why people say one thing and do another. Attitude formation and the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is a popular field of research and theory (Fazio and Zanna, 1978; Borgiga and Cambell, 1982). Researchers have found that attitude is a better predictor of behaviour when it is strongly held and easily accessible (Fazio and Towles-Schwen, 1999).

Attitudes that are derived from direct experience promote greater attitude behaviour consistency than those derived from indirect experience (Kraus, 1995). For example, the behaviour of someone who had direct experience with police would be more consistent than that of someone who had never had any contact with police before. This is an issue that has been taken into account within this study, considering that experience with the CJS has been investigated with respect to people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. Ajzen and Fishbein (1977) have found that attitudes have to be compatible with behaviours to predict them accurately. Contemporary theorists have concentrated on specific conditions in which this connection is larger or smaller (Wallace et al., 2005). For example, the attitude-behaviour relationship is stronger when there is a link between attitudes and information relevant to the behaviour (Ajzen, 1996) and the centre of attention of the attitude is the same while the behaviour is being performed (Millar and Tesser, 1989). In contrast other research suggests that this association is not strong enough, as some found that ambivalent attitudes have often influenced the attitude-behaviour relationship both in a positive (Sengupta and Johar, 2002) and a negative way (Conner et al., 2003). Likewise, while attitudes anchored in direct experience predict behaviour (Regan and Fazio, 1977),

they have been found to be problematic (Millar and Millar, 1996). Nonetheless, despite these advances in the research on attitudes-behaviour correspondence, the picture is still complex and open to doubt.

The way in which people's attitudinal dispositions and behaviours are linked remains puzzling. Researchers still searching for a formal solution as people remain exceptionally unpredictable and extremely inconsistent by saying one thing and doing another, such as blaming politicians, but giving them their vote. An alternative view is to argue that attitudes can be both a consequence and a cause of behaviour. According to cognitive dissonance theory (Festinger, 1957; 1964), there is a tendency for individuals to seek consistency among their opinions. When an inconsistency occurs between attitudes and behaviours, this is dissonance, which in turn creates a discomfort that apparently people do not like and want to change. Dissonance appears in situations where an individual has to choose between two incompatible beliefs or actions, especially those that are equally attractive. For example, in the area under review, they individuals may select imprisonment or may choose community penalties depending on the crime committed by the offender.

#### *2.1.5 Attitude Change: Eight Models of Persuasion*

Whenever attitude researchers ask participants questions, there is always a possibility that a significant change of a participant's attitude may occur. For example, participants may suggest that crime is caused mainly by high rates of unemployment, but when asked about reducing crime, they change their minds and recommend issues of better parenting. The issue of what makes people change their attitudes is the main focus of this section.

Over time, scientists have developed eight models in order to comprehend attitude change. It would take too long to evaluate the effects of all these stages fully, but a description of their main features merits attention, because this aids in understanding how attitudes to crime and punishment are likely to change. In this instance it is necessary to examine the models because they are relevant to the data collected in this analysis of this study. First is the Yale Model of Persuasion (Hovland et al., 1953) which maintains the idea that since external messages change people's attitudes, the source, the message and the audience are

important factors to study in more depth. The source (the communicator) is an expert with knowledge, ability and skills (Triandis, 1971) and people who need more cognition (a personality variable that distinguishes people on how much they benefit from effortful cognitive activities), are convinced more easily by the strength of the arguments (Haugtvedt and Petty, 1992). Yale researchers have also studied the attention given to the message, comprehension of its content, rehearsal of arguments and message acceptance (McGuire, 1985).

The second model is the Information Processing Paradigm (McGuire, 1968) which is broken into a further six stages. These are presentation, attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and behaviour. To facilitate an attitude change, a message has to be presented to the recipient, who then has to pay attention to the message, understand it, change the attitude, remember the attitude later on, and let the new attitude influence his or her behaviour. Third comes the more up to date model called Cognition in Persuasion (Albarracín, 2002), where attitudes may form and change when the recipient selects, identifies and integrates significant information that is useful for attitude change and further influence on behaviour. Fourth is the Social Judgement Model (Sherif, 1980), which suggests that the recipient judges how much the message he or she receives agrees or disagrees with his or her own attitude. Here, the topic of the message is an important factor in attitude change.

In addressing further models, it is first important to understand what is meant by the term cognitive response. The Cognitive Response Model argues that persuasion is not caused directly by external messages, but individuals are persuaded if they have strong views related to the message whether they are positive or not. That means persuasion is or is not occurring. Consideration of individuals' cognitive responses to a persuasive message is important to comprehend persuasion (Greenwald, 1968). The Acceptance Yielding Impact Model (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1981), the Heuristic and Systematic Model (HSM) (Chaiken et al., 1989) and the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM) (Petty and Cacioppo, 1981) are classic examples of Cognitive Response Models. The former maintains the view that although beliefs are important foundations of attitudes, they are not all relevant in shaping attitudes. The beliefs that count are *salient and primary* and need to be changed in order to change

attitudes (Fishbein and Ajzen, 1981). However, the Acceptance Yielding Impact Model differs from HSM and ELM, as the last two support the idea that cognitive responses to a message are not comparable across people and situations. These models are relevant to the current study, considering that respondents' beliefs might or might not be relevant in shaping attitudes, but more relevant is the way messages are distorted and in turn accepted or not. For example, people might get better informed about crime and punishment, but persuasion might or might not occur.

The key feature of the eighth model, that is the Uni-model, is that any information that is significant to the attitude judgement can be used as a fact to form or change an attitude, regardless of whether or not that information is a cue (Kruglanski and Thompson, 1999). Despite the notability of the Uni-model, the lack of published evidence surrounding the model limits conclusions about its importance (Albarracín et al., 2005). However, the model is the most recent of all and further investigation by researchers will definitely allow for better prediction of its validity.

The brief discussion of the psychological concept of attitudes serves to demonstrate that in order to improve people's confidence in the handling of aspects of crime, it is essential to first investigate how they construct their attitudes. This involves a consideration of where they gain their knowledge, what motivates them, the important issues that they pay attention to and what prompts people to decide to select what attitudes they want to change. The current study looks at these attitudes and how they are constructed by exploring further factors which are important in influencing cognition and attention of respondents. People might be naturally opinionated, their attitudes naturally directed, or additional factors might affect their attitude on the subject of crime and punishment. Those are concerns that have been considered and investigated as the chapter continues with more focus on the issues of crime and punishment.

## **2.2 Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment**

Public opinion data concerning crime-related issues such as punishment and the CJS has become increasingly sophisticated and readily available. Decades of research indicate that the public plays an important role in matters of crime. Social scientists and criminologists use different wording to refer to the same phenomena, for example public attitudes (Walker, 1988; Cao, 1998; Ditton, 2000; Chapman 2002; Indermaur, 2006), public opinion (O' Connell, 1999; Brookes, 2004; McKendrick 2008; Wood, 2009), public satisfaction (Tomaino, 1997) or public confidence (Sherman 2002; Page, 2004; Smith, 2007; Van De Walle, 2009) are all expressions characterising the concept of public perceptions, in this instance, towards crime, punishment and the CJS as a whole. Jackson et al., (2011) use the word trust, emphasising that trust in police should refer to the public's belief that police are performing according to the citizen's benefit. In short, they all refer to the investigation of what people believe about crime, punishment and the CJS.

These issues are also investigated within this study which draws on international research and applies it to the context of Greece. This part initially introduces the importance of looking at public attitudes towards crime and punishment and how those attitudes impact on policy. In the Greek context attitudes in this study were revealed to form a 'vicious circle' involving politicians, the public and policy makers. Moreover, indicates that people have more confidence in one agency than another. Likewise the issue of knowledge shows in brief that the public's limited knowledge affects their confidence in the system, and that the fear of crime can be responsible for higher levels of public demand for stronger punitive measures, which in turn leads to lack of confidence in the CJS. Significantly, the issue of participation is addressed suggesting that people should engage with and be informed about matters of crime.

### *2.2.1 Why Are Public Attitudes Important? The Need to Sustain Legitimacy and Favourable Attitudes towards the CJS*

As public opinion influences policy, policy changes and the operational side of the CJS, the study of public attitudes is important if we want to encourage favourable attitudes towards

the system. It is important to secure confidence in justice initially as part of the process of democratic accountability (Hough and Roberts, 2012). Additionally, if the CJS is more reliable, then the public it governs will respect it and abide by its laws (Robinson and Darley, 1998). For example, if the public have confidence in the police response, they will be more likely to provide intelligence, act as a witness and engage with the courts. In other words, specific parts of the system will be able to operate when the public comply with the law. In turn, this will lead to a decline in crime rates and as a result reassure the public even more (Povey, 2001).

More recently and on a more abstract level, Hough et al. (2010) argued that the police should be trusted by the public since at the outset trust affects people's cooperation with justice and constructs institutional legitimacy which in turn leads the public to obey the law. Legitimacy of effective policing is of great importance as Tyler (2011) argues that the legal system counts on intended public compliance with the law, as well as public help in police efforts to fight crime. Jackson et al. (2011) found that the institutions of the legal system, such as the police and criminal courts must prove to the public that they are consistent and able to govern, thus being effective and fair, in order to gain public support and institutional legitimacy. In short, legitimacy and authority should be earned as significant determinants of public compliance with the law.

Confidence in the CJS is linked to legitimacy; they are conceptually and empirically related, and important for the maintenance of the CJS function (Tyler, 2011; Bradford and Jackson, 2011). Beethham (1991) argues that public's judgements about the legitimacy of an institution must to be based on its goals, practices and behaviours. For example, public trust will influence decisions to involve the police, and in turn the legitimacy of the police will impact on public willingness to comply with them.

This research offers reasons for the need for favourable attitudes towards crime prevention and punishment and the maintenance of public trust and legitimacy in legal institutions in order for the institutions to support the public and vice versa. How can the system function on the side of citizens when citizens themselves are not confident about the system? There are certainly studies that suggest that trust in the police for example does not increase the

tendency to use the agency, e.g. reporting crimes (Kääriäinen and Siren, 2011). However these scholars have also taken social capital and generalised trust into consideration, issues related to social networks other than official justice agencies, which are also discussed here later. The ultimate target should be mutual trust and adherence to legitimacy and public confidence in order to achieve secure and effective crime control. As such it is therefore important to look in more depth at public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### *2.2.2 'A Vicious Circle': Attitudes and their Influence on Policy*

The emergence of a 'vicious circle' in matters of crime and punishment shows that public attitudes are of vital consideration. The first element of this circle is that the public is ill-informed about crime, statistics, policy changes, sentencing and punishment and generally the key functions of the CJS. This means that as an ill-informed public, they ask for harsher policies in an attempt to improve public safety, which affects politicians and policy makers, who take public opinion into account. Politicians often revert to the tactic of 'penal populism' (Roberts et al., 2003) or 'populist punitiveness' (Bottoms, 1995), where they get tough with offenders to gain political benefits. This leads to the formation of new policies founded upon trends which suggest more punitive action is needed. However, there is substantial evidence that in the USA and Canada that attitudes held by the public towards crime and punishment are less punitive than those portrayed by politicians (Applegate et al., 1997). Therefore politicians maintain the distorted public attitudes and the vicious circle continues to misrepresent the problem of crime in reality. To summarise, crime is falling rather than rising. This is not unique to Britain (it was in 1996 that crime began to fall) as research shows that Americans, Canadians and Australians are uninformed of the functional and contextual side of the CJS, leading to a similar policy process as in Britain (Roberts et al., 2003; Chapman et al., 2002). Subsequently, raising the question of how elected representatives rely upon a strong ignorant influence of the public to amend and pioneer misguided policies, the answer is found by looking back into the public's ill-informed perception of the CJS.

Evidence of this can be seen in Britain around the time of the Jamie Bulger murder case in 1993 (Green, 2005) that, combined with high social unrest, caused a media sensation that

increased the public's perception that crime was escalating out of control. This had a significant impact on crime policy with the then Home Secretary Michael Howard (1993) promising a 'crusade against crime' as a means of improving safety and reducing crime. His policy centred on the slogan 'prison works' and he proposed a programme to toughen up the CJS (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006). Additionally, Howard (1993) announced measures to make punishment more severe and consequently aimed to win people's faith in his political party. Examples such as this unquestionably impact on the public's attitude to crime and punishment, and research must explore the main factors that this situation raises by looking closely at the reasons hidden behind the 'preferred' ill-informed public.

### *2.2.3 The Study of Public Attitudes and the Issue of Confidence*

In line with the above discussion, research exploring public attitudes has become increasingly important. Crime surveys and a growing body of research have tended to ask the public about their attitudes towards crime, punishment and specific agencies of the CJS. In Britain, the Home Office carries out surveys to provide information about the attitudes that people hold and their confidence in the system (Hough and Roberts, 2004) in order to help government, academics and the public to engage in debates and improve knowledge. The British Crime Survey (BCS), which has been in use since 1982, is used to provide the government with information about people's attitudes relating to victims, offenders, anti-social behaviour and so on. According to Chapman et al. (2002), analysis of the BCS suggests that public opinion of the CJS is poor. Furthermore, the BCS provides researchers such as Hough and Roberts (1998; 2002; 2004) with up to date information for exploring and gaining a better understanding of public attitudes. In terms of overall attitudes towards crime, punishment and the CJS, its key findings are especially useful and a plethora of sources will emphasize its role in the study of attitudes.

Public confidence attempts to improve attitudes to crime, punishment and the CJS. Sherman (2001) suggested that there are three possible ways of conceptualising public confidence in the CJS, which reflect people's confidence in the CJS. The first relates to the integrity and fairness of the system, the second suggests that the institution is working according to public belief, such as being punitive enough, and the third that they are confident of their

safety. Additional factors influencing public confidence include the capacity of the CJS to bring offenders to justice, reduce or prevent crime, respect for the human rights of offenders and efficiency when dealing with cases. Most of the existing evidence explores public attitudes in relation to these specific issues. Page et al. (2004) investigated the key functions of the CJS in order to distinguish what the public and the CJS consider as crime. By asking respondents to rate a number of functions, they found that the public selected five essential issues, including less crime committed, a safer society, crime reduction, dealing with violent crime, and bringing criminals to justice. Roberts and Hough (2005) noted that their respondents saw functions of the CJS initially as utilitarian in nature, like reducing offending, but also as aims that guide the system, such as, discrimination and treatment of offenders. Evidence from a more recent survey on a similar exploration found that the factors that individuals find important when deciding how confident they are with the CJS include 'consistency of sentences passed', 'victim and witness contact with the particular criminal justice agency', 'whether the offender is caught' and 'police visibility' (Smith, 2007: 12). When people think of the CJS they focus predominantly on the police and the courts, and therefore their attitudes are aimed towards these two elements. This is evident in Smith's (2007) work that found three quarters of his sample identified the police and the courts as the major agency of the CJS. Roberts and Hough (2005) have stated that the police are the agency that British citizens trust most. Therefore it might also be regarded as the agency that people identify when they think about the CJS. A survey conducted by MORI (2003), showed that the police were the most likely agency to come to mind when people think of criminal justice agencies, whereas the courts were the least trusted element. Further analysis of this by Roberts and Hough (2005) claimed that the reason for the higher percentage of confidence in the police was because the public has closer contact with the police making them more familiar, especially with the local police, whereas few members of the public have experience in the court.

## *2.2.4 Problems in Dealing with Public Attitudes*

### *2.2.4.1 Cognitive Level: Knowledge*

Noteworthy here is that public attitudes may feature a number of problems, initially these may be at a cognitive level, but they may also lie at an emotional level (Indermaur and Hough, 2002). In relation to the first (cognitive level), Indermaur and Hough (2002) suggest that cognitive distortions may take place during the decision-making procedure. That means, that the decision that we make can be easily distorted by the degree of knowledge we have in that area. There is a growing body of research which suggests that the public have limited knowledge about the CJS (Cullen et al., 2000; Chapman et al., 2002). When the public have more information available about crime and justice, they are expected to present a more considered response (Roberts and Hough, 2002). In addition, lack of knowledge can also be considered as a reason why people are not confident and have a punitive attitude towards crime policy. A fuller discussion of this will be returned to in the next chapter.

Offering information about crime rates as well as sentencing practices, has a more positive impact on people's knowledge and in turn, upon aspects of their confidence in the CJS (Chapman et al., 2002). For example, individuals tend to appear in courts without an understanding of how the system works (O' Barr and Conley, 1988). Salisbury (2004) supplied a booklet to her subjects including basic information about the CJS in order to better inform them about crime and punishment. That resulted in 25% improvement of the participants feeling more confident in the CJS. Nevertheless, even though this percentage shows some progress, it is not certain whether this change was a result of the booklet improving knowledge or other undisclosed factors.

Getting information to the public is challenging as Kuttschreuter and Weignman's (1998) work on the use of multimedia campaigns to improve confidence shows. Whilst their campaign resulted in an increase in positive attitudes towards crime and punishment, this increase has remained small. This would suggest that surveys looking at public attitudes to crime, punishment and the CJS are problematic by nature as they fail to take into account

the complexity of attitudes. They tend to ask questions that are too general, without addressing the type of offence or the characteristic of the offender, which may cause changing attitudes. In order for researchers to effectively explore public attitudes to sentencing Indermaur (2006) notes that consideration of the context and type of questions asked is important. Cumberland and Zamble (1992) found that the type of offence, the criminal history and the participation in rehabilitative programmes while in prison are variables that influence the public in their opinion about punitive measures for offenders. There is thus a need to assess knowledge in relation to public attitudes in more detail. In addition, St. Amand and Zamble (2001) suggest that the accuracy of respondents' perceptions of the system is reliant on gathering richer information and utilising increased knowledge about the CJS.

Overall, research proves that knowledge plays a significant role in relation to public attitudes to crime and punishment along with improving confidence in the CJS. Individuals with higher levels of knowledge of crime related issues are considered more confident in the CJS. However, the necessity to explore this knowledge in more depth and the manner of involvement with it, are topics that merit more attention. The issue of knowledge in relation to whether or not it leads to more favourable attitudes to crime and punishment will be further highlighted as the debate on changing attitudes is covered in more detail. Knowledge is a factor that has an impact on the construction of public attitudes to crime and punishment, but this is still mixed and debatable, the impact of which will be explored further shortly.

#### *2.2.4.2 Emotional Level: Fear of Crime*

The second level constitutes emotionally-charged responses and consequences of these. For example, a fear of crime may affect public perception resulting in ignorance of the practices of the CJS, and as a result, we may not see the benefits offered by the system or have trust in it. Fear of crime is socially important as it supports punitive criminal justice policies and encourages social isolation (Warr, 1987). The public, and most particularly, women and older people (Garofalo, 1982), have frequently been portrayed as those responding to certain crimes more fearfully than they should do. Above all, empirically talking, results of

the British Crime Survey (Bolling et al., 2001) found that 22% of women aged 65-74 are worried about getting mugged, however, only 1% of this age group have actually been a victim of this type of crime. Furthermore, women and older people are more fearful of violent crime and theft although few fall victim to such crimes (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981). Whilst these individuals are the most fearful they are actually the least at risk. Those fearing crime may change their behaviour by staying at home or avoiding places they believe are areas prone to crime (Hale, 1996). Others, who may fear specific types of crime, for example women, avoid going to specific places because of a fear of sexual assault (Mirrless - Black and Allen, 1998). Hale (1996) in his review of literature on fear of crime suggests that fear removes people from the community and in turn may contribute to an additional collapse of social attachment and the fragmentation of neighbourhood life. The reason for revealing the concept of fear of crime at this point is the consequential impact it may have on public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Evidence of this may be reflected in the social misunderstandings people create in comparison to the nature of crime in reality (Ito, 1993).

Examination of fear of crime and its potential impact on attitudes towards crime and punishment has produced considerable debate and cause for concern. There is substantial evidence that fear of crime can lead to an increase in punitive measures and to a decrease in the appeal of liberal criminal justice policies (Hale, 1996). Research by Sheley (1985) relates punitive attitudes toward criminals with increasing levels of fear of crime. Rossi et al. (1985) connect worry about risk of crime with increased demand for measures to fight crime which is greater than that of judges, lawyers and legislators (Cullen et al., 1985). Therefore, suggesting that fear of crime and punitive measures are connected. Moreover, research in Britain demonstrates that fear of crime is a significant factor linked with punitive measures (Hough et al., 1988) and fearful people are more likely to require tougher punishment (Hough and Moxon, 1985). Conversely, there is evidence suggesting that there is no relationship between fear of crime and attitudes to crime and punishment (Langworthy and Whitehead, 1986; Brillon, 1988). This is supported by Taylor et al. (1979) who found no association between salience of crime and measures, a finding that was mirrored by Ouimet and Coyle (1991) who also found that in Canada fear of crime had no impact on citizens' demand for punitive measures. However, Wood and Viki (2004) claim that the contradiction in research findings may result from diversity in the methodologies and Sprott and Doob

(1997) recommended that asking respondents to sentence criminals is not the only indicator of public's attitudes to crime and punishment. They further suggested that fearful people prefer tougher punishment by taking other variables into consideration, such as type of crime, age and victimisation. In a similar vein to a lack of knowledge, those people with higher levels of fear of crime tend to view the police and courts in a negative light.

Most of the studies discussed suggest that fear of crime can be associated with public attitudes that are more in favour of punitive sentencing. Logically, fear of becoming a potential victim of crime motivates individuals to demand that something is done about the source of that fear, in short, the offender. Therefore, individuals with higher levels of fear should also have more punitive attitudes and be more likely to prefer harsher sanctions. However, influences on fear of crime are not that simple as the evidence so far suggests that this would offer only part of the picture, because fear of crime is more complex and intimately interrelated to other factors. As an example, fear of crime can also be considered a media construction, that is a reflection of media representation (Signorielli, 1990) or a phenomenon faced by people in reality (Chiricos et al., 2000). In other words fear of crime can be attributed to mass media influence, personal vulnerability and to the impact of victimisation (Williams and Dickinson, 1993). There is a strong correlation between the role of the media in generating fear of crime and the effect it has on different individuals in different social situations, a discussion that will be returned in the next chapter.

### *2.2.5 Public Attitudes and the Issue of Participation*

The importance of engaging the public in the planning and building of justice policies is vital. Governments consult the public before putting together policies to prevent crime or to change sentencing policies. Indeed, some suggest that the public should also be engaged in this process using a more participatory style of policy making and that this will not necessarily lead to harsher and repressive policy as indicated by the discussion surrounding punitive public attitudes (Johnstone, 2000). This process keeps the public confident and the political targets satisfactory. The British government commissioned the Halliday Report (Halliday, 2001) as a means of fundamentally improving the sentencing framework in a way that benefited both society and the offender. The Halliday report aimed to investigate

sentencing and its structure and by successfully rehabilitating offenders, change patterns of offending and thus improve confidence in sentencing in England and Wales. Halliday reported that public confidence is an important justification of sentencing and should be taken into consideration. He also suggested that public confidence whilst desirable is not essential, as the public are often misinformed ultimately leading to the belief that sentencing is too lenient. Once again, this would suggest that more effort is needed from legislators to clarify sentencing practices to the public. In contrast, the Auld Report (Auld, 2001), suggests that public confidence should be ignored for the same reasons Halliday suggested it should be considered. That is that the public are ill-informed and something should be done about it in order to improve public confidence in the system. The key issue here is that both policy makers give the same advice through a different approach. If the public is more informed about sentencing, they will feel reassured, and will have more confidence, therefore will be more likely to support policy.

These issues are further explored in detail later on in this study. For now it is necessary to add to and continue the debate on whether improvements in knowledge and experience with crime and punishment have an impact on the construction of attitudes. Methods of improvement are also considered.

## **2.3 Changing Attitudes to Crime and Punishment: is there a Debate?**

### *2.3.1 Do Improvements in Knowledge Lead to More Positive Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment?*

Previous discussion confirmed that when the public have limited knowledge about the CJS (Chapman et al., 2002) they are likely to present a less considered response (Hough and Roberts, 2002). Changing public attitudes to crime and punishment in order to lead to more positive attitudes and in turn increase confidence in the CJS can successfully be achieved by enhancing knowledge (St. Amand and Zamble, 2001) as well as providing possible strategies (Indermaur and Hough, 2002). For example, Roberts and Hough (2011) use the term 'substitute sanction' to explore whether the public change their attitudes towards serious offences resulting in community penalty over imprisonment once their knowledge to

alternatives to custody is enhanced. They suggest that when the public is aware of mitigating factors while being asked to impose a sentence, here perceived as more knowledge about the offence and the offender, people show support for alternatives to custody. Thus, public reaction can be altered in situations where people gain knowledge relating to the crime or the punishment for the crime. It is important to keep the public confident and reassured for reasons such as policing by consent (Carter, 2002), which relies on the significant assistance of the public to make particular agencies of the CJS function properly, by using them effectively.

Evidence from British-based studies suggest that although the public needs accurate information, the government is failing to provide relevant knowledge that will help improve public knowledge on aspects of crime, punishment and the CJS (Roberts and Hough, 2002; Green, 2005). It has also been suggested that although it is necessary for experts and the public to co-operate (Yankelovich, 1991), politicians are influenced by the ill-conceived opinions of the media (Green, 2005), and thus they support ill-informed opinions about aspects of the CJS. Various sources have demonstrated how the public change their priorities depending on the knowledge and information gained about crime and punishment. For example, Indermaur and Hough (2002) suggest that firstly, the CJS cannot function without public confidence and secondly, that politicians respond to the public to gain electoral support. For these reasons they propose strategies, not to change opinion, but to provide 'best quality' information to the public without political, media, or other influences. Allen (2003) supports the need to keep the public informed about issues of crime and punishment, through informing, influencing and involving the public to promote a more secure and positive change in attitudes with strategies such as bringing about a more transparent appraisal about what crime might be and how punishment should be treated. However, Yankelovich (1991) claims that it is possible to achieve public involvement, and in turn opinion change, only when the public is encouraged to participate. He also makes a distinction between public judgement and public opinion, considering public judgement to be a deeper form of thinking, whereby the public takes into consideration additional factors, normative, ethical or alternative.

### *2.3.2 Ways to Improve Levels of Information*

Deliberative polls play a significant role in gaining knowledge about crime and punishment. Research by Hough and Park (2002) involved using a random people sample and exposing them to a weekend session of facts and information about crime and punishment. They found that after the event people adopted significantly less extreme opinions. For example, support for community penalties stayed high and unchanged; but, while 50% of respondents before the event believed that 'a stiffer sentence is an effective way to reduce crime', after the event only 36% of them had the same attitude. They suggested that while not all people take on altered views, others successfully adjust opinions that make the public more confident on issues of crime and punishment. Some commentators, such as Surette (1998) use a social construction model to suggest that individuals who gain similar knowledge might further formulate similar social realities. This argument shows the potential for success in increasing knowledge of crime and punishment and gives governments the opportunity to disregard ill-informed opinions and develop a clearer philosophy on controlling crime. Public knowledge and attitudes towards crime and punishment are fundamental issues and scholars argue that the use of deliberative polls with a two-way discussion between the public and policy makers as equal partners is a way to make binding decisions that are underpinned by informed public judgement (Green, 2005). Overall, the evidence suggests that knowledge is essential in changing public attitudes to crime and punishment because keeping the public confident and reassured in turn counteracts negative public awareness and difficulty in engaging with the CJS.

### *2.3.3 Experience as a Factor that May Sit Next to Knowledge*

It is likely that there are additional factors similar to knowledge that may contribute to influence the changing of public attitudes. One factor is experience, whereby people may change their attitudes depending on the understanding they gain from experiencing crime, punishment or the CJS. Wood and Gannon (2009) advocate that there are two categories of experience that people may possess, that reformulate or change their attitudes. Initially, people may have direct experiences like being a victim of crime, being a witness or juror, or by being somebody who works for the CJS, or even from being an offender. Through any of

these experiences people gain knowledge from direct experience and form or change their attitudes towards crime, punishment and the CJS. The other category is gaining knowledge through indirect experience, for example knowing somebody who has been an offender, a witness, or someone who works for the CJS and hearing their experiences. Alternatively it may be the media that provides information and this will be further discussed in more detail later in the next chapter.

Being a victim of crime is a contentious issue here, since scholars are highly critical of the correlation between the disposition of victimisation and crime punishment, suggesting that the type of victimisation is relative to the type of crime (Spratt and Doob, 1997). On the other hand, this correlation endures as Hough et al. (1988) suggests that there is no difference between being a victim and being a non-victim in terms of crime and punishment. However, more evidence is needed in considering whether victimisation is important in influencing people's knowledge and encouraging positive changes in attitude towards crime and punishment.

Overall, the above research lends support to the notion that changing public attitudes is complex and argues against the use of simple and single issues to assess the concept. Assessing public attitudes through single factors, such as knowledge, obscures the complexity with which the public view criminal justice issues. Improvements in knowledge definitely lead to more favourable attitudes towards crime and punishment as do corresponding factors such as being a victim of crime. However responses to these issues are in a sense less imperative, given the contradictions that are found when other factors such as the media are involved. Having shown that research endorses the importance of public attitudes towards crime and punishment internationally, the following part of this chapter serves as an exploration of the recent situation in Greece, contextualising political, financial and social issues surrounding crime and punishment.

#### **2.4 Contextualising the Issues: the Situation in Greece**

A country that is famous for ineffectual protest, and increasingly for riots and scenes of public disaffection broadcast to the world as a whole is Greece. Over the past few years

there has been a plethora of protests against the financial crisis, unemployment, changes in taxation and education. Greek politicians have found themselves unprepared and at times unqualified to handle the anarchy, riots and massive strikes by the public. These attitudes are a cause for concern and the situation seems to have reached an impasse: government response to the economic crisis is to increase public taxation and take money back from pensioners while public disaffection generates negative perceptions about crime and how it is being dealt with. These acts impact directly on citizens and society in general.

It is necessary to go behind this apparently alarming façade to consider background, demographics and the current situation in Greece and then look more specifically at the context of crime and punishment. What follows is a picture of how crime, criminology, and knowledge on crime and punishment within Greece inform public attitudes. It is also appropriate to get a picture of the basic features of the CJS as well as crime rates and become more familiar with social factors and the attitudes of Greek people together with Greek politics. Factors such as the media and immigration will be acknowledged in order to demonstrate the key issues underpinning the dilemmas surrounding crime and punishment. The purpose underlying this discussion is that public attitudes, as in Britain, may influence the context and the direction of government policies within this field.

#### *2.4.1 Background and Demographics*

Greece's strategic position rests on its location bordered by Turkey, Bulgaria, F.Y.R.U.M (Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia) and Albania and it is situated on the most southern tip of the Balkan Peninsula. Regarding crime, Greece's position is seen as a contributory factor; Lambropoulou (2003: 77) refers to the '*Triangle of Death*' indicating that drugs and arms are trafficked to Italy, Switzerland and Germany by those areas bordering Greece in 'the triangle', namely Albania, Kosovo and F.Y.R.U.M. Greece's resident population according to the last official calculation was 10.9 million people (2001) while a mid-year estimated population for 2009 was 11.2 million people, half of whom live in the capital city of Athens (EL. STAT, 2001). This means that more than 50% of Greek industry and the main economic sectors are based in Athens (Spinellis and Tsitsoura, 2006). Official data suggests half are men and half are women and approximately 75% are aged between 15 to 64 years old (EL. STAT, 2001). Other major cities are Thessaloniki, Patra, Iraklion, Volos

and Kavala. Over the past 15 years Greece has become a popular immigrant destination. Most of these immigrants hail from Central and Eastern Europe, and a great number of them still reside in Greece without authorisation. Although the most recent data shows that the number of immigrants in Greece is estimated at 1.15 million (MMO: Mediterranean Migration Observatory, 2004), constituting some 10.3% of the adjusted total population, unrecorded data rank that immigrants reach the 2 million mark. A fuller discussion of immigration in Greece will be returned to later in the chapter including more details about the reasons they migrate to Greece. The majority of Greek people are Christian Orthodox as 97% of citizens identify themselves with the Greek Orthodox faith, while others are mostly Muslims and atheist (International Religious Freedom Report, 2010).

While ancient Greece is revealed as the birthplace of democracy, Alexander the Great, the Olympic Games and the Gods of Olympus, nowadays it is equally associated with its economic crisis, strikes and the various protests that have taken place over the years. Unemployment reached 9.5% in 2009, then in the first semester of 2010 grew to 12.4%, and seems to be escalating by 33.3% per semester (EL. STAT, 2010) due to new measures passed by the government.

In October 2008 there were massive strikes and action taken by Greek citizens and students, throwing gas bombs and stones to the police as well as the shooting to death of a young student, Alexandros Grigoropoulos (16) by a police officer. Such incidents placed Greece at the forefront of political debate, with the general public impression that the then Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis (N.D.) handled the situation poorly. The then leader of the opposition political party (PASOK) Georgios Papandreou called for elections and in October 2009 Greek people were asked to vote in parliamentary elections. Despite the reduced rate of participation PASOK won Greece's general elections and Konstantinos Karamanlis resigned as leader of the conservative party, handing over to Antonios Samaras, the current leader of N.D. Since PASOK's seat as head of state, much effort has been exerted to resolve the country's economic crisis, and by April 2010 Papandreou accepted the EU-IMF (European Union and International Monetary Fund) financial rescue package.

From that day and until now (June, 2012), the issue of government debt default and fears of Greece exiting the European Union have been ever-present. Papandreou earlier this year abruptly announced harsh spending cuts in order to address the country's economic woes and the public was obliged to pay extra poll taxes (χαράτσι/ xaratsi) to save the country. Protesters keep gathering under the collective name of 'the exasperated' (αγανακτησμένοι/ aganaktismeni) with their main slogan 'We do not owe, we are not selling, we will not pay'. Greek people withdrew their money from banks, unemployment reached 17.6%, and European politicians, Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy threatened to force Greece out of the Euro-Zone if the memorandum failed.

Kyrtsis (2011) suggested that there is a sequence of events that lead Greece to crisis and attention should be paid to small scale corruption and tax evasion, large scale unlawful transactions between companies and high officials, and the role of Greek politicians in these practices. All these led Prime Minister Papandreou to resign as Prime Minister in November 2011 and to be replaced by an economist non-partisan Loukas Papadimos, who was leading the country along with politicians from several political Greek parties (PAOK, N.D. and LAOS), in a mission to save the economy of the country. The political situation underwent constant change and in June 2012 elections took place resulting in a conservative-led coalition. Today (July 2012), the currently conservative leader Antonios Samaras is the prime minister of the new Greek coalition, and takes up the challenge of trying to revise the terms of an unpopular EU-IMF bailout deal.

#### *2.4.2 Features of the Greek CJS and Crime Rates in Greece*

With the premise that this research is looking at Greek people's views on crime, punishment and the Greek CJS, it is necessary to become acquainted with the structures of each Greek criminal justice agency, as well as being informed about crime and imprisonment rates in Greece. This helps in understanding Greek people's reflections on the Greek CJS and what, for example, is meant when they refer to the hierarchical military style of police or the reasons why they are not familiar with the probation service. This part merely intends to offer a general description of the foremost institutional agencies associated with the study of crime, punishment and the CJS of Greece and provide information about the current

crime and imprisonment rates. The relationship between crime and imprisonment is of great importance showing that while imprisonment rates have risen, crime has only risen slightly, indicating the possibility that this relationship may be attributed to the influence of Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Rooted in Hirsch's just deserts rationale (1976), the Greek *prison system* was revised in 1999 to reinforce, at least on paper, the basic principles of the 'Greek Justice Model'. Its ideology is mainly rehabilitative and based on the major piece of legislation, which is Law No. 2776. The organisation of the prison system is primarily based on the Prison Law, which has a long history of reforms (the last being 1999), the Penal Code, and the Penal Procedure Code (Lambropoulou, 2005). The organisation and operation of the 'penitentiary system' of Greece consists of the following departments. The first deals with crime prevention and penal training of juveniles, second is the penitentiary training of adults, third is the operation of special therapeutic establishments, fourth is the inspection of prisons and special juvenile detention establishments, and the fifth and final element involves the external guarding of prisons and other establishments (Hellenic Republic: Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights website, last accessed 2012).

The authorities responsible for crime control in Greece are the police and the public prosecutor, the coastguard and the customs service in charge of the borders and financial and economic crimes. The '*Hellenic Police*' is a hierarchical service managed in military style, numbering a total of 48,000 police officers in 2004 (Lambropoulou, 2005). However, an increase took place during the period of the Olympic Games in 2004, and as such many were hired for a short period of time. The Police consist of special services such as the special violent crime squad, the forensic division, the international police co-operation, the anti-terrorist unit, air force service, explosive devices disposal, and police dogs (Hellenic Police: Ministry of Citizens Protection website, last accessed 2011). The Police are comprised of both central and regional services and its mission is to serve and protect citizens.

In relation to the *court system*, the judiciary in Greece is divided into civil, criminal and administrative courts (Spinellis and Spinellis, 1999). Judges are allocated for life by the president of the Republic and are appointed to serve, with faithfulness, the five courts.

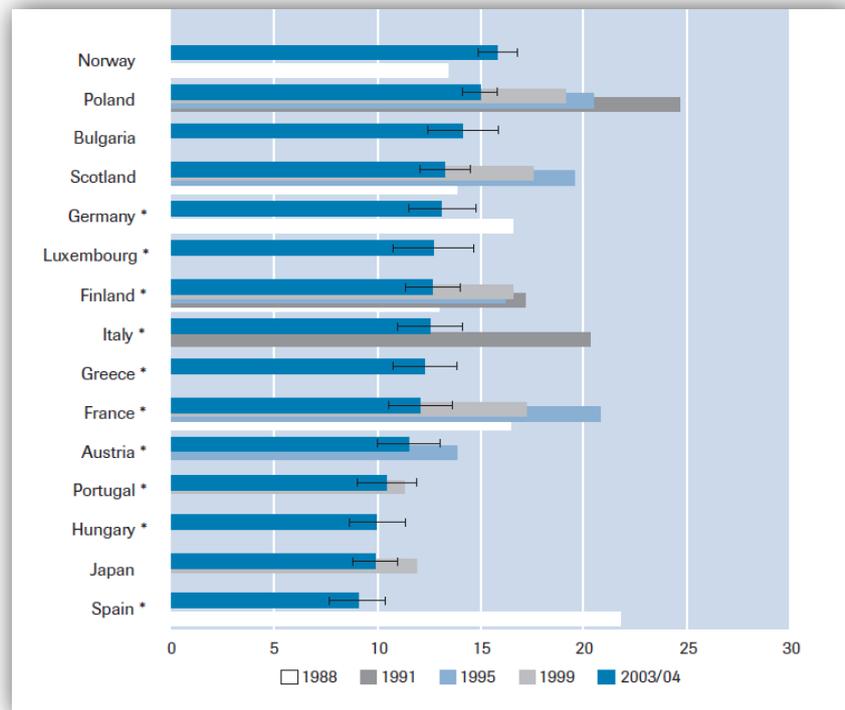
These are the supreme judicial court, the supreme tribunal court, and three other courts for administrative, financial and criminal issues (Lambropoulou, 2005).

*Probation* is the newest agency created by the Ministry of Justice and operates in accordance with community work that aims to reduce prison overcrowding and support individuals who are involved with justice. Tsitsoura (1989) first suggested that when offenders return to society, they need public support. Pitsela (2006) suggested that the concept of probation in Greece remained a 'law on papers', despite its urgent need. In 2007 the first 6 probation officers were hired and only 11 ex-offenders benefited from the service (Mayris, 2007). However, nowadays the number of probation service officers is higher with 51 officers on duty in 14 operating cities and their jurisdiction covers 34 courts across Greece (Anagnostaki, 2011).

In order to evaluate the relationship between crime and imprisonment rates, crime data was drawn from the Hellenic Police: Ministry of Citizen Protection website (last accessed 2011) and imprisonment data from the Hellenic Republic: Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights website, (last accessed 2012), as well as Cheliotis and Xenakis (2011) and Lambropoulou's (2008) engagement with that issue. Lambropoulou (2008) suggests a general increase in recorded crimes from 1980 to 1999, with a multifaceted outline of fluctuation over a period of 20 years, noting that the rate of recorded crime per head of population has been growing, but only slightly. Cheliotis and Xenakis (2011) recently found that crime has only risen modestly, arguing that crime is high mostly because of the rise in the volume of traffic offences. Looking closely at the most recent police statistics from 2010 to 2011, the recorded offences show a slight increase with 10 types of recorded offences rising and 7 types of recorded offences falling.

The European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS, 2005) is worth mentioning in order to locate Greece's position relative to other European countries on measures of levels of crime. Comparatively Greece has very low levels of victimisation, belonging in the bottom 15 countries (Van Dijk, et al. 2005). Figure 2.1 places Greece below the average on levels of victimisation, close to Italy, France and Austria. The EU ICS (2005) found that specific crime types such as robbery are relatively common, but drug-related crimes are also common.

**FIGURE 2.1** Overall victimisation for 10 crimes; one year prevalence rates in 2003/04 (percentages) of the bottom 15 countries and results from earlier surveys. 1989-2005 ICVS and 2005 EU ICS\*



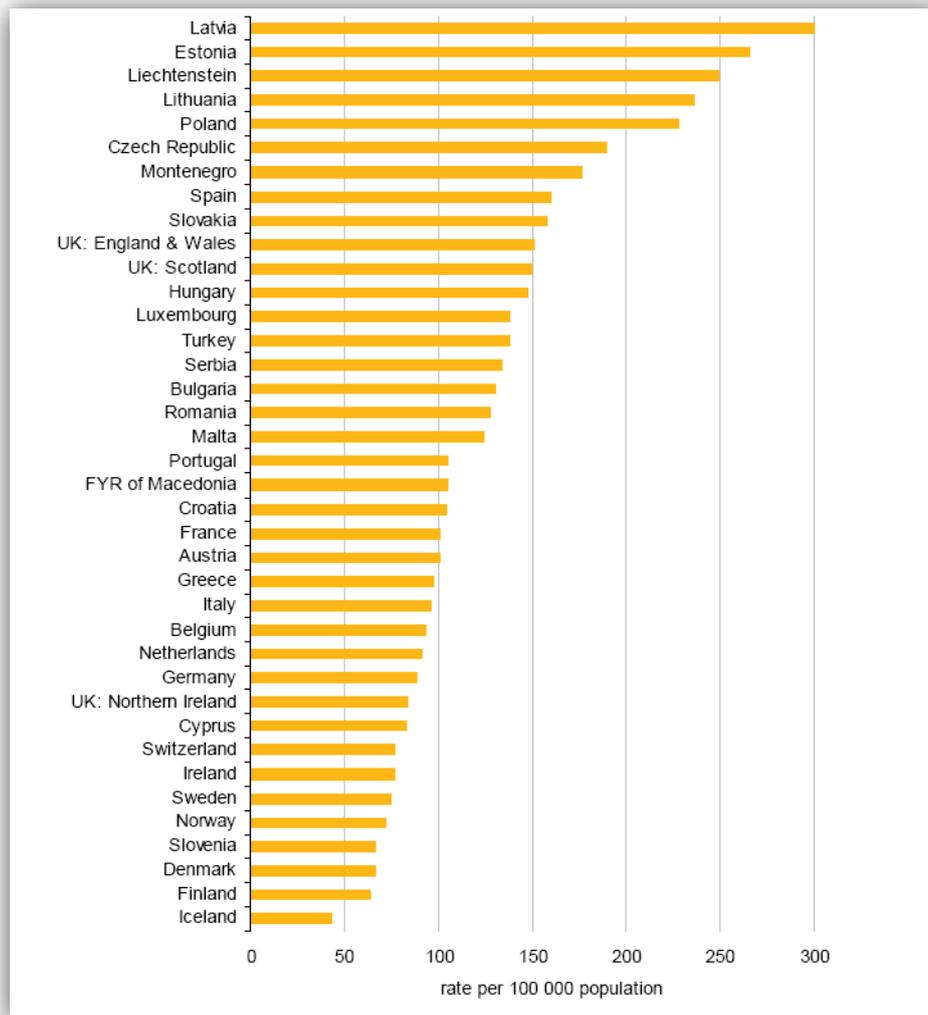
\* Source: van Dijk, J.J.M., Manchin, R., van Kesteren, J.N., Hideg, G. (2007). *The Burden of Crime in the EU, a Comparative Analysis of the European Crime and Safety Survey (2005 EU ICS)*. Brussels, Gallup Europe.

With regards to imprisonment rates, Lambropoulou (2008) found that the 1980s saw a general decrease in Greece due to the de-institutionalisation efforts in Europe. In the 1990s, longer sentences were followed by more lenient sentencing legislation. Cheliotis and Xenakis (2011) suggest that the rise of imprisonment rate is accredited to the increase in drug-related convictions and the nationality of the offenders, arguing that non-Greek offenders are 8.1 times more likely to spend time in custody than Greek offenders. The issue of immigration is examined in greater detail in the next chapter, signifying the disproportion and misrepresentation of immigrants in the Greek CJS and society. Examining imprisonment rates provided by the Hellenic Republic: Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights website (last accessed 2012), a growing escalation is observed with 11,364 offenders held in prison in 2010, 12,349 held in 2011 and 12,479 prisoners held in 2012.

Regarding the position in which Greece stands on measures of system punitivity (use of imprisonment) relative to other European countries, the International Centre for Prison Studies (ICPS) and Eurostat statistics were useful. Both sources position Greece under the

mean levels (ICPS, last accessed 2012; Eurostat, last accessed 2012). However, assuming that victimisation levels are significantly below the average, imprisonment levels appear disproportionate to crime levels. Figure 2.2 presents prison population rates per 100,000 of the national population of each European country (average per year 2007-2009).

**FIGURE 2.2** Prison population rate per 100 000 population, average per year, 2007-2009\*



\* Source: [http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics\\_explained/index.php/Main\\_Page](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Main_Page).

The reason for this dissimilarity can be found in the sentencing performance of Greek judges, who are more likely to send non-Greek offenders to prison for longer sentences (Karydis, 2011). However, crime rates can also be affected by discrimination against non-Greek people, taking into account Antonopoulos' (2006a) findings that Greek people are more likely to report crimes to the police when the offender is an immigrant. The

importance here is that statistical findings variations are associated with the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime, punishment and the Greek CJS and may account for the understudied Greek criminological context.

#### *2.4.3 Introducing Greece in the Context of Crime, Punishment and Criminology*

Panousis (1995) encourages both the government and the public to take action against inhumane conditions in prisons and injustice and throughout his 'distinct' style of writing he suggests that criminological research in Greece is out of date and is therefore not able to suggest solutions to the crime problem, ways of preventing it, or the treatment of criminals (Panousis, 1995; 1999; 2006; 2012). Georgoulas (2007) supports this, noting that there is research in Greece but certainly not enough to adequately respond to issues and a number of well-established scholars similarly maintain the view (Vidali, 2007), that although there is research in crime, punishment and criminality in Greece, it lacks resources and support from the government.

However, the issues of crime, punishment and criminology in Greece have generated public debate and created a centre of attention for politicians and specialists alike. Lambropoulou (2005; 2008) for example, offers significant directions on the issue of crime, criminal justice and criminology in Greece. The most recent achievement in the Greek criminological context is a book by Cheliotis and Xenakis (2011) which warrants special attention since it is the first English-language work on crime, criminal justice and criminology in Greece. Its great attribute is that it introduces initial thematic elaboration into the issue of Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment, but as the scholars suggest themselves, future work is needed to investigate the mechanism by which public attitudes towards crime and punishment are constructed, showing a need for implementing unique studies as this one.

#### *2.4.4 Setting the Scene on Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment in Greece: the Limited Research Background*

This section is a chronological approach to the research that has been conducted in Greece regarding attitudes towards crime aspects. Then relevant literature is presented to mainly

argue that research on public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece mostly focuses on increased fear of crime interrelated with the Greek public's confidence in the Greek CJS. That in turn was shown to generate public punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment, which need fundamental research attention through conjectural and empirical elaboration. There are a limited amount of studies that focus on public attitudes to crime and punishment in Greece. Spinellis (1982) investigated the attitudes of the public towards punishment and law enforcement and she suggested that deterrence has been the most effective method of punishment when looking at police officers' and prisoners' perceptions. Shortly after this, researchers looked at people's attitudes to victimisation and suggested that those who consider themselves as potential victims of crime, support harsher sentences (Daskalakis, 1983). Courakis and Millionis (1995) investigated juvenile inmates' attitudes towards their punishment and the factors that may influence their criminal career, by exploring inmates' expectations and fears about the future. However, the results of the follow-up study have never been published, showing poor methodology.

Several recent studies taking into account public attitudes come from Zarafonitou and her colleagues. Initially, Zarafonitou and Mantoglou (2000) looked at the social representations of crime and the criminal. In a qualitative study, they asked 494 individuals living in Athens, to state the first three words that come to mind when they read 'crime and criminal'. They found that punishment is the most important issue together with police and justice. A few years later, Zarafonitou (2002) conducted research into public attitudes, victimisation and fear of crime finding that females, older people of urban city areas and those who suffer from indirect victimisation have higher levels of fear of crime than the rest of society. In turn in 2008 Zarafonitou suggested that a punitive public, suffering from a sense of victimisation, is a public that uses TV as a source of information about crime. Also that television viewing might be the main reason for the public's high demand for punitive measures, since 50% of her participants get their information from the TV. However, whilst Zarafonitou focuses on the key issues of victimisation and fear of crime, no consideration is given to the impact that government response to crime and punishment may have on fear of crime.

The European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS) found that Greek people appear to have the greatest fear of crime among European countries (Dijk et al., 2005). Dijk et al. (2007)

reported similar findings, setting the fearful Greek people alongside other high crime rated countries such as Mexico. Bakalaki (2003) also found that Greek people consider crime in Greece to be more unpredictable as well as more violent, and Zarafonitou (2009), in her attempt to investigate the reasons people think as such, suggested that the public base their attitudes on their lack of confidence in the police. Also, the World Values Survey (2000) stated that only 43.7% of Greece people express confidence in the Greek CJS (Van de Walle, 2009). Van de Walle and Raine (2008) found that according to Eurobarometer data public confidence in the CJS in Greece dropped from 63% in 1997 to 55% in 2006. The literature shows that it is expected that the public will demand harsher policies and will hold more punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment in the face of what they perceive to be rising crime and a lack of confidence in the CJS.

There is a contradiction between the levels of public punitive attitude in Greece as research recommends that like elsewhere in Europe, the Greek public demand tougher policies in crime control (Unever and Cullen, 2010) and is punitive in their support for a wide use of imprisonment (Van Kesteren, 2009). However, at the same time, 46% of them support community sentences, being found the third more supportive public in Europe after Britain and Ireland (Kühnrich and Kania, 2005). Table 2.1 establishes Greece's position comparative to other European countries on measures of public attitudes to punishment, listing Greece in the lowest levels of punitiveness, based on public attitudes to the sentencing of a recidivist burglar, given the choice of a community sentence, fine or imprisonment.

**TABLE 2.1** Attitudes towards Punishment – Selected Sentence Category: Descriptive Data by Country\*

Country	Community Service		Fine		Suspended Sentence		Prison		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N	%
UK	671	35.9	132	7.1	125	6.7	942	50.4	1,870	100
Ireland	915	48.2	164	8.6	79	4.2	742	39.1	1,900	100
Greece	737	46.0	252	15.7	67	4.2	547	34.1	1,603	100
Netherlands	748	40.2	162	8.7	326	17.5	624	33.5	1,860	100
Sweden	898	47.8	247	13.2	137	7.3	596	31.7	1,878	100
Hungary	1,006	54.0	163	8.7	115	6.2	580	31.1	1,864	100
Estonia	765	50.6	141	9.3	169	11.2	436	28.9	1,511	100
Italy	1,255	68.8	104	5.7	6	0.3	460	25.2	1,825	100
Spain	984	58.1	290	17.1	48	2.8	371	21.9	1,693	100
Germany	1,023	53.2	229	11.9	270	14.0	401	20.9	1,923	100
Denmark	1,107	59.6	151	8.1	254	13.7	344	18.5	1,856	100
Portugal	1,410	76.9	90	4.9	32	1.7	301	16.4	1,833	100
Belgium	1,377	73.4	135	7.2	75	4.0	288	15.4	1,875	100
Luxembourg	570	74.6	54	7.1	30	3.9	110	14.4	764	100
Finland	1,142	59.5	276	14.4	230	12.0	272	14.2	1,920	100
Austria	1,182	61.9	221	11.6	239	12.5	266	13.9	1,908	100
Poland	2,482	69.7	391	11.0	201	5.6	485	13.6	3,559	100
France	1,418	75.1	117	6.2	112	5.9	240	12.7	1,887	100

\*Source: Kühnrich, B. & Kania, H. (2005) 'Attitudes towards Punishment in the European Union: Results from the 2005 European Crime Survey (ECSS) with Focus on Germany', Freiburg/ Germany. : Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law.

Zarafonitou (2009) likewise indicates that the Greek public is less punitive and discourages the death penalty, and the only support found for capital punishment was correlated to the public's perception that crime is rising. Public attitudes as such are linked to perceptions towards immigrants as a source of crime (Karydis, 2011) and initiate more punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment. Therefore, the Greek public bases their punitive attitudes upon unstable perceptions that crime is considerably increasing as well as a perception that immigration causes crime.

Ideas put forward by Lambropoulou (2005) resonate with the idea of the 'vicious circle,' an ill-informed public asking for harsher policies in an attempt to improve public safety, which in turn affects politicians, who take public opinion into account and suggest new policies for voting purposes. While not backed up by research, she points out that since crime became a topic of discussion for politicians just before the 2000 parliament elections, and again at the

2002 prefecture elections, the government had to respond to rising crime. In order to gather votes the government increased police numbers and created new units, but also hired correctional officers and started to build new prisons. However, there was a pressure to reinforce the police because of the Olympic Games in 2004 and the new prisons appear so far only on paper. This has resulted in Greek politicians misleading the Greek public in their construction of punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment and the Greek CJS based on unreliable trends.

Although there is a major effort by academics in Greece as well as by Greek academics working globally, to produce high quality research, more work is needed both in creating a clearer image of public attitudes and in particular to show how these attitudes are constructed. This study focuses on issues of public confidence and participation, and queries whether knowledge of specific crime issues is important in the formation of Greek attitudes to crime and punishment. It addresses a gap by seeing the Greek context in relation to a phenomenon common to other European countries: people hold punitive attitudes towards aspects of crime and ask for harsher punishment, which in turn prompts politicians to respond with more severe measures to gain votes.

### **Chapter 3: How Are Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment Constructed?**

Having shown that research undertaken endorses the importance of public attitude towards crime and punishment, this chapter serves as an investigation of how these attitudes are constructed. There is a wide variety of international research in this area and this is what makes the factors revealed here more interesting. This chapter comprises six subchapters that all consider the construction of public attitudes to crime and punishment and the reasons hidden behind these attitudes. Initially, it is essential to investigate the media's influence on public attitudes, and the processes people undergo in forming media representative attitudes. Then, issues of race and attitude are explored, like for example stereotyping and racial prejudice, with relevant research and theories. The relationship between religious affiliation and attitude formation is explored through pointing out key research and the innovative factor of culture is examined as a constructor of public's attitudes. Furthermore, the impact of politics on influencing public attitudes is debated as issues that influence the public's attitudes to crime and punishment. All five factors are set against the Greek context and evidence from the limited, but still critical Greek-based literature is examined. In the final section, basic demographics, such as age, gender, education and victimisation are investigated, leading to the conclusion that factors cannot really stand alone, but the shaping of attitudes to crime and punishment is a multidimensional phenomenon.

#### **3.1 The Issue of 'Media' as a Factor that Influences Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment**

The influence of the media appears to be a major factor in the social construction of crime and the CJS, with research revealing that most knowledge about crime and justice is obtained from the media (Surette, 1998). There are various debates over the impact that the media has on the construction of public attitudes. Cavender (2004) believes that the media has an instrumental role in both the development and reinforcement of attitudes towards crime and punishment. In contrast, whilst Garland (2001) acknowledges that the media does to some degree influence public attitudes towards crime and punishment, he does not consider that influence to be as significant as Cavender (2004). Survey-based

evidence also shows that the media is associated with the construction of public attitudes towards crime and punishment (Roberts and Hough, 2005).

The main argument here is that the media provides influential information about the CJS in the U.K. but simultaneously stimulates public fears about law and order. The misconceptions of crime and punishment generated by the media create a lack of confidence in the CJS generally and therefore crime and punishment more specifically. As a result, the public demand harsher punishment for offenders (Cullen et al., 2000). In turn, judges increase rates of imprisonment and politicians promote stricter policies promising new prison buildings for safer living conditions for prisoners all of which ultimately costs the government more (Roberts and Hough, 2005).

### *3.1.1 Why do we Look at the Media in Relation to Crime and Punishment?*

It is necessary to recognize why we look at the media in relation to crime and punishment. Empirical evidence confirms that the media is the primary source of information used by the public to build a picture of crime (Dowler, 2003). Thus, it is perceived that the majority of the public's knowledge about crime and the CJS forms through media consumption. Surette (1998) justifies studying the media-justice relationship for three reasons. Firstly the media are not a neutral and unobtrusive agent, secondly it should also be considered a possible solution to crime, thirdly it can increase our understanding of society, and fourthly it can help to reduce or deter crime. However it can simultaneously create punitive and inaccurate public views of crime (Cavender, 2004). There is a debate about the power that the media has on crime. Conflicts have arisen since some can view the media as a positive source of information about crime and punishment (Chiricos et al., 1997; Surette, 1998), while others view it as promoting a false and negative picture of crime (Ericson, 1995). Therefore, this debate has to be re-examined, especially regarding public attitudes to crime and punishment and how they are investigated, here in this study.

### *3.1.2 How do the Media Construct Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment? Media Representations of Crime and Punishment: the Processes*

Reiner (2007) examines the way the media generates opinions, firstly by describing the content of media images of crime. He states that people have long been fascinated by crime stories as a source of entertainment (Sparks, 2002) and posits a fact/fiction distinction between *reality* television and *infotainment*. This distinction is also acknowledged by other criminologists such as Peelo and Soothill (2005) who suggest that 'infotainment' is the attempt to engage attention rather than portray the real existence of incidents. It is a form of fiction that uses real events, but simultaneously blurs entertainment and real information. Cultural criminologists such as Presdee (2000) believe that this reflects the 'commodification' of crime. For Presdee (2000) crime and violence have become sensationalised, to the extent where they are distributed through all forms of media to be pleurably consumed. Reiner (2007) also discusses the different kinds of crime featured within the media and the amount of crime stories used within the news as a way to form public opinion. Crimes of violence, for example, appear disproportionately compared to their incidence in official crime statistics, with the news exaggerating the crime risks (Maguire, 2003). Audiences interpret images and construct attitudes, depending on their view or position. Here, violence is not just a function or a physical behaviour, which appears the same to all audiences, but means different things to different genres. Ericson (1991) states that knowledge comes from the media as a capacity of action, resulting from a negotiation between the reader's position, for example social influences like religion, and the position proposed by the programme itself .

### *3.1.3 'Processes' that Produce Media Representations of Crime and Punishment*

The question now arises as to the processes that underpin media representations of crime, which in turn help to construct our attitudes towards crime and punishment. Reiner (2007) identifies two approaches to discover the reasons why media representations appear the way they do. The first approach relates to the 'hegemony model'. Here, the political ideology, the elements of newsworthiness and the structural determinants of news-making contribute to the production of crime news. The hegemony model defines who owns and

controls the media, the location and structure of crime reporting, and what makes a story newsworthy. Reiner (2007: 325) is the first to challenge the model arguing that it sees the news content as unintended but still supports it because it assigns '*consequences of the structure and political economy of news production*'. This view is also accepted by Mason (2003) who identifies hegemonic views of media as ideal types, which cannot be rejected as completely invalid. The second approach, 'crime news as cultural conflict' is not a different viewpoint but seems to be a variation that sees crime as a product of interaction between political priorities, the practice of journalism and everyday pressures (Newburn, 2007). At this point there is no need for a more detailed discussion of how the media is constructed, since at this stage the central focus is on how the media affects crime and attitudes.

Regarding this focus on the media and crime, Reiner (2007) deduced that media images can influence criminal behaviour, although this direct influence appears limited in relation to other factors. The way the public interpret representations varies according to demographical, generational and more life-course factors (Reiner, 2007). Additionally, a previous study by Surette (1998) also found that the media's influence is seldom direct and often secondary to other factors, such as age, sex and income. Others propose that individuals gain knowledge, upon which they construct their social realities, from personal experiences, significant others like family or friends, social groups and institutions like school and church, and finally the media (Altheide, 1997). Surette (1998) considers that people use knowledge gained from the media to construct an image of reality on which they base their actions and therefore their attitudes. He also acknowledges non-media factors such as neighbourhood and family conditions, individual psychological and genetic traits, social structure, race relations, and economic conditions.

David Garland (2001) takes a broad view of the modern functions of the CJS as a whole, rather than just focusing on a specific agency. However, he clearly describes the social impact of the media and in particular television. He states that previously isolated groups were given access to television and became attracted to higher standards that they then used to compare their reality with media images. The existence of television has meant a change in certain aspects of cultural life (Garland, 2001). For Garland (2001) privacy is no longer respected and the private lives of authority figures, institutions and media

personalities are now being uncovered in a more revealing way, with feelings and emotions being exposed to the public. The rise of the media has resulted in a change of perception towards crime as well as political speech, for example television focuses upon national rather than local news. This wider scale and view leads to new public perceptions about crime (Garland, 2001). In addition law and order administrators' and politicians' statements and actions have become more visible to the public (Garland, 2001). Garland's (2001) discussion on the effects of the media on public attitudes is pertinent to this debate because there may be an additional interrelation between the cultural changes he discusses. In the context of this study cultural changes are taken into consideration and are shortly deliberated.

Garland (2001) judges the media to be of central importance in his idea of changing aspects of cultural life, a view shared by Reiner (2007). This idea is further explored by Cavender (2004) who suggests that media concepts provide a stronger intellectual framework for understanding change in crime policy. Cavender (2004) argues that the media 'reflects' the public's attitude as well as contributing to it. In short, he argues that attitudes are constructed partly as a reflection of changing social reality and partly in response to media. According to his point of view, the media define what we think about, what we see as a problem and the solutions that we contemplate (Cavender, 2004). As such, Cavender (2004) lets us appreciate a more in-depth analysis of the formation of public attitudes and the importance of media mechanisms with respect to crime and punishment. Although he tries to reformulate Garland's account according to the insights of media studies, he draws the same conclusion, albeit with greater emphasis. His investigation of media coverage and depictions of crime show a stronger influence on public attitudes towards crime and punishment policy than that of both Garland and Reiner.

Pfeiffer's et al. (2005) study on media usage and its impact on punishment and crime attitudes is another example which challenges Garland's view on media impact. They believe that Garland underestimates the importance of the media and that he pays too much attention to the development of 'penal welfarism' and the process of social change through other factors, such as disintegration of the family. Nevertheless, Roberts and Hough (2005) argued that media representations undoubtedly shape public opinion. Through crime

stories selected for the benefit of both journalists, politicians and the audience, unrealistic perceptions are constructed that tend to confuse the public and distort their views blurring the difference between the real problem of crime and the media's portrayal of crime. Jewkes (2011) for example, suggests that certain types of crime are more frequently portrayed than others. That provides the public with greater awareness of particular crimes and leads them to gain knowledge and form attitudes towards the most publicised crimes. Although other factors definitely play a role in the construction of public attitudes towards crime and punishment, media effects appear powerful enough for issues that are outside of a person's personal experience to influence their personal perspective.

#### *3.1.4 Media 'Affects/ Consequences' on Crime: Fear of Crime and Moral Panics*

While fear of crime can be considered as a media constructed factor, some describe it as a representation of media (Signorielli, 1990) and others as a social reality (Chiricos et al., 2000). Initially, fear of crime has an important bearing socially; it supports punitive criminal justice policies and encourages social isolation (Warr, 1987). Fear of crime is attributed to mass media influences and is also relative to personal vulnerability and to the consequences of being victimised (Williams and Dickinson, 1993). Evidence of a connection between fear of crime, confidence in the CJS and punitive attitude levels (e.g.: Dowler, 2003) prompts debate on the role of the media in constructing these attitudes. There is research on media-induced fear of crime with regards to the effect it has on different individuals, in different social situations. Firstly, Garland (2001) bases his argument on increased television popularity seeing this constructing partly subconscious fears that in turn lead to resentments towards crime rates in contemporary society (Garland, 2001). Similarly, Reiner (2007) outlines the impact of media on fear of crime, indicating that fearful people are more easily manipulated and controlled, not only with respect to crime, but also both politically and religiously (Reiner, 2007). He details research that describes fear of crime as serious a phenomenon as crime itself (Chadee, 2001) and other research which found a significant relationship between fear of crime and media, but also includes other control variables like race, class, gender, place of residence and experience of crime (Roberts, 2001). Other studies placing fear of crime within our everyday life propose that fear of crime is not simply fantasy and panic generated by the media or other mediated forms of knowledge, but is

related to everyday life experience (Lupton and Tulloch, 1999). Taking all of this into consideration, fear of crime seems particularly complex, with many different contributing factors. Reiner (2007) suggests that the media is strongly related to fear of crime and when comparing real-world violence to real-world crime, as measured by official statistics, media images exaggerate the severity of danger (Signorielli, 1990).

Early sociological explanations regarding the relationship between crime and the media offered the term moral panic (Cohen, 1972) clarifying it as a media induced consequence which has been widely debated in recent years. Jewkes (2011) considers the processes involved in establishing a moral panic and she argues that Cohen's moral panic model is disposed to over-emphasise the centrality of the media, paying less attention to the analysis of the actual criminal behaviour. Jewkes (2011) in her attempt to expound the issue of moral panic refers to the deviancy amplification process spiral (Wilkins, 1964), which recalls the current study's vicious circle offering more emphasis on media exaggeration that causes moral panic as well as fear of crime. The spiral as described by Jewkes (2011) starts with a criminal act which is picked up on by the media. She explains that in order to produce newsworthiness the media exaggerates the news to attract readers. The public become fearful and ask for protection, politicians take advantage of this to prove they are controlling crime and the police strengthen zero tolerance policies to satisfy the public. Consequently, the media construct attitudes that tend to be risky, based on an exaggerated and distorted framework.

Jewkes (2011) concludes with a more wide-ranging explanation suggesting that the media is not wholly responsible for causing fear of crime. It is essential to look primarily at the frequency with which certain types of crime are represented in the media, and secondly to note that there are additional factors that play a role in influencing fear of crime, such as ethnicity, previous contact with the CJS and victimisation. Additionally, she argues that while fear of crime caused by the media is affected by multiple factors, it possibly also impacts on public confidence since the media underpin people's fears of crime, and 'we are at one and the same time fascinated and alarmed by representations of crime' (Jewkes, 2011: 157). Fear of crime as a mediated phenomenon has also been investigated by Greek scholars (Zarafonitou, 2008), and it is discussed in the next section more fully through an

explanation of how the media is strategically involved in the construction of public attitudes to crime and punishment in Greece.

### *3.1.5 The Impact of the Media in the Greek Context*

Papathanassopoulos (2001) describes the development of contemporary Greek media stating that Greece possesses one of the heaviest broadcasting media environments in the world. In addition, Greece is now experiencing increased commercialisation and therefore the public can gain new information about different issues, such as crime, based on the assumption that for example, eight out of ten Greek people spend at least an hour watching television on a daily basis (Daremas and Terzis, 2000). Such statistics place television at the centre of media influence showing that it has become a significant medium for communication between the public and politicians (Papathanassopoulos, 2000). Greek politicians make great use of the media and mostly television to campaign, appear in shows to enhance personal visibility and to broadcast live debates before each election (Papathanassopoulos 2000). This heavy broadcasting media environment has resulted in socio - cultural changes having an impact on national public culture and the conduct of politics (Daremas and Terzis, 2000).

Considering the issue of crime and its mediated construction, Lambropoulou (1997) argues that the impact of media construction is significant because public experience of crime is generally limited and therefore the public uses the media to form and disseminate views on crime. Greek crime news mostly reports on homicides and drug-related crimes (Lambropoulou and Afranas, 2000) generating misleading and exaggerated criminal stereotypes. Particular attention has been given by Greek academics to the issue of immigration in the media. The role of the media is implicated in producing stereotypical representations of immigrants or groups of immigrants and that is nowadays a major influence in social attitude (Moschopoulou, 2005). Moschopoulou (2005) characterises the phenomenon of crime as newsworthy and she supports the view that news is constructed in a way that encourages public fear. The media is responsible for shaping stereotypes towards immigrants and crime news represents immigrants as criminals (Xloupis, 2006). The media is not a mirror of reality but a form of reality which infiltrates the public consciousness making

the public comprehend the world in a particular way (Panousis, 2006). Evaluations as such would lead to conclusions that the media should not be trusted either by the public or by Greek academics. Papathanassopoulos (2000), in researching communication between the public and politicians, holds that the public now regards the media and politicians equally as dysfunctional and untrustworthy. Daily newspapers lost out to television in terms of prestige and popularity (Zaousis and Stratos, 1993). However, a common situation that arises in Greek literature is that academics make great use of the media, especially newspapers and magazines, despite the constant dislike shown towards the media. While data and research presented within Greek newspapers might be motivating and beneficial to take into consideration, Vrakopoulou and Gkika (2004) suggest the main sources used by journalists come from the internet, other journalists, the public and the politicians. Meanwhile, the media, especially newspapers, are politically prejudiced by the stances of the newspaper's owners (Kalamatianou, 2007). How valid can such sources be, and if valid, how can academics rely on such research that might be lacking either in methodology or accurate findings? These questions can only suggest that using sources from journalists whose aim is newsworthiness or motivated by certain political standpoints is problematic.

Zarafonitou (2008) made an effective attempt to investigate factors that construct punitive attitudes in two studies she undertook in Athens (1998 and 2004) relating to fear of crime and the use of the media, finding that 74% of her sample were informed about crime from television and radio, 11.4% from newspapers and magazines and 13.6% from their social environment. Those people using the media to gain knowledge about crime also believed that the media are untrustworthy and inaccurate. Similarly 61% of those informed by the media, who were also afraid of crime, believed that crime is over-presented and that the media exaggerate in relation to the reality. Zarafonitou (2008) relies on theoretical perceptions and suggests that the media is a key source of information about crime and punishment in Greece and that this relationship (media construction of attitudes) comes about through the interaction of more factors depending on the individual and social characteristics of the source, the audience and the occurrence. Panousis (2011) suggests that the media negatively impact on the public's perceptions in the Greek CJS by offering assumptions about police ineffectiveness in several contexts, like for example corruption

and lack of meritocracy. However, he considers that research on the impact of media on Greek public attitudes in its infancy and still restricted.

This growing gap between what people believe about crime and punishment and the factors that construct these attitudes is a focus for this study. The ways in which people construct attitudes towards crime and punishment by collecting information and gaining knowledge through all types of media are investigated as well as the impact of other affecting factors that have a close association and reflect the traditional ethos of Greek people, as with the next factor of 'race'. In the case of Greece, a person who comes from a country other than Greece, in a word an immigrant, might become a focus for a new set of attitudes regarding matters of crime and punishment (by Greek people) when the issue of crime and punishment is considered, issues that will be investigated in the following part.

### **3.2 The Issue of 'Race' as a Factor that Influences Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment**

One of the most persistent debates in criminology regarding the construction of public attitudes towards crime and punishment is the relationship between crime and 'race'. In Britain, several research studies, such as Holdaway (1996), look at the racial contexts of policing, and suggest that black youths became closely associated or identified with mugging. In the United States African-American people are overrepresented in the prison system in the sense that while they only constitute 12% of the general population of the US (Hurwitz and Peffley, 1997). In Greece, non-Greek citizens constitute 8% of the total country's population, but roughly half of the prison population (Karydis, 2011). However, in Britain, Graham and Bowling (1995) suggest via self-report studies that white and black youths admit to the same amount of offending, yet it is black youths that are over-presented in police contact. Additionally, the public perceives issues as such i.e.: high imprisonment rates amongst ethnic minority groups, and correlate 'race' with criminal activity. It is therefore necessary to consider how the public associates and stereotypes crime with 'race', and specific types of crime with specific communities.

This section initially examines the dimensions of the debate between crime and 'race' as well as defining and clarifying the issue of racism in relation to crime. It explores the disproportion of minority groups as offenders and victims in the CJS and examines theoretical perspectives, like stereotyping, the role of the scapegoat and institutional racism to trace the dynamic of racial prejudice in relation to the public construction of attitudes towards crime and punishment. Frequently, minority groups are over-represented in offending and victimisation and under-represented as practitioners in the CJS. The role of the media is identified in the way the media over-exaggerate and over-portray minority groups. Finally, issues surrounding 'race' are introduced in the Greek context, finding that in Greece the issue of 'race' is associated with the issue of immigration. It is suggested that immigrants, in particular those coming from the neighbouring country of Albania, are over-represented within the CJS and the role in crime exaggerated by the Greek media.

### *3.2.1 'Race' as a Social Construct, its Relation to Crime and the Issue of Racism*

An overwhelming majority of criminological and sociological work (Rowe, 2012; Webster, 2007; Bowling and Phillips, 2002) repeatedly questions the relationship between crime and 'race', commenting that it is problematic in its construction. Murji and Solomos (2005) demonstrate that racialisation is fundamentally challenging while Webster (2007) suggests that since all humans are biologically-like, it is possible to classify 'race' as culture (Webster, 2007; Solomos and Back, 1996). Webster (2007) crucially identifies that no matter the name given, the issue of racism has become a problem, which excludes individuals from being equal members of a society, and when it comes to the discussion of crime racism refers to the different discriminatory treatment of individuals as regards their racial background. This study acknowledges that 'race' is a sensitive issue and many ethical dilemmas are faced when scholars investigate minority ethnic groups as well as when the public involves 'race' when constructing their attitudes towards crime and punishment. A vast body of knowledge has been developed around the issue of 'race' in relation to crime with a focus on categorising individuals, focusing on the way a person can be discriminated against and excluded as belonging to a particular racial or ethnic category, but this relationship is still considered inconsistent. Rowe (2012) suggests that criminologists should solve the challenging nature of 'race', but also that the interpretation of official statistical evidence in

Britain and elsewhere is problematic and has been disputed. Nevertheless, alongside the problematic nature of the concept of 'race', it is apparent that minority groups face disproportionately negative treatment within the CJS, entailing greater critical engagement in terms of the construction of public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### *3.2.2 The Disproportionate Number of Ethnic Minorities in the CJS and the Consequences*

This section examines three areas recognising that minority groups receive a poorer quality of treatment a) as offenders, b) as victims and c) as practitioners in the CJS. The space here does not allow for a detailed presentation or analysis of the official statistics or for assessing the reasons and complications of the statistical methodologies, but explores evidence which shows that the public is given the impression that minority groups are disproportionately involved in crime and punishment. Bowling and Phillips (2002) found that black people have been disproportionately victims of physical force perpetrated by the police and prison, that ethnic minority communities are a major target group of stop and search by the police, that most of the time judges in courts are white, that white people are less imprisoned than black people and finally that ethnic minority practitioners in the CJS experience the same discrimination as suspects and prisoners. In a similar vein, FitzGerald et al. (2002) in their empirical research on policing in London found that Londoner's sense of threat is linked with people recognised as 'other' and belonging to a different ethnicity and requests for more intrusive policing strategies, such as stopping and searching young people and ethnic minorities. Additionally, ethnic minority respondents appeared more annoyed by the police and showed less motivation to join the force (FitzGerald et al., 2002). Webster (2007) argues that there is a disproportion in offending and victimisation between minority groups since they live in poorer areas, they are younger and they receive more attention from the police in the context of stop and search and harassment. He concluded that minority groups are more likely to offend for the same reasons they are victimised. There is evidence that the situation persists in the current context with Rowe (2012) explicitly suggesting that minority groups are over-represented and disproportionately experience worse treatment, whereas minorities among the staff of the CJS are under-represented.

Issues such as the above have negative consequences as they reinforce the tendency for some sections of the public to lose confidence and perceive the CJS as discriminatory and ineffective. In Britain, for example, young black people are less likely than young white people to provide evidence and have voluntary contact with the police (Clancy et al, 2001). They are also less likely to give evidence in court and more likely to have hostile attitudes towards crime institutions (Jefferson and Walker, 1993). Finally, Johnson (2006) draws attention to a link between perceived injustice and black people's punitive attitudes which concurs with Young's (1991) suggestion that there is a relationship between black people's punitive attitudes and lack of trust in the CJS. Moreover, in the United States, the consequences are mostly related to the level of punitive measures against minority groups. Reviews of empirical investigations have shown a large number of studies reporting significant results placing white people first on the scale of punitive attitudes towards all crime. This was shown in Rossi and Berk's (1997) research on drug trafficking and street crime, Unever and Cullen's (2007) findings surrounding the death penalty (Jones, 2003) and Cohn et al.'s (1991) reflection on court severity (Secret and Johnson, 1989). Therefore the minority disproportion and the prejudice against minority groups within the CJS encourages the public to construct attitudes that link 'race' and crime, believing that certain racial groups are more engaged in crime and punishment than others. The result is a prevalence of attitudes characterised by prejudice and racial discrimination leading to stereotyping and a scapegoat designation for problems. In addition institutional racism positions minorities at a disadvantage and thus the influence on public opinion continues.

### *3.2.3 Conceptualising Racial Discrimination*

This section describes the perspectives of 'institutional racism', 'stereotyping' and 'scapegoating', and their impact on ethnic minority groups, since are considered explanatory and to strongly affect the way people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment. Stereotypes are social constructions which people rely on and research has often used the term to appraise a connection between criminality and 'race'. Specifically stereotyping is the process that people use to categorise and classify other people's behaviours, values and lifestyles and influences the way they act towards them (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2003). In this case, stereotyping is commonly used when images are applied to

define some people as deviant and some as normal, therefore a construction of attitude. A quote that perfectly sums up stereotypes is provided by Lippmann (1922) who describes them as 'pictures in the head'. Stereotyping often results from, and leads to prejudice, which in turn lead to discrimination.

Stereotyping is a direct form of the scapegoat mentality that occurs when a person blames someone or a condition in order to avoid the accountability for their actions or beliefs (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2003). For example, minority groups are accused of crime and are over-represented within the CJS, and this is problematic because it can lead to stereotyping and cause biased and unfair treatment to individuals without just cause. A scapegoat is designated and socially constructed, considering that the decisions people make are based on the feedback they receive from culture and society, and these have effects. Whenever any individual blames someone else for something the effects of the scapegoat designation are introduced into society. For example, when a person blames specific ethnicities of committing particular types of crime this introduces a cycle of people who will learn to believe in that perception. Scapegoats can be targeted because of certain characteristics they possess or simply by qualities that they can't control such as their 'race' or ethnicity. Hence, these are constructed attitudes targeting specific groups for the wider responsibilities of events, in this case for crime and punishment.

The pattern of racial discrimination is highlighted by the issue of institutional racism, which refers to the process whereby the CJS discriminates against groups according to their ethnicity (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2003). Emphasis is given to the actions and the effects of an organisation which discriminates against minority ethnic groups and treats them with prejudice. No other example than that of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (1993) could better define the term institutional racism. A young black man was murdered by white men in a racially motivated, unprovoked attack and treated by the police with racist stereotyping and the offender evaded capture and punishment until a long and determined campaign by Stephen Lawrence's parents brought partial justice. It can be seen that racial injustice is perpetrated by both the public and institutions with mutual influence. All three perspectives are central to the notion that they support that racial injustice by the public as well as the CJS helps construct public attitudes towards crime, punishment and the CJS. If

public attitudes are stereotyped and in particular with subtle forms of contemporary racism, it is possible to also increase punitive measures and consequently influence the political arena in which politicians and the political system may take advantage to provide defective changes. As mentioned in the previous section, the public construct their attitudes utilising images and stories produced and disseminated by the media. In short, the media are central to understanding how social reality is presented and so how they construct 'race'.

#### *3.2.4 Media as a 'Race' Contributor*

It is commonly asserted that the media have a strong influence establishing and controlling the association between 'race' and criminality. Much of what the public know about minority groups and their involvement in crime is often based on the representations produced by television, newspapers and other media, considering that the public has little direct experience with crime, particularly serious crime. Much research is focused on this relationship, finding significant connections confirming that the media produce social constructions of 'race', leading individuals to associate their attitudes toward crime and punishment with people from different minority groups other than theirs.

This section identifies this research and explores how media consumption affects attitudes to crime and punishment, and looks at how media produce untrustworthy public perceptions that relate minority groups with criminal activity. In the USA for example, images of black criminals being led in handcuffs by white policemen (Entman, 1990) are repeatedly viewed on television. The media display a disproportionate amount of such stories of African-American people committing crimes (Jamieson, 1992). Chiricos and Eschholz (2002), while investigating the criminal classification of 'race', found that black people appear in television news 2.4 times more than white people do. As such, Hurwitz and Peffley (1997) note that black people are mostly demonised rather than humanised by the media. Furthermore, Gilliam and Iyaengar (2000) observed that crime stories in local news broadcasts over-exaggerated violent crimes when the offender was a black person. A view of media stereotyping of minorities was also supported by Entman (1992) who reported that black people are portrayed as threatening, frequently represented without using a name and facing what he calls 'modern racism'. Hurwitz and Peffley (1997) in due course

concluded that since the media reinforces the idea of black people being criminals rather than rejecting racial stereotypes, it is not unexpected that white people will attach their views of crime to black people. Evidence suggests that even a brief visual image of a black person appearing on the crime news is influential enough to activate viewers' negative stereotypes (Peffley et al., 1994).

Similar findings are found in Britain, where much academic writing on this relationship is focused on the black and minority ethnic groups which are disproportionately represented in the media. A prominent example is the crime of 'mugging' in London, which has long been portrayed as a crime committed by people from minority groups, since a Metropolitan Police Deputy Commissioner suggested that 80% of mugging was committed by black people (Fitzgerand, et al., 2002) . At the time of this pronouncement the media reproduced disproportionate coverage associating 'race' with street crime (Gordon and Rosengberg, 1987). Contemporary scholars strained to throw light on the misrepresentation of 'mugging' by suggesting that the features which were utilised for such statements were inaccurate and provided interpretations to counter such moral panics (Lea and Young, 2008). Crime, race riots, policing, and violence have always been some of the most-covered subjects, while other subjects have been ignored (Van Dijk, 1991; Malik, 2002). Jewkes (2011) analysed *Crimewatch* and concluded that the series over-represented those crimes committed by black people and under-represented the crimes where the victim is a black person. An overwhelming amount of studies, research and theories expose the various ways that the media construct perceptions and notions of 'race' and demonstrate that this relationship is durable in time no matter which culture or country scholars investigate its significance. Media and 'race', as independent as well as composed elements provide a context to the public to construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment. Their significant occurrence allows this study to integrate the two issues not only in relation to each other but also to implicate them within other factors that play a role in the shaping of public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Media constructed crime is further explored within this study as well as patterns of behaviour which shape attitudes towards immigrants in relation to crime and punishment in Greece.

### *3.2.5 Putting 'Race' into a Greek Context: 'Immigration'*

In Greece a body of literature on 'race' focuses on immigration and research is mostly based on the impact of immigration on Greek politics and the economy. References to international literature on racism as outlined above are used and explained by Greek academics as well as within this study in terms of (il) legal immigration. Only recently have Greek academics referred to the issue of racism (Xloupis, 2006; Patsiaouras, 2008), and research in response to how people use racist discernments to construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment is limited. Immigrants in Greece are often socially constructed as criminals and negative stereotypes are attached to the attitudes that the Greek public holds in relation to immigrants' involvement in crime and punishment and to their behaviour towards them. Therefore, the issue of immigration based on the assumption that immigration and immigrants are responsible for crime and punishment could be seen from a Western perspective as synonymous with the concept of racism against minority groups.

The aim of this section is to provide a broad introduction to the issue of immigration and racism in Greece and how this particular area reflects the extent to which immigration shapes public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Initially, it identifies the lack of research and literature on the issue of immigration in Greece, and then provides useful material as evidence on immigration issues, for example, the reasons people migrate to Greece confirming that they are looking for a better future and not a criminal life. Furthermore this study synthesises empirical research on imprisonment of immigrants and policing to draw conclusions on how they are treated disproportionately and harshly by the Greek CJS. This material demonstrates the cause of Greek public xenophobia (being afraid of foreigners) leading to attitudes associating immigrants with criminal activity and in turn to punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment. Finally, it is construed that these 'racist' attitudes explain the public's demands for harsher policies and influence policy and practice towards minority groups in Greece.

The official statistics on immigration and crime in Greece are limited, and many Greek academics reported that this lack of information produced an undeveloped literature. The

efforts made by researchers and official statistics in understanding the dynamics of immigration are considerable, especially in the arena of crime and punishment, since official data on immigration was deficient until recently. Research on immigrants has grown steadily since 2000 as the earlier lack of data and early publications tended to portray predominantly demographic and economic characteristics of immigrants (Petrinioti, 1993). Research is lacking in relation to the interaction between locals and immigrants, while at the same time, links between empirical research and theoretical debates on subjects such as immigration to Greece and globalisation are absent in Greek literature (Petrinioti and Triandafyllidou, 2003). That happens because the existing literature approaches immigration either from an economic slant or focuses on the living conditions of immigrants (Hatziprokopiou, 2005). Antonopoulos (2005) links crime and immigration with factors that explain the limitations of official statistics regarding criminality which might close this gap. For example, Greek statistics ignore the number of those undocumented immigrants who entered the country illegally and therefore are reluctant to report crimes because of their fear of deportation, which in turn results in hidden crime. Antonopoulos (2005) suggests that the standard of collection and the presentation of official statistics in Greece both need improvement. However, both he and Hatziprokopiou (2005) note that nevertheless there is still some good research as this section of the chapter will reveal.

Greece became a receiver country for large numbers of immigrants in the mid 1980's. Over a million immigrants from Balkan countries have moved to Greece and resided illegally compared to approximately 200,000 of Greek origin who have settled legally (Kiprianos et al., 2003). Neither the exact number of immigrants, nor the number of each separate immigrant group can be calculated due to the extent of illegal entry into the country. However, Greek scholars researching the limitations of official statistics for immigrants in Greece, estimate that immigrants number between 600,000 and 1,000,000 (Antonopoulos, 2005), with the vast majority coming from Albania (Petrinioti, 1993) and other countries such as Bulgaria, Georgia and Romania. Taking into account the significant numbers of immigrants, both documented and undocumented, plus the refugees, asylum seekers and ethnic Greeks migrants, it is estimated that immigrants make up 10% of the country's population. People of other ethnicities have become noticeable as well and the country has become multi-ethnic, with immigrants working and interacting with the local population,

building social relationships but also developing new social tensions that will be discussed in later chapters.

### *3.2.6 Reasons for Immigrating to Greece*

It is essential to provide the reasons immigrant people move to Greece in order to eliminate the perception, which as shortly to be discussed is mostly shaped by the Greek media, that immigrants settle in Greece to have opportunities for criminal activity. King and Black (1997) believe that reasons for immigration can be explained through numerous factors, like for example, geographical location or social and economic development. However, most immigrants move to Greece to simply search for a job and a better life. Taking Albanian people as an example, the collapse of communism left hundreds of people unemployed, as 90% of factories closed (Vidali, 1999). This induced people to look for a better way of life by crossing the border to countries such as Greece and Italy. It is common practice for people to swim over to Corfu and walk for days through the mountains (Lazaridis, 1996). Albanian people face conditions of poverty and social exclusion (Lazaridis and Psimmenos, 2000) due to low-paid, low-prestige and unstable jobs (Iosifides and King, 1998). However they do manage to send foreign exchange, estimated to be around \$400 million, home to relatives (Fakiolas, 1997). In addition to monetary factors, Hyfantis (1993) suggests that Albanian people also move to Greece for political reasons usually associated with repression of those of Greek origin, coming from 'Northern Epirus'. However, evidence shows that these people are few in number and that the literature to support this opinion, as well as that indicating family reunions, is scant.

### *3.2.7 Features of Immigrants*

Alipranti-Maratou (2007) presents a picture of the main demographic characteristics of immigrants living in Greece. Using previous data, she suggests that 80% are under the age of 45 years and 67% are married (although women are more likely to be married than men). Focusing on education, it appears that many immigrants settling in Greece are educated, with 87% holding a secondary level certificate. The main employment of male immigrants is in construction (42%) followed by agriculture (23%), while most women are occupied with

housekeeping (52%) or involved in the tourist industry (19%). Space here does not allow for a detailed presentation or analysis of results. However, it should be noted that Greece was not ready for receiving the economic demands placed on it by immigrants resulting in further negative effects, like increased unemployment. At the time of major migration, Greece's unemployment rate was already considerably high for both immigrants and locals (Lianos, 2003). Immigrants received lower wages than Greek people and tend to have more unskilled jobs (Lianos et al., 1996).

### *3.2.8 Attitudes towards Immigrants and (Mis) Representations in the Greek Media*

Factors like those discussed so far lead Greek people towards a negative perception of immigrants and immigration in general. In a survey constructed by the National Centre for Social Research, Greek people were found to hold 'Others' or 'Aliens' responsible for unemployment (EKKE, 2003). Alipranti - Maratou (2007) describes a newspaper report written by Delithanassi (2005) for the Greek police stating that immigration has an impact on increasing unemployment, criminality, xenophobia, and racism in turn producing insecurity in the border areas and high costs to police safety. However, since this report (Delithanassi, 2005) was published in a newspaper its validity is questionable as no other academic publication of this kind can be found with her name or with the same title. In addition, Voulgaris et al. (1995) suggest that the number of people believing there are too many immigrants in Greece increased from 45% in 1992 to 69.2% in 1994. Karydis (1996) supported the above with 97% of his undergraduate participants considering that criminality is caused by foreigners, placing Albanian people first followed by Romanian people. In a Eurobarometer survey (Coenders et al., 1997) Greek people agreed more than any other European country that, regarding immigration, their country had reached its limits. The same survey conducted some years later in 2000 found that Greek people blamed minority groups for insecurity therefore suggesting that it is not appropriate to mix people from different races, religions or cultures (SORA, 2001). Alipranti-Maratou (2007) briefly references the European Observatory on Racism and Xenophobia report to point out that 54% of Greek people are not in favour of multiculturalism and 87% hold negative opinions about immigration. Last but not least, similar perceptions were found to be held by the

Greek Police, who appeared to blame immigration for criminality, insecurity, unemployment, and a wider imbalance in the economy (Antonopoulos, 2006b; 2008).

A common observation in Greek literature regarding immigration and its relation to crime and punishment is that immigrants are more likely to be involved in crime, being more often arrested by the police and imprisoned by the courts. Currently in 2012, 63% of the prison population in Greece consists of immigrants (7887 out of 12479 prisoners) (Hellenic Republic: Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights website (last accessed 2012). However, this disproportionate rate in imprisonment is based on the violations of the Law on Aliens, which imprisons immigrants for entering the country illegally or for lack of knowledge on permit documentations (Karydis, 2011).) Immigrants are fifteen times more likely to be arrested than Greek people (Papantoniou et al., 1998), suggesting heavy policing against non- Greek people. The Greek public reports crimes to the police more often when an offender is an immigrant (Antonopoulos, 2006a). Police officers link criminality with immigration (Alexias, 2001) and judges perceive that immigrants are accountable for high crime rates in Greece (Karydis, 2011). Finally, non-Greek offenders are disproportionately treated by the Greek CJS, receiving harsher punishment and longer sentences (Karydis, 2010).

Skimming through the available research on immigration in relation to crime and punishment in Greece, it seems that there is a possibility that racism in policing and criminal justice practices impact on the Greek public's attitudes towards crime and punishment. For example, Cheliotis and Xenakis (2011) suggest that people perceive immigration as a cause of crime and Van Kesteren et al. (2000) while conducting the International Crime Victims Survey found Greek citizens want firmer policing towards immigrants. Figgou et al. (2011) found that Greek people associate their fear and insecurity with immigration. Pulling together these findings, there is an overwhelming reaction of the Greek public towards immigration and criminal behaviour. Ethnic minority groups in Greece experience a disproportionate stereotyping and prejudice that lead to unfavourable attitudes of Greek people towards them and their relation to crime and punishment.

People misrepresent minority groups and associate immigrants with criminal activity and punishment. At a conference organised by the International Police Association, Baldwin-Edwards (2001) presented four myths about immigrants in Greece in order to challenge the negative perceptions that Greek people hold towards immigration. They argued that immigration is not responsible for causing crime and that immigrants should not be perceived as criminals, because the reason they are imprisoned is mainly for illegally entering the country. The first myth is that immigrants caused criminality and increased crime rates in Greece during the 1990s, which is questionable as crime in Greece, during that period, was already increasing. The second myth stated that high levels of immigrant imprisonment was solely due to their criminal activities, which on the surface would appear to be supported by the Hellenic Republic: Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights website (last accessed 2012) statistics for the period 1997-2003, whereby 46% of the total prison population consisted of non- Greek people, 40-45% of these were on remand, and 42% were of Albanian origin. However, Baldwin-Edwards (2001) concluded that reasons of deportation and the breaking of the Aliens Laws (illegal entry in the country) were the most common reasons for their high percentage in prisons. The third myth is that immigrants are treated in the same way as Greek people, an idea that seems fictional, as immigrants are arrested more often than Greek people (Papantoniou et al., 1998). The final myth describes the inability of Greece to solve the problem of crime and immigration assuming that the only feasible approach is that of keeping migrants out. However, Baldwin-Edwards (2001) points out that Greece should pay attention to future policies and reduce pressure on the CJS agencies, since the problems related to criminality and immigration are mostly focused on illegal status and poverty.

These four myths lead to the conclusion that there are influences in the construction of negative perceptions that Greek people holds towards 'Others' and taking Greek research into account, that reason is the media. Literature suggests that Greek people believe that the major issues related to immigration were unemployment and criminality, and that the media have contributed to the formation of these attitudes (Spinellis et al., 1993). Media and education can influence public opinion (Aipranti-Maratou, 2007), as 49% of Greek people find the media responsible for racism, providing a prejudiced representation of immigrants (Galanis, 2003; Figgou et al., 2011). Immigration in itself is a complex issue and

needs appropriate attention paid to its representation and coverage. The Greek media construct an image of reality and a bias that serves to negate the role they could play in educating the public on equality and helping to forge a positive portrayal, rather than a solely discriminatory one.

However, more recent and accurate findings are needed when exploring such a complex issue as public attitude. This study explores the issue of immigration and how it impacts on Greek people's perceptions towards the causes of crime and punishment and the processes involved in shaping these attitudes. The factors of politics and religion bring immigration issues sharply into focus as illustrated by the tendency for politicians to refer to matters of immigration in order to win favour with the public, making the two factors interrelated. Last but not least, the religion of immigrants might be considered important in Greek perceptions of immigrants and issues of stereotyping and discrimination. The next section looks in more detail at the factor of religion and how religious issues impact on people's attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### **3.3 The Issue of 'Religion' as a Factor that Influences Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment**

The emergent effect of religion as a sociological dynamic has critically become fundamental to the interests of social scientists, politicians and the media (Heynes, 1998). A growing interest in the social effects of religion has increasingly incorporated issues of crime and punishment. Several recent studies have examined religion as a factor in understanding punitive attitudes and their important positions have been both a foundation but also a challenge when examining how attitudes towards crime and punishment are influenced by religion (see Unever and Cullen, 2010). For example, Unever et al. (2006) investigated how individuals construct their preferences on social issues and found that religion directly influences beliefs on many types of social and policy issues. Before identifying connections between religion and criminality it is important to investigate the meaning and context of religion; a meaning that according to Voas (2007) does not really exist.

Sociologists attempts to describe religion suggest that it consists of beliefs, practices and institutions that assert the existence of God(s) or additional forces that may have moral purposes (Bruce, 2002). Voas (2007) makes a distinction between religiosity and religion by arguing that the former relates to attitudes, behaviours and values, whereas the latter is better described as ethnicity, a feature that is transmitted rather than chosen. Nevertheless, this estimation is not consistent with the Greek reality, given that Greek people are baptised before they reach their first birthday, and Greek parents are those transmitting the religion to their children. Thus, Voas (2007) would suggest that this is ethnicity, while for Greece it would be regarded as religion. However, as far as this distinction is concerned, researchers fail to clarify such a clear peculiarity, while claiming that religion is the 'forgotten variable' (Brainbridge, 1989). This needs exploring further as there are some strong cases supporting the relationships between religion and criminality. For that reason, in this study the distinction between religiosity and religion cannot be taken into great account, following those researchers who sometimes reveal the concept of religion and others the concept of religiosity to state the same meaning which is related to attitudes that have been chosen by individuals.

Modern social scientists have been increasingly concerned with exploring the relationship between religion and various attitudes, suggesting that religiosity and religious involvement is associated with decreases in criminal activity and drug use (Johnson et al., 2001), being nice to others (Brennan and London, 2001), and the enhancement of physical and psychological well-being, for instance facing situations such as family problems, divorce or unemployment (Ellison et al., 2001). Decades of research have demonstrated an empirical relationship between religion and criminality. It is essential to acknowledge that religion appears an important aspect of many people's lives, by initially taking into consideration the 2001 Census of Population, which shows 72% of people in England and Wales are categorized as Christians. Similarly Unever et al. (2005) argue that 96% of Americans believe in God, with half attending services once a month and two thirds stating they are members of a church. This positive response towards religion raises a concern as to whether this social but well-hidden variable can promote basic influences on attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### *3.3.1 The Importance of Studying Religion*

Religion appears to be of potential significance to social scientists and policy makers. Obtaining satisfactory data on religion might have the potential to better comprehend the influence religion may have on attitudes towards crime and punishment. Regnerus and Smith (2005) suggest four possible explanations for why researchers find religious influences significant. They initially state that religion improves people's well-being; secondly, the selection process of individuals makes religion influence outcomes; third, religious practices can have an effect on people's goals and keep them away from undesirable situations; and finally the link between religion and well-being seems to be an invention of reverse causation. Showing the importance of including religion in any attempt to explain public views is also supported by Voas (2007), who believes that it is neither easy to collect data on religion nor is it easy for a neutral observer to decide whether this data is required in exploring attitudes. This particular factor has been selected for this study since religion in Greece is a major part of people's lifestyle and culture, considering the fact that almost every Greek person is baptised in the Christian Orthodox faith and is raised with Christian Orthodox morals.

### *3.3.2 Religious Influence Corresponding to the Study of Crime and Punishment: the View that Religion Inhibits Deviance*

Before touching on the issue of how religion influences people's attitudes towards crime and punishment, this section introduces and examines the notion that religion inhibits deviance. This relationship establishes a foundation contributing to the investigation of religion and its impact on people's lives, particularly with regards to crime and punishment. A long debate in the literature of religion started when sociological writers viewed religion as a key issue, like for example Durkheim (1897) in social control theory, claiming that religiosity encouraged conventionality and decreased delinquency based on individual acceptance of moral values and social norms. Despite these strong claims, later theorists were doubtful about the relationship between religion and deviance, suggesting that church attendance and strong beliefs in the existence of a supernatural world are not related to

delinquency (Hirschi and Stark, 1969). Some studies, which actually investigated the influence of religion on adolescents, came to similar conclusions (Cochran and Akers, 1989).

The effect of religion on crime is still very much a debatable issue with some researchers suggesting high significance (Grasmick et al., 1991) and some reporting no association, particularly when looking at the religion and delinquency relationship in relation to family and peer influences (Benda and Corwyn, 1997). Besides this controversy, Regnerus and Smith (2005) identify two types of religious influences. First is the direct influence, which guides individuals on the way they should live and provides them with rational resources, whereas second is the indirect influence of actions performed by religious individuals, unintentionally, due to religious purposes coming from religious education and interacting with other members of the faith or family (Regnerus and Smith, 2005). According to Regnerus and Smith (2005) individual religiosity is generally a choice and people choose their religion depending on other factors, like 'race', ethnicity or age. Eventually, they argue that religious individuals boost their religiousness if they consider that this will help them in achieving goals, including following the law. In short, religious participation strengthens the relationship between religiosity and staying a law abiding citizen.

Previous to this there had been research placing importance on the relationship between religion and rates of delinquency. Most studies concluded that religiosity contributes to deterring criminality and were carried out mainly on juveniles. For example, Rhodes and Reiss (1970) found a link between religiosity and non-participation in criminal activities as well as Albrecht et al. (1977), who suggested a religious impact on various forms of deviance. More recently, Ellis and Peterson (1995) publicised research suggesting that religious countries have a reduced amount of crime than less religious countries, particularly in the case of property crime. In addition, Brenda and Corwyn (1997) conducted a study on young people and found that religion predicted less criminal behaviour, while delinquent behaviours predicted a reduction in religiosity. Furthermore, Evans et al. (1995) found that religious activities influence reductions in adult criminality, depending on various types of offences. Again, Johnson et al. (2000) recommend that church attendance is responsible for lesser drug activities and drug selling among juveniles, but religious salience, which actually means how important religion might be for somebody, is not significantly associated with

reductions in delinquency. While this relationship seems to matter, it needs further exploration to instil confidence that religiosity has an impact on criminality.

Conversely researchers who are sceptical about the link between religion and delinquency, such as very early sociologists like Lombroso (1911), claimed that atheists are less criminal. Similarly Shur (1969) blamed organised religion for the crime problem in the USA in the same year that Hirsch and Stark's (1969) work encouraged the view that religion does not inhibit deviance. Since those findings, additional studies have reported no significant effects for religion on crime and deviance when looking at adolescents drug use in rural areas (McIntosh et al., 1981), or at the religion and delinquency connection regarding family and peer influences (Benda and Corwyn, 1997). Furthermore, although some found an association, the strength of this association seems moderate (Peek et al., 1985) and highly dependent on factors (Grasmick et al., 1991), like for example on type of offence, such as marihuana or alcohol use (Cochran and Akers, 1989). These social conditions that affect the connection between religion and deviance led Heaton (2006) to reduce the significance of the effect not only of religion on crime but also crime on religion by suggesting that the mechanisms of accounting religion effects are not well understood.

Despite the wide diversity of research in this area, the effect of religion on crime has been proven stronger and more significant. Baier and Wright (2001) consider this debate as a puzzling issue that remains vague, because of previous researchers' lack of conceptual and methodological approaches. Evans et al. (1995) believe that although researchers made a step forward, more work is needed, especially focusing on additional issues like ethnic and religious homogeneity (Trawick and Howsen, 2006). Researchers should provide grounds for considering the possibility of investigating patterns to determine and evaluate the significance of the effect of religion on delinquency, and support those effects with more reliable and comprehensive evidence that adds to an individual's understanding of how they might, or might not, be influenced. On the basis of this, studies have been conducted looking at the influence that people's religious beliefs may have on their support of government and justice institutions, as well as their ideological attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### *3.3.3 The Attitudes of Religious People towards Crime and Punishment*

There appears to be a degree of contradiction between individuals who perceive religion as harsh and are in turn more punitive, and individuals who view religion as forgiving and therefore in support of rehabilitation rather than retribution. Applegate et al. (2000) assert that more fundamentalist religious beliefs may influence people's correctional attitudes, based on the way they view their religion, either as punitive or forgiving. Individuals may embrace one attitude or the other (harshness or forgiveness) and this choice affects their perception of crime and punishment differently (Unnever et al. 2005). Taking forgiveness as an example, research suggests that those who consider the Image of God as gracious (Unnever et al, 2006) and believe in forgiveness, are less punitive, support less harsh courts and are less in favour of capital punishment (Applegate et al, 2000). Examples like these led researchers to conclude that an individuals' focus on religion can be a predictor of their punitive attitudes towards crime related issues.

Most research investigating whether religious affiliation is related to correctional preferences has integrated the concept of fundamentalist denomination and support for capital punishment. Gay et al. (1996) found that fundamentalists are less progressive in pro-family issues like gender roles, abortion or premarital sex. In addition, Grasmick et al. (1993) conclude that most fundamentalists are Protestants who give emphasis to personal salvation and Young (1992) claims that fundamentalists are those who interpret the Bible literally. However, many writers trying to give a single explanation of fundamentalism concur with the common belief that fundamentalism is a complex concept that should be considered in more detail (Applegate et al, 2000; Unnever et al, 2005). Nevertheless, it is not the purpose of this study to try to solve that debate, but to explore if individuals' attitudes towards crime and punishment are affected by their religious orientation.

Grasmick (1992; 1993) demonstrates a significant association between fundamentalist Protestants and support for retribution as a philosophy of punishment with the use of harsher imprisonment and punitive legislation. Young (1992) claims a comprehensive reflection of religious orientation on philosophy of punishment arguing that white fundamentalists are more likely to support the death penalty than African American

fundamentalists. Furthermore, Curry's (1996) inference that Protestants consider criminal behaviour as morally wrong and therefore deserve to be punished, as well as his proposition that Protestants play a vital role in criminal justice policy, underpins Young's perception that fundamentalists are more punitive than non-fundamentalists.

Conversely, Young and Thompson (1995) have contributed to an alternative perspective that suggests whites were not more in favour of capital punishment than African Americans, if they belonged to a fundamentalist denomination. Finally, Sandy and McGarrell (1997) found no relationship between capital punishment and fundamentalism, while they investigated additional factors, such as religious salience and biblical literalness. This debate points towards the assumption that although fundamentalism, as a religion orientation, has an impact on crime related issues, such as support for capital punishment, evidence is still vague and may need the clarification of several considerations. One potential answer comes from Unever and Cullen (2006), who looked at the concept of the death penalty and people's harshness in matters of crime and punishment, finding that fundamentalism both increases and decreases demand for punitive measures ultimately suggesting that researchers also focus on different features of religiosity. Perhaps researchers should give weight to their views and evidence and fully investigate the significance of religion by being more specific and investigating types of individual religion. This would help to show the importance of including religion in an attempt to explain views towards crime and punishment as religion continues to be a fundamental element that is likely to shape how people appreciate the world around them especially in the case of the world of crime and deviance.

#### *3.3.4 Situating Greece and the Greek Orthodox Faith*

The majority of Greek people are Christian Orthodox. Approximately 97% of citizens identify themselves with the Greek Orthodox faith (International Religious Freedom Report, 2010). The remaining 3% consist of Muslims, Jehovah's Witness, Protestants and others. The majority of immigrants are Muslims and Roman Catholics and not Greek Orthodox (International Religious Freedom Report, 2010). Christian Orthodox religion or Orthodoxy is mandatory in schools and most children are baptised under the name of the Christian Trinity

(God, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit) before they reach their first birthday. Several areas involve the Christian Orthodox religion including military services, schools and universities, and law organisations such as the courts and police. When people attend the court as jurors, witnesses or criminals, they swear under their Orthodox religion.

However there is a lack of research literature that identifies a connection between Christian Orthodox religion and concepts of crime and punishment in Greece. Trianou's (1985) book 'Religion and Criminality' is the one and only reference on this subject. The literature reviewed so far shows that a reasonable and positive religion-crime relationship can be produced, but there are some implications that have to be considered. Trianou (1985) suggests that crime can be viewed as a sociological concept, but seeing it from its Orthodox position, crime is a sin and is an act that needs forgiving. Trianou (1985) raises questions such as whether criminality can be dealt with merely through legislative or political measures, concluding that individuals must return to an exploration of their innermost spirituality. A supernatural belief, here as Christian Orthodoxy, is useful in preparing people to choose between good and evil and ultimately to decide on a non-criminal life. Trianou (1985) confirms that Christian Orthodox religion eliminates the wrong desires through repentance and leads to renovation, by enhancing the human belief towards Jesus Christ. Christian Orthodox religion leads oneself to a true hierarchy of values and helps in freeing spiritual freedom, which successively deters people from delinquent behaviour. In short, Orthodoxy, through its spirituality, norms and morals, helps human behaviour and in particular non-criminal behaviour. Orthodox faith assists in reducing criminality with those who believe in God and show contrition being considered non-criminals, according to the Christian Orthodox religion.

A more recent position regarding the causes and prevention of delinquency, the role of priests in crime prevention and the reflections of the church on crime prevention and punishment comes from Patriarch Kirill of Moscow and all Russia. Russian citizens identify themselves with the Greek Orthodox faith. Patriarch Kirill (2011) wrote the single article that can be found within Christian Orthodox libraries relating to crime, punishment and reformation of prisoners. This article is uploaded on his official website and what follows

describes some major issues that are helpful in unpicking the relationship between crime, punishment and the Christian Orthodox religion, according to the Orthodox Church.

Initially, the Orthodox Church in co-operation with schools and criminal justice agencies enables people, through education and enlightenment, to put a stop to their criminal behaviour. When a criminal act is revealed to a priest the member of the clergy should keep that secret since it is a confession, but at the same time they should make all potential efforts to dissuade people from further criminal acts. Meanwhile, without judgement, the priest should cure the criminal's soul and persuade him or her to repent for their evil thoughts and actions, letting the sinner consider that their punishment is not for revenge but for reformation. Finally, concerning the death penalty, the New Testament of the Orthodox Church ordered its abolition for reformatory reasons and for the protection of human life. In brief, the Christian Orthodox faith and in turn the Church will primarily attempt to protect the sinner from committing a crime, suggesting that it has a preventative function. Priests are responsible for discouraging criminal actions and healing criminals' states of mind, and with regards to capital punishment, Orthodoxy remains steady in the position that since sinners confess their evil thoughts and truly regret, they are accepted back into God's route of life and freedom.

Greek Orthodox people are raised with morals as such and it is assumed that these perceptions will in turn affect their attitudes to the way they think about crime and punishment. This is also what makes this study unique, taking into consideration an angle that no previous research has looked into – that of the Greek Orthodox religion and the influence it might have on Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. Religious morals that are taught by parents, priest and teachers in schools should have an impact on influencing somebody's attitudes and this study investigates in depth this effect on Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. It will be assumed that religion is not entirely responsible for the construction of Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment, but that religion sits next to additional factors, like for example the factor of culture.

### **3.4 The Issue of 'Culture' and its Influence on Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment**

The idea for this current study originated with the premise that it is possible - and potentially beneficial - to explore public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece using international and mostly British theoretical and empirical evidence and literature. I should make it clear that this study is not comparing countries, but draws information from international literature, because in the case of Greece, literature on the issue of crime and punishment in relation to people's attitudes is limited and it would not be possible to draw clear inferences. Comparing or contrasting Greece to Britain would not be possible, as Nelken repeatedly argues that comparing cultures in the context of crime and punishment is complex and problematic (Nelken, 2010; 2011; 2012). That reason is enough to inevitably prevent a comparison of Greece to Britain and the prospect of creating a valuable agenda for research on cross-cultural comparison in Europe.

In this section, reference will be made to the initiatives of five major scholars all referring to culture when reforming or creating criminal justice conditions. It is initially necessary to define the meaning of culture and to see how culture is related to crime and punishment for which Garland (2001), Cavadino and Dignan (2006), Muncie (2008) and Nelken (2012) provide a useful background. The challenging task for this section is the debate between these scholars. All the information was pulled together to present an interestingly complex picture of the debate taking in distinctions between penal terms (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006), over-generalisations of globalising crime (Nelken 2011; Muncie, 2008) trends in growing punitive measures (Garland, 2001), culture's involvement in conformity as well as the construction of public opinion. This section is focused on the trend that wherever one stands in the debate over convergence and diversity, culture responds to attitudes that people hold towards crime and punishment. Since this study does not compare countries, it uses the debate to only seek explanations about the impact of culture on people's attitudes to crime and punishment. A reference to Greek culture will be made to uncover its dynamics and investigate its particular characteristics in relation to how people react to issues such as crime and punishment.

### 3.4.1 Comparative Globalising Approaches and the Debate

The concept of culture appears daunting and difficult to define. Most logically, it can be defined as a way of life informed by a set of attitudes, beliefs and values. Taking the English culture for example, while it is not feasible to explain what it consists of here and classify English society, it is possible to appreciate that there are certain things the English do and believe in, that the Greeks do not. In criminology, Cavadino and Dignan (2006: 38) approached the concept of culture by suggesting that '*within culture we include both ideology and what Durkheim called collective sentiments – socially determined feelings, emotions and attitudes*'. By the term ideology they embrace those philosophies that people use to form attitudes and practices. In their attempt to explain the 'punitive turn' in many countries around the world, they suggest that crime rates or the number of criminals do not play a significant role in the increase or decrease of rates of imprisonment, but that instead a country's penal culture and ideology affects imprisonment rates. Cavadino and Dignan (2006) constructed a 'radical pluralist analytical framework' to describe how the penal ideology and culture of a society is both formed by and forms the general ideology, culture and material conditions of a society. Reference will also be made to this framework in the next section in an analysis of the influence of politics in the public's attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Cavadino and Dignan (2006) analysed imprisonment rates, youth justice arrangements and privatization policies in 12 capitalist countries and developed a fourfold typology of the CJS in relation to political economy. These are the neo liberal, the conservative corporatist, the social-democratic and oriental corporatist positions. *Neo Liberal* is clearly conservative in nature, characterised by individualism and extreme income differentials. In terms of social exclusion, neo liberal societies perceive those who cannot participate fully as the 'underclass' which results, as often seen in USA, in a degree of contradiction surrounding citizens being completely involved in social, political and civil life. As Cavadino and Dignan suggest social exclusion is not exclusive to poverty, but sometimes whole communities may lose benefits because of the nature of neo liberalism and those seem to be the ones also failed by the law. The *Conservative Corporatist* type is a hierarchy, based on traditional institutions such as the church and family. It sees citizens as included within the nation,

making this type a mainly communitarian philosophy. Germany is the archetypal example of such a society, in which differentials in income still exist, but not as extreme as neo liberalism. Third is the *Social Democratic Corporatism* type, in which countries, like Sweden, have fairly unconditional social rights as well as minimum income differentials. Policies promote equality and a commitment to employment apparently makes its equality stable for economic policies. The last type is *Oriental Corporatism* which is based on a bureaucratic sector with limited income differentials. However, there is a distinct hierarchy and a sense of duty to those higher up. The only country that follows this type is Japan, where less emphasis on individuality and an apology may help in re-establishing relationships (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006).

Cavadino and Dignan's framework has been heavily criticised by many scholars who mostly disapproved of the general idea of comparative '*globalising*' approaches to crime, characterising them as '*methodologies*' rather than processes (Pakes, 2010: 18) or as '*far-fetched assumptions*' (Nelken, 2012: 146). Muncie (2008: 15) considered approaches which globalise crime and justice as dangerous in a sense of being '*mediated by distinctive national and regional and local practitioner cultures*'. Scholars challenged the globalisation of socio-political and economic policies across the world, because justice policies are influenced by the national, regional and local cultural context (Muncie and Goldson, 2006), signifying a '*diversity*' in culture reasons (Muncie, 2011). The attraction of focusing on a localised context and neglecting the global was additionally strengthened by Blagg (2012), in his analysis of the situation in Australia. Blagg (2008; 2012) argues that the Australian CJS fails to appreciate the core features of Aboriginal cultural norms and values, and he supports the case for the system to be redesigned centred around '*Aboriginal cultural capital*'. Blagg (2012) clearly represents the importance of cultural engagement, highlighting how Australian Aboriginal people prevent young people from resorting to crime and thus rejecting the idea of globalising crime and justice. Similarly, Lappi-Seppälä (2006) notes the Finnish insistence that social policy should always come before criminal justice policy, giving importance to the cultural context. In other words, the government supports social institutions such as family, church and education to meet the needs of citizens instead of providing direct governmental benefits (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006; Lappi-Seppälä, 2007). For example, Lappi-Seppälä's (2011) comparative study focused in the linkages between use

of imprisonment and factors that potentially impact measures of punitivity, such as income inequality, trust in political institutions, public fear of crime, and public punitivity. He found that countries with moderate penal policies have higher levels of social trust and political legitimacy than those countries with more punitive policies. Although the greatest issue to the scholars is whether culture should be dealt with from a globalised, national, regional or local context, this study is focused on one such trend, that culture certainly responds to issues of crime and punishment, emphasising its potential impact on the construction of public attitudes towards issues as such.

#### *3.4.2 The Impact of Culture on Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment*

Cavadino and Dignan (2006) suggested that the penal system of a society and culture is constructed by, but also constructs, the society's general ideology and culture. This indication is twofold, by initially linking penal ideology to culture, and later representing the great standing of culture when seeking explanations about aspects of crime and punishment. Potentially those aspects illuminate the crucial relationship between culture and the impact that has on people's attitudes to crime and for this reason future reference will be made acknowledging the significance of their framework. Moreover, Garland (2001) discusses the theory of 'culture of control' proposing that more crime leads people to become less sympathetic to crime and sequentially to become more punitive which consequently leads to an increase in prison rates. In short, it is not that more crime and more criminals produce the increase in imprisonment, but politically driven middle class values that support excluding criminals instead of rehabilitating them. Garland (2001) suggests that people's attitudes to crime are cultural concepts and are reproduced, not by criminological research but by cultural scripts. He also stated earlier that 'penalty' is both a matter of cultural meaning and of instrumental affectivity (Garland, 1990). In the eyes of Cavadino and Dignan (2006), it is the penal culture and the ideology of a country that wants criminals to be harshly punished. For example, they claim that neo liberal societies which are actually societies with the highest prison rates are characterised by exclusionary cultural attitudes towards offenders. Conversely, corporatist societies and social democratic societies follow more inclusive economic and social policies seeing the offenders as in need of rehabilitation and social integration and for this reason they have lower prison rates. In

short, they suggest that inclusive cultures are less punitive than exclusive cultures; therefore, for the purposes of this study, culture is a key factor while researching public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Returning to comparative criminal justice, it is Nelken (2010) who explores the power of culture in different societies and proposes that culture has to be treated as an explanatory variable with some cases being more significant than others. Nelken (2011) maintains, through an analysis of Lacey's (Nelken, 2011), Wacquant's (Nelken, 2010) and Cavadino's and Dignan's (Nelken, 2009) work, that studying punishment cross-nationally is a surprisingly complex subject and that there is a great risk to comparing places with the assumption that crime has objectively and subjectively similar meaning. He argues that *'neo-liberal societies have the highest prison rates because they follow social and economic policies which lead to exclusionary cultural attitudes towards our deviant and marginalised fellow citizens'* (Nelken, 2009: 18). However, he doesn't claim that the culture of a country inevitably influences the penal ideology and the attitudes that people hold towards crime and punishment. Indeed, scholars are all in agreement despite their varied views on culture that it appears to be a key factor in either forming criminal justice policies or constructing people's attitudes towards crime, punishment, criminal justice policies, and institutions. It is stated by Cavadino and Dignan (2006) when they present the corporatist societies and compare Germany to Sweden, that those countries which have a traditionally different culture also have a different attitude. This may be plausible but seems to be lacking in the sense that it has not been supported by a satisfactory amount of empirical research. Only recently Unever and Cullen (2010), in exploring the relationship between racial and ethnic intolerance proposed that punitive attitudes might be a cultural universal in societies with problematic race relations. It is likely that there are a number of reasons to believe that culture influences public attitudes towards crime and punishment, but it seems that this is an area where more work is needed.

### *3.4.3 Penal Ideology and Greek Culture*

Nelken (2010) in his discussion of Italian crime suggests that juvenile criminal justice policies are related to the wider culture of the 1980s. At first appearance his ideas suggest that

culture has the power to develop policies. Perhaps not surprisingly this might be relevant to the case of Greece, taking into account the turbulence of Greece's history and how this might have influenced people's current reactions to crime and punishment. For over 400 years the Greek people were slaves to the Turks (up to 1821), deprived of their human rights, considered as second class citizens and worked and lived only for their rulers. In 1940 the Second World War destroyed Greece when Italians and Germans invaded and occupied the country. Between 1944 and 1949 the Civil War between citizens and government forces took place and in 1974 the Junta took place, which refers to a series of right-wing military governments that ruled Greece after the II World war. This instability and the 'fractured' historical background guided Greek people inevitably to construct their own perceptions about different situations.

Nelken (2010) suggests that comparative criminology sees the social construction of crime problems as culturally specific, and Garland (2000: 354) proposes that penal strategies might be shaped by particular '*cultural conditions of existence, which lead societies and legal transitions to be more or less receptive to them*'. Ideas as such formed considerations that attitudes towards crime and punishment may also differ depending on certain cultural 'conditions of existence'. Cavadino and Dignan (2006) mention that the societies studied in order to develop the typology of political economies are similar in that they are Western, developed, industrial democracies and therefore it is not surprising that many have commonalities in punishment. They do not include Greece in their work, but Greece seems to hold a high number of features of the conservative corporatism state of political economy, tending to turn towards the neo liberal state. The dominant penal ideology, at least on paper, is rehabilitation (conservative corporatism) but simultaneously social exclusion (neo liberalism). Furthermore, the imprisonment rate is high (neo liberalism) and the differential income pronounced but not extreme (conservative corporatism); nonetheless, the latter is rapidly changing because of the financial crisis and the increasing taxes people are now induced to pay. The fact that Greek prisons are overcrowded and courts are severe (Lambropoulou, 2007) would suggest that punitive attitudes are demanding in Greece. This can be related back to the argument that culture (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006; Nelken, 2011) and the cultural conditions of existence (Garland, 2000) are

central in their role of constructing more punitive measures and therefore can also be seen as influential in the way people reflect on crime and punishment.

Greek culture has been a focus of attention for Bakalaki (2003) in her research on burglaries as a source of risk in Greece. She described Greece as a homogeneous society in which immigrants are held responsible for the rise of crime and for the transformation of Greece into a country with high crime rates as in other parts of Europe. Bakalaki (2003) insightfully remarks that Greek people stereotype foreigners because they want to detach themselves from their past, when they or their families were immigrants and poor, but without detaching themselves from tradition. Tradition is a perspective contained within, or more specifically, equivalent if not identical to culture and Greek people perceive their attachment to tradition and in turn their culture as preventing them from becoming Europeans, and sequentially a country with high crime rates. An area lacking in research, as far as this study is concerned, is the role that culture plays in Greek perceptions of crime and punishment. In his attempt to explain Greek people attitudes to migrants in Greece, Antonopoulos (2006b) described how his participants were of the opinion that 'Others' do not seem to understand and respect Greek culture and values. However, there is no further explanation or research on the meaning or the clarification of the issue of culture as a factor that might influence Greek people. The aim of the present study is to bring this to the forefront to clarify how the issue of culture is important and to look at whether culture can predict or change people's attitudes to crime and punishment. The aim is not to give a comparative view on how high imprisonment rates or overcrowding encourage shifts in the sentencing culture; rather, this study is a genuine attempt to portray the ways in which specific Greek cultural characteristics shed light on the formation of Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### **3.5 The Issue of 'Politics' as a Factor that Influences Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment**

The paradoxical effects of the above factors have a complex influence on public attitudes towards crime and punishment. The exploration of people's perceptions is of particular interest when looking at the issue of politics and how this might be a key moderator in

influencing attitudes towards crime and punishment. In short, how can politics in any way influence what people believe about crime and punishment? In addressing this, the issue of politics in this study appears twofold. Initially, recalling the 'vicious circle' described in chapter two, politicians were found to be affected by public views of crime and punishment. Models, like for example, the escalating crime-distrust model (Unnever and Cullen, 2010) were formulated to show how support for getting tough on crime is generated. They take the view that individuals demand tougher measures on crime because they believe that crime is increasing, which in turn leads to a loss of faith in the government therefore making it difficult for the government to protect them from the effects of crime (Simon, 2007). In turn, politicians promote harsher policies and demand less compassionate court decisions to satisfy voters, the consequence of punitive populism (Roberts et al., 2003). This leads to the construction of new policy trends, which indeed suggests that greater punitive measures are needed. Politicians use campaigns to distort those perceptions and they benefit from polls and untrustworthy public perceptions about crime and punishment. The rationale of the vicious circle can be understood by looking at how scholars politicise the issues of crime and punishment and reflect on the relationship between political economy and punitive measures.

The second viewpoint on the impact of politics is that public attitudes towards crime and punishment are subjective and in some ways linked to individual political ideology or orientation. According to Federico and Holmes (2005), who prefer the term political predispositions, attitudes towards crime policies are formed with a combination of political ideology, partisanship and traditionalism, and therefore more attention is needed on the effects of the relationship between perception and key political issues. In short, attitude formation on crime and punishment depends on political affiliation, or more accurately, the position of like-minded parties. These two dimensions to the influence of politics on public attitudes towards crime and punishment will be discussed in greater depth. A discussion of the current Greek political situation and the politico ideological features of the major Greek political parties will contribute to understanding how Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### *3.5.1 Crime as a Politicised Issue*

As already deliberated in the previous section on the issue of culture, Cavadino and Dignan (2006) developed a comparison of penal systems in a dozen capitalist countries (categorised broadly as neo liberal, conservative corporatist, social democratic and oriental corporatist) and found a direct correlation between the type of political economy, the punitive measures of the State (including rates of imprisonment) and attitudes to those perceived as criminal. It is important to consider the fourfold typology and the strong association between penal policy and political economy and look into the compelling case for the influence of political economy on punitive measures and rates of imprisonment. This serves to present crime and punishment as key issues for those politically involved (e.g.: politicians) and indicates how they distort crime aspects to benefit politically and electorally. In order to look more closely at this, it is perhaps appropriate to consider basic terms that Cavadino and Dignan (2006) referred to as exclusive vs. inclusive approaches. The former excludes offenders from society and favours severe traditions of imprisonment and stigmatisation, in contrast to the latter, which integrates offenders into society using more liberal and restorative approaches. Furthermore, in the way Cavadino and Dignan (2006) discuss it under the term neo correctionalism, harsh punitive measures and exclusion of criminals is related to right-wing political orientations, a view that is considered to be a possible answer to the problem of crime. For example, social democratic corporatist countries have lower punishment rates because, as Cavadino and Dignan (2006) suggest, countries like these place more emphasis on including criminals within their society instead of stigmatising and excluding them. Greece holds a high number of features of the conservative corporatism state of political economy model, while also having a certain leaning towards the neo liberal state model, and with the rapid political change now taking place in Greece, an eclectic mix of features seems to define the country. Vasilopoulos and Vernardakis (2011) argue that the contrasting ideological differences that once shaped a party competition are now significantly constrained. This effectively confirms the heavy criticism against Cavadino's and Dignan's framework for globalising political economies and ignoring the diversity of countries (Nelken, 2011; Muncie, 2008). However this prompts concern that without significant ideological differences in political competition it is not possible to categorise Greece in a political economy with a reliable guiding policy on including or excluding criminals. In a

society without a political ideology, consideration can only be given to the probable impact of what a broad view of politics might have on Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. Specifically, this study carefully examines this impact looking at the mechanism of the vicious circle implicating politicians and the public.

Nevertheless, there is much more to be said about the way politics influences the phenomenon of crime and punishment with a number of debates being raised over the years. According to Garland (2001: 24), social characteristics which include political shifts, are 'translated into the folkways of the field' (Garland, 2001: 24). On the other hand, Nelken (2009; 2010) argued that Cavadino's and Dignan's (2006) approach looking at the influence of different political economies upon prison rates cannot entirely reflect attitudes to offenders. He suggests that it is also appropriate to consider types of crime and further factors, like the penal process which in fact generates prison rates. However, here the claim is not whether or not there are limitations in the way politics influences crime and punishment, but the nature of this process and the role it plays in the construction of public opinion. The debate has already been raised in the previous section on culture and revealed accounts of generalisation against Cavadino and Dignan. However, it is Cavadino and Dignan (2006) who suggest that there are many influential variables, such as national culture and histories together with political economy, which still do not account for the whole picture. Ultimately, what is certain is what Garland (2001) calls 'the crisis of penal modernism', which lies in the perception that high crime rate is a normal phenomenon with crime accepted as an everyday risk, and the public's lack of confidence in government to do something about it. This notion makes crime and punishment a 'politicised' issue, in which political theorists tell us about promising areas in crime control and describe attitudes towards crime and punishment as being of great political significance.

### *3.5.2 Political Ideology and Partisanship: their Effect on Public Attitudes to Crime and Punishment*

Early scholars have long been discussing the nature of public attitude and the role it plays in the political process. Berelson (1952) recommended that opinion research can help a democracy to know itself. However, politicians assume that the public is far more punitive

(Scheingold, 1984) and tend to overestimate the level of support for punitive functions (Berk and Rossi, 1977). It has been shown at certain periods that the public was more tolerant on issues of crime and punishment than politicians and the media assumed (Thomson and Ragona, 1987). However, nowadays a more complex picture is emerging with political campaigns either enabling citizens to make cautious choices or providing them with unclear signals (Petersen et al, 2010). Scepticism towards the relationship between political ideology and attitudes to crime and punishment may be inevitable in well-informed societies composed of citizens who are taught to think for themselves and vote for the good of their community. When theorists examine whether political ideology is related to perceptions of crime and punishment, they tend to use the conservatives as opposed to liberals. The current issue is of great relevance within this study, taking into consideration that in the past, Greek political parties were based on a system of patronage and supported their agendas (Charalambis and Demelambis, 1993) either conservative or liberal. Although nowadays that is changing and political leaders are adopting similar if not identical policies in order to follow the European Union's economic developments (Papathanassopoulos, 2000), distinctions between the leading political parties (ND right wing and PASOK left wing) in terms of influence that they might have on people's attitudes should be investigated.

Taylor et al. (1979) in their attempt to investigate salience of crime and punitive attitudes suggested that those being victimised and more fearful of crime do not, in fact, demand harsher punishment, nonetheless, those with conservative ideologies were more supportive of severe courts and harsher punishment. In the same vein, Langworthy and Whitehead (1986) looked exclusively at liberalism and fear of crime, as variables contributing to punitive measures and found that liberals tended to favour social programmes in contrast to conservatives who favoured punishment. There is an explanation for the relationship between political ideology and perceptions of crime and punishment. Conservative beliefs are more consistent with a retributive approach (Jacobs and Carmichael, 2002), that leads them to see criminal behaviour as rational and criminals as responsible for their actions, therefore they deserve to be punished for choosing that behaviour (Grasmick and McGill, 1994), and executed in order to protect the innocent (Jacobs and Carmichael, 2002). In contrast, liberal supporters believe that crime is a social condition and that criminals must have the opportunity to reform (Grasmick and McGill, 1994). In short, conservatives believe

that crime is a personal choice and consequently criminals have to be punished for their actions, whereas liberals believe that crime is a socioeconomic product and criminals have limited chances for legitimate success.

Empirical studies also suggested that those supporting Republican parties and identifying themselves as conservatives appear more punitive than liberals and those affiliated with Democratic Parties (Lambert et al., 2004). Political orientation seems a significant and consistent predictor of attitudes to crime with conservatives and liberals not considering the issue of crime and punishment in the same way. Only in specific cases does this differ, as can be seen in the study by Unever et al. (2008) who found no difference between liberals and conservatives in the way they view corporate crime. Moreover, political affiliation may predict the degree of support for capital punishment (Grasmick and McGill, 1994). Republicans generally have higher support for capital punishment than Democrats and those holding more conservative political views are more apt to support the death penalty (Applegate et al. 2000; Unever and Cullen, 2007). Baumer et al. (2003) found a more conservative political climate when looking at people's support for the death penalty, as well as Messner et al. (2006) who found death penalty attitudes were more associated with political conservatism. Vogel and Vogel (2003) suggest those similar attitudes are held both for adults and juvenile offenders.

Many politicians have exploited the issue of law and order and used it as a tool to win elections, as Edsal and Edsal (1991) suggest about Republicans. Jacobs and Carmichael (2002) also found that death sentences and capital punishment is legal in most Republican states and this is as a result of candidates being more inclined to harsher punishments. Scheingold (1984) had earlier suggested that Republicans spend more on correction with later research supporting the idea that rates of imprisonment are affected by the Republican strength (Beckett and Western, 2001; Jacobs and Carmichael, 2002). Finally, researchers exploring the relationship between partisanship and punitive measures concluded that prison populations are increasing due to political partisanship, elections, and state racial cleavages (Smith, 2004). In short, the behaviour of politicians, either conservative or liberal can have an impact on crime and punishment, which appear to be inherently political issues.

Overall, various political attitudes seem to significantly influence the way the public consider crime and their willingness to punish criminals harshly. More punitive individuals are conservatives as in most instances they see offenders as autonomous beings, who choose to commit crime, thus they must be punished for their behaviour. The liberal ideology acts differently and more compassionately, believing that offending is not a rational action and those individuals tend to trust rehabilitation instead of harsh punishment. Political party affiliation, ideology and partisanship are all possible predictors in shaping attitudes towards crime and punishment. Not surprisingly, conservatives are more supportive of punitive policies whereas politically liberal individuals oppose punitive measures and therefore this leads to the assumption that politics play a significant role in the formation of attitudes towards crime and punishment. Having deliberated on the twofold influence that politics might have on the public's attitudes towards crime and punishment, it is now essential to locate Greece in the context of its political stance and investigate politico-cultural factors that affect and concern the Greek public.

### *3.5.3 The Greek State of Politics*

Contemporary Greece has been experiencing a number of social developments generating an innovative socio and politico economic context. As an example, Dimitras (1990) argued that before the dictatorship in Greece (1967-1974) Greek people were strongly anti-communists, while the collapse of the dictatorship directed a new political culture with the Greek public becoming anti-right. With the entry of Greece into the European Union, the country had to meet several criteria in order to take part in the European Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) (Papathanassopoulos, 2000) and to some extent change the traditional political order to a new more progressive international and mostly European order. The most prominent traditional practice that the Greek politicians had to alter was the 'patron-client' relationship between them and the public. Known as 'rousfeti' (favour) and undeniably coming from a patronised system, this is when politicians use their political influence in order to gain voters and in turn reward them by finding them jobs in the public sector. Rousfeti, indeed, can be considered and may explain the vicious circle illustrated within this study, when politicians use their power to influence and favour their voters, but

in a more exaggerated way, such as providing jobs for supporters removed from devotees of the opposite party. Politico-cultural practices as such are considered important within this study as to shape Greek public's attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Additionally, the government passed a law in 1994, the 'Peponis-Law', named after the representative who proposed the particular law to parliament, which actually restricts this sort of favouritism. However, such laws take time to implement in a culture like the Greek and Greek people were not considerably convinced. The development of the international and, in particular, the Greek economic and financial crisis, the clear bilateral competition for government power (between ND and PASOK) and several scandals and corruption, including the 'Siemens' and 'Vatopedi' scandals led to apathy towards politics. On the surface, corruption became an important issue in Greece, where political and state representatives use '*nepotism, arbitrariness and bribery*' for personal benefits (Courakis, 2001: 215) and is considered as one of the causes of the Greek financial and therefore European crisis (Kyrtsis, 2011). Lampropoulou (2007) suggests that corruption is mainly considered a political phenomenon which is presented in the Greek media, but within the Greek CJS it is a non-existent term. Teperoglou (2010) suggested that Greek people demonstrated this in the European elections of 2009 with a lack of participation expressing dissatisfaction with the government and a need for change. More recently, Lyrantzis (2011) in his effective attempt to investigate Greek politics in relation to the Greek financial crisis suggested that the Greek public are expressing social dissatisfaction and frustration as a result of political favouritism, corruption, scandals, and the severe economic measures introduced by the government. Lyrantzis (2011: 23) comes to the conclusion that the '*most probable result will be the end of the era of the autonomous one party government and possibly a realignment of the political forces*'. As outlined in chapter two, the political situation in Greece was extremely unstable for a few months until the elections on June 2012, with the country undergoing political instability and continuous elections. However, today (20 June 2012) New Democracy (ND) formed a unity government and have settled to a conservative-led coalition. The political instability and the populist practices of the Greek political parties are to some extent influencing the public's attitudes towards crime and punishment. In particular, political corruption, scandals and favouritism are considered crimes in themselves, and it would have been a limitation not to consider that Greek public attitudes are affected by antagonism

between the two major political parties or by political involvement in crime and punishment.

A detailed history of the context of Greek politics is offered by Richard Clogg (1987) who comprehensively described the Greek political system from 1844 when Greece's independence was gained. Space here does not allow for a presentation and analysis of the political history of Greece. However a presentation of the major political parties and their basic ideologies may be useful as in later analysis the reader should be familiar with those principles in order to understand political effects on people's attitudes to crime and punishment. Identifying the basic characteristics of the major Greek parties also assists in further analysis on the issue of how specific (right or left) political ideologies might impact on the Greek public's attitudes towards crime and punishment. Greece's political system has been stable during the past two decades. It settled into a comfortable five-party system, with two major and three minor parties which are utilised within this study. Each political party possesses an 'article of association' (charter), which in fact states the philosophy and the central values of the party, like for example voting rights of shareholders or the regulations of purpose. The following account pictures the major political parties and their key values.

Nea Dimocratia (*In-Greek*), New Democracy (ND) is the conservative and Christian democratic party of Greece. ND believes in equality and competition by employing a merit system (ND article of association, 2010). Pannellinio Socialistiko Kinima (*In-Greek*), Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) is a social democratic party and is mostly concerned with values of socialism, social democracy and popular left-wing dominance (PASOK article of association, 2009). Kommounistiko Komma Elladas (*In-Greek*), Communist Party of Greece (KKE) is the communist party based on Marxism and Leninism and is portrayed as the working class party (KKE article of association, 1996). Synaspismos tis Rizospastikis Aristeras (*In-Greek*), Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) is based on socialism and holds anti-capitalism and eco-socialism characteristics (SYRIZA article of association, 2009). And finally, Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos (*In-Greek*), Popular Orthodox Rally (LAOS) is the nationalism party of Greece, typified by far-right politics and protects values of family and the church (LAOS article of association, 2008).

In the Greek context, the link between attitudes towards crime and punishment and political affiliation is under-researched. Greek literature suggests that both the political preference and voting behaviour Greek people are influenced by issues of political corruption and scandal (Dobratz and Whitfield, 1992). Other scholars analyse elections and give explanations for the absence of public voting (Andreadis and Chadjipadelis, 2010), or investigate the image-making of politicians in relation to elections (Yannas, 2002). However, with limited research it is not possible to draw inferences on whether key political issues are predicting patterns that influence crime or punitive attitudes. It seems that more work is needed to tease apart this relationship and the question of whether Greek politics is a dimension that impacts upon Greek people perceptions of crime and punishment, and the aim here is to investigate these areas. This study looks further at political impact and its effect on the public and in particular at the question of whether political affiliation shapes attitude towards crime and punitive attitudes. It is assumed that politics are not exclusively responsible for the construction of Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment, but that politics sit next to additional multidimensional factors.

### **3.6 'Multidimensionality' of Factors that Influence Public Attitudes to Crime and Punishment?**

Five major factors have already been discussed i.e. media, religion, race, politics and culture with regards to their influence on people's perceptions on crime, punishment and additionally on the CJS. Interest in the current subject seems totally understandable, considering the effects that it has on crime policies and consequently on individuals that are a part of, but also utilise those policies. What shapes public opinion has been explored in a variety of ways in previous research, ranging from crime news control to believing in God. This gives the impression that exploring the connections between public views and their effect on issues of crime and punishment is a multifaceted issue. People form opinions about several aspects of crime and punishment. For example, when asked about the CJS, some believe that the police are doing an effective job in contrast to the courts; others hold harsher perceptions and support the death penalty. There are also those who prefer more lenient philosophies of punishment, like for example the rehabilitation of offenders instead

of punishment. It therefore seems difficult to proclaim that there are only one or two factors that may influence the public's attitude to crime and punishment, but there is a multidimensionality of factors that characterise that relationship. This part of the chapter considers several factors that are both significant and inconsistent in their influence on attitudes to crime and punishment. It is not possible to cover each and every one in great detail because of space limits, but it does cover quite a lot of attention-grabbing debates.

### *3.6.1 Age*

The debate on whether age has a potential effect on the perceptions that people may hold about crime and punishment is a long one. Cullen et al. (1985) found that older people are more punitive in the way they see punishment in general, however Langworthy and Whitehead (1986) suggested, a contradictory liberal position, that younger individuals appear more punitive in punishing offenders. This discrepancy seems troubling as both studies used the same analytical techniques, but the latter used a larger national sample (1,474 participants) than the former (156 participants). More recently, Van de Walle and Raine (2008) investigated age effects when observing European countries and found both significant and inconsistent results for all countries, except for Britain where there was no age effect. For example they found that in Greece older people have more trust in the legal system, in contrast to France, where trust is declining with age. Davis and Dossetor (2010) in the case of Australia found no statistical significance on the seven groups they observed and their perceptions of crime, but only on people's views on crime increasing with older participants assuming that crime is rising.

An interesting view of the current debate comes from Schwartz, Guo and Kerbs (1993), who propose that there is a tipping point of age that people reach and change their perceptions on punishment, as a result of which punitive attitude would decline with escalating age. A position supported by Rossi and Berk (1997) who found that participants under 35 and over 65 years old were the less punitive. Drawing on the discussion above, it seems that age might be a predictor in holding favourable or non-favourable attitudes towards crime and punishment, but at the same time the strength of its influence is inconclusive as the differences are not significant.

### 3.6.2 Gender

Age is mostly researched together with the demographic factor of gender. Hough et al. (1988) for example, investigated whether gender and age are important aspects that may form attitudes to the CJS and although they found gender differences in younger and older ages, they found no gender disparities in the middle-aged group. Researchers have explored the role of gender in influencing public attitudes to crime and punishment with mixed results. McGarell and Flanagan (1985) noted no gender differences in individuals' support for community based interventions, which was supported by Sanders and Hamilton (1987) who showed similar outcomes for punishment norms. Murphy and Brown (2000) found that gender was not related to attitudes towards offenders, and Haghghi and Lopez (1998) showed that men and women equally supported rehabilitation efforts and punitive processes.

Contrary to the above evidence, the majority of research on the role of gender indicates that there is a difference between women and men in the way they view crime and punishment. Mattinson and Mirrlees-Black (2000) reveal that their male participants, as opposed to their female ones, considered punishment to be too soft, they favoured the use of imprisonment and believe that magistrates and judges are too lenient. This is further supported by research that reported results with men being more punitive in several crimes, such as offences committed by juveniles (Grasmick and McGill, 1994) and that men tended to believe that crime is rising (Davis and Dossetor, 2010). In reference to significant findings on the support for capital punishment, it is more or less consistent, that research has indicated women to be less favourable towards the death penalty than men, and women tended to support rehabilitation more than men (Skovron et al., 1989; Applegate et al., 2002). It is possible that this discrepancy might be explained by the diverse techniques through which public attitudes to crime or punishment are measured. However, overall, regarding the effects that gender may have on punitive attitudes, it is estimated that men appear more punitive than women, who appear to be more favourable towards rehabilitation according to research.

### *3.6.3 Education*

Better knowledge of the CJS is strongly associated with having higher levels of education about how it operates (Chapman et al, 2002). In the previous chapter it has been discussed that knowledge is related to confidence in the CJS and consequently to its impact on public attitudes towards crime and punishment. It therefore seems that level of education has equal impact with knowledge about the CJS. People with less education appear more punitive toward all crimes as McCorkle (1993) argued when he investigated the attitudes of 397 participants for six offences, such as that of drugs possession. Haines and Case (2007) found that residents of Swansea had positive opinions about alternatives to custody for young offenders and Davis and Dossetor (2010) found that more educated people have more precise awareness of crime rates. Last but not least, Roberts and Hough (2002) suggested that those holding A-Levels or a higher qualification are more likely to be less 'tough-minded' about crime and punishment. One possible explanation for this phenomenon has already been discussed and that is, perhaps knowledge of criminal justice policies helps those educated to find solutions easier and consider additional tools such as rehabilitation of offenders. Besides that fact it is possible that less educated people live in environments with higher levels of crime and feel more threatened. Sampson and Bartusch (1998) found that living in areas with high crime rates leads residents to have prejudiced attitudes towards the police. Taken as a whole, much if not all, research that has been conducted shows that the public have more confidence in the CJS and are less punitive when they are educated.

### *3.6.4 Victimization: Being a Victim of Crime*

Victimization is the term used for the process of being victimised, in short, when somebody is a victim of crime. It is assumed that when somebody is a victim of crime they will be treated well by the police and the courts, will gain better knowledge of the CJS, which in turn will influence their attitude on issues of crime and punishment. The issue of victimisation has been raised before in this study in an assessment of experience and contact with the CJS in relation to changing attitudes to crime and punishment. Therefore, it is appropriate to investigate this further and find out whether it has an impact on people's

perceptions. There is some evidence, albeit limited, that being a victim of crime can be an influential factor on attitudes to crime and punishment. Dull and Hint (1997) separated college students into two groups with victims and non-victims and measured their attitudes on their initial and final year of studying. They found that those who had never been victims of crime tended to have modified attitudes towards the police, those being victims had changed their perceptions towards the courts, and both groups amended their views on the use of the death penalty. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Sprott and Doob (1997) are highly critical of the relationship between the disposition of victimisation and the punitive attitude to crime, by suggesting that the type of victimisation is relative to the type of offence. For example, they argued that individuals who were victims of violent crime tended to be less punitive, contrary to those being victims of burglary. That makes this relationship complex and unclear, taking into account Hough's et al. (1988) argument regarding punitive attitude, that victimisation does not play an important role in perceptions. When considering the matter empirically, Van de Walle and Raine (2008) found no statistical relationship between victims of crime and their trust in the CJS, in every country they looked at, except Greece. That area will be further investigated within the current research in greater detail to find out whether Greek people are influenced by their experience in aspects of crime-related issues.

Nevertheless, a counter argument proposed by the majority of studies is that there is no relationship between victimisation and punitive attitudes. For example, Langworthy and Whitehead (1986) found that neither direct nor vicarious victimisation had an impact on CJS attitudes. Nor did Hough and Maxon (1985: 171) who proposed that '*victims of crime were no more punitive than others*'. More recently, Mattinson and Mirrlees-Black (2000) reported that being a victim does not lead to more punitive attitudes. In light of the above, it seems reasonable to believe that people's perceptions of crime and punishment, with some exceptions, are not influenced by victimisation as such, although more work is needed to draw more accurate conclusions.

### *3.6.5 Multidimensionality of Factors*

There has been an increasing interest in the factors that influence individuals' attitudes towards crime. The objective of this study is to examine the complexity of those kinds of relationships by examining additional research on public attitudes, especially in the case of those considering the issues of crime and punishment that are multifaceted. Research has focused on public perceptions to crime and punishment and how attitudes are significantly subjective to factors such as anger (Johnson, 2009), and inconsistently subjective in examples like income (Skovron et al., 1989). However, more research is needed because these factors remain debatable, like for example fear of crime (Ouimet and Coyle, 1991; Hough and Moxon, 1985). Research on the effects of the above has shown the association to be neither strong nor consistent; however, researchers continue to suggest solutions and assess more and more possible predictors of punitive attitudes and crime perceptions. Langworthy and Whitehead (1986) noted that when exploring demographic characteristics together with attitudinal associations, such as fear of crime, the connection to punitive attitude becomes more comprehensible. That issue also informs the reasons why this study takes demographics into consideration. Scholars advanced their argument and suggested that in order to explore attitudes, and in their case regarding the police, research has to look into three groups, that is demographic (such as age), social bonds (such as marriage) and attributive variables (such as deviant subculture) (Cao, Stack and Sun, 1998). More recent research on public opinion towards the CJS considered new factors, such as life satisfaction and feelings of safety reflecting public attitudes towards the legal system itself (Van de Walle and Raine, 2008) and therefore to crime and punishment. Some have focused on attitudes towards punishment and suggested that there are multiple factors that can control those attitudes, like for example, occupational, victimisation and income status as well as life satisfaction, including age, gender, fear of crime and many more. All the above prove that it is not easy to explain attitudes towards crime and punishment and there is more work to be done in seeking additional explanations. Since the attitudes of the public regarding crime and punishment are dependent on a great variety of factors, it should come as no surprise that research, such as the present study, is needed to give sharp and clear inferences to these gaps.

# Methodology

## Chapter 4

Public opinion regarding crime-related issues is a challenging matter both for researchers and politicians alike. An ill-informed public with regards to crime, punishment and other aspects of the CJS can lead to discontent and demands for harsher policies in the name of public safety. Politicians harness public opinion to secure votes, resulting in policies that may be founded upon unreliable perceptions. The overall aim of the present study was to explore the perceptions of a sample of Greek people about their views on crime and punishment, and the way those attitudes might be constructed. The objective of this study is to look deeper into people's attitudes towards crime and punishment and consider why Greek people hold the views that they do and how they are constructed. More specifically, the main aims of the research are focused on the following three core research questions. The first research question looks into what are the public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece. The second investigates how public attitudes towards crime and punishment are constructed in Greece and the ancillary third explores the factors that influence these attitudes with a particular focus on media, race, religion, culture and politics.

The beginning of this chapter creates an analytic framework and delves into the core issues that have been identified as important for the construction of attitudes (see appendices: Analytical Framework: 252). Drawing on chapters two and three, the core themes of media, religion, race, politics and culture and basic demographic factors are briefly reviewed to clarify why they are important and how they influence people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. Then, the chapter continues with a discussion of the methodological design, which includes approaches to measuring attitudes and a description of how this study was designed and implemented. This part contains an analysis of the methods and sample used in this study. Reference is also made to ethical considerations and particular concerns I faced while conducting the study.

The previous chapters emphasised what is happening so far in relation to public perceptions towards crime and punishment and the most important factors which have an impact on these perceptions. Reference was made to international literature plus available Greek data and the key issues which contribute to knowledge on public attitudes towards crime and punishment were identified. In Britain, people's faith in the CJS improves when the public is more informed about issues of sentencing. There are a number of reasons why a society punishes offenders. These include, among others, to discourage the offender from committing further crimes (individual deterrence), to assist the offender so that he or she will not offend again (rehabilitation), to prevent the offender from committing further crimes through imprisonment (incapacitation), and to punish the offender on the grounds of 'deserving it' (retribution) (Cullen and Gilbert, 1998). Research shows that people who are punitive and would like stiffer punishment, might soften their attitude as they gain more knowledge on the issue of punishment, thus they are more informed, and therefore more confident in the CJS. Roberts and Doob (1989) and Roberts (1992) have suggested that public discontent with sentencing might be reduced if the public were provided with information that is more accurate. Gaining knowledge is as influential in shaping attitude as direct experience of crime or punishment, for example being a victim of crime.

The Greek public has long been fascinated with crime and the imprisonment of criminals, yet, no survey has previously been designed to specifically obtain information on their opinions, and how they are constructed. For example, personal victimisation, fear of crime or the public's involvement in crime, might play a central role in determining how people think about crime and punishment in Greece. Thus, this study is looking to fill this gap by establishing the level of knowledge people have about crime and punishment, the source of this knowledge and the impact it has on their opinions, their emotional level of fear of crime, and their confidence and participation in policy processes.

The literature discussed in chapter three identified core factors that might contribute to the formation of Greek attitudes. Given the importance of placing the public's attitude to crime and punishment in context as a social construction, the core factors that may underpin attitudes in Greece have been identified (media, religion, race, politics, and culture). At this point, it is important to mention that no single factor can stand alone, as attitude formation

is a complex and multi-dimensional process. For example, in addition to the above factors age, gender, and victimisation might also contribute to the construction or change of attitudes towards crime and punishment. Therefore, this analytical framework focuses on several factors outlined in earlier chapters which might be important to Greek thinking on crime and punishment.

Mirrlees-Black et al. (1996) noted that the British Crime Survey has always indicated that a majority of people in Britain feel that over 'the last two years' crime has increased in their area. However, this is likely to be based on a value judgement rather than founded in firm facts and it would not be surprising if they had got used to the dominant media message of 'ever rising crime' (1996: 49). One of the most prominent debates is whether the media's reporting of crime has an impact on people's perceptions of crime and punishment. Earlier studies suggested that people choose the news media as their primary source of information about crime and punishment (Roberts and Doop, 1989; Roberts, 1992; Sprott and Doob, 1997). However, the media provide a distorted picture of crime and a distorted view towards aspects of the CJS, like sentencing, with an overemphasis on the reporting of more sensationalist crimes and the generalisation of imprisonment issues (Roberts and Doob, 1989; Roberts, 1992; Sprott and Doob, 1997). Therefore, individuals might construct false opinions of crime and punishment that lead them to lose confidence in the CJS. The case here and the reason for investigating the relationship between the media and individuals' perceptions towards crime and punishment is that public dissatisfaction decreases with more accurate information whereas the media increase dissatisfaction by endorsing information that contributes to unfavourable attitudes. This might harm aspects of the CJS by allowing politicians to promise new policies in line with public demand. Consequently, the media might be a significant factor in the formation of Greek attitudes to crime and punishment and thus is a point of focus for this study through a consideration of media use and its criminological significance and manipulation.

The existing sudden increase in criminalisation and imprisonment is unparalleled in volume and scope both in Britain and Greece. A consequence has been xenophobic and racist crime hysteria leading to negative consequences for ethnic minority communities. Research discussing the criminalisation of 'race' investigates the impact of labelling young black

people as criminals (Dovidio et al., 1997). In Britain, minority groups are also dramatically overrepresented in the statistics at every phase of the CJS (Rowe, 2012). There are several reasons for these attitudes, one of great importance being the media, which has been shown to demonise black people and to influence new waves of modern racism (Hurwitz and Peffley, 1997). In this study, the focus of interest is the ethnicity of people living in Greece. Young's definition of *'immigrants as other, an Alien group as opposed to the supposed cultural normality of the indigenous population'* (Young, 2003: 455), suggests that any differences between people, in this case their ethnicity, can be enough to designate the label 'other'. Therefore, an important aspect to looking at Greek people's attitudes to crime and punishment is whether those attitudes are related to people's attitudes towards 'race', especially considering the fact that Greek literature suggests criminality is caused by ethnic minority groups (Alimpranti-Maratou, 2007). However, it is also increasingly important that research, and the presentation of the existing topic, is viewed in line with recent studies that present 'race' as a complex issue.

Having identified religion as another core issue in relation to this study, it is necessary to consider how issues of 'good and evil', or 'right or wrong' play a part in attitudes towards offenders and the prevention of crime. Committing a crime can be considered a sin or as an action that is evil or wrong. The idea that God is responsible for punishing the evil actions of a sinner, in our case the crime committed, has been an interesting issue to explore in the literature review. Additionally, thinking of offenders as bad people who have strayed from obedience to follow a criminal career can also be associated with religion and the idea that these are good people who have learned to be bad people and need help from the church or God's help. These issues illustrate a strong association between criminality and religion. Researchers have responded to the emergence of religion as a factor that might influence, predict, or even inhibit criminal behaviour (Grasmick et al., 1991; Regnerus and Smith, 2005). Their intention is also to explore the impact of various faith traditions and whether they might be instrumental in resolving issues of crime and punishment (Gay et al., 1996). Given the lack of criminological evidence this relationship remains unclear, especially in view of whether or not specific religious affiliations, like for example fundamentalism, can predict the degree of harshness/forgiving exhibited by people towards crime-related issues. Incorporating all the above considerations this study is probably unique in assessing a

variety of issues surrounding the subject of Christian Orthodox religion and its influence on people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. It is especially important to investigate whether Greek Orthodox people are influenced by their faith considering the strong opposition to capital punishment embedded within Orthodox Christianity. Does such opinion formation involving moral judgements come from church attendance or is a belief in God enough to make someone less punitive? These are questions that are explored further in later chapters.

Cavadino and Dignan (2006) suggested that countries with different cultural traditions are also considered to have different attitudes, when it comes to crime-related issues. For example, a Greek person might think differently about crime, punishment and the CJS, than a British person. Nelken (2010) also considers broader theoretical issues and investigates why for example crime or imprisonment rates are higher in one place and lower in another. He is interested in exploring, in a similar way to Garland (2000) and Cavadino and Dignan (2006), the cultural factors that make legal processes easier to access. In short, they draw on particular jurisdictions of different cultures to investigate what one culture does that the other does not to produce healthier social control. This study examines the contemporary Greek context in view of difficulties and changing perceptions brought on by the financial crises and the ways new attitudes and principles may be constructed as a result against a backdrop of cultural traditions. Culture seems an important issue in constructing attitudes to crime and punishment in countries like Britain (Garland, 2000) or Italy (Nelken, 2011) and is a factor that merits closer investigation when studying perceptions within a country with a long history of culture and tradition.

It is also imperative to explore the political affiliation of Greek people and the extent to which this influences attitudes to crime and punishment. As already mentioned, this study looks at the issue of politics in two ways; firstly, the ways in which politicians in the course of their campaigns distort perceptions of crime and punishment; and secondly, whether political affiliations, in the sense of ideology, might be significant in constructing attitudes to crime and punishment. Research shows that conservatives appear more punitive than liberals as the former tend to believe that committing a crime is a rational action that has to be punished, whereas the latter are in favour of rehabilitation since they consider crime to

be socially constructed (Grasmick and McGill, 1994). Greece seems to mostly belong to the conservative corporatist type typology of the CJS in relation to the political economy (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006); a typology that is anchored in a communitarian philosophy and derived from conventional institutions, like for example the church and family. However, a response to the current economic climate has been loss of political stability with the Greek public expressing dissatisfaction towards the extensive corruption of politicians and the political system. Issues as such highlight a need for further investigation into political economy and political orientations, and an examination of possible answers to the problem of crime and punishment perceptions by means of politics.

To summarise, this study focuses on public attitudes to crime and punishment and the way those attitudes are constructed. As highlighted above there are several factors that seem to be important in perception formation. It has been noted that it is challenging to respond by suggesting that one factor alone can shape attitudes. The multidimensionality of factors is also evident in research, which suggests that age (Rossi and Berk, 1997), gender (Applegate et al., 2002), education (Davis and Dossetor, 2010) and victimisation (Spratt and Doob, 1997) are significant factors influencing the construction of public attitudes towards crime and punishment. This study is focused on the above issues and investigates the complex explanation of attitudes from a Greek perspective. There are gaps in Greek literature that need clear explanations and this study is in a position to illuminate those gaps.

## **4.1 Methodological Approach**

### *4.1.1 Measuring Attitudes*

So far, in the literature review, it has been noted that attitudes might be formed spontaneously in a transient way or they be more enduring depending on various processes and ultimately may or may not have a relationship with behaviour. The vast majority of attitude concepts and approaches are as complex as the measurement of attitudes itself. It is both important and difficult to explore people's attitudes, therefore several methodologies have been developed to measure attitudes. Thomas (1999) suggests that in the case of using techniques for obtaining both qualitative and quantitative data on

attitudes, opinions and beliefs, researchers must plan their studies with awareness of the various methods including written questionnaires, interview questions or observation schedules. In criminology researchers have used different methodologies and have developed a scale of public attitudes towards several aspects of crime and punishment (Park, 2002), for example the severity of punishment (Brocke, 2004) or the court system (Kaukinen and Calavecchia, 1999). Debates have been generated, such as that of Mattison and Mirrless-Black (2000) and Jacoby and Cullen (1998), who found different results for people's attitudes to punitive sanctions because they were using dissimilar approaches to measure attitudes. Based on these conclusions, assumptions have been made that closer inspection of the methods being employed is needed to measure public attitudes to crime and punishment and towards the CJS.

Measures of attitudes are either direct (explicit) or indirect (implicit). Direct measures of attitudes are more frequently questionnaires in which participants answer straightforward questions (Viki and Bohner, 2009), for example, what is your opinion about crime rising? Most frequently used traditional techniques include Thurstone's method of equal-appearing (ranging from 1 – least favourable to 5 – most favourable) (Thurstone, 1928) and Likert's method of summated ratings (1 – very strongly agree to 5 – very strongly disagree) (Likert, 1932). However, researchers uncovered several limitations of direct attitude questions, including impression management whereby participants' answer in a way that he or she thinks will make a good impression on the researcher (Paulhus and John, 1998). Such limitations have led to the creation of indirect attitude measures, which are those that participants give to the researcher without their awareness that they are being measured (Viki and Bohner, 2009). Examples of such measures are the effective priming task (Fazio et al, 1995) and the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald et al, 1998).

#### *4.1.2 Reliability and Validity*

Viki and Bohner (2009) propose recommendations, such as avoiding the use of vague wording and making the right decision about the order and number of questions in a questionnaire, in order to obtain a successful outcome. They also suggest that as soon as all measures have been appropriately taken, quality has to be assessed in terms of reliability

and validity. Reliability is the consistency of measurement and can be estimated in two ways (Viki and Bohner, 2009). First is the test-retest in which a score on the same test given twice is similar, and second is the internal consistency which estimates reliability by grouping questions in a questionnaire that measure the same concept. For example, when investigating attitudes to rising crime two groups of three sets of questions pertaining to rising crime should be used and then a correlation should be run between these two groups to determine if the questionnaire is reliably measuring that concept. On the other hand, the validity of a scale refers to the construct it asserts to measure (Maio and Haddock, 2009). In short, validity relates to the success of measuring what the researcher sets out to measure. It is important for a test to be valid in order for the results to be accurately applied and interpreted. Validity is not determined by a single statistic, but by a body of research that displays the relationship between the test and the behaviour it is intended to measure (Maio and Haddock, 2009). For example, investigating the validity of a measure of public attitudes towards rising crime, it is appropriate to express that the measure is first related to other measures of rising crime; second, that it is unrelated to measures that are unrelated to rising crime; and third that it predicts potential behaviour.

There are a number of limitations to measuring attitudes which will be described in this section many of which are particularly important because of their frequent influence on attitudes. Firstly, Thomas (1999) suggests that impression management, as mentioned above, along with social desirability, which refers to the responses that a participant might give, are important because participants say what they feel they have to say instead of what they want to say. Bias and misinterpretation of questions as far as wording is concerned, as well as random and uncommon responses can skew the findings. Wood and Gannon (2009) show evidence that researchers' questions can be too broad when investigating people's attitudes to crime and punishment without initially making clear what participants are referring to when they are answering questions as such about concepts of crime and punishment. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) also point out that when researchers utilise such broad measures, the attitude-behaviour relationship seems to become problematic. This study has taken the above issues into consideration and both the qualitative and quantitative part of the research show a consistency in reliability and validity.

#### *4.1.3 Research Design*

When developing research, there are preliminary steps that a researcher has to take before measuring people's attitudes. Attitudes are of interest to criminologists and many theories dealing with this concept generally agree that attitudes are complex and difficult to measure as outlined above, thus researchers must pay close attention to reliability and validity when constructing attitudinal studies. There are a number of approaches for acquiring information about attitudes that are of relevance to this study and a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods has been used in order to deconstruct public attitudes to crime and punishment. Conducting pilot questionnaires (quantitative) together with interviews (qualitative) can help to ensure that there is no ambiguity or misunderstanding, as well as providing data to establish an estimate of the reliability and stability of the method (Thomas, 1999). As Punch (2000) suggests, quantitative and qualitative methods should be combined to follow from, and fit in with, the questions being asked (Punch, 2000). In this study the quantitative method is useful to unpack the first research question and to map the area of what the attitudes towards crime and punishment are in Greece. Then, a qualitative method is appropriate to deconstruct the second and the third ancillary research questions, exploring how attitudes are constructed and investigating specific factors in more depth such as the potential influence of media or religion on attitudes. In short, the qualitative interviews allow the key findings on public perceptions obtained through the quantitative survey to be explored in greater detail.

Quantitative research has generally been directed more at theory verification, while qualitative research has usually been more concerned with theory generation (Punch, 2000). The broad approach of the present study is considered as social constructionist, since it is concerned with identifying the various ways of constructing social reality (Willig, 2001), specifically the various ways of constructing public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Social constructivism holds that facts, like for example attitudes towards crime and punishment, are products of human acts of interpretation, judgements and negotiation. As Burr (2003) suggests, by observing certain things and interacting with each other, people socially construct knowledge and what exists is what people perceive to exist. Different groups will have different ideas concerning what counts as their reality, here their

perceptions towards crime related issues. Regarding qualitative data the influence has evidently been grounded in theory, which enables prediction and explanation of behaviours (Strauss and Glaser, 1967), for example allowing the researcher to formulate themes and ongoing plans for potential analysis as the data is gathered as well as exploring the nature of the research questions. Using a grounded approach, I was guided by embedded theory that allowed me to look for patterns leading to social processes, such as specific perceptions about crime and punishment, which became matters of interest.

I began with an idea regarding the area I intended to research and a focus on specific issues, like for example the factors which construct attitudes towards crime and punishment, and I gradually engaged with the existing literature. The call for triangulation analysis which refers to the mixing of methodologies (use of quantitative survey data with qualitative interviews in this case), for reasons of validity and reliability of the findings, allows themes and issues to emerge from the qualitative as well as the quantitative data. Scholars sometimes use the term mixed methods (Danzin, 1970), but more recently the term triangulation has been applied to this approach (Olsen, 2004).

#### *4.1.4 The Debate: Qualitative and Quantitative Methodologies*

The qualitative versus quantitative debate is based upon whether researchers should use one approach over the other although the two strategies are discrete in quite a few aspects. For example, Cresswell (2003) suggests that quantitative research is based on the researcher's choice to use post-positivist claims to generate knowledge such as variables, hypothesis, and tests of theories. On the other hand, he argues that throughout qualitative research the researcher is looking for knowledge based on constructivist perspectives indicating that quantitative research offers experiments and surveys, while qualitative provides ethnographies and grounded theory studies. Furthermore, Bryman (2006) notes that qualitative data is collected in the form of words, pictures or objects, emphasising the meaning of words rather than numbers and statistics, as in quantitative data collection. That separates the two strategies in terms of deductive and inductive approaches. David and Sutton (2004) note that the quantitative approach is related to the deductive approach which aims to test a hypothesis, whereas qualitative strategies link with the inductive

approach, which is more exploratory. In deductive approaches the researcher uses theories and puts these forward at the beginning of the study, first organising questions or hypothesis before moving onto data collection (Cresswell, 2003). In inductive approaches the researcher begins to collect information in turn identifying themes that are associated with theory generation. Scholars such as Cresswell (2003) have also note a disparity in the depth of the two strategies and suggest that quantitative research is inclined to emphasise the need for reliability and generalisation, while qualitative research tends to be critical of such conditions. Both qualitative and quantitative research strategies are constructive and significant, depending on what a researcher is investigating. As Bahari (2010) suggests, qualitative and quantitative strategies serve distinct purposes, by using different methods with different results. She notes that research questions can be answered using both strategies, but each will construct different findings and generalisation abilities. For that reason she suggests mixed methods, which are more practical and applicable, depending on the research questions of each study.

Combining the two approaches in this study it is clear which research questions involve quantitative methods and data, and which involve qualitative methods and data. This multi-method approach can occur in a number of different ways (Bryman, 2004). Here, the qualitative interviews deconstruct the key findings from the quantitative survey on public attitudes therefore facilitating the qualitative research. The survey was employed as a means of purposively selecting individuals for qualitative interview (semi-structured interviews) (Bryman, 2004). In this way, the sample has been selected in terms of the characteristics that are relevant to the qualitative research. Last but not least, public attitudes towards crime and punishment are complex (Cullen et al., 2000) and in order to research them and interpret them a variety of methodological strategies are needed (Roberts and Hough, 2005). The key researchers of public attitudes towards crime suggest that the principal tool is a representative survey, but qualitative methods of exploring public opinion are also important (Roberts and Hough, 2005).

## **4.2 Quantitative Research**

### *4.2.1 Quantitative Data Collection: Survey*

A quantitative methodology was appropriate because the study employed self-completion questionnaires to collect numerical data (Punch, 2005). Nardi (2006) argues that questionnaires are ideally suited for measuring people's attitudes and opinions. He also suggests that it is difficult to generate reliability and validity when using one-off questionnaires, although this is the most appropriate method for probability sampling which is the prime sampling method for this study. The choice of methodology is still open to question for some researchers (Adler and Clark, 2003; Berg, 2004), but it certainly has to be considered in relation to the nature of the questions being asked (Silverman, 2005, Punch, 2005). Here, as the first research question sets out to investigate public attitudes towards crime and punishment and requires a collection of numerical data, the quantitative method is appropriate for initially collating and measuring this information.

### *4.2.2 The Sample*

#### *4.2.2.1 Location*

Both the quantitative and qualitative survey methods were conducted in Kavala, the sixth largest county in Greece, with a population of about 140,000 people. Kavala is considered to be a hub county for communications and transport because of its port with sea connections to North and Central Greece as well as the surrounding islands, and because of the airport. The county of Kavala consists of the city of Kavala, several villages around the city and the island of Thassos. Samples were collected from all three locations for validity purposes. It also has a large number of immigrants from a wide variety of countries which may also be helpful in investigating whether race has an impact on public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Approximately 5.7% of the total population of Kavala are immigrants, of whom 50% are Albanians. Considering that 7.7% of the total Greek population are immigrants, Kavala is a relatively representative county regarding immigrants.

#### *4.2.2.2 Sampling Design*

Caution needs to be taken regarding the representativeness of the survey results largely because the lack of a sampling framework (a complete list of the population living in Kavala) meant that a probability multi-stage cluster sample was used (Sapsford, 2007). The benefits of using this sampling method are that it provides control for selection bias and reduces the cost and time associated with data collection (Walker, 1999). It is frequently employed by pollsters who use a sample of 1500 people as representative of the entire population of the country (Nardi, 2006). Here, the sampling framework has been located geographically (Sapsford, 2007) by using a map which I divided into blocks. In this way, the county of Kavala was divided up into areas and the areas were sampled at random (see next section: sampling respondents). Within each area, streets were sampled at random, and then houses within these streets were again randomly sampled. Finally, households within the houses and individuals within them were sampled. Sapsford (2007) suggests that the more numerous clusters at each stage, the closer the approximation to a true random sample.

#### *4.2.2.3 Sampling Respondents*

David and Sutton (2004) suggest that the idea that the larger the sample the more representative it will be, is not accurate. In fact they suggest that what makes the sample more representative is the appropriate choice of technique. Ellis (1993) proposed that researchers have to get as large a sample as possible depending on their time and resources. For this study, a sample of 251 completed questionnaires by Greek people living in the county of Kavala was achieved. The sample constitutes 40% males and 60% females, the majority of whom were aged between 18 and 44. Seventy per cent of respondents were employed, a number that may have resulted because many of the streets chosen, at random, happened to be shops, especially as one of the streets is the main shopping street in the town centre. One of the principle aims at early stage involved reviewing core issues that might be important in constructing public attitudes to crime and punishment. For that reason I was interested in exploring respondents' ethnicity, religion and political orientations. This would provide me the basis for mapping their attitudes in relation to each chosen area of interest. Only 9 people had a different ethnicity and nationality to Greek, of

whom 4 were Albanians. A large percentage of the respondents were Christian Orthodox (96%) with the rest being Muslim (1%), Jehovah Witnesses (1%), and Atheists (2%). Of those voting, supported the two major political parties of Greece (27% ND and 21% PASOK), but another 39% has chosen not to vote at all. The remaining 13% has spread across a range of other parties. This sample represents the population parameters in order to make standard generalisations about the population. The exact number of immigrants cannot be calculated due to the extent of illegal entry into the country; however it is estimated that 6 to 10% of the population are immigrants (Antonopoulos, 2005). The majority of Greek people are Christian Orthodox as 97% of citizens identify themselves with the Greek Orthodox faith, while others are mostly Muslims and atheist. Finally, on the European Parliament election of 2009 in Greece, (took place on June 2009, during data collection) the public supported the two major parties (32% ND and 36% PASOK), and 47% has chosen not to vote (Greek Parliamentary Elections website, last accessed 2012). Such evidences embody a representative sample, however, as shortly will be mentioned in the limitations section, generalisation might be risky.

#### *4.2.3 Conducting the Fieldwork and Response Rate*

The survey was implemented in practice with questionnaires distributed to respondents and time allocated for them to complete the questionnaire. I visited houses and shops and distributed each questionnaire by hand. I gave the questionnaire to everyone in the sampled area, leaving respondents approximately 2 hours for completing the questions before returning to collect them. The questionnaire took approximately 15 minutes to complete. I always informed a family member when I was going and when I would return for personal safety reasons. A discussion of the ethical issues associated with this study is elaborated on at the end of this chapter. Sometimes respondents needed more time in which case I visited their houses or shops two or three times to collect the questionnaire. A diary with notes of who returned the questionnaire, what time they needed collecting, and which houses had uncompleted questionnaires was kept. An analysis software package, SPSS (see next section), was used on a daily basis to input all the data. Surveys are conducted in Greece less frequently than in other countries, such as Britain (Antonopoulos, 2006) which may be why the Greek public appeared so supportive. Overall, an impressive

98% of questionnaires were returned completed, with the collection, coding and data entry lasting approximately two months (June and July) during the summer of 2009. In all, 256 people were approached of whom 251 completed questionnaires and 5 people refused to take part. This large percentage in response rate is an interesting feature of my research, and gives a considerable strength to the generalisation of the findings. There was no particular sex difference between non-respondents as 2 were males and 3 were females and since non-respondents were not keen to participate, no other information is available about them.

#### *4.2. Questionnaire Design and Content*

The questionnaire (see appendices: 244) comprised of 23 questions divided into four sections. Section A contained questions concerning issues that may influence attitudes to crime and punishment, such as how many hours respondents watch television, a variable that values the factor of media, or how important issues of the Greek culture are to them. Here, it was essential to note that some scales of the instrument were measuring directly (explicit measurement) and others indirectly (implicit measurement), according to Viki and Bohner (2009) who suggested that attitudes are measured directly and indirectly. For example, respondents were asked a straightforward question regarding their opinion on crime rates and I followed that line of investigation. On the other hand, respondents were also asked to state how important they found diverse political statements, through which I wanted to gain knowledge on why respondents vote the way they do.

Then, section B consisted of 6 questions containing more specific questions associated with respondents' attitudes to crime. This section included variables such as fear of crime, crime rates, crime reduction and reasons people commit crimes. Section C contained questions relating to issues of punishment, exploring respondent attitudes on the philosophies of punishment and prison overcrowding. Section D contained demographic questions including age, gender, marital status, ethnicity and nationality, occupation, religion and education status, and political affiliation. The questionnaire shows overall scores for attitudes towards crime and punishment as well as a demographic profile for each individual completing it. Acceptable reliability and validity has also been demonstrated through a variety of

circumstances. For example, respondents' answers have been double checked and cross-referenced to find out the weight of both validity and reliability. The Likert-Scale contained in question three of section B asks respondents to gauge their opinion from strongly disagree to strongly agree on whether people commit crimes when family breakdown has occurred. Similarly, Likert-Scale – Question 6 of section B asks respondents to decide how effective better parenting is in reducing crime. These questions help to check whether respondents have strong and/or matching attitudes to similar statements.

#### *4.2.5 Pilot Study*

A pilot study was conducted before administering the self-completion questionnaires. Pilot studies tend to increase the likelihood of research success (Van Teijlingen and Hundley, 2001). The pilot study included individuals who were members of the same sampling group as the full study. Twenty five Greek people, all living in the county of Kavala (all three areas) completed the initial questionnaire and allowed me to check the appropriateness and effectiveness of the questions in relation to wording, coding and measurement. I travelled to Greece for one week to run the pilot study and identify potential problems in the proposed study. The pre-test enabled me to revise the methods of the full study before conducting the actual fieldwork. I made some basic observations while carrying out the pilot study, by looking into the sequence of questions and whether they were logical, if the wording of questions was clear, the translation accurate or the need to adjust the coding system was precise. The amendments were completed, the data was inputted into the analysis software package (SPSS) and was ready to analyse the research findings. Some initial results were revealed and assured me that the questionnaire was adequate for the purpose of this study.

#### *4.2.6 Translation Issues*

The questionnaire was developed for use across Greek society and occasionally translation was necessary as the survey was carried out in Greek. While developing the questionnaire, I moved between the two languages, using a dialectical process. Various questions were taken from existing international research and were literally translated into Greek.

Additional questions have been developed directly in Greek, but had to be translated into English in order to be contained within the thesis, reasoning that the English-language version of the questionnaire has some linguistic oddities. Since there are specific cultural differences between Greek people and British, I used a particular technique for making conceptual equivalence across the languages referred to as back translation for cultural approaches (Brislin, 1976). A back translation is when a translated document is translated (back) into the original language. The idea is that the researcher can verify whether the translation covers all aspects of the original. In this case, the first translation of the questionnaire took place from the source language (English) to the target language (Greek) and then the opposite (from the translated Greek back to English). After the back translation, the original and back translated questionnaires were compared and points of divergence were noted. The translation was then corrected and more accurately reflected the intent of the wording in the original language. My native language is Greek and many cultural differences between the two languages have been covered in a practical manner. This added a limitation because despite attempts to maintain cultural integrity, undoubtedly some cultural nuances were lost in translation. In addition quantitative survey respondents and qualitative interviewee's words were edited to ensure logical and grammatical clarity.

#### *4.2.7 Data Analysis and SPSS*

The completed questionnaires were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) for Windows version 17.1. Descriptive analysis was used to define the distribution and range of responses to each variable, and recode data into categories where appropriate, for example ages into age ranges to enable statistically meaningful comparison of subgroups, such as younger to older and their responses to crime rising. Frequency distributions were used to organise and present frequency counts in a summary form so that the information can be interpreted more easily. Also, simple cross tabulations were used to identify trends and look at possible linkages between one variable and another, for example whether religious orientation may have an impact on attitudes towards crime and punishment. After the initial analysis of the data, the response categories 'strongly agree' and 'agree' were combined to form one category labelled 'agree'. Similarly, the categories 'strongly disagree' and 'disagree' were combined to form one category labelled 'disagree'.

This was done in order to make the data more manageable and clearer to present the key findings in the analysis. A new set of frequency tables was obtained indicating the percentage of all responses to each question. Data was frequently presented in tables and figures.

The aim of the quantitative survey was to map the area of attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece and then the qualitative interviews to investigate these attitudes in more depth. Because empirical research and official statistics in the area of attitudes towards crime and punishment is limited, I therefore had to use largely descriptive statistics to initially build a foundation on what people's attitudes about crime and punishment are, and then use the qualitative interviews to find out how these attitudes are constructed. Descriptive statistics in which significance was noted were the most fitting analysis considering space issues, to catch on the groundwork of Greek people's attitudes towards crime aspects.

#### **4.3 Qualitative Research: *Qualitative Data Collection: Semi- structured Interviews***

Once I identified the issues raised by the survey surrounding public attitudes towards crime and punishment, the second element of the study was conducted and the qualitative interviews were helpful to explore how Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment are socially constructed. Using qualitative research the socially constructed nature of reality is stressed, together with an explanation of how social experience is created and given meaning (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Interviews were used to gain a deeper understanding surrounding the major research questions of how public attitudes towards crime and punishment are constructed in Greece and the 'weight' that media, race, culture, religion and politics have on attitudes. One of the benefits of employing semi-structured interviews is that the researcher is free to 'make on-going adjustments to the guide organised around the key areas of interest, in response to the way the interview is progressing' (Becker & Bryman, 2004: 269). This approach enabled me to employ open-ended questions, organise the interview and seek more detailed responses. However, semi-structured interviews are highly demanding in listening, communication and social skills. They are time consuming and can result in difficulties when it comes to arranging and

conducting them (Becker and Bryman, 2004). Nevertheless, they grant flexibility (Dantzker and Hunter, 2000; Ritchie and Lewis, 2003) and they are appropriate when studying opinions, attitudes and complex issues (Nardi, 2006), advantages that make this method ideal for the current study.

#### *4.3.1 Interview Guide and Pilot Study*

It is vital to systematise in detail and rehearse the interviewing process before beginning the formal study. For that reason, I developed an interview guide (see appendices: 248) that listed the issues to be explored during the qualitative interviews. Boyce and Neale (2006) suggest that in an interview guide there should be no more than 15 main questions to guide the interview. An initial interview guide consisted of two major subject matters, crime and punishment, and each subject matter included the five factors believed to influence crime and punishment (see appendices: Interview Topics/ Core Themes: 248). Research questions are not the same as interview questions and the interview guide is helpful in formulating interview questions. The initial interview guide consisted of several types of questions, such as probing questions, like 'You said earlier that you...' and follow-up questions, like 'What do you mean by that?' (see appendices: Framing Interview Questions: 248). Probing and prompting skills usually help the researcher to clarify what participants say and get more details on specific issues thus eliciting the richest data (Lofland, 1971). They are also useful in organising the interview stages, from introduction to monitoring and reaching conclusions, but also to revise and confirm if all core themes have been fully covered. As soon as the initial guide was completed, pilot interviews were conducted to find out whether the process and the questions used were appropriate to address the aforementioned research questions. After conducting two pilot interviews I identified what went wrong and areas for improvement, modifying the way some questions were asked to reflect what the interviewees had seen as significant in relation to each topic. The interview guide was then finalised ready for the qualitative field work.

### 4.3.2 *The Sample*

#### 4.3.2.1 *Gaining and Maintaining Access: Sampling Design*

Considering access, Greek society is primarily based on networks in which an individual is a member and to a lesser extent, social class and impersonal groups (Antonopoulos, 2006). For that reason, a non-probability snowball sample was used to gather interviewees. Qualitative research uses non-probability sampling because it purposely selects participants according to particular features of the population (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003). In our case, the characteristics of the population (Greek nationals living in the county of Kavala) were used for the selection of the sample. In snowball sampling interviewees are recruited and then asked to help recruit additional subjects, who might be suitable and willing to be interviewed (Ellis, 1993). In that way a network of contacts is built up. Using snowball sampling that relies on referrals from initial interviewees, additional interviewees were generated. In fact it is a process based on the assumption that there is a link between the initial sample and others in the same target population.

The benefit of employing such a sampling method is that it helps to build up sample sizes quickly with lower search costs. Additionally, this more informal way of identifying participants, allows a higher response rate (Becker and Bryman, 2004). In this study, because I was currently living in the U.K, no specific networks in the county of Kavala were readily available and for that reason I used my mother as a 'gatekeeper'. The gatekeeper introduced me to a single individual who was not known to me, who in turn led me to another individual. At the end of each interview I asked if the interviewee knew of anyone whom I might contact and talk to. The snowball sampling method helped me to generate a chain of interviewees that I did not personally know and although the 'gatekeeper' facilitated in opening the door for the first interviewee and enabled me to operationalise and start building a network, she was not involved in generating the rest of the chain.

#### *4.3.2.2 Sampling Interviewees*

The size of the qualitative sample has been selected through the concept of theoretical saturation (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). I went on expanding the sample size until data collection, in my case semi-structured interviews, supplied no new data (Douglas, 2003; Goulding, 2002; Locke, 2001). Hence, I continued interviewing Greek citizens until the data gathered became repetitive, meaning that no new data emerged. This might have taken 10, 20, 30 or more interviews. Accordingly, semi-structured single interviews with 20 Greek people (total number of interviewees) all living in the county of Kavala have been conducted over a period of 4 months and were enough to give me a non-repetitive data. The sample was collected from all three positions of the county of Kavala for validity purposes. Although I would have no direct control over choosing potential interviewees, I asked my interviewees if they could suggest someone from the island of Thassos or any other village outside the city of Kavala. Consequently, seventeen interviewees came from the city, two from the villages and one came from the island of Thassos. They consisted of 11 males and 9 females all aged between 24 and 62 years of age. Regarding religious status, all interviewees were Christian Orthodox, with one never being baptised. The non-baptised interviewee came from Albania and had resided in Greece for over 15 years. Another immigrant came from F.Y.R.O.M (Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia) and had lived in Greece for over 14 years. One subject was half Greek and half Bulgarian born and raised in Greece; and finally the rest were Greek both in nationality and ethnicity. Considering occupational status, 3 were retired, 2 unemployed, 2 were students and 13 were employed. Of those employed, their occupations varied from a teacher to a house wife and from a physician to a bakery owner, but this added a limitation because they all tended to be middle class interviewees. The above characteristics are pointed out to illustrate that the interviewees were multi-dimensional in gender, age, nationality, and occupational status.

#### *4.3.3 Data Collection: Constructing the Fieldwork*

The qualitative field work was undertaken according to the sampling design by visiting interviewees' homes from August 2009 to November 2009. Conducting interviews in

interviewees' homes was felt to be more appropriate because it was their own environment. I ensured self-security and informed a member of my family where I was going and when I would return. Further ethical issues will be returned to later but for now each interview started with a statement ensuring confidentiality. The interview guide was a helpful tool as it ensured that all issues were addressed (see appendices: 252). The questions were not asked in any particular order, or necessarily as they were written, but in a more flexible and natural, conversational manner, using the core themes of the interview guide. Generally interviewees were encouraged to tell a story about their experience or knowledge of crime and punishment. The interviews took place in an informal manner and all interviewees seemed content to answer and discuss all aspects involved within the interview guide. Each interview lasted about an hour and in most cases all key areas were addressed. In some cases key areas such as political preferences were not addressed by some interviewees since they felt that this was a personal matter. However, through discussing similar issues of the same topic, I could collect the information needed. With the conclusion of each interview, I thanked the interviewee and asked if they knew any other contact to use for the next interview. Some interviewees referred to two or three people which helped me to be flexible with sampling size. As previously mentioned, my native language is Greek and all of the interviewees were able to effectively communicate in the Greek language. This made the interviews easier as it helped gain trust and rapport with the interviewees which a native English speaker may not have been able to get. This type of interviewing is heavily dependent on issues of confidence and relationship building, concerns which brought up fuller responses. All interviewees were aware that this study was conducted for a British University and sometimes preferred to make use of words or expressions in English.

#### *4.3.4 Use of Tape of Recorder*

All interviews were tape recorded using a tape recorder. I attained permission from each interviewee and I then promised to delete the voice material once transcribed. Once each interview was finished, I connected the recorder to a PC and transferred the data to folders with the interviewee's pseudonym. I then created a password for each folder to ensure confidentiality. Using a tape recorder saved time and enabled me to check and clarify points

made during the conversation, taking into consideration that the interview would be listened to a number of times.

#### *4.3.5 Field Notes*

Patton (2002) argues that field notes are a central tool for interviewing, since they contain expressions or signs that are not perceptible when the researcher returns to the recorded tape. Here, I took field notes to describe what was observed while the interview was being conducted. On some occasions the notes were made during the interview as the information was still fresh, while on other occasions they were made as soon after the interview as possible. I dated the field notes and I recorded information, such as the place, people, physical settings and social interactions. I then returned to them during analysis and retained them as information of my experience of interviewing.

#### *4.3.6 Transcription*

The qualitative data collection lasted for 4 months, because the data was transcribed to be used for research findings and analysis. I used the software Express Scribe version 5.0 to convert the audio interviews to written transcripts. After finishing each interview and retaining the field notes, the data was then transferred to a PC where it was subsequently transcribed. Depending on time available, each transcription took between 2 and 3 days to complete. The written material was then transferred to the correct folder with the appropriate number on it and read and re-read to assist in later analysis.

#### *4.3.7 Data Management: Key Themes*

I re-read full transcripts as well as field notes several times in order to develop a reflective understanding of the data and to allow themes to emerge. As mentioned previously, the analysis was guided by the strategy of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) and the key to qualitative research and, in particular, grounded theory is to generate enough data to illuminate patterns, concepts, categories, properties, and dimensions of the given phenomena (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A theoretical framework was

thus developed from a thorough reading of the data gained in the semi-structured interviews. Themes for analysis grew out of the data and were considered in the light of previous literature. At this point I decided not to use computer software although I had all transcripts written as Word documents and it would have been easy to copy and paste the text into a package like NVivo. Bryman (2004) suggested that computer assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) is useful in dealing with large data sets and consecutively boosting confidence in results. Punch (2005) suggested that the use of computers in the analysis of qualitative data is not always appropriate, but he still noted a number of those uses may assist researchers. However, Mason (1994) was critical enough to argue that computers are not able to execute tasks, like for example to determine which data is applicable to the process being investigated. For this study I printed out the 20 transcribed interviews and read them numerous times. The most important issues were identified, highlighted and placed together in corresponding themes. Rayn and Bernard (2000) found cutting and sorting a more formal technique of identifying themes but one sufficient for their purpose. Themes and subthemes were identified by physically sorting the issues into piles of similar meaning. Again, Rayn and Bernard (2000) noted that while this process can be achieved by using a pc software package, they prefer to manually sort their themes. I followed suit with this more actively engaged approach.

#### *4.3.8 Translation*

The initial intention while designing the qualitative field work was to translate all the data from scratch and then move to the identification of key themes. However, the data would be better analysed in my native language. That meant that Greek interviews would be read by me and analysed in Greek. This would also save time and cost as approximately 25 hours of interviews would have taken about 2 months to translate. However, the major reason is the convenience of listening to your own language and making any necessary clarifications. Additionally, once the themes emerged from the data, potential quotes that might be used within the main text of the thesis were translated using the aforementioned back translation for cultural approach technique (Brishlin, 1976). Here, I translated the quotes to English and then the English text was translated back to Greek. I subsequently compared the

two texts in Greek and made any amendments needed to ensure clarity that the meaning conveyed.

#### **4.4 Ethical Considerations**

With both the survey and the semi-structured interviews, I explained verbally the purpose of the study to all participants, stating the individuals' rights of participation and giving a summary of the study's aims and objectives. Participants were assured of the confidentiality of individual results. The British Society of Criminology *Code of Ethics for Researchers in the Field of Criminology* (Dunnighan et al., 2006) provides a detailed explanation of the code of ethics in conducting research in Criminology. The following is a general summary of the basic ethical issues considered when conducting both the qualitative interviews and quantitative survey.

*Informed Consent:* Prior to the survey and interviews, every potential participant was informed of all the aspects of the research. Regarding the survey, respondents were informed verbally about the aims and the purpose of the study. I ensured that they had full knowledge of the aims of the research so that they could make an informed choice on whether to participate. Regarding the qualitative interviews, interviewees were also informed verbally about the purpose and aims of the study and any features of the research that may influence their willingness to participate. As before the potential interviewees consent was taken by their participation in the interview. I also ensured that participants were aware that they could withdraw from the research at any time during the process.

*Openness and Honesty:* Potential participants were informed about the purpose and application of the research, and the reasons for their involvement were as open and honest as possible in order to avoid deception. Regarding both the survey and the interviews, participants were informed verbally.

*Right to Withdraw:* Participants were informed that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. Participants knew in advance of their right to withdraw at any stage of the completion of the questionnaire or at any stage during the interview.

*Protection from Harm:* Participants were not exposed to any physical or mental harm as a result of the research procedure. Participants were informed that if the research involved any recall of memories or traumatic personal experiences, or any other distressing material, or their responses were likely to cause difficulties with regards to their family, community and friends, they had the right to withdraw at any time. Considering self-protection, I made sure that I always kept somebody informed of the time and the place I visited.

*Debriefing:* Participants were informed about the purpose of the study and its procedures verbally prior to the quantitative survey and the qualitative interviews. I provided all the information needed to ensure their awareness of every aspect of the study. Interviewees were also informed that they could request a copy of the report that includes the main results of the study.

*Confidentiality:* Confidentiality was assured and participants were informed of the following issues: a) there is no need for their names, addresses or any personal details to be written or recorded. Questionnaires were anonymous and their residence was only known but not written down. Transcriptions of the interviews were also anonymous, since I used numbers in place of interviewees' real names (interview No: 1). b) Recorded material was only used for transcription purposes and data was stored in compliance with the Plymouth University guidelines. c) Data collected from the quantitative survey questionnaires and the qualitative interviews was used for my thesis, for publications, reports, presentations and conferences. d) Data is locked in a filing cabinet which is located within a secure office at the Plymouth University and only I have access. The data is kept locked for me to use, retrieve and retest if needed and is stored in compliance with the University guidelines. Data was transcribed using a password protected computer. However no personal details were submitted.

#### **4.5 Limitations**

A potential limitation of this study in methodology is the interpretation of intended meaning and attention must be paid to this issue both theoretically and in terms of methodological approach. It involves the complexity of attitudes and it has to be noted that although there

is no comparison between the two countries (UK and Greece) while interpreting and analysing data, the meanings of words might be considered differently by individuals depending on their culture. I drew on international literature, principally American and British, to look into the Greek responses to crime and punishment. David and Sutton's (2004) work suggests that organised religion cannot be perceived in the same way from one culture to another, or even between one person and another. This is similar to the case here, in which meanings are put forward and each participant might have a diverse picture of understanding for each meaning. This study attempted to address such potential discrepancies by asking as much information as possible. For example, when I investigated the influence of media on public attitudes to crime and punishment, specific information for all media types was utilised, for example different questions were used for television, newspapers, radio and the internet. However, some of the meaning may have been lost in interpretation and the way people approached and perceived particular words.

Furthermore, it needs clarifying that although the findings cannot be generalised to a wider population, it was representative of Kavala, which is a 'typical' Greek county in having similar demographic characteristics to the majority of Greek counties as described previously in section 'Sampling Respondents' (4.2.2.3). However, it could be that the results may be different if questionnaires or interviews had taken place in the capital city of Greece and not in a county such as Kavala. The aim was not to generalise but to share an in-depth collection of real-life attitudes from Greek people, who allowed me to identify their opinions through their experiences of crime and punishment. Therefore this might be considered as a recommendation for future research and the possibility of repeating this study in the capital city of Athens. In this way results might be compared and contrasted, investigating whether Greek people who live in the capital are more or less favourable in their attitudes to crime and punishment than those living in the provinces, and consequently the factors that determine such attitudes and how and why they are formed.

Another limitation of this study could be related to the political situation of Greece and the continuing political changes that were taken place during the implementation of data gathering and writing up the thesis. The quantitative data collection and 14 qualitative interviews used for the current study were taken just before the parliamentary elections in

2009, and six interviews were taken after. That means that Konstantinos Karamanlis (ND) was the then leader of the country, but this has changed for the last six interviewees that Papandreou (PASOK) governed the country. This issue has been taken into consideration, however no differences were found in this study. Their attitudes remained stable no matter which political party was ruling the country. Political parties, conservative or liberal, have been held responsible by the public for all the problems confronting Greece today (Mouzelis, 2005).

#### *4.6 Concluding Comments*

The key issues of this chapter involve explanations on how to design, construct and put both qualitative and quantitative research into practice. This is undoubtedly a line of work that needs meticulous preparation and well-defined tasks of sorting and organising data. The planning and conducting of such research and its completion in Greece has been an involved and unpredictable undertaking. Although this particular kind of research, in a place like Kavala, is rare, the response rate reached 98% in quantitative fieldwork, and in the qualitative interviews interviewees proved remarkably forthcoming and easy-going. This study has been organised in a manner that allows as many clear and pure outcomes as possible to be obtained. Haines (2007) suggests that academics and scholars studying public opinion need to further develop the methodology of studies in order to better capture the highly ambivalent nature of public opinion with regards to crime and sentencing issues. With this in mind, this study accomplishes a high quality strategy, methodologies complementing to each other, as well as a defined sampling selection, that together produce valuable data on public's attitudes towards crime and punishment.

# Analysis

## Chapter 5: Greek Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment

The objective of the next two chapters is to investigate Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment and consider why people hold these perceptions and how they are constructed. The previous chapter confirmed that combined approaches i.e.: quantitative and qualitative mixed methods can create knowledge that contributes to more effective outcomes. A quantitative approach is one where relationships are predicted and the researcher uses questionnaires to collect the data and statistics to quantify variations. A qualitative approach is one where there is a need to interpret data through the identification of themes in order to build explanations and theories by using interviews. This study has made particular use of qualitative data and created an analytical framework from a thorough reading of the data gained in the semi-structured interviews. Themes for analysis grew out of the data and were considered in the light of previous literature as well as the quantitative findings.

Chapters five and six delve into the core issues that have been identified as important for what Greek people believe about crime and punishment and how these attitudes are constructed. This study makes standard generalisations about the Greek population, but as clarified in the methodology such generalisation might be risky. The Greek people in this study are populations living in the county of Kavala, representing a Greek sample for Kavala. Drawing on chapters two and three, the core themes of crime and punishment and key factors are referenced to clarify why they are important and how they influence people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. Reflecting these findings this chapter consists of two main parts, the first addresses Greek public attitudes towards crime and the second addresses Greek public attitudes towards punishment. Alongside is an analysis of factors that help to understand how Greek people's attitudes are constructed. It should be mentioned that because of the limited background of Greek research and literature, this study frequently requested foundational information from participants in order to quantitatively map the topic of public attitudes towards crime and punishment and qualitatively investigate the factors that construct these attitudes.

## **'Crime'**

The first part of the chapter examines what Greek people initially understand by crime. That was achieved by discussing how the public perceived crime and what crimes they mostly were aware of. The issue of fear of crime is then discussed indicating that it is important in constructing attitudes. While analysing the quantitative data, numerous variables were cross tabulated and the most important were reported in this chapter. Then, they were interpreted with qualitative data and previous international and Greek literature and research. Therefore, fear of crime was related to several factors, the most important of which were gender and punitive attitudes. Perceptions about rising crime revealed the punitive view that Greek people hold about crime and its impact on their attitudes. These issues led to a focus on public perceptions of the causes of crime. Greek people found social causes of crime to be more important than individual, and it is interesting that while acknowledging the many causes and reasons for crime, it is perceived that the Greek criminal justice system (CJS) does not address these causes. For that reason the issue of the lack of confidence towards the CJS is discussed to investigate various agencies of the CJS and the ways in which individual experiences of people with the police can for example have an impact on their attitudes towards crime. To end is the issue of how people gain knowledge about crime and how useful this knowledge is in the construction of attitudes. It seems that interest in crime is given a new impetus by the financial crisis.

The second part of this chapter explores how punishment is understood by Greek people. An initial discussion centres on the philosophies of punishment and how Greek people reacted to those. They initially appeared to hold punitive attitudes, but when the justifications were closely discussed with them, they seemed to be less punitive, having a preference to rehabilitation over retribution. In addition, attitudes to punishment were explored in relation to imprisonment and the way respondents perceive prisoners. Once again, lack of confidence in the CJS was shown by Greek people and the issue of reoffending was introduced into the discussion on the subject of justifications of punishment. The negative perceptions surrounding the CJS and imprisonment appeared to be part of a general dissatisfaction with a variety of governmental and non-governmental agencies. The

labelling of offenders is believed to be the only practical outcome in the system. Generally, the system is widely held to be corrupt and there is scepticism that other possibilities could be implemented effectively. Finally, demographics and how they can be related to the attitudes that Greek people hold towards crime and punishment confirm that looking at issues as such is a multidimensional phenomenon and should be considered in greater detail by investigating specific factors that construct these attitudes.

## **5.1 Perceptions of Crime**

These were explored using both qualitative and quantitative data analysis and will not only provide understanding of the initial characteristics of people's perceptions of crime and punishment but will also indicate whether there is a relationship between attitudes and the factors discussed in earlier chapters. Quantitative survey respondents and qualitative interviewees in this study were asked to discuss issues of crime and, as an opening, it was appropriate to discuss what initially they believed crime is – what they meant when they talked about crime and which types of crimes they had in mind. This helps in understanding their perceptions towards crime and how they distinguish various types of crime. The second part of the study examines the issue of fear of crime with a focus on victimisation, gender and punitive attitude and how these issues might influence attitudes to crime. Looking at these issues serves to establish whether Greek people are afraid of crime and in turn whether this fear influences their attitudes towards crime and punishment. The third section introduces national and local crime rates and investigates whether people's perceptions of crime reflect the practical reality of rising or falling crime rates. As well as use of both qualitative and quantitative data, existing literature is used to compare, reflect and support findings of different theoretical and empirical approaches to crime.

### *5.1.1 How Greek People Perceive Crime*

All basic textbooks of criminology start by discussing how people understand crime, but as Newburn (2007) suggests, classifying acts that are crimes and acts that are not crimes can be problematic. Theorists within criminology tend to argue that there is no complete explanation of crime (Schur, 1969), and that crime depends on the theoretical position of

those trying to define it (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2003). Many theories have been developed to give explanations on the social aspects of crime, such as social constructionism, which illustrates crime as an outcome of people's interaction in complex social groups, or labelling theory which portrays individuals who are stereotyped to operate in certain ways, or criminal ways (Becker, 1963). Both perspectives will be discussed in this chapter. Inherent in social constructive theories on crime is the premise that most people have never been exposed to crime but there are differences in the way each person perceives crime. As well as individual attitudes, this study looks at collective attitudes in a national context. The mixed methods used in this new subject of enquiry are examined in relation to the findings. For instance the quantitative findings show that when Greek people have the opportunity to choose from a list of particular types of crimes, their perceptions of the most common crimes committed are in close proximity to the reality. However, qualitative findings show that when Greek people are openly (without a list of crime types) asked about the issue of crime, they do not acknowledge every criminal act as crime, believing that there is a complexity between what a crime act is and what is not. For example, homicide is a crime, but theft is a fault. Greek people use the word crime when they actually refer to serious crime, i.e. homicide, and they use the word fault for all the other crimes, i.e. drug use or theft. In order to understand how Greek people exactly view crime, both quantitative and qualitative data was useful.

The quantitative survey asked respondents to identify the three most common crimes in Greece (Section B, Question 2, see appendices: 244). Thirteen types of crimes were provided to respondents to choose from, as well as an 'other' answer in case they required stating a crime that was not stated in the list. Survey respondents were asked to list three crimes according to their severity. They placed 'theft' as the most common crime in Greece, followed by 'drug use' and 'Illegal entry in the country' (see Table 5.1).

In order to ascertain if respondents' perceptions about the most common crimes in Greece were relatively realistic, both locally and nationally available crime statistics were examined. Looking at the police statistics for the county of Kavala, the most common crimes in the county were: 1) drugs use, 2) illegal entry in the country and 3) driving offences. There was no official list that categorises which crime was the most common, but it was assumed that

those three were the most important, since they were the only crimes discussed within the police report on statistics for 2009, the year in which this took place. Moreover, the Hellenic police criminal statistical data for 2009 (Hellenic Police: Ministry of Citizen Protection website, last accessed 2011) illustrated that that the types of crime that were mostly featured in the police records included 1) illegal entry in the country, 2) theft and 3) drug trafficking. The three most common crimes in Greece are presented in table 5.1 as follows:

**TABLE 5.1** *The Three most Common Crimes in Greece According to Greek Public Perceptions, Local Police Statistics and National Police Statistics*

	<i>Three Most Common Crimes in Greece according to Greek People's Perceptions</i>	<i>Three Most Common Crimes in Greece according to Local Police Statistics</i>	<i>Three Most Common Crimes in Greece according to National Police Statistics</i>
<b>1<sup>st</sup> most Common Crime</b>	Theft	Drug Use	Illegal Entry in the Country
<b>2<sup>nd</sup> most Common Crime</b>	Drug Use	Illegal Entry in the Country	Theft
<b>3<sup>rd</sup> most Common Crime</b>	Illegal Entry in the Country	Driving Offences	Drug Trafficking

Notes: Q: 'In your opinion, which are the most common crimes in Greece? Please, choose three crimes of the following list and place them in order of severity. You also have the choice to state other'.

Survey respondents' perceptions concur with local and national police statistics. Regarding severity of types of crime, there is a slight variation; however, Greek people are aware of what crimes are more commonly committed in their country. Driving offences which is a type of crime found to be important in local police statistics was not considered by respondents of this study as one of the three most common crimes. One reason might be the different wording provided on the questionnaire; in its place 'drink and drive' was suggested to survey respondents. The reasons as to why Greek people made the above choices are of great importance and will be discussed in later chapters. Questions, like for example whether Greek people believe that theft is a commonly committed crime because it is a symptom of the financial crisis are asked, as well as possibilities as to the source of such perceptions are investigated.

Furthermore, given the importance of placing the public's attitudes to crime and punishment in the context of their understanding of crime, qualitative interviewees were asked *'what is the first phrase that comes to your mind when you listen to the word crime?'* The majority of interviewees (18 out of 20) stated that the word crime should be used for serious types of offences, for example homicide, whereas the rest are considered as minor offences or faults i.e. theft. When they were asked to examine the results of the quantitative survey, qualitative interviewees argued that illegal entry into the country was not categorised as a crime, that theft is an effect of poverty and drug use is a cause of broken families. Those responses imply to more in depth investigation of people's perceptions about the causes of crime, a key topic that will be discussed in this chapter. For now, qualitative interviewees' perceptions of crime are the focus. The following quotes show that interviewees believe that serious crimes are criminal acts whereas minor crimes are committed due to other, mostly social, reasons and those are considered as faults, as the following interviewees commented:

*'Crime is a murder, when someone commits murder. Crime is a strong word, you cannot say that stealing a piece of bread is a crime, or I sometimes do not stop at the traffic lights. Am I a criminal?'* (Interview 5, Male, 37)

*'People entering the country illegally cannot be considered as criminals. They illegally enter the country, because they have no other choice'.* (Interview 3, Male, 30)

The above quotes are presented here not to show that Greek people are tolerant of illegal immigration, nor to give the idea that they do not obey the law and find it easy to commit a crime. The quotes confirm that Greek people understand crime to be a serious act that it is initially irreversible and secondly not the responsibility of the wider society, i.e. poverty.

The initial conclusion is that Greek people were conscious in their perceptions about which crimes were mostly committed in their country and this suggests that either people were well informed and interested in issues such as crime or that this was what they see or they believed they see around them in their everyday lives. The way crime was seen by Greek people, here in relation to the type of crime committed, was not overstated; Greek people were in a position to distinguish and understand the types of crime they face on a daily basis. On the other hand, a second outcome of the above discussion is the notion that Greek

people consider all crimes as minor crimes, excluding homicide. There is a reason hidden behind this perception that will be further explored in the next chapter, however it is worth briefly touching upon it here. Greek Orthodoxy views the crime of homicide more critically because of sensitivity that only God can take a life from a human. This might also be a reason why Greek people appeared to be less punitive than other nations. This research supports the above views which will be expanded on in later chapters.

### *5.1.2 Fear of Crime: Who Fears and Why*

There is an extensive body of literature on how fear of crime motivates people's attitudes to crime and punishment (Spratt and Doob, 1997) as well as towards criminal justice issues (Dowler, 2003). For example, individuals reporting high fear levels might be more prone to hold negative views of the police and as a result not trust and use the service. Not using the service might have an impact on the police as one of its jobs is to officially record trends in crime. If citizens have faith in the ability of the CJS to deal with crime, they will be less fearful of crime. However, dealing with this issue is complex, bearing in mind that some people think about it as a reflection of the actual crime, whereas others are aware that fear of crime might be a misapprehension shaped by factors other than the realities of crime, like for example the media (Chadee, 2001). The media and its impact on fear of crime is a foremost factor and has been debated for many years, with some promoting the notion that watching television leads to a strong fear of crime (Gerbner et al., 1980) while others have found a positive but weak relationship (Rice and Anderson, 1990). Nevertheless, the majority of research indicates that the relationship between media usage and greater levels of fear of crime is dependent on additional characteristics, such as direct experience with crime (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981) or the frequency of media usage (Chiricos et al., 1997). This section looks at who fears and why, the way the media distorts crime and punishment and its impact on the fear of crime will be the focus of the next chapter.

The leading works of Anglo-American criminology have focused on the research of public attitudes to crime and punishment and the relationship such attitudes might have with fear of crime. This relationship is tested by posing questions, such as 'How safe or unsafe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?' with four possible answers offered (very safe,

fairly safe, a bit unsafe and very unsafe) (Kühnrich and Kania, 2005). However, Greek academics, when looking at the relationship between fear of crime and victimisation, have used three common indicators of fear (Zarafonitou, 2009) and this approach is used in the current study which also takes place in Greece. The reason Zarafonitou's (2009) questions were used in this study are initially because they have already been tested and used on the Greek public and secondly because they offer responses for people's attitudes in relation to fear of crime along with victimisation. This allows for the relationship between previous victimisation and fear of crime, as well as the impact that this relationship has on attitudes towards crime and punishment to be explored in more depth.

Section 5 of the questionnaire (see appendices: 244) asked respondents to answer three questions with reference to their fear in different situations. They were asked to state whether they feel safe walking alone in their area after dark, when they are alone at home after dark, and how worried they feel about becoming victims of crime. Merging the 'very safe' and 'fairly safe' answers (as a clearer way to present the data), 61% (n=153) of Greek people felt safe alone after dark and 75% (n=189) felt safe at home after dark. Merging the 'not that worried' and 'not worried at all' answers, 49% (n=122) were not afraid of potentially becoming victims of crime (see Table 5.2).

**TABLE 5.2** *Greek People's Perception of Fear of Crime and Worry at Being Victims of Crime*

<i>Fear of Crime and Potential Victimisation Statements</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>People who feel safe walking alone after dark</i>	61	153
<i>People who feel alone at home after dark</i>	75	189
<i>People who feel worried of becoming a victim of crime</i>	49	122

Notes: Q: How safe or unsafe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?; How safe or unsafe do you feel alone at home after dark?; How worried do you feel about becoming a victim of crime?

These results were interesting because they suggested that in general, Greek people were not very afraid of crime thus providing motivation for investigating fear of crime and its impact on Greek people's attitudes in more detail. Hence, there are reasons to believe that these connections are important in the way they influence respondents' attitudes to crime and this study focused on the three most important factors, that previous research has shown may influence fear of crime. These are (a) criminal victimisation, (b) gender and (c)

respondents' fear levels in relation to levels of punitive attitudes. Victimization has been shown to have a significant impact on fear of crime (Povey et al., 2003), women are more fearful than men (Lee, 2007), as are also people who would prefer tougher punishment (Hough and Moxon, 1985).

The initial consideration examined whether victims of crime were more fearful of becoming potential victims and consequently had more punitive attitudes to crime and punishment. Survey respondents were separated into two groups, victims of crime, and non-victims of crime. These groups were then examined in relation to the three variables of fear of crime (1) walking alone in your area after dark, (2) feeling alone at home after dark, and (3) concern about becoming a potential victim of crime. Although previous research studies have devoted considerable attention to understanding the link between criminal victimisation and fear of crime, suggesting that individuals who have been victimised are more likely to be more fearful (Smith and Hill, 1991), the findings of this study did not appear to concur. Cross tabulations were used to get a better sense of how previous victimisation had an impact on respondents' fear of crime and no statistical significance was found. These findings suggest that being previously victimised has no effect on Greek people's fear of crime.

Qualitative outcomes equally suggest that there is no crucial difference between previous victims and non-victims. A phrase frequently used by qualitative interviewees including both those who have been and those who have not been victims of crime was *'I still sleep with my door unlocked'*, therefore illustrating that Greek people's levels of fear are not high, feeling secure regardless of victimisation. These findings apparently challenge research evidence that those being victimised are more afraid of crime and those being afraid of potential victimisation should be more fearful.

Additionally, by combining quantitative and qualitative results, it is argued that being a victim or not being a victim does not lead to higher levels of fear and consequently appears not to lead to either negative or positive attitudes to crime and punishment. Studies by Garofalo (1981) and Smith and Hawkins (1973) show similar evidence of victimisation not being important in predicting attitudes to the police. Furthermore Box et al. (1988) in their

attempt to explain fear of crime suggested that being victimised is intrinsically disturbing and cannot be attributed to a single factor but several, including gender, race, and neighbourhood cohesion.

The second consideration reflects on the issue of gender and explores whether women are more fearful than men. Therefore, it might be assumed that if women are more afraid of crime or more worried of becoming potential victims of crime, then their attitudes towards crime and punishment might be more punitive than men's.

Chi square statistics showed that there was no statistical significance between the two latter variables of fear of crime (being alone at home after dark and being worried to become potential victim of crime) and gender. However, cross tabulations showed that in respect to the variable 'fearing walking alone in the area after dark', there was a significant difference between males and females with males (n=99, 73%) being less afraid than females (n=151, 53%) (see Table 5.3).

**TABLE 5.3** *How Gender Can on Impact Greek People's Level of Fear of Crime and Potential Victimization*

	Males				Females			
	Safe		Unsafe		Safe		Unsafe	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
<i>Walking Alone in the Area after Dark</i>	72.7	72	27.3	27	53.3	81	46.7	73

Notes: Significant at the 5% level.

Qualitative findings illustrate similar results with men being less afraid than women, and explain why men might be likely to worry of being victimised. Female interviewees admitted their fear of being victimised, but not for every crime. Women appeared afraid of being victims of sexual attack as well as those who had children feeling less secure for their children. As the following quotes illustrate:

*'When I sometimes walk back home and it starts getting dark, I am worried that somebody may try to physically hit me. I am not saying that I am a pretty young girl to be raped; I am too old for that; but may be physically harming me'. (Interview 7, Female, 59)*

*'I am a mother now and I am mostly worried and yes being afraid that somebody might harm my child'. (Interview 6, Female, 34)*

However, females did not feel potential victims of burglary or theft as most men did. Therefore, women appeared to believe that they belonged to the vulnerable group of interviewees, as they thought they were unable to protect themselves physically and protect their children from being victimised. Hale (1996: 95) argued that *'any model trying to explain fear will include some notion of vulnerability'*. Research has identified similar results with women feeling less able to cope with emotional and physical consequences of being victimised (Toseland, 1982). Earlier studies also support the idea that gender is a factor accounting for women being more fearful of criminal victimisation (Box et al., 1988; Roberts, 2001). Therefore, since women are more afraid, it may be concluded that women will hold more punitive attitudes to crime and punishment and as a result will be less confident in the CJS.

The third reflection considers that those with significantly greater levels of fear would be more punitive, as Ferraro (1995) identified that fear of crime is associated with a desire to punish offenders. It is hypothesised that people who are more afraid of crime and criminal victimisation will punish criminals more harshly in order to avoid being potential victims. Here, the independent variable is measured by asking respondents to state levels of fear and the dependent variable is measured by asking respondents to state the purpose of punishment (reform or punish), this in turn is used as a measure of punitive attitude. For example, it is suggested that individuals feeling more unsafe, and in turn more fearful, will agree that retribution is the main purpose of punishment; whereas individuals feeling safer, in turn less fearful, will agree that reform is the main purpose of punishment.

The quantitative data collected and cross tabulations were used to get a better sense of how levels of crime had an impact on respondents' punitive attitudes. The chi-square statistic showed no relationship between the three types of fear of crime variables and the two justifications of punishment (reform and retribution) suggesting that there is no effect of people's fear on their desire to punish offenders and fear of crime is a less important indicator of predicting punitive attitudes.

Research suggested that the measurement of two variables, such as salience of crime and victimisation, is not as straightforward as expected (Taylor et al, 1979). Besides that fact, research supports the results of the present study, suggesting that there is no impact between fear of crime and people's punitive attitudes (Ouimet and Coyle, 1991). Regarding the key relationship between becoming a potential victim of crime and punitive attitudes, an interviewee explains it as following, by suggesting that retribution is the main aim of punishment:

*'I believe that punishment should be proportionate and the criminal has to suffer the consequences. What he has done, he must accept the same! I am not going to get victimised because he is free. He has to be punished and he has to be punished exactly similarly to what he has done!'* (Interview 2, Female, 51)

While this research finds some evidence for the association between being a victim of crime, gender and level of fear, there is less weighty evidence suggesting a relationship between the potential for becoming a victim of crime and punitive attitude.

Drawing together the main findings from this brief analysis of the impact of fear of crime on people's attitudes to crime and punishment, fear of victimisation would appear to be an influential factor. Perspectives such as 'an eye for an eye' and expressions such as 'get-tough' are assumed to be responses by survey respondents and qualitative interviewees who fear and are disappointed with the CJS. Roberts (2001) also concluded that those reporting high levels of fear were expected to hold considerably more negative views towards crime agencies other than the police and courts. The question that is now posed in response to a seeming escalation in dissatisfaction with the system is whether lower levels of fear can be translated to more encouraging perceptions towards crime and punishment. Since people's perceptions towards crime do not necessarily reflect realities, why are criminologists and policy makers not focused on developing a potentially 'safer' public perception?

### *5.1.3 Perceptions about Crime Rising and its Impact on Greek people's Attitudes towards Crime*

Regarding crime rates, studies have consistently found that the public believe that crime is increasing. In Britain, Hough and Roberts (1998) demonstrated that British people overrated the amount of crime, as well as in the USA, where Roberts and Stalans (1997) noted that this negative view also involves crimes of violence. In Australia, Paulin et al. (2003) asked their respondents whether more crime had been reported to the police in the past two years and found that 83% of the Australian public believed crime was rising, with half of them stating that there was 'a lot of crime'. Regarding Greek crime rates, Lampropoulou (2007) suggested that recorded crime rates had slightly increased over the past 20 years, peaking in 1983 and in 1999. Nevertheless, while there were several upward and downward trends, the increase in crime rates has been slight.

More particularly in the case of Kavala, where data was collected for this study, police statistics show only a minor increase in recorded crime between 2006-2009 (Maragkozoudis, 2006, 2007; Thomaidis, 2008; Kokmotou, 2009), with some types of crime actually decreasing. For example, rates of theft increased (from 123 to 130 cases, annual rate for the total population), rates of drug dealing offences decreased (from 136 to 130 cases, annual rate for the total population) and rates of sexual abuse stayed stable (2 cases, annual rate for the total population). However, nationally, crimes recorded by the Hellenic police within the period of 10 years (1998 to 2007) for Greece, had an annual tendency to increase by 2% (Hellenic Police: Ministry of Citizen Protection website, last accessed 2011).

In this study, the vast majority of the quantitative sample (95%, n=238) believed that crime is rising. Additionally, only 5% (n=12) said that crime is stable, while only 1 person believed it to be falling (see Table 5.4). Therefore, if considering that from time to time local crime increases (e.g.: theft), decreases (e.g.: drugs dealing) or stays stable (e.g.: rapes), then the overwhelming population of the sample holds an inaccurate belief that crime is only rising. On the other hand, national crime rates seem to only slightly increase and Greek people's views seem to correspond with the perception that crime is rising. Local versus national

responses to crime are discussed in later chapters. The reasons people's perceptions are overstated need more attention and the qualitative interviews were useful for that.

**TABLE 5.4** *Greek Perceptions about Greek Crime Rates*

<i>Perceptions about Crime Rates</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Crime is Rising</i>	95	238
<i>Crime is Falling</i>	4.8	12
<i>Crime is Stable</i>	0.4	1

Notes: Q: Do you think that crime in Greece is rising, is stable or is falling?

As might have been expected, views on crime rising were also expressed in the qualitative interviews, with interviewees maintaining that crime is rising, especially violent crime. Qualitative data helped to identify the reasons for people's perception that crime is rising. These were a) illegal immigration which according to Greek people's perceptions also increased b) unemployment rates, and c) the media. These issues are fully discussed in the next chapter, but a brief mention is imperative here as they have an impact on Greek people's attitudes towards increased in crime rates.

Many qualitative interviewees in this study appeared to associate higher crime rates with high levels of illegal immigration, findings similar to Indermaur and Roberts (2005) who argued that despite little evidence supporting a relationship between immigration and crime, a third (31%) of his sample believe that immigrants increase crime rates. Interviewees in this study found illegal immigrants responsible for the perceived rise in crime in two ways. The first was that illegal immigrants are criminals, because they moved into the country illegally and this spontaneously increased the level of crime. One individual responding to the question of whether crime is rising in Greece asserted:

*'Of course! Criminality has been increased; and this is happening mainly because of the illegal immigration. Statistics can confirm that! I remember there was an increase in criminality right when Albanians came over to Greece. They come here illegally and this is against the law'. (Interview 5, Male, 37)*

The second view describes immigrants as those who acquire jobs through accepting lower payment and paying no taxes, which in turn is perceived to cause more unemployment in Greece. A woman commented that:

*'Albanians come to Greece, they steal our jobs and ruin our families, steal our men'.*  
(Interview 2, Female, 51)

According to the latter perception, qualitative interviewees of this study believed that unemployment, both for immigrants and Greek people, causes an increase in crime levels. These perceptions attest to the findings of Young (1999) who termed the negative 'Other' in reference to a criminal underclass. Greek people of this study perceive immigrants as the 'Others' who commit crime to enter the country illegally and keep committing further crimes in order to maintain themselves. From a more theoretical perspective, Young designates *'immigrants as other, an Alien group as opposed to the supposed cultural normality of the indigenous population... seen as a source of crime, of drugs prostitution and violence'* (Young, 2003: 455).

Young (1999) argues that there are three types of exclusion, the economic which excludes individuals from the labour market, the social which excludes individuals from the civil society and the expansion of the CJS which excludes individuals from daily life. He suggests that work and family used to be the central values for people, but from the 1960s society 'separates and excludes' (Young, 1999: 7) and because of class and life variances as well as immigration of people from other cultures, everyone may become a potential deviant. When Greek people think about the reasons for rising crime and more generally crime and its control they tend to blame illegal immigration and people from other cultures. That in turn makes Greek people less tolerant towards the 'Others' or those in society who don't conform to a norm, and more xenophobic. Xenophobia was not an unexpected finding for the reason that Greece was identified as the most reluctant European country to accept multiculturalism (Coenders et al., 2003).

Qualitative interviewees held the opinion that crime is rising and most suggested that they acquired that information from the media, especially national television and newspapers. There was a general perception that since crime news promotes the belief that crime is

rising, then crime is certainly rising. In several cases this was summed up in fairly direct terms, as shown in the comments of the following interviewee:

*'Crime is big nowadays. I see the news and they talk about crime all the time'.*  
(Interview 11, Female, 36)

The effects that media representations might have on people's perceptions about crime and punishment will be discussed in the next chapter but it is important to note that those who believe that crime is rising also agree that this is influenced by the media. An interviewee stated:

*'...based on the media and the representation that the media endorse for the people, regularly a distorted picture of reality, which 'swells' criminal behaviours, and as a result individuals have the perception that crime is rising'.* (Interview 15, Male, 50)

Pfeiffer et al. (2005), in their attempt to explain media use and its power to influence people's perceptions on sentencing and crime, have suggested that television viewing, especially the fictional and factual dealing of crime, encourages the attitude that crime is rising. Certainly, exploring the issue of media is complex, but this study attempts to look at it in more depth, in turn clarifying the significance of media impact on attitudes to crime and punishment which will be returned to in the next chapter.

Comparing the findings of the current study alongside previous research, public attitudes towards crime rates rarely correspond with surveys investigating victimisation or with police statistics (Rex and Tonry 2002; Roberts and Indermaur 2009). Mattison and Mirlees-Black (2000) noted that 59% of their respondents assume that crime is increasing when in reality it is decreasing. Similarly, Hough and Roberts (1998) found matching conclusions, with three-quarters of their sample presuming that there is more crime than two years ago. US and Canadian (Maguire and Pastore, 1999) as well as Australian studies (Weatherburn and Indermaur 2004) also indicate that a considerable proportion of the sample inaccurately consider crime to be increasing when, in fact, crime is stable or slowly decreasing. Therefore, the results of this study establish a consistent baseline with previous research, which frequently identified that the population is likely to believe that crime is rising,

whether or not it is a reality. In this study Greek people overestimated the volume of crime and their misconception of the amount of crime rising is important to understanding their low confidence towards crime and punishment and aspects of the CJS.

## **5.2 Public Perceptions Regarding the Causes of Crime**

The first part of this chapter introduced public perceptions towards crime in general and how these attitudes are constructed. This part has the same intention with a focus on attitudes in Greece and the perceptions that people hold regarding the causes of crime. By examining individuals' perceptions on the reasons people commit crimes as well as what helped them in believing as such, it is possible to study the attitudes that Greek people hold towards crime and how they construct them. There have been previous investigations into what the public believes are the causes of crime in order to further explore public confidence and attitudes towards crime (Mattinson and Mirrlees-Black, 2000; Smith, 2007). The way people understand the causes of crime influences the policies they support to fight crime (Hawkins, 1981; Sims, 2003). The results of the current study showed that Greek people, when asked what causes an individual to commit crime, are mostly focused on the social causes of crime. The quantitative survey was helpful in recognising what Greek people believed were the factors that lead to criminal behaviour and the qualitative interviews assisted in explaining and identifying how Greek people constructed these views, paying closer attention to the issues of illegal immigration and unemployment.

This part presents a Greek perspective on the causes of crime as these findings are essentially images of Greek people's understanding of crime. The public seemed to take a view of the crime problem with social causes being cited more frequently than biological and psychological motives. What was particularly interesting was that Greek people looked beyond the individual, recognising the influence of social conditions embedded within Greek society. For the purpose of this study, I will concentrate on two major theoretical perspectives: the sociological explanations of crime and the biological and psychological aspects of crime (Jones, 2007). These perspectives were chosen because they have emerged from quantitative and qualitative data collection as being influential in present thoughts on crime issues. I refer to the 'social' view which highlights social forces such as unemployment

as proximate causes of crime; and the 'individual' view which believes rational human choices like feelings of anger and jealousy causes crime, often associated with mental disorders and psychopathological sicknesses. In short, the social causes of crime hold society responsible for crime, whereas the individual causes of crime hold the human responsible for crime.

The capacity to comprehend crime from a sociological perspective has been explored through several theories that contributed to the basic knowledge we now have about crime and punishment. Vold (1979) argued that sociological theories are based on social interaction rather than on the individual and Jones (2009) recently agreed by confirming that these social theories are still considered of importance in debates about crime. Since the time sociologists were trying to understand criminal behaviour, the search for causes of crime has focused on social factors as Durkheim considered that crime is caused by forces external to the individual and is a functional attribute that society needs (Jones, 2009). Over time the concept of 'crime and society' has been questioned and it has been argued that many factors influence criminal behaviour including subcultures, which are social groups acting together and operating collectively, in accordance with diverse values different to the rest of society (Jones, 2009). This study does not respond to those debates but the aim of its reference to the sociological explanations of crime is to support the notion that crime might be an outcome of interactions within society, assumptions also held by Greek people.

Initially, the quantitative survey asked respondents to choose from several social and individual statements about the causes of crime by asking them 'why people commit crimes'. Smith's (2007) and Robert and Hough's (2004) research have been helpful in selecting factors, such as 'better parenting' or 'harsher sentencing', which were provided as possible answers for respondents in the questionnaire (see appendices: 244) At the end of each section, an 'other' choice was also encoded allowing respondents to include other reasons they believed to be important, adding either more social or more individual causes of crime. Respondents of quantitative data appeared to favour social explanations over individual ones (see Table 5.5).

**TABLE 5.5** *Greek Perceptions on the Main Causes of Crime*

<i>Main Cause Crime</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Unemployment</i>	73.7	184
<i>Police is not doing a good job</i>	70.9	177
<i>Schools are not responsible enough for moral guidance</i>	65.7	164
<i>Court sentences are lenient</i>	64.1	160
<i>Report of crime within media</i>	63.7	159
<i>They are not deterred by imprisonment</i>	60.9	152
<i>Their family is broken</i>	56.1	140
<i>They are illegal immigrants</i>	36.3	90
<i>They do not believe in God</i>	30.7	76
<i>People do not take responsibility for keeping their property safe</i>	26.3	65
<i>Other (i.e. peer influence)</i>	6.7	16

Notes:

1. Q: Why people commit crimes?
2. Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple response variables.

Each percentage represents the number of respondents who believed that each of the statement was important. Regarding the main cause of crime, the following findings emerged. Unemployment got the most responses (74%; n=184) followed by the sociological reason that the ‘police is not doing a good job’ (71%; n=177), ‘schools are not responsible enough for moral guidance’ (66%; n=164), ‘court sentences are lenient’ (64%; n=160), ‘report of crime within media’ (64%; n=159), and ultimately, ‘they are not deterred by imprisonment’ (61%; n=152) and finally ‘illegal immigration’ (36%; n=90), and individualistic factors like the ‘family is broken’ (56%; n=140), or ‘people do not believe in God’ (31%; n=76) and ‘they do not take responsibility for keeping their property safe’ (26%; n=65). Even though the individualistic causes of crime were less favoured, the percentage selecting them was still relatively high. Looking at the factor of family, more than half of the survey respondents believed it to be significant and although it was not rated at the top of the list, ‘family is broken’ seemed a vital cause of crime for Greek people. This factor was particularly picked out, initially because as it is soon stated, family is of great importance when exploring the reasons which people commit crimes from a qualitative perspective, but also because Greek people placed it as a key factor of their culture, a matter which is discussed in later chapters.

Respondents in the quantitative survey identified social reasons as the most important causes of crime, but without entirely excluding the individual factors. Social causes of crime pay close attention to the influence of social, cultural, and economic conditions within

society and Greek people might hold these perceptions as a consequence of the recent financial crisis that Greece faces nowadays. The core issue of the Greek financial crisis and how it influences Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment is later discussed as here the quantitative survey is seeking to map the area of Greek attitudes and to investigate Greek people's responses towards the causes of crime. What is interesting is that quantitative survey respondents believed that illegal immigration was less important than most other causes of crime, whereas interviewees of the qualitative interviews said that illegal immigrants are the major cause of crime. This might be because the survey respondents who ticked this cause in the questionnaire are referring to the fact that as an illegal immigrant you suffer more poverty and unemployment, rather than simply implying that they are pathologically criminal due to being immigrants.

While undertaking the qualitative interviews, it has been more fitting to deal with people's attitudes to the causes of crime and dig deeper into understanding why Greek people hold certain attitudes. There was a clear division between social and individual causes of crime and initially there was a tension around qualitative interviewees supporting the social causes of crime. A foremost topic that was frequently mentioned by the interviewees was illegal immigration. Although this issue is fully discussed in later chapters, it was essential to investigate how people's attitudes were affected by illegal immigration when they reflected on the causes of crime. This helped to clarify their perception of crime and subsequently their attitudes to crime. The majority of people initially suggested that illegal immigration was the main cause of crime and if levels of illegal immigrants were reduced, crime could reduce. This was typically presented as:

*'Immigrants came into the country and caused crime. They still do. Greece was a crime free country some year ago'. (Interview 8, Female, 54)*

Secondly, some qualitative interviewees related the issue of immigration to high rates of unemployment believing that people are increasingly without jobs and commit crime. The majority of interviewees suggested that individuals with low socio-economic status might become offenders and commit crime during periods of unemployment. A clearly social factor that many agreed with was expressed in the following way:

*'If we had not got this financial problem, things would have been different. Some year ago, Greeks were going to America, they had money to move around. Kavala used to be a rich town, although people were more conservative, Kavala used to have 4 to 5 clubs and every day the clubs were full of people and the taverns; and we did not go out on Saturdays because there was no place available. We used to work every day, earning money, and could do whatever we wanted. We needed the sun and some Ouzo. But not now, people do not work and they are not able to buy even the basics. Every conversation around the city is about finance and bankrupts. There is no trust between the people you do not know, you consider many as criminals. Even poor immigrants who came to Greece for a better future as considered criminals. And that is because they have no jobs and the money is not enough for the basics, so they will steal the country, they will steal by you. That is a shame!'* (Interview 18, Male, 55)

As stated in the previous section regarding Greek people's perceptions towards crime rising, qualitative interviewees of this study believed, that unemployment, both for immigrants and Greek people, causes an increase in crime levels. According to interviewees the two phenomena seemed being relatively associated, with immigration to cause unemployment and respectively unemployment to cause crime. As there is a true in these perceptions, with studies tracking the behaviour of individuals over time generally suggest that there is a strong relationship between unemployment and crime (Farrington et al., 1986), nonetheless the importance here is focused on why Greek people hold the society responsible for causing crime, involving socio-economic factors as the main causes of crime. Durkheim and Merton's contributed to theories of strain and anomie (Jones, 2009) where strain results from components such as poverty and lack of opportunity and anomie leads people to values, such as labelling societal norms to achieve success through unlawful means. Greek people's perceptions that crime is caused by social factors links to what Webber (2007) suggested that according to relative deprivation theory, greater success by some stimulates the lower class to commit more crime, arguing that it is more of a perception in mind of someone concerning his or her surroundings, than it is a theory. Greek people in this study, construct crime in such a way that they consider that an increase in immigration causes an increase in unemployment which is accompanied by an increase in criminality in Greece.

However, there is some evidence that qualitative interviewees sustained that the individual person, and the individual free choice as well as biological or psychological conditions might be linked to delinquent behaviour. Many theories have concentrated on individual free will

and on the innate characteristics of criminality. The classical and neo-classical theories are based on the idea of free will and rational choice and other theories have taken biological concerns into consideration suggesting that there is a relationship between physical characteristics and criminal behaviour (Jones, 2009). In this context, qualitative interviewees of this study paid attention to two conditions. Initially, they focused on the factor of family and how it controls a criminal's personality structure, and secondly on the neuropsychological structure of criminals. A number of interviewees held views that a broken family can be a key factor contributing to criminality and close family ties indicate a way of reducing crime. Another significant matter for interviewees here related to both parents working and not spending enough time with their children in structuring children's personality. The following statement illustrates the above perceptions:

*'There are many broken families and there are families that both parents go to work. Our parents have not been working and mothers used to have children close to them. Nowadays children are away from mothers and they return back home late at night. When I was younger, I was not going to work, because I had my children with me all times. Now I have to go to work, but they have grown up and money runs out.'* (Interview 2, Woman, 51)

A question asked of respondents in the quantitative survey is what people consider the three most important causes of crime. The most frequent responses were unemployment, followed by the police not doing a good job, and finally that schools are not taking enough responsibility for moral guidance, all being social causes of crime. Most interviewees from the qualitative interviews agreed with the above findings, however, they concentrated on the factor of family, supporting the perception that in Greece family ties are strong and this is the reason why crime rates are still not as high as other countries. As the following quote demonstrates:

*'My opinion for those reasons is different. I live in a school as a teacher but I was a pupil too. The school and relatively the modules that are taught will not turn someone to become a criminal and to commit a criminal act. However, I believe that close attention should be given in the matter of the environment within the family. The way people grow up as the morals are taken from the family. If there is a chance for somebody to become a criminal, school would not help on that, but he or she would have the tendency coming from his or her house. That tendency will be later become obvious within the society in the first difficult situation and this will be the criminal behaviour. That is my opinion.'* (Interview 13, Male, 56)

Interviewees' preference for increased parental responsibility and control is supported by other research. For example, Hough and Roberts (1998) found that increased parental discipline is considered as the most effective strategy in preventing crime. Through a theoretical perspective, Hirschi's control theory (1969) introduced the idea of control and social bonds to criminology, offering synoptic links to the family and suggested that people do not commit crimes when they are attached to others. The factor of family seems of great importance in influencing Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment and is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

The biological and psychological formation of criminal characteristics is also evident, but still slight, when investigating reasons that Greek people believe someone turns to criminal behaviour. A few interviewees mentioned that psychological frustration as well as mental illnesses might play a part, as shown in the following response:

*'Everybody can become a criminal. We cannot say that this person is a good man so he is not capable of committing a crime. There is a moment that he 'buckles' and he commits the crime. Some people are psycho and some are schizophrenics. Who knows what they capable of doing to you and to anybody?'* (Interview 8, Woman, 54)

The analysis so far has been based on both social and individual aspects that proved to be important in Greek people's perceptions about the reasons for committing crime. It can be argued that Greek people believe that crime is mostly caused by social factors, but the pathological reasoning of a person is of importance in their attitudes towards crime. A general observation while looking at the data and Greek people's preference on the social causes of crime over the individual ones is that there is dissatisfaction with government as well as the criminal justice aspects. Looking directly at potential causes of crime, with the exception of unemployment which in some way can also be considered an outcome of government failure, the choices made by the Greek people highlighted police, schools, courts, the way the media sensationalises crime and prisons to be the key contributors to crime. This observation suggests that individuals are suspicious of governmental institutions, including criminal justice agencies, which in turn might affect their attitude towards crime and punishment. The next part discusses that inference in greater detail supporting it with additional qualitative and quantitative data.

### 5.3 A Lack of Confidence in the Criminal Justice System

Generally, so far international research suggested that in most cases the CJS is fair and effective (Sherman, 2001), but when weighed against public perception there is an apparent lack of confidence towards it (Roberts and Hough, 2005). In his attempt to investigate confidence in the CJS, Bradford (2011) argues that the main reasons for public distrust in the CJS, and the distance between the public and the CJS, are related to the 'reassurance gap'. The reassurance gap as named by Millie and Herrington (2005) is the gap between people's perceptions that crime is rising while crime rates in England and Wales are actually falling. Bradford (2011) also suggests that the agency which people hold accountable is the police because this is the agency which people have most contact with. Research in Britain suggests that the least effective agency in the CJS is perceived to be the judiciary (Mirrless-Black et al., 1996). However, as has already been mentioned in chapter two, keeping citizens confident in the CJS is important for reasons like 'policing by consent' (Carter, 2002) and maintaining a more law-abiding public (Wood and Gannon, 2009). Roberts (2004) mentioned that the major causes of low confidence in the CJS is the perception that crime is rising, with re-offending rates being over-estimated and the severity of sentencing underestimated; a situation similar to that found in Greece.

Taking into consideration the great importance of keeping people satisfied with the CJS, this section investigated in detail how individuals of this study felt towards the Greek CJS and how their perceptions towards the CJS had an impact on their attitudes towards crime and punishment. Sub-sections look closely at Greek people's confidence in the major agencies of the CJS. First, Greek people's contact and experience with the police are explored and whether these factors impact on their attitude construction. The second part is dedicated to examining the courts and Greek perceptions on how good a job judges do. The third part moves on to consider the probation service and how confident Greek people are towards the agency and investigates whether their perception influences their attitudes to crime. Finally the fourth part looks at Greek attitudes towards prisons and the issue of overcrowding. Looking at the attitudes held by people towards the CJS is helpful in understanding this paradox of public expectations and the factors contributing to their attitude development. At this stage determining whether the system is fair or not was not

considered because the focus was on people's expectations and how these in turn lead to their perceptions, and understanding of crime and justice. The major finding is that Greek people lack confidence towards all four agencies of the Greek CJS and this leads to punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### *5.3.1 Contact and Experience with Police*

The police are the most highly rated criminal justice agency in Britain (Allen et al., 2006). In the search for what drives public perception towards crime, a link has been found with their contact and experience with the police. Smith (2007) asked his respondents to state which agencies the CJS consisted of and 74% of his sample thought of the police. Contact and experience with the police, but also with other agencies such as the courts, closely relates to levels of confidence and thus has a twofold direction. The first direction deals with those having contact with the police which lead them to have lower confidence, while the second works in reverse whereby contact with the police can lead people into a feeling of higher confidence. A French research study suggested that 30% of those having contact with police changed their attitudes to a more negative judgment, whereas 19% changed their attitudes to a more positive judgement (Pache and Ford, 2001). People who had experienced the CJS held either negative or positive attitudes, but either way those attitudes were still strong (Benesh and Howell, 2001).

The evidence from the current survey shows that although 81% (n=203) of respondents had never had any contact with the police, they tended to believe (71%; n=177) that crime is caused because the police were not doing a good job and that more police on the beat (81%; n=204) would help reduce crime (see Table 5.6). This evidence initially suggests that contact with police is not important when Greek people evaluate their attitudes towards the police. Here, it should be mentioned that having contact with the Greek police for a Greek citizen is not just a matter of being a victim or an offender, as the Greek police has the authority to also issue Greek IDs, passports and other documentations. This study had not requested such details from the quantitative survey respondents and as a result it is not in a position to provide such variances.

**TABLE 5.6** *Public Perceptions Showing the Lack of Greek People's Confidence in Police*

<i>Statements related to confidence in police</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Those had never had contact with police</i>	81	203
<i>Those believing that police is not effective</i>	70.9	177
<i>Those believing that more police on the beat will reduce crime</i>	81.2	204

Notes:

Q: Have you ever had any contact with any of the following agencies? a) Police.

Q: Why people commit crimes: j) People commit crimes because police is not doing a good job.

Q: Which of the following factors would reduce crime? J) More police on the beat.

Similarly, evidence from the qualitative data showed that Greek people would turn to the police if they were a victim of crime but this did not change their general lack of confidence in the agency. These findings correspond to several previous findings suggesting that any contact with the police is likely to potentially threaten people's confidence towards the agency (Waddington, 1999; Smith, 2007). The majority of interviewees stated that the police, as well as other criminal justice institutions, are corrupt and that police officers would not do anything to help citizens, as shown by this interviewee:

*'I would have gone to the police if I was a victim of crime because there is nowhere else to go. There is too much corruption in the police. Police are involved to drug dealing... From personal experience, I can confirm that police are doing nothing. Somebody crashed my car and then stole everything I had in the car. I am positive sure that the police have done nothing about it, or investigating who the offender might be'. (Interview 3, Male, 30)*

The above statement shows that there is no other option for Greek people to express their desire for justice, but to turn to the police. However, the feeling of doubt is evident in Greek people's perceptions of the police and this lack of confidence might be the reason why the majority of the sample had never used the police before. Nickolas and Walker (2004) in a Mori research project found that 19% of their sample had been 'really annoyed' with the police during the last five years. Roberts and Hough (2005) summarised findings from the British Crime Survey and suggested that British people see the police as they would like to see them, eventually forming their opinions by comparing their expectations to their experiences. Greek people utilise their lack of confidence, without having an experience to shape their attitudes towards crime and punishment and this seems to have a negative result. This study is focusing on Greek people who seem to hold more negative attitudes towards the police than any other international research subjects, but further research is

needed on the exact expectations and priorities Greek people request from the Greek police. For example, for what types of crimes Greek people would trust the police or whether their knowledge on specific responsibilities of the police would change their attitudes and led to more confident perceptions towards the Greek CJS.

### *5.3.2 Courts: Disparity*

Lack of confidence in courts has been attributed to low understanding of how a court might work. Smith (2007) noted that, in people's perceptions the second most noted agency making up the CJS was the courts. He also suggested that 'tougher sentencing' is the second most significant aspect, after 'more police on the beat', that people think will improve levels of assurance in the CJS. With the courts forming a major agency of the CJS, it is important that public attitudes towards it are positive. However, in the case of Greece, findings from the present study suggest that people do not believe that courts deliver justice, leading to both their value and efficiency being questioned. While most survey respondents had never visited a court before (75%; n=188), they still expressed their views towards the service. Scholars have already suggested that people mostly go to the court holding misconceptions about how the system actually works (O' Barr and Conley, 1988).

Therefore, this partial understanding corresponds with pessimistic opinions about the courts (Raine and Dunstan, 2006). This pessimism towards the courts was evident in this study with 195 out of 251 survey respondents (77%) believing that the courts are not doing a fair job in the way they sentence criminals (see Table 5.7), with a great number of them (82%; n=204) stating that court penalties are not proportionate to the crime committed. Sixty four per cent of respondents (n=160) considered court sentences to be too lenient and that this is one reason that people commit crimes. Also, 61% (n=150) believed that crime will decline if courts make stiffer sentences and use imprisonment as a penalty more often. However, looking at the next part 'punishment' there is a perceptible distinction between people's attitudes when considering the severity of courts in relation to how they feel about imprisoning offenders committing minor crimes. Although people initially believe that harsher penalties will result in less crime, they also suggest that prison is not the right agency to place an offender, making their attitudes less punitive and more in favour of

reform. Additionally, this lack of confidence may either come from people’s lack of knowledge or it might develop from their confusion on core functions of the courts.

**TABLE 5.7** *Public Perceptions Showing the Lack of Greek People’s Confidence in Courts*

<i>Statements related to confidence in courts</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Courts are not doing a fair job in the way they sentence criminals</i>	76.8	195
<i>Courts sentences are not proportionate to the crime committed</i>	82.1	204
<i>Court sentences are too lenient</i>	64	160
<i>Crime declines if courts makes stiffer sentences and use more imprisonment as a penalty more often</i>	61	150

Notes:

Q: Do you think that courts are doing a fair job in the way they sentence criminals?

Q: Do you think that the penalties that the courts pass are proportionate to the crime committed?

Q: Why people commit crimes: i) People commit crimes because the court sentences are lenient.

Q: Which of the following factors would reduce crime? c) Make stiffer sentences and more prisons.

This dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of the courts is particularly obvious within the qualitative data. People explained their dissatisfaction by separating citizens into two groups, the wealthy and the deprived. A number of qualitative interviewees stated that the court system is corrupted with wealthy offenders having ‘connections’ and the financial safety. They believed that wealthy citizens are more privileged in the way they are treated by courts, because of their financial status. Additionally, for them, the rich commit serious crimes, but they are not paying with punishment but with money. That is in contrast to more deprived people, who commit faults and are ‘doing time’. A female interviewee stated:

*‘For example, somebody owes 1000 Euros to the country and the courts decide to put him into prison, just for that amount of money. And somebody who is rich has got the money to pay off any crime committed. What do you think? Why they do not put rich people in prison? Because they are afraid of losing their position and the system is not working fair for every one of us. This is why poor people commit less crime than the wealthy.’* (Interview 8, Female, 54)

This conception fits with the Mori (2003) findings (cited by Roberts and Hough, 2005) reported that 80% of respondents believed that the most essential function of the courts should be ‘ensuring the guilty are convicted and the innocent are acquitted’. Greek people’s punitive attitudes are influenced by both factors and the consequences will be explored in later chapters. For example, Roberts and Hough (2005) mentioned that court is one of the most visible agencies within the media and when people follow media stories, there is a

possibility that their attitude becomes distorted. Consequently their confidence and in turn the way they potentially use criminal justice agency like the courts is affected. Similarly, Greek people's lack of confidence in the courts, whether shaped through media, personal experience or any other factor, influences Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment, here in a very negative direction. Greek people have less confidence in the courts and as a result less favourable attitudes towards the Greek CJS.

### *5.3.3 Prisons: Overcrowding*

Kjelsberg et al. (2007) argue that keeping people's attitudes towards prisons positive is an essential factor to secure the effectiveness of rehabilitation programmes and reintegration of prisoners after release. On the other hand, Smith's (2007) respondents place prison second from the end with only 17% of his sample thinking about prison when asked to state agencies within the CJS. This might happen because individual confidence in prisons is insignificant. Mirrlees-Black (2001) suggested that the public underestimates sentencing as 80% considered sentencing to be too lenient. Additionally, she mentions that those confident in the courts believed that sentencing practice is about right in contrast to those being least confident and think that sentencing is too lenient.

Moreover, there is also a perception that prisons do not work and imprisonment is not the correct punishment for offenders. In recent research Roberts and Hough (2011) explored how factors, such as if an offender was a victim of abuse in childhood, play a role in respondents' preference for custody or community services as punishment. They found that several mitigating factors can change public attitudes and people become less harsh by choosing community over custody for offenders. This example has been mentioned in order to explain the paradox of people holding negative attitudes to several agencies of the CJS and believing harsher punishment is needed while, when they are asked to choose between imprisonment and community service, they favour the latter.

The foremost observation from this study is that opinions about prisons were only formulated from experience in 5% of cases; therefore only 12 out of 251 survey respondents have ever visited a prison (see Table 5.8). That observation leads to the conclusion that

Greek attitudes are largely based on information from different sources rather than experience. In the direction of respondents' levels of confidence, it is argued that 61% (n=152) of survey respondents believed that those committing crimes do so because they are not deterred by imprisonment. Nevertheless, the same number of people (61%; n=152) stated that an effective way to reduce crime is to send more offenders to prison. Here, the former position suggests that prisons are responsible for potential crime and this leads people to have less confidence in the prison system; whereas, the latter position supports that prison might be effective in reducing crime, and therefore people feel more confident in the agency. However when asked about overcrowding and the best means of reducing prison numbers, survey respondents were more in favour of offenders 'spending days helping people in the community' (44%; n=112) and 'getting training and counselling' (44%; n=112). This indicates that Greek people support less punitive sanctions and their confidence in prisons is to some degree low.

**TABLE 5.8** *Public Perceptions Showing the Lack of Greek People's Confidence in Prisons*

<i>Statements related to confidence in prisons</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Have had contact with prison</i>	5	12
<i>People commit crimes because they are not deterred by imprisonment</i>	60.9	152
<i>An effective way to reduce crime is to send more offenders to prison</i>	60.9	152
<i>Prison overcrowding can be dealt by offenders spending days helping people in community</i>	44.4	112
<i>Prison overcrowding can be dealt by offenders getting training and counselling</i>	44.4	112

Notes:

Q: Have you ever had any contact with any of the following agencies? c) Prisons.

Q: Why people commit crimes: c) People commit crimes because they are not deterred by imprisonment.

Q: Which of the following factors would reduce crime? i) Send more offenders to prisons.

Q: How would you deal with prison overcrowding? c) Spent a certain number of days helping people in community; e) get training and counselling.

This lack of confidence in prisons is also evident in the qualitative interviews. Here, interviewees described prisons as places that produce more criminals and in turn more crime and punishment. Only one had ever had any contact with prisons but all of them were aware of prison overcrowding, believing it to be inhuman for inmates. There is a view that that prison causes more crime, as an interviewee suggested in the following quote:

*'Prison is a congested society which functions on its own rules. As a law abiding citizen has to follow the rules of society, similarly the prisoner has to follow the rules of the prison. However, prison is a society consisted of prisoners, meaning that prison society is eventually criminal. So, people spending time in prison get used to codes of criminality rather than codes of the 'outside' society. That makes them more criminal'. (Interview 13, male, 56)*

In addition, prison officers were believed to be responsible for unjust treatment in prison. Greek people believe they discriminate by providing comforts, like mobile phones and drugs to the more affluent. These beliefs are reflected in the following extract:

*'Have you ever heard the expression: More Schools less Prisons? At least, in schools there are teachers who studied their job. Prison officers are there as watchers. Their salary is low, their job is dangerous and since they feel unappreciated, they earn money by making the offenders' lives easier. Cigarettes, tobacco, mobile phones and drugs. Easy money'. (Interview 3, Male, 30)*

Public perceptions of prisons drawn from personal experience or any other factors presented within this study are negative. Besides that fact, Greek prisons are overcrowded and the number imprisoned is set to carry on rising over the next few years if change does not occur. A report by Amnesty International (2011) portrays Greek prisons as inhumane, with poor detention conditions and growing overcrowding. Last December, more than 1,200 prisoners refused meals and went on hunger strike trying to improve, among other things, their living conditions. According to qualitative interviewees, imprisonment was considered appropriate for serious crimes and for cases where the offender poses harm or danger to the public. Yet, they believed that prisons were brutal places that created more crime in society. That cannot be a coincidence bearing in mind that according to the Greek Ministry of Justice, there is room for about 7,500 prisoners, and in 2010, 11,364 prisoners were held in Greek prisons.

Only recently Cheliotis (2012) suggested poor conditions are common in Greek prisons with a lack of material conditions, a lack of proper healthcare with prisoners carrying serious diseases and mental disorders, as well as illicit drug use, self-harm and suicide. He states that although the Greek government promised that there will be improvements in the correctional system, the prison conditions get worse (Cheliotis, 2012). That is also confirmed by the CTP (European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading

Treatment or Punishment) (2001) report, in which it is suggested that Greek authorities take no action to improve the prison conditions. In consideration of the above findings that prisons are actually inhuman places as well as that inaction of authorities to improve the standard living conditions, individuals' perceptions towards prisons are rational. Greek people's lack of confidence in the prisons enforces their negative attitudes more generally towards the Greek CJS.

#### *5.3.4 Probation: Forgotten Agency*

In this study confidence in the probation service has been addressed only very briefly through the quantitative data collection. For this reason, special attention was given to the probation service during the qualitative interviews. As already pointed out in chapter two, the probation service in Greece has been active since 2007 (Mayris, 2007), indicating that Greek people might not be aware of the service as much as the other agencies of the Greek CJS. The findings here support this indication with quantitative survey respondents and qualitative interviewees being uninformed of what the probation service really is and its responsibilities towards offenders. This is evidenced through the contradictory responses given in the quantitative survey, in which 44% disagreed that the probation service could deal with prison overcrowding, in contrast to 45% who agreed. This finding might be a result of lack of awareness surrounding probation and its role. To fully comprehend individuals' attitudes towards the probation service, and their feelings in relation to the potential mechanism of the service in Greece, I fully informed each qualitative interviewee which are the main functions of the agency. Their negative responses were expected, considering their general lack of confidence towards the other criminal justice agencies. However, what was truly unexpected was that some interviewees did not believe that this is a setting that already exists in Greece and if true, then its progress is likely to be hindered, as shown in the following statements:

*'This is a real luxury for Greece. If this agency takes place in Greece it will not work as in England. This country is full of corruption. Officers will take advantage of it and somehow will get financial benefits'. (Interview 5, Male, 37)*

*'The probation sounds like a great idea, but how can probation work when prisons are doing nothing?' (Interview 12, Female, 62)*

*'I do not believe that this setting exists here. It would be wrong for two reasons. First, because there would be no outcome out of this service; and second because this service will label criminals twice. Prison will label them and Probation service would label them too'. (Interview 1, Male, 58)*

Greek people do not recognise the probation service, and this is common in other countries as well. In Britain for example, Hough and Roberts (1998) found that only one-third of the British Crime Survey sample was aware of the service. Furthermore, Woelinga (1990) conducted a repeat study in the Netherlands and found that although awareness of the probation service had increased, only a limited amount of people had actually heard of probation. More explicitly, a quarter of those aged 18-24 and one-fifth of women were not aware of the service at all, and more than half of the sample confused prison officers with probation officers. Roberts and Hough (2002) suggested that this ignorance towards the service might result from people's perceptions that the service has little impact upon offenders' lives and more specifically those committing violent crimes. A finding that may also explain the results of this study and the lack of confidence in the probation service found in Greece. Here, initially the lack of knowledge and in turn the lack of confidence towards the probation service lead to conclusions that Greek people hold negative attitudes towards the service. Once again, Greek people appeared dissatisfied holding unfavourable perceptions towards crime and punishment in Greece.

It seems that Greek people are not confident about any agency within the CJS. Confidence in the CJS was investigated in Greece in 2001 in a Sourcebook of European Values Study, the results of which were mixed. Overall, 47% of respondents felt a 'great deal or quite a lot of confidence'. Conversely, the current study shows significant dissatisfaction with the CJS as a whole. Attitudes to the police are slightly more favourable, and this might be a result of people's experience, but levels of confidence are still low both in quantitative as well as in qualitative data. A major reason for this may be the lack of knowledge people have of the CJS and how 'what people know' about the system influences their perception.

#### **5.4 Greek People's Lack of Interest in Crime and its Impact on their Knowledge about Crime**

St Amand and Zamble (2001) stated that in order to measure the extent to which issues reflect informed opinion, public opinion researchers have to take account of individuals' knowledge about the CJS. It is essential to understand what people really know about crime, if their perceptions are to influence criminal justice policies. Those more familiar with the effectiveness of the CJS will normally follow the law, be deterred from offending, and use the system more frequently. This will develop more confident and therefore more favourable public attitudes towards the CJS. However, most research on public attitudes to crime and punishment have been principally focused on the attitudes people hold and less on what people know about crime and punishment. This study examined the issue of knowledge by asking Greek people a series of questions regarding their awareness of crime rising, sentencing severity, and their contact with criminal justice agencies. So far, this survey has found that the public has an ill-informed view of crime rates in Greece believing that crime is dramatically rising, when crime is in fact only moderately rising. According to the quantitative survey respondents and the qualitative interviewees' perceptions, courts and prisons are exceptionally lenient, even though the majority of respondents had never had any contact with these agencies before. These characteristics are important in determining whether people gain their knowledge through personal experience and if that knowledge accurately reflects informed opinion.

This final issue emerged from the data collection and examines Greek people's relationship with crime and their opinion towards crime and punishment. In fact what is argued here and findings have showed, is that Greek people are not interested in crime and punishment, and this influences their levels of knowledge about these issues. In order to investigate the reasons for their lacking interest in crime, it was important to explore individuals' involvement in crime, and their experience. Since quantitative survey respondents and qualitative interviewees' experience in this study was limited, it was important to examine their most common sources of information about crime. Qualitative interviews were helpful as interviewees were asked directly where they get information about crime, since they had no personal experience with the CJS.

The first part of this section investigates Greek people’s involvement in crime, and the second part focuses on the sources that Greek people use to learn about crime and punishment. The third part concludes that the Greek financial crisis rather than criminality is at present a core issue for Greece. Greek people appeared keener to discuss financial issues, which naturally caused lack of interest in crime and punishment and consequently affected their knowledge of those issues.

#### 5.4.1 People’s Involvement in Crime and Punishment

As already pointed out 24% (n=59) of the quantitative sample had been victims of crime. Besides that fact only 19% (n=47) of the sample had any contact with the police, suggesting that same people are not reporting incidents to the police. The sample’s limited involvement with the CJS is further shown by their contact with courts and the prisons, with only 25% (n=63) having any previous contact with the courts and 5% (n=12) with prisons (see Table 5.9).

**TABLE 5.9** *Greek People’s Contact with the Greek Criminal Justice Agencies*

<i>Respondents who had contact with</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>The Greek police</i>	19	47
<i>The Greek courts</i>	25	63
<i>The Greek prisons</i>	5	12

Notes: Q: Have you ever had any contact with any of the following agencies? a) Police; b) Courts; c) Prisons

Furthermore, the qualitative data showed that several people have never been involved with the CJS and most importantly have never been questioned about or discussed issues like crime and punishment, or any other aspect of the system before. As one qualitative interviewee stated:

*‘Honestly, I have never thought about crime before. I watch crime on TV, basically on the news, but I prefer watching something else’. (Interview 9, Female, 43)*

As contact or involvement with the CJS among interviewees seemed limited or low and levels of personal victimization seemed low, this review now turns to consider how people

gain knowledge and how they form their perceptions towards crime and punishment. The following part gives a description of the two main sources that help to inform people about criminological issues. The former is the media and the latter is word of mouth. Mapping the two issues and their impact on Greek people's knowledge on crime and punishment, it was found that Greek people's knowledge about is formed by information they get from external factors rather than from involvement or experience of the CJS.

#### *5.4.2 Where does the Knowledge Come From?*

Knowledge is essential in keeping public attitudes to crime and punishment positive, as it maintains public confidence and in turn encourages people to engage with the CJS. Two major features appeared central to the question of 'where the knowledge about crime comes from'. First, is the media and as already stated in the literature review, the media are a prime focus for researchers investigating the construction of people's attitudes to crime, punishment, and the CJS. For this reason, this study dedicates a whole chapter to analysing this issue. However, some attention will briefly be given to the knowledge people gain about crime and the power of the media over that knowledge, here. The data collected in this study suggests that most Greek people gained knowledge about crime from television. As it is argued in a later discussion, the statistics show that those watching national TV news feel less confident in the CJS. For example, watching the national TV news appeared more influential than personal experience of being victimised, on individual perceptions of crime rates. This data is shown and explained in more detail in chapter six.

Dowler (2003) agrees that the media is the primary source that people use to gain information, thus knowledge, and build their perceptions of crime. However, this sounds like a solution for changing attitudes and therefore confidence in the system. Policy makers might draw on useful information to improve knowledge about crime. Improvements in knowledge can also be implemented by deliberate polls (Green, 2005) where there is a two-way discussion between the public and policy makers about crime. This might be a future recommendation for research in Greece, since improving attitudes may potentially influence and change levels of confidence. The media will be fully discussed in the next chapter, incorporating greater detail about the distortion caused to people's attitudes.

The second observable factor that was shown to influence individuals was 'word of mouth'. Greek society, especially in towns such as Kavala, is 'closed'. It is a Greek cultural tradition to spend hours with friends and chat to each other about what happens around them and around the world. Many interviewees stated that they knew about several aspects of the CJS from what other people say. In fact, Greek people seem to trust information they gain from others sometimes more than their own experiences with the CJS. See for example the following extract:

*'Those are crimes I hear 'by word of mouth'. Have you heard what happened to that guy, the one who lives in 2<sup>nd</sup> floor? People entered his house early on the afternoon! Everybody talks about it. (Interview 16, Female, 38)*

To summarise, findings showed that Greek people were not well-informed about crime, punishment and the CJS. Their knowledge was lacking which then lead to lower levels of confidence in the CJS generally. An additional observation is that Greek people, within this study, are less interested in those aspects, are not involved, or have never been concerned about crime, and overall appear less informed. This theme has engaged with the particular apathy that Greek people hold towards crime and punishment and found that people were more focused on issues of unemployment rather than criminality.

#### *5.4.3 The Financial Crisis and its Impact on Crime and People's Interest in Crime and Punishment*

Apart from Greek democracy and the Olympic Games, Greece is nowadays well-known for its financial crisis. It would be wrong not to touch upon the impact of this crisis from the Greek peoples perspective. At the moment, stringent measures are being taken in Greece including cuts to wages and pensions which have resulted in strikes, schools are being closed, and new taxes on low income citizens are being imposed. Punitive attitudes and public demands for harsher punishment are related to economic stability (King and Maruna, 2009). While exploring crime and Greek people's interest towards it, this study has found that the financial crisis is having a significant impact on public opinion. A perception that the majority of qualitative interviewees hold is that citizens are punished by the government, mostly by paying more taxes and by reducing their salaries, because 'others', and 'others'

here refers to politicians, have stolen state money. During the qualitative discussions, interviewees interrupted me to state their annoyance with the government over the financial crisis that they perceived to be destroying the country and their families. It is surprising the way interviewees describe the situation in Greece and the following quote reflects that attitude:

*'I wish I had time to think about other people's problems. I am not a criminal, I have never offended before. I am not sure what is going to happen in the future but this is something out of my plans. What I am mostly concerned is my family and how my daughter will have books for her school and all the goods I had when I was on her age. I am not sure if this is going to be possible, my daughter is now 6 and the money runs out of day by day. We work, me and my husband, and the jobs do not bring money in. The money we earn goes to the government, to save the country! Do you know that my dad is getting 400 Euros to spend each month? How can that man live? And this situation is nowadays occurring in every house you go into. Politicians tear down the country! They stole money from the country and they now ask from mine! That is a shame! Those are important things that people consider every day. I am not really concerned about what will happen to a prisoner. He committed a crime, he must be punished. Why do I have to be punished? Did I harm anyone?'* (Interview 16, Female, 38)

Greek dissatisfaction emerges in many more aspects than that of crime and punishment, such as politicians and people's faith towards the political system which will be examined in a later chapter. Greek people are more concerned about poverty and less about crime. Greece is not the only country experiencing this situation, similar findings can be seen in Romania with Haines (2007) suggesting that 58% of her sample identified poverty as a more important social problem than crime. In short, the apparent dissatisfaction and the apparent lack of interest in crime, punishment and the CJS in Greece may be a product of wider issues and the feeling that somebody trying to survive economically cannot be concerned about matters such as crime which are deemed to be irrelevant.

Greek people would suggest that when you try to survive you are either not interested in crime or you actually turn to crime as a means of survival. In Greece, the issue of the financial crisis and its impact on crime has only recently been reported, with scholars suggesting that the financial crisis plays a role in offences of property and violent crime (Xenakis and Cheliotis, 2012). Xenakis and Cheliotis (2012) argue that the financial crisis

gave the opportunity to political elites to direct public attention towards these offences by mostly referring to minority groups, and by the use of clientelism they avoid socio-economic conflicts between them and the public (Xenakis and Cheliotis, 2012). This study investigated Greek people's perceptions towards issues of clientelism and political corruption, which are discussed in the next chapter.

### **'Punishment'**

Ancient Greek people like Protagoras, considered *'τιμωρία'* (timoria) (the Greek word for punishment) to be a deterrent and supported a preventive view of punishment. Nowadays, Greek people in this study considered punishment without always acknowledging reforming elements. This part of the chapter explores the attitudes that Greek people hold towards punishment and identifies initial ways that perceptions towards punishment are constructed. The first issue of this part identifies what Greek people believed punishment should achieve while the second part addresses what they believed punishment actually accomplishes. As will be soon appreciated, public attitudes towards punishment in this study are complex and a more in depth discussion with interviewees was needed. This is the main reason that more qualitative than quantitative data has been provided in order to support the findings.

The first issue identified how Greek people understand punishment and this was linked to the justifications for punishment they mostly favoured. The major philosophies of punishment are used to classify responses looking at the way Greek people demand to imprison an offender and the issue of religion, which for Greek people is central in the way they chose to punish. This part continues by acknowledging and showing how although the Greek public generally sounded punitive they were less harsh when they were asked to punish. Further analysis is based on their attitudes towards imprisonment and their lack of confidence towards prisons was once again confirmed. The final issue to emerge from the data showed that once again Greek people are dissatisfied with the Greek CJS, and although they believed in natural justice, they were certain that it was not happening due to corruption and inefficiency.

## 5.5 Philosophies of Punishment

Roberts and Hough (2002) argue that for the public, all the justifications were likely to sound rational and people have little accurate knowledge of the main philosophies of punishment. There are a number of reasons why society punishes offenders, first is a belief that individual and general *deterrence* discourages offenders from committing crime; second that *incapacitation* removes offenders from society and places them in an environment where they can cause no further harm to society; third that *retribution* makes the punishment more painful or costly to the recipient than the pleasure or gain derived from the crime; fourth that *reform* or *rehabilitation* reforms offenders (Cullen and Gilbert, 1998). In this study it was interesting to investigate what the public believes about the philosophies of punishment, as international research suggest that the public's opinions on punishing appear controversial, an outcome consistent to this current study.

Recent public opinion research allows for a variety of responses by using methods that consider the purposes of punishment linked to questions on the type of offence or the offender. For example, in Canada (Roberts and Doob, 1989) and Australia (Indermaur, 1990) the public were largely found to prefer individual deterrence for offenders committing minor crimes with incapacitation reserved for more serious offending. The consistency in these findings is supported by American studies (Gerber and Engelhardt-Greer, 1996) which noted that the public saw retribution for adults and rehabilitation for juveniles as the major justification of punishment.

This research focuses on the above aims and thus asked Greek people to express their attitude towards the main justifications of punishment. Each justification was clearly explained in turn to them. In the questionnaire, the justifications were put in plain words and survey respondents had to choose which of the statements they 'disagreed' with or 'agreed' with as the purpose of punishment. Due to space and time constraints, it was not possible to investigate the aforementioned justifications in relation to specific crimes or specific offenders. The main purpose of this question was to investigate which justification of punishment the public considers most important and thus provide a better understanding of their levels of punitive attitude. In addition, the qualitative interviews allowed for greater

flexibility, bearing in mind that interviewees had both space and time to express themselves as much as they found essential for each philosophy.

Table 5.10 shows that 64% (n=160) of survey respondents believed that reform should be the most important purpose of punishment, closely followed by deterrence with 55% (n=138), incapacitation 40% (n=100), and final retribution 38% (n=95). Survey respondents chose a variety of punishing justifications, but they appeared to prioritise rehabilitation of offenders leaving retribution as the least important purpose of punishment. This suggests that their attitudes to punishment are less punitive, preferring rehabilitation of offenders rather than severe punishment.

**TABLE 5.10** *Greek People’s Perceptions on the Main Philosophies of Punishment*

<i>Philosophies of punishment</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Rehabilitation</i>	64	160
<i>Deterrence</i>	55	138
<i>Incapacitation</i>	40	100
<i>Retribution</i>	38	95

Notes:

Percentages do not add up to 100 due to multiple response variables.

Q: Which of the following do you believe that is the purpose of punishment?

This study explored Greek people’s attitudes towards punishment in greater detail while analysing qualitative data and paid closer attention to how interviewees felt about punishing criminal behaviour. Interviewees predominantly suggested that a criminal should be punished, but also treated justly, for example to have a fair trial, to be allowed to defend him or herself, and to be treated humanely while in custody:

*‘I guess the only available is prison. I am sad when I hear stories that people are not treated compassionately; not only when they are imprisoned, but also while their trial or when kept in custody before trial’. (Interview 4, Female, 33)*

*‘I believe that more prisons can be built but they should be correctly done. Those imprisoned should stay within the prison. Prison can work as long as it is right. Prisoners should have food, showers and so on. They should have their own space, and drugs must be forbidden’. (Interview 5, Male, 37)*

That links back to the concept of retribution, suggesting Greek people appear to support punishment as long as it is administered in a just and fair manner. However, qualitative data

supports a paradox of Greek people's punitive attitude in relation to the main justifications of punishment, when they are particularly asked about their attitudes towards specific justifications. While the Greek interviewees at first appear harsh towards offenders, they equally believed that reforming offenders should be the main objective of punishment. The following dialogue elucidates this controversial paradox:

Interviewer: *'I had described to you the main justifications of punishment. As you already mentioned, to sum up your opinion on that matter, you believe that offenders have to be punished for what they have done. Retribution has been your choice for someone who committed a crime.'*

Interviewee: *'This is what I really believe. Otherwise I would have committed a crime myself, but I do not.'*

Interviewer: *'Have you ever thought any mitigating circumstances or even somebody who had bad luck in life?'*

Interviewee: *'Thinking about some incidents I am aware of, I would prefer to let people rehabilitate. You know, there are prisoners nowadays, living in a cell with another 16 prisoners. Altogether, can you imagine that? It would be more appropriate for me to let these people work, or learn something for their future. I am not even sure if Greek prisons can get them any books.'*

(Interview 20, Male, 28)

Research suggests similar findings (McCorkle, 1993) that the public were strongly orientated towards harsh punishment on crime, even though there was strong support for rehabilitative programmes. Some research suggest that Greek people are punitive, favouring imprisonment to punish offenders (Dijk et al., 2007), whereas other research suggest that Greek people are less punitive supporting community services to punish offenders (Kühnrich and Kania, 2005). This extract additionally confirms that interviewees appeared uncertain about the success that the main functions of punishment may have. The apparent lack of general confidence in the system, but also in each governmental mechanism is returned to shortly. For now, similar results have been found by Paulin et al. (2003) who noted that their respondents suggested several justifications simultaneously, depending on the crime and the offender committing the crime. Furthermore, Cullen et al. (1988) state that although people desire to punish offenders, they continue to consider rehabilitation as essential. Their respondents supported punitive justifications, but continued proposing vocational and educational training to rehabilitate them.

Interviewees of this study confirmed that punishing offenders and punishing people in general should be examined from a religious viewpoint. Although religion will be discussed in the next chapter in greater detail, it is important not to ignore its impact on the matter of punishment and most crucially on the public's decision to punish. Since crime is a sin in the Greek Orthodox faith, and an act that needs forgiving, those believing in the supernaturalism of the Orthodoxy faith believed that people should not be punished by people but by God. As an interviewee, who appeared less punitive and placed considerable faith in the Greek Orthodox religion stated:

*'I believe that turning the other cheek is not the appropriate solution, but I also disapprove of revenge. I am not that sure what I would do if somebody harmed a member of my family, but I totally believe that this person would be punished by God. At the end of the day, who am I to punish him? I am not God and especially for that type of offence, only God can punish'. (Interview 3, Male, 30)*

A whole section in the next chapter is dedicated to the issue of religion and its effect on Greek attitudes to crime and punishment. Here, there is a view that less punitive attitudes might be influenced by an individual's religious affiliations so it is necessary to explore this in order to verify that view. Generally, the public in this study was found to be more punitive and commonly believed that the CJS is lenient on crime and punishment. However, when asked to punish they tended to become more lenient in particular cases. A frequent difference between punitive attitudes appeared to come down to gender. Although both males and females had similar prejudices, women, and particularly mothers appeared more punitive than men, especially in the case of offenders harming children. Conversely, when women focused on young offenders they tended to reduce their severity and suggest rehabilitation instead of harsh punishment. For example, one interviewee simply stated:

*'There are some cases where offenders should not be imprisoned, but to be frank I prefer them being dead. I could kill those offenders harming children myself. I do not feel sorry for those being imprisoned, but it also depends on what type of crime they committed'.*

*Children generate a quality that is learned by their parents. I have a daughter; I know that what I teach to my child will stay with her forever. Children are pure. If I was a prostitute I guess that my daughter would not mind that much following my own steps and this is why I believe that we should be less punitive with them. Can you tell me, why do we imprison children? I believe that we should imprison the parents!' (Interview 6, Female, 34)*

This is a harsh but concurrently punitive attitude that was supported by a number of interviewees throughout the interviews. Additionally, this might also result from the close social and family ties that Greek people hold and this will therefore be analysed in more depth in later chapters. In Britain, there is a general perception that people believe less in prison and more in community sentences (Roberts and Hough, 2005). In the quantitative survey of this study, 31% (n=78) of respondents considered stiffer sentences as an effective way of reducing crime. In contrast to 64% (n=160) respondents believed rehabilitation should be the main justification of punishment and that prisoners should help people in the community, get training or counselling. These contradictory views, which are complex in nature, give politicians permission to take advantage of negative public attitudes to crime problems and use them for their own purpose. A notion parallel to the political aspect of populist punitiveness, whereby politicians take what they believe the public feel about punishment and use that information for their own advance (Bottoms, 1995), like for example voting. A fuller discussion on politics and how they influence the public's perceptions towards crime and punishment is followed in the next chapter. Moreover, this preference also signifies that Greek people do not trust prison, believing that this agency does not work and they end up having a preference for community sentences that might have a chance of changing offenders' lives. Combining this issue with the idea that God punishes and not people, Greek people's severity towards offenders eventually results in less punitive and more rehabilitative preferences towards criminal behaviour.

## **5.6 Punishment by Imprisonment**

This research also explored public attitudes towards imprisonment and prisoners. The results of this study corroborate previous work suggesting extensive public dissatisfaction with imprisonment (Walker and Hough, 1988; Hough, 1996). This part explores Greek people's perception of the Greek prisons and who the prisoners are, and how they spend their lives in prison. The interviewees also suggested potential solutions like building more humane prisons, but simultaneously showed their disappointment in the way criminals are punished, paying great attention to the issue of reoffending. Concentrating on these issues, this study aimed to examine public attitudes towards punishment in Greece and in the next chapter, the major factors that construct these attitudes are further analysed. Drawing

together the main findings of this brief analysis on the current issue, the Greek public appears to have negative attitudes towards imprisonment, believing that prisons in Greece are not working, as re-offending rates are as high as crime rates. Although individuals in this study lack knowledge of the CJS, their negative attitudes towards it are not far away from reality, as limited but recent research in Greece suggested that Greek prisons are inhumane, with prisoners going on hungry strikes while the government is promising but not helping (Cheliotis, 2012).

### *5.6.1 Attitudes towards Imprisonment*

Despite public disappointment towards the system, some qualitative interviewees kept suggesting that there was no other solution than to build more prisons with better living conditions for prisoners, which would eventually help to cleanse society of crime. That type of attitude initially leads us to the conclusion that once again interviewees' perceptions were controversial, largely due to an apparent lack of knowledge. On the one hand, they assumed that prisons do not work, while on the other they felt that building prisons will prevent crime in society.

Respondents to the survey were asked to state whether they agreed with the statement that people get out of prison worse than they go in. This question was designed to assess whether or not they thought prisons work. The majority of respondents (54%; n=136) disagreed with the statement that prison works, followed by the next highest category, no knowledge of that matter (30%; n=84). Only 6% (n=15) of respondents agreed with the statement and 10% (n=25) stated that they neither agree nor disagree that people get out of prison worse than they go in. This finding reveals that respondents do not believe in the effectiveness of prisons but are potentially ignorant of the situation taking place within prisons, as shown by the fact that almost one third of them were not aware of whether prisoners come out worse, or rehabilitated people after prison.

Qualitative interviewees also demonstrated their dissatisfaction towards prisons and prisoners through their description of prisons as dirty, inhumane, and cruel places that are forgotten by society and the government alike. Regarding prisoners, the interviewees

believed they were unlucky people, mostly illegal immigrants who came into the country for a brighter future, but end up going in and out of prison:

*'I do not believe that prison works at all and this happens not only because the government is not trying to reform these people. The penitentiary agencies are not dealing with prisoners at all. They do not care!'* (Interview 6, Female, 34)

An additional attention-grabbing issue to emerge was that when asked to think of offenders they reflected on Albanian people. What was particularly interesting about the interviews was that interviewees initially blamed illegal immigrants for crime, with a specific reference made to Albanian people. Vidali (1999) found that Greek feelings towards Albanian people were largely negative with insecurity and fear that Albanian people will commit crimes, like for example, entering houses, stealing, and killing, but also that they threaten the cultural purity of the Greek nation. Cases as such are evident within the present study with Albanian people often taking the brunt of the blame about rising crime and overcrowding. Vadali (1999) suggested that crime rates for which the Albanian people are responsible, in comparison with the rest of the immigrant population in Greece, is only 5%, therefore is proportional to their public's rates that are not exceptionally high. Therefore, the negative attitudes that Greek people hold towards the Albanian ethnicity and Albanians people's involvement in crime appears disproportionate to reality.

#### *5.6.2 No Other Choice than Imprisonment*

While individuals suggested that prisons are not working both according to quantitative and qualitative data, they also suggested that building humane and effective prisons might solve the problem of crime. The interviewees' qualitative response to prison overcrowding found that they felt that building more prisons would answer the problem, as shown by the following responses:

*'May be by building more prisons, but healthier and let people work, learn something from that experience, and help criminals change. I know that nowadays this is impossible, but God knows, what else can you do about it? They have no luck!'* (Interview 4, Female, 33)

These findings initially show that Greek people hold negative attitudes to imprisonment, but ultimately they preferred criminals be put into prisons rather than left within society. That might be a result of their lack of awareness about community services and probation. However, they again reflected on their major preference for the justification of punishment which is rehabilitating offenders while they spend time in prisons. Eventually, this suggestion lead to the conclusion that for Greek people neither prison nor rehabilitation within prison works. That is also evident when interviewees of this study refer to prisoners and their perceptions towards the lost offenders in forgotten places.

## 5.7 Re-Offending

Re-offending as a concept is as important as crime itself, considering that in Britain the Social Exclusion Unit (2002) stated that re-offending of ex-prisoners costs the CJS an average of £65,000 per annum. The British National Audit Office (2002) estimated that reoffending by 60,000 prisoners serving sentences shorter than 12 months, costs Britain up to £10 billion per year. Currently, as far as I am aware, there is no research or official data surrounding the cost of re-offending ex-prisoners within Greece.

This study looked at Greek people's attitudes towards re-offending and findings suggest that initially people assumed that re-offending rates are as high as crime rates and they had no specific knowledge of the cost of actually keeping offenders within prison or returning ex-prisoners to prison. Both issues are difficult to solve or examine because of the lack of available comparable data for investigating whether public attitudes in Greece are actually a true reflection of reality. In respect of the above issues some interviewees stated that:

*'Punishment, and especially in the form they use it nowadays, that is prison, is a reproduction of crime. When you put a person into prison you commit a new crime and you repeatedly force him to commit additional crimes, because you control him. Re-offending is a reproduction of crime!'* (Interview 12, Female, 62)

*'How much does a year within a prison cost? I would have said a lot, if prisons were working and if prison officers were doing their job well. But as far as I know, in Greek prisons, the only good job that officers do is extorting money from prisoners and their families'.* (Interview 20, Male, 24)

Observing these examples of the data there appears to be an undoubtedly negative attitude towards imprisonment in Greece. Despite the fact that interviewees have no knowledge of basic facts about re-offending, the majority instinctively argue that re-offending contradicts the aims of punishment, in turn supporting their belief that prisons do not work. The public has limited knowledge and in addition research on imprisonment in Greece is lacking. Issues as such have an impact on the Greek public's confidence in the CJS and generally on their attitudes towards punishment. Findings show that public confidence is generally low - nothing works, except the labelling of offenders.

### **5.8 Nothing Works: There is a Mess**

An answer commonly given is that 'nothing works' to change offenders. Public opinion on this has been backed by research. The person associated with this phrase is Martinson (1974), who reached this conclusion, providing a pessimistic assessment of the prospects of successfully rehabilitating offenders. Although Martinson (1979) admitted that he and his colleagues had left out of their study some pieces of research which could be useful in showing that eventually rehabilitation can be more effective than they had previously published, the phrase 'nothing works' became a refrain for researchers opposed to rehabilitation and had influence to move the public towards retribution and deterrence as a main justification for punishment. In this study, the phrase 'nothing works' is mainly used to state that when the Greek public believed that nothing works, they largely held this attitude for all governmental mechanisms. As mentioned in earlier parts of this chapter, the Greek public is not confident in the CJS and the same issue is raised here, that they have limited faith in the idea of punishment. They mostly believe that those deciding who is imprisoned and who is not, the government and policy makers, are not doing a fair job in the way they use punishment. However, the Greek public believed that the most crucial punishment of offenders is 'labelling' and that once stigmatised as a criminal there is no return. The first part of this theme uses various examples of the main mechanisms that Greek people consider to be failing. The second part revisits fairness in legal proceedings, while the third part addresses the way labelling issues are addressed in relation to punitive attitudes.

### 5.8.1 Public Attitudes towards Institutions in which the Government is Involved

In the quantitative survey, respondents were asked to state their attitudes to several governmental services relating to fundamental crime issues such as the reduction of crime and these responses are summarised here: Half (49%; n=122) of the overall respondents believed that firmer discipline in *schools* is effective in reducing crime; more than one third (38%; n=95) of the overall respondents think that the *media* are not doing a fair job in providing information about crime and punishment; one third (30%; n=74) of the Christian Orthodox believers stated that declining church attendance was a concern; voting absence might be considered as mistrust in *politics* and politicians as 39% (n=97) did not vote in the last elections. As already presented in previous discussion, confidence in the CJS, e.g. police, prisons, courts and probation is lacking. For the Greek public it is schools, the media, church, politicians and the fundamental aspects of the Greek CJS that are not working. Very similar findings come from the qualitative interviews in this study in which Greek people seemed to believe that the police were not doing their job well, that courts were lenient, prisons were places where people become worse criminals, and the probation service has never really been recognised. Meanwhile, they associated the 'nothing works' idea with politics and politicians, the media, the church, schools, the health and civil system, and society in general. The attitude is demonstrated through a characteristically strong comment:

*'Greek society kills their Children'* (Interview 3, Male, 30)

Interviewees in the qualitative interviews were repeatedly complaining about each governmental setting, and each time, their critical view became stronger. They regarded the political system suspiciously, with political scandals no longer considered rare. They felt that the law protects politicians, since they cannot be prosecuted, thus making criminal behaviour too easy for politicians. Moreover, evidence presented in the next chapter confirms that the media were considered unreliable and untrustworthy, because, once again, politics are involved. For the Greek public the media essentially distorted public attitudes instead of educating and informing the public.

Nevertheless, it was the media and more specifically the TV that people used to get information about crime and punishment. According to quantitative survey respondents and

qualitative interviewees' perceptions, prisons were not working because re-offending rates were extremely high and courts as well as judges were corrupted. All these opinions have been separately considered in this study, but the importance of their reference at this point is that the majority of qualitative interviewees seemed annoyed, not only with criminal justice issues, but generally with governmental institutions. What is interesting is that they all used similar expressions to declare their irritation. The reason why this title was chosen for this part and was included in the punishment issue links to the following quotes which alone speak of the frustration of the Greek public towards the Greek system in all its forms:

*'The re-offending rates are super-high! Why do you have to even talk about that subject? Can't you realise that the society, in terms of the system is a bloody mess? For real now, there is nothing works in this country!'* (Interview 1, Male, 58)

*'What prevails in prisons is a mess. Even in the prisons there is complete disorder, exactly as the Greek system!'* (Interview 3, Male, 30)

*'Civil system is a mess. Yes it is a mess as long as it is a governmental institution!'* (Interview 5, Male, 37)

*'Prisons, laws, politics, all these are disputed. Why do we have prisons? Why do we have schools or churches? Why do we vote? Those institutions cause a fear in people, I feel powerless when I think that those institutions are here to control me, and the main reason is because nothing works. Greece is Chaos! There is a chaos in every governmental institution. Does prison work? Does police work? I do not want to explain to you my experiences with courts.'* (Interview 12, Female, 60)

*'I am 26 years old and I have just finished studying. It took me more than 6 years to finish (undergraduate studies last for 4 years in Greece) because of the strikes that were taken place by teachers and students. I am unemployed and the government is not giving me any financial help. I am also single, because I have no money to get married, and I am not insured for health matters from my 21 years of age that I was insured next to my parents. Would you say that the Greek system is brilliant or I am a mess?'* (Interview 19, Male, 26)

This dissatisfaction towards civil and governmental institutions indicates Greek people's absence of concern about matters relating to the CJS. It sounds entirely reasonable that those holding such negative attitudes towards government, will also hold pessimistic attitudes about criminal justice issues and agencies. For Greek people and as I shall evidence, the issue of punishment is recognised as imprisonment, and since prisons are not rehabilitating offenders they are essentially seen as not working.

### 5.8.2 Greek People Believe that Natural Justice does Not Work

Greek people based the above allegation on their perception that poor people are punished in contrast to rich people who are not punished. In the qualitative interviews people emphasised the phenomenon of inequality between the poor and wealthy by believing that there was no 'natural justice', as legal proceedings are lacking fairness and are dependent on social relations, in this case finance. The rules of natural justice consist of fair decision-making imposed on persons acting in a legal capacity and within this study the term is used as a metaphor, showing the lack of equality within the Greek CJS. Those persons are required to decide on questions of law that influence the rights of individuals and then, are obligated to follow the principles of natural justice. McLaughlin and Muncie (2003) suggested that for justice to be natural, it must be drawn from common characteristics rather than independent ones, such as status or relationships.

The first Greek to speak about the concept of natural justice was Aristotle who considered natural justice to be universal, meaning that societies have common laws, giving the example of homicide. Nowadays and within this study, interviewees considered that natural justice was contaminated by financial diversity, a situation that was not only permitted but endorsed by politicians. This issue was best summed up by the following interviewees:

*'Laws are formed to serve the needs of control and not for every citizen; and those who own the financial control; and not the political. Do you really believe that politicians rule the country? Politicians are ruled by the wealthy, the billionaires, and the same people who become wealthier because the deprived pay for them. They do have the support of the politicians, politicians are despicable and as proved they would do anything for money. Do not you see what is going on these days? Politicians are selling the country!'* (Interview 12, Female, 60)

*'I would not mind paying money to save my country, I love my country. But I am a fool because I pay for nothing. I pay for those who are not fair when I go to the court. I pay for those who are not fair with immigrants, and the poor and even the children. Greeks are proud of their democracy and I am now feeling shame for the situation in prisons; and this inhumanity that I face in every governmental institution I visit. It's all about who you know and justice lacks in our days'.* (Interview 19, Male, 26)

Both quotes lead to the conclusion that Greek people do believe in natural justice, which is an attitude that was constructed by their personal experiences, but they do not believe that natural justice is really happening. Natural justice with its concept of fairness was not regarded as an option by interviewees as they believed that they were ruled by financial and political authorities. Additionally, regarding the topic of punishment, natural justice was not seen as at all effective, because the poor are ill-fated and the rich hold the benefits. This situation was similar for both governmental, civil and the CJS departments. Natural justice appeared to be an essential concept influencing Greek perceptions of crime and punishment and was instrumental in understanding the reasons why Greek people considered punishment to be unjust and wealth - orientated. This might be a media representation as discussed by Jewkes (2011), which approve the crimes committed by privileged while criminalising the disadvantaged. Issues considering the impact that media have on public attitudes towards crime and punishment are discussed in more detail in the next chapter. Nevertheless, what seemed crucial in Greek people's minds here was that the labelling of an offender is considered the most affective punishment in Greece.

### *5.8.3 Labelling Issues*

Labelling theorists do not pay attention to what causes deviant behaviour but what happens when a person is perceived as a deviant, thus the focus is on the interaction between the deviant and those who define him/her as deviant (Becker, 1963). For them, deviance is a social process, because to define an act as deviant is to see it as anti-social. Tannenbaum (1938) earlier argued that labelling suggests that some people are not more deviant than others but are more likely to be labelled deviant because of the process of defining deviancy. One such example is juvenile delinquency, which ultimately leads to hardened attitudes towards offences and offenders. According to labelling theory (Neuberger, 1999), deviant behaviour may be escalated when small peculiarities that are in themselves unimportant are used to label and socially exclude someone. The current study suggests that Greek people's perceptions are influenced by labelling when forming their attitudes to crime and punishment. For Greek people, once labelled, always labelled, meaning that once you are considered a criminal, you stay a criminal. That attitude also confirms that deviance

cannot be seen as a purely biological factor, as a consequence of evolution or merely the behaviour of an individual actor, but in the reactions of a social audience.

The issue of labelling, highlighted by the qualitative interviewees, further evidenced their general dissatisfaction with the system's inefficiency. The main point here is that if people trusted the CJS they would not have stigmatised offenders. For example, a person who is 'doing time' is rehabilitated and ready to return to society as a law-abiding citizen. Most interviewees stated that when an offender is imprisoned he or she is automatically labelled, literally, as an outcast which restricts the opportunity for offenders to be re-integrated into the society from which they have disengaged. Interviewees argued that this suggests that the CJS is not working. A lot of discussion was engaged with the issue of labelling offenders and the following quotes reflect the public's perception that punishing offenders using imprisonment causes irreversible damage:

*'You are imprisoned: you are done! You are not going to find a job, you are not going to find a house, you will be stigmatised for your whole life!'* (Interview 1, Male, 58)

*'There are actually several ways to punish an offender, I am aware of fines, I am not sure about community work, but I am sure that when you send an offender to prison or release someone on parole, you automatically stigmatise them. That is 'notoriety!'* (Interview 7, Female, 59)

*'Once you commit a crime, you're stuck with it!'* (Interview 18, Male, 50)

For Greek people the label sticks, and it is seen as likely that the criminal will re-offend, a situation that integrationists argue is because criminals have been negatively labelled and as a result they feel the need to reoffend. This was regarded as a most effective form of punishment by individuals in this study since once given a label, the label sticks with that person through their lives and they fulfil the prophecy that they have been given. However, looking at individuals' demographic characteristics there are numerous issues that show differences in the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment. Exploring these issues also assists in suggesting that public attitudes towards crime and punishment can be a complex multidimensional matter.

## **5.9 Individual Differences and Attitudes to Crime and Punishment: Demographics**

Several of the debates reported in chapter three examined the influence of individual differences among people and their attitudes towards crime and punishment. Results showed a number of significant differences between people's attitudes and their age, gender and education (victimisation was addressed in a previous section), evidencing the considerable influence that these issues have on attitudes toward crime and punishment. For that reason, it is necessary to investigate how age, gender and education of Greek people of the current study can have an impact on shaping their attitudes to crime and punishment. It is argued that these aspects, not only sitting alone but together, are effective factors influencing Greek people's attitudes towards crime.

### *5.9.1 Age, Gender and Education as Factors that Influence Public Confidence to Crime*

Academics investigate public attitudes towards crime by looking at people's confidence in the CJS (Page et al., 2004; Roberts and Hough, 2005). For this study, in order to quantitatively inspect Greek people's confidence in the CJS and the relation that these have to age, gender and educational status, three major questions from the questionnaire have been selected, all ask survey respondents' perceptions towards the effectiveness of criminal justice agencies. Previous research has investigated age (Murphy and Brown, 2000), gender (Applegate et al., 2002), and education (Davis and Dossetor, 2010) and found these aspects have an impact on public views towards crime. For that reason, those three aspects have also been selected to be explored within this study. The first question (Section B, Question 3. j.) asked respondents whether people commit crimes because the police are not doing a good job; the second (Section C. 4.) asked respondents if courts are doing a fair job in the way they sentence criminals; and the third (Section C. 2.), asked respondents if criminals come out of prison worse than they go in. The three questions bring together the attitudes that respondents of this study hold towards crime by their confidence on the three agencies of the CJS, and explore how their confidence is influenced by age, gender and educational status.

Cross tabulations were used and showed that there is no statistical significance between the indicators of age and education, and respondents' confidence in the CJS. However, considering the indicator of gender (see Table 5.11) women (n=152) were less confident in the CJS than men (n=98). While there was no statistical significance between gender and the variable 'police are not doing a good job', women had statistically significantly much less confidence in courts, but slightly more in prisons. More specifically, 84% (n=127) of women considered that courts are not doing a fair job in sentencing criminals. However, males had less confidence in prison than females, with a slight difference of 9% (60% (n=59) of males agreeing that people are more inclined to criminality after prison than before compared to 51% (n=77) of women).

**TABLE 5.11** *Gender as a Factor that Impacts Greek People's Confidence in the CJS*

*Statement 2: Courts are doing a fair job in the way they sentence criminals*

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Respondents who 'agreed' with the statement</i>		<i>Respondents who 'disagreed' with the statement</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Male</i>	34.3	34	65.7	65
<i>Female</i>	16.4	2500	83.6	127

*Statement 3: People come out of prison worse than they go in*

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Respondents who 'agreed' with the statement</i>		<i>Respondents who neither 'agreed' or 'disagreed' with the statement</i>		<i>Respondents who 'do not know' the answer</i>		<i>Respondents who 'disagreed' with the statement</i>	
	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
<i>Male</i>	59.6	59	7.1	7	22.2	22	11.1	11
<i>Female</i>	50.7	77	11.8	18	34.9	53	2.6	4

Notes:

Statement 2: Q: Do you think that courts are doing a fair job in the way they sentence criminals? Yes/ No. Significant at the 5% level.

Statement 3: Q: People come out of prison worse than they go in? (possible answers: agree; neither; don't know; disagree). Significant at the 5% level.

Greek people who showed the least confidence in the CJS appeared to be females. The findings of this study concur with Van de Walle and Raine's (2008), who also found gender important in influencing attitudes to crime, with women having less trust in the CJS. Nevertheless, to come to fuller conclusions like, for example, perceptions of rising crime, more variables have to be considered in order to observe connections between perceptions

of crime and indicators like age, gender and educational status, (Davis and Dossetor, 2010) and specific custody types (Haines and Case, 2007).

### *5.9.2 Age, Gender and Education as Factors that Influence Punitive Public Attitudes*

In Britain (Allen, 2002; Hough and Roberts, 1998) as well as internationally (Mayhew and Van Kesteren, 2002) research is focused on how punitive attitudes are affected by age, gender and educational status and found differences in people's views towards punishment. For example, Hough and Roberts (1998) found that older people, men and those with lower levels of educational attainment hold more punitive attitudes. Such research endorsed clear attitudinal differences and this was the reason for looking at demographics (age, gender and educational status) in this study and how they have an impact on Greek people's attitudes towards punishment. In order to quantitatively examine people's punitive attitudes and the relationship that this has to age, gender and educational status, two key questions were chosen from the questionnaire. The first question (Section C, Question 1.a.) asked respondents whether punishing offenders because they deserve it (retribution) is the purpose of punishment; the second (Section C. 3.b.) asked respondents if tougher punishment is an appropriate way to discourage criminals to commit more crime and deal with prison overcrowding. These two questions aimed at punitive attitudes, and it is assumed that respondents having a preference towards retribution and tougher imprisonment will be more punitive than others who have less preference towards these two issues.

Simple cross tabulations were used to identify trends and look at possible linkages between the variables. However, after the analysis of data, no statistical significance was found. As a result, age, gender and education were not found to be important factors to influence punitive attitudes. Rossi and Berk's (1997) results were inconsistent with the current study since they suggested that older people were less punitive. The majority of research on gender proposed that it was an indicator that has an impact on the way people view punishment, with men being more punitive than women (Cullen et al., 1985; Langworthy and Whitehead, 1986). Research as such is inconsistent with the results found here. Similarly, the results found regarding the indicator of educational status and people's

attitudes to crime and punishment concurred with previous research, as Roberts and Hough (2002) found more educated people being less tough-minded about crime and punishment. The area of demographics is important in research such as the current study investigating Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment and the way these attitudes are constructed. The characteristics of age, gender and educational status, when quantitatively explored, are only slightly used by Greek people to inform their attitudes towards crime and punishment, affecting to a small degree the way these attitudes are constructed.

Looking at demographics from a qualitative point of view, confidence in the CJS was unrelated to age, gender or educational status. The majority of interviewees of the qualitative interviews appeared dissatisfied with the CJS and their confidence towards the CJS was lacking. However, looking at the issue of punitive attitude, there were several differences. Contradicting the quantitative figures, in the qualitative interviews younger people up to the age of 35 hold more punitive views than middle aged and older people. Greek women are more punitive towards adult offenders and less punitive towards young offenders. However, both males and females are punitive towards criminals who harm children. Considering the indicator of education, there were no differences between more educated, i.e. attended University, and less educated i.e. those who finished primary school. Nevertheless, there have been differences in the way educated people understood and responded to questions as they were more confident to express themselves. Interviews taken from more educated Greek people lasted longer as their language flowed and it has been easier to comprehend the attitudes they hold towards crime and punishment. That might be because more educated people have more precise knowledge about crime, for example crime rates (Davis and Dossetor, 2010).

### *5.10 Concluding Comment*

The present chapter has shown that public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece have remained almost exclusively negative and ill-informed. It has also demonstrated that the public is less punitive when asked to punish, but the preference for custodial over non-custodial punishment continues since according to their knowledge there is no other choice available. This study suggests that Greek people are dissatisfied

with the CJS, which adds to their general disappointment with several other state mechanisms and institutions. From responses to the survey and the interviewees' background details it seems that people generally gain information on justice issues from a variety of sources rather than personal experience, and thus a lack of accurate knowledge about the CJS and its operations generate more punitive attitudes. The next chapter considers in more detail five major factors which emerged from the data to explore in depth the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment. The findings from this research will also be interpreted in relation to wider international research literature.

## **Chapter 6: How are Public Attitudes towards Crime and Punishment Constructed in Greece?**

In the literature review chapters (i.e. chapters two and three) I deliberated that attitudes are theoretical entities constructed to represent certain response tendencies and may comprise characteristics of strength and change. Debates revealed that people can draw on a wide range of information and inference rules to construct an evaluative judgement or those attitude judgements are constructed on the spot, based on the information and inference rules that are most accessible at that point in time. Public attitudes towards crime and punishment are found to be constructed by numerous factors and through their interaction depending on people's social and individual characteristics.

This chapter looks more closely at the major factors that were found to shape public attitudes towards crime in Greece and that is the Greek media and particularly television; stereotypical racialised representations of towards immigration and immigrants, especially Albanian people; the Greek Orthodox religion which compromises Christian Orthodox beliefs in combination with the tight family unit, issues at the base of Greek culture; and the political corruption and manipulation of political control by Greek politicians. Although quantitative data is valuable, this chapter mostly uses qualitative data, which is useful to explore in depth the ways the Greek public construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### **6.1 Media**

The role of the media in constructing public attitudes towards crime and punishment has been widely studied in international literature. Issues such as how media representations and excessive media consumption might affect public consciousness regarding for example the criminal justice system (CJS), as well as abstract theories, on for example moral disintegration, have for the most part proven that people rely on the media when interpreting issues of crime and punishment. However, as Bourdieu (1998) argued, the relationship between media and public attitudes cannot easily be conceptualised by simply exploring levels of media production. Issues such as media over-representation and details

of emphasis and its effects can also be considered. Greek scholars, like for example Papathanasopoulos (1997), believed that the frequency of violent crimes in the Greek media is substantially over-presented. Greek literature asserts that media representations generate definitive attitudes amongst the public (Panousis, 2006), nevertheless the same scholars recently proposed that a closer challenge should incorporate a more detailed examination of media representations and their influence on Greek public attitudes to crime (Panousis, 2011).

This study assumes responsibility to fulfil this challenge by using both quantitative questionnaires and qualitative interviews and empirically examining and providing evidence of relationships between the Greek media and Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. The assumption here is that the media generates images of crime issues and these images have an effect on public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Media representations play a pivotal role in generating public perceptions, and if these representations are distorted, this could have an impact on public attitudes towards issues of crime and punishment and therefore an effect on public confidence in the CJS. This relationship is explored within the framework of three main areas of investigation. Firstly, the area of media use is investigated as it is important to know what types of media Greek people select. This investigation confirmed the impact of television on Greek public consciousness in matters of crime and punishment. Second to be explored is the area of crime news reporting, exploring the extent to which crime and punishment is exaggerated in the media to make newsworthy stories and generate moral probing. The third area examines the issue of fear of crime and mainly illustrates that the Greek public's fear of crime is media constructed and thus enforces more negative attitudes towards issues of crime and punishment. Inherent in all three areas is the significance of media impact in the way Greek people shape their attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### **6.1.1 Media Use**

The findings presented reveal that extensive media coverage has led to more extreme attitudes towards crime and punishment. This particular section looks at media use and its impact on Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Survey respondents were

asked to state the primary source they used to obtain information about crime in order to investigate whether their knowledge of crime and punishment was constructed through media usage. Television viewing was found to be the most prominent source of crime information and attitude, including film and fact based documentaries, with 69% (n=174) of respondents had a preference towards television as the main source of crime news. Second was newspaper use (12%; n=30), third internet use (12%; n=25) and fourth the radio (6%; 14) (percentages do not add up to 100% due to 2% (n=6) 'other' responses). The influence of television has been a dominant feature throughout this survey. Additional details of evidence were revealed while collecting both qualitative and quantitative data, like for example the highly politicised slant of newspapers.

#### *6.1.1.1 Television and its Powerful Influence*

Regarding television as the prominent source of crime information, it is important to establish how Greek people get informed and how much they use it. This helps to investigate the effect that this type of media might have on attitudes to crime and punishment. A series of questions were posed to quantitative survey respondents and qualitative interviewees and results showed that television has a powerful influence on individuals of this study especially on their attitudes towards crime and punishment. Greek people appeared keen on watching crime programmes and since television dominates media usage, it seemed to also be the most influential source of knowledge on crime. Half the respondents in the quantitative survey (50%; n=124) stated that they regularly view television drama fiction and 41% (n=102) of them were regular viewers of television fact based documentaries. In addition, the amount of hours respondents spend watching television was an important issue, since 38% (n=96) watch 1-10 hours and 33% (n=82) watch 11-20 hours of television per week, a number that typifies television usage as being considerably influential in the construction of people's attitudes.

The influence of television is most apparent when exploring the qualitative data which contributed to confirming that Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment have a media-influenced bias. Summarising the expected results, television was regarded as the most common source available for conveying issues of crime and providing information

about punishment. In almost all of the interviews, the qualitative interviewees belie a lack of personal or direct experience of crime and assert that their arguments are correct because this is what they have watched on the television. Some quotes repeatedly stated were '*I have watched that on television*' or '*I have seen that on the news*'. In this regard, the uniformly popular response of stating television as the main source of gaining information shows the power of impact which television has on Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Similar research exploring the construction of attitudes to crime and punishment in Britain and Canada (Doob and Roberts, 1988; Hough et al., 1988) found that the majority of respondents stated that the media was their primary source of information about the CJS. Mirrlees-Black (2001) has shown the massive increase in opportunities for the media to inform and in turn influence public perceptions on a range of subjects, including crime and the CJS. Garland's (2001) focus on television viewing stated its great importance as a national source of information, giving the public perceptions of crime policies as well as serving to exacerbate fear of crime. In Greece, Zarafonitou (2008) suggested similar findings with the Greek public gaining information about crime mainly from television, but also through newspapers. However, as Panousis (2011) mentions in his reference to Greek criminology, research on media and its influence on public attitudes has only recently begun. This current study is poised to initiate topics and findings for future debate on issues which have an impact on public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

#### *6.1.1.2 Newspaper's Reading Paradox: Politically Narrow-minded*

Newspaper reading is second in prominence as a source of information about crime in Greece. There is no major difference in sizes between those reading national (7%; n=17) or local newspapers (5%; n=13) but there is a paradoxical phenomenon that has been observed both in quantitative and qualitative parts of the study. Cross tabulations were used and showed that Greek people do not choose their newspaper according to news coverage, but according to the political party to which each newspaper adheres. In response to choice of newspaper quantitative data showed (see Table 6.1) that survey respondents voting for ND (n=67) (Nea Dimokratia, right wing) preferred reading the Eleftheros Tipos newspaper (36%;

n= 24) (right wing affiliation), which belongs to ND and journalists mostly support writing in favour of ND. Similarly, respondents who stated that they voted for PASOK (n=51) (left wing) in the last election preferred reading the Eleytherotypia (29%; n=15) (left wing affiliation), those who voted for LAOS (n=5) (far-right) preferred reading the A1 (60%; n=3) (far-right affiliation), and those who voted for KKE (n=13) (communist) preferred the Rizospastis (62%; n=8) (communist affiliation). Finally, people who did not vote or chose not to reveal their political affiliation (n=97) appeared less keen to read the newspaper. These findings point to individual choice and political affiliation as a basis for attitudes to crime.

**TABLE 6.1** Greek People's Newspaper Choice According to their Political Affiliation

Newspapers	Political Party											
	ND Right wing		PASOK Left wing		SIRIZA Left wing		LAOS Far right wing		KKE Communist wing		Do not vote/ White	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
<i>Eleytheros Typos - right wing affiliation</i>	35.8	24	1.9	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	9.2	9
<i>Eleytherotipia – left wing affiliation</i>	8.9	6	29.4	15	42.8	3	0	0	0	0	1	1
<i>Rizospastis – communist affiliation</i>	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
<i>A1 – Far right affiliation</i>	1.4	1	0	0	0	0	60	3	61.5	8	0	0
<i>Ta Nea – none political label</i>	5.9	4	21.5	11	0	0	0	0	38.4	5	7.2	7
<i>Local Paper</i>	17.9	12	7.8	4	42.8	3	20	1	0	0	19.5	19
<i>Do not read the paper</i>	17.9	12	23.5	12	14.2	1	20	1	0	0	52.5	51
<i>None of the above</i>	11.9	8	15.6	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	7.2	7

Notes:

Q: Which of the following newspapers do you read most often?

Q: Which political party did you vote in the last elections?

Significant at the 1% level.

This is a familiar tendency in Greece and newspaper reading qualitative interviewees recognised that their judgements are influenced by their choice of reading matter. This issue was discussed with interviewees who do not read newspapers, as this is the main reason for

them not doing so. The majority of interviewees suggested that journalists are responsible for manipulating information, since they write according to the line adopted by the political party that their specific newspaper supports. The following quotes underline that notion:

*'Journalists are doing their jobs. There are always good journalists, in a sense that they try to let people know the truth, but in my opinion, I believe that they function to be reliant on personal advantage. Taking into account that some newspapers are paid for by politicians; that is considered as political benefit'. (Interview 13, Male, 56)*

*'Journalists are real professionals. They look at how to earn more money and they are not interested in promoting the truth'. (Interview 18, Male, 50)*

A Greek study (Vrakopoulou and Gkika, 2004) focusing on those working in the Greek media investigated the basic characteristics of journalists engaged with topics of immigration. The study suggested that journalists who write about immigration are neither educated on that subject (71%) nor are they specialists in news reporting (32%). It also found that 81% of information used by journalists was gathered from the Internet and their colleagues (64%). While the above research uncovered key issues regarding journalistic manipulation of information and influence on the public it did not take into account the personal political affiliations of journalists. Daremas and Terzis (2000) though suggest that Greek national newspapers are divided along partisan lines. A question now to be posed is this: Greek people are aware that the media can be politically motivated so why is the media still so influential on people's opinions on crime? Answers to this will be explored in more detail later in this chapter.

#### 6.1.1.3 *The Internet and the Issue of Age*

According to Internet World Statistics (2010) Internet use and broadband connection in Greece are very low, although both have recently shown respectable growth levels. In 2000 only 9.1% of the Greek population were using the Internet, nevertheless, in 2010 this increased to 46.2%. That does not imply that Greek people use the Internet to be informed about crime and punishment, but it attests to the low rate of Internet use found in this study. However, the qualitative findings indicate that a proportion of younger people use the Internet as a primary source of information about crime. For example, a 30 year old male stated:

*'I mostly use the Internet I guess. I avoid watching television and reading the paper. Firstly, because they are both influenced by other mechanisms; and secondly because I use the Internet every day, all day'. (Interview 3, Male, 30)*

Since the Internet is not widely used by Greek people, especially by older people, there is the sense that it is still unaffected by politicians and that the information provided within web pages might be accurate. However, the number of online users is still limited and non-Internet users do not have access to such an information rich medium.

#### *6.1.1.4 Film, Fact Based Documentaries and Greek People's Attraction to Crime*

Greek people seem to gain their knowledge about aspects of crime through watching films and fact-based documentaries as there is an interest by both quantitative respondents and qualitative interviewees in these two forms of media. The very high response rate in the quantitative survey (50%; (n=124) stated that they regularly view television drama fiction and 41% (n=102) were regular viewers of television fact based documentaries) and interviewees' confidence expressed in the qualitative interviews gives the impression that they are knowledgeable on the subject and that their opinion is factually-based. However, in most cases relating to the source of information or opinions given, interviewees confidently replied that they held that position because they heard it on the television, or had seen it in specific films or fact-based documentaries. The quote below supports this finding:

*'I believe that in matters of crime and punishment I am influenced by the television and the movies I watch. In particular regarding prisons, what I know comes from the television and the movies. I see how the environment might be and the way prisoners and officers handle the situation. I do not know whether or not this is the reality. Officers hit the prisoners; there also could be rapes and more. And I believe that all that happens abroad. The movies I watch are foreign. I do not know what is really going on in the Greek prisons'. (Interview 4, Female, 33)*

This evidence strongly backs the notion that Greek people gain their knowledge about crime and punishment from the media, and that the media guides public perceptions, thus people are influenced in the way they perceive crime and punishment. According to Howitt (1998) the media provides a representation of events that is swayed towards attracting an audience, therefore under-estimating minor common crimes and over-estimating rarer and

more serious crimes (Ericson et al., 1991). This gives the public a distorted picture of real crime and channels public perception along a line adopted by the media. The Greek public seem to be discerning in what they choose to take notice of and therefore when they form their attitudes towards aspects of crime and punishment they are unlikely to have an inclusive set of related and accurate data accessible to them. Similarly to what Tversky and Kahneman (1974) suggested, the public rely on limited information provided by the media to form their opinions. This also concurs with Cavender's (2004) belief that the media are responsible for what the public think about crime and punishment. This influence is embedded in issues of newsworthiness and exaggeration of representations of crime related to issues such as moral unease and fear of crime. These phenomena and their influence are the in the next sections focus of enquiry and findings showed that they impact on people's attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### **6.1.2 The Criminological Significance of Crime News**

As mentioned in the literature review, the most dramatic portrayals of crime in a sense of newsworthiness tend to be selected and presented to the public rather than the more mundane ones. Making a story more newsworthy and interesting generates an exaggeration of an event and allows the public to invest more thought and debate on criminal issues. This section dissects the thought process respondents undergo in shaping their perceptions of crime. It is suggested that newsworthiness generates overemphasis which results in turn in moral unease and insecurity. An example of a crime story which occurred several months before the data collection for this study and which was widely documented by Greek news, is presented here to illustrate media control on Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment.

#### *6.1.2.1 Newsworthiness and Exaggeration*

Common crimes, such as mugging, are often ignored by the news media. There has to be something unique about a particular crime for it to garner media attention. People are often intrigued by what others might do. Crime stories certainly sell, whether on TV news or in newspapers, true-crime and fiction books, and Hollywood make-believe and film crime

dramas. Therefore, choices have to be made about what kind of crime stories the media cover and a number of criteria have to be considered in order to make the story 'newsworthy'. Several scholars suggest a variation of criteria. For example, Chibnall (1977) found dramatisation and personalisation are important values, Hall et al. (1978) suggested violence, and Greer (2007) addressed the value of the visual (how crime stories are portrayed in images). Nowadays, the media are more selective about which crime news they produce, confusing the public by purposely portraying images which are worthy of public attention. This undoubtedly lets the media put a spin on crime figures and their severity, making them appear worse than they actually are, in short over-exaggerated. This is of particular relevance in a country like Greece, where the media is the most common source of information on crime and the level of influence testimony to the dramatic potential of media images and manipulation.

#### *6.1.2.2 Moral Panics*

Newsworthiness and exaggeration seem to generate moral panics in the Greek public aside from attracting more public attention. Qualitative interviewees in this study tended to pick up on the sensationalism of out of the ordinary headlines. This method of over-sensationalising headlines grabs the attention of the public, which in turn makes them more likely to buy magazines and newspapers. In short, the media creates and fulfils the expectation of what people choose to buy and watch. An example is the media-induced moral panic surrounding the murder case of a well-known personality Serianopoulo. Several months before data collection in this survey, the celebrity Nikos Serianopoulos was murdered and his name was all over the media. All qualitative interviewees mentioned this particular incident and those describing it in detail held negative attitudes towards the media, despite the fact that their own perceptions were unquestionably media-influenced. Here moral panic was the disproportionate social reaction to the issue seen as a threat to Greek social values and this malaise lasted until media coverage of the case ceased. The following quote underpins something of this feeling:

*'A crime that I remember is that of Serianopoulos. I am not sure if this was a sexually involved crime or a robbery with assault. There was a homicide; I think that the offender was his lover. That happened some months ago and the television was*

*talking about it all day long. You know people were talking about it for days. I do not agree with the media exposing his personal life, especially when his mother could find out about it. His mother was distraught and the media revealed all his personal life. He was a gay and he was using too many drugs to do that. Just on the idea that something like this can happen to your own child, this country became a country of murderers. (Interview 7, Female, 59)*

The female interviewee here included evidence of the media using personal information to sensationalise an incident. A moralising stance was created leading the Greek public to worry about their personal safety and changing their attitudes towards crime aspects in the country. Socially unacceptable behaviour mostly exaggerated by the media tends to generate moral unease, leading the general public to generate higher levels of fear of crime. Similar findings were found in Greek literature, albeit limited but still very useful. Panousis (2011; 2006) found that media representations of crime are selective in content and over-exaggerated; Lambropoulou (1997) suggested that media form an inaccurate social reality and Dimitratos (2005) argued that media furnish a false reality. Moschopoulou (2005) likewise brings up issues of immigration, proposing that media representations reproduce stereotypes and undoubtedly misinterpret the profile of offenders. However, the potential influence of the media on public attitudes to crime and punishment has been brought to the fore within this current study, showing new evidence that the public act upon the 'facts' that the media provide and construct negative attitudes to crime and punishment. The relationship between media reporting of crime and fear of crime is the point of focus in the next section.

### **6.1.3 Media Consumption and the Issue of Fear of Crime**

The potential of media-induced fear of crime is a well-documented issue (Chiricos et al., 2000) along with the specific influence of television on public attitudes (Sparks, 1992). Earlier research indicated that the results are mixed with Surette (1998) suggesting that media create a fear of crime among the public, whereas Rice and Anderson (1990) argue that the relationship between media consumption and fear of crime is weak. However, several researchers suggested that the relationship is dependent on additional characteristics, such as experience of crime (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981) and media content and audience characteristics (Eschholz, 1997). In Greece Zarafonitou (2008) proposed that a

punitive public is a public that uses TV as a source of information about crime and that television viewing might be the main reason for the public's high demand for punitive measures. However, whilst Zarafonitou (2008) focuses on whether media consumption is related to issues of victimisation and fear of crime, the impact has not yet been analysed through research.

This study is unique in exploring the relationship between fear of crime and potential victimisation and media consumption on the Greek public using qualitative data to fully analyse how attitudes are constructed through media consumption. The use of qualitative data presents a more detailed understanding of how and how much people rely on the media when generating fear of crime and potential victimisation and in turn interpreting issues of crime and punishment. As I shall go on to evidence, the qualitative data is richly expressive of personal opinion and insight. Those with higher levels of media- consumption, in particular television viewing, appeared more vulnerable to fear of crime and potential victimisation. This section initially considers how the media can influence attitudes to crime and punishment by generating fear of crime and exacerbating levels of potential victimisation. It also looks at whether this relationship might diversify allowing for local versus national responses to crime being considered.

Qualitative interviewees show an incisive stance on the association between media usage and especially television viewing and fear of crime and potential victimisation. These interviewees, many of whom were avid viewers of television, perceived crime as threatening with offenders as violent and victims as helpless. This accords with Bakalaki (2003), who suggests Greek people view crime as increasingly unpredictable and violent. The majority of interviewees in this study and as evidenced below described offenders as monsters that murder unprotected people and are not punished harshly enough. Accordingly, these views as well as the inevitable portrayal of offenders and the distortions created by television lead to an increase in the fear of crime and worry about potential victimisation. However, as mentioned in chapter five, Greek people of this study appeared less fearful, albeit more worried about becoming potential victims of crime. Those findings would seem to indicate that their fear might not be justifiable in real terms, but media

constructed. The following quote from the qualitative interviews pertains to what extent interviewee fear of crime is influenced by television:

*When I think about crime, the initial thing that comes to mind is the crime of homicide. I personally have no experience; however this is what I watch on TV every day. Murders are common nowadays, I want to take my grandchildren to the park and I am afraid that may be someone will harm them. I wish things were as safe as the early days when I was a child. We used to go out playing with no restrictions, only when we got hungry did we return back home. There was no other reason. (Interview 8, Female, 54)*

There is a significant association between media usage and fear of potential victimisation when examining the qualitative interviews. Interviewees believed that television produces a fear of being victimised and this is a perception mostly held by women who argued that the crime of sexual assault is widely viewed in television, especially within crime news and movies. In due course watching incidents as such on the television generates a sense for the viewer of being victimised. This fear is illustrated in the following quotation:

*'I am not afraid when it is light. I am afraid when it is dark and of course I am less afraid when my husband is with me in the house. I feel more secure that way. But to tell you the truth, I am not certain what is going on around me. I see regularly on the television that there is lots of crime around us. I am mostly afraid of an attack. I watched that on the news, burglars go into houses and attack old women for 30 or 50 euros'. (Interview 16, Female, 51)*

Perceptions like this again show the tendency to exaggeration of crime reporting within the media as well as newsworthiness, when individuals remember specific types of crime that they watch on television. The media use newsworthy information to attract audiences and as the above statement considers, information as such aggravates people's fear. However the evidence here indicates that this fear is misinformed, especially when interpreting it in a local and national context.

Roberts and Hough (2005) suggested that British people hold opposing perceptions when they think about crime and punishment in a local context in contrast to a national context. Similar findings were found in this study from examining 4.4% (n=11) of quantitative survey respondents using local television as their main source of crime news with only 1 qualitative interviewee discussing local crimes in the county of Kavala while referring to crime issues.

Here perceptions were mostly based on a national level, and the extent and forms of Greek media representations, particularly those of television were instrumental in attitude construction. The same female interviewee quoted above also stated the following illustrating that generally the media is important in shaping attitudes and secondly that it is the national media, or national television, which generates the fear of crime and consequently the negative attitudes towards crime and punishment.

*'I only watch national TV channels because there are more options to choose from. And I know that I am influenced and more fearful because of that. In Kavala there is not much crime, and the way I feel about crime, I mean that I am afraid that somebody would come with the intent to steal from me, and physically harm me, comes from what I watch on the news every day. Journalists are the ones who in reality harm us by filling our minds with more crime'. (Interview 8, Female, 54)*

The above findings do not imply that the county of Kavala is free of crime, but that the perceptions that people from Kavala hold are mostly constructed by the national responses to crime, placing responses at a local level in a more positive position. Therefore, since Greek people are more trusting of local level news, their confidence towards aspects of crime is higher than that of national level news. Improving local confidence might be an interesting future recommendation to change Greek people's attitudes to aspects of crime and punishment.

Gerbner and Gross's (1976) support of cultivation theory that television has become the main source of storytelling in contemporary society and especially their methodology and the way they related television fiction stories viewing to the fear of crime was criticised (for example, Sparks, 1992). However, a finding that appears consistent with research, as well as the current study, is that people who watch a great amount of television tend to be more fearful and more punitive (Doyle, 2006). Findings do not indicate that people naturally fear crime, but that it is the media and particularly television which incites their fear and consequently their punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment. Greek research literature approaches this particular subject quantitatively (Zarafonitou, 2008) and suggests that the media play an important role in Greek people's fear towards crime. Greek media appear to have long lost legitimacy and credibility (Zaousis and Stratos, 1993). Nevertheless, recent commentators challenge this view and agree that more research work is needed in

this field in Greece (Panousis, 2011). The challenge of this current study was to focus on the extent that media generate fear of crime and fear of potential victimisation and the specific ways these construct punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment. To sum up, it is mostly important what Greek people fear and not what they experience. As previously mentioned in chapter five, crime is not a prominent concern as most people are preoccupied with financial matters and less about crime and punishment. Their fear seems more media constructed and this is noticeable when they confirmed that crime was simply irrelevant because it was too far removed from the real experience of their everyday lives.

To conclude, this section is interesting to pose the question of does the media context shapes attitudes or attitudes shape patterns of media consumption? It mainly focuses on a perceived lack of credibility in the Greek media to provide accurate information as well as a focus on its role in constructing perceptions of crime and punishment. Concentrating and being selective in the issues of media use, the criminological significance of crime news and the fear of crime and potential victimisation that media generate to the Greek public, it has been found that media representations reproduce and boost exaggerated public attitudes towards crime and punishment. The Greek public appeared to gain a great amount of their knowledge about crime and punishment from the media, particularly the Greek national television, indicating that media consumption affected their levels of fear and generated a considerable criminological interest, which in fact has been over-exaggerated and far from their personal experience with crime and punishment.

This study assisted in understanding how media influences public attitudes towards crime and punishment and how these attitudes can be constructed by the media. Previous research, like for example Roberts (2001) suggested ways to improve the link between the media and criminal justice issues, such as appointing press officers, academics and specialist staff for better communication between the press and the real representations of crime. The question raised here though, is whether these resolutions could ever work in Greece, seeing beyond the current context in which academic research is more limited, the media is often politically affiliated and the government's credibility in generating justice is lacking. Nevertheless, more research is required to establish connections in data and findings, for

example to investigate whether specific types of crime viewing can impact on public perceptions of police effectiveness.

## **6.2 Race**

In this chapter, findings have been integrated into research on the impact of media in generating and influencing Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment. In particular, quantitative and qualitative evidence connects the media, and especially television, to the formation of mainly negative attitudes, such as moral panics. Issues of moral and social disintegration were brought to the fore in Greece during the 1990s with an influx of migrants and a media-induced association of increased criminality with immigration (Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994). Greek research suggests that the Greek media consistently promotes a negative representation of immigrants and Albanians in particular (Panousis, 2011) and that victims mostly report crimes to the police when they believe that the offender is a non-Greek (Karydis, 2011). Such issues prompt concern to investigate why this is the case and in particular how Greek people associate race with crime and punishment in the attitudes they hold.

Both quantitative and particularly qualitative findings presented here in this study illustrate strong views around negative connotations of the term immigration, with immigrants seen as economic competitors and an awareness of media over-representation and crime linked to discriminatory and unfavourable attitudes towards immigrants. Qualitative findings are useful in this analysis as the major concern is to investigate how attitudes are constructed. It is clear from the results of this study which are evidenced shortly, that Greek people discriminate against immigrants, especially Albanians; whether they are illegal or legal citizens of the country. Analysis presented here showed that while many Greek people believed that illegal immigration is a victimless crime, public attitudes towards immigrants and immigration are largely negative with Greek public attitudes influenced by issues of race.

The statistical data used for this study were provided by the Greek government through the Hellenic Police Ministry of Citizen Protection website (Foreigners Administration, 2008: cited

in Hellenic Police: Ministry of Citizen Protection website). The local statistics were accrued with permission from the chief of the county of Kavala Police Department, although they are limited (including only several types of crime). Observing the national statistics, research into the crime of illegal entry into the country of Greece began in 2006. The years 2006 and 2007 saw the introduction of a table stating the recorded number of immigrants entering the country, and a second table tabulating the recorded number of those being arrested for illegal human trafficking into the country. In 2008 and 2009 more tables of data were added, mostly focusing on administration for asylum seekers. In 2010 and 2011 the first graphs on immigrants and human traffickers arrested by the police were presented. Correspondingly, looking at the recorded statistics for the county of Kavala, the focus on immigrants mostly centres on the recorded number entering the country and the number of drug users arrested in comparison to Greek citizens (2006-2009). The major types of crimes implicating immigrants in Greece are illegal entry into the country and drug crimes. There is no evidence in the crime data to show that immigrants are particularly criminogenic. The question is therefore why people assume that immigrants are responsible for every kind of crime in Greece. Are Greek people xenophobic or are other factors encouraging punitive attitudes blaming immigration for widespread crime and overcrowding in prisons?

### **6.2.1 What do Greek People Believe about Immigration in Relation to Crime and Punishment?**

In both local and national statistics the exact origin of the offender is not stated. Rather there is a broad and generalised categorisation in national statistics between immigrants and Greek citizens in drug use and in the number of drug users who died. In both cases, the number of Greek citizens appeared much greater than immigrants. For example, in the county of Kavala in 2008, immigrants constituted 7% of those arrested for drug use (Thomaidis, 2008). The national statistics reported that in 2008, 127 Greek people died from drug use in contrast to just 6 immigrants in Greece. Such statistics suggest that non-Greek people commit less crime than Greek people. However, quantitative survey respondents and qualitative interviewees of this study were unaware of these statistics when asked to state their perceptions towards immigrants in relation to crime and punishment. On the surface, Greek people hold immigrants culpable for increased crime and prison

overcrowding, basing their opinion on a perceived economic insecurity that immigration causes and politicians' lack of responsibility in taking appropriate measures with immigration issues. However, on the evidence of qualitative interviews in this survey Greek people are compassionate towards and respectful of immigrants they come into daily contact with in their local area, arguing that they were always interested in giving the chance for people to experience the same opportunities as themselves.

Focusing on the quantitative survey of this study, it appears that opinions are contradictory. Thirty seven per cent of respondents (n=91) believed that immigration was a cause of crime. However, 56% (n=141) of them believed that reducing immigration would reduce criminality. Consequently, survey respondents believed that immigration plays an important role in criminality and that accordingly, if there were fewer immigrants, Greece would experience less crime.

Qualitative interviewees were particularly forthright and revealing of perceptions linking immigration with crime. The majority of interviewees argued that immigrants commit a disproportionate share of crime, emphasising repeatedly that immigrants are actually more prone to committing crime than Greek people. The following quotes make clear the discriminatory perceptions of the interviewees towards immigrants and in particular Albanian people.

*'Of course! Criminality has increased; and this is happening mainly because of immigrants. I remember there was a vertical increase in criminality right when Albanians came along'. (Interview 5, Male, 37)*

*Crime is rising - I am positively sure of that. Since immigrants came along the crime in Greece has been higher than ever'. (Interview 7, Female, 59)*

*'Immigrants came into the country and caused crime. They still do. Greece was a crime free country some year ago'. (Interview 8, Female, 54)*

Similar attitudes were found by Alipranti-Maratou (2007), who stated that 87% of Greek people hold negative attitudes towards immigration, as well as by Antonopoulos (2008) who found that the police are more judgemental towards immigrants in relation to criminality. However, when qualitative interviewees of this study were asked about their personal involvement with immigrants a contradictory attitude emerged. Interviewees reported that they have close relationships with immigrants and that the particular individuals

interviewees know have never been involved in crime, but instead are law-abiding and family-minded citizens who earn their living. That perception was often noted in interviews, such as the following:

*'Not at all. God forgive us. I believe that immigrants are good people, there have been some since the 90s, but I cannot generalise. Besides, I have friends from Albania; they built my house at the village and we immediately became friends. We meet very often as they now live close to us'. (Interview 7, Female, 59)*

*'My husband employed a Russian-Pontian and an Albanian and they work together. I believe that all people are equal no matter where they come from. We know these people pretty well and we spend a lot of time with them. They are loyal and very good friends of ours. (Interview 9, Female, 43)*

As can be seen from sources of the quotes, people who accused immigrants of criminal behaviour are the same people who champion the cause of immigrants they personally know and respect. Kassimis et al. (2002) found that while Greek people hold negative impressions of immigrants in general, their attitudes toward immigrants they know personally are unpredictably positive. In research conducted on behalf of the Greek department by UNICEF (2001), 2,343 Greek people were interviewed in Athens and Thessaloniki on their attitudes towards the diversity of immigrant pupils in Greek schools. Those who were more closely associated with immigrants held lower levels of xenophobia. Special attention was then directed towards finding out the source of negativity towards immigrants and the main reasons emerged. Given the extent of prejudice towards immigrants, this current study found a strong relationship between attitudes to immigrants and pessimism surrounding the contemporary state of the national economy and a perception of politicians' lack of ability to cope with immigration in Greece.

### **6.2.2 Why do Greek People Accuse Immigrants of Crime?**

Another issue that emerged in this current study was the strong perception that immigrants are economic competitors who take unfairly from the system. Greek people believed that immigrants and in particular illegal immigrants, work long hours with little money, do not pay taxes, and send money to their home country. This, according to Greek people's opinion

results in worsening overall unemployment and in turn less favourable views towards immigration. An interviewee stated:

*'Many people, especially from the Balkan countries, migrate to Greece in order to find a job and a better future. That was possible in the 1990's, because these people are the ones undercutting every Greek citizen to a job. Greece is a 'ship without captains'. We were not been equipped to accept a great amount of people. We have more than 2 million immigrants in Greece at the moment that the Greek government, Greek society and in particular the Greek economy cannot provide with better living conditions. That situation eventually leads immigrants to criminal behaviour and this is something that they do not really deserve as human beings. We should take the appropriate measures. One of which is to firstly find out how many immigrants are currently living in Greece; secondly decide how many we are able to keep; and thirdly to secure the borders. At the same time, I believe that this is what politicians should have in mind, but there are not captains in this ship'. (Interview 17, Male, 45)*

As previously mentioned in the literature review, Greece's unemployment rate increased at the time of migration (Lianos, 2003) and Greek people opted to employ foreigners for unskilled jobs (Lianos et al., 1996). Research by Spinellis et al. (1993) concluded that one of the main issues associated with immigration was unemployment, a finding that concurs with this study. The above quote also touches on the second reason for a stereotypical perception towards immigration, which is politicians' lack of responsibility in coping with immigration. The overall consensus in this study appears that Greek people believe that the government should remove large numbers of immigrants, and in this case qualitative interviewees designated 'criminal aliens', to reduce immigrant crime and immigrant imprisonment rates. The issue of lack of faith in politicians and the political system will be discussed later in this chapter, suggesting Greek people's loss of confidence in governmental agencies. Key issues emerging therefore when looking at Greek people's perception towards immigration are immigrants as a cause of unemployment and the failure of politicians to identify and solve the problem. Those factors contributed to their attitudes to immigration and also appeared instrumental in forming and affecting their negative perception towards the rise in criminality.

According to the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) (2005) Greece was found to be a country in which there is no evidence of racism in relation to other European countries. However, Shashati (2011) suggests that racist violence in Greece

does exist. In accordance with this, the current study investigated evidence of racism and revealed that some Greek people's attitudes towards immigrants are stereotypical, with them perceiving immigrants as the 'others', labelled as 'criminals' and 'economic competitors'. On the other hand, Greek people consider themselves non-racists, accusing the government of not paying attention to the problem of immigration, while immigrants are suffering. Ultimately, this led the attention to investigate how immigrants perceive Greek people's intentions and perceptions towards them. These issues are explored via responses from two interviewees who define the attitudes that Greek people hold towards immigration, here in relation to crime and punishment.

### **6.2.3 Immigrants' Standpoint: 'We Take the Rap for Them' and Institutional Racism**

This theme emerged from a discussion with two of the qualitative interviewees, who both contributed to an understanding of how immigration and attitudes to immigrants are perceived in Greece. They also reveal how Greek people treat a particular group of people regarding aspects of crime and punishment. A Yugoslavian and an Albanian citizen were interviewed and shared their personal experiences of Greek attitudes towards them. Looking at field notes, the woman appeared more cautious than the man, and she also requested to switch off the recorder as she thought that I might give the information to the police because her husband had no papers. By contrast, the man felt secure and open in his answers, and he also shared experiences he had with the Greek CJS.

Both interviewees argued that they considered Greece to be their country, the reason being that in the former Yugoslavia and in Albania poverty was higher and although they faced difficulties when they first came to Greece, they believed that things would have been worse back in their home countries. Despite this, their perceptions towards Greek people were mixed, recalling incidents in which Greek people had helped them by giving clothes and jobs, and others where they faced racism and different kinds of discrimination. An interesting upshot was that both interviewees argued that the media had an effect on Greek perceptions towards immigrants, recalling Entman's (1992) modern racism, where the media stereotypes ethnic minority communities by portraying them as threatening and represented without a name in the news. The expression 'we take the rap for them' was

repeatedly used by the two immigrant Greek interviewees in this research. Interviewees cite the media, especially television, as responsible for perpetrating accusations of criminal behaviour against immigrants and Greek people using media representations to construct 'fake' perceptions about their race. The following quotes describe immigrant interviewee's views on the attitudes which Greek people construct and hold towards them:

*'I always hear that the Albanians commit crimes. On the television they always refer to Albanians. I am not saying that Albanians do not commit crimes, but the ones I know are work all day and all night for their families and their children. I have arguments with people who believe that Albanians are all criminals. There were some, in the 1990's, when the mafia came into Greece from Albania, and the Greeks now say that we are all like them. We steal, we kill, and everywhere Albanians are accused'. (Interview 11, Female, 36)*

*'I am in a luckier position because I am Yugoslavian. Greeks say that Albanians do it all. This is not fair for Albanians. I am not saying that Albanians are saints, but when I do not see with my own eyes who stole from me, for example a Greek girl, how can I say that it was you? Greeks are blind! They do not see but they say the criminal is an Albanian. Greeks are not open and they do not accept us. They never will. I believe that the reputation Albanians now have is not fair. I have many friends and they are not criminals. They work with me all day to earn money for their families. Greeks say jokes and the television too'. (Interview 12, Male, 36)*

Both perceptions accuse Greek people and the Greek media of discriminating against immigrants, mostly Albanians. Concerns about discrimination and xenophobia are clear from these quotes. From the immigrants' point of view, there is a strong argument that Greek people perceive immigrants as criminal aliens, contradicting the sense of equality individuals professed they shared with the immigrant population in this study. Additionally, the media was identified by immigrants as having an effect on public attitudes, portraying immigration as a cause of crime and immigrants as more prone to criminal behaviour, an issue that is discussed shortly in greater detail. Albanian people are blamed for the government's inability to legalise those law-abiding immigrants who mostly contribute to the country rather than take advantage as some Greek interviewees believe within this study.

The most common type of racism experienced by the current interviewees is institutional racism, referring to racism, either intentional or unintentional, that governmental agencies show towards groups of a different race or ethnicity (McLaughlin and Muncie, 2003). The

interviewee from Albania and her husband faced institutional racism when they tried to officially authorise her husband's residence in Greece. They were treated differently because of their nationality by both governmental agencies and the solicitor who handled the case. She stated:

*'Listen to this. My husband has no papers, and the government says that for him to be legal, he has to get married to me since I am legal. But the government does not allow us to get married because he has no papers. We went to a lawyer and he asked for 1500 Euros. He got the money and he has done nothing about it for a year now. I went to the police and the immigration department and they did not give me an answer and did not care at all. As a Greek citizen I work and I pay taxes. But because I am Albanian, nobody cares about me and my husband. If the government arrests him, since he is illegal, my children and I will stay alone. If this is not racism then you can tell me what it is. (Interview 11, Female, 36)*

Similarly, institutional racism was identified by the male interviewee who was arrested and spent 3 months in prison because the police believed that he was an illegal resident. The interviewee suggested that the issue in this incident was not that he was arrested but that he was treated inhumanly because of his ethnicity:

*'I was held in custody for 3 months, but I spent all that time in the police department. They did not care even to send me to a proper prison. It is worse when you are not in your country. If I was Greek, I would have my relatives close by and they would find a way to improve my life in there, as Greeks did for their relatives. I was not given access to a lawyer either. And for no reason, because they did not want to do anything about me, I was set free. I had papers, I was shouting to them every day that I have no reason to stay in, but they were saying bullshit. I do not trust the police in any country. Policemen say one thing and they mean something totally different. (Interview 21, Male, 36)*

Both quotes present the collective failure of several organisations, lawyers as well as the police, to provide an appropriate service for these people because of their national background. It can be seen that Greek people hold stereotyping discriminatory attitudes towards disadvantaged immigrants, and institutional racism is detected within processes of the Greek CJS. Mayris (2005) found similar results in his attempt to investigate possible dysfunctions of the Greek justice system by looking at African prisoners' attitudes to several aspects of the system. His sample shows unfavourable testimony with 76% believing the police to be tough, 94% of solicitors treated them with prejudice. Similar answers were given for aspects within prison with African prisoners arguing in unison that their co-

prisoners consider them to be inferiors and 94% thought that prison officers treated them with prejudice. However, social workers received higher positive rates with 82% of African prisoners stating that social workers treat them with more interest. Although Greek perceptions towards immigration are stereotypical, it would be remiss to jump to the conclusion that those perceptions reflect racist beliefs. On closer examination this survey shows that while the Greek public believe immigrants cause crime and they treat immigrants as 'others', it seems that these perceptions are formed by factors other than personal experience. If for example, crime news is responsible for causing distorted public perceptions leading to attitudes that discriminate against other ethnicities, then perhaps it is more useful to start researching racism in the media and put crime and punishment aside. It might be more appropriate to look at the issue of media constructed racism as a precursor to exploring media constructed attitudes to crime.

#### **6.2.4 Media Stereotypical Images of Criminals: The Albanian Case**

The potential for the media to construct attitudes has been explored within this study. Media content can strongly influence public perceptions of crime and punishment as well as questions of causation and blame. Earlier, Hall (1981) suggested that it is important to deal with the complexities of the ways in which race and racism are constructed in the media in order to be able to bring about change. The literature review (i.e. chapter three) addressed ways in which the media can strongly control the relationship between race and criminality, with scholars suggesting that ethnic minorities are mostly demonised rather than humanised in the media. According to this current study, thus Greek people's perceptions, Greek stereotypical images of criminals mainly pertain to the Albanian nationality. The media report on crimes, showing images that viewers then associate with crime. Subsequently, the public look for indicators that support their perception of crime, which were actually in the first place formed by what they saw in media reports. According to Greek public perception, a criminal is a male, no more than 35 years old, from Albania and he is capable of committing any type of crime because this is what Albanians do. This stereotyped perception is reflected in the following comments:

*'Crimes are committed by Albanians, mostly Albanians; and in prisons most people are Albanians. I do not watch much TV but this is what they (media) always say'. (Interview 2, Female, 51)*

*'I watch television and mostly the news before I go to sleep... most criminals are unmarried (for Greek people the average age to get married for a male is 35) male Albanians and they commit crimes while they live in Greece because they have been doing the same back in Albania'. (Interview 13, Male, 56)*

*'Albanians come into our houses to steal and rape. Every day there is an incident on the television describing the same people acting in the same manner. (Interview 19, Male, 26)*

The above quotes show a great deal of concern and hostility towards immigrants within the media. Media influence appears wide-ranging, especially in the case of television, which conveys negative portrayals of immigrant citizens. Research in Greece showed similar outcomes revealing xenophobic perceptions of Greek people towards immigrants, particularly with regards to the increased unemployment rates (EKKE, 2003). Moschopoulou (2005) found that newspaper headlines refer to immigrants as killers or assassins and the most frequently mentioned group regarding drug dealing and property crimes were the Albanians. Fear and insecurity towards immigrants is attributed to the media, and the poor living conditions of immigrants in Greece (Figgou et al., 2011). Addressing these issues would involve a number of considerations: Is it more important to investigate the management of crime news or to investigate the context of media coverage of race in order to avoid racism in reality? A significant finding of this study is that the media should not be underestimated, neither in actively determining public attitudes towards crime and punishment, but also in indirectly constructing prejudiced attitudes towards immigration and sanctioning immigrants being treated in a negative criminalised way.

Based on this study's findings, Greek people viewed immigration negatively in relation to crime and punishment in Greece. Conversely, they were substantially more supportive of immigrants they knew. In addition, evidence suggested that Greek people tend to believe that immigration issues are inexplicably linked to criminal behaviour. The concepts that emerged from the literature review as being critical to understanding the construction of attitudes towards crime and punishment are evident in these findings. The factor of race appeared of great importance when researchers explore the problem of crime. Hurwitz and

Peffley (1997) for example argued that racial attitudes affect policy and Barlow (1998) directly speaks of race instead of crime. The above analysis involved 'stereotyping' and labelling 'others' which are all considered to be interrelated to the issue of race and can be seen in the way Albanian immigrants to Greece are seen as 'others' in society, an image of difference that serves to create a boundary between them and the Greek people. This situation simultaneously perpetuates alarm by keeping the 'others' distant and distorted.

Consequently, the issue of race plays an important role in the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment and if attempts are to be made to influence these perceptions, the media need also to be seen as potentially noteworthy. Vrakopoulou and Gkika (2004) found that 53% of Greek news pertained to illegal entry into the country and 47% to human trafficking, both of which are crimes associated with immigration. A well-known Greek study (Karydis, 1996) examined the importance of media and suggested that the media are not a mirror of reality, but do construct a negative stereotype of offenders and more particularly Albanian offenders. Karydis (1996) in his attempt to investigate immigrants and their relation to criminality, found a stereotypical image of 'aliens', who are in turn discriminated against as thieves, violent, dangerous and thus conforming to the stereotype of the 'Balkan Criminal'. Panousis et al. (2006) see responsibility for this social construction of a criminal stereotype as shared between the government and the media.

Therefore, immigration in Greece is a key issue when investigating the construction of attitudes, and furthermore since the media is massively involved in attitude formation, it could be argued that the one is consecutive to the other. The media focuses on immigration and negative perceptions affect attitudes to crime and punishment. The assertion of Barlow (1998) that it is more suitable to fight racism instead of fighting crime appears vindicated with these findings. In Greece, it is not simply fighting racism, but fighting the media too.

### **6.3 A Heavily Rooted Culture and Religion**

The initial premise for this study was to independently investigate the factor of culture and the factor of religion as independent entities, regarding their relation to and effect on people's attitudes to crime and punishment. However, as I shall go on to evidence, analysis

showed that the issue of religion is a strong component of Greek culture, linked in with the issue of family to make up what I shall describe as the concept 'disciplinary orthodoxy'. In short, Greek culture is firmly rooted in religion and family and this combination of influences appears central to attitudes towards crime and punishment. For that reason, this section examines how people perceive 'religion' and 'family' and how their perceptions shape their attitudes towards crime and punishment. In order to achieve these outcomes, the collation of both qualitative data and quantitative data was beneficial. Quantitative data was used to explore people's involvement with religion and the perceptions they hold on the importance of family with regards to reducing crime and their views on punishment. Alongside this, qualitative data was used to investigate these perceptions in more depth, showing how according to people's perceptions, the Greek Orthodox faith inhibits deviance and decreases demand for severe punitive measures, as well as looking at how family can influence people's political orientation and religious participation. Thus, the concept of 'disciplinary orthodoxy' captures the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment, reflecting the traditional culture of Greece through the Greek Orthodox faith and the traditional tight Greek family unit.

The unique approach of this study has probed interesting social factors in attitude formation. Although the situation in Greece shows evidence of decline and accompanying social problems, Greek people still apply their traditional cultural associations and heritage to issues of crime and punishment. Garland's (2000) interpretation found that law and enforcement strategies are shaped by cultural conditions. Accordingly in Greece decisions are based on the Greek Orthodox faith and the traditions of a close family unit, here seen as a combination or cultural construct making up the concept 'disciplinary orthodoxy'. This study uses the concept 'disciplinary orthodoxy' to refer to the Greek cultural interpretation that crime and punishment are shaped according to Christian Orthodox beliefs in combination with the tight family unit, issues at the base of Greek culture. This can be linked back to the argument that culture (Nelken, 2011) and the cultural conditions of existence (Garland, 2000) are important in the role of constructing punitive attitudes, hence being influential in the way Greek people reflect on crime and punishment.

Religion is a very important aspect of Greek society and culture with Orthodoxy being the national religion. Orthodox means *‘Ορθή Σκέψη/ Orthi skepsi’*, which in fact is the Greek word for ‘right belief’. Orthodoxy is historically important to Greece, since during the years the Ottomans (Turks) ruled Greece (1453-1821), the Orthodox religion was an essential element for the maintenance of Greek nationality. Greek people were the only citizens in the European Union that until 2001 stated on their Identity Cards their religious affiliation. The Orthodox service is a constant in many sectors of Greek society, with children praying together each morning before starting class. People visiting Greece, especially during Christmas or Easter soon become aware that churches are omnipresent and a major indication of the value and role that Greek people place on religion is that they perform the sacrament of Baptism within the first years of a baby’s birth.

As previously mentioned in the literature review (i.e. chapter three) and as the above representation of Orthodoxy shows, the issue of religion can be an influential factor in constructing attitudes, particularly those of religious Greek people. In this study religion was found to be an inherent part of Greek culture instead of an individual factor that shapes people’s attitudes to crime and punishment. Orthodoxy, as stated in earlier chapters, might be shown to positively affect attitude and help people avoid criminal behaviour while priests help people maintain efforts through confession and a belief that leads the ‘sinners’ to reform. Ellis and Peterson (1995) found that religious countries have a reduced amount of crime than less religious countries, which is an interesting point of research to investigate in the Greek context in which 97% of citizens are officially religious. However, this current research does not explore whether the Greek Orthodox faith influences crime rates, but considers whether Greek religion as a part of culture influences the way Greek people may construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment. As I shall go to evidence shortly, two interesting areas have emerged from the data. The first revealed that religious people perceive crimes as sins and the second revealed there is a belief in Greek Orthodoxy that inhibits deviance and decreases punitive demands. Results also showed that moral judgements are not necessarily linked to church attendance habits, a consequence of recent scandals between the church and the government, exaggerated by the media.

### 6.3.1 Trust in Greek Orthodoxy and Lack of Faith in Church

In this current study, data revealed that some Greek people have lost their faith in the Church as an institution, believing that it is politically corrupt due to recent scandals that have taken place. However, incidents as such do not alienate believers from the Greek Orthodox faith, but serve to distance them from church attendance. The quantitative data showed that 47% (n=118) of respondents believed that going to church is important to them, suggesting that Greek people function according to the direction that the church recommends, which is regularly going to church. However, qualitative interviewees further clarified views on this, with the majority suggesting that while they have faith in the Orthodox religion, they have much less trust in the church (as a religious institution) itself. Qualitative interviewees noted that the church is politicised and this influences their attendance habits and participation. Some also laid blame on the hierarchy of the church and shared a view that while going to church follows tradition it does not necessarily make somebody faithful. The following quotation illustrates this:

*'I want to believe in God. I am not one of those fanatically devout people who feel God in everything they do and go to church every day. I do have the need to believe that God exists though. I am Christian Orthodox, but I have no contact with church; I go every Easter, because I do not like it as a concept. Priests are bizarre people; you always hear stories about them'. (Interview 6, Female, 34)*

Observing the above quote, it can be assumed that interviewees are in some way prejudiced towards priests, who are associated with the Church, therefore mistrust towards priests means not trusting the Church. However, when interviewees were asked about their local experience with church, their attitudes appeared to change. People appeared dissatisfied with the Church and the hierarchy of priests generally, but when it came to their local neighbourhood church, they felt confident and loyal, as the next quote describes:

*'It is important for people to believe in a religion, it does not really matter which religion this would be as long as people believe somewhere. They can be Muslims, I do not mind, God is one. I have my religion and I respect all the others, and I am waiting for other people to do the same. But there are some priests who put people off church. Priests high up in the hierarchy mostly do that. You hear things they do and you do not want to go to church. That is what priests do. Not all of them. Ok, yes not all of them, it is the minority, but they still exist and you hear it on the media again and again...Here in my town though priests are very good people. They help*

*us a lot, they help the poor, I go to the church every Sunday and my holy man is a Saint'. (Interview 8, Female, 54)*

The negative attitudes that Greek people hold towards the Church are a consequence of recent scandals involving priests, politicians and journalists some months before the data was collected. At the end of 2008, a monastery was implicated in a real estate scandal. The monastery traded low-value land for high-value state property in a deal with the government. The story was publicised, the government cancelled the land deals and two ministers resigned. As a result, the public lost faith in the church and priests. In August 2011, the Ministry of Justice announced the decision that none of those people implicated in that trial have been found guilty. Once again, the media's involvement in Greek public attitudes, here towards aspects of religion, is evident. Feelings towards priests differ between a local and national context and Greek people formed attitudes towards religion previously not held as a consequence of media influence. However, an important distinction is that a reduction in church attendance does not imply a change in moral values. The qualitative interviews in particular showed that religious Greek interviewees still considered serious crimes as sins and punishment as God's duty.

The crime of homicide is mentioned by qualitative interviewees as an example of how they understand the idiom 'Only God can take a life'. This idiom was used by the majority of interviewees, and surprisingly, by those stating that they identify themselves as rationalists and do not believe in supernatural powers such as God. This might be a consequence of the way all Greek people grow up, in short their cultural conditioning. Moreover, this idiom represents the strong belief that Greek people have in the highly liturgical Orthodox faith. Those interviewees, who noted that they believe in God, also noted that crime is a sin which can be forgiven only by God. Furthermore, homicide is a higher level type of sin and consequently murderers are higher level sinners, because:

*'Only God can take a life. I am not sure how I would react if somebody hurt my family, but I believe that I am not the one to judge. (Interview 3, Male, 30)*

*'To kill somebody is a crime and as I see it this person will pay for what he has done either in this life or the next. Sometimes I think that if there is paradise and hell, those who are murderers and people who offend a lot will be in hell and those who*

*are less keen on crime will go to paradise. It is not something I think about every day, but subconsciously this is my opinion'. (Interview 6, Female, 34)*

Greek religious people hold the perception that crimes are sins and God forgives the sins of the sinner, in our case the criminal murderer, if they truly regret his or her actions. That attitude would suggest that Greek people are less severely punitive when it comes to punishment, a consequence of their Orthodox faith. The theoretical richness and spiritual significance of the Greek Orthodox faith are instrumental in the way Greek people think about and understand crime and punishment. This does not mean that other religions do not reach similar outcomes, but is indicative of the influence the religion has on people's attitudes in Greece. It is apparent in the way people trust God's punishment rather than the law and the impact on their response to punitive measures.

### **6.3.2 Orthodoxy Inhibits Deviance and Decreases Punitive Attitude**

Greek attitudes towards crime and punishment are influenced by the way the Greek Orthodox religion inhibits deviance and decreases punitive attitude. This current research investigated whether Greek people agree that religion inhibits deviance by looking on quantitative survey respondents' opinions on the causes of crime. Quantitative data showed that 31% (n=77) of respondents stated that not believing in God is a reason that causes crime. While respondents found additional causes more significant, the possibility of 'not believing in God' will cause crime is still important for Greek people.

The qualitative interviews looked at what those additional circumstances might be and concluded that Greek people consider that by believing in God, people enhance their personal morals, which are helpful in constructing a more conforming nature that potentially helps people to not commit crime. A great number of interviewees shared this view making statements such as:

*'There are people that are looking to find something stronger, deeper in them and since they themselves are weaker, and they actually are weaker, otherwise they would not try to find anything, I believe religion can be of assistance. I believe that if a person, who is keener on committing crimes, turned to religion, since alright, God is about love and kindness, I believe that his life could be changed. Mostly in the way he would think and he would act; what he would consider right or wrong. You*

*see a wallet over there ok, and you have two choices. You can get the wallet or take it to the police. Everybody is tempted into the wrong behaviour, but when you really have the distinction between the good and bad, that really might come from your faith in God, then there is something that stops you'. (Interview 6, Female, 34)*

*'If you ask me why I do not commit crime, I can easily respond that I do not want to mess with God. As I know that the law will not punish me fairly, I know that I will be judged for what I have done in my life'. (Interview 19, Male, 26)*

It seems that Greek religious people believe that the morals their faith provides them are conditions that inhibit criminal behaviour. For Greek people religion offers morals for people to follow and stay law-abiding citizens or controversially can disobey and become sinners. Attitudes as such lead to the subsequent condition, which is the link between sins and clear conscience. Religious people in this study showed a vivid sense of the impact that sins can have on their conscience and this plays an important part in the choice to be law-abiding. That attitude is explained by an interviewee:

*'This is a matter of ethical conscience, which is actually what is right and what is wrong, what is good or evil. This is God and the Orthodox faith. Definitely, there are times that each one of us may choose the wrong path and this is against our conscience and this is the crime we commit. And criminals do not listen to this inner voice which says that what they do is wrong. People who listen to this voice are clear, whereas those who do not listen they are criminals. Criminals suffer from a guilty conscience. I cannot commit a crime for that reason'. (Interview 14, Male, 41)*

Such attitudes lead to the conclusion that when people are close to religion, there is a greater possibility that this will prevent them from committing crimes, suggesting that religion is believed to reduce criminality in Greece. This study is the only study that I am aware of that takes the Orthodox faith in a national Greek context into consideration in relation to people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. Here, Greek Orthodoxy seemed significantly important in constructing how people view crime and punishment. In broad terms, Greek people rely on God's punishment more than trusting in the punishment that the CJS has to offer.

This hypothesis that Greek people are less punitive in attitude because of their religion draws on perceptions interviewees had towards the issue of capital punishment. Although interviewees occasionally appeared more punitive, for example on the subject of crime

against children, they appeared less punitive overall and reflected on God's responsibility to punish criminals.

*'I 'put my hands on fire' that I can kill somebody if they hurt my daughter. However, I am sure that I am not responsible for somebody's punishment and I do not agree with the idea of capital punishment. God punishes the bad ones'. (Interview 6, Female, 34)*

*'I do not believe that God punishes. I turned to religion when I became 35 and I am positive that it helped me on many occasions in my life, before and after my serious involvement. I guess that capital punishment is a wrong thing to do, God gives us our lives, we can choose to do whatever we want with it, but I do not think that somebody can take our lives away. If God chooses, then why not, I will accept that, I cannot do anything about it anyway!' (Interview 18, Male, 50)*

Opinions as such suggest that Greek people adhere to a belief in God's punishment, which additionally affects punitive attitudes. There is the sense that people's Greek Orthodox faith helped them to live law-abiding lives. The factor of religion, and in this specific context the Greek Orthodox faith, proved influential in people's construction of their attitude towards crime and punishment. While confidence in the Church is lacking, faith in religion itself is maintained.

The objective of this section was to look more deeply into Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment and consider the first aspect of the concept 'disciplinary orthodoxy' as a construct of these views. In the context of Greek culture, the Greek Orthodox faith seemed a central aspect in influencing the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment. The influence was clear when looking at the reliance of Greek people on Greek Orthodoxy to forgive sinners and to discourage people from crime. To conclude, data showed a strong relation between traditional religious beliefs and less punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment. The next section follows the second aspect of the construct of 'disciplinary orthodoxy' that appeared important in the construction of Greek people's attitudes to crime and punishment.

### **6.3.3 A Culture Heavily Rooted in Family**

David Nelken (2004; 2006; 2009) has repeatedly explained through his interest in comparative criminal justice that crime is dealt with differently in different cultures, but he also suggested that learning, or even borrowing from other sources is necessary if those who are involved in this process are to appreciate what other cultures are trying to do. For example, Nelken (2009) draws on the example of Italian families who maintain order in both private and public sectors. Nelken (2004) described culture in Italy as family dependent, with people preferring to live close to the place they grew up and maintaining close family ties. That is not necessarily comparable to Greece but there seems to be some similarities. Strong family ties are characteristic of Greek culture and a factor that clearly influences attitudes to crime and punishment as I shall evidence shortly. The main finding of this research is that Greek people have faith in constants like religion and family and these are unaffected by the social and political problems of the current national context.

Nelken's (2009) suggestion that researchers should appreciate the differentials between cultures has been heeded by examining core issues that constitute Greek culture. Furthermore, in exploring the Greek perception of culture, allowances have to be made for those factors considered to be of the greatest importance, i.e. family. In addition, the current area investigates the importance of family for Greek people and how attitudes to crime and punishment are formed and affected by this dynamic. Such results were found by focusing on Greek public attitudes and whether the cause of crime is related to family and its power to prevent offending. Several perspectives were also mentioned that contributed to concluding that the traditional tight Greek family unit plays a significant role in the way Greek people form their attitudes towards crime and punishment. Emerging from this study are indications that the stronger people's adherence to family values, the less punitive their attitudes are towards crime and punishment.

#### *6.3.3.1 Cause of crime and Desistance*

The quantitative survey has already demonstrated the importance of family within this study. Chapter five discussed factors that cause crime and ranked the factor of family

exceedingly high. Quantitative data showed that more than half the survey respondents (56%; n=114) stated that people commit crime when their family is broken and 84% (n=210) stated that better parenting is a major factor in reducing crime. Moreover, when survey respondents of this study were asked to state which of a list of cultural statements best represented them 63% (n=157) of them agreed that 'family ties should be tight'. Perceptions like these are assumed as significant and suggest that Greek people are greatly influenced by the dynamic factor of family in the formation of their attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Data from the qualitative interviews suggested that the subject of family, or broken families, was seen as highly significant as a cause of crime as well as a means of preventing it. The majority of interviewees believed that people gain morals from their families, and parents are responsible for their children's potential criminal behaviour. The following quotes illustrate the power of family in attitudes towards crime from the interviewees' points of view:

*'Look how it works; I believe our culture is the best of all other cultures because we still have families. I mean, abroad, as a friend of mine was saying, people do not pay attention to their families. In Sweden for example, they say that children should leave the house when they become 18. However, in Greece, it does not matter if you are 35 and you are not married, your parents will take care of you and help you in any situation you ask them to do so, and mostly mothers I would say. Also, I do not believe that there is a culture that lead people to commit crimes, or become a thief, but as I said before, we have our families here and because of the warmth that is given up to a certain age, I guess, people think of committing crime less. If my family supports me when I need them to, what is the point of turning to crime?'* (Interview 5, Male, 37)

*'There are other cultures that people have no emotional attachments, they function with logic and not emotionally as Greeks do. They have their own way of thinking and this is not like a Greek would have, that all comes from family. We are more emotional because this emotion comes from our families, we are more attached and we commit less crime because of the attachment we have with our children and parents.'* (Interview 13, Male, 56)

Family appears highly significant when people reflect on crime and punishment in Greece. The way Greek people deliberate the phenomena being explored within this study, is centrally influenced by morals that have been taken from parents and passed onto their

children. Such perceptions recall theories of crime, like for example containment theory (Reckless, 1961) and social control theory (Hirschi, 1969). The former assumes that all individuals are subject to criminal behaviour, but what makes someone resist are inner and outer containments. Furthermore, the latter proposes that socialisation and social learning forms self-discipline and decreases the potential of becoming disorderly. Both theories have been extensively studied by key scholars in criminology (that is, Reiss, 1951; Matza, 1957), who agree that there are both internal and external barriers that assist in controlling criminal behaviours. In particular containment theory suggests that individuals are protected from crime if they are correctly socialised by their parents and if they and their peers are brought up to control themselves. Set against the backdrop of the Greek family it seems that theories such as these are still important within Greek culture as people hold perceptions that crime happens when family ties are weak. Family ties in Greece are extremely strong and have the potential to influence people's behaviour so this area merits close investigation in an analysis on crime attitude. Furthermore, since the impact is so powerful it prompts enquiry into the potential benefits for criminal justice issues in broader terms. For example, if parents are better informed about aspects of crime and punishment it is likely that their children will subsequently be more informed and have more confidence in the system assuming that the system is on the side of the citizens and not politically corrupt. This optimism sounds more reasonable seen in the context of family influence, considering the control that a Greek family might have on individuals' political and religious preferences, as the next section demonstrates.

#### *6.3.3.2 Influences: Political Preference and Religious Attachment*

Family influence has a strong bearing on religious and political affiliation. The importance of this reference is to suggest that since the family's influence is important in guiding political and religious ideologies, there is no doubt that it also has an impact on people's attitudes towards crime and punishment, especially when attitudes as such are affected by religion and as will be later discussed politics. The idiom 'like father, like son' or 'like mother, like daughter' encapsulates this particular area of attitude formation. Firstly, taking into consideration people's political preferences and affiliation, family has a great impact in whom or which party a member of the family would support politically. For example,

parents whose ideology turns mostly to the right or conservative will lead their children in the same direction. Likewise it is common for parents with communist ideologies to lead their children to a more communistic lifestyle. That sort of orientation is aptly illustrated by the following quotations:

*'I vote for PASOK, but to be frank I do not know anything about its politicians. I vote PASOK because my family supports PASOK. I do not pay much attention, I am not sure of the rates of success, and I do not know who the Minister of Justice is. My dad always voted for PASOK and he advised me to do the same'. (Interview 4, Female, 34)*

*'I live in a matriarchal family and my mum is a ND supporter. That originally came from my grandfather, who was a policeman in the Junta and these people are mostly extremely conservatives. If you listen to my mother talking about the Junta, she is almost proud that she lived in that period of time. As for me changing ideology; I do not think she would like it that much'. (Interview 20, Male, 24)*

Significantly, people who identify themselves as politically conservative are substantially more likely to have been raised in a conservative household as young people and those who identify themselves as politically liberal more likely to have been raised in a liberal household, regardless of political affiliation. This link has been studied by American researchers who found similar outcomes when investigating the National Presidential Election Surveys of 2000 and 2004 (Lewis-Beck et al., 2008) suggesting that family influences people's voting behaviour. In addition, the continuity of party identification is a noteworthy characteristic of politically active homes. However, this study does not set out to advocate that the family is the key to understanding political stances, but that its effect can be dependent on the fact that voters follow their parent's political orientation.

Evidence of family influence is equally identifiable in people's involvement with religious affiliations. There is no doubt that a family is responsible for children's religious affiliation, taking into consideration that Greek people are baptised Christian Orthodox before the age of one in order to get their names. Nevertheless, it is possible for religious affiliation to alter. Two qualitative interviewees reported withdrawal from their Orthodox faith, but those still devoted suggested that their family or a member of their family was responsible for their dedication to the Greek Orthodox faith. The impact that family has on people's relationship with religion is addressed in the next quotations:

*'I am a believer and I think I pass that on to my children. Because you ask about crime and punishment, I can give you an example. I banned them from doing things that my faith does not allow me. I am not exaggerating because they have their freedom to do as they wish, but I will advise them to think about religion. I in all my life was influenced by religion, and this has passed to me from my mother. I did not always agree, but now that I am a mother, I do the same for my children'.* (Interview 9, Female, 43)

*'My father is not a believer, but my mother is the same as me. I have her leaning and this is why I followed her example when she went to church. I learned to be closer to God because of my mother and because I read many books about Orthodox Christianity. My sisters are the same as me. I guess it is only my dad who does not like churches that much, but I am sure he is a believer too.* (Interview 19, Male, 26)

It is apparent that family has a critical influence on people's involvement with religion. People who are exposed to the Greek Orthodox religion in their homes are certainly more likely to maintain a strong religious relationship in life. Many Greek parents assume responsibility for maintaining the Greek Orthodox faith from one generation to another. This might mean that parents provide those ties in order to maintain culture. Hunsberger and Brown (1984) reported that individuals claimed that their parents, particularly the mother, had been influential in affecting their religious orientation. More recently, King et al. (2002) confirmed that family and peer stimuli are both substantial predictors of adolescent experience of God and are central to religious belief.

The family unit and its influence is central to understanding the way Greek people reflect on major issues in their lives and this pertains to crime and punishment. Greek people form their attitudes in reaction to the position taken by family, showing the strong family values of Greek culture. The second aspect of the concept 'disciplinary orthodoxy' is as important as the Greek Orthodox faith in affecting the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards politics and religion, issues at the heart of attitudes to crime and punishment.

In this study the subject of family has so far focused on its influence on religion and the political affiliations of its members, and the survey drew attention to ideas of parental discipline, referring to the ways parents respond to their children's misbehaviour and the issue of broken families with parents failing to define and protect children from criminal

behaviour. Hirschi's and Gottfredson (2003) suggest that parents should pay attention to the children's needs and by observing their activities they evade criminal behaviour. Hirschi's (1969) earlier research discussed social bonding theory, which suggests that juvenile crime can be avoided when young people are tightly bonded with 'conventional others'. Farrington (1994) agreed that the most crucial risk for delinquent crime is the lack of parental supervision in a sense of insufficient watchfulness. However, this current study is the only study looking more closely into the issue of family in relation to people's attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece, finding that Greek people who hold less punitive attitudes have more positive attitudes towards family values.

On the subject of attitude formation towards crime and punishment, culture is an important factor in constructing attitudes. When Greek people profess their attitudes there is evidence of cultural values deriving from the Orthodox faith and the traditional tight Greek family unit that together make up 'disciplinary orthodoxy', in short the Greek culture. There is a strong belief that Greek religion is Greek culture (Binns, 2002). The objective of this section was to look more deeply into people's attitudes towards crime and punishment, and to consider why Greek people hold the views that they do and how such views are constructed. Culture was one of the core issues, and in this context the Greek Orthodox faith and the traditional tight Greek family unit were relevant. The concept 'disciplinary orthodoxy' is used to describe how these two aspects of Greek culture influence public opinion on crime. It was concluded that the stronger people's adherence to their traditional religious and family values, the less punitive their attitudes are towards crime and punishment.

#### **6.4 Politics**

This study previously argued that the influence of politics on attitudes to crime and punishment is twofold. One aspect is the manipulation that politicians use in their campaigns through unreliable polls and the construction of distorted public attitudes about crime and punishment in order to gain personal benefits. The other aspect is the way the public constructs attitudes to various aspects including crime and punishment, by following their political affiliation. For example, conservatives tend to be more punitive, taking into consideration their belief that offenders choose to commit crimes as a rational action. This

study has come up with similar findings, providing information on political involvement in attitude formation and the power of political ideology. However, what is different in this study is that Greek people do not trust the Greek political system, believing that political corruption and nepotism are political tools to control the public in an unjust manner. Quantitative survey respondents of this study supported the view that political involvement in crime and punishment and corruption is to blame when they construct their negative attitudes towards the government and the CJS. Also, the majority of interviewees seemed extremely eager to discuss their irritation towards the corruption of politics and believed that crime is related to those wielding political power and control. According to Greek people's perceptions, the Greek CJS is tolerant of corrupt politicians and their control of the system, thus it is only natural to have no faith in the CJS and the aspects around it, here crime and punishment, when they have no faith in politicians and the Greek political system.

The latest current political situation in Greece (June 2012) confirmed that Greek political parties, after the elections that took place on 17 June 2012, have settled into a conservative-led coalition. New Democracy scored the highest in the re-election and was given the chance to form a unity government. Conservative leader Antonis Samaras was sworn in as the prime minister of the Greek coalition, as he took up the challenge of trying to revise the terms of an unpopular EU-IMF bailout deal. However, the Greek public showed for the third time in the last 3 elections that they are dissatisfied with the government with 37.53% (Greek Parliamentary Elections website, last accessed 2012) of the population abstaining from voting. This percentage looks similar to the one that was found in this study, when 39% of quantitative respondents stated that they did not vote in the last elections. This study investigated the reasons hidden behind this abstinence from voting linked to Greek people's negative perceptions towards crime, punishment and the CJS. The first area of investigation in both quantitative and qualitative data was opinions on political manipulation, wherein politicians used their political power for personal benefits. Following on is an exploration of Greek attitudes towards politicians and perceptions towards political corruption, informing attitudes towards the Greek CJS and ultimately the media's involvement in political corruption. According to the Greek public, all these issues contribute to the negative attitudes they hold towards crime and punishment. Moreover, the second area investigated whether Greek people's political ideology influences their attitudes

towards crime and punishment. As will be evidence in the next section, data showed that the philosophy of political parties does not have an impact on the construction of attitudes towards aspects of crime, with Greek people of this study not necessarily voting according to their political beliefs, but according to other influences, as already mentioned, such as the cultural factor of the family unit.

#### **6.4.1 Attitudes towards Politicians and Political Corruption**

Greek people have felt let down by politicians and their sphere of influence, noting that they have the authority to commit crimes, against people or the country, without ultimately being punished. The qualitative interviews were more appropriate for this analysis since they assisted in understanding how people construct their views towards politicians and the political system as well as why they hold negative attitudes towards the same politicians they voted for. Qualitative interviewees constantly and indiscriminately accused politicians for what they saw as corruption on many levels. They felt they experienced an inequitable amount of control by politicians who used their power against the good of the country and its citizens. Additionally, data emerged suggesting that Greek people base their attitudes towards the politicians and the political system on three main contributing factors. These are the effect of a long internal fight between the two strongest political parties in Greece (PASOK and ND), the issue of nepotism with 'gatekeepers' and the recent political scandals engaging well-known politicians of the country. Those three main factors have been important in the way Greek people thought about the effectiveness of the Greek CJS and constructed their attitudes towards crime and punishment. The following quote illustrates these findings:

'The story started ages ago, when the era of Papandreou has started. I can name you scandals from the day you were born, and the last 30 years if only PASOK and ND... You are a lucky person if you know a politician or even if you know somebody who knows a politician'. (Interview 1, Male, 58)

Gounev and Bezlov (2010) in their attempt to examine the link between corruption and organised crime presented Greece as a country experiencing corruption in more sectors than any other European country. With the help of Antonopoulos (2010) the scholars focused on custom and tax corruption, administrative corruption, political corruption, and

more relevant here, attention was paid to the criminal justice agencies such as police and judicial corruption. The scholars suggested that those people with useful contacts in major positions, mostly politicians, and those having the right financial aid to offer, benefit at the expense of the majority.

Similar perceptions are held by Greek people within this study, who suggested that the law exists only for the poor, and interestingly, the majority of them appeared to sympathise with criminals as long as they were not wealthy or politicians. Qualitative interviewees believed that politics and politicians are engaged in every sector and influence those areas in accordance with their own will. A number of them discussed political involvement within the CJS affecting the police and the courts in particular. This attitude concurs with the low levels of confidence amongst Greek people towards the police. The unsatisfactory attitudes towards the CJS are influenced by the view that politicians are involved in corruption against the deprived, as the following quotes cite:

*'The fish smells from the head! Politicians disobey the laws, why should I obey then? They want to rule in all areas. If there is a mafia in Greece then the mafia is the politicians! Are you aware that when you are a politician, you do not go to prison? This is discrimination towards me and towards the public'. (Interview 1, Male, 58)*

*'I believe that most politicians become politicians because they want to have the power to control us. That power forces them to crime. They have the money, the power and they cause crime. The same situation occurs in Albania. As soon as one becomes a politician, he automatically becomes a criminal'. (Interview 11, Female, 36)*

Perceptions as such show dissatisfaction towards politicians and the Greek CJS, which does not prosecute politicians, and are consistent with Lambropoulou's (2007) study which portrays police cases that sustain the misuse of power and corruption of police. Lambropoulou (2007) supports the notion that there is corruption in the police, but she characterises corruption as occasional and non-structural, an opinion contradictory to Gounev and Bezlov (2010) who found that corruption in the Greek police is a systematic and organised concern. Gounev and Bezlov (2010) discussed several cases of judicial corruption and organised crime, noting that it is a problem in Greece as organised and white-collar crime criminals are the leaders of this observable fact. Results of this study concur with Gounev and Bezlov (2010), suggesting that people believed that the Greek CJS is corrupted

in all its functions, for the simple reason that the CJS is politically controlled. Looking at the explanations that Greek people gave in support of their lack of confidence in politics in this study, it seems that political involvement and corruption are significant elements contributing to the construction of public attitudes towards crime and punishment. As I shall evidence shortly, the issue of the internal fight between two parties in the Greek political scene and the nepotism issues between governmental representatives and the public are further facts that are central when investigating how Greek people construct their perceptions towards crime and punishment. The personal experiences of qualitative interviewees bring those arguments interestingly to life.

Up until now (June 2012), socialists (PASOK) or conservatives (ND) have been the ruling political parties in Greece. Interestingly, both parties have leaders from one family respectively and this situation has persisted over many years. However, a new prime minister, Antonios Samaras, has emerged from recent elections (June 2012), amid new expectations. There had been a tradition in which the corresponding parties were in the habit of electing family members. As a result the public started to believe that voting had no special value and showed considerable apathy towards voting. This phenomenon was evident in the quantitative survey, with 39% stating that they did not vote in the last election, with the remaining survey respondents being separated into two political affiliations, left wing party of PASOK (21%) and the right wing party of ND (27%). Moreover, the qualitative interviewees showed their dissatisfaction towards that matter by repeatedly stating that politics in Greece is a family business and that voting for a party is not ideological anymore. The majority of interviewees mentioned the issue of the internal political fight on several occasions:

*'Most politicians say that they try for the best. But in the matter of left and right, they do not try anymore. Either this is PASOK or ND, they are more or less similar nowadays. They cheat us, they believe that we do not understand what they are doing. They elect the same family names all over again, like there are no other politicians in the country. How can you trust these people? They commit crimes in front of our eyes, and we still vote for them. (Interview 7, Female, 59)*

Greek people continuously mentioned distrust in politicians and how dissatisfied they are with the government. As Mouzelis (2005) suggested, political parties have been held

responsible for all the problems confronting Greece today. Political involvement in crime and punishment led Greek people to hold negative attitudes towards the government and the CJS that eventually allows politicians to distort the system. Here, nepotism was a key issue in generating unfavourable perceptions towards politicians and dissatisfaction towards the CJS. Qualitative interviewees used the word *‘ρουσφέτι/ rousfeti’* which informally refers to ‘nepotism’ or as Greek people refer to it ‘clientelism’ between politicians and the public. In order to win voters politicians frequently contribute to a vocational place for relatives and act against meritocracy in society. Several interviewees were brave enough to state personal experiences, in which they described that they had taken advantage of their political affiliation and a politician had helped them to ‘do their job’.

*‘That was many years ago, when I finished my studies in 1984. My sister is married to (Name) and he was elected to the PASOK party. He was the one who helped me go into the school and he made some phone calls and I was hired. To tell you the truth, I would have been hired one way or another, but because he was involved, I got in the first place’.* (Interview 13, Male, 56)

*‘I did use a contact I still have. I gave a call to (Name); he is a major member of the parliament. I teach children and one of the mothers was his secretary for 24 years. She called him first and then he called me to ask which place I chose to attend for my military service. Then, because I preferred to stay in my hometown, I called him back and I asked him to arrange for me to stay here. And so he did. This is the reason that I am going to vote for him in the next elections’.* (Interview 19, Male, 26)

It was Lyrantzis (2011) who recently suggested the concept ‘bureaucratic clientelism’ to define the functioning of the Greek political system and stated that Greece, apart from the financial crisis, is now experiencing a political crisis, an argument seemingly borne out when looking at the most recent political scandals and upheavals in the country. The Greek public in this study clearly believe that politics are corrupt and that this has affected issues of crime and punishment, and they blamed politicians for the situation that now occurs in Greece. Political parties were unsuccessful in functioning at a level that would integrate them with their social base without the interference of nepotism (Lyrantzis, 2011). There is a connection with the effects of the financial crisis, which actually works underneath the apparent surface of how the Greek public construct their attitudes towards politics. What is interesting is that Greek people acknowledge the corruption whilst using it for their own benefits. Nevertheless, they are annoyed about the lack of meritocracy within their society

and constantly discussed politically-related issues when they wanted to show their dissatisfaction. Looking at their perceptions of several scandals involving politicians and focusing on the details of each crime helps in understanding the lack of faith in politics.

Qualitative interviews assisted in finding out that Greek people's attitudes towards politicians and the legislative immunity that protects them from prosecution are extremely negative. The words *'Πολιτική Ασυλία/ Pilitiki Asilia'* have been repeatedly used in this current study, an idiom that in English refers to legislative immunity, exemption from normal legal penalties granted to the elite group of Greek politicians. Greek people argued that criminal behaviour in all of its forms can be committed by politicians, who become politicians in part to have easier access to corrupt mechanisms. The following quotes bear witness to the interest and concern that interviewees have towards crimes involving politicians and show their loss of trust politics:

*'The situation that occurs in Greece at the moment is all attributed to politicians. Politicians cover up for each other, no matter which political party each one of them belongs to. Take for example the incident with the priests or the other one with Siemens. Politicians work only for their own benefit. That is why Greece is in such a mess at the moment'. (Interview 1, Male, 58)*

*'Siemens give politicians such big amounts of money that we people wouldn't believe are real. Do you want me to explain the way they do it? Siemens says that they will provide the country with ships or buses or anything you feel like, and they want a specific amount of money for that. The politicians in charge, instead of looking at better deals, support Siemens as long as they get paid to do so. That keeps both sides satisfied, and the public pays for both'. (Interview 13, Male, 56)*

What is also important here is that the public do not distinguish the right wing party from the left wing party and acknowledge that politicians protect each other no matter what political affiliation they belong to, showing how the public is also aware that political parties and politicians support each other to 'cover' corruption. Gounev and Bezlov (2010) mentioned that Siemens acted as a funder for both ND and PASOK, in trade for constructive dealings in public tenders, and Lyrintzis (2011) suggested that although PASOK ministers were mostly involved in the Siemens scandal, it is true that the political agenda involved both PASOK and ND governments. Greek people's awareness of such scandals can only lead to negative perceptions towards politicians, who according to the public's view, cause crime

and evade punishment. It would be a mistake to ignore these apparently widespread feelings and accusations and defer to the fact that it is inevitable that individuals construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment by reflecting on the factor of political corruption and the advantage of political power.

The last area to be identified as important in influencing Greek people's perceptions towards politicians and in turn leading them to lose confidence in issues of crime and punishment is that of political involvement in the media. Greek people believed that politics and politicians are engaged in every sector and influence those areas in accordance with their own attitudes and desires. A number of interviewees discussed political involvement within the media as a tool used to control their views (as discussed earlier), and they seemed aggravated with the CJS and in particular the police and the courts. The following quotes highlight these views on the political distortion within the media:

*'Politicians are criminals. They are dust basically, nowadays they stink. I do not bother thinking about them and I am not going to fight as some people do for politics because politicians are all the same terrible mess. They speak in parliament about the crimes they committed themselves and nobody can say something like somebody should be punished. They all cover up for each other, the media covers up for them, the courts cover up for them, and the judges do the same'. (Interview 3, Male, 30)*

*'Taking into consideration that newspapers are politically 'coloured', it means that there are political benefits. Several shows on TV are politically functioning, which means that there are political benefits'. (Interview 13, Male, 56)*

The majority of qualitative interviewees identified political involvement and manipulation that can be seen within the media. They focused on the power of politics and the ability it has to twist public views in a way that benefits politicians instead of society at large. That might be a consequence of the characteristic that all private media corporations in Greece depend on the government for their licences as well as for advertising profits. Paying closer attention to the CJS and how politics are involved, Greek people suggested that the CJS and in most cases the police, the courts, and the prison use their power, which is ultimately political, to protect the powerful and wealthy over the deprived, mostly the public. It is important to state that once again, the media are influential in a sense of constructing Greek public's attitudes towards a number of issues, here their attitudes towards corrupted

politicians who according to the public's views, distort the media and manipulate people's perceptions. Politics have a significant impact on the way people construct perceptions, but later findings show that the public's political affiliation is less important in the way they think about crime. Overall, Greek people in this study believed that politicians were responsible for crime that is either committed by them or crime that is committed because of them. That makes politics a major factor in the construction of attitudes towards crime and punishment, with Greek people repeatedly suggested that politics and politicians were accountable for the difficulties faced by their country and that trust towards them is lost.

#### **6.4.2 Does Conservative or Liberal Ideology have an Impact on Attitudes to Crime and Punishment?**

This particular area looks at the second process that might be considered to help people construct attitudes towards crime and punishment, and it is the issue of political ideology. As already mentioned in the literature review (i.e.: chapter three), research showed that conservatives tend to believe that offenders should mostly be punished because they have chosen to be criminals, whereas liberals tend to consider crime as a social consequence and prefer offenders to be rehabilitated instead of taking what they 'just deserve' (Jacobs and Carmichael, 2002). However, the findings of this study show a far more complex assessment. I initially attempted to distinguish between Greek ideological attitudes and further investigate whether political ideologies can affect people's attitudes towards crime and punishment. However, Greek people showed that they do not really vote according to their political ideology. Both the quantitative and qualitative data suggested that Greek people's knowledge on the philosophy of the political party they support is lacking. That result eventually confirmed that in Greece political affiliation, whether somebody is conservative or liberal, is not important in attitude formation towards crime and punishment, for the simple reason that according public perceptions, the philosophy of political parties is vague. However, as already mentioned in the culture part of this chapter, Greek people were mainly influenced by the family unit with their political preference mostly based on the political belief of their parents and the way they were raised and less on their own knowledge aligned with a political ideology or political party.

Quantitative survey respondents who voted for a particular party did not seem to hold a specific ideology. Section D question 8.2 of the questionnaire (see appendices: 244) presented several political statements taken from charters of each political party, which are actually official organisational documents promoting the ideology of each political party. This section of the questionnaire assisted in distinguishing if survey respondents voted according to what they politically supported, but the results were unexpected. For example, LAOS extreme-right statements are found important by PASOK voters with 35 of 51 supporting the second LAOS statement in greater proportion to any other voters and PASOK statements were found to be more important to respondents voting for ND (right conservatives). Thus, respondents' ideological perceptions appeared elusive, since that their voting does not effectively represent their political beliefs. In general, it cannot be hypothesised that there is a difference in perceptions by people who are more conservative or liberal, when their political perceptions do not support their voting choice.

The qualitative interviews displayed equivalent conclusions and interviewees stated that they did not vote according to their political ideology, giving the reason that there is no trust in the political system. The majority of interviewees were cautious when stating which party they voted for, especially when they were asked to discuss a couple of the basic characteristics of the party they support. The following quotes illustrate the voting abstinence as well as the phenomenon of voting without an ideology.

*'I used to believe that voting is insulting, humiliating, because politicians in this country are unreliable and I really did not want to be represented by them. I tend to hold left ideologies, but I now choose to vote for the party that is not much preferred by the mass public. However, in local voting I vote for the party that some of my friends belong to, just to support them. I would not say that I vote according my ideology, but still, being frank, I am not really influenced by politics or politicians, because as I told you they are all untrustworthy'. (Interview 15, Male, 50)*

*'If you ask me I can clearly say that I have the communist philosophy in mind. Equality and sharing are both things I love to see around my world. Which party do I vote for? LAOS, is the rightest of the rightest parties in Greece. I vote for them because their leader gives solutions that are logical and can help my country. They have never been the government, but as a political party that opposes the government, it does a good job'. (Interview 20, Male, 24)*

The existing data was collated to investigate whether political affiliation is relevant to Greek people's attitudes towards crime and punishment and showed the limited importance of this issue. When Greek people vote, they choose alternative considerations to their political ideology, thus their attitudes are not influenced by political affiliation. That might also explain the issue that all major surveys including the European Social Survey (ESS, 2003) found an escalation in levels of political apathy in the Greek public, dissatisfaction and distrust towards political parties and disappointment with politics. This study found the public's attitudes towards crime and punishment was significantly influenced by politics, but not by people's political ideology. This finding is inconsistent with other studies that suggest that conservatives and liberals do not consider the issue of crime and punishment in the same way (Lambert et al., 2004). However, they are consistent with those who find no difference between liberals and conservatives in the way they view corporate crime (Unever et al., 2008). Results from this study mostly suggest that Greek people do not construct attitudes to crime and punishment according to their political orientation.

The above perceptions that Greek people held two years ago when the data was collected still appear to be relevant. One can speculate that having no faith in the CJS remains the same in the current political climate. The Greek Prime Minister (ND) Antonis Samaras has reached an agreement to form a unity government to face the task of saving the nation from bankruptcy. During the last few months politicians from both sides have blamed the distortion within politics and the state of the country on the opposing party. Subsequent scandals emerged and Greece is experiencing conditions of dissolution and illegality. While the ideology of the party the public supports is not significant to findings, nevertheless the lack of faith in politicians and the political system leads Greek people to be discontented and in turn to lose faith in the Greek CJS, consequently forming negative attitudes towards crime and punishment. It seems natural to have no faith in the CJS, when you have no faith in those who form it and work within it. A consideration of public dissatisfaction with these issues shows the importance of politics in the way Greek people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment.

# Conclusion

## Chapter 7

This study has provided a wealth of information examining public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece, and the way these attitudes are constructed. The topic of public perceptions towards crime and punishment is extensive, and several significant factors have an impact on these attitudes. These factors can be used as a guide to improve public perceptions, and possibly result in the public supporting less punitive policies towards lawbreakers. This study showed that public attitudes are both a reflection of and a potential influence over criminal justice policies. For example, punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment may be reflected in negative behaviour towards the criminal justice system (CJS), and this behaviour might have an impact on the development of governmental and criminal justice policies.

The analysis carried out in this study is based upon both a quantitative survey and qualitative semi-structured interviews. The two methods were designed to be complementary to each other to give the broadest possible picture. The quantitative method was used to define the factors relevant to attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece. Then, the qualitative method served to explore how attitudes are constructed and to investigate the specific factors in more depth.

This study finds evidence suggesting that Greek people currently hold unfavourable attitudes towards crime, issues of punishment, and the Greek CJS. It highlights the importance of the external influences contributing to this, which results in misinformation and prejudice. The first objective of my study was to map Greek attitudes towards crime and punishment and the second objective was to contribute to a better understanding of the factors that influence attitude formation. The main focus on the factors that shape Greek public attitudes was on media, race, religion, culture and politics.

This chapter summarises the main findings of the study and draws out their implications. While researching Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment within this study, it

has been found that the factors influencing public attitudes appear related to the high public lack of confidence towards the Greek socio political and economic system as a whole, and therefore towards the Greek CJS. Taking the media for example, Greek people are influenced by the exaggerated portrayals of crime in the Greek television, which distorts their attitudes, enhances their lack of knowledge, increases fear of crime and causes lack of confidence in the CJS. This chapter summarises how each factor which has the power to construct Greek public attitudes may cause public lack of confidence and explains the processes which lead Greek people to hold punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Additionally, this study suggests that since lack of confidence may negatively influence Greek policy, it is important to encourage effective developments to improve confidence. It may be that these apparently negative factors which currently construct distorted attitudes can be turned around to be helpful in re-building the Greek public confidence towards the system. In short, how can the factors that Greek people use to construct distorted attitudes towards crime and punishment be used to restore the public lack of confidence and convert punitive attitudes to a more optimistic and progressive outlook. This study has developed the concept of 'disciplinary orthodoxy', to describe Christian Orthodox beliefs in combination with the tight family unit, which was found to be the single prime factor that Greek people still have faith in. Additionally this study suggests that since Greek people consider 'disciplinary orthodoxy' so fundamental and reliable, it might show the best way to restore public confidence in the Greek CJS and to improve public attitudes towards crime and punishment.

This chapter will initially summarise how key findings affect Greek lack of confidence in criminal justice and punishment in Greece. It begins by recalling the effects of lack of knowledge on confidence towards crime issues. This is followed by a focus on fear of crime as a cause and effect of this lack of confidence. Specific perceptions of Greek people towards punishment are cited in order to further illustrate the public's lack of confidence in the Greek CJS. Demographic, social and cultural factors are then independently discussed in relation to their influence on confidence in crime control policies. These encompass contemporary issues related to the media, race, religion, culture and politics. Suggestions

will then be made on the Greek way to re-build confidence and restore public trust using strategies that accord with Greek contemporary reality. Finally, suggestions for further research are addressed.

### *7.1 Factors that Weaken the Greek Public Lack of Confidence in Crime and Punishment*

In the line with the above discussion, this section explores the core factors that generate lack of confidence, reflecting on the research findings of this study. Firstly, it identifies the distorted Greek public attitudes towards rates of crime and towards punishment, showing how they strengthen public lack of confidence in the CJS. Then, it investigates how public lack of knowledge about crime and punishment and public fear of crime encourage lack of trust in the Greek CJS. This is followed by a focus on the specific factors of media, race, religion, culture and politics that were found central in building up the distrustful Greek attitudes towards crime and punishment.

International research shows that people believe that crime is rising. Similarly, in this study, Greek respondents perceived higher levels of crime, and that it was rising, whereas both national and local Greek statistics demonstrate that crime is only slightly rising (Lambropoulou, 2007). In addition, Greek people substantially overestimated violent crime, and only traffic offences appear to have dramatically increased according to official statistics (Cheliotis and Xenakis, 2011). Research in Britain found that people who think that crime trends are increasing have less confidence in the CJS (Weatherburn and Indermaur, 2004) and this is also evident within this study in Greece.

In the area of punishment, Greek people were pessimistic about the potential of Greek prisons to rehabilitate prisoners; they believed that sentences are too lenient, but at the same time they supported the aim of rehabilitation as a justification for imprisonment. Findings from this study suggest that public opinion on the purpose of punishment is inconclusive. Greek people selected a diversity of aims and endorsed numerous aims concurrently. However, there appears to be a widely-held perception that the Greek public are dissatisfied with the options that the Greek CJS has to offer and that since prisons do not work, the worst penalty for offenders may be stigmatisation and their labelling as criminals.

Public confidence is essential for the effective functioning of justice (Butler and McFarlane, 2009; Sherman, 2001). While investigating public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece, this study found that Greek people's confidence levels depend on knowledge about and involvement in aspects of crime. The Greek public have limited and sometimes ill-informed knowledge on crime issues, with exaggerated views of the amount of crime in the country and propounding immigrants and high levels of unemployment as causes of crime. The public's limited involvement with the Greek CJS is marked, accounting for the ill-informed, low confidence and less supportive Greek public attitudes towards crime and punishment. International research suggests that the public rates the performance of the police relatively highly and the judiciary relatively poorly (Mattinson and Mirlees-Black, 2000). Greek people in this study perceived all Greek criminal justice agencies, including the police, as unreliable and untrustworthy. Furthermore, they appear to consider the CJS as being unfair, not taking into consideration public safety, and not acting with sufficient severity.

Previous research associated Greek punitive attitudes with fear of crime (i.e.: Zarafonitou, 2008), whereas evidence in this study showed only a slight relationship between fear of crime and attitudes to potential risk of victimisation, but a stronger relationship between fear of crime, gender and punitive attitudes. Greek people generally reported low levels of fear of crime, but women tended to have a greater fear of crime than men and hold considerably more negative views towards crime and punishment. This infers that those who are more fearful have less faith in the ability of criminal justice to punish offenders. Fear of crime might also be related to the Greek public's limited involvement with the CJS which reduces awareness and knowledge. It has been shown that the public's limited knowledge of the CJS results in support for tougher policies (Roberts and Hough, 2002), and subsequently it appears that lack of knowledge and fear of crime result in a more punitive and apathetic public in this study.

The research findings in this study showed that the factors which appear to influence the construction of the Greek public's attitudes towards crime and punishment can be demographic, social, cultural and political. Their impact on Greek people's lack of confidence in crime issues has been explored within the framework of each factor. These

factors encompass the Greek media; the issue of race and the stereotyping misconceptions and prejudice towards ethnic minority groups; the concept of 'disciplinary orthodoxy' as a deeply rooted facet of Greek culture; and concerns about political corruption. These factors constructing attitude formation also serve to assist in deepening the lack of confidence of Greek people towards crime, punishment and the Greek CJS.

Evidence from research suggests that the media has a strong influence in shaping public opinion (Dowler, 2003) and that crime stories are chosen for their newsworthiness (Peelo and Soothill, 2005). These have the effect of exaggerating and misrepresenting reality, confusing the public and distorting their views (Roberts and Hough, 2005). Evidence of this has also been found in this study, with television having a powerful impact on the construction of public attitudes. The influence of the political affiliation of newspapers in distorting people's views is also in evidence, as well as that of fictional films generating the illusion of knowledge on aspects of crime and punishment. These influences were found to affect levels of fear of crime in this study. In turn this was shown to have an impact on public confidence in the Greek CJS, leading Greek people to hold more punitive attitudes.

This led to an investigation of the media portrayal of immigration issues and how this affects Greek people's perceptions towards crime and punishment. Generally in Greece the overall picture of immigration and its relation to crime remains inconclusive due to a lack of data and information (Petrinioti and Triantafyllidou, 2003). However, research in this study has shown how attitudes are influenced by the impression given in the media that immigration is arguably one of the reasons that crime and imprisonment rates in Greece are high. A consequence of this argument is that Greek people construct negative views of immigrants in general as criminals who suddenly moved into the country to cause crime. Evidence of prejudice and bias towards immigration and immigrants was shown in the study.

Discriminatory attitudes were found to be guided by a lack of knowledge and misconceptions generally attributable to the media as the main source of information respondents in this study relied on for their impressions of crime and criminal justice. These findings were in turn explored from the point of view of immigrants residing in Greece. They bore out a general view that there is a tendency for Greek people to hold stereotypical and

discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants, which together with disproportionately high imprisonment rates amongst ethnic minority groups in Greece would seem to indicate that the Greek CJS may act in accordance with the public's prejudice to sanction immigrants. There was also the view among those surveyed that the Greek CJS does not punish severely enough, thus resulting in higher rates of crime. This in turn leads to more punitive attitudes towards ethnic minority groups, lack of confidence in the Greek CJS and more negative attitudes towards crime and punishment.

Another broad influence emerging from this study in relation to attitude formation and changing attitudes to crime and punishment is the crucial role played by strong cultural Greek family unit ties and the Orthodox Christian faith. They are seen to be interlinked within this study which coins the concept, 'disciplinary orthodoxy' to denote this cultural influence on society. Research into this factor yielded interesting results, with Greek perceptions being positive towards the Greek Orthodox faith but negative towards the church as an institution. Faith in Greek Orthodox religion was found to reduce punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment, whereas the institution of the church was found to increase Greek people's punitive attitude. According to Greek public attitudes, the institution of the church is politically corrupt due to recent scandals between church representatives and politicians. It appears that Greek people within this study have lost trust in the church as an institution. These people expressed the fear that church representatives and politicians have been a cause of crime, revealing a lack of confidence in the governmental system as a whole as well as the Greek CJS, which according to their perceptions is not in a position to prevent crime and deliver justice as it did not punish those responsible for the scandals.

The Greek family unit within this study appeared extremely dynamic as a factor that influences attitudes to crime and punishment. Greek people are guided by the family unit when reflecting on the important issues of political affiliation and religious attachment. They appeared to choose a political belief and their involvement with religion in line with the position taken by their families. This is apparent in findings that show Greek people do not vote according to their ideology, but are influenced by the political belief of their parents. Strong family values affecting the way Greek people construct their attitudes

towards politics and religion were considered closely in relation to attitudes on crime and punishment. The research findings showed that Greek people who hold less punitive attitudes have more positive attitudes towards family values. Holding less punitive attitudes strengthens confidence in the CJS, showing that cultural values derived from the Orthodox faith and the traditional tight Greek family unit combining to form the concept of 'disciplinary orthodoxy' leads to more progressive elements in attitudes towards crime and punishment.

By way of contrast, politics emerged as a strongly negative factor as respondents displayed lack of trust in politicians and the Greek political system. Respondents accused politicians of political corruption and nepotism, scandals and political involvement within the media, the institution of the church and the Greek CJS. These issues contributed to a lack of reliance on any governmental agency, including the Greek CJS, which was perceived by the Greek public as politically corrupt. Hough and Roberts (2012) suggested that being soft on crime is a vote loser, but the recent political situation in Greece along with perceptions seen within this study suggest that the only current concern seems to be the financial emergency. The Greek people in general are struggling to cope economically due to a financial crisis they tend to blame on politicians, leading to further distrust in politics and government agencies such as the CJS and a hardening of attitudes towards crime and punishment.

### *7.2 A Step Forward: Re-building Public Confidence in the Greek CJS*

So far in this chapter I have examined the key aspects of public perceptions towards crime and punishment and the factors that influence such attitudes in the Greek context that have emerged from this research. An examination of these issues suggests that the Greek public has consistently demonstrated high levels of dissatisfaction with crime, punishment and the Greek CJS. This is not because the Greek people are naturally punitive, but more because of a persistent lack of knowledge and misconceptions about crime trends and practices.

Key research findings in countries other than Greece have found that levels of public confidence, legitimacy and security must remain high if they are to succeed in implementing effective criminal justice policies (Jackson et al. 2011). However, Greek people lack

confidence with fundamental aspects of the system and this challenges the legitimacy and authority of the administration of justice. It is clear that a vast amount of work has to be done by the Greek government that should be engaged with strategies to restore Greek public confidence in the Greek CJS in order to improve attitudes towards crime and punishment. The target should be to strengthen the legitimacy of the Greek CJS and restore public confidence in order to achieve secure and effective functions for the CJS.

This chapter continues by addressing ways that might be beneficial to strengthen the Greek confidence towards the CJS and transform Greek attitudes towards crime and punishment to a more positive direction. Initially, it refers to the importance of knowledge and how that issue can be challenging in a country like Greece. This is followed by a focus on the concern that transferring ideas from other countries might be problematic. Then, I more specifically claim that the same factors that have already been found central to weaken public confidence in the CJS and construct punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment, can be the key explanations to re-build confidence and re-construct public attitudes. The factors of media, race and politics, which were found particularly influential to distort Greek attitudes within this study are individually considered as conduits to improve public confidence. The lone issue that was found both unique and significant within this study is the concept of 'disciplinary orthodoxy' which is here collaborated with the other factors to reinforce, resolve and reconstruct Greek attitudes to crime and punishment.

An immediate strategy should be to improve the public's knowledge and understanding of crime aspects and justice issues. A more realistic picture emerges when the public is provided with more detailed information, for example about crime rates and sentencing policies (Chapman et al., 2002) and put in a position to balance competing interests and views in the area of crime and punishment. The Greek public should be well-versed in the way the CJS operates and thus able to improve their knowledge on issues which lessen their confidence in the system. For example, educating Greek people sufficiently about the real crime committed by ethnic minority groups might change their attitudes towards immigrants, reduce their levels of fear and restore trust that the Greek CJS operates for the public's safety. In the case of Greece though, promoting knowledge of crime will not be easy, considering the lack of data and information about crime and punishment. As had

been noted, crime statistics in Greece are under-represented, suggesting that the process of educating the public, particularly through appropriate information, will require time and research.

Improving and promoting public knowledge of crime and punishment has been a key subject in international research (Indermaur and Hough, 2002; Hough and Roberts, 2004; Butler and McFarlane, 2009), but it could be potentially problematic to transfer their recommendations directly without thought to Greece, for several reasons. One consideration is that the penal culture and the ideology of a country are linked and this affects the treatment and punishment of criminals, since countries with different cultures have different attitudes (Cavadino and Dignan, 2006). Greece has its own unique cultural heritage and this affects its attitudes towards crime and punishment. This cultural uniqueness must be given due consideration when reflecting on how to rebuild confidence in the Greek CJS. There is only a limited amount of criminological data in Greece, especially when this is compared to the structured operation of an institute, like for example, the Ministry of Justice in Britain. To reduce the gap between the public perceptions and the reality of crime through knowledge, data should first be accessible and operative. The results of this current study can be used to establish baseline knowledge levels with which the impact of any forthcoming education about crime and punishment issues can be measured.

The majority of Greek people do not have personal experience of either crime, punishment or the Greek CJS and results showed they are informed of crime issues through the media, especially television which in turn has a negative influence on their confidence in the Greek CJS. Media exaggerated representations of violent crime as out of control and punishment as too lenient lead to perceptions that the Greek CJS is unfair and is failing to fulfil its duty to society. It has been found that the most constructive approach to guarantee accurate representation of the CJS is to improve the relationship between the media and the CJS (Doyle, 1999). In this context such a goal would need to be reached by removing politically narrowed-minded perceptions from the media and encouraging the enhancement of independent and proportionate reporting of crime and criminal justice matters. Those surveyed showed a fervent need and wish for the expulsion of political exploitation by and of the media and the importance of keeping particular crime problems in perspective. It has

been shown that the practice of generating good publicity and addressing negative press is a positive assistance in promoting accurate representations of crime and punishment. Such strategies could be implemented to help revise inaccurate public perceptions towards crime and punishment and restore public confidence in the Greek CJS.

Overall public attitudes are likely to influence public policy as governments pay attention to public attitudes and take these into account in formulating and implementing policy (Roberts et al., 2003). In this study immigration seems to play an important role, considering that immigrants in Greece constitute 10% of the total population, with a bearing on daily life which in turn affects the attitudes Greek people hold towards crime and punishment. In this study the issue of race was examined through immigration and the attitudes people display towards those they perceive as 'Aliens'. Regrettably it has been found that immigrants are held culpable for a number of social problems, one being an increase in crime rates. Whilst Greek people appear quite willing to help immigrants they know personally and could be sympathetic, non-Greeks were not accepted completely and this leads to discriminatory attitudes and therefore racism.

One explanation can be given by looking at the concept of 'disciplinary orthodox' in relation to the historical context in Greece. Antonopoulos et al. (2008) mention the negative relationship from the past between Greek (Northern Epirus) and Albanian people, with Greek people being arrested and imprisoned due to their Christian Orthodox beliefs. Research would suggest that Greek people who more frequently attend church are more likely to agree with the view that Greek culture is threatened by immigration (Karyotis and Patrikios, 2010). According to the results of this current study, components of Greek cultural life, which embraces the Greek Orthodox faith, is seen by those surveyed to be under threat. Nowadays, in Greece, it is common for Albanian people to be baptised within the Greek Christian Orthodox faith, as an indication to Greek people that they are becoming Greek citizens themselves and therefore more recognised or integrated within Greek society. However, it would be controversial to suggest that immigrants should adopt Greek cultural norms and behaviours, as embedded in the concept of 'disciplinary orthodoxy', in order to improve the relationship between them and Greek people.

On reflection, it would be more appropriate and culturally sensitive if the Greek government were to work on the issue of immigration and ensure that Greek people are better and more accurately informed on this matter. Since the Greek media exaggerates ethnic minority crime resulting in misinformed attitudes, the emergence of information services in matters of crime might promote a better understanding of this relationship. Rather than the Greek media distorting attitudes in support of political benefits, they should provide pertinent evidence regarding trends in the reality of crime committed by ethnic minority groups and encourage the Greek government to take dynamic steps to communicate information about crime and punishment directly to the public. This might also contribute to informing the Greek public on the processes of the CJS, and encourage public involvement in building justice policies together leading to improving knowledge and therefore confidence in the Greek CJS.

Hough (2004) showed the power of the British media to exercise control over politicians and vice versa, suggesting that politicians are able to lead the mass media to represent policy issues in particular ways, if the media gain the opportunity to publicly use politicians for socially mediated issues. This mutually beneficial patronage leads politicians to overemphasise crime and encourage the public to construct unrealistic crime control requirements, which in turn decreases confidence in the CJS (Hough, 2004). However, the exclusiveness of the Greek reality is that politicians do produce a more ill-informed public and exert power over the media, even though the Greek public has completely lost reliance in the Greek political system as a whole. Superficial solutions to rebuild political trust and improve relationships between politicians and the Greek public would be a mistake, given that the Greek public identifies politicians as responsible for the financial crisis and the current situation in Greece. In contrast, if the concept of 'disciplinary orthodox' is examined further and emphasised, with the government improving relations with the institution of the church, take steps to eliminate corruption and nepotism and develop policies that involve more family guided strategies to prevent crime, the public might derive a better understanding of issues of crime and punishment and gradually rebuild relationships between justice policies and public perceptions.

To sum up, Greek people appear to demand what Jackson et al. (2011) referred to as institutional legitimacy, which suggest that the public want a more legitimate way to communicate with officials and vice versa. Hough et al., (2011) argue that institutional legitimacy contains a number of principles, but the most important for this representation is that the main reason people conform to the institutions is because they are confident that the institution represents normative and ethical frameworks. In short, this concerns the public belief that the system treats people fairly, a principle not in evidence in the results of this study with the Greek CJS, the institutions of church and the media, along with the current political scene of the country, failing to meet the expectations of the public and leading to lack of confidence in the CJS. Although the public demands fairness, a vicious circle persists, with policies built on public trends, and attitudes based on the assumption that the Greek system is corrupt with minimum standards pertaining to fairness and legitimacy influencing the context and the direction of government within this field.

### *7.3 Political Construct and a Baseline for Further Research*

The data for the present study was collected in 2009 at the peak of an economic crisis and a lot of data can be predisposed to support economic influences when it comes to determining the way the Greek public construct their attitudes. During the last two years, the political situation has been repeatedly changing, elections have taken place against a backdrop of economic, social and political collapse and yet the financial state of the country has not improved. Whilst a more stable financial environment, if or when it comes, seems unlikely to bring radical changes in Greek attitudes to crime issues it may at least enable such issues to receive greater public and political attention.

The conclusions of this study bring forth some productive and interesting possible potential for upcoming research that might be needed in relation to the theme of the study. Having found such extreme negative attitudes towards crime and punishment within this study, it would be interesting on balance to gain up-to-date perceptions, particularly if the economic situation improves and stabilises as mentioned above, and find out whether strategies which have the potential to improve the public's belief can help to build trust. This would

involve continuing to investigate attitudes and their construction and could form new insights into moderating factors to help establish a more balanced approach in attitude.

Research on public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece was necessary to both investigate whether the system works effectively and meets public's requirements and to challenge the gap between reality and public perceptions. Greek public perception has an impact on legislative decisions and influences the views of those responsible for law and order. This study looked at Greek public perception towards crime and punishment and explored the factors that underpin these attitudes. It investigated the issue of public dissatisfaction in Greece and assisted in the exploration of the Greek construction of crime and punishment representations. It is hoped that that this study has created a springboard for future work in this area, offering a starting point for Greek and international scholars to pursue the critical topic of attitudes towards crime and punishment and the factors underlying their construction.

# Appendices

## 1. Questionnaire Used for the Implementation of the Quantitative Survey

CASE NO

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I invite you to participate in a study conducted by the University of Plymouth (U.K). My name is Magdalini Pipini and I am a PhD Student in Criminology. If you choose to participate you will need to complete the following questionnaire about your attitudes towards crime and punishment. Confidentiality is assured and your involvement in the study is voluntary as you may withdraw your participation at any time without giving any reasons.

Please tick the appropriate box or complete the answer. There is no right or wrong answer. Please choose the answer which mostly represents you and your attitude/ opinion.

### SECTION A

- 1) Please circle the number of each statement which corresponds most closely to your opinion.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
a) Beach & Sun is important when thinking about Greece.	1	2	3	4	5
b) Parents are responsible for their children no matter their age.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Going to church regularly is important.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Ancient Greece should be studied in schools.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Being a good host is important.	1	2	3	4	5
f) Attending Greek military service is important.	1	2	3	4	5
g) Keeping the Greek language 'alive' is important.	1	2	3	4	5
h) Folk Arts (Folk Music, Poetry, etc) are more important nowadays.	1	2	3	4	5
i) Family ties should be tight.	1	2	3	4	5
j) Following the Greek Orthodoxy. religion is important.	1	2	3	4	5

2) Please tick below which statements are more fitting to you.

a) Are you a regular viewer of television **drama fiction**? Yes or No

b) Are you a regular viewer of television fact based **documentaries**? Yes or No

c) How many hours of television do you watch per week? ..... hours/week

d) What is your primary source of crime **news**? (tick one)

*T.V:*

Local

National

*Radio:*

Local

National

*Newspaper:*

Local

National

*Internet*

Other (Specify).....

e) **Overall**, how good a job do you think the media does in providing you with accurate and balanced information about crime and punishment?

excellent  good  fair  poor  very poor

f) Which of the following newspapers do you read most often? (Please choose one).

- a) Eleytherotipia
- b) Ryzospastis
- c) Eleytheros Typos
- d) A1
- e) Ta Nea
- f) Local Paper
- g) I do not read papers
- h) None of the above  Please state: .....

g) How much do you trust this paper?

- Not at all  A little  Somewhat  A lot  Very much  N/A

## SECTION B

1) Do you think that crime in Greece is:

- Rising?  Stable?  Falling?

2) In your opinion, which are the most common crimes in Greece? Please, choose three crimes from the following list and place them in order of frequency. You may if you wish choose some other crime which is not on the list.

- a) Theft
- b) Rape
- c) Homicide
- d) Gun Trafficking
- e) Drink and Drive
- f) Burglary
- g) Kidnapping
- h) Fraud
- i) Robbery
- j) Drug Trafficking
- k) Trafficking in Women
- l) Illegal entry into the country
- m) Riot
- n) Other.....

1<sup>st</sup> most common: .....

2<sup>nd</sup> most common: .....

3<sup>rd</sup> most common: .....

3) Why do people commit crimes? Please circle number of each statement which corresponds most closely to your opinion.

People commit crimes because:

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
a) ...their family is broken.	1	2	3	4	5
b) ...schools are not giving enough moral guidance.	1	2	3	4	5
c) ...they are not deterred by imprisonment.	1	2	3	4	5
d) ... of unemployment.	1	2	3	4	5
e) ... of the very large amount of crime reporting in the media.	1	2	3	4	5
f) ...they do not believe in God.	1	2	3	4	5
g) ...they are immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5
h) ...people do not keep their property safe.	1	2	3	4	5
i) ...the court sentences are lenient.	1	2	3	4	5
j) ...the police are not doing a good job.	1	2	3	4	5
k) ...Other (Please specify):	.....				

4) a) Have you ever been a victim of crime? Yes / No

If yes, please specify the type of crime .....

5) a) How safe or unsafe do you feel walking alone in your area after dark?  
 very safe  fairly safe  a bit unsafe  very unsafe

b) How safe or unsafe do you feel alone at home after dark?

very safe  fairly safe  a bit unsafe  very unsafe

c) How worried do you feel about becoming a victim of crime?

very worried  fairly worried  not very worried  not worried at all

6) Which of the following factors would reduce crime? Please circle the number of each statement which corresponds most closely to your opinion.

	Not at all Effective	Not Effective	Neither	Effective	Very Effective
a) Better parenting.	1	2	3	4	5
b) Firmer discipline in schools.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Stiffer sentences and more prisons.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Reduction of unemployment.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Reducing crime reporting in the media.	1	2	3	4	5
f) Increasing belief in God.	1	2	3	4	5
g) Reducing immigration.	1	2	3	4	5
h) Making properties more secure.	1	2	3	4	5
i) Sending more offenders to prison.	1	2	3	4	5
j) More police on the beat.	1	2	3	4	5
k) Other (Please Specify):	.....				

**SECTION C**

1) Which of the following do you believe is the purpose of punishment? Please circle the number of each statement which corresponds most closely to your opinion.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree
a) To punish offenders, because they deserve it.	1	2	3	4	5
b) To reform offenders.	1	2	3	4	5
c) To deter other potential offenders.	1	2	3	4	5
d) To remove the offenders from the society that they might harm.	1	2	3	4	5

2) People come out of prison worse than they go in?

agree     neither     don't know     disagree

3) How would you deal with prison overcrowding? (i.e.: Reducing the number of inmates in prison). Please circle the number of each statement which corresponds most closely to your opinion.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
a) Report regularly to probation officers, i.e.: social workers in community.	1	2	3	4	5
b) Develop tougher punishments.	1	2	3	4	5
c) Spent a certain number of days helping people in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
d) Release offenders early.	1	2	3	4	5
e) Get training and counselling.	1	2	3	4	5
f) Build more prisons.	1	2	3	4	5

4) Do you think that courts are doing a fair job in the way they sentence criminals?  
Yes / No

5) Do you think that the penalties that the courts pass are proportionate to the crime committed?  
Yes / No

6) Have you ever had contact with any of the following agencies?

- |           |        |                                 |
|-----------|--------|---------------------------------|
| a) Prison | Yes/No | If yes, in what capacity? ..... |
| b) Police | Yes/No | If yes, in what capacity? ..... |
| c) Court  | Yes/No | If yes, in what capacity?.....  |

**General Information SECTION D:**

1) What is your age?

18-29       30-44       45-59       60 and over

2) What is your gender?

Male       Female

3) What is the last stage of education that you completed?

Higher Education (BSC/ MSC/ PhD)

Post 16

Secondary Education / Primary School

4) What is your occupational status?

- |              |                          |            |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| Employed     | <input type="checkbox"/> | Unemployed | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Keeping Home | <input type="checkbox"/> | Retired    | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Student      | <input type="checkbox"/> |            |                          |

What is your job title.....?

5) What is your nationality? (as in your Passport)

- |           |                          |                          |                          |
|-----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Albanian  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Both Greek and Albanian  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Bulgarian | <input type="checkbox"/> | Both Greek and Bulgarian | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Romanian  | <input type="checkbox"/> | Both Greek and Romanian  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Greek     | <input type="checkbox"/> | Other: .....             |                          |

If not Greek, could you please state how many years have you lived in Greece? .....

6) If you belong to an ethnic minority, which is it?

- |          |                          |           |                          |
|----------|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Albanian | <input type="checkbox"/> | Bulgarian | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Georgian | <input type="checkbox"/> | Hellenic  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Romanian | <input type="checkbox"/> |           |                          |

Other: .....

7) How would you describe your religion?

Christian Orthodox  Christian Catholic

Old Calendar  Muslim

Jehovah's Witness  Atheist/ Agnostic

Other: .....

8) For which political party did you vote in the last election?

KKE  LAOS

N.D  PASOK

SIRIZA  I do not vote

None/ White  Other:.....

2) How important do you think each of the following statements is? Please circle the number for each statement which corresponds most closely to your opinion.

	Unimportant	Of little Importance	Moderately Important	Important	Very Important
a)Capitalism ignores the needs and wishes of working people.	1	2	3	4	5
b)The justice system and the Greek Orthodox church should work together.	1	2	3	4	5
c)The Government should follow traditional Greek culture.	1	2	3	4	5
d)The Government should follow a social liberal agenda.	1	2	3	4	5
e)The people must fight for the ideals of the left wing.	1	2	3	4	5
f)The capitalist system is broken and must be changed.	1	2	3	4	5
g)There is little difference now between the principles of the political parties.	1	2	3	4	5
h)Greece should remain in and be respected by the European Union.	1	2	3	4	5
i)The Government, military and church must co-operate and work together for the good of the country.	1	2	3	4	5
j)The class system within the population must be removed.	1	2	3	4	5

**\*Thank you for your contribution\***

2. **Interview Guide** Used for the Implementation of the Qualitative Interviews: The questions were asked in no particular order.

***'Interview Topics/ Core Themes':***

*Crime*

*Punishment*

Factors that may underpin public attitudes towards crime and punishment in Greece:

*Media, Race, Religion, Culture, Politics*

***'Framing Interview Questions':***

These are basic questions prompt to pick up the core themes and should include:

1) Introductory questions:

- Please tell me why do think that crime is committed?
- Have you ever had any personal experience with that type of crime?
- Which crimes do you think are the most common crimes?
- Have you ever had any experience with agencies, such as police, prison, or courts?

2) Follow- up questions:

- What do you mean by that?
- How would you deal in a situation like this?
- How would you experience that?

3) Probing questions:

- You said earlier that you do not believe that media is important. Could you say what kinds of things have put you off that opinion?
- Think about a crime that has been committed in the last 3 months aware of; how do you think these criminals acted; why did they commit that particular crime?

4) Specifying questions:

- What effect do media have on you?
- What is punishment for you?

5) Direct questions:

- Do you find it easy not to get influenced by the media?
- Which is the most popular TV programmes for you?
- How many hours do you watch TV per day?
- Which newspaper do you read?
- Do you believe in God?

6) Indirect questions:

- Is that the way you feel too?
- Do you know how many prisoners are imprisoned nowadays?
- How would you describe your relationship with religion?
- Who is the minister of justice?

7) Structuring questions:

- I would like to move on to a different topic.
- Why are different crimes committed in different countries?
- What are the expectations and requirements that the politicians of Greece have to meet?

8) Interpreting questions:

- Is that fair to say that what you are suggesting is that you do not mind that crime news are not enough accurate?
- In a study, people suggested that the most important factor that causes crime is 'unemployment'. What do you think about that?

***'Core Questions to Initiate the Qualitative Issues to Answer the Research Questions'***

**CRIME**

- What is the first phrase that comes in your mind when you listen to the word crime?
- Have you ever had any personal experience with that type of crime?
- Which crimes do you think are the most common crimes?
- Do you trust the police? Have you ever had any experience with the police?
- Why do people commit crimes?

## PUNISHMENT

- Have you ever had any personal experience with prison? In what capacity?
- How would you deal with criminals in relevance to the following:  
Rehabilitation is.... What do you think about that?  
Incapacitation is... How would you use that?  
Retribution is.... What is your opinion of using that?  
Deterrence is... How are you engaged with that?
- How would you deal with prison overcrowding?
- In Britain, probation works like this.... In Greece, probation is... Are you informed about this service?

## MEDIA

- Where did you get that opinion from? What do you consider as media?
- Do you watch crime news every day?
- Have you ever watched a Greek prison in TV? Read or heard about it?
- Which types of media are more distorted?
- Why would somebody distort news or stories?

## RELIGION

- How would you describe your relationship with religion?
- In Greece, we get baptised very young. That means we do not choose to be Christian Orthodox, but we learn to be like this. How do you feel about that?
- What is your opinion about the hierarchy of church?
- Being religiously active, can deter somebody to commit crime?
- In courts, during trials, witnesses or offenders, promise to God, to say the truth. What do you think about that?

## CULTURE

- How do you consider the Greek culture? How do you describe a Greek person?
- Can crime be an outcome of a culture? Is crime in other cultures different?
- Can Greek people be more punitive as a culture?
- Can our culture be responsible for the severity of punishment?
- Think about a Greek neighbour country, which has a different culture. What crimes do you believe are committed there?

## RACE

- Who are the immigrants? Why are they coming to Greece? What is race for you?
- Do you know immigrants who live in Greece personally?

- Would you be happy if your child married an immigrant?
- Do immigrants commit crimes? Why are they committing crimes?
- Are judges fair in their decisions towards immigrants?
- Have you ever been a victim of crime by an immigrant?

#### POLITICS

- Which political party do you support?
- Do you know the rate of success of this party in the last elections?
- How would you describe the political party that now rules Greece?
- To what extent do you believe that government is involved in the crime/ crime prevention/ imprisonment?
- What are the expectations and requirements that the politicians of Greece have to meet?

**3. Analytical framework:** Used for the initial analysis (Chapters 5 and 6).

Core Sections	Key Themes	Subthemes and/or Justification	Quantitative Survey	Qualitative Interviews
<i>Crime</i>	Individual differences and attitudes to crime: basic demographics.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender</li> <li>- Age</li> <li>- Education</li> <li>- Social Status</li> <li>- Financial Status</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 256 participants.</li> <li>- 60% females.</li> <li>- 40% males.</li> <li>- Age 18-60+.</li> <li>- 52% finished high school.</li> <li>- 69% employed.</li> <li>- 96% Greeks.</li> <li>- 96% Christian Orthodox.</li> <li>- 42% absence from voting, 27% conservatives, 20% liberals.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 20 participants.</li> <li>- 11 male, 9 female.</li> <li>- Age 24-62.</li> <li>- 20 Christian Orthodox (1 not baptised).</li> <li>- 17 Greek, 1 Albanian, 1 FYROM, 1 Bulgarian &amp; Greek.</li> <li>- 3 retired, 2 unemployed, 2 students, 13 employed.</li> <li>- 14 married, 6 single.</li> </ul>
	How Crime is understood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Serious crimes and Minor offences: People consider all other crimes, but murder and rape, as minor crimes.</li> <li>- Fear of Crime: Who fears and why?</li> <li>- Crime rising: Who is responsible for crime rising and how does this occur?</li> <li>- Victimization: Distribution of crime, personal victimisation and its impact.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 3 most common crimes: theft, drugs, illegal entry in the country.</li> <li>- 61% feel safe alone after dark, 75% feel safe at home after dark, 49% are not afraid of being victims of crime.</li> <li>- 95% believe that crime is rising.</li> <li>- 24 % victimised, 76% never being victim of crime.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Most participants stated murder as a crime. Crime is a serious word and is considered as an action that cannot be changed.</li> <li>- Here, the 3 common crimes are not considered as crimes but as minor offences and offenders are not responsible for their actions. Also, illegal entry in the country is not even a fault and immigrants do so because they have no other option.</li> <li>- Men are less afraid than women, and women are afraid of sexual attack. Mothers are more afraid too. People are afraid of immigrants and drug users.</li> <li>- However, Greeks still sleep at nights with their doors unlocked.</li> <li>- Crime is rising because</li> </ul>

				<p>there are plenty of immigrants in the country. Albanians steal and cause criminality.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Most participants have not ever being victimised. Those being victimised appears less punitive.</li> <li>- Victimisation: theft.</li> </ul>
Public Perceptions regarding the causes of crime.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Socially constructed: Unemployment, immigration and financial grounds.</li> <li>- Individually constructed: Free will or mental and emotional motivations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 52% schools.</li> <li>- 48% deterred by imprisonment &amp; of unemployment.</li> <li>- 46% police is not doing a good job.</li> <li>- 45% the court sentences are lenient.</li> <li>- 43% their family is broken.</li> <li>- 41% of the great report of crime within them media.</li> <li>- 33% they do not believe in God.</li> <li>- 26% they are immigrants.</li> <li>- 23% keeping their property safe.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- There are many causes that participants mentioned. They are divided to socially and individually constructed. However, people tend to support the socially constructed causes of crime, such as immigration and poverty.</li> <li>- Those mentally ill offenders are considers sick people who need protection and care from government.</li> </ul>	
Lack of confidence in the criminal justice system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Police: contact/ experience.</li> <li>- Courts: disparity.</li> <li>- Probation: not aware of.</li> <li>- Prisons: overcrowding.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 81% had never had any contact with police.</li> <li>- 75% had never had any contact with court.</li> <li>- 76% believe that courts are not doing a good job as well as 82% believe that court penalties are not proportionate to crime committed.</li> <li>- Opinions are divided as 33% agree that probation is a way to deal with overcrowding but 37% disagree/ probation comes 2<sup>nd</sup> from the end.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- There is a general lack to all governmental and civil institutions.</li> <li>- When people asked what they would do in a case of them being victims of crime, they have chosen the services of police. Meanwhile, they stated that police would not do anything anyway. Personal experiences also mentioned.</li> <li>- Courts are interfered by the powerful, both politically and financially. Courts are distorted institutions as well as lawyers and those who are</li> </ul>	

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 95% had never had any contact with prison</li> <li>- Overcrowding: 50% Spent days helping people in community, 44% Get training and counselling, 44% Build more prisons, 40% Develop tougher punishment, 37% use of probation and 13% release offenders early.</li> </ul>	<p>financially powerful are those who pay and distort the laws. People do not trust the courts and judges, however, most had never had any experience with courts.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The service of probation has been explained to every participant, since no one was aware of that service. It is impossible for this service to work in Greece. People are not aware of what probation really is and indeed most of them do not believe that it even exists.</li> <li>- Prisons are places that produce criminals. People were aware of prison overcrowding, and found that unfair for criminals. Also, they believe that only poor people are going to prison because the rich are paying and do not doing time. Meanwhile, prisoners are using mobile phones, commit more crimes within prisons, and escape. All the above can happen with the help of the officers who are also corrupted and are not doing their job well.</li> </ul>
Deficiency in interest effects knowledge about crime.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Peoples involvement</li> <li>- Crime and punishment are distant phenomena</li> <li>- Where does the knowledge come from? (Direct and Indirect</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- No contact with the CJS.</li> <li>- Victimization in relation to their opinions and where does this opinion come from.</li> <li>- Media Use</li> <li>- Riots as common crimes.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Several people have never been involved with the CJS and most importantly have never been examined and discussed about crime and punishment or any other aspects of the criminal justice system. The do not care about such aspects, but about</li> </ul>	

		<p>experience).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Financial crisis and the impact it has on crime and peoples interest in crime and punishment.</li> </ul>		<p>their and their children's' survival.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Crime and punishment are issues that come to pass, but to others.</li> <li>- The knowledge here comes mostly from the media and from word of mouth and no personal experience. However, people feel unsatisfied and knowledge might be an important factor that influences their attitude.</li> <li>- In the middle of most conversations, participants interrupted the interviewer to state their annoyance for government due to the financial crisis that destroys the country and their families.</li> <li>- People find aspects of crime and punishment less important because they believe that criminals committed a crime and this is their problem. They have not committed any crime and they are punished from government (financially by paying more taxes etc).</li> </ul>
<i>Punishment</i>	Individual differences and attitudes to punishment: basic demographics.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Gender</li> <li>- Age</li> <li>- Education</li> <li>- Social Status</li> <li>- Financial Status</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 256 participants.</li> <li>- 60% females.</li> <li>- 40% males.</li> <li>- Age 18-60+.</li> <li>- 52% finished high school.</li> <li>- 69% employed.</li> <li>- 96% Greeks.</li> <li>- 96% Christian Orthodox.</li> <li>- 42% absence from voting, 27% conservatives, 20% liberals.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 20 participants.</li> <li>- 11 male, 9 female.</li> <li>- Age 24-62.</li> <li>- 20 Christian Orthodox (1 not baptised).</li> <li>- 17 Greek, 1 Albanian, 1 FYROM, 1 Bulgarian &amp; Greek.</li> <li>- 3 retired, 2 unemployed, 2 students, 13 employed.</li> <li>- 14 married, 6 single.</li> </ul>

	<p>How is punishment understood</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Doing justice and punishment's moral consequences.</li> <li>- Discrimination and divisiveness in society or order and legitimacy are upheld? Punishment as a tool for preventing crime or as a tool to produce more crime?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- N/A</li> <li>- Build more prisons and sending more offenders to prison are effective ways in reducing crime and overcrowding, meanwhile prison is not working, and rehabilitating offenders is the other option, which similarly is unsuccessful.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Punishment is disputed.</li> <li>- Women and mostly mothers are more punitive towards criminals and less punitive towards young criminals.</li> <li>- Criminals should be punished, but since police is selective with criminals as well as courts with whom to punish, punishment is in question.</li> <li>- Punishment should be a tool for preventing crime, but it is a tool to produce more crime.</li> </ul>
	<p>Philosophies of Punishment: Bifurcation Supremacy/ Domination.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Discusses Greeks' attitudes on the justifications of punishment and the paradox of their punitiveness.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 64% Reform</li> <li>- 59% Reintegration</li> <li>- 55% Deterrence</li> <li>- 40% Incapacitation</li> <li>- 38% Retribution</li> <li>- 27% Restitution</li> <li>- 26% Isolation</li> <li>- 23% Restoration</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A great number of participants appear punitive and suggest that the main aim of imprisonment should be retribution.</li> <li>- Prisons are places that produce criminals and none of the aims of imprisonment is working for a Greek prison. Rehabilitation seems as an untouchable dream. Deterrence is not functioning, because of high rates of reoffending. Even incapacitation might not be working as prisoners easily escape or pay off 'compassionate leaves' to visit families.</li> </ul>
	<p>Illustrating concept map of attitudes towards punishment of theft.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Less punitive when asked to punish.</li> <li>- Community sentences and populist punitiveness.</li> <li>- Decarceration preference.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 31% find stiffer sentences a very effective way to reduce crime, and 40% suggest putting more offenders in prisons to reduce crime. However, 64% believe that</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Participants have been asked to describe a scenario. I asked them to describe a theft and his punishment. The offender was a less than 30 years old men, most of the times an immigrant, who had not</li> </ul>

			reform should be the main aim of imprisonment and prisoners should help people in community, get training and counselling.	job and he had to steal. This person needs reform and there must be services to help him. Prison will change him to an evil. - People suggest community services, since prison does not work.
Nothing Works: There is a Mess.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Stands for their attitude towards crime and punishment as well as their attitude towards other mechanisms, governmental or not, that may sit alongside or be part of the criminal justice system (police, courts, probation and prisons).</li> <li>- No neutral justice which has an impact on peoples' trust in the CJS.</li> <li>- Labelling issues.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Firmer discipline in schools form crime reduction comes first, 49% find it effective.</li> <li>- Half of them think that the media are doing a fair job in providing information about crime and punishment.</li> <li>- Non-attendance in church might be considered as mistrust to church.</li> <li>- Voting absence might be considered as mistrust in politics and politicians.</li> <li>- Trust in CJS: police, prisons, courts, probation.</li> <li>- Labelling might be linked to the though attitudes towards prisoners as well as immigrants.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The general perception that the criminal justice system had gone 'soft', as Martinson and other commentators suggested. They appear positive to believe that police is not doing their job well, that courts are lenient, prisons are places where people become worse criminals and the probation service has never been taken noted of.</li> <li>- Meanwhile, they associate the nothing words idea with politics and politicians, the media, the church, schools, the health system and generally the society. As participants suggested through a key indigenous term '<i>Greek Society kills their Children</i>'. There is a mess in politics, seeing that political scandals are not rare anymore. It is the law that protects politicians, since they cannot be prosecuted. Thus, criminal behaviour is too easy for them. The media are at this instant considered unreliable and dramatically untrustworthy, since</li> </ul>	

				<p>again politics pervade each attempt for truthfulness. The media essentially distort public attitudes instead of educate and inform people. In contrast, it is the media and more specifically the TV that people use to get informed about crime and punishment.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- There is no neutral justice as long as poor people are punished and rich people are committing the crimes.</li> <li>- Labelling and stigmatisation are issues to be importantly considered, as criminals being judged enough from their actions and as long as rehabilitation is not a successful option, the impression given is that criminals stay criminals and this is governments responsibility.</li> </ul>
Attitudes towards Imprisonment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prisoners: lost offenders in forgotten places.</li> <li>- Albanians: the usual suspects.</li> <li>- Building a Panopticon can lead to a Carceral Society?</li> <li>- Re-offending: withdraws the aims of punishment.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Trust in prisons, 54% people believe that criminals come out of prison worse than they go in.</li> <li>- Only 26% believe that immigration is responsible for causing crime.</li> <li>- 40% believe building more prisons will solve the issue of overcrowding as well as 39% believe that prison is effective in reducing crime.</li> <li>- No trust in prison.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prisons view: dirty, inhuman and cruel. Prisoners: unlucky, immigrants and constant.</li> <li>- Albanians as criminals.</li> <li>- Although prison is not working, Greeks suggested that building new prisons might change the way society works. They feel that nowadays prisons are forgotten places and need care and development. This might help the society to develop as well.</li> <li>- Re-offending presents that any of the aims of imprisonment are not</li> </ul>	

				working. Most interviewees' initial suggestion has been incapacitation and the way they approached that aim was that there is no other aim working so incapacitation can lock prisoners in and do nothing about them.
<i>Media</i>	Media Use.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media use at home.</li> <li>- Television and its audience.</li> <li>- Newspapers and their readers: politically influenced.</li> <li>- New technology: the internet.</li> <li>- Film and fact based documentaries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 38% are watching TV for 1-10 hours, 32% for 11-20 hours and 17,2 for 21-30 hours a week</li> <li>- 50% are regular viewers of a television drama.</li> <li>- 40% are regular viewers of a television based fact documentaries.</li> <li>- Using National TV as their primary source of crime.</li> <li>- 39% do not read the paper, but those who do, they read those which politically influence/ support their vision.</li> <li>- The internet comes 2<sup>nd</sup> with younger people using it, 11, 6% uses the internet as a source of crime.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- A significant number of participants watch TV every day and many have the TV on all day long to keep them company.</li> <li>- Those reading the paper do prefer the paper which politically supports the party they support. For example, the person who supports PASOK (left wing) will buy the left wing newspaper.</li> <li>- The internet is mostly used by young people although older people use it for reading the news as well.</li> <li>- There is a attraction of crime watching in films and fact based documentaries and people are aware of that genuine influence.</li> <li>- Every time I was asking where they know that information they provided, most participants automatically replied that it comes from TV.</li> </ul>
	The criminological significance of crime news.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Newsworthiness</li> <li>- Exaggeration</li> <li>- Moral panic and deviance amplification</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Crime rising in relation to media use.</li> <li>- 48% agree that report of crime within media is causing crime and</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Participants believe that media promote crime and many are fascinated watching real crime either in news of in fact based documentaries.</li> </ul>

			<p>39% believe that reducing crime report in the media results to crime reduction.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Enjoyment of crime watching within news: 65% use national TV as source of crime.</li> <li>- Those who get informed about crime news using the national TV appear to believe that crime is rising. Half of these people watch television drama fictions or television fact based documentaries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Meanwhile they believe that journalists (both for TV and the paper) have personal benefits and they distort the news. This corruption is politically associated and journalists exaggerate the news for newsworthiness manners. That can control its audience and make people believe what journalists promote.</li> <li>- Moral Panic: Sergouropoulos murder: a couple of months before the interviews take place, Sergouropoulos, a famous actor in Greece was murdered. He was stamped with a knife for 21 times. Those days everybody was talking about it. News, TV, people, there was a moral panic caused that finally ended with no clear explanation. The police accused an Egyptian drug dealer.</li> </ul>
	<p>Media Distortion: a factual concern for the Greek society.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Fear of Crime: Assessing the media and fear of crime relationship and how people perceive it.</li> <li>- Fear of victimisation</li> <li>- Peoples' awareness of distortion.</li> <li>- Stereotypical images of criminals.</li> <li>- Is there a comeback? Making crime</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 48% feel fairly safe walking alone after dark; 52% feel fairly safe being alone after dark</li> <li>- 28% a bit unsafe becoming a victim of crime.</li> <li>- 1/3 of those using national TV as a source of crime feel a bit unsafe walking alone after dark. However, those who watch drama and documentaries mostly feel fairly save.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media causes fear of crime to Greeks. News crime causes crime as well for them. There is a close relationship between fear of crime and the media in Greece. People accuse media for causing crime. Nevertheless, they still use media as their main source for crime information gaining.</li> <li>- There is also a significant association between media and fear of victimisation,</li> </ul>

		<p>less attractive on the media might change distorted attitudes to crime and punishment (administrative criminology).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Those who feel more unsaved of being victims of crime are people who watch TV for 11-20 hours a week, watch drama and documentaries and get informed by crime news.</li> </ul>	<p>especially for the case of women being potentially victimised.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Participants are aware of that their attitudes are all distorted by the media and some also suggest that the distortion comes straight from politics and politicians.</li> <li>- Besides their awareness of distortion, they still have no motives to change their views.</li> <li>- A criminal on TV is a male in his 35s and comes from Albania.</li> <li>- For Greeks, the media do not prevent crime. The media are promoting crime.</li> </ul>
Local vs. National responses to crime and punishment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Familiarity with crime.</li> <li>- Murder is a crime as well as fires: this what people see on TV (use of field notes).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- They all get informed about crime somehow.</li> <li>- 3 x Common crimes (theft, drugs and illegal entry in the country).</li> <li>- Only 4% use local TV as a source of crime.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- People are now familiar with crime, but this is what they watch on TV as personal victimisation is low.</li> <li>- Only one participant had a discussion relating to crimes committed in the county of Kavala. 19 of them were talking about crimes committed in Athens or other places; all watch on TV or read on the paper.</li> <li>- When respondents were asked what do they think when they hear the word crime, they suggested murder. When they were asked about murder around their city, they refer to what they hear in national news.</li> <li>- Respondents appear more satisfied with the local response to crime</li> </ul>	

				<p>rather than the national. Nevertheless, when they are asked about crime and punishment they mostly consider and act in response to the national. This might be a good reason about their dissatisfaction and frustration on crime and punishment.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Again these might be perceptions that are formed through media consumption.</li> </ul>
<i>Race</i>	Minority Representations: How Race is understood	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Factual Involvement or Stereotyping.</li> <li>- What Statistics say in relation to what people think of?</li> <li>- Albanians – ‘the others or the outsiders’</li> <li>- Folk Devils.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Opinions are divided: 33% agree that immigration is a cause of crime and 26% disagree with that opinion. However, a respectful per cent of 38 believe that reducing immigration rates will reduce criminality.</li> <li>- National statistics and local statistics involved.</li> <li>- How media are involved: both groups who watch enough TV every week (1-10 &amp; 11-20 hours/week) believe that reducing immigration will cause less crime.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- When people asked why people cause crimes, the initial thought of most participants is because they are immigrants.</li> <li>- Clarifying the statistics (both local and national), it is clear that immigrants do commit crimes; however, there might also be a discrimination taking place from the police or courts.</li> <li>- For Greeks the immigrants are Albanians.</li> <li>- Albanians are the protagonists on the news; Greeks watch the news that accuse Albanians, who steal, kill and rape. Albanians are the Folk Devils!</li> </ul>
	Migrant Smuggling: Hidden Crime or Hate Crime?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Illegal entry in the country is not really considered as crime and people need supplies to survive <b>in contrast to</b></li> <li>- Scapegoating</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 3<sup>rd</sup> common crime in Greece is illegal entry in the country according to peoples’ opinions.</li> <li>- 33% disagree and 26% agree that crime is caused by immigrants.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In the meantime, the crime that comes 3<sup>rd</sup> in the choice of quantitative survey, for the qualitative it does not even considered as crime.</li> <li>- Personal experiences with immigrants: Most participants, through</li> </ul>

		<p>(blaming an innocent person or a group of people) – Immigration as a cause of crime.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Immigrants' standpoint: 'We take the rap for them'.</li> <li>- Institutional racism.</li> </ul>		<p>their personal experience, believe that immigrants, especially participants, are people who have morals and are law-abiding citizens who work more than Greeks to earn money to survive.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Again, when comes to the case of crime and punishment, immigration is the main cause. The portray immigrants as poor people who steal for a piece of bread.</li> <li>- On the other side of the coin, immigrants believe that there is a discrimination towards them and some Greeks do not accept them. Immigrants accuse the media for this discrimination and believe that it is the media that causes the crime and not Albanians.</li> <li>- 2 x immigrants, both give examples of institutional racism as well as everyday racial discrimination towards them and their children.</li> </ul>
	<p>Illustrative concept scenario of attitudes towards Albanians.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Media Involvement.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- N/A</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Somebody is stealing a bag from an old lady and the lady is screaming: An Albanian is stealing my bag! However, the lady had not seen the face of the person who committed the crime. What is your opinion about that?</li> <li>- All participants suggested that Albanians have particular face characteristics and this</li> </ul>

				<p>makes them easier to be understood, meaning that the old lady was right. What is surprising is that some also suggested that a Greek would not commit a crime as such.</p>
<i>Religion</i>	<p>How does religion define crime and how people understand the concept of religion?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Greek Orthodox faith and the crime of Murder: Only God can take a Life.</li> <li>- Church's superficiality in opposition to religion's purity. People believe in religion but have no trust in the aspects of the church.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 96% are Christian Orthodox.</li> <li>- 38% believe that going to church is closely to them.</li> <li>- 33% disagrees that not believing in God causes crime.</li> <li>-</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Some respondents have a strong attitude that murder is the most important crime since only God can take a human life away. God forgives all sins if the sinner truly regrets.</li> <li>- Orthodox worship is highly liturgical and is central to the history and life of the church. By its theological richness, spiritual significance, and variety, the worship of the Orthodox Church represents one of the most significant factors in this church's continuity and identity.</li> <li>- Nevertheless, nowadays, Greeks have made a distinction between religion and church. They place religion next to their culture and church into politics. There is no trust to church and they lay blame on the hierarchy of church. This may be a consequence of the recent scandals occurred by priests, politicians and journalists, while the interviews were taking place.</li> </ul>
	<p>Does Hellenic Orthodox Religion inhibit</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Prevention.</li> <li>- Sins and clear conscience.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 23% find believing in God is important in reducing crime, but</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Taking the traditional religion into consideration,</li> </ul>

	Deviance?		26% choose neither as their choice.	<p>respondents still sense its impact on their views. They believe that religion prevents and reduces crime. Religion provides morals that might reduce punitiveness.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Religion plays an important role in constructing public attitudes towards crime and punishment. Either this is coming from the morally element of religion or from the distorted views towards church and the hierarchy of church.</li> <li>- Local and national responses are also noticeable here. People appear unsatisfied with church and priests heard on the newscast, but when it comes to their local side, they feel confident and purely religiously active.</li> <li>- The power of media once again grants interest stories, provides misleading information and shape distorted opinions.</li> </ul>
	Support for Capital Punishment: God's punishment v Law's Punishment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What are Greeks more afraid of?</li> <li>- Are Greeks harsh or forgiving?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- People, who believe that reform is the main aim of punishment, do not find effective that believing in God will reduce crime. Same results for the aim of retribution.</li> <li>- Deal with prison overcrowding (less harsh more forgiving).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Greeks seem to pay more attention in God's punishment in relation to Law's punishment.</li> <li>- They also appear more punitive on the first sight, but they finally become less punitive when they think that this is not their responsibility, but of the God they believe.</li> </ul>
<i>Politics</i>	How people perceive Politics and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Political engagement and distortion</li> </ul>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Greeks accuse indiscriminately all of those who have the</li> </ul>

	<p>how is politics understood by them: Corrupt Use of Power and Control.</p>	<p>(involved in media, crime and punishment, church)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conflict theory and state crime.</li> </ul>		<p>power and control. Respondents feel annoyed by any form of control.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The political form of control has already been mentioned. Taking an example, the politicians have the power to commit crimes against the people and the country, without ultimately being punished, since the law does not act against them.</li> <li>- Respondents experience an inequitable control by politicians who use their power against the citizens.</li> <li>- Respondents suggest that the law exists for the poor and what is surprising here is that some are in favour of the criminals and the criminal behaviour, as long as the criminal is not wealthy, politician or a priest.</li> <li>- A couple feel the religion as being a form of control, since it manipulates people's minds and does not let the human beings to live free in mind and without restrictions.</li> <li>- All consider the media as a tool of control that distort their views about the world and certainly in our case about crime and punishment.</li> <li>- Police and courts, in a sense of authority, obviously politically related, are also tools of</li> </ul>
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				<p>control as they use their power against the deprived.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The crucial form of control and power is ultimately when you have useful contacts in major positions. Knowing the right people is a significant issue in order to endure in Greece.</li> <li>- This is a phenomenon that has affected both the inside and outside of prison.</li> <li>- People feel that they are being controlled, which in turn cause insecurity. This insecurity might be influential in the way people construct their attitudes towards crime and punishment as well. There is not public safety. The confidence towards those who have the control is far lost.</li> </ul>
No faith in politicians and the political system	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Bipartisanism.</li> <li>- 'Client and suppliers' relationships between politicians, government and citizens.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 20% PASOK (left); N.D 26% (right); Do not vote 39%.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Up till now socialists or conservatives rule Greece. What is surprising is that both wings have leaders from one family respectively. The left wing's leader has been Papandreou and the right wing's leader has always been Karamanlis. Today's prime minister is George Papandreou the grandson. The corresponded parties have the pattern to elect family members even if they do not find those members capable of ruling the country. Therefore the public</li> </ul>	

				<p>started believing that voting has no special value anymore and show apathy towards politics and politicians.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- People believe that in order to get something from a politician you have to do something for them. Frequently, this is called voting. For example, citizens have to vote for the specific politician in order to get a job.</li> <li>- Every single one was bringing words into play, such as distortion, political engagement in crime and many more expressions, all blaming politicians for the 'abjection' of Greece.</li> </ul>
	Political Crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Crimes of obedience: Scandals/ crimes committed by politicians.</li> <li>- The role model of a politician: They should be exemplified, but they are all criminals.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- N/A.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It seems totally natural to have no faith in the correctional system, when there is no faith in those who form the system.</li> <li>- People keep talking about crimes that politicians commit and they are protected by the law. It is the law that protects politicians, since they cannot be prosecuted. Thus, criminal behaviour is too easy for them. People believe that even if the law does not protect them, politicians find a way to do what they do. For Greeks, politicians are the criminals and the trust towards them is totally lost.</li> <li>- I asked some participants to describe a politician and they</li> </ul>

				replied to the following: there are evil people who destroy my country by stealing from me. Politicians should be an example, and since they steal from them, they are more than happy to steal from them. They only way of doing so is to pay less taxes.
	Do conservative or liberal ideologies have an impact on attitudes to crime and punishment?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Distinguishing Greeks ideological attitudes.</li> <li>- Voting abstention and/or without having an ideology.</li> <li>- Can ideology modify Greeks punitiveness?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Do not vote 39%.</li> <li>- Those who vote for KKE, which is the communists' party, find important, the right wing statements, etc.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Most respondents do not vote according to their political ideology, as trust is lost. They are not really interested in the ideology of the political party they support as this has been changed in later years.</li> </ul>
<i>Culture</i>	Greek sight of culture, how culture is understood by Greeks.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Friendships, tradition, Greek Orthodox faith, the way people grow up, family.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 20 Greeks have been asked to state the 10 most important characteristics of the Greek culture.</li> <li>- Family ties, Folk arts, being good host, ancient Greek in Schools and Greek religion are closely to Greeks desires.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- For Greeks, culture consists of religion, family and mostly the way someone grows up and the social environment. Therefore Greeks mostly belong in dimension of individualism.</li> <li>- Respondents reflected on Western countries suggesting that in Islam for example, where Muslims are near, punishment differs and this in an effect of the culture.</li> <li>- The involvement of religion is also evident. Religion sits next to culture when Greeks display their attitudes.</li> </ul>
	War and History.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Turks: 400 years under Turkish occupation.</li> <li>- Relative deprivation and the American</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- N/A</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Taking that historically, Greeks were 400 years under Turkish occupation until 1913. After some years of freedom, there was the</li> </ul>

		<p>dream: War with Politicians.</p>		<p>'Regime of the Colonies' or 'The Seven Years of the 'Junta' ended (1974). The Junta refers to a series of right-wing military governments that ruled Greece after the II World war. Junta's official ideology was 'a revolution to save the nation', by protecting the country from the communist takeover. The military has been the head of Greece from 1967 to 1974. Between the WWII and the Junta, a civil war among the communists and the Greek governmental army was taken place. Thus, for many years Greece was a beleaguered country with too much confusion and much less stability in government. Additionally, in 1974 Konstantinos Karamanlis becomes the prime minister of Greece, democracy turn out to be ultimately Greece's regime and Greece becomes a member of NATO.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- It is important to reflect on that history and consider relative deprivation: a concept most by which it is maintained that it is not necessarily absolute deprivation or poverty that causes crime but discontent arising from perceptions of disadvantage and injustice.</li> <li>- Greeks believe that</li> </ul>
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				politicians destroy the country for centuries now and they also believe that it is not fair for them or their children that the American is an uncatchable dream.
Family as a heading dynamic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Cause of crime.</li> <li>- Influences: Political preference, religion attachment and prejudice.</li> <li>- Containment theory and social control theory: crime happens when family ties are weak.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Very high rates as family appears too strong: 43% agree that when a family is broken can cause criminality and 47, 4% feel that better parenting can help in reducing crime.</li> <li>- Family ties come first in peoples preferences as 161 people (61%) strongly agree with that statement.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Respondents believe that family is what has been left unaffected in the distorted and evil reality that they now face.</li> <li>- Looking upon crime and punishment, family is a powerful factor. People become criminals because their family is broken. Family can prevent crime as long as you gain the right morals by parents.</li> <li>- What is surprising is that when respondents were asked if schools are important in teaching students to be law-abiding citizens, they naturally stated that family is the most significant factor to do that.</li> <li>- Family is a factor that initially influences respondents' religious and political status. Family plays a significant role on whether or not somebody is close to religion or of choosing political preferences.</li> <li>- Strong family ties are part of the Greek culture.</li> </ul>	

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