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Domestic Violence and Mediation in Greece: Findings from the implementation of the restorative procedure.

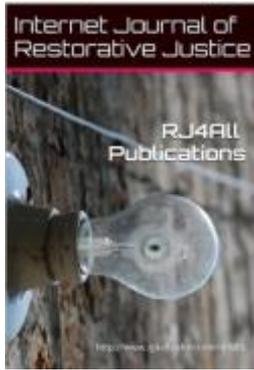
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Abstract

In the present article several critical issues on domestic violence are addressed focusing on the violence between spouses/partners. Especially the dimensions of the phenomenon in the Greek society are approached through the results of previous empirical researches and also the legal framework in Greece is presented, namely the provisions of the Law No 3500/2006. Moreover, the application of restorative justice measures in cases of domestic violence is being discussed, while the findings of recent research in the State's Prosecutor's Office in Thessaloniki regarding the procedure of mediation in Greece are presented and analyzed. The noted inadequacies give rise to further study and underline the need for reform in criminal justice policy.

Key words

domestic, violence, mediation, Greece, spouses, partners, prosecutor, law, legal framework, research, IJRJ

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Introduction

As incompatible as violence is in the everyday life, in cases of family or intimate relationships it becomes even more unacceptable. Due to the sensitive nature of these relationships and their basic cause of providing safety, tenderness and love, incidents of violence between intimate partners or relatives constitute a deeply problematic case (Vlachou, 2006: 471; 2008: 735; Papatheodorou, 2007: 71; Bougadi, 2004: 90). However, domestic violence has been a phenomenon that, not only goes through time, but also emerges in different countries, cultures, among people with various social, economic and cultural backgrounds (Vlachou, 2008: 472, Papatheodorou, 2007: 71; Bougadi, 2004: 90; Sklavou, 2011: 565; Yount & Li, 2009: 1125).

The social norms, the perceived as “*inviolable*” family life (Vlachou, 2004: 86; Buzawa & Buzawa, 2001: 1125) and the “*private*” character of domestic violence had seriously obstructed its study, understanding and effective handling (Alexiadis, 2010: 186 f.; Dimopoulos, 2008: 820; Milioni, 2009: 463; Nicolson & Wilson, 2004: 267; Riggs & Caulfield, 2000: 1290). Thus, a large dark figure of domestic violence and many stereotypes and myths concerning its characteristics, frequency and its protagonists have continued to grow behind closed doors (Alexiadis, 2010: 188; Artinopoulou, 2003; Papatheodorou, 2007: 73; Spinellis, 1997: 231). Doubtless, the development and the spread of the feminist movement significantly contributed in the wide recognition that domestic violence is not a private issue, but a social problem and a criminal act (Artinopoulou, 2003: 105; Vlachou, 2004: 86; Petousi, 2007: 134; Kelly & Jonson, 2008; Saridaki, 2000: 207). As the vast majority of the victims, apart from children, have been women, the promotion of their rights and societal status has been a critical matter.

In this direction, international and European organizations took action in order to improve the status of women and combat domestic violence through the adoption of declarations, recommendations and conventions. Since 1946, when the *United Nations Commission on the Status of Women* was first established, the United Nations Organization has been systematically working on the prevention and confrontation of women rights' violations. The adoption of the *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* in 1979 and the *Beijing Platform of Action* in 1995 (Artinopoulou, 2006: 18 f., Milioni, 2009: 467), the establishment of the *United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women* (<http://www.unwomen.org/about-us/about-un-women/>[1.7.2013]) in 2010, as well as the annual reports of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, have clearly underlined the historically inherited social inequality between the genders and the structural character of domestic violence suggesting a more systemic and holistic approach.

Moreover, through numerous Recommendations of the Council of Europe (Artinopoulou, 2006: 18, Papatheodorou, 2007: 72, Alexiadis, 2006: 180), such as the Recommendation No R (79) 17 concerning the protection of children against ill-treatment, No R (85) 4 on violence in the family, Rec (2002) 5 on the protection of women against violence and Rec (2007) 17 on gender equality standards and mechanisms, the member states have been called to acknowledge the socio-political importance of violence and take measures in order to combat every violent phenomenon against women and children. More recently, in 2011, *the Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence* (<http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/standardsetting/convention-violence/texts/Greek%20Version.pdf> [1.7.2013]) aims at the protection of any form of violence against women by promoting a complete and multidisciplinary framework. The suggested legal measures are combined with information and awareness campaigns, research and education on the social level. Especially Greece has signed the Convention in May 11th 2011, but, as the majority of the states, has not yet ratified it

(<http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ChercheSig.asp?NT=210&CM=1&DF=&CL=ENG> [1.7.2013]).

The elimination of discriminations and the gender equity have been basic goals of the European Union, and have been declared in the Treaty of Amsterdam (Artinopoulou, 2006: 21) and Lisbon (Christianos & Perakis, 2010: 20). In the years 1997-2000 the *DAPHNE Initiative* (Artinopoulou, 2006: 21; Milioni, 2009: 467; Chatzifotiou, 2005: 15), followed by the *DAPHNE Program* (Artinopoulou, 2006: 23) in 2000-2003 and more recently the *DAPHNE III Program* (http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/human_rights/fundamental_rights_within_european_union/133600_en.htm [1.7.2013]) in 2007-2013, have been promoting measures, policies and funding programs targeting at the prevention and combat of violence and abuse against women and children. Furthermore, in 2005 combating violence against women and promoting the rights of the children have been included among the ten priorities of the *Hague Program* (<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:52005PC0184:EN:HTML> [1.7.2013]).

Since violence in family and intimate relationships drew the attention and became a subject of scientific study, many definitions (Dimopoulos, 2008: 817; Papamichael, 2005: 39) have been formulated to describe the phenomenon. Yet it is being commonly accepted that domestic violence, in any of its forms (Alexiadis, 2010: 163; Artinopoulou, 2003: 106; Vlachou, 2006: 471; Grozos, 2010: 174; Bougadi, 2004: 90; Panousis, 1995: 163; Papatheodorou, 2007: 71; Papamichael, 2011: 461, 2005: 31; Fatourou, 2011: 192; Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003: 14; Nicolson & Wilson, 2004: 266), namely verbal, psychological, physical violence and sexual abuse, neglect, social isolation, financial and religious exploitation, constitutes a serious violation of fundamental, inviolable and nonnegotiable human rights. Furthermore, even if women in heterosexual relationships and children are usually the victims, acts of domestic violence could also be either against other family members, such as the husband or the male partner (Manganas, 1999: 70; Fatourou, 2011: 192), the elderly (Fattah, 1996: 165) or between siblings, or developed in the terms of homosexual relationships (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000: 949). The research on intimate partner violence in homosexual relationships is even more difficult; therefore, the available data is very limited. The recent study by Ofreneo M. A. and Montiel C. J. confirms the existence of violence between homosexual partners too. The violence follows the

same patterns as in the cases of heterosexual partners and reveals the perpetrator's need of power and control over the victim (Ofreneo & Montiel, 2010: 247). Additionally, the theories on the causes and the interpretation of the phenomenon vary from the *micro-level-analysis* (Vlachou, 2006: 474, 2008: 739; Milioni, 2009: 472; Nicolson & Wilson, 2004: 268; Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003: 46; Panousis, 1995: 168) of the personal characteristics and the psychopathology of the individual (Artinopoulou, 2006: 6; Papamichael, 2005: 55), to the social factors (Papamichael, 2005: 60; Johnson & Ferraro 2000: 954; Sklavou, 2011: 575; Vlachou, 2008: 740; Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003: 48; Lussier, Farrington & Moffitt, 2009: 771; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000: 957), the *macro-analysis*, and the *feminist approach* (Dimopoulos, 2006: 819; Papamichael, 2005: 65; Edwards & Sharpe, 2004; Milioni, 2009: 478; Papamichael, 2005: 82) on inequality and patriarchy.

Finally, the effective control of domestic violence has also been a controversial matter. The dependence of the victim on the perpetrator and the special dynamics developed between them, still block and prevent the report of the violent incident to the law enforcement agencies, while the once perceived "private" character of the phenomenon has caused the reluctance of the state mechanism to intervene (Vlachou, 2006: 473; Papakonstantis, Antoniadou, Manolidaki, & Panagiotidou, 2007: 297; Pelican, 2000; Chatzifotiou, 2005: 162). Although, the confrontation of the domestic violence has been regulated by the state -according also to the feminists' demand- and the acts of domestic violence have been criminalized in many countries, the traditional criminal procedures were held inadequate to address effectively the phenomenon (Hudson, 2002: 621). Therefore, the use of restorative measures and procedures, such as mediation, in cases of domestic violence emerged, but not unquestionable. Many concerns and doubts have been expressed on the appropriateness of the restorative justice in cases of domestic violence (Artinopoulou, 2011: 756; Gavrielides & Artinopoulou, 2013: 26; Giovanoglou, 2011: 1030, 2009: 96; Tsiliakou, 2011: 169). On a theoretical level the said argumentation confirmed the need of systematic study and distinction of the types of the phenomenon, while on a practical level the application of restorative procedures set new challenges.

Domestic violence in the Greek society and legislation

In Greece the problem of domestic violence has been addressed rather late in comparison to the actions taken by international organizations (Artinopoulou, 2006: 67, 2007: 1019) and other countries such as the USA (Chatzifotiou, 2005: 73; Manganas, 2002: 48). Until 2006, and the enactment of the Law No 3500/2006, domestic violence had not been systematically confronted through penal law. To the contrary, the empirical research of the phenomenon was initiated in the middle 1990s, while during the previous time the relevant references are attributed to non-governmental feminist organizations (Artinopoulou, 2006: 68; 2007: 1021, Panousis, 1995: 164; Saridaki, 2000: 209). Enlightening results of some of the most significant researches are quoted below.

The first systematical attempt to describe the characteristics and the dimensions of domestic violence in the Greek society has been the epidemiological *research on the violence against women in the family*, conducted in 2003 by the Center of Research on Equality Issues, under the scientific supervision of professors Vasso Artinopoulou and James Farsedakis (Artinopoulou, 2006: 89. Before the first epidemiological research the profile and characteristics of the victims derived from statistical data collected by the General Secretariat for Gender Equality: (<http://www.isotita.gr/index.php>[1.7.2013]; Papamichael, 2005: 147. Results from unpublished independent researchers are also mentioned in Spinellis, 1997: 235). The representative sample of the survey consisted of 1200 women, from all over Greece, 18 to 60 years old, who were in a relationship and lived with a male spouse/partner. According to some of the most important findings, even though some improper -rude or insulting- behaviours are not recognized as violence, the majority of women do not face violent behaviour by their partners or husbands. Both the sense of domestic violence and the fact that it could be expressed through different forms are well perceived. However, only 76% of the respondents held violence against women as a crime, while the victims tend to characterize the phenomenon milder than the non-victims. As far as the violent incidents are concerned, in their vast majority are not connected to alcohol or drug use and they are part of a long-term abusive behaviour causing feelings of self-incrimination to the victims.

Another research *on the public opinion and views on the severity of criminal penalties regarding several crimes*, published in 2002, showed that most people -and mostly men- demanded more severe punishment in cases of bodily injury between spouses (Papamichael, 2002: 948. The said research regarded several crimes, namely crimes against life, such as murder and manslaughter, sexual crimes, such as rape, crimes against women and children in the terms of domestic violence, corruption and economic crimes and crimes related to drugs). To the contrary, most of the respondents did not approve the imposition of punishment in cases of bodily injury of a child in the framework of domestic violence. This fact proved the public perception on the parental right to use low gravity violence in order to punish and discipline the children.

Moreover, a research *on the social representations of the spouse/partner violence* was conducted in 2002 in the prefecture of the capital city. The sample consisted of 1.000 people (56% women, 44% men), from 20 to 74 years old, living in the said region (Papamichael, 2005: 147, 2007: 228). According to the results, almost all of the respondents held domestic violence as a crime. However, 62% did not recognize it as a serious social problem. It is worth mentioning that 91% of the respondents thought that the spouse rape should be criminalized. In addition, the prevalence of many of the stereotypes regarding the domestic abuse was confirmed. For example, the perpetrator was often perceived by women as alcoholic, drug-user or mental ill, thus promoting an inaccurate clinical explanation and a justification in favor of the perpetrator. On the other side, myths on the co-responsibility of the victim were endorsed by male respondents. Nonetheless, the respondents suggested a more punitive criminal policy in order to confront the phenomenon.

Especially the *experiences of violence and abuse against women in families of foreign immigrants* were studied in 2006 (Sklavou, 2011: 565). A total number of 23 women, refugees or immigrants, who had used in the same year the services of the Greek Council for Refugees ([http://www.gcr.gr/index.php/en/\[1.7.2013\]](http://www.gcr.gr/index.php/en/[1.7.2013])), and were subjected to intimate partner violence, were interviewed on their experiences. Although, due to the limited sample the results could not be safely generalized, the research showed that the negative economic and social consequences of the

immigration deteriorated the abuse. As expected, the lack of resources and the low societal status of these women obstructed them from escaping the abusive relationship.

More recently, in September 2011, the General Secretariat for Gender Equality gave to publicity statistical data drawn from the national consultative hotline *SOS 15900*

(http://portal.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_kathbreak_1_26/09/2011_408011 [1.7.2013]). During the first period of operation in 2011, from March to September, the hotline took 2.090 calls in total. 79.09% of the total number was related to engendered violence (1.653 calls). 60% of the 1.653 calls were made by the victims (1.247 calls), and of these 1.247 calls 87% regarded especially domestic violence (1.082 calls). In most of the cases, the victims, according to their responds, were Greek, unemployed, their financials were bad, but they were highly educated. Finally, they usually asked for psychological and social support.

Even though initiatives on the level of research and information campaigns had been taken in Greece (The necessity of establishing penal provisions had been stressed out by academics, while the General Secretariat for Gender Equality had taken action on the level of information of the public, Artinopoulou, 2006: 72; Andrianakis, 2006: 1058; Paraskevopoulos, 1991: 810; Farsedakis, 1998: 237; Manganas, 1998: 71; 2002: 58; Artinopoulou, 2007: 1022), the legislator and the official state mechanism were relevantly inactive. In March 2nd 1982 Greece has signed the above mentioned *UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* and ratified it by the Law No 1342/1983 in 17th June 1983, while by the Law No 2952/2001 ratified also the Optional Protocol of the Convention. According to the comments of the Committee (the national reports to the Committee are available online:

<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/680/80/IMG/N0168080.pdf?OpenElement>[1.7.2013]), established to monitor the implementation of the CEDAW, regarding the latest sixth periodic report (2001-2004), Greece had to tackle with traditional patriarchal attitudes and gender-role stereotypes that could cause

violence against women (<http://daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N07/243/74/PDF/N0724374.pdf?OpenElement> [1.7.2013]).

Until 2006 crimes of violence in family were not specifically criminalized. The bodily injure or insult of the spouse fall into the provisions of the Greek Penal Code, as in any other case. Furthermore, the sexual abuse of the spouse could not be punished as rape (article 366 grPC), since the formulation of the crime of rape provided for forced sexual intercourse between unmarried persons (Artinopoulou, 2006: 78 f.; Milioni, 2009: 482; Paraskevopoulos, 1991: 805; Chatzifotiou, 2005: 59; Spinellis, 1997: 233).

The Law No 3500/2006 was introduced in fulfilment of European obligation based on the Council Framework Decision of 15 March 2001 on the standing of victims in criminal proceedings (2001/220/JHA). The Law was voted in October 2006 and entered into force after three months. The alterations and the innovations introduced by the new provisions were indeed subjected into criticism, but on the other hand, created also great expectations on the effectiveness of the law (Grozos, 2010: 174; Giovanoglou, 2011: 1029; Dimopoulos, 2006: 1432; Simeonidou-Kastanidou, 2006: 1013).

The criminalization of domestic violence was welcomed, although, some of the provisions were held either very strict or unrealistic (Artinopoulou, 2006: 80; Dimopoulos, 2006: 1051; Simeonidou-Kastanidou, 2006: 1013). More specifically, the definition of the term *family* (Article 1 par. 2a of the Law No 3500/2006) was characterized as very wide (Georgiakaki, 2007: 10, 14), given the fact that includes not only spouses and ex-spouses, partners, children, siblings and elder members such as grandparents, but, on the condition of cohabitation, it could be applied also to uncles, aunts, nephews and cousins. It is true that, while trying to provide larger protection, the law widened the scope of the regulated family relations (Manoledakis, 1998: 308, 316; Panousis, 1995: 163). The violent act in the family is more severe than the one between strangers, due to the intimate nature of the relationship. However, this element is difficult to be recognized in the case of the husband and the adult brother of his wife. Moreover, in the right direction, the law protects equally every child who

lives with the family independently of the biological or legal relationship/bond (Article 1 par. 2b of the Law No 3500/2006).

Another point of consideration emerges due to the fact the domestic violence between spouses and partners is being regulated and confronted by the legal provisions as a single one-dimensional phenomenon. The legislator did not take into account the distinctions and the differentiations among the types of the intimate partner violence (Kelly & Johnson, 2008: 480; Papamichael, 2005: 29; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000: 949; Buzawa & Buzawa, 2003: 49; Dempsey, 2007: 917). The same provisions are to be applied in disparate cases, such as *situational couple violence* (Kelly & Johnson, 2008: 485; Johnson, 2005: 1127; Johnson & Ferraro, 2000: 949) and *coercive controlling violence* (Johnson & Ferraro, 2000: 949; Kelly & Johnson, 2008: 482) too. Thus, the specific characteristics of each different type of violence, that should affect the severity of the punishment and the activation of appropriate measures, were not estimated. It is then left to the judge to evaluate these characteristics in order to impose a certain sentence according to the general provision of the determination of the penalty in the Article 79 grPC.

In fact actions of bodily harm and fatal bodily injury, torture, threat, coercion, rape, insult of sexual dignity and murder committed between members of a family are strictly punished by the Law No 3500/2006 (Articles 6-9), while minor cases of verbal insult fall into the general provisions of the Greek Penal Code. However, a more suitable legislative draft should introduce aggravated cases of the basic crimes, such as rape and bodily harm, if conducted in the terms of a family, and, at the same time, should also form a new independent felony of domestic abuse that would embodied the elements of duration and repeatability and the systematic character of the phenomenon (Similarly, aggravated cases were introduced in the penal legislation of United Kingdom, Belgium and France. The element of duration and repeatability was evaluated in the penal provisions in Spain, Papatheodorou, 2007: 73; Dempsey, 2007: 914; Vlachou, 2008: 742; Grozos, 2010: 174; Dimopoulos, 2006: 1046).

All the crimes of domestic violence formulated by the Law No 3500 are prosecuted *ex officio* (Article 17). This provision aimed at the victim's protection, given the high dark figure of domestic

abuse, nevertheless, it has been criticized as especially strict (Artinopoulou, 2006: 80; Dimopoulos, 2006: 1051; Simeonidou-Kastanidou, 2006: 1013). Finally, the legislator intended to mobilize the teachers, thus reinforcing the revealing of cases of domestic violence. Usually, the school staff is reluctant to intervene and involve in cases of domestic violence either by reporting any suspicion or participating in the procedure (Karamoschoglou, 2010: 1179). According to the Article 23, when the teacher suspects by any means that one of his students is possibly subjected to domestic violence, he is obliged to inform immediately the school director. Then it is the school director's responsibility to inform the state's prosecutor or the police in order to investigate the incident. If the case of domestic violence can be proved by other evidence, the teacher and the school director do not need to testify. However, as no sanction is further provided for the inert teachers, their activation is still a matter of sensibility and social awareness (Buckley, Holt, & Whelan, 2007: 296. The importance of activating the school staff has been also underlined in the research of Buckley et al in 2005. Children-victims of domestic violence reported that many incidents of abuse could have been avoided, if the teachers were more informed and supportive, and that the school itself could be a significant factor in order to confront domestic violence). In this direction of social policy and activation, the *Central Scientific Council for the Prevention and Response to the Juvenile Victimization and Delinquency* is promoting at the time an awareness raising campaign in schools, in order to inform, not only the children on their rights, but also the teachers on the signs and effects of the domestic violence victimization and their obligations (<http://www.kesathea.org/main.php>[1.7.2013]. The Central Scientific Council for the Prevention and Combating of Victimization and Criminality of Minors was established in 2010 by the Ministry of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights. The Council coordinates and organizes actions, put forward proposals and makes recommendations to the Minister of Justice, Transparency and Human Rights on issues regarding the prevention and response to victimization and juvenile delinquency).

Mediation

The restorative procedures in Greece, such as the -so called- *penal mediation*, are relevantly new to the Greek penal procedural system. Until 2006, the mediation between the perpetrator and the victim was provided only in cases of juvenile delinquents (Pitsela, 2008: 190) since 2003 (article 122 Greek Penal Code). In 2006, in fulfilment of the European obligation derived from the Framework Decision of the 15th March 2001, the Greek legislator introduced the (penal) mediation in cases of domestic violence (Artinopoulou, 2006: 79; Georgiakaki, 2007: 37; Grozos, 2010: 178; Giovanoglou, 2011: 1029; Dimopoulos, 2006: 1049; Zimianitis, 2011: 1207; Karamoschoglou, 2010: 1176; Milioni, 2009: 493; Mprakoumatsos, 2007: 1458; Papatheodorou, 2007: 76; Spyropoulos, 2011: 1639; Stefanidou & Mara, 2009: 1432; Sikiotou, 2007: 314; Simeonidou-Kastanidou, 2006: 1013).

The mediation could be applied only when a misdemeanour is committed, namely crimes of simple bodily harm, threat, insult or coercion. The procedure falls under the authority of the state's prosecutor, and, apart from the prosecutor's suggestion, it can also be initiated on the perpetrator's/defendant's request. Needless to say, the victim's consent is indispensable. The mediation presupposes (a) the perpetrator's/defendant's unconditional declaration and promise never to commit in the future any crime of domestic violence, (b) removal from the victim's residency on the victim's request, (c) the victim's compensation, and, most of all, (d) attendance and participation to a special counseling psychotherapeutic program. However, by the time the law was introduced, the absence of public institutions, capable of conducting the above mentioned counseling program, has been a strongly controversial matter.

The above mentioned agreement could be in written form and signed by the perpetrator and the victim and also their lawyers. In practice is usually oral and drafted by the State's Prosecutor's Office secretariat. In any case, a Prosecutor's Order is issued to validate the procedure, which is considered on-going for three years. (The Prosecutor's Order is also being recorded in a special section/part of the penal record). During these three years the prosecution, or the trial, if the prosecution had been filed and started, are suspended under the said conditions and the counseling program should be conducted and completed by a qualified psychologist. If any condition is deliberately violated, the State's Prosecutor's Order is recalled and the trial is being continued based

on the regular provisions, since the repetition of the mediation is prohibited (article 13 par. 3 Law No 3500/2006). To the contrary, if the mediation is successful, the criminal procedure and imposition of penalty are cancelled. Finally, due to the penal procedural system, another point of dissension has been the requirement of a court decision in order to close the case, since the State's Prosecutor has no authority to desist on his order the prosecution after its initiation (for the requirement of a court decision are: Spyropoulos, 2011: 1649; Stefanidou & Mara, 2009: 1433. However, there are also opposite arguments, Mprakoumatsos, 2007: 1460).

In case of a juvenile victim, the law provides his/hers representation to the procedure by the state's prosecutor for the minors and the parent who is not the perpetrator. Moreover, the mediation is not to be implemented, when foster parents or legal guardians commit crimes of domestic violence.

Due to the fact that the introduction of the mediation has not only been innovative for the Greek penal system, but also caused the expression of different opinions and revealed significant structural deficiencies that could obstruct its application, the closer study of this new procedure was of vital importance.

The practical implementation of the mediation has been measured in the courts of Athens (Zimianitis, 2011: 1206). Specifically, based on relevant statistical data for the period 2007-2010, the cases of mediation were 2 in 2007, 11 in 2008, 12 in 2009 and then declined in 10 in 2010. However, during the same years, the reported incidents by the victims to the authorities were significantly increased annually, namely 33 cases in 2007, 351 in 2008, 805 in 2009 and 956 in 2010 (Zimianitis, 2011: 1206). On the other hand according to Gavrielides & Artinopoulou (2013: 30) in 2009 of the 800 cases of domestic violence only 20 were referred to mediation. The conduction of the counseling program was undertaken by the National Center for Social Solidarity (E.K.K.A.) (<http://www.ekka.org.gr/EKKA!show.action?lang=en>[1.7.2013]). The National Centre for Social Solidarity is a State Organization, whose objective is the coordination of the network that provides social support services, care and solidarity to individuals, families, groups and populations in crisis situations or in need of emergency social aid). The lack of staff in combination with the adopted

psychological approach, namely the use of the systemic model that requires the presence of both the perpetrator and the victim during the counsels, led to the inability of servicing more incidents. Also the duration of the program due to the systemic model tends to be very long, while in many cases the victims are reluctant to participate (This piece of information derived from the following described interview with the expert psychologist).

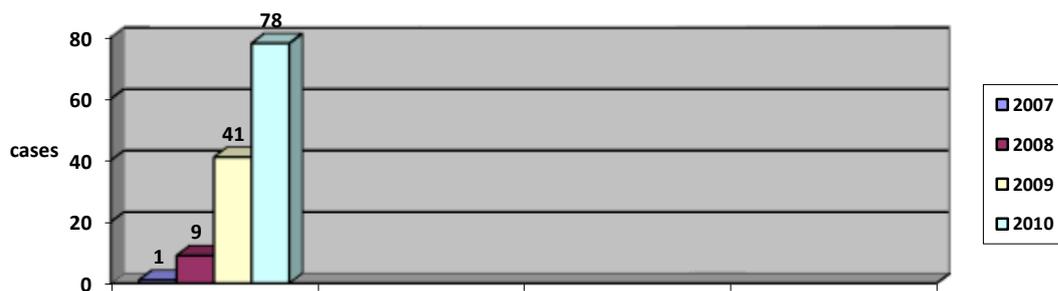
Results of the research on the implementation of mediation in Thessaloniki

In the State's Prosecutor's Office in Thessaloniki the second of the authors conducted an empirical scanning research in the cases of domestic violence subjected to mediation from the enactment of the relevant legal provisions in 2007 until December of 2010. Of the total number of 138 cases a random sample of 24 case-files was further studied in detail. (The first and every sixth case were selected and studied using a structured questionnaire) The quantitative, descriptive data were then supplemented with more information given in the terms of personal interviews with the State's Prosecutor, competent for the cases of domestic violence, and the psychologist of the National Center for Social Solidarity in Thessaloniki in Thessaloniki.

In the file of every case were included (a) the State's Prosecutor's Order, (b) the written agreement between the perpetrator and the victim or in the most cases a preformatted report of their oral agreement drafted by the state's prosecutor's secretariat, (c) the certification of the National Center for Social Solidarity in Thessaloniki, which undertook the counseling program, on the successful completion or the failure of the counseling program, and (d) procedural documents, such as subpoenas.

Regarding the total number of the 138 files the following Chart 1 shows the great and rapid annual increase in the cases of mediation.

CHART 1

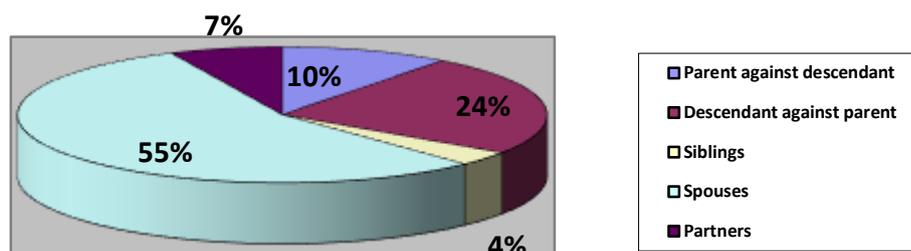


In 29 of these cases (21%) the penal mediation was recalled due to the non-attendance of the counseling program in 24 cases, repetition of violent incident (four cases) and emigration of the perpetrator (one case). In fact, six months after the notification of the State's Prosecutor's Order to the perpetrator and to the services of the National Center for Social Solidarity, the National Center for Social Solidarity informs the State's Prosecutor's Office on the non-attendance in order to recall the mediation (before the revocation the state's prosecutor in a hearing with the perpetrator ascertains the deliberate violation of this obligation. This hearing has not been demanded as a procedure by the provisions of the Law No 3500/2006; however it has been established in order to confirm the deliberate character of the violation). It should also be noted that in any case the time elapsing from the date of the notification to the National Center for Social Solidarity till the first session is at least two months (Information given by the psychologist of the National Center for Social Solidarity).

In 52 cases the counseling program was considered completed, 55 were still on-going. In one case the perpetrator deceased and in another there was an accusation against the perpetrator for committing a new crime of domestic violence, however there was still no recall.

As far as the random sample of the 24 cases, studied in detail (The duration of the research was limited due to the available time of the permission of the State's Prosecutor's Office), is concerned, 56 persons were involved, 27 perpetrators and 29 victims. In most of the cases the violent incident occurred between spouses/partners (chart 2). Mutual violence was noted in two cases, specifically one between a couple and one between a father and his adult son.

Chart 2



In eight cases the counseling program was completed, ten cases were ongoing and six were recalled. In four of these six cases the violation of the obligation to attend the counseling program was the cause of the revocation. In the meantime having noted this fact the State's Prosecutor's Office included in the text of the State's Prosecutor's Order the explicit term that the perpetrator is obligated to contact himself the National Center for Social Solidarity.

Of the 27 perpetrators 26 were males and there was only one female, who was also a victim in the same case of mutual violence. Of the 29 victims 23 were females and 6 males, three purely victims and three perpetrators and victims in the same incident. These results seem to confirm the arguments on the gender factor in the phenomenon of domestic violence. None of the victims was a minor (of the 18 cases that the violence regarded spouses/partners in 5 cases it was certain that a child was living also in the family³), however, four of them were elderly and had health or mental problems. The vulnerable and dependent status of the child and the assumption that a simple bodily harm by the parent, for example a slap, is perhaps still considered permitted in the society as a way of discipline, should be taken into consideration (Papamichael, 2002: 948). Nonetheless, a closer examination is needed and could be the subject of a future study. Furthermore, remarkable is the fact that in most cases the exact age of the victim was not apparent in the documents, thus revealing a more impersonal nature of the procedure.

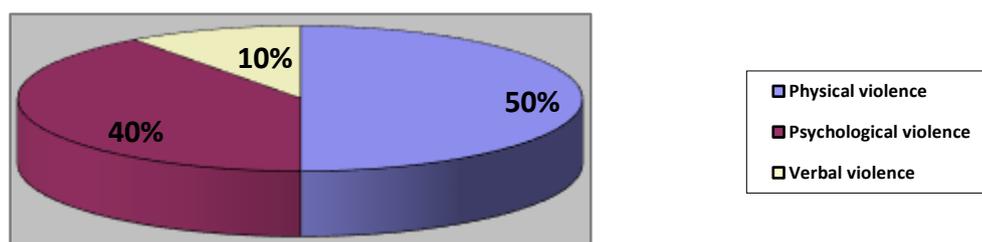
Only 59% of the persons involved in the mediation were country nationals, while 41% were foreigners coming from countries of the former Soviet Union and the Balkans. Additionally, taking into consideration the rate of foreigners in the general population, their representation in the penal mediation is obviously elevated (<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/greece>). According to data derived

from the International Organization for Migration, in 2010 the foreigners were estimated to correspond in the 10, 1% of the general population. Especially in the prefecture of Thessaloniki based on data from the Hellenic Statistical Authority in 2011, 6,5% of the population corresponded to foreigners:

http://www.statistics.gr/portal/page/portal/ESYE/BUCKET/A1604/Other/A1604_SAP03_TB_DC_00_2001_11_F_GR.pdf [1.7.2013]). This observation should be further associated with the assumption that the traumatic and stressful experience of immigration deteriorates the factors that lead to domestic violence (Sklavou, 2011: 575). Moreover, in the cases that the mediation was recalled the foreigners are the majority, namely 71%. Given also the fact that most of the revocations were due to the non-attendance of the counseling program, possible reasons of explanation could be the difficulty to understand the procedure, as the participation of an interpreter was not apparent, and their obligations because of language boundaries, or the difficulty to go to the facilities of National Center for Social Solidarity due to the distance, lack of transport vehicle or their working hours.

The committed crimes regarded mostly bodily harms (44%) and threats (40%) and they usually coexisted too according to the police report. A general classification of the violence is presented in the chart 3.

Chart 3



The alcohol or drug use was not apparent, thus contradicting the stereotype of the perpetrator who *gets drunk and beats his wife*.

As a procedure the mediation could be characterized neither fast nor direct, as the State's Prosecutor's Order needs months to be issued because of the overburdened justice system. The

conduction of the counseling program faces also serious delays. As mentioned above the perpetrator waits at least two to six months before the first session. The absence or the reluctance of other state institutions to undertake the counsels and the lack of staff in the National Center for Social Solidarity cause difficulties in the more efficient application of the mediation. In fact the National Center for Social Solidarity in Thessaloniki takes cases of mediation from almost all over North Greece. In the vast majority of the cases considered completed (62%) the completion of the counseling program took place in more than 12 months (12 to 24 months) since the notification for the mediation. The fact that the involved persons should wait long before the psycho-counseling sessions raises doubts and questions on the protection of the victims too.

Specifically on the counseling program, the number of the sessions varies, although it is considered to be completed usually after less than ten sessions, namely six sessions in average. In Thessaloniki the joint participation in the program by the perpetrator and the victim is not required. However, if the victims agree, they could take part in some jointed sessions (in our sample the joint sessions occurred in 3 of the 8 completed cases).

The interviews with the key-experts involved in mediation were semi-structured, personal and contributed in understanding more deeply the problems and obstacles in the application of the - so called penal - mediation. The State's Prosecutor, who is responsible for the cases of domestic violence, underlined the deficiencies of structures and institutions. By the enactment of the law in 2007 none of the public institutions that occupied psychologists was informed on the new procedure by the competent Ministry, or was willing to accept the conduction of the counseling program due to the lack of staff. The cooperation with the National Center for Social Solidarity is attributed to her efforts and the sensibility of the professionals working in the Center.

As far as the involvement of the State's Prosecutor in the mediation procedure is concerned, it seems to be rather typical and transacting. Given the way the State's Prosecutor's Office operates (every State's Prosecutor represents the State's Prosecutor's Office, thus the authority is considered to

be unified independently of the specific person who exercises the relevant duties in each case), the State's Prosecutor does not have personal contact or communication with the perpetrator or the victim. Moreover, more prosecutors are involved during the same case, as it is highly possible that if a recall of the first order is needed, a different prosecutor, who would be then in service, would issue the necessary document of revocation. Additionally, since the general problems in the justice system are not confronted, despite the adoption of several laws on the acceleration of the criminal procedure, the effectiveness of the penal mediation is inevitably influenced by the overload and the delays.

In the State's Prosecutor's opinion only less important cases of domestic violence revealed through the penal mediation, while the serious cases remain unreported. She also strongly supported the judicial closure of the cases, as she considers the court procedure a chance to confirm the non-repetition of the violence during the time of the mediation aiming at the victim's protection. Finally, she underlined the need of social services for the victims and institutions to cooperate in the counseling program and she stands upon a reform in the mediation that would provide for a more personal and social character to the procedure.

The psychologist of the National Center for Social Solidarity gave an insight of the counseling program. The practical problems in the conduction of the program are numerous, as since January 2012 the National Center undertook in total 320 cases that were divided in the competence of only three psychologists. The sessions are weekly and last an hour, thus this approach could be considered only consulting, not therapeutic, and of limited contribution to the prevention of recidivism. The workload combined with the lack of staff cause delays and blockades the conduction of follow-up sessions after the completion of the program. Furthermore, in some cases of foreigners the communication with the persons was difficult due to language boundaries.

The cooperation with other institutions is considered vital, as not only the conduction of the counseling program would be facilitated, but also there would be the possibility of specialized treatment in cases of mental illnesses, drugs or alcohol abuse. Finally, the element of the penal jurisdiction in the mediation in his opinion is useful, as it works as motive for the perpetrator. Even if

in the beginning the consent to attend the program is sometimes superficial, through the sessions the person is going to benefit.

In conclusion, given the available means the application of the mediation constitutes an important -and yet personal- effort of the people involved both in the legal procedure and the counseling program.

Discussion

The establishment of the mediation in the cases of domestic violence signified the introduction of a restorative procedure in the Greek penal system; therefore it has raised two significant issues. First of all, the question “*is the restorative justice appropriate for the confrontation of the domestic violence*” (Artinopoulou, 2011: 756; Giovanoglou, 2009: 96-98, 2011: 1030; Pelican, 2000; Tsiliakou, 2011: 1697) is to be answered so, as to define *if and on which conditions* a similar measure should be applied. Then, based on the data derived from the empirical research, it should be determined whether the adopted procedure has the characteristics of a restorative practice or not. Finally, this process will contribute in putting forward and promoting effective reforms and criminal policy measures.

The feminist movement in criminology had long expressed doubts on the suitability of the restorative justice in cases of domestic violence (Clemants & Gross, 2007: 415; Flynn, 2005: 413). So the substantial participation of the victims in the procedure, as also their safety are compromised because of the fear of retaliation and the experiences of abuse (Clemants & Gross, 2007: 414; Edwards & Sharpe, 2004: 12; Flynn, 2005: 414). Furthermore, the dissociation from the criminal justice system would subsequently understate the criminal nature of these actions (Clemants & Gross, 2007: 454; Edwards & Sharpe, 2004: 11; Flynn, 2005: 414; Hudson, 2002: 626; consultation by the director of the UN Program on the Rights of Women in:

[http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2008/expertpapers/EGMGPLVAW%20Paper%20\(Cheryl%20Thomas\).pdf](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/vaw_legislation_2008/expertpapers/EGMGPLVAW%20Paper%20(Cheryl%20Thomas).pdf) [1.7.2013]).

Nevertheless, the arguments for the implementation of restorative measures were solid. The traditional justice system had failed in confronting the phenomenon, while the existed procedures contributed in the continuation of the victimization. On the other hand, the restorative measures could strengthen the victims and help them regain control (Hudson, 2002: 621; Clemants & Gross, 2007: 418; Gavrielides & Artinopoulou, 2013: 34; Flynn, 2005: 415). Apart from that, the victims themselves do not always seek for the perpetrator's punishment but for the termination of the violence and the change of their lives (Manganas, 2002: 50; Hudson, 2002: 622). Indeed, the most important issue is the existence of safeguards, such as the establishment of a screening process in order to determine which case should follow the path of restorative justice (Gavrielides & Artinopoulou, 2013: 37). The distinction between the different types of domestic violence is necessary (Beck, Walsh, & Weston, 2009: 412; Clemants & Gross, 2007: 419-429; Dempsey, 2007: 932; Edwards & Sharpe, 2004: 15; Pelican, 2000; Flynn, 2005: 415), as it would be not only ineffective but also considerably risky, to treat a very serious case of long-term abuse (coercive controlling violence) through mediation. Furthermore, the action of professional psychologists, social workers and well educated specialized in domestic violence mediators should be ensured as well as safety measures for the victim such as shelters.

The research findings revealed that fundamental characteristics of the restorative justice are missing in the implemented procedure of penal mediation. Specifically, the specialized individual treatment, the immediate intervention, the substantial participation of the victim and the prevention of recidivism are some of the most important elements in the terms of a restorative procedure (Artinopoulou, 2011: 755; Gavrielides & Artinopoulou, 2013: 30; Zimianitis, 2011: 1208; Manganas, 2006: 302; United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2006, in:

<http://www.restorativejustice.org/editions/2003/September/domesticviolence/?searchterm=united+nations+domestic+violence> [1.7.2013]). However, the penal mediation, as legally established and

practically implemented, is a typical, bureaucratic and impersonal procedure in a considerable large part. Moreover, the process faces serious delays. As far as the victims are concerned, after giving their consent they usually lie in obscurity, while the very short duration of the counseling program lessens the expectations on its effectiveness and, thus, on the victims' protection.

In Greece the State's Prosecutor is continually entrusted with new tasks and more duties in the terms of the criminal policy (Giovanoglou, 2011: 1035; Spyropoulos, 2011: 1647; Pavlou, 2009: 67). Needless to say, the conciliatory role in the restorative justice is unsuitable to the suppressive authority of prosecuting crimes; therefore the State's Prosecutor's contribution is eventually more transacting. The core of the mediation, apart from the level of involvement of the judicial authorities, consists of the psychotherapeutic counsels in order to tackle the perpetrator's antisocial violent behavior. However, this admission underlines the need of improving the policy and the provided means in the field of social care that causes expenses in the government budget. As Pelican (2000: 13) argues "[...] *For Victim – Offender Mediation, promoting and enhancing a process of empowerment, the existence of resources -of both victim and offender- is a prerequisite. Otherwise the intervention remains futile. [...]*". The mediation procedure should be invested with all the necessary circumstances and not be seen just as a chance to lessen the number of trials, as the imprisonment in cases of misdemeanors is often suspended or converted to monetary penalty.

The legal framework regarding the elimination of domestic abuse and the regulation of mediation should be reformed in a way that would incorporate and reflect the distinctions between the domestic violence of *strong (domestic abuse)* and *weak* sense (Dempsey, 2007: 917). In this direction the basic crimes, such as rape and bodily harm, if committed in the terms of a family, should be considered as aggravated cases. The domestic abuse should be further provided especially as a crime that would embodied the elements of duration and repeatability and the systematic nature of the phenomenon. Moreover, the mediation should still be applied only in less severe cases and after a screening process conducted by special educated psychologists.

On a short-term level the activation of more public institutions and social services for the conduction of the psychotherapeutic counsels is essential. The mediation becomes inactive, if the implementation of the counseling program is impossible. However, on a long-term level the authorization of the regional and local social services of the municipalities could decentralized and enhance the application of the mediation. Also, the qualification of psychologists and social workers through educative programs especially on the matters of domestic violence could further improve the mediation.

Additionally, targeting at the effective confrontation of the domestic violence more measures would be needed such as the creation of shelters for the victims and their children and the provision of free health, legal and social services. Regarding the combat against the phenomenon the minimizing of its causes demands the reinforcement of the gender equality through education and information of the public.

Violence in the family is not a personal secret to be kept and cause embarrassment. It is a crime to be prosecuted and activate the authorities. It is a social problem to be embraced with sensibility and alarm everyone.

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Add acknowledgements

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