

The political and social construction of the parental subject and the subject of juvenile delinquency through Greek institutional justice: A Foucauldian-Critical Discourse Analysis¹

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Abstract

This paper is part of a master thesis, which aims to analyze the construction of the concept of juvenile delinquency through the comparison of the Scientific-Institutional Discourse and the Discourse of Volunteers. The broader epistemological context refers to the Constructionism of the Social Realism. Methodologically it contributes to the Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. At the macro – level a historical – genealogical construction of the concept is attempted, as well as a review of the dominant Scientific Discourses. At the micro level, website texts of institutions relevant to juvenile delinquency are analyzed and compared to the texts of twenty interviews from volunteers in the field of juvenile delinquency. The conclusive conversation shows – among others – that the two kinds of Discourse appear divergent as well as convergent and that juvenile delinquency is constructed as a hybrid subjectivity among identities like: victim offender, subjects in need of affection – surveillance. Here are presented the general aspects of the macro level analysis and the analysis of one institutional text named: “Parental guide for juvenile delinquents.”

Keywords

juvenile delinquency, subjectivity, Critical Psychology, Foucauldian Discourse Analysis

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1.Theoretical framework, purpose, methodological framework, and material of the analysis

This study analyzes the official "Parent Guide," a pamphlet distributed by Justice institutions (prosecution/juvenile supervision) in Greece to the parents of children involved within the criminal justice system. It does so from within the approach of Critical and Political Psychology and with the tools of Critical Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (Parker, 1990, 1992, 1999, 2002, 2005). The guide is a short illustrated booklet with "advice" for parents of "delinquents." Based on the Critical Discourse Psychology of Social Realism, the recommendations of the guide construct not only aspects of the subjectivities of juvenile delinquents and the way they are managed within the family, but also the type of parental subjectivity that the penal/legal institution "demands." Subjectivities are thus socially and politically constructed and regulated, while spontaneous ways of interaction between parents and delinquent children are pathologized and subject to political regulation by a primarily psychological discourse.

I first present a summary of the theoretical syntheses of Critical Discourse Psychology with Foucauldian theory and Marxism, along with the research questions and the methodology derived from them. Then, on the macro level, I show the first stage of the historical-genealogical analysis of juvenile delinquency, analyzing the dominant scientific Discourses of Governance of the concepts of "adolescence" and "juvenile delinquency." This is followed on the micro level by some indicative analyses from the "parent guide" of the Greek Ministry of Justice, accompanied by a relevant brief discussion.

1.1 Critical Discourse Psychology and Foucauldian Theory

It appears that the Critical Discourse Psychology adopted by Parker, while not negating a deconstructive dimension, does not deny that the framework of psychological research, the science of Psychology itself, and social reality, cannot be viewed apolitically. Moreover, the way they are viewed has a specific framework: "the real is constructed and mediated level by level by discourses, and always by Discourses that never escape the material conditions within which they are reproduced and transformed" (Parker, 1992: 38). Thus, Critical Discourse Psychology as both theory and method links every discourse-approach to its political dimension. This dimension concerns both the subjects-objects of study and the political subject of the researcher. Discourse, therefore, is never ideologically empty. This view of a representative of Critical Discourse Psychology is significant, since it chooses to incorporate Foucauldian theory into both ideological and Marxist analysis. Parker believes that Foucault's philosophy and analyses constitute the cornerstone of critical discourse analytic research (Parker, in: Bozatzis&Dragonas, 2010: 295), as the deconstructive dimensions of Foucauldian work can highlight not only the dominant Discourses and power relations that Social Psychology investigates, but also the dominant Discourses

and power relations produced by Psychology and psychological research itself. Thus, the way in which the discipline (Foucault, 1987, 2011, 2016a) of subjects is achieved, it is examined not only within the internal discourse and its external reality, but also within the internal explanatory discourse that it analyzes/deconstructs. For Foucault, in every society, "the production of discourse is simultaneously controlled, selected, organized, and redistributed by a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and dangers, to master the unpredictable, to avoid its heavy, formidable materiality. (...) these procedures are related to exclusion processes" (Foucault, n.d.: 7-8). Consistent with the social constructionism that followed historically, I argue that Foucault laid the foundations for Critical Discourse Analysis of a social constructionism that does not negate critical realism, when he writes: "Of course, the event is neither substance nor accident, neither quality nor process. The event does not belong to the order of corporeal things. Yet it is not immaterial at all. It acts, it has an effect only at the level of materiality" (Foucault, n.d.: 42).

1.1.1 Subjectivity in Foucault and Critical Social Psychology

The emphasis on the subject and its study is inextricably linked with Marxism and Post-Marxism. The extent to which discourse analytic research in Psychology concerning subjectivity and its construction can be combined with the ways of investigating subjectivity proposed by Michael Foucault is thus explored. Foucault established the view that subjectivity is connected to the social process: it is produced by and produces—constructs—the social through Discourse, seen not only as language, but as a broader verbal construction (Foucault, n.d., 1976, 1977, 1987, 2016 a, b). Thus, Discourse produces and is produced by power relations, contributing to the naturalization of ideologies and the reproduction of the dominant status quo. Subjectivity in this field, in its individual and collective dimension, appears destined to fail to reach "freedom."

In order to integrate this reasoning into the explanatory framework of Social Psychology, it should provide the possibility for both the analysis of the social and the conditions for its change. As Parker poses this issue, the use of different Discourses, even the production and (through psychological research) of counter-Discourses, cannot automatically lead to alternative social forms due to four factors (Parker 1992: 37-38):

- Direct physical coercion. The material conditions that objectively and naturally (according to Foucault) limit individuals and groups of social actors from producing new Discourses and thus new social conditions.
- The material organization of space. The institutional and deeply political structuring of spaces, where new Discourses can exist, be created, and articulated is a real force. There are specific sub-communities, where alternative and counter-Discourses have a foothold for existence.
- The habit of the individual (and therefore the researcher) to orient towards different – distinct - types of Discourse, making it difficult to radically 'break' the existing social structure.

- The pessimism about change reproduced by studies that view change through the "different subject positions" that subjects theoretically must or can (Parker 1992: 37) undertake. New subjectivities seem to depend purely on the narrow framework of Discourse.

According to my readings, this is reflected in Parker's works as a whole (where he often critiques other discourse approaches). No analysis based purely on, or predetermined by, rhetorical analytical concepts can itself enact change, except if it hypothesizes it. Parker's solution is clear: "The articulation of counter-Discourses will be achieved in material spaces" (Parker, 1992: 40). For the material space is part of Discourse.

Within this framework, it is recognized that the researcher should not be confined to these, but should dynamically incorporate analytical tools not only from dominant approaches, but also from approaches of other fields, when deemed necessary for research. However, it must first be clear that the analysis is ideological and operates in the political "arena." Thus, the adoption of a specific political perspective is deemed necessary.

1.1.2 Marxist and Post-Marxist Dimensions of Foucault's Thought and Their Relation to Discourse Psychology

The political commitment of social-psychological research is thus not only necessary, but inevitable. It is easily understood that Foucault's theory does not easily combine with many ideologies (e.g., neoliberal right-wing ideology). However, the question arises whether it can be combined with Marxism and Post-Marxism. The issue is not simple since Foucault himself seems to have denied any political designation, and his work has been fiercely criticized by Marxist analysts. Nonetheless, there are readings of his work that allow for the connection. Ping (2015) initiates a comparison between the two thinkers by juxtaposing the creation and goals of the traditional labor movement with those of the "new social movement" of "identity politics," with the latter, having Foucault's works as a basic theory, being accused (by the communist and broader left) of ignoring the oppressive power of productive relations and economic inequalities. Marxist and Foucaultian theory present similarities and differences, without implying that one excludes the other as a theoretical framework or method.

The similarities briefly concern issues of materialism, social processes, power, emancipation, and social resistance (Olssen, 2016; Ping, 2015). Foucault certainly does not consider that materialism dominates the social, but he admits that it overdetermines it, since Discourses have material consequences, and since material reality itself (which he does not deny) determines the production and function of Discourses. At the same time, economic relations of production have a place in his theory as they are part of the dominant power relations. Both Foucault and Marx consider that social practices are characterized by temporariness and transience and refer to the role of intellectuals and the

intelligentsia concerning social and productive relations (Olssen, 2016: 454). Both deal with issues of power, oppression, and emancipation.

This last observation, in its qualitative differentiations, is one of their main differences: for Marx, power always comes from economic relations of production and is oppressive, while for Foucault, it comes from other fields beyond the economic (cultural, intellectual, political) and is not necessarily oppressive, since it is combined with Knowledge and the concept of Discourse, which are inherent in every aspect of the social, whether oppressive or not. As Ping (2015) mentions, the concept of power in Foucault is not opposed to the Marxist one, but is simply broader, or – as mentioned in Olssen (2016) – overarching.

Another fundamental difference concerns the perception of history, which for Marx is determined by material relations of production and is imbued with the teleological victory of the working proletariat. In contrast, Foucault does not see an "end" (goal) in history, as this would contradict the dynamic notion of emancipation, resistance, and change. For him, history is characterized by the struggle of Discourses and Ideologies and by fragmentation (Ping, 2015). Finally, the concept of ideology, defined as "false consciousness" by Marx (Marx & Engels, 1974), is for Foucault a historical-cultural construction that is a plural (with post-Marxist influences), true based on social consequences, and dynamic while relating to the concept of the subject.

Therefore, as a method, as a historical approach, and as an analysis of social structures, the two theories present parallels (Olssen, 2016); thus a Foucauldian approach can be integrated into Marxist and post-Marxist frameworks of class struggle (Ping, 2015; Parker, 1992, 1993, 1999, 2002, 2007, 2010, 2015c, 2018). Moreover, Foucault himself had accepted the integration of Marxism into his work (Olssen, 2016: 454).

1.2 Theory of Juvenile Delinquency

The present paper constructs a "Theory" of juvenile delinquency through the study of the dominant approaches to childhood and adolescence, the dominant approaches to aggressive and antisocial behavior, the historical-genealogical critical presentation of the concept of delinquency and juvenile delinquency, and the dominant scientific Discourses governing the concept of juvenile delinquency. An attempt is made to briefly present how the dominant versions of these Discourses are articulated, constructing the body of knowledge that determines the theoretical, research, and practical reception of the collective subjectivity of juvenile delinquency in Greece. The main concepts related to juvenile delinquency and social control are also critically examined.

2. Research Questions

The specific research questions are as follows:

- What characteristics, processes, and Discourses appear to shape juvenile delinquency as subjectivity through the parental guide?
- How are classical scientific theories transformed through the psychological Discourse of the guide, and what power relations and ideologies do they seem to serve?
- In what subject positions are juvenile delinquents and their parents/guardians placed, and what are the consequences of these positions for theory and social and political practice?
- How and based on which systems of Discourse, are the causes and interventions for juvenile delinquency constructed? What consequences might this have for the social and political field?

3. Methodology

The methodological decisions pursuant to Critical Psychology and Critical Discourse Psychology, as well as to Social Realistic Constructivism, question the very existence of Psychology and its role in constructing reality, as well as see its socially and scientific existence in the admission of conscious political commitment (Parker, 1990b, 1992, 2002, 2005, 2015a, b, c, 2018). In the context of a proposed critical stance towards Psychology itself (both in general and integrated into psychological research), Psychology, may not be identified with ideology (in all texts), but it is considered to function ideologically (Parker 2018: 20) and thus constitutes a "pseudo-science" (Parker 2018: 21) that exercises social control.

For Parker (both in his early – Parker, 1992 – and later work – Parker, 2005), the project of emancipation and social change aligns with the project of Deconstruction in how current qualitative methods of psychological research can be used to deconstruct ideology and social control (Parker 2018: 89, 286). For Parker, this deconstruction has classic elements of deconstructive criticism, but also discursive analysis in terms of knowledge-power. As he writes: "The real is mediated step by step by Discourses that never completely transcend the material conditions within which they are constructed and transformed" (Parker, 1992: 38). In this context, the classic Psychological Discourse concerning criminality/delinquency promotes the neglect of the social and political factors that construct and determine it. These factors can be highlighted through the methodological coupling of Marx and Foucault, which promotes a Critical Anti-Psychology and emphasizes knowledge that will not a priori empower psychologists nor validate institutional processes under the guise of supposed psychological normality.

In agreement with Parker's view on the free yet documented choice of methodological tools for analysis), the present analysis constructs its the methodological tool for analysis as follows: Norman Fairclough's triple dimension for CDA was adopted as the general analytical classification, and specific elements of Foucauldian analysis, deconstructive criticism, and Bakhtinian method were selectively integrated into it.

3.1 Methodological Tool Construction

According to the above, the methodological analysis paradigm demands systematicity and flexibility and consists of a combination of methodological proposals from the writings of Foucault himself, and the interpretations for Foucauldian methodology expressed by Parker and Willig. Furthermore, the analysing tool is enriched with theories of Fairclough, Bakhtin, and Derrida, showing that a synthetical, systematic, but also critical Foucauldian approach to analysis is possible. Parker, Fairclough, and Jaeger themselves make clear references to their Foucauldian influences (Parker, 1992, 2005. Fairclough, 1994. Jaeger, 1993).

Taking as a starting point his own analyses in relation to psychiatric power, Foucault writes: "The aim is a genealogy of the contemporary scientific-judicial complex, from which punitive power draws its supports, rationales, and rules, and where it extends its effects and conceals its excessive peculiarities" (Foucault, 2016d: 316). He thus integrates the historical-genealogical method as the background for the analysis of bodies of knowledge, of governances that co-construct institutional processes and therefore the subjectivities produced by them. The concept of the "scientific-judicial complex" illustrates how the Discourses of the individual sciences (here: Law, Psychology, Sociology, Pedagogy, Psychiatry) have structured the philosophy and practices of the administration of criminal justice. They constitute a "complex," a Discourse with institutional power that co-constructs/is imprinted in practices (here: official texts/voluntary interventions by private entities) that adopt and often reframe the dominant individual scientific paradigms. Close to the genealogical approach, Foucault adds the necessity of the archaeological and linguistic approach, an "inside" of the text before the "outside" of it. In the above passage, the points of influence of the approaches developed in the previous three subchapters are evident.

There have been attempts by Social Psychology to systematize Foucauldian traditions to serve both the respective research purposes and the training of psychologists/analysts. Parker (1992, 2002, 2005, 2015c), for one, attempted to systematize Foucauldian imperatives, being consistent with the degree of freedom of ambiguity they entail, but also trying to transcend it, as seen above. Similarly, Carla Willig (2013: 318-324) presents six stages of Foucauldian analysis: 1) The 'Analysis of Discourse Structures,' essentially concerning textual analysis and exploration of explicit and implicit references in relation to the object of discourse (namely research). 2) The 'Analysis of Discourses,' identifying the ways in which the object of discourse is embedded within broader discourses and how this operates in its construction. 3) The stage of 'Action Orientation,' examining the functioning in practice of construction and which type of discourse benefits from it. 4) The stage of 'Positionings,' investigating subject positions. 5) The stage of 'Practice,' demonstrating how discourse constructions determine what can be said and happen in specific realities. 6) The stage of 'Subjectivity.' According to Willig, here the construction of social realities and subjectivities is explored through the combination of linguistic

constructions with consequences for subjectivity. Willis emphasizes that this stage has the highest degree of 'speculation' (Willig, 2013: 329) and that the stages do not constitute a complete Foucauldian analysis. Regarding the latter, the author refers to the methods of Parker and Fairclough (Willig, 2013: 330). Parker (1992, 2002, 2005, 2010) specifically argues that any methodological choice incorporating the historical-political and the deconstructive can be considered Foucauldian. Although Hook (2001: 2) criticizes Potter and Wetherell's approach as well as Parker, he argues that Parker and Fairclough have "come closer."

In "What is Critique?" (2016a), Foucault himself presents the steps of the critical-genealogical analysis he proposes: 1) Initially, the analyst takes sets of empirical elements and connects them with mechanisms of constraint and the contents of Knowledge/Reason. (Foucault, 2016a: 32) 2) At each moment of the analysis, he assigns specific contents corresponding to elements of Knowledge and mechanisms of power (there is no one knowledge or one power). (Foucault provides the example of the interweaving of scientific discourses: Legal, Psychiatry, etc.) (Foucault, 2016a: 34). 3) Researchers do not analyze the object as a universal concept but as a singularity. Thus, they develop a dense causal network through genealogy that reveals the conditions of the emergence of singularity. (Foucault, 2016a: 37). 4) The relative Reasons (e.g., scientific) operate in relationships involving subjectivities, for the analysis of which the analyst needs strategies that will reveal how the Reasons established as Power-Knowledge, on the one hand, construct singularities/subjectivities, while, on the other hand, make them open ("fragile") to change.

Thus, Critical Discourse Analysis consists in revealing the results of power in a sense-subject. In what sense "(...) is the knowledge of what are the results of power, if you will, of induction (...) which this theorem can have, on the one hand, within the scientific field, within which it is shaped by someone - mathematicians, psychiatry, etc. - and on the other hand, what are the institutional, non-discursive, non-standardizable networks of power with which it is connected and from which it is put into circulation" (Foucault, 2016a: 61). For Foucault, such criticism is therefore inevitably political. It is "(...) the art of voluntary disobedience, of profound disobedience. Critique in the service of de-subjectification, in the game of what we could call with one word, the politics of truth" (Foucault, 2016a: 16).

Parker (Parker, 1992: 4-20) proposes ten criteria (he calls the last three "auxiliary") for identifying Discourses; these are accompanied by twenty specific techniques (two for each criterion) that the critical discourse analyst must follow. Briefly listed the criteria are:

Criterion 1: Discourse is realized in texts; criterion 2: Discourse concerns objects; criterion 3: Discourse contains subjects; criterion 4: Discourse is a coherent system of meanings; criterion 5: Discourse refers to other Discourses; criterion 6: Discourse reflects its own way of speaking; criterion 7: Discourse has historical placement; criterion 8: Discourses support institutions; criterion 9: Discourses reproduce power relations; criterion 10: Discourses have ideological consequences.

As already mentioned, Parker himself (1992, 2005, 2015a, b, c) refers to Norman Fairclough's paradigm of critical discourse analysis, which, when combined with a Foucauldian method-interpretation of analysis, can constitute a systematic critical discourse analysis. At the same time, he mentions that the political-ideological element in the analysis does not negate its deconstructive nature, insofar as the researcher who deconstructs has already positioned themselves as a research-political subject.

Norman Fairclough adopts the Althusserian conception of ideology, accepting that ideology is inherent in institutions and social practices as "common sense," so as to naturalize them (Fairclough, 1989: 77-98, 102-109). This naturalization of common sense, that is, socially constructed knowledge and evaluations, presents itself as natural and contributes to the construction of the subject's identity, creating a variety of "subject positions" that are adopted through the manipulation of various kinds of discourses (Fairclough, 1989: 102-105). In his effort to establish a method for discourse analysis, he defines discourse as text, interaction, and social context, thus, based on this definition, he formulates three stages/dimensions of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989: 109-150, 1995: 98ff., Perpiraki, 2019):

1. Text analysis: This involves primarily a linguistic analysis of texts at the first stage, as it is based on Fairclough's position that the formal characteristics of texts are nothing more than choices (lexical and grammatical) within a range of possibilities. The choices are linked to ideology, just as the form of the text is linked to its content. Vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures are examined based on a tripartite system of linguistic values: experiential, relational, and expressive value.

2. Discourse practice analysis: This examines the interpretation between textual practice and discourse practice, the processes of production, distribution, and consumption of discourse, with emphasis on the concept of intertextuality. Additionally, the type of discourse is examined at the levels of content (what is happening, topic, purpose), subject (who is involved), relations (what relationships are involved among those participating in the discourse), connections (what role does language play in action), contexts, and schemata.

3. Sociocultural practice analysis: This focuses on the nature of discourse production (e.g., at the level of institutions such as education). It examines the relationship between discourse practices and sociocultural practices, i.e., how the former relate to analyses of power and ideology relations.

Next, I present those aspects of deconstruction and Bakhtinian theory that can be incorporated into the analysis connected to the peculiarities of the present research.

According to Bakhtin, the word is an ideological point both in form and content. It has a dialectical character (Voloshinov, 1998: 86) and never leads to singular representations, which led Bakhtin to express for the first time the view that "there are many ideologies." In a view that closely resembles that formulated later by Billig (1991), Bakhtin argued for the "ideology of everyday life" and the "ideology of constituted formations" (Voloshinov, 1998: 75). Interestingly, Bakhtin considers ideology and its exploration as the work of psychology, while

also providing a definition of Social Psychology: "Ideology is explained through Psychology, not vice versa, through the sign material of the soul: word, speech, enunciation" (Voloshinov, 1998: 95) and "Social Psychology is manifested primarily in the various forms of 'enunciation,' in forms of small kinds of speech, internal and external, which have not been studied until now" (Voloshinov, 1998: 80). He also takes a clear position on the analysis of Speech-Ideology: "Methodological position: the study of ideologies in no way depends on Psychology, nor can it be based on it. Instead, it is Objective Psychology that must rely on the science of ideologies. The reality of ideological phenomena is the objective reality of social points" (Voloshinov, 1998: 68). For Bakhtin, therefore, Language has material reality, is never neutral, and is organized into types of Speech that connect the history of Language with the history of Society (Bakhtin, 2014: 9, 37, 39, 71, 79. Voloshinov, 1998. Holquist, 2014).

The Bakhtinian conceptual tools that derive for the methodology of the present study concern the concepts "chronotope," "dialogism," and "enunciation." The "chronotope" is related to the genres of speech and the composition of stories and narratives. It focuses on the spatial and temporal indices of the text, as these - according to Bakhtin - can distort the sequence of events (Holquist, 2014: 203).

Here, it is necessary to refer to Holquist's (2014) view that Bakhtin and Foucault complement each other regarding the imperatives of discourse analysis: Both recognize that discourse has material consequences and constructs subjectivities based on power and capitalism, with the difference that Bakhtin thoroughly described the analysis within the text, and Foucault in the realm "outside the text." Finally, in relation Derrida's textual analysis theory, the deconstructive perspective dismantles the dichotomy of literal meaning and metaphor, stating that every naming of a thing, every signifying, is inherently a metaphor, since between the thing and what it signifies the point intervenes with its difference. Derrida associated this relationship with the issue of identity and the relationship between self and Other (Culler, 2003: 292). Thus, the critic does not stop by describing a metaphor in discourse and its function, finds the "metaphorical root" of literal propositions. Therefore, discourse is essentially metaphorical, and every text is, in a sense, a form of literature. As interpreted by their writings, Derrida himself, as well as biographies of Foucault, acknowledge that the two philosophers agree on the premise of critical analysis, with the difference that Derrida emphasizes the text more, Foucault focuses on what happens outside the text. In some way, they complement each other.

The use of these concepts and approaches is not only concordant, but also necessary for this research, especially for a critical Foucauldian analysis of discourse. On the one hand, it aligns with the viewpoints of Parker, Foucault, and Fairclough regarding a deconstructive premise. On the other hand, it challenges the methodological perception that demands Foucauldian analyses to neglect linguistic aspects and leave linguistic structures "vacant," which underestimates the role of the text as language.

4. Genealogy and Dominant Discourses

In this subsection, I present and explore the historical-genealogical and institutional formation of the concept of juvenile delinquency as a category in discourse and practice with Foucauldian terms, associated with the construction of the concepts of deviance in general and transgression. Initially, the formation of punishment and punitive practices was examined in a genealogical dimension. Since the political structure of the ancient Greek city-state, specific forms of control and regulation of the behaviour of certain individuals and groups can be identified and named "governance" in Foucauldian terms. These practices seek to regulate and guide the conduct and behaviour of those who evade or challenge authority, or ignore both written and unwritten laws. Foucault considers that the beginning of the study of the formation of punitive practices may include the study of the concept of exclusion, in its broad sense as a socially consensual rejection. Historically, specific linguistic-identitary characteristics were attributed to the excluded, such as "deviant," "maladjusted," "abnormal," etc., which were imbued with purely psychological content, introducing Psychological Discourse into social control informally. Thus, as Foucault says, this early Psychological Discourse aimed to "conceal the techniques, processes, mechanisms through which society excluded certain individuals to later approach them as abnormal, deviants" (Foucault, 2016d: 16). In this process, historically shaped punitive practices played a dominant role, which constructed the very concept and content of what is understood as "punishment."

Foucault himself analyzes the genesis and functioning of four punitive practices historically: exclusion (ostracism, exile, etc.), which imposed the break with any social bond an individual had with society; redemption/restitution (monetary compensation, etc.), which constructed a separate social network of obligations for the individual; stigma (literal and symbolic), which made the punishment visible, attempting to eliminate it by highlighting it; and practices of confinement (e.g., imprisonment) and death penalty, which evolved into practices of "correction" and "therapy." From a social constructionist perspective, and in accordance with Foucauldian theory, every punitive practice, both at the level of Discourse and in material terms, constructs and corresponds to criminal systems and the related social systems. Thus, the stakes are the historical and synchronic study of the power relations behind each punitive practice. In this way, "penal tactics are the analysts of power relations, not simply indicators of an ideology" (Foucault, 2016d: 26). The entire penal and social system that creates, imposes, and uses punitive practices is permeated by a series of discourses or "rationalities" that are transformed into scientific discourses (sociological, legal, psychological, psychiatric, educational). These, in turn, are historically related to the very formation of the subject that is to be regulated: the criminal, the transgressor, the delinquent.

4.1 The delinquent as a "Social Enemy"

According to Foucault (1976, 2016d), until the 18th century, prohibited criminal acts were characterized by individualization, while from the mid-18th century on, crime was considered an act that harms not only specific individuals or interests, but the entire society. Delinquents were thus constructed as individuals "waging war" against society, as social enemies. The framework of punishments and punitive practices imposed on them was thus considered a "counter-war measure" for the protection of society. The facets of the "social enemy" were and are intertwined with what was considered not only as a crime, but also as the cause of crime. In this dimension, Foucault presents historical analyses of the causes that generate crime and the delinquent/social enemy through Psychological Discourses. The emphasis is psycholinguistic since these Discourses primarily concern the semantic functions of linguistic terms. He therefore considers the psychological starting point for the construction of the concept of criminality to be the content attributed to the word "vagrancy." He identifies its construction around the analysis of psychological "dispositions" such as laziness, begging, and poverty. The concept of laziness is defined as the "basic matrix" from which the beginning of crimes originates.

It could perhaps be argued that Foucault distinguishes between the individual dimension of analysis in Social Psychology and a more "social" or group-oriented analysis, when he says that "later a new content appeared for crime, 'the set of tramps,' that is, a type of common life, a social group presented as an anti-society in contrast to laziness, which in Psychology was something like an individual sin" (Foucault, 2016a: 53). Initially, "vagrancy" as a characteristic of the social enemy was defined in psychological terms; later, in the 18th and 19th century, the analysis of criminality appeared also in economic terms of production/consumption. Thus, the social enemies were constituted through their relationship with the productive process, and the criterion was whether and why, and under what terms, they had employment. The notion of employment gradually introduced the concept of correction and the concept of "rehabilitation of the delinquent," which – as I will show – applies today. The very initial signification of correction was defined, in contrast to the unemployed/unemployed social enemy, as "the habit of work" (Foucault, 2016d: 71). Correction itself was based on work as the organization of the "working time" of prisoners as well as those under judicial supervision or care, which structures the subject transgressor within the relationship between lifetime and political/institutional power. In this process, the development of the capitalist economic system played a role in transforming time and its management into an economic and ethical measure (Foucault, 2016d: 82).

4.2 The Sociological and Psychological Construction of the Offender and the Research Dimensions of "Deviant" Subjectivity

Foucault distinguishes a gradual sociological construction of the criminal as a social enemy. This entails the formation of socio-psychological discourses that result, in penal practices, in the creation of new scientific fields of knowledge, such as the "psychopathology of deviance" and the "sociology of criminality." Thus, a "Sociology of minor and major criminality" is established, which concerns the study of the social mechanisms that underpin criminality and its management, as well as methods of suppression and intervention. This kind of a Sociology of deviance defines the offender both theoretically and executively, and the ambiguity as well as the conversation of these dimensions led Foucault to introduce the notion of the "mechanism of alternation": "The offender-criminal-enemy is an element that cannot be precisely located either in one framework (theory) or in the other (practice). He is a transcriber, a switcher, a mechanism of alternation (...) he ensures the coherence and relative systematicity of heterogeneous elements: penal practice, theory of criminal law, codes, psychiatric, sociological discourse" (Foucault, 2016d: 47-49 footnote). Here, Foucault makes it clear that research on the governance and subjectivities constructed by penal practices cannot be the subject of classical sociological and criminological theory. Likewise, he considers that the psychological construction cannot be understood only within the field of its articulation, that is, Psychology. He writes: "Similarly: to the extent that the sociology of criminality describes, in its vocabulary, the practice of criminal prosecution on the basis of the switcher (criminal-enemy), it becomes clear that psychological theory will never be able to deeply reassess penal practice, whatever criticism is levelled against it" (Foucault, 2016d: 49 footnote). Foucault appears to reject positivist-empirical psychological theory and research. He suggests analysing subjectivities constructed by the penal system: "The nature of the struggles surrounding power in society must be revealed" (Foucault, 2016d: 27). This process involves the analysis of the conjunction of the judicial-institutional model and the biopolitical model of power (Foucault, 2016d: 292). At the analytical level, the concepts of "Discourse" and "Civil War" are thus surfaced.

4.2.1 "Civil War" - Discourse and Socio-Psychological Practices for Understanding Deviance and Delinquency

Foucault elevates the concept of "Civil War" to an epistemological model consisting of individual and social dimensions. In this model, subjects are collective, and social processes reveal and construct new collective subjectivities through conflicts at the level of power struggles. Thus, the socio-psychological practice of studying punishment at the level of tactics and the construction of subjectivities must examine, "not who punishes (the system) and with what scale of values, but: how it punishes, whom, and with what tools" (Foucault, 2016d: 31), starting from the study of the conflict covered by the notion of "civil war,"

which - as explicitly stated - is the social war of the rich against the poor and equated with class warfare (Foucault, 2016d: 43 footnote). This war is a war against the dominant society, characterized by two dimensions: the theoretical production of how the social contract and civil war (class conflict) lead to crime; and the institutional production concerning the establishment of persons and laws that will assign the function of the "social enemy" to the subject. This, following Marxist assumptions, occurs through the dominant class. It transfers and naturalizes the function of excluding the offender into social consciousness, either through the judicial system or through the "epistemological transmitters" (Foucault, 2016d: 45) of dominant scientific discourses. In this process, the social enemy is constantly reconstituted according to penal practices. These may involve displacement, imprisonment, rehabilitation, or "new therapeutic measures," as will be seen later. Thus, punishment and the penal process are social constructions that are structured in two dimensions: relativity (what is socially and culturally defined as punishment) and gradation (the punishment that either "neutralizes" or reintegrates the offender into the social contract). This shapes a social "geography of crime," where one can be considered either a criminal, innocent, or victim, without an "intermediate" or simultaneous condition.

Foucault provocatively raises the significant dimension presented in socio-psychological theories regarding the causes of deviance, which concerns the extreme of the "innately" or "morally fallen" offender. Of interest is how the thinker wonders whether the offender/social enemy is simply a construction operating in the field of social representations: "Is it perhaps the establishment of a dominant representation or a dominant system of representation? Could the criminal be represented as an enemy?" (Foucault, 2016d: 65).

4.3 Genealogy and Construction of Juvenile Delinquency

The historical and social shaping of juvenile delinquency as a societal category and discourse category is a complex phenomenon with deep roots. Scholars (Abdella, 2013; Benveniste, 1994; Ritter, 1999; Shore, 2011) trace the term "juvenile delinquency" back to 18th century Britain (1776). It first appeared in British texts in 1815, describing concerns about the increase in criminality. Initially, the term seemed to refer to criminal, unlawful activities observed in "young men." Socially and informally, it did not seem to apply -at first- to women, and it did not exclusively refer to minors since it lacked clear age specification. It could also be argued that the term excluded accountability for children, as the contemporary notion of childhood did not include criminal responsibility. The broader term of "youth delinquent responsibility," according to Ritter (1999), is a construction that articulates reasons related to age and behaviour. It is a historical product of the Enlightenment, during which attempts were made to rationalize behaviour with a stake in its management. Initially, the emphasis was placed on the content of the term, focusing on "proper youth upbringing" and the "salvation of deviants."

Studies (Abdella, 2013; Ritter, 1999; Platt, 1969) concur that "juvenile delinquency was invented as a distinct social phenomenon in late 19th-century England" (Abdella, 2013: 51). This invention is part of a broader "turn towards utility" and the perception that state authority should intervene in anything that socially impedes the development of common interests within the framework of the early stages of capitalist ideology. The move away from theocratic modes of thinking and secularization mandated a society capable of "defending itself" (Ritter, 1999: 1). At the same time, the rise of liberal ideology emphasized, within the context of the penal state, the notion of individual characteristics, abilities, and rights within the social contract, guaranteed by the imperatives of laws. In this context, even before the establishment of official "Juvenile Justice," those with an interest in defending the social contract—credible civilians, government officials, social reformers, and philanthropists (Abdella, 2013: 52), who were mainly women (Platt, 1969)—began to show interest in behaviours characterized as "deviant" by children and adolescents. The interest of these individuals and groups had clear class characteristics and contributed to the initial construction of minors as institutional subjects.

As Abdella notes, "government officials and philanthropists changed the criteria and definitions of illegal behaviour and invented a new social category: juvenile delinquents" (Abdella, 2013: 52). This new category had to be invested with scientific explanations from the fields of Statistics, Psychiatry, Psychology, Pedagogy, and Sociology (Panagiotopoulos, 1998, 2013) in order to be established as "knowledge." Simultaneously, discourses about childhood and youth had already imposed some restrictions on this peculiar legal status for children. As early as 1908, the prohibition of the death penalty and imprisonment of children had been structured in the construction of various, often conflicting discourses. Ritter (1999: 1-5) identifies five dominant discourses regarding the emerging institutional-penal management of deviant children and youth, summarizing them as follows:

1. Deviance deserves reciprocation.
2. Dangerous actors require control.
3. Vulnerable subjects need protection.
4. Embryonic social subjects require love.
5. Public nuisances call for state intervention.

These discourses construct socially and discursively the juvenile delinquent subject, which would become the object of study for a plethora of institutional-governmental as well as private bodies (eg. philanthropic organizations) with the goal of finding techniques of "governance" permeated by common characteristics: prevention, deterrence, allocation of responsibility between the state, community, and family, and the pursuit of the "appropriate balance between moral reform and physical punishment, between care and control" (Abdella, 2013: 55). It is noteworthy that the management of juvenile delinquency followed the historical establishment of adulthood, in a context where the creation of "reforming" institutions for juveniles preceded the creation of juvenile courts and juvenile justice (Abdella, 2013; Foucault, 1976, 1977, 1987, 2011, 2016b, 2017; Panagiotopoulos, 1998; Ritter, 1999). These institutions were

created for children with clear class origins: from 1880, juvenile delinquents were described as a class that could potentially become dangerous and costly to society (Ritter, 1999), based on the behaviour exhibited by the subjects included in it.

Certainly, this class bias was initially observed within the urban environment of large cities. It was the groups of children from poor environments and city neighbourhoods who were to be controlled, not the "poor countryside." The aforementioned discourses and processes led to a series of consequences regarding the management of the issue. Until 1974, the use of the terms "reciprocation" and "retribution" led to the expansion of physical punishment of juveniles (mainly through whipping) in Britain and in other European countries. The concept of dangerous juvenile behavior was articulated with the management of private property, as a majority of juvenile offences involved theft. This initiated the creation of a "rhetoric of panic," which essentially expressed the concern of the urban class for a specific social class of children. This panic was invested with moral evaluations, so that it transformed into a kind of "moral panic" (Ritter, 1999). The discourse that wanted juvenile delinquents to be "objects in need of protection" (note the objectification and influence of Enlightenment ideas here) constructed the subjects of juvenile delinquency as "victims," "vulnerable," and "helpless" children. The immediate consequence was their removal from the social whole and their isolation, using arguments related to both their own future and the future of society. They would cease to come into contact with delinquent influences and society itself would be protected from the spread of "moral contamination" (Platt, 1969; Ritter, 1999).

These perceptions laid the groundwork for a scientific-institutional dialogue between welfare and judicial treatment, which continues to this day (Abdella, 2013; Kourakis, 2004, 2009, 2011; Panagiotopoulos, 1998; Ritter, 1999). As it did with adult offenders (Foucault, 1976, 2016b, 2017), the concept of "reformation" emerged here, which was associated with the age and developmental psychological category of adolescence. At the same time, the psychological and psychiatric discourse medicalized and pathologized behaviors attributed to the adolescent age category. Thus, "seen as a disorder, adolescence became the age at which the need for guidance and protection became crucial to avoid multiple risks, primarily the risk of moral deviation and criminal behavior" (Abdella, 2013: 60). In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, this discourse began to delineate "who has the right" to study and manage juvenile delinquency. Based on the dialectical relationship between welfare and justice described in theoretical and research texts, I argue that juvenile delinquency was constructed historically, institutionally, and scientifically through the scientific and institutional "representatives" of "two poles": Regarding "welfare" treatment, the sciences of Psychology, Psychiatry, and Pedagogy, along with urban philanthropic organizations, attempted to "cure" delinquent juveniles who, although having "good intentions" (Ritter, 1999), had deviated due to "vulnerability." On the other hand, criminal-justice intervention intervened to preserve the material and moral "good" of individuals (the offenders themselves) and society. This tension between justice and welfare contributed to the

establishment of "special juvenile courts." These two poles seem to have been particularly incorporated into the recognition of welfare as a means of dispensing justice, with the latter being considered to lead to measures that "reform." All this was integrated into the processes that accompanied the emergence of welfare states in Europe.

The "good intentions of children"-scenario played a significant role in welfare rhetoric and was linked to the discourse on vulnerable adolescents. According to Ritter (1999), the construction of children's vulnerability shifted moral responsibility to the realm of the family and social class background. As will be shown in the following subsections, this discourse also gave rise to the idea of rehabilitation as a therapeutic measure, counselling, family support, and the establishment of "Parent Schools." I argue that this discourse is connected with the generalization of providing "psychological support services." Later on, the discourse of vulnerability was framed within the philosophy of social determinism, shifting the problematic from the family to the broader social context, correlating juvenile delinquency with poverty and urbanization. As Ritter (1999: 8) argues, this discourse operates self-fulfillingly to objectify juveniles into the perpetrator-victim dichotomy. If they refuse the role of the victim, they are considered a threat. This construction coexists with discourses/constructions that portray juveniles as property of parents, as apolitical, asexual, economically dependent subjects in need of regulation through education. Ritter also refers to ideologies in the dimension of bourgeois and Marxist readings of juvenile delinquency. She argues that bourgeois views consider juvenile delinquents as "Others," while Marxist readings view them as victims. I consider this interpretation to be incorrect. In my view, a Marxist reading of the historical and conceptual trajectory of juvenile delinquency concerns the way in which the forces of production determine the social fate of children, which determines whom society chooses to construct as delinquent. In this dimension, the delinquent subject is not considered a victim, but a consequence of the capitalist mode of organizing production. This reveals the stake in the choice of words, as the word "victim" theoretically anchors representations on the axis of the individual and lack of responsibility.

In the conceptualization of juvenile delinquency, the 20th century saw the inclusion of both the religious mandates of Christian discourse and child-centric pedagogical views, as well as of psychoanalytic discourse, thus constructing juvenile delinquency as a collective identity of embryonic social subjects whose emotional needs for love were not met. This perception led to a series of reformatory programs emphasizing "love" and criticizing the strict punitive-judicial system of juvenile justice. This critique, during the last decade of the 20th century, resulted in the formation of two opposing views regarding the criminal management of juvenile delinquency and the application of juvenile justice: On the one hand, it was considered to violate the rights of children; on the other hand, it was seen as showing unjustified leniency and flexibility with serious offences (Abdela, 2013: 99).

It seems, therefore, that historically, the construction of juvenile delinquency in the Western world was both provoked by – and provoked changes

in – the relationships between the state and individuals, as well as changes in the dialectic between institutions and scientific theory, constituting, in my opinion, one of the first fields that “demanded” “specialized knowledge of specialists.” All of the above are not relationships and processes devoid of ideology. It has been argued, therefore, that juvenile delinquency is a cultural, social, and political construct (Abdela, 2013: 100, Panagiotopoulos, 1998). It, itself, is a construction in discourse with material consequences, but it has also shaped a wide field of discourse-approaches that have determined the formation of the body of knowledge and thus the construction of truth. As Abdela states: "Thus, an increasingly wider discursive field is formed where different processes for 'juvenile delinquency,' its management, and prevention intersect, with a common characteristic: that they are not formulated as opinion but presented as knowledge. They thus claim authority." (Abdela, 2013: 80)

4.3.1 The Historical Formation of Juvenile Delinquents in Greece

According to historians (Abdela, 2013; Karouzou, 2010; Benveniste, 1994), juvenile delinquency was not constructed as a specific social class/category, but rather as a category of disobedient children based on behaviors that caused problems. Initially, the main problem was the groups of children engaging in unlawful activities in the cities of Athens and Thessaloniki, similar to the rest of Europe. In Greece as well, mobilization for the interpretation and management of these groups began with women, who organized in philanthropic associations, and some state representatives, primarily legal professionals (Benveniste, 1994). Abdela (2013) discerns behind these actions the formation of bourgeois hegemony in the care of poor children, which led to the formation of the "domestic ideal" (Abdela, 2013: 103). According to this ideal, the "house," the home where the nuclear family resides, and where the first moral upbringing is given by the mother, constitutes the field for shaping the characters of those who will either become criminals or not. Both references to historical-sociological analyses (Abdela, 2013; Karouzou, 2010; Benveniste, 1994) and my contact with archival texts showed that in Greece, until relatively recently (the 1990s), the term "criminal" was used to describe minors referred to the criminal justice system. The prevailing terms seemed to be "young criminals" and "juvenile criminals." According to the data (Abdela, 2013: 108), institutions in Greece used these terms even though the internationally proposed term was "juvenile delinquent." According to Benveniste (1994), in the 19th century, Greece had not created a distinct judicial and correctional system for minors; however, minors were treated - depending on the offence - like juvenile delinquents in the rest of Europe. A key differentiating characteristic for the Greek reality was the overrepresentation of Legal Discourse on the issue (Abdela, 2013; Benveniste, 1994). It is striking that even contemporary research on the issue initially emanates predominantly from legal science and only subsequently from other fields.

The absence of the use of the term "delinquent" in relation to minors led to the Greek construction of the subject "youth at risk" (Abdela, 2013: 116), a collective subjectivity that did not only concern "delinquent minors," but also other young people considered to be "at risk" (Abdelah, 2013; Georgoulas, 2000; Pitsela, 2006, 2013). This shaped the framework for the construction of the concept. As will be shown later, legal discourse incorporated psychiatric discourse for juvenile delinquency. Today, the specialization and expansion of psychiatric practices lead to an increasing production of psychiatric discourse for juvenile delinquency.

In Greece, the management of juvenile delinquents was not only a state affair, but also a matter of private philanthropic initiative. In 1921, the "Association for Women's Rights" was the private entity that first advocated for the establishment of juvenile courts (Abdelah, 2013:118). The relevant law (5098/31) "on juvenile courts" was passed in 1931, but abolished during the Metaxas regime. The relevant law imposed by the Metaxas dictatorship was more punitive, and the linguistic choices indicate the regime's perception of juvenile delinquents, as the use of the word "crime" was reintroduced. During that period, according to Abdela (2013), scientific discourses of Psychology, Psychiatry, Pedagogy, and Theology were introduced into the dialogue, providing a range of classifications regarding the social and psychological characteristics of juvenile delinquents. These classifications emphasized the biopsychological interpretations of adolescence and the psychiatric-biological model. This led to the construction of the dominant scientific field of Positivist Criminology, which is a branch of criminology and legal discourse until today (Abdela, 2013; Georgoulas, 2000). These processes naturalized the identity of the "juvenile offender" within legal science, gradually forming the distinct branch of "Juvenile Criminal Law," initially referred to as "Juvenile Criminological Law," which, apart from punitive measures, also provided purely educational measures. Despite the dominance of the legal field, there is a need for educational and psychological regulatory principles for both juvenile delinquents and "at-risk" adolescents. As a result of this, in 1940, the operation of Reformatories was introduced in Greece by an Emergency Law (Anangastikos Nomos) , while the provisions for the admission of children to them did not necessarily require a prior criminal offence. Many children were admitted to Reformatories because their behavior was observed to pose the "risk" of delinquency. In both discourse and in material reality, this concept of "delinquent risk" thus created the category of pre-delinquency.

The role of sciences, particularly Psychology, is not detached or innocent in this construction. According to sources (Abdelah, 2013; Kazolea-Tavoulari, 2002), during the academic year 1948-49, the first academic course that articulated Positivist Criminology and Psychology was taught at the University of Athens by a legal pioneer in the formation of Juvenile Law under the title "Criminological Psychology"; the course was later renamed "Psychology" by the same professor. Based on the above, I believe that in Greece, the construction of juvenile delinquency was initially a product of legal-criminological discourse, while its establishment as a field of knowledge was associated with both

Psychology and Psychiatry. The direct consequence was the naturalization of the legal-psychological discourse of Positivism in explaining, managing, and studying this new subjectivity. Legal Discourse required the assistance of traditional Developmental Psychology to lend credibility to the analyses, imperatives, and regulatory provisions concerning juvenile delinquents. Thus, I argue that these legal provisions never had purely punitive character but – from their inception – constituted discourses that sought to entirely control the so-called delinquent subjects. The articulation of these scientific discourses would subsequently dominate both in action and in the formal procedures of the institutions established to manage the subjectivity of delinquency.

The Juvenile Protection Societies (JPS), an institution that exists until today, were established in the late 1930s, with a branch in each court of first instance. They consisted of multiple, distinct departments that divided the terms of supervision and intervention for juveniles. Staffed by both paid employees and volunteers (predominantly women), who worked as juvenile caretakers, their main purpose was to conduct "psycho-biological" research (later renamed as "social research") to complete the "psycho-biological record" of the juvenile (Abdela, 2013: 135). These caretakers, as volunteers, were not required to have specific academic qualifications; most of them were either legal professionals or lacked academic training. As Abdelah's historical research demonstrates, in most cases, juvenile delinquency was perceived in terms of danger and "moral risk" by the JPS themselves, often linked to right-wing and conservative ideologies.

Sources also indicate that during the Civil War period personnel from the Child Protection Societies (CPS) undertook the "national upbringing" of children sent to the orphanages of Queen Frederica. These institutions had a clear anti-communist and nationalist ideology focused on "reformation." After the war, in 1954, the Youth Guardianship Service (YGS) was established as an institution to support judicial work. The duties of this service, as well as those of the youth guardians, have shown minor differences to this day, as they relate to the current legal framework surrounding juvenile delinquency. However, from a historical-ideological and critical perspective, it is noteworthy that their work was defined by a professional dimension and scientific rationale, distinguishing it from the purely voluntary work of the CPS. Since then, the institution has combined welfare and punitive care, mediating between judicial decisions and the determination of interventions for minors. The institutions, procedures, and ideological-political conflicts between institutions and volunteers are extensively detailed in the work of Abdela (2013). In very broad terms, the key institutions I have chosen to present here regulate the construction and the punitive and social fate of juvenile delinquents up to the present day. Their basic characteristics include the integration of scientific Discourses among the state and individuals, professionals, and volunteers, 'experts', and 'unskilled'. Finally, it is worth mentioning the pivotal shift from the 'moral danger' of the 'teddy boys' to the pathologization and condemnation of family functioning through the establishment of Psychology and Psychiatry as adjuncts to Legal scientific Discourses. Psychological explanations laid the groundwork for shifting from "delinquent behavior" to "antisocial behavior" (which was considered to breed

delinquency). As research concludes, the focus from the 1960s onwards shifted to the consequences of the "dysfunctional family" and "delinquent behavior" for the individual. According to this logic, the delinquent juvenile subject had to accept controls not only for the good of society, but for their own individual welfare. These factors historically shaped the ideological-political framework of interventions for juvenile delinquency, with legal interventions being predominant, ie. interventions within the legal framework.

5. The Dominant Scientific Discourses Governing the Construction of Adolescence

5.1 The Psychological Discourse

One could summarize the dominant perspective of Developmental Psychology on adolescence through the frameworks proposed by the theorists themselves. Thus, adolescence, for traditional-dominant Psychology, can be understood through a bio-social approach and a dialogue between "continuity and discontinuity," in which the influences of biology, society, and culture play different roles each time. From the perspective of Psychoanalysis and the "turn to Discourse," Erica Burman (2008) attempted to deconstruct the traditional principles and establishment of developmental psychology through an effort to "reveal the ethical-political issues shaping research in Developmental Psychology." Her aim was to deconstruct Developmental Psychology by recognizing and evaluating the Discourses that historically and theoretically constructed the dominant concepts and formations of this field. Starting from the exploration of discourses about childhood, she demonstrates that childhood is a culturally constructed category that was conceptualized in contrast to adults and specifically to concepts of "mother," "father," "family," and "state" (Burman, 2008:7/81-82). The latter, which is directly related to juvenile delinquency, manages to regulate citizens due to the development of the scientific concept of childhood and its connotations (Burman, 2008:73). Thus, childhood and its related Discourses, such as the Discourse on Adolescence, reconstructed those categories from which they were constructed. Therefore, at the roots of Developmental Psychology, Burman primarily establishes a political organization, as a material consequence and a consequence in Discourse. This consequence concerns the construction of child and adolescent subjectivity as developmental stages that are tgiven, ahistorical, ethnocentric, and culturally one-sided. Thus, a specific Body of Knowledge for these stages is established, which includes the concept of knowledge itself as negotiable by subjects, and their relationship to it. Children and adolescents are considered as possessing, or partially possessing, knowledge and as in need of protection and education (Burman, 2008: 82-85). This protection was primarily assigned to the family, which left the field open for Developmental Psychology to conceptualize it, resulting in the concealment of broader historical-social explanations and politics that shaped it - which, for Burman, are connected with capitalism (Burman, 2008: 85, 126). Thus, the

Psychological Discourse on Adolescence constitutes an ideological-political treaty that played a pivotal, but not unique, role in the psychological interpretation of juvenile delinquency.

5.2 The Psychiatric Discourse

The intriguing issue regarding the Psychiatric Discourse is that it constitutes a selective articulation of Psychological, Medical, and Sociological Discourses. The classic Greek textbooks of Child Psychiatry that I examined refer to adolescence as well as juvenile delinquency, essentially representing rehashed theories of psychodynamics, primarily psychology, psychoanalysis, and empirical pedagogy. However, through their texts, the concept of adolescence is defined in evolutionary terms that can lead to psychopathology. Adolescence, therefore, in psychiatric discourse, sometimes constitutes an evolutionary process in the form of discrete developmental stages. Characteristic is this definition of adolescence (Tsiantis, 1997: 44): "We call adolescence the developmental process in human life that begins 'biologically' with the changes in the physiology of puberty and ends 'psychologically' with the final organization of sexuality." This view is supported by Freud's definition of adolescence as a transitional period between the childish organization of the self and mature, adult personality (Freud, 1905). Within this framework, it is conceived as a period of "disturbed mental balance" and fluidity (Manolopoulos, 1987: 43). This view in the context of Child Psychiatry is enriched by the Discourse of the New Psychoanalytic School and Anna Freud's views on the mass defence mechanisms of adolescents, which lead to two dominant "images" (Manolopoulos, 1987: 46): the image of the "ascetic adolescent" and that of the "uncompromising adolescent." The latter is defined as one who "refuses any compromise between impulses and reality" and, as shown in research, usually constitutes the subject of delinquency. Adolescence in this explanatory framework is also related to immaturity, but also "the basis for engaging in homosexual relationships" (Tsiantis, 1997: 22), while its development is based both on the traditional function of the family in terms of physiology and pathology and on a superficial political level: "findings indicate that normal adolescents adopt their parents' basic values (...) The completion of adolescence is a political issue" (Anastasopoulos, 1997: 27/41).

6. Scientific-Institutional Discourse, Explanation and Governance of Juvenile Delinquency

This section outlines the historical-genealogical course and naturalization of the dominant scientific-theoretical discourses that constructed the concept of juvenile delinquency. Historical studies on juvenile delinquency and related research demonstrate that the Legal Discourse is dominant, while Discourses of Sociology, Psychology, Psychiatry, and Education serve as satellites. These

discourses constitute the fields of "official knowledge" (Apple, 2008), within which the scientific-institutional version of the subjectivity of juvenile delinquency is constructed. The critical presentation is often accompanied by excerpts for the reader's scrutiny from the official discourse, i.e. for interpretation. An effort has been made for a representative presentation of the "counter-discourse" (Gegendiskurs).

6.1 Legal Approach (Legal-Criminological Discourse)

The views and articulations that structure the Legal/Criminological Discourse regarding juvenile delinquency are naturally not devoid of epistemologies and their corresponding ideologies. According to Georgoulas (2000), the two prevailing and most significant epistemological trends in Criminology are "Positivist Criminology" and "Criminology of Social Reaction." Positivist Criminology, also known as the "Theory of Pre-Criminal States," is in discursive articulation with Psychoanalysis and Positive Clinical Psychology, which are based on causal-deterministic explanations; it shaped the theoretical approaches to the concepts of "dangerousness," "ethical risk," and "pre-criminal states." An attempt was made to theoretically link both individual and social approaches with the aim of predicting the likelihood of individuals/youths/minors committing criminal offences. Thus, "pre-criminal dangerousness" was defined as: "the psychosocial phenomenon characterized by certain indications, from which it is reasonably inferred that the individual is likely to commit a crime" (Georgoulas, 2000: 142). This concept, as a Discourse, is positively defined in two phases: the static phase of medical-psychological and social elements and the dynamic phase of conflicts between the psychoanalytic "Ego and Superego" and the role of unconscious tendencies. Thus, the interest of this Criminology extends from actions to the personalities of those minors who, although they have not committed a delinquent act, are in an "at-risk" situation for it. The analysis of personalities is conducted through typologies (structured tables of criminal prognosis), which essentially lay the groundwork for the construction of the "pre-delinquent" and "potential delinquent" minor (Georgoulas, 2000: 143).

In Positivist Criminology regarding juvenile delinquency, there are also more "societal" perspectives that, based on social processes, show how "personality types" are confirmed. Most of these theories (such as Matz's theory) simply recognize greater freedom in social subjects without negating the deterministic perspective that emerges from "measurement." According to Georgoulas (2000: 131), the "Criminology of Social Reaction" had its precursor in Marxist theory, although it does not depart from the theoretical framework of "transition to action." This epistemological trend in Criminology is derived from Engels' theory of crime, according to which individuals are always forced to commit crimes due to the social and economic conditions in which they live. Thus, for the Criminology of Social Reaction, criminal/deviant behavior constitutes a social reaction to oppression and social injustice; its primary cause is "social warfare" (Georgoulas, 2000: 131), while the criminal/deviant

individual is conceived as a product of the capitalist economic system. In the development of the Criminology of Social Reaction, post-Marxist analyses were also utilized, focusing on how emphasis on individualization and the pathologization of juvenile delinquency contributed to concealing society's failure (Georgoulas, 2000: 132).

At this point, one might argue for a double construction linking Criminological Discourse with Psychiatric (perhaps also Psychological) Discourse. This concerns the well-known—within Social Psychology—identification of madness with criminality. As Foucault (1976, 1977, 1999, 2016d) highlighted, historically, madness became endowed with a dynamic for committing criminal acts. Conversely, criminal acts were pathologized either individually or collectively. Thus, this is perhaps another example of the interplay between the construction of the offender (and the juvenile offender) within the intersection of the Legal-Criminological Discourse and the psychiatric-psychological Discourse. It is worth noting that the entire issue concerns not only the theoretical conflict within the epistemological trends of Criminology but also its scientific framing. Although Criminology is considered a distinct science with origins and influences from disciplines such as Anthropology, Psychology, Sociology, etc., its dominant framing and social representation for Greek data place it primarily within the legal Discourse. Its very existence as a scientific field was constructed in relation to Law; it also constructed its subject primarily based on the commission of the social contract determined by laws: "Criminality is a product of double construction: the construction of criminalization and the social construction of the conditions activating the law" (Georgoulas, 2000: 147).

The perception and construction of juvenile delinquency in the legal-criminological thought that embraces social reaction seem to share common elements with critical trends in psychology and pedagogy. Thus, juvenile delinquency is not perceived within an ontological framework, but within a dynamic framework explained in terms of conflict: "A large part of deviant behavior has a political character, or rather a character of conflicting values" (Georgoulas, 2000: 132). Within the framework of the Criminology of Social Reaction, therefore, Positivist Criminology is considered to select, through the mechanisms of criminal law, those subjects that will be stigmatized as offenders or as "potential offenders." However, according to the Theory of Social Reaction, not all laws result from conflicts at the level of power. Georgoulas mentions that criminal-deviant action may also result from "moral crusades," in deviant acts that do not have specific victims but constitute acts of "correction" within an unjust society, according to the logic of the subject or the group (2000: 149). Close to such a view is Turk's theory (mentioned in Georgoulas, 2000: 149), according to which juvenile delinquency can be explained as "intergenerational conflict." In this context, the behavior defined as juvenile delinquency does not constitute a separate characteristic of specific juvenile subjects, but of all subjects. Here, both psychological and sociological Discourses have had some influence. Furthermore, through research on self-reported criminality, together with officially recorded delinquency, the Criminology of Social Reaction sees

another dimension of constructing the deviant subject: the condition of involvement with agencies of official social control and Justice. Thus, a juvenile offender "is not" someone who committed an unlawful act that went unnoticed or unconfessed - in the sense that they have not been institutionally constructed within discourse.

The victimological approach to juvenile delinquency addresses two main dimensions: firstly, the notion of the "law-constructed victim" and secondly, the model of victimization-criminality. In the first dimension, it seeks to liberate the victim from the legal definition and the procedures of its criminal management. An example here is the common position that juvenile delinquents, drug users for instance, should be seen as "victims of their addiction," regardless of whether they themselves perceive victimhood. The second dimension concerns "victims who become offenders." Based on this, even before potential victimization occurs, the characteristics that predict victimization also predict criminality. The legal-criminological governance of juvenile delinquency, however, is not exhausted by the above. In summary, although this discourse has a critical-political counter-argument, it constitutes, at its core, a positivist model of explaining juvenile delinquency, which selectively uses the discourses of other sciences such as psychology, psychiatry, and pedagogy.

6.2 Sociological Discourse

The Marxist sociological discourse regarding the subject can perhaps be argued to originate with the work of Antony Platt (1969). Platt's theoretical foundations can be politically aligned with Marx and sociologically with Bourdieu. The latter attempted to explain the construction of juvenile delinquency through the description of the construction of what he considers the opposing social group of the social elite (Montlibert, cited in Panagiotopoulos, 1998). He created the concept of "establishment" to explain how naturalizing, stigmatizing, and classifying social processes shape both the elite and the delinquents. According to this theory, juvenile delinquents constitute subjects and objects of a "negative establishment" (Montlibert, cited in Panagiotopoulos, 1998: 9). They originate from socially and politically dominant groups and, having been established as such, fulfil the role prescribed for them by institutions:

In short, they are usually perfectly adapted to the demands of the institutions that receive them, giving the impression, to echo a concept of Merton, that they had already developed a kind of premature socialization in the realm of criminal repression. They will always be pushed to cross the border that separates the normal from the pathological and will be referred to the side of the 'hampered' and 'base substances' of the chaotic, the impure, the polluted, in a word, the barbaric (...) their coercion into experiencing common experiences, their submission to the same 'pedagogy of emptiness' by the institution that has chosen them, reinforces and multiplies investments in forms of faith and practices that are deemed condemnable. The process of negative establishment not only does not re-educate and reform, but with its rituals, its inscriptions, the organization of its time, it

stigmatizes those established in the certainty of unworthiness and barbarity, which accompanies their assignment to discredited social positions (Montlibert, cited in Panagiotopoulos, 1998: 9-10).

Thus, for Montlibert, juvenile delinquents are: "the product of social arbitrariness and not the result of any natural necessity" (Montlibert, cited in Panagiotopoulos, 1998: 10). Nikos Panagiotopoulos (1998, 2013) considers that the Sociology of (juvenile) delinquency is connected with the Sociology of Education and jointly analyzes the materially existing social structures that produce the stigma for juvenile delinquency. This perspective is placed in opposition to the dominant perspective that prioritizes the "applied" criminological-legal and psychiatric approach to juvenile delinquency. In the introduction to his research on juvenile correctional institutions, Panagiotopoulos references the research-methodological approach to the socially constructed subjectivity of the juvenile offender, with theoretical foundations in Marxism and the mode of symbolic production of negative establishment as an instrument of dominance (1998: 36). In this way, the sociology of juvenile delinquency should be "accompanied by an analysis of the formation of the field of agencies managing delinquency, deviation, and anti-crime policy" (Panagiotopoulos, 1998: 30, note 1), ie. by using Foucauldian theory as well as social constructionist perspectives.

Given that our perception of the criminal justice system for addressing delinquency is based on a general problematization, which consists, on the one hand, of demonstrating that the realistic representation of delinquency as a clearly defined field (i.e., questions of how many delinquents actually exist, from which classes they come, etc.) should be abandoned and, on the other hand, defining that these specific individuals are placed in a social space, that they are not everywhere, meaning they are not interchangeable, and therefore the objective probabilities of the appearance of delinquent activities are structurally determined - thus abandoning bureaucratic subjectivism from the moment that, in relation to the position occupied by the agents in this complex space, their logic of practice can be understood and it can also be determined the way in which they will be judged, evaluated, and possibly perceived as criminals and as stigmatized individuals.

The sociology of delinquency becomes part of the sociology of knowledge and also of the sociology of philosophers, social justice, and "criminologies" (Panagiotopoulos, 1998:38). So, it's understood that stigmatization is socially produced from the moment it introduces an objective definition of stigma, understood as having real substance at the level of the institution/state that circulates it.

Considering the analysis above, the psychological rationale for juvenile delinquency appears to be constructed along two dimensions, a direct and an indirect one. The direct dimension involves an explanatory principle within the framework of Social Psychology, which, by utilizing sociological theories as well as the theory of motives, attempts to interpret juvenile delinquency in terms of intergroup conflict. Conversely, the indirect approach utilizes the rationale of Developmental Psychology and prevailing approaches to adolescence, perceiving

juvenile delinquency based on concepts of moral development, aggressiveness, and antisocial behavior. However, beyond attempts to explain and define juvenile delinquency, Psychological Reasoning (in contrast to psychiatric and legal reasoning) is interested, within the framework of Social Psychology, in the repercussions of labelling subjects as "juvenile delinquents." Social psychological reasoning seeks to explain behavior along the axis of social attitudes towards it. Kaplan states, "Part of the explanation of social attitudes towards behaviors is their frequency. Therefore, explaining behavioral patterns indirectly contributes to explaining the nature of social attitudes towards behavior" (Kaplan, 1984: 15). Without delving into the critique raised by the above, it opens the door to a theoretical and research-based differentiation between labelled behavior and labelling processes (Kaplan, 1984: 16).

Social attitudes towards juvenile delinquency and juvenile delinquents themselves are thus related to cultural norms regarding ethics and they influence the formation and function of punishment. Kaplan's explanation demonstrates how socio-cultural and social concepts of ethics are involved with the criminal justice system: "Beliefs about the morality or immorality of specific actions may be influenced by the severity of the reactions an individual receives for those actions. Reactions symbolize the wrongfulness and immorality" (Kaplan, 1984: 137). A dominant trend in Social Psychology wants juvenile delinquency to function as reinforcement to social norms, but also, drawing from Sociological Reasoning, perceives delinquent behavior as a condition for challenging given social values and moving towards social change (Kaplan, 1984: 138). This social change, however, is not perceived through critical psychological terms involving the political, but through processes resembling intergroup contact theory: "Gradually, the increasing frequency and visibility of socially prohibited patterns of behavior mitigate the severity of negative social attitudes, sanctions. Thus, initially prohibited delinquent acts become acceptable, and initial violations of a rule indirectly lead to social change and acceptance of the pattern" (Kaplan, 1984: 139). For Social Psychology, juvenile delinquency thus constitutes a complex phenomenon, the interpretation of which must be sought in the network of relationships between individuals, groups, and institutions. It is also acknowledged that the very definition has social consequences and is influenced by the coexistence of culturally heterogeneous groups, rapid and uneven social change, and differentiated political influence (Kaplan, 1984: 144). The influence of sociological reasoning is evident here.

Within the attempt to formulate a "General Theory of Juvenile Delinquency," emphasis was placed on the function that delinquent acts have for the subject itself - the juvenile delinquent. It is mentioned that the delinquent juvenile who engages in such acts achieves legitimate goals through illegitimate means. Here, the reasoning is social with elements of psychoanalysis. It relies on the classic frustration-aggression hypothesis, noting that the lack of agreement between self-demands, demands by the Other, and the available material resources to meet those demands lead to delinquency. Additionally, the delinquent subject may use delinquency to avoid or attack the social norm that

rejects it, or even to replace it with new delinquent norms, in order to self-evaluate more positively (Kaplan, 1984: 145).

This explanation, although more socially and less developmentally formulated, still implies a non-historical, apolitical subject. According to Burman (2008: 296), the 21st century marked a controversial view of childhood aggression (and delinquency). The logic of frustration-aggression, as well as that of the intergroup conflict associated with it, become objects of the "contemporary self-help industry" (Burman, 2008: 274) and the contemporary imperatives of the mental health promotion system, which serves capitalism "in producing moral subjects for the maintenance of bourgeois democracy" (Burman, 2008: 285).

In conclusion, it seems that Psychological Reasoning often reproduced both sociological reasoning and aspects of traditional developmental psychology. Simultaneously, the traditional aspect influenced the Legal approach as well as the Psychiatric and Pedagogical approaches.

6.3 Pedagogical/ Educational Discourse

One trend in Pedagogical Reasoning defines juvenile delinquency as a special educational category, perceived as a continuum where, on one end, are simple issues of school disobedience (mainly of children diagnosed or suspected with learning difficulties), while on the other end are serious criminal offenses, which often may indicate psychopathology (Chartier, 2013). Pedagogical Reasoning also adopts explanations from Legal, Psychological, and Psychiatric reasoning. In its extreme confluence, it creates classification principles, such as the "Educational Classification System" for the "educational detection of juvenile delinquency" (Kourkoutas & Thanos, 2013: 197). The most radical view of this trend concerns the so-called "holistic" social approach (Kourkoutas & Thanos, 2013: 201/211), which integrates the school environment into the creation and management of antisocial/delinquent behaviors. Simultaneously, the school setting is considered "ideal" (Kourkoutas & Thanos, 2013: 211) for psychopedagogical inclusion and prevention.

A second, less widespread, trend of conceptualization and treatment of juvenile delinquency can be argued to involve the pedagogical approach from the perspective of Critical and Radical Pedagogy. In contrast to the first trend, Critical Pedagogy Reasoning, with main representatives such as Giroux (2010a,b,c), McLaren (2010), Freire (1977), Aronowitz (2010), Freinet, and influenced by the Neo-Marxism of the Frankfurt School, the work of Foucault (McLaren, 2010: 312), as well as sociological theories (especially those of Bourdieu), perceives every pedagogical-educational issue through a socio-structuralist perspective (McLaren, 2010: 295).

The educational discourse is conceptualized not merely as a venue for social and class reproduction or for solidifying hegemonic discourse, but as a form of "cultural politics" (Gounaris & Grollios, 2010: 27). Specifically, the framing of Special Education and the linguistic deficits of cultural Others as well as concepts of school violence and bullying are considered to be embedded

within the hegemonic Pedagogical Discourse, which bears clear ideological content: "In education, neoliberal-conservative forces exploit panic about illiteracy, declining standards, and school violence to shift the conflict to a favourable terrain of tradition, standardization, and productivity, thereby connecting with significant segments of the working and lower middle classes under conditions of wage decline, unemployment, and insecurity" (Gounaris & Grollios, 2010: 34). In this context, the Pedagogical Discourse has been "psychologized, technologized, and postmodernized" (Gounaris & Grollios, 2010: 40).

The Radical-Critical Pedagogical Theory of Resistance (Giroux, 2010a:113) views what other theories term "antisocial/deviant behavior" as "oppositional" behavior (which nevertheless constitutes active-conscious resistance) by the educated subjects who resist dominant regulation and construction:

The concept of resistance (...) rejects traditional explanations of school failure and oppositional behavior and shifts the analysis of the latter from the theoretical domains of functioning and prevailing educational psychology to those of political science and sociology. Resistance, in this case, redefines the causes and significance of oppositional behavior by arguing that it has little to do with deviant behavior and learned incompetence, but has much to do with moral and political outrage (Giroux, 2010a: 114).

This excerpt may be commented on as an inclination of Critical Pedagogy to move away from articulation with Educational Psychology towards a politicization of education. This view aligns with Parker's perspective on the necessity of an anti-psychological approach against the "distinctive development" favored by dominant psychology (Parker, 2018: 74). This stakes out a pedagogical domain that is approached differently in relation to deviance between Pedagogical and Psychological discourse, progressive education based on the principle of Child-Centeredness. Child-Centeredness was philosophically grounded in humanistic Existentialism, psychologically in Rogers' person-centered theory, and pedagogically in the principles of Progressive and Anti-authoritarian education, primarily through the New Education Movement. Both critical educators (Apple, Freire, Giroux) and radical critical educators (Aronowitz, Freinet, Hooks, McLaren) critically engage with the Progressive Pedagogy of Child-Centeredness, which - unlike Traditional pedagogy - directs its focus towards the child and their way of learning. From the perspective of Psychological discourse, Erica Burman offers a similar critique. However, the dimension of these two approaches between Pedagogy and Psychology is crucial and has consequences for the discursive and practical governance of the concept of juvenile delinquency. According to Burman (2008: 262ff.), the development of Progressive Pedagogy and Education was based on the imperatives of Traditional Developmental Psychology, which was interested in the technologies and practices of education that concerned the "turn towards the child" and their interests. Thus, she argues that Child-Centered Education (and correspondingly the Pedagogy that underpins it) is characterized by categories that are social

constructions. Some of the most significant ones concern the concepts of "school readiness," "student choice," "student need," "play," and "need for discovery." Specifically, the conception of "basic needs" of students, which, if unfulfilled, lead to individual and social problems such as delinquency, constitutes a dangerous construction (Burman, 2008: 263).

Similarly, the emphasis on "practice" and "doing" promoted by the Pedagogy of "learning by doing" constructed the role of the educator as being only responsible for building the appropriate learning environment and pedagogical processes. Burman extends her thought by explaining how this child-centeredness leads to multiple problems for both students and educators. The latter, attempting to reconcile the conflict between the pedagogical "command of non-guidance" (which aims at developing independence) and the institutional imperative of responsible organization of teaching content and methods, leads to ambiguity and guilt (Burman, 2008: 264). She considers - and this is directly related to the logic governing psychosocial and educational interventions in juvenile delinquents through agencies - that when there is no regulation and critique of children's actions, this is equivalent to authoritarian suppression and construction of individualistic subjectivities (Burman, 2008: 266).

As discussed, the Pedagogical Discourse becomes deeply hegemonic and leads individuals to uncritically accept the regulation imposed on them (Burman, 2008: 269). Critique is exercised by Critical Psychology also in compensatory education, which is related to special educational needs and cultural specificities in education. The logic is that the discourse on "equal educational opportunities" conceals the school's role in perpetuating middle-class norms and the inequality of the "starting point" of student life. Furthermore, the assumption that "something is wrong" in children's environment (in combination with the often pathologizing discourses of Special Education) creates the educational paradox where school success seems to result from "appropriate" Pedagogy, while school failure is socially attributed to the family sphere, which, in turn, provides grounds for intervening in and stigmatizing family life through Education (Burman, 2008: 269-271). In this way, both Pedagogical and Psychological Discourses contribute to social control. Thus, for Burman, although child-centered education is presented as a counterbalance to social inequality, and despite the fact that it extends to political and emancipatory programs, it still operates in a naturalizing way, promoting an individualistic model of understanding childhood and adolescence that confirms the characteristics of those already socially advantaged, while pathologizing those who are socially disadvantaged (Burman, 2008: 261). This critical psychological perspective concludes that Child-Centered Education is equally oppressive as traditional education and should be rejected (Burman, 2008: 269). It is precisely in this trend of wholesale rejection that the differentiation of Critical Pedagogy lies.

The Radical Critical Pedagogical Discourse agrees with the critique of Critical Psychology with an acknowledgment that is also related to juvenile delinquency: "Conservative educators analyzed oppositional behavior primarily through psychological categories that served to define this behavior not only as

deviant, but, most importantly, as disruptive and inferior, a failure of the individuals and social groups that exhibited it" (Giroux, 2010a: 101). Similarly, it is stated that the partial failure of Critical Pedagogy, which sometimes led to the rejection of Child-Centeredness, resulted in the reinstatement of traditional conservative views that ignore the dialectical understanding of the active intervention of subjects/students as well as the aspects of the hidden curriculum.

In relation to the Pedagogical Discourse concerning "juvenile delinquency" or "behavior of resistance" for radical Critical Pedagogy, it appears to consider that the outright rejection of Pedocentrism/Childcentrism (as possibly performed by Burman) leads back to the logic of "adequate capabilities" that promote an instrumental approach to the literacy of the poor - inferred based on sociological discourse: and juvenile delinquents (Macedo, 2010:446). However, for radical critical educators, this does not mean that Child-Centered Education and the Pedagogical Discourse that supports it are not affected by the problems raised earlier. Rather, Pedagogy is expanded to "accommodate" issues related to its role (and the role of education) in multiple cultural spaces (such as, for example, educational programs - primarily for incarcerated/juvenile delinquents), which "have become vital for the production of models of human nature through the pedagogical power of a 'capitalist imaginary'" (Giroux, 2010b: 589). In this context, the Critical-Radical Pedagogical Discourse acknowledges the contribution of Foucauldian theory to the understanding of the knowledge-power relationship, which plays a role in comprehending the socially constructed school/educational truth (McLaren, 2010: 312-315). Thus, "disobedient," "violent," "antisocial," "deviant," or "delinquent" behavior must be pedagogically seen as a response to the question: "What spectrum of identities is available in an educational system designed to produce, regulate, and distribute characters, to govern gestures, to dictate values, and to police desires? To what extent does strict adherence to the rules of the school mean that students will have to forfeit the dignity and status they have gained through psychosocial adaptations to street life?" (McLaren, 2010: 326).

Pedocentrism-/Childcentrism then does not inherently act as a hindrance. However, a pedagogical discourse that promotes reflexivity in constructing subjectivity and the active right to "choose not to know" (McLaren, 2010: 327) may lead to criticism, political emancipation, and the production, by the educated subjects themselves, of "their own class position through education" (Willis in: Aronowitz, 2010: 729), ultimately resulting in pedagogical-critical reflection on how "the absences that are considered 'knowledge' have transformed experience" for each individual (Aronowitz, 2010: 731).

It can be argued that critical pedagogical approaches indirectly "predicted" the articulation of Pedagogical Discourse with Psychology, Psychiatry, and Law regarding "juvenile delinquency" and the way it is pathologized (through Special Education) and psychologized in contemporary approaches. According to Paulo Freire (1977), not only the "disobedient," but every educated subject is oppressed: "The establishment treats them as individual cases, as marginal people deviating from the general profile of a 'good,' 'organized,' and 'just' society. The oppressed are considered pathological cases of a healthy society, which therefore

must adapt these 'incapable and lazy' individuals to its own standards, changing its mindset (...) The solution lies not in their 'incorporation' into the structure of oppression but in changing the structure (i.e., educational/social) so that they can become 'beings for themselves'" (Freire, 1977: 81). This "authentic transformation of the dehumanizing structure" (Freire in: Lechouritis, 2017) is linked to Celestine Freinet's approach, which complements the critical pedagogical perspective.

Educational and research work exclusively for juvenile delinquents has been produced based on Freinet's theory. Freinet's critical-pedagogical approach (known as "Institutional Pedagogy") was based on Marxist and communist internationalist origins and shares similarities with the approach applied by Makarenko in the Soviet Union for juvenile delinquents (Baltas, 2017: 79). It expresses a complementary relationship between Childcentrism and a Sociocentric pedagogical approach (Karakatsani, 2017: 29; Spyropoulos, 2017: 41). This relationship is based on a dialogic approach in which internal educational institutions become the means for conflict resolution and structural change (Karakatsani, 2017: 13-14). Fundamental pedagogical concepts include those of work and discipline (similar to those of Makarenko) but seen within a framework of pedagogical self-governance with principles of libertarian education (Karakatsani-Markantes, 2017: 19). This Institutional Pedagogy constitutes a Critical Pedagogy of Resistance, in which students are perceived as citizens, and educators as critical-social reformers within a political-social and emancipatory framework (Spyropoulos, 2017; Baltas, 2017).

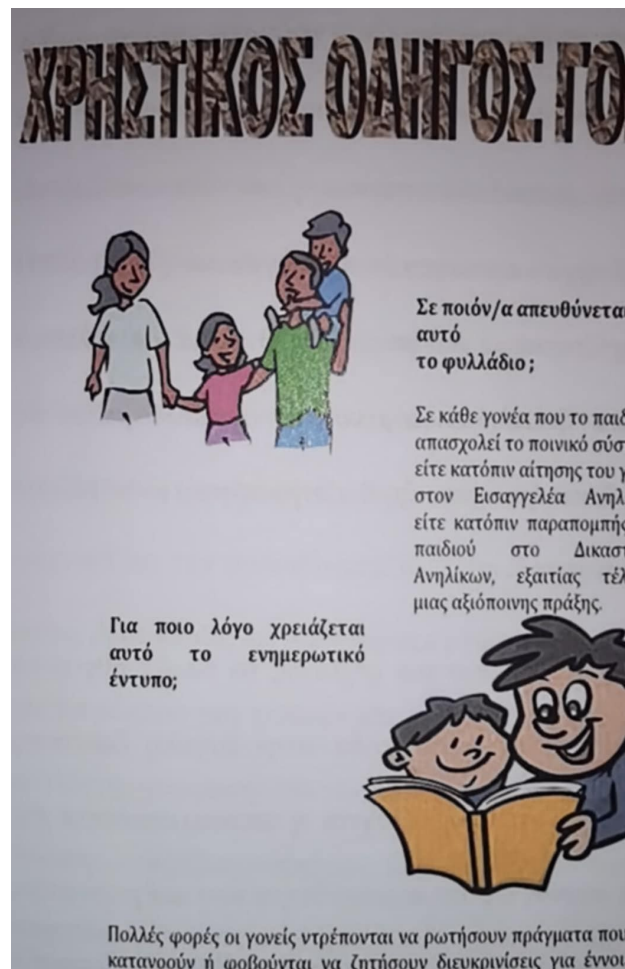
7. Partial Analysis of Excerpts from the "Parents Guide for juvenile delinquents"

Contextualization of the text: The first five pages were selected to frame the text. This indicates their significance in determining the overall content and understanding it by the reader.

Continuity in analysis: The consecutive nature of the first five pages allows for coherence in analysis. This facilitates understanding the connections and ideas presented in the text.

Overall, the choice of these initial pages as excerpts aims at facilitating comprehension and analysis of the text.

Excerpt 1:



The text is titled "Parenting Guide," with the adjective literally indicating, even dimensionally, that it is a text that "can," "should," "is good," "is advisable" to be used by parents. The general repetition regarding the determination and the verb omitted constructs an indirect normative and simultaneous authority relationship between the impersonal author and the subjects it addresses. In the upper left side just below the title, there is an illustration representing a classic nuclear family with a dark skin colour. This last element might reflect an attempt by the authors to bring the text "closer" to the subjects it addresses. Such a position surfaces specific sociological assumptions that echo the results of dominant research approaches that want juvenile delinquents to be characterized by specific ethnic and racial characteristics. Right next to the image, the text begins, structured as responses.

The dimension of syntactic and dialogic interactivity is evident at this point. The questions are in bold font. In the first question, the object of the verb is placed in two genders ("who") and in singular number, addressing each parent of the gender dimension separately. Subsequently, the subjectivity of juvenile delinquency is constructed indirectly: on the one hand, as subjectivity

subordinated to parents, based on legal discourse, and on the other hand, as subjectivity that "concerns the criminal justice system." The choice of the verb and its historical connotations, as well as the normative use of it, refer to subjectivities - social "problems." The clarifications that follow concern cases when a juvenile is referred to the Prosecutor or the Juvenile Court, and they are neutrally worded.

The next question concerns the purpose of creating the document. There may be a general repetition of silence in the text regarding the subjects, as there is an absence of a pronoun that would personalize the necessity of the document (e.g., "why it is needed for parents/for you/etc."). However, the proposition of the document in the previous question, as well as what follows the second question, indicates that the real subject of "needs" is the parents. Right next to the question, there is another clipart-style image representing an adult man and a child reading a book and smiling. The book is associated with the question, presenting its joint reading by parents and juveniles as an ideal condition. The first period, using the case-by-case formulation "many times," engages in a series of constructions and psychologizations of parental subjectivity. However, it is - with the first question - specified in parental subjectivity of children - delinquents, implicitly defining the type of family and parents of juvenile delinquents. The construction is carried out on two axes of dominant psychological classification: cognitive and emotional.

Thus, parents cognitively "do not understand" and perceive the concepts and processes as "confusing," while emotionally they "feel embarrassed" or "afraid." The construction of the incomprehensibility of concepts and processes by parents implies subjectivities with inadequate education and converses with the data of dominant dimensions in the analysis of juvenile delinquency. The "intrafamily situations" are constructed as an incomprehensible field for them. The next question concerns the purpose of creating the document.

The first period, using a casuistic formulation "many times," engages in a series of constructions and psychologizations of parental subjectivity, which, however, with the first question, is specified in the parental subjectivity of children - delinquents, indirectly defining the type of family and parents of juvenile delinquents. The construction takes place on two axes of dominant psychological classification: the cognitive and the emotional. Parents must accept "encoding," "advice," and "handling," while the "guide" is impersonally positioned as the agent, rather than the subjects and the scientific specialties behind it. The ultimate aim of this clearly formulated regulation of subjects is stated as the prevention of "pointless conflicts," with this formulation serving a series of constructions: Firstly, the use of the noun refers to a psychological term.

The relationships between parents and children referred to in the criminal justice system are constructed as generally conflictual, with the former being portrayed as ignorant, implying an inability to handle situations. Furthermore, the choice of the adjective constructs the dimension of conflicts through the difference between "pointless" and "purposeful" conflicts. The concept of conflict, within specific family contexts, is judged as inherently "pointless," a product of parental incompetence. Indirectly, the subjective shortcomings of

juveniles reflect the dysfunction of an incapable parental framework. This view aligns with the majority of scientific discourses on juvenile delinquency (Perpiraki, 2019).

The paragraph then transitions, coinciding with the change in verb person from the third person to the second singular and first plural. The acknowledgment of conflicts is perceived as a "point," where there is direct address and invocation of a knowledge held by the parent subject. The "as you know" is typographically emphasized, functioning as an institutional and binding reminder/invocation of an unspecified knowledge, coming simultaneously into contradiction with the attributed "ignorance" earlier in the text. Syntactically, the choice and use of this verbal phrase are abstract. Its clear syntactic object is the subsequent "we should emphasize." Thus, the emphasis on the invocation of the subject's knowledge pertains to its acceptance, by the collective but abstract "we" ("we should emphasize"), behind which is implied a network of "experts" in intra-family relationships and psychology regarding delinquent behavior.

Excerpt 2:

συμπεριφοράς από το παιδί φέρνει αλλαγές στη ζωή ό
παιδιού αλλά και όλης της οικογένειας. Κάποιες πράξεις
από το σπίτι, ακατάλληλες συνναστροφές, διακοπή φοίτ
σχολείο, υποψία χρήσης ουσιών) μπορεί να είναι
τραυματικές τόσο για το παιδί όσο και για τους γονείς.
περιπτώσεις το παιδί μπορεί να νιώσει ποικίλα, ίσως και
συναισθήματα, μεταβαίνοντας από διαφορετικές συνα
φάσεις: να θυμώσει, να σοκαριστεί, να φοβηθεί, να νιώσ
νιώσει αδυναμία ή συναισθήματα έντονης κυριαρχίας...

Αυτό όμως που πρέπει να γνωρίζεις ως γονέας είναι ό
περίπτωση δεν εγκαταλείπουμε και δεν αδιαφορού
περίπτωση του παιδιού μας. Απεναντίας, του δίνουμε ν
με τα λόγια μας και με τη στάση μας ότι είμαστε
σύμμαχοι στην πορεία της ζωής
Επιπλέον, αν: α) είσαι θυμωμένος/η, β) δυσκολεύε
φορές να ανταποκριθείς στις πολλές υποχρεώσεις
ενδιαφέρεσαι να ακολουθήσεις μια σαφή μέθοδο
συγκρούσεων ή δ) επιθυμείς να διαχειριστείς κα
συναισθηματική σου διαθεσιμότητα, **προτείνουμε** να α
τις ακόλουθες οδηγίες.



Ενδυνάμωση γονεϊκού ρόλου

Οι ενότητες που ακολουθούν διαμορφώθηκαν από την
προέκυψε για την καθοδήγηση των γονέων στο πλαίσιο ε

This passage continues from the previous excerpt with the sentence "...we should emphasize that the manifestation of any kind of antisocial or delinquent behavior..." Thus, reference is made to delinquent behavior, which, through coupling, is identified with antisocial behavior, echoing a dominant dimension of psychological, psychiatric, and pedagogical discourse. The parenthetical "examples" function as definitions of antisocial and delinquent behavior. Delinquency as behavior consists of "running away from home," "inappropriate socializing," "school dropout," and "suspected substance use." None of these acts is conceived as delinquency, but rather falls into dimensions of pre-delinquency (Perpiraki, 2019). Moreover, an identification with the dominant Sociological and Pedagogical Discourse is identified, which correlates juvenile delinquency with social interactions and school dropout.

This equation of the two behaviors and the reference to specific actions emphasize the "consequences of delinquency" for the juvenile subjects and their families. At this point, compared to consequences described in dominant research, a discrepancy can be observed in the consequences for the juvenile as described in the pamphlet (Perpiraki, 2019). In contrast to a majority of research discourses that emphasize social dimensions as consequences of delinquency, with social stigma being predominant, here a concept of individual psychology with psychoanalytic origins is prioritized: trauma. The juvenile, constructed as a delinquent, is conceptualized as a "traumatized" subject, which is primarily an emotional entity dominated by anger, shock, fear, guilt, weakness, or dominance. These concepts are described as "phases" through which the "traumatized" subject "passes." However, the traumatic is syntactically the act itself; the influence of the Sociological Discourse of Victimization is strongly evident.

The next paragraph begins with a contrast ("however") regarding the emotional reactions of adolescents with regulatory vocabulary ("must") and addressing the second person singular ("you should know"), while simultaneously invoking identity ("as a parent"). However, following are directives that have a regulatory and binding character, implying in parallel a general repetitiveness that what is proposed constitutes characteristics or behaviors attributed to parents and thus passed on to adolescents through a victimological approach. Consequently, delinquent adolescents are implied to be children of parents who abandoned them, neglected them, and did not stand as their "selfless allies" throughout their entire "life journey." Additionally, with the additive "Furthermore," the discourse becomes telegraphic with alphabetical enumeration, which although expressed through hypothetical propositions, constitutes a psychologization of parental subjectivity related to juvenile delinquency, while also constituting the familial framework within which delinquency is constructed.


The victimological approach intertwines here with the incrimination of the family. Thus, through the use of affirmative propositions, definitive inclinations indicating the real, and the use of the second-person singular verb for each parent separately the passage is permeated by a sense of anger and inability to respond to obligations. Through the difference in the adjective "clear," this parent is considered by definition to be permeated by and using vague, unstructured, and

thus ineffective conflict resolution methods. The orientation towards conflict itself shifts the socio-psychological stakes of juvenile delinquency into conflict with the parents. The last sentence invokes an "emotional availability" on the part of the parent, which, however, is not properly manageable in their relationship with their child. Consequently, the adolescent subjects are constructed through differentiation and the general repetitiveness of discourse that structures parental subjectivity as passive, traumatized, helpless subjects subjected to mismanagement of conflicts they have with their parents. Subsequently, the text employs intense writing to emphasize the non-coercive nature of the instructions/advice that follows.

The phrasing is again in the first-person plural, suggesting one or more authorities. Below the verb, there is an image - a sketch from the field of education, the function of which in relation to the text is not clear. Just below, between the image and the sections/instructions, a comment from the authors is interjected, appearing parenthetically in smaller font size than the rest of the text. The title concerns a concept from Psychological Discourse, that of "empowerment of the parental role." The note constructs its existence as a response to the "need for parental guidance." Thus, it seems that the behavioral guidelines that follow are those that will strengthen the quality and role of the parent, who is thus directly constructed in linguistic differentiation as "weakened" and inadequate, since their child has "issues" and has "engaged" the system. The sections on role empowerment involve emotional regulation (anger management), the biopolitics of daily life (schedule management), and techniques for managing relationships (negotiation).


The next excerpt pertains to emotional management concerning the juvenile subjects.

Excerpt 3:



1. Ακούμε τον άλλον (όχι ισχυρογνωμοσύνη), συζητώντας χωρίς προσκολλήσεις (κολλημένα).
2. Σκεφτόμαστε ποια είναι η αιτία του θυμού.
3. Εκθέτουμε επιχειρήματα προσπαθώντας να βρούμε λύσεις από κοινού.
4. Δεν κρίνουμε το παιδί μας χωρίς να το ακούσουμε.
5. Λαμβάνουμε σοβαρά υπόψη τις ψυχολογικές και σωματικές επιπτώσεις του θυμού.
6. Κατανοούμε και ενίοτε συγχωρούμε.
7. Δεν προβάλουμε τις δικές μας επιθυμίες στα παιδιά μας, απαιτώντας να τις ακολουθήσουν.
8. Κάνουμε το βράδυ απολογισμό της ημέρας.
9. Χαλαρώνουμε το σώμα. Κάνουμε βαθιές εισπνοές - εκπνοές (5 με 10 προσπάθειες).

Β. ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΙΣΗ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ (βασικές ανάγκες ατομικής και κοινωνικής λειτουργικότητας, δηλαδή ανταπόκριση σε υποχρεώσεις)



1. Οργανώνουμε την ημέρα με κριτήριο τις υποχρεώσεις/ευθύνες.
2. Λειτουργούμε ως πρότυπα στο πλαίσιο τήρησης του προγράμματος που ακολουθεί το παιδί μας.

The first section, as indicated by the bold capital letters, deals with "Anger Management," followed by a definition of anger that likely derives from a lexicographic source and emphasizes the causes of anger, including both behaviors ("prohibition, insult, denial") and emotions ("disappointment"). The formulation of the title serves as both a distinction and a general repetition. The meaning remains open, hovering between the subject of anger, for which it is not clarified whether it is the parent's or the child's. Inserted between the definition and the text is a clipart-style drawing representing a well-known cartoon character ("Taz"), who is not just depicted as angry, but is the quintessential perpetually angry cartoon. His appearance differs and deviates from the human condition of previous drawings: his form resembles a monster, something threatening and frightening, thus indicating in a dialogical dimension with the text that anger "turns the other into a monster." The following text consists of a numbered list of instructions and recommendations. The tone appears ostensibly advisory, using definitive declension in the first-person plural, but its function is regulatory, intensified by the use of the verb in each "advice." Thus, the following identical constructions are performed based on enumeration:

1. Parents usually do not listen to the minor and are filled with arrogance and dialogical "attachments." Here, a more formal term is chosen, while within parentheses, a more colloquial, everyday term is used, reflecting the writer's perception of linguistic and cultural choices as well as the educational level of the parents. Also, the dialogical condition among family members is characterized as having these "attachments," which refer to incorrect representations of parents.

2. Parents are thus inherently placed in a guilt-inducing conceptualization, while minors as subjects are not "heard."

3. It is implied that parents do not consider the cause of anger, while the subject of anger remains ambiguous and can refer differentially to both parents and the minor.

4. The absence of a definite article and possessive pronoun as companions of the noun "arguments" implies a condition-hypothesis that the described situation does not occur. That parents either do not have or do not present arguments and do not attempt to find solutions together.

5. This suggestion for "finding solutions together" does not so much constitute a way or directive to strengthen the parental role as it does a theoretical assumption. There is a contradiction here, as words that are considered clarifying in relation to the cultural level of the parents (e.g., "hang-ups," mentioned earlier) simultaneously imply that parental subjects are capable of understanding the way to jointly find solutions. The formulation also suggests that this is something they do not actively pursue and perhaps do not know how to accomplish. With this "advice," hearing as a conflict resolution process is reduced to a discursive grafting, as a prompt similar to the first one is reiterated, but this time emphasizing that parents often judge the minor without "listening" to them. The

use of the possessive pronoun "our" contributes to the approach of guilt-inducement.

5. This directive implicates the subjects in orienting themselves toward the negative impacts of anger, which are mentioned to affect both the physical and psychological levels, but are not specifically named anywhere in the entire guide. Once again, the subjects are considered incapable of conducting a discussion, presumed to be ignorant of the parental role, while simultaneously being aware of the physical and psychological effects of the emotion of anger and even capable of recalling and "taking them into account" in practice.

6. The subject/parent is called upon here to "understand" and "forgive." The verbs are presented without definite articles or determiners, thus referring the significance of their utterance to a general principle. There is no specific object to clarify "what" exactly needs to be understood and forgiven. Thus, the verbs function as a "difference," potentially implying as objects: behavior, personality, the minor, the situation, the action, anything that can be perceived as belonging to the subject. The adverb "sometimes" specifies the temporal as well as the qualitative load of the verb "forgive." Here, the very concept of the verb, originating from the Christian-religious lexicon, is cryptic and may be connected both to the discourse of Child-Centered Psychology and to the dominant Psychiatric and Educational Discourse. Thus, diverging from the imperatives of "Child-Centered Psychology" (Burman, 2008), minors may not always deserve forgiveness from their parents, a fact that contradicts the imperative of "unconditional" acceptance. Furthermore, the content of "forgiveness" is not defined, nor is it clear whether it pertains to behavioral reaction or internal processing. It remains ambiguous.

7. As in the fourth directive/prompt, here, too, the formulation is made with a negative proposition ("Not") and with the use of a verb with clear references to psychological, but mainly psychiatric discourse, which has appropriated the psychoanalytic lexicon (Perpiraki, 2019). The parent is perceived as an incomplete subject who "projects" desires and "demands" from their children. Implicitly, the Victimological approach also dominates here, with minors being subjects who receive unreasonable demands - products of unresolved psychoanalytic issues/conflicts.


8-9. These prompts engage with the cognitive-behavioral therapeutic discourse of mainstream psychology by calling upon parents to perform the cognitive process of "apology," which once again implies a subject-knower of the process. Moreover, the suggested relaxation techniques are given in the form of medical advice with a specified number of attempts. Overall, beyond the constructions mentioned regarding the subjectivity of both parents and minors, the very construction of the dominant framing, namely anger, converses with subjectivities. Thus, the proposals yield a definition of adolescent anger that appears to emerge purely through negotiation with parents, is ahistorical, a-social in a broader context, and certainly apolitical.

Excerpt 4:

Απόσπασμα 10:

3. Φροντίζουμε ώστε τα μαθήματα να προηγούνται της διασκέδασης.
4. Καθοδηγούμε, ανεξαρτήτως πόσο κουρασμένοι είμαστε.
5. Φροντίζουμε ώστε ο χρόνος διασκέδασης να είναι όσο πιο οριοθετημένος.
6. Μαθαίνουμε στο παιδί να επιλέγει την ενδυμασία και περισσότερο με βάση τις ανάγκες και λιγότερο με τις επιθυμίες του.
7. Ανταμείβουμε το παιδί, όταν τηρεί τους κανόνες, συμφωνούνται από κοινού έπειτα από διάλογο.
8. Επιμένουμε στην τήρηση των κανόνων χωρίς να επηρεάζουμε από τη συναισθηματική πίεση που ενδεχομένως μας νιώθουμε το παιδί μας.
9. Ας μην παραμελούμε να παρατηρούμε τη συνέπεια των πράξεών μας όσον αφορά στη φροντίδα του εαυτού του (την υγιεινή).

Γ. ΔΙΑΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΣΗ (μέθοδος επίλυσης διαφορών)



1. Συζητάμε με μοναδικό κριτήριο τι είναι ωφέλιμο για το παιδί.
2. Δεν επιβάλλουμε εγωιστικά την άποψή μας.
3. Δεν επιβάλλουμε την άποψή μας με την απειλή της τιμωρίας.

This excerpt concerns the 'management of the program,' which is once again presented in a solely nominal phrase and abstractly, so as to apply to both parents and adolescents. Within parentheses, another definition seems to be offered, without the positive equality symbol ($=$) of the previous excerpt, so as to be perceived as clarification. Thus, the program is identified with 'individual and social functioning needs,' for which there is an explanation that they involve 'compliance with obligations.' The explanation may imply difficulty in understanding the term functionality, while at the same time, the latter is defined as compliance with obligations. Thus, the parent, but primarily the adolescent, is not considered functional if they cannot meet externally imposed obligations.

The instructions are presented numerically here as well. However, semantically, the sentences do not appear as "disjointed" as in the previous excerpt, but could form a structured text. Initially, parents are called upon to organize the day based on the semantic pair "obligations-responsibilities." This directive seems to contradict Directive No. 7 of the previous excerpt. Furthermore, adolescents are constructed as individualities that are not entitled to control and initiative in organizing their "day." However, if the proposition is perceived, within the framework of conflict, as referring to parents, once again their inability in this area is implied, while simultaneously the way in which they could be successful is not clarified. The second sentence calls upon parents to serve as role models within the "framework of following the child's schedule." The concept of the schedule seems to become even more confused at this point. It is neither syntactically nor semantically clear whether this statement negates the previous one or constitutes an indirect reference to one of the legal interventions, the externally imposed program within the framework of anti-crime policy. The instructions continue in the next excerpt. The presentation of the instructions continues to rely on the use of active voice verbs, with the next directive indirectly segmenting the adolescent's day into the dichotomy of obligation ("lessons") - entertainment ("fun"). In this way, and in accordance with the dominant Educational Discourse, learning is defined as an obligation, and indeed an obligation that must be enforced by parents.

Adolescent subjectivity is defined here as legitimately governed biopolitically in the dimension of the classification of time and activities. It is forbidden to self-regulate obligations and entertainment, while the two concepts must be clearly separated, a practice that aligns with dominant aspects of Special Education (Perpiraki, 2019) and institutional environments. Next, parents are recommended to "unremittingly guide." The verb cultivates an undisputed yet abstract meaning, as it is not accompanied by specifications, and the syntax between the two clauses is incorrect. The second clause of this directive implies a parent of a delinquent adolescent, who must be a tireless subject of guidance, with exaggeration evident here. Simultaneously, the delinquent adolescent is constructed as a subject requiring continuous and uninterrupted guidance, with a clear dialogical relationship with the notion of surveillance.

The fifth directive is permeated by internal contradiction between the concepts of "entertainment - limitation". The second term engages in dialogical (Bakhtinian) and discursive dialogue with Psychological Discourse. The entertainment of adolescent (pre)delinquents is governed by limitation, therefore it is accepted that it must be restricted in terms of time, duration, and type. The dialogue here with surveillance and institutionalization is also evident. Directive No. 6, besides not explaining how the parent can "teach" the child about types and manners of dressing and eating, comes into direct conflict with Directive No. 7 of the previous excerpt. Thus, the needs of a delinquent adolescent must be clearly distinguished from their desires, classifying the latter into the realm of inappropriate. The desires of adolescents are generally deemed inappropriate and not considered to meet their basic needs.

The next directive reveals that the above should be understood not just as indirect governance, but as clear "rules" established on the basis of common consent. The verb "reward" is preferred with clear connotations of behavioral approach, while "together" is partially countered by the subsequent recommendation regarding "persistence" in the rule.

In this recommendation, there is a contradiction with Directive No. 6 from the previous excerpt. Thus, underage subjects are sometimes perceived as subjects that need to be understood on an emotional level, and sometimes as subjects that exert "emotional pressure." The 9th prompt regarding the program essentially expands on what was mentioned in Recommendation No. 6, so the reference here serves as a dialogic graft that emphatically operates in terms of the concept of surveillance, highlighting the dimension of personal hygiene.

The third section, as depicted in this excerpt, concerns the concept of negotiation, which is clarified with a parenthetical noun phrase as "conflict resolution." The term interacts with Psychological Discourse. Here, there is also a clipart-style sketch portraying two "age-old enemies" of the comic world, the cat and the mouse, who are depicted embracing and smiling in a posture indicating that negotiation was successful even for them. The instructions in this section clearly relate to the use of language and dialogic conditions. In the first two instructions, parents are called upon to understand which contents and modes of discussion are beneficial for their children and adopt them without imposing their opinion. The adverb "selfishly" attributes characterization and psychologizes, while the entire sentence constitutes a logical contradiction with everything mentioned above (and especially in the previous) excerpts. The third directive essentially constitutes a prescriptive aphoristic phrase with elements of populist language usage, but also ambiguity.

The recommendations of the 4th directive regarding the avoidance of "emotionally charged words," in conjunction with the linguistic examples provided in parentheses, potentially contradict the imposition of boundaries proposed earlier; additionally, they attempt to strip parents of elements of emotional expression, while simultaneously implying juvenile subjectivities that must be approached with emotionally neutral, detached, regulatory methods in order to regulate and prevent them from becoming "issues." The function of the fifth directive serves as a graft, reintroducing the term negotiation. It could constitute part of the introductory clarification. Here, the ideological function of the first-person plural is very intense, placing parents in a condition of accepting "defeat" at the negotiation level, a fact that also contradicts many of the above "advice." The final prompt of this section contains elements of optimistic economic discourse, positioning negotiation within the dilemma "risk-benefit," so that the relationship with the minor is elevated to the dimension of general repeatability as a risk-reward relationship, measurable magnitudes based on behavioral standards to which the minor must adhere.

8. Discussion

As seen from the analyses, the Parent Guide recommends the political and socio-psychological dominant discourse that wants the parents of juvenile delinquents to be "dysfunctional subjectivities" of a family framework that "requires regulation and therapy." At the same time, the "delinquent" behavior is identified with the "antisocial" one, which stems from "inappropriate" parental subjectivities. Dominant aspects and perceptions from the fields of Law, Psychology, Psychiatry, Pedagogy, and Sociology are selectively used to construct the subjectivity of the "juvenile delinquent," who is considered to require surveillance and "therapy" from the framework of "specialists" (psychologists, educators, psychiatrists, representatives of the criminal justice system). The ethical and political dimensions governing this concept lead to technologies of control and family incrimination/culpabilization.

The analyses indicate that the guidelines for parents constitute the advisory role of "experts," which attempts to regulate the program, reactions, discourse, behavior, and daily life of the involved subjects in order to "correct" parental "mistakes" and to make the juveniles politically and socially desirable subjects. One of the pivotal issues emerging from the analyses of the text and the illustrations of the guide concerns the integration of governance of subjectivities within a positivist and neoliberal discourse that seeks measurable and acceptable social behavior, emphasizing compliance in regulation, constituting the social and economic "gain" of the subjects.

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