ILLEGAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE POST-MEMORANDUM GREECE Changes and constants in a chronic phenomenon

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Abstract

The "stirring" of the problem of illegal constructions in Greece, during the last decade, that followed the issue of five consecutive laws regarding their integration in the country's official urban planning in the period 2009-2017, has led to a short-lived race of declaring and legitimizing illegal, constructions on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of popular owners. This institutional reform becomes, increasingly, significant in combination with the contemporary fiscal reform and the relevant tax burdening of realty owners. The timeless popular investment shelter of building ownership, for the first time after WWII, loses its immunity and becomes an unbearable tax weight, transforming popular illegal constructions into the national tool for transforming the country's real-estate map. Our ability to translate the outcome of this "crisis", through our route through all the past time, will define the quality of life in our new urban environment, but most important, our own standard of living and our future

Keywords: Illegal constructions, urban planning, economic crisis

JEL classification: R0, R5

1. Introduction

The debate on illegal constructions and urban planning is not recent in Greek society. It starts from the beginning of the Modern Greek state, while the formalities of the 19th century often differed from those of the 20th century, only in the linguistic styled. This fact highlights the deep historical depth of the processes that are related to both planning and its cancellation, and therefore their complexity and the difficulty of identifying their causes¹.

The evolution of this phenomenon, from its first appearance to our days, is impressively steady. Already, since the establishment of the New Hellenic State, few things have essentially changed in the political-social hierarchy of institutions. The Kotzambasides of the Ottoman feudal empire, the class of tax collectors on behalf of the Turks, became the delegates of the western partners, the new protectors-lenders of our newly established state. The political and, at the same time, economic dependence of the country was universal², but it became more organized and systematic only after the Second World War. Since January 1946, with the assistance of British and American consultants, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration have covered vital needs of the population and industry, on behalf of the United Nations, mainly with US funding. With the implementation of the Truman Doctrine in the spring of 1947 and the Marshall Plan shortly after, the Americans were activated with a wide margin of intervention.

The "Report on the Economic Problem of Greece³," which was submitted in 1952 by Mr. Varvaressos to the Plastiras government, as financial adviser and executive of the International Bank, is a decisive indication of the direction of the options for the reconstruction of the damaged post-war Greece. This report reflects openions of international organizations and defines agriculture as the main development axis instead of industry and, at

¹ M. Mandouvalou / M. Balla (2003), The (non) planning of the urban space-social determinations and political dimensions, Law and Nature, on the website https://nomosphysis.org.gr/7044/o-mi-sxediasmos-tou-astikou-xorou-koinonikoi-prosdiorismoi-kai-politikes-diastaseis-septembrios-2003/?st=o%20(μη)%20σχεδιασμός (last access to 03/06/2018)

² Φ.E.K 2A-05.01.1836 (on the establishment of the National Bank of Greece) and Φ.E.K 298A-07.12.1927 (establishing a Bank of Greece)

³ Varvareos K. (1952), Report on the Economic Problem of Greece, Athens

the same time, stresses the need to implement a significant and long-term housing project, thus driving any future policy to tolerating any building activity, practically, including illegal constructions. Thus, from 1952 and untill the law 410/1968 the formal or informal tolerance of the state was a given. The inherent choice of our mediterranean people, instead of the formal application of the laws of a state, which provided for dwelling only on a theoretical level, ignoring the devastated society, was self-righteous urbanization, which seemed like the only pragmatic way of survival, not legitimizing, ethically, the contradiction against illegal building constructions.

Until 1968, the state had shown institutionally that the legislator's intention was to stop the unconventional building and to organize our cities in a modern, European context. However, the lack of material support, with long-lasting and permanent solutions to the intense national housing problem, condemned any legislation in practical failure. With this law, the state legitimized all illegal constructions built until that day by paying a fine, thus inaugurating⁴ the time of legitimate dealings between state and citizen on illegal construction issues and, at the same time, starting the national dialogue to solve the chronic problem. The fall of the Junta and the institutional restoration of the democracy, the 1975 Constitution, and later the ideological optimism of PASOK's "Change" made the first public views inspired by innocence and, at the same time, a feudal dynamism. However, the ill-fated establishment of thirty years of disorganized constructions was irreversible with easy moves. The established situation was very different from the beginning of the post-war phenomenon.

The illegal houses, as they were created from 1950 onwards, belonged to History. It is true that the acute post-war social housing problem, no longer existed, either quantitatively, or qualitatively. The basic need for housing the majority of the tortured people was met on a first level and proof of this is the inauguration of the phenomenon of illegal holiday residence. As the phenomenon changes, since the late 1970s, the illegal houses lose their "immunity" and receive the first negative outlook. In 1979 T.E.E. ⁵ (Technical Chamber of Greece) makes one of the first straight remarks against illegal buildings on a purely materialistic criterion, namely the loss of income for the insurance system, which highlights the economic consequences of the uncontrolled problem. A five year period of change had already passed and the western governmental direction was, frankly, declared in the Greek Parliament by mouth of the prime minister⁶. The gradual implantation of Western mentality of computational rationality had begun to emerge, characteristic of the raising of the standard of living and the upcoming Europeanisation of the country.

The world where the formation of society is based on emotion, interpersonal relations and fluid privacy has begun to diffuse slowly and dangerously in that of interest, impersonal relations, and the leveling power of collective individuality of the loneliness of contemporary Western man, where everything is measured by profit. In such a world, the hidden causes of the origin and evolution of illegal building are not significant, unless they are linked to economic impacts. The debate over illegal constructions, after the initial pragmatic attempts to, scientifically, explain the phenomenon, has gradually moved its interest to more technocratic and, above all, superficial aspects that have to do with how and how much will be needed to institutionalize the legitimacy of the existing situation.

Since 1983, most of the debate has been dealing with fines and their enforcement and collection procedures. The unspoken acceptance of the situation and the explicit absence of a formal scientific exploration of deeper ways towards a sustainable management of the modern Greek urban landscape, embedded the debate in a context of informal negotiation between the citizen and politician, with the only obvious stake, the way of legitimizing illegal constructions.

⁴ We exclude previous regulations of the past century on the legalization of arbitrary charges (Law "On payment of the price of land of occupied land" of 1855, a few years after the adoption of the first framework for city plans in 1835

One of the conclusions of the extensive recording of the arbitrary constructions of the public and industrial buildings of the Thessaloniki district of the Central Macedonia Department was that "TEE's contributions were lost. (0.25% of the budget) and TEMP (1,5% of the budget) borne by the owner "

⁶ Rissis Karamanlis K. "We live in the West", speech to the Hellenic Parliament, 12 April 1976

In a few words, the amount of the imposed fines was more important than the country's urban planning. The age of innocence had passed and the age of consolidation of the illegal constructions was already here, paving the way for the era of greed, the epoch of hubris. Since the end of the 1980s, we experienced the saturation⁷ of the dialogue and the lack of new legislative initiatives that followed the adoption of the law 1377/1983, which, in conjunction with the new General Building Regulation, law 1512/1985, balanced the situation, satisfying for a long time market and popular will, bringing the dialogue to a second level. However, this was not the sole cause of weakening the theoretical interest in illegal constructions. The entry in the pre-Olympic Athens period and the silent preparation of the country's entry in the European Union did not favor the shake-up.

In the first case, the timely construction of Olympic projects in a country without complete national land register, forest maps and national spatial planning would be impossible in an environment where illegal constructions are not *tolerable*... In the second case, E.U. and the forthcoming establishment of a supranational economic power in Greece, corresponds to the practical beginning of the entry into the age of globalization and of "global government⁸", recently announced by politicians. They will show their interest in urban planning later on, as part of the modernization of development structures, including real estate and illegal buildings' management. The more than twenty years of political inertia and the economic prosperity of the pre- and post-Olympic Greece of the euro zone have determined the passage from the age of greed to the age of hubris.

The property is now the absolute popular investment and its transfer is accompanied by its "integral" profit-making illegal sequences, in a surreal process of equalizing and accepting illegality in the official transactions of the owner with the state services. Inside this sweet journey in an atmosphere of drunkenness and overconsumption, no one wishes the end of the journey, but the contrary. Thus, a dialogue that attempts to awaken from the dream can only be unwillingly disingenuous. The inflation of material goods in the buoyant rise of the standard of living and the illusion of national fulfillment with the entrance of the Euro Zone, almost, equated in the popular subconscious, monetary integration with the spiritual one. We have entered, the time when Economy overcomes Politics, and sets the framework for discussion on every subject. Everything has an economic impact⁹. Otherwise they have no reason to exist. Following the global financial crisis of 2008, Europe's national spatial planning systems are rearranged to respond to the needs of internationalized economic and financial activity by promoting new types of investments in the property market (Adams & Tiesdell, 2010, Allmendinger & Haughton, 2012). Thus, together with the environment, a new ally in the fight against illegal buildings, is the economy. Thus, the economy becomes, in a new spirit, more compatible with the requirements of globalization and international capital than with the scientific views of the academic world on urban planning.

⁷ Typical the conclusion of the TEE Working Group of 1991, which he unanimously reached and confirms "the oldest findings as absolutely topical"!

⁸ Announcement of 08 February 2005 by Anna Psarouda-Benaki to Karolos Papoulias at the Maximos Mansion and a speech by George Papandreou of the United Nations on 20 September 2010 in the New York

The theme of the conference, "Arbitrary and National Economy", is indicative of this, as well as the degree of Europeanisation and alienation of the way of thinking of the people of a country which, when it entered EOK, respecting its cultural role in Europe was the one who devised and pioneered the founding of the European Capital of Culture, upgrading the character of a union of states to a union of peoples and cultures and which, thirty years later, alienated and alienated from its history and customs, is a slogan policies, which monopolize its productive potential in achieving exclusively economic objectives. There is only one Eurogroup, the finance ministers of the UNO. There is no Eurogroup of ministers of education, culture, communication and communications, only financial! υπουργών οικονομικών της O.N.E .. There is no Eurogroup of ministers of education, culture, communication and transport, only financial!

Times are changing. There is no longer a mass popular movement for the illegal construction of basic family-houses, because it has, long ago, been saturated. There is not even a popular movement to construct second-rate, holiday houses. Approaching the end of the 2000s, the (traditional) popular movement of illegal constructions is that of maximizing all, practically, possible building surfaces in the first, second, or any dwelling, at work, in the farm, in the warehouse, anywhere ... Not by following a basic need for housing, but by taking the existential imperatives of our modern, globalized society. Globalization, whose presence and growth in Greece is growing more and more, has forced a change in our material needs, mainly through excess and through a world image that has been built to the standards of the West, in which, monolithically, we "belong".

It is a narrative that contrasts with the corresponding Eastern Christian philosophy of life and art¹⁰, which is more spiritual and based on the perpetual, intangible entity of things. We, as the people who has defined this geography¹¹ between East and West, instead of maintaining the balance that our physical and historical position dictates, we have been occupied by an incomprehensible inferiority complex to the "valid" wisdom of the Western World and the cultural enforcement of its aesthetic values (Wallerstein, 1980), which, is, probably, not the appropriate answer for the Mediterranean city. Just like when, before the crisis began in 2010, we bought a two and a half thousand cc car for our daily shift to work, just like we were buying a mobile phone with the ability to run nuclear physics applications in order to arrange our meetings, just like we were eating much more than we needed, in the same way we bought and built our properties. Within this alienated society, the debate on illegal buildings could only follow and not lead.

At the end of the 2000s, the debate about illegal constructions is a saturated from the abundance of interventions at all levels, worn out by time and stagnation, lost affair. No one seriously believes that anything is going to follow the direction of a sincere effort to, permanently, cure the popular epidemic of building greed, excess, and misuse. Paradoxically, the transition to the age of crisis coincides with the emphatic re-activation of the state into the forgotten problem of illegal constructions. The feverish adoption of a sequence of five relevant laws in the period 2009-2017 will also rekindle the national dialogue. State interest in the problem is, historically, unprecedented and it is the first time that the implementation of the laws is universal, as it extends, eventually, to all¹² real-estate properties.

However, the intensity and quality of the measures, which are, ultimately, obligatory, lead to the opposite direction of that which the "spoiled" modern Greek people have been used to until now. For the first time, the measures adopted do not lead to horizontal legalization or permanent exemption from demolition of the illegal constructions. This is because the recent laws, combined with the imposed taxing policy and the immense change in the tax treatment of real estate, seem to allow, in the long run, only to a limited economic elite, to maintain the profits from past realty property investments. The land-property and building system since the 1950s, after 23.04.2010¹³, is changing for the first time, conveying space and society. The cooperation, official or non, of the state with popular desire was a fact that no one dared to touch.

This violent institutional breakthrough has consequences that are already visible in contemporary Greece: building is being limited¹⁴ and removed from the hands of the small

¹⁰ Coomaraswamy K. Ananda (1994), "Christian Eastern Philosophy of Art", Athens: Quintessa Publications

¹¹ The terms West and East, both geographically and culturally, world-wide, have always been defined in relation to their native Greece

¹² Article 52, N.4495/2017 about Electronic Identify Of Building

¹³ Announcement of Prime Minister G. Papandreou entering the country under economic surveillance, island of Megisti

¹⁴ Elements of the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) in May 2016: the size of the total building activity (Public-Private) in the whole country, measured on the basis of issued building permits, amounted to 849 building permits, corresponding to 140,2 thousand m2 of surface area and

and middle class. The status of a vast sea of micro-properties, which made possible the formation of the modern Greek city, is dying. A historic record of 86% growth over the five-year period 2013-2016, but also as an absolute figure in the past year, reaching 130,000 heritage disclaimers, because of ENFIA¹⁵ and other real-estate-related taxes, show a change in property treatment as an asset, that reverses the past course. However, while the latest legislative arrangements show a pleasant shift from the traditional mismatch between laws and actions, other changes¹⁶ are, practically, abolished.

On one hand, universal control is, finally, applied on the new constructions, just like mandatory registration and, also, settlement of the existing illegal constructions. These are changes that constitute the commencement of the "tiding up" of the anarchic and, literally, unknown landscape of the built environment in modern Greece. But, on the other hand, the de-capitalization of the Green Fund hinders the tool of the law with the most positive prospects. The Green Fund is, in theory, a remarkable innovation that shows a new logic, the management of building rights in the context of the environmental balance philosophy and through the management of land stock, through the 'land bank' tradability of building rights, regulates the link between private and public interests. However, the Fund's incomes have been redirected to an unknown and, definitely, irrelevant direction at a percentage of 97.5%, and the coveted expropriations and the creation of open and green spaces on the grounds of environmental reward have, literally, been deactivated. As a result, the tangible, practical results of the last five laws, concerning illegal constructions, show that they are automatically cancelled, both economically and urbanistically.

Politics today is, urgently, required to decide action and direction on entirely pragmatic issues such as the way in which the relative fines are calculated, but, also, on much more complex ones, such as the way of incorporating the existing illegal structures into the urban fabric, with tool the new legislation. The present political conjuncture entrusts law 4495/2017 with the historical ability and responsibility to dictate the way in which ubiquitous illegalities participate in the production of space in future Greece, in the formation of a unique, local urban plan. Little is being discussed about this and the general indignation and frustration, certainly, contribute to the tolerance of the situation, thus enhancing voices more theoretical and less relevant to urban sciences, to lead the debate in a more economical direction, relative to the investments of large capital. Just recently, was stated from the official lips of the president of the Highest Court of Greece, the tragic admission of the "dominance of Economy over the Institutions, which had a decisive influence on almost all state actions and marked the subsequent retreat of the rule of law", an admission which marked his resignation, a sad admission for the country that gave birth to democracy and the bases for every humanistic science.

The assumption of the retreat of the rule of law¹⁷ is crucial in the debate on illegal buildings. The twofold character of the discussion, since its launch, has two opposite diametric, but also, parallel poles. On one side, we have the official directions for urban policy, represented by the state. This has undertaken the rational and legitimate organization of our cities, unfortunately, at a theoretical level, detached from social practice. The initial humanitarian atonement of the phenomenon has given it a post-war national dimension, bringing it into a folk ethos and a common practice, which, because of the forces of the

^{634.3} thousand m3 of volume, a 31.5% decrease in the number of building permits, 38.5% in surface area and 38.9% in volume compared to the corresponding month of 2015

 $^{^{15}}$ Enikonomia (05.09.2017), More than 150,000 heritage disclaimers in 2017 due to ENPHY, on the site

http://www.enikonomia.gr/my-money/164949,pano-apo-150000-apopoiiseis-klironomias-to-2017-logo-enfia.html, (last access 03.06.2018)

¹⁶ N.4178/2013, Article 39 (1) and N.4495 / 2017 Articles 75 (1) & 76 (1) on the Green Fund

¹⁷Statement by Sakellariou N., President of the CoE, dated 16.05.2018 on the site https://www.pentapostagma.gr/2018/05/εκτακτο-παραιτήθηκε-ο-πρόεδρος-του-στ.html (last access 03.06.2018)

formed market in the land system and the efficiency of investment in real estate, covered all social groups. The official pole on the matter, which, only after the Constitution of 1975, is systematically involving urban planning and environmental protection, is expressed, hypocritically and inefficiently, by the government.

The only participant in the official pole, honestly blocking the ongoing legislative "flexibility", remains that of the Highest Court of Greece, which is the practical obstacle to the complete circumvention of urban planning.

Procrastination to all these rising pressures of maturing and evolving planning mechanisms is the dominant state response, with the known negative effects in our modern cities and our society, ignoring the real market forces and turning the dialogue about illegal constructions into two parallel monologues. Thus, social dynamics were left free to shape the production of space. Primary cause of the creation, survival and enlargement of the nature of the space produced, is another state policy, the economic one, which, since 1952¹⁸, steadily and unceasingly, supported the production of the built space as a basic sector of the economy, which in turn, supported the created model of social and economic development. This policy has, until recently, been expressed, also, through the taxation system, which has consistently favored the maintenance of a positive climate for the construction industry and the possession of real estate.

Until 2010 and the crisis, the two poles, the "official one" of state planning and that of totalitarian "social practice" do not seem to have a meeting point. This practice concealed many problems and was, tragically perceived in the current economic circumstance. Modern Greek urban planning, without its self-assessment, lost its ability to evolve and adapt to the locus, ignoring its particular mediterranean environment and even stronger local socialhistorical dynamics. Insisting on inapplicable planning theory tactics has, tragically, cancelled planning, every time new rules were put in the real field of action of the vibrant society and the market. The inappropriate rigidity of the regulations rendered them ineffective, as unrelated to the social and economic dynamics, but also to the dominant model of development. The incomplete result of this hypocritical bilingualism would be the systematic detour of urban planning and the deficient model of our current built environment, devaluing the real estate market and contributing to the mortgaging of our future. The timeless degradation of our architectural heritage and its overburdening with problematic illegal constructions, has taken away from us a significant outlet in today's crisis. This is, perhaps, the most important negative consequence, today, of this peculiar dualism of state policy. After so many decades of the phenomenon, it is, today, obvious that the established grid of, ineffective and inelastic, strict regulations, ultimately results in the exclusion of creative forces and the support of general systemic inertia, which conceals the profitability (Pagonis, 2014).

Approaching towards the end of the decade of 2010 and after eight years of crisis, the abovementioned bipolar, responsible for the formation of the dialogue on illegal constructions and space production, for the first time in post-war Greece, shows strong signs of imbalance. The pole of official state policy, following the 2004¹⁹ astronomical fines, gradually implements a more pragmatic policy through the latest laws on the settlement of illegal constructions, adjusting fines in the current times with many installments, as well as imposing itself with more rigor and honesty. It is a law which, for the first time, is, ultimately, mandatory, rendering building control universal, and covering, for the first, time all new buildings.

The other pole of state politics, the economic policy, which for decades has made realestate property the absolute investment heaven, since the surplus value it offered was unrivaled and, more importantly, it has never betrayed the Greeks until now, it is, now radically, following an opaque policy, adapting abruptly to the international dictates of globalized capital. Real-estate property is transformed into a tax burden for the small and middle class, and its associated illegalities increase its "weight", which, at a time of the crisis,

¹⁸ Varvaresos K. (1952), Report on the financial problem of Greece

¹⁹ Joint Ministerial Decision 9732/2004 - Government Gazette 468 / B / 5-3-2004

is multiplying. The launching of electronic auctions²⁰ for houses, that is beginning this year, in addition to this process, will make built property a "mobile" commodity, further reducing its traditional investment attractiveness.

As a result, the social dynamics, which was the main protagonist of the other pole in the debate, suddenly freezes! The natural force of the momentum, which is trying to keep things in orbit, is the only driving force of pushing any popular investments into real estate, almost exclusively, main homes. Within the western economic system, in which the country entered after accession in the European Economic Community and, most importantly, after entering the Euro Zone, we see the timeless, illegal constructions of micro-owners for selfexploitation, or comercial use, being gradually replaced by speculative macro-illegalities that appear organized after the 1990s, increasing their aggression until the Olympics²¹. It is only after 2010, however, that the qualitative shift towards the relentless profit is taking place. Real-estate profits are no longer diffused into all social layers, thus, making the broad consensus on the status quo disappear. Real estate prices, as most of the produced property was directed to self-ownership rather than profit, fell. Building was despised. The direction of social mobility has changed! We are at an extremely critical turning point of our recent urban history, after the 1950s, where we must decide what direction to follow in the new, globalized world, and our adaptability will determine, to a large extent, the level of living in our cities, but also our own standard of living. The social dynamics in these stormy changes is staying numb, being a sole viewer of unexpected developments and as it is trying to absorb the changes, it interrupts its participation in the pole of real estate investment, fleeing to save what it has, literally, built, during the past decades.

The dialogue on illegal constructions has changed. The debate is no longer about how to legalize and increase building investments. And if that is not absolute, it is solely due to the remnants of money-saving over the recent years of "fat cows" and to the survival of the moral principles and solidarity of the Greek family, as the basic feeder of daily economy. The recent reform is not a substantial hit against the current course of things so far, but an attempt to solve specific issues related to strategic investments within the existing system (Economou, 2015), for which we have been indifferent for decades. This indifference has led the most prolific player of the land system in post-war Greece, to, willingly, put himself out of the game. The investment gap of the small and middle class, as the legislative framework is adapting accordingly, now comes to be covered by international capital, on a different scale.

The void in the dialogue about contemporary urban planning and illegal buildings in Greece, is the only one, perhaps, in which the, yet, unexpressed social dynamics can contribute. Now that the particular alliance of legislative and social practice seems to be dying, it is the historic moment to rethink, on a new basis, the philosophy of regulating illegal constructions, but also urban planning in whole, evaluating the results so far and taking into account the modern political conditions. Only by introducing into the discussion all those local, valuable elements, necessary for the adaptation of general, modern data, we can bring out a result more integral. The topical, flaming, special issue of illegal constructions' policy concerns our policy of city planning in general, which today is redefined and ceases to support building as a main lever of the economy. Investments, which are mainly foreign, will be those that will drive the economy and only as part of this logic, constructions will be part of the system, mainly controlled by the foreign capital; not by the specialized scientific community. Defending construction activity as a promoted economic policy is no longer a central pillar of the system. Faced with these sweeping changes, correct interpretation of the crisis will be the one to push us towards an effective defense and will allow the planning to intervene. The state's "formal dialogue" today must stop dealing with, exclusively, technocratic issues of the legalization process.

The study and knowledge of everything that has been done in our modern state from the 1950s onwards, negative and positive, by decoding the events with polymorphic tools all the relevant sciences, plus the awareness of our past actions, will bring the longed-for self-

²⁰ Technical agreement on the Eurogroup package of 4 December 2017

²¹ K. Chatzimichalis (2015), Debt Crisis and Land Survey, Athens: KPS Publications

knowledge of our present modern Greek identity. This self-awareness is necessary for articulating a vigorous argument against the imposed rules on illegal constructions and urban planning. It is true that the debate on urban planning, in the way it is being held today, direct result of the more general historical conditions we are experiencing, is suffering. It lacks in the data that takes into consideration and it lacks in the study tools it uses.

If man managed to survive in conditions, paradoxically, anti-human, primitive, to rally up the ranks of the evolutionary scale, breaking the shell of barbarism and giving his life a higher content, this is undoubtedly due to his logical ability. Man is a logical animal. Thanks to the divine spark of "logos" that shone in him, he accomplished the feat of society. By manifesting his social potential he has created the polis-politismos (city-culture): language, art, religion, etc., which differentiates human cohabitation from the coexistence of animals. The animal is adorned with the gift of adaptation to the environment; instead, man is gifted with the creative passion of transformation, the change of the physical space. He creates his own world within the cosmic "chaos" of universal harmony. It responds, in some way, to the world of "stars in absolute order", which contains and restrains all. Such powerful tools, sciences that study the feat of society, city-culture and anthropology of space are omitted in a debate that targets productivity rather than man, quantity rather than quality. Our culture today is use-targeted.

The existence and life of the city (polis) are based on the beyond, but today they are based on fiscal targets. The divine origin of the city implies the divine origin of the laws²². Today, the divine laws, the laws of Nature, are dictated by the "institutions" of supranational organizations of economic surveillance... We are far from this vision which, we Greeks as a people, have born and donated to the world! It is absent from the thinking of the manconsumer of today. A zap on everyday TV shows will convince us immediately. Within this environment we are, unfortunately, today discussing the future of illegal buildings and urban planning. By fact, a debate with incomplete data is doomed to wrong results. At the same time, however, we are obliged to carry it out today, the time of the Economy, of the inanimate digital revolution, of globalization... The complete interpretation of the crisis, of our previous course and of today, will be the one that will dictate successfully, the mix of policy both in illegal constructions and urban planning policy, in general. The creative synthesis of the qualitative elements that derive from the urban-relevant humanitarian sciences, with the modern humble facts of the perishable life of man-consumer will clarify the course of the dialogue and the fate of its outcome; The responsibility of the undertaking is burdening, equally, the scientific world, as every single citizen (politis: member of polis, person with voting rights)...

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²²Chelidon G. (2018), City Death and the Non-existence of Politics, on the Website http://antifono.gr/portal/κατηγορίες/κοινωνία-οικονομία/γραπτός-λόγος/5807-ο-θανατοσ-τησ-πολησ-και-η-ανυπαρξια-τησ-πολιτικησ-2.html (last access in 03/06/2018)

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