

THE PARTICULAR ANTHROPOLOGICAL CASE OF THE “ILLEGAL HOUSES” OF GREECE

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Abstract

Classical *polis* was born when a collectivity showed more interest in the truth of things, rather than their use, when cohabitation ceased to be the *community of needs*, where desirable is the fulfillment of basic human needs, material or otherwise and took place the transition to the *community of truth*. The last cultural remains of this *way of thinking and acting* survived until very recently, with the foundation of the modern Greek state in 1830 and vanished once and for all, slowly, but steadily, after 1974, with the entrance in the European Economic Community and, finally, the Eurozone, transforming and adjusting the contemporary Greek city to the western globalized standards. In this text we will examine the “wise” illegal houses, creations of social space, of *polis* of the refugee settlements of 1922 and the expansions of the, initially, planned Greek city centers, which transformed slowly, but steadily into pure speculation and greed for profit. This mutation was established with the replacement of the “customary law” and what is widely called “tradition” in constructions, with the rigid Building Regulations. This transition was crucial and it was the outcome of a much greater mutation; the anthropological transformation of the Greek people, its “modernization” and its contemporary, absolute alignment with the western European standards, which have taken over every aspect of human activity, including official urban planning, but, also, unofficial, so-called illegal constructions.

Keywords: Illegal constructions, urban planning, anthropology, western civilization

1. Introduction – Historical background

In human history, Hellenism appeared to be a difference in the way of life, the way of notion (noo-tropism) and the way of doing it. The Greek did not give birth to ideologies: abstract axes of interpretation of reality, imperative organization of life - they did not put forward beliefs, principles, ideal aims, rules of use. In Greek civilization, the prime element (the origin of their culture) was pragmatism of common need¹.

Taking into account recent anthropological data, the ancestor of homo sapiens, first, appeared in the land of historical Macedonia² and Thrace, 7.2 million years ago³. The First-Greek *Pelasgians*, later *Greeks* and very recently *Hellenes*⁴, had all the time and the ideal environmental conditions to experience in the wide-ranging Greek⁵ landscape ...*Nature* and to perceive that element, determining the formation of the so-called classical civilization, which differentiated the Greek way of thinking and acting by its historical opponent, the so-called Western civilization. Since then, the Greeks experiencing, studying and knowing *Nature*, they

¹ Yiannaras Chr. (2018), Europe was born from Schisma, Athens: Ikaros, page 310.

² The historical Macedonia is an area distinct from the, recently, formed republic of “North Macedonia”, laying outside the geographical area of the Slavic states (ex Yugoslavia), traditionally part of what is, culturally, called the Hellenic world.

³ Knapton S. (2018), Europe was the birthplace of mankind, not Africa, scientists find, at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/science/2017/05/22/europe-birthplace-mankind-not-africa-scientists-find> (last access on 07/12/2018)

⁴ Herodotou, Histories, Book 94 'and Aristotle Meteorological, C 352

⁵ The seismic zone on which the Greek culture, which gave the most polymorphic shape to this continent, combined with the "crowding" of the four climatic zones, while Germany, a triple country, is a virtually homogeneous climate zone. with a range of stimuli unparalleled and responsible for a similar variety and quality of cultural product within a linear linear time that is lost in the depths of prehistory.

perceived the intrinsic property of elements as perishable and ephemeral and, thus, focused their study on those that were eternal and incorruptible. The planets and stars was, in a wonderfully inexplicable way, understood that they changed with time, they were born, grew up and they, also, died, "disappeared," but the laws of *Nature* that move them, hold and include everything, such as centrifugal force, are timeless and unaltered. Man, the epicenter of the study of this ancient civilization, is, also, ephemeral. He is born, grows up, lives and dies. However, the need for survival, reproduction with a opposite gender, the need for belonging to a collectivity, forming a society, the need for freedom, man's own place in the chain of the biological circle of life, are constants over time.

In the laborious attempt to discover the truth, Hellenes chose to study the unchanging, the constant ones, which constitute a reality of universal order, the harmony of natural universe, a clear result of the *logic*⁶ of the relationship between the elements of Nature. «Relationships», because everything is connected and co-existing. Nothing alone can contribute adequately to the quest for truth. Every individual reality is variable, perishable, mortal, but the way of its sharing in coexistence, the way of its logical relations with all other things, is in reality unchangeable, indestructible, immortal. Faithful is the phenomenon, *commonly*, certified, and the sole one is *in-credible*, for the opposing reason⁷. The relation-way of existence and coexistence of things is the eternal reason of universal harmony, it is indestructible, unchanging: it is the timeless truth. There exists the inner cause of the Greek city, the civil society, the «πολιτική κοινωνία». If we possess the timeless truth of the perishable things that surround us and share the knowledge that they all share in their existence-coexistence, then we reach the goal to create the feat of the *polis* (city), the political life, in a collectively cooperation in the universal function of things, overcoming the individual and their individual self-tropism⁸. Everyone acts in common, for the reach of a sole, almost subconscious, target. In the same way that the bee (in an unconscious, total collectivity) performing its everyday work is an irreplaceable⁹ link in the natural system chain, the ant in the ground, the eel in the rivers' delta, or the polar bear in the North Pole, all the living are experiencing their humble-irreplaceable life, following the insurmountable rules of the universe, "in the way everything is ruled"¹⁰, from which the Greeks called *cosmos* the world, because of that order¹¹.

The Greek city was not a quantitative, or organizational, administrative differentiation of people's co-living way. It was the realization that human life only makes sense, through the objective search of the truth, and this is realized by living with sharing a common goal in the city; the universal goal of all material things. The city is born when a collectivity is more interested in the truth than in usefulness, when the congregation ceases to be a society of life where it is desirable to meet the various lower living needs and the transition to the society of truth takes place. It is the search for the way of existence, according to the harmony and cosmicity of logical relations⁶, even with regard to survival, living and creating comforts or what we, today, call and experience as technological progress... What prevails is the desire for immortality, the Eros¹².

On the other side of this anthropological view of nature, man and life in the city, we meet after the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the dethronement of the last Latin bishop of

⁶ logic from logos, meaning in relation to: [Heraclitus: Of the speech of a lonely animal, many of them as their own having wisdom ... Xinhos, the common one (word) ... For the sake of seeing ye come in, 2, Diels-Kranz, vol. I, 151, 1-4]

⁷ The common phenomenon, this is faithful, and the only unthinkable being present for the opposing cause (Heraclitus, Diels-Kranz I, 148, 20)

⁸ Aristotle defines as absurd "individualism", "private" existence (idiotis: ιδιώτης) a man absorbed by his personal needs and distant from the public; the West, borrowing this notion, wisely, called «idiot» a man who lacks intelligence

⁹ Bees are essential to our food production because they pollinate the plants. Of the hundred species of crops, which produce 90% of the world's food, 71 are pollinated by bees. Bee's disappearance entails an imminent risk of the disappearance of life on Earth, Greenpeace website <http://savethebees.gr> (last access on 07/12/2018)

¹⁰ Heraclitus, in Diels-Kranz, vol. I, pp. 148, 29)

¹¹ Pythagoras first called it the whole region of the world, from this order: Plutarch, Ethics 886B

¹² Της αθανασίας ο έρωσ, το αθανασίας επιθυμείν, Plato, Symposium 207a 1 and 3-4

old Rome¹³, the new cultural life proposition, that of Western Europe. The hordes of barbarians from the east (Huns, Goths, Visigoths, Franks, Burgunds, Alamanians, Saxons, Freesians, Thuringians, Vandals) that arrived from the fourth to the sixth century, till the intersection of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, catalyzing part of the Greco-Roman world, created what we, today, call Europe and mean the Western European Culture¹⁴. These new west, barbaric and primitive tribes, culturally distant, millennia of productive existence of civilization in the path of human recorded history, from the Greco-Roman West, which they had just conquered, became the dominant factor in the creation of the new order in the changing world. Consciously aware of their cultural inferiority, due to the obvious contrast, the new Europeans became eager to enter the civilized world with massive baptisms¹⁵, considering Christianity to be the cultural "passport" from the world of savagery, to the Greco-Roman world of education and culture.

With the same rush to cover their cultural "nakedness", they hastened to participate in every other aspect of what was called Greco-Roman civilization. But the distance to be covered was huge. Just as the baptism of these populations was an act very different from the baptisms a few centuries ago in the Greco-Roman world, the perception of the institutions of polis (city), democracy, freedom, of the laws themselves was, also, perceived very differently, necessarily superficially. Simplification and impairment of deeper meanings have led to a simplistic, shallow and adapted version of the crushed civilization, in order to allow not a deeper understanding of texts such as Plato or Aristotle, but at least, the coexistence of these populations away from their recent jungle rules of life¹⁶. Simplifying and adapting the notions and institutions of the Greco-Roman world have led to what the West has always been and is, today, an authority. The creation and organization of collective institutions, which operate with the perfect implementation of reward-punishment rules for one single purpose: the shielding of the individual, his access to enrichment, power and pleasure. The successful operation of this system is based on the detailed codification of its rules, which act as an "infallible" doctrine and which rules are, essentially (in their essence), ultimately lacking empirical access and being an inactive part of the political system. The share is passive and is based on faithful adherence to the certain rules imposed by an "infallible" authority. In the version of Western Christianity (whichever this is: Catholicism, Protestantism, etc.) this role was taken over by the papal throne and the "infallibility" of the Pope¹⁷.

¹³ Flavius Odovacer was the first non-Roman king, Italy, who overturned the last Western Roman emperor Romulo Augustus on September 4, 476 AD. His tenure is a milestone with regard to the end of the classical Western Roman empire and the beginning of the Middle Ages in Europe

¹⁴ Le Goff J. (2006), Europe was born in the Middle Ages, Athens: City

¹⁵ Remembers the voluntary Christianization of the Albanians who protruded the Greek-Albanian border after the fall of Enver-Hoja Communism in 1992, who, in an attempt to overthrow the barbaric past of their regime, rushed to be baptized and received his Greek names

¹⁶ The references to the level of culture of the Western European peoples of the time are typical: Indicatively, we mention the inhabitants of the British islands of 1st after Christ in which it is customary the man-food of the deceased father by the first-born son and the subsequent erotic encounter with the mother, public view! (Strabo Geography D 5.4) Georges Dudy describes how human mankind survives until the 11th century after Christ (in Adolescence de la Chretiente Occidentale 980-1140, Geneva: Skira editions, 1967). Until the end of the 8th c. c. (in 798 AD in Narbonne of Galatia, in the Mediterranean) is the punishment of theft with the death penalty, while the punishment of murder is punishable only by a fine! (Michel Rouche, Histoire de la vie privee, I: De l'Empire Romain a l'mil, Paris: Seuil publications, page 409) Cities, with the organizational, institutional form we know, where the concept of public interest exists and the social community, in the Trans-Roman West began to be established only in the 13th century after Christ (Le Goff J. (2006), Europe was born in the Middle Ages, Athens: City, page 135).

¹⁷ Almost immediately upon the arrival of the young Europeans and the abolition of the West Roman Empire, from the 5th Century after Christ the first signs of papal infallibility were presented, combined, as was next, with the claims of the Pope as the highest ecclesiastical authority, until 18 July 1870, the Pope's "Infallibility" was introduced and imposed on the Vatican Synod.

Correspondingly, in the field of city administration, the political Constitution was created. The new Western Europeans will display a timeless admiration for the Greek city and democracy, but once again in their own, historically not adult and culturally immature, viewpoint. Caught up in the functional priorities and in the notion of efficiency as a sole goal, they interpreted the city as *civitas, societas*, not as a collectivity, a community (κοινωνία), but as a co-existence, a co-mpany created in order to achieve operational goals; something like a commercial business. The Western man, from his birth in the Trans-Roman West¹⁸, lives and coexists in the city seeking on a daily basis, the oxymoron of achieving and maximizing of the common citizens' objectives, which are the best defense of their individuals' rights.

Founder of this cultural proposal is saint Augustinus, a bishop of the fifth century, who will be used, four hundred years after his death, from Charlemagne's courtyard to support the entire Western cultural experience. It starts with religion and the individualized version of Christianity, with an unsuspected ignorance of the contrasting difference between the Church and religion, where the concept of faith is ignored as self-confidence, self-fulfillment, self-offering, response to a call, a relationship (Church= Ec-clesia¹). For Augustine¹⁹ -who did not speak Greek, the language of the Bible-, faith is the whole of individual (cognitive and psychological) beliefs, the correctness of which is imposed by the infallible authority of the Pope¹⁶. The whole Christianity of the West²⁰ in any of its "confessional" versions, it interprets the "original sin", the "personal salvation", the "eternal hell" with its formal legal way.

It is precisely on this basis that the modern Greek state will be reconstructed, almost immediately after its establishment, from 1833²¹ on. The European Powers, unlike their Ottoman predecessors, exploited the diachronic features of the Greek genre²², such as selfish ambition and continuous inner discords and have relatively easily enforced their own political-cultural model of government. The Bavarians have "built up" a Western state by, passively, copying (without any adaptation to local national, cultural, environmental or other different characteristic) their own state model, with few loans from their neighboring French, but also from the English model²³. Army, public administration, judiciary, political system, education system, church, all were passive copying products! No concerns, no questions regarding the adaptation of loans to local, racial, religious, or other peculiarities. An anthropological arbitrariness with certain side-effects, the magnitude of which is today evident in how much the West and its institutions (Mandouvalou 2003) are considered to be the critical judge in every area of human life, from economy to work, to health, education, urban planning ...

Until then, until the establishment of the modern Greek state, the Greek cultural proposal was still alive. After the fall of Constantinople and during the Ottoman domination, the Greeks lived enslaved, but they were not altered culturally. In every occupation, as in the military where the strongest one is imposed, the same happens in cultural terms, despite the repetitive destructions of the Greek libraries²⁴, the unquestionable supremacy of the descending, cultural proposal of the Eastern Roman Empire was, still, alive. As was the case

¹⁸ Le Goff J. (2006), Europe was born in the Middle Ages, Athens: City

¹⁹ Augustine, Confessions, Athens: Patakis (2007)

²⁰ Unfortunately, to a great extent, Orthodox Christianity, today, too

²¹ Disembarked the Bavarian Prince Othon in Nafplio on January 25, 1833

²² The overall responsibility for enforcing or accepting the Western proposal of life is unknown if it is more or less the methodical expansive benefit of the West, or indeed, the Greeks had lost every cultural connection to their great past, after four hundred years of Ottoman domination, by accepting, self-sacrificing and passively, as embittered Ottoman citizens, the imitation. This is the subject of another dissertation, which has not yet been done.

²³ Dertillis, G., B. (2018), History of the Greek State, 1750-2001, University Publications of Crete

²⁴ It is estimated that, after the disasters of the Greek libraries only, 3-4% of the titles from the books that we knew there were, without counting, clearly and incalculably, a larger volume of books that we do not know do they have written. Tziropoulou-Efstathiou A. (2017), The Disasters of Greek Libraries, Athens: Pelasgos Publications)

with the Romans, when they conquered the Greeks, but they were "conquered" culturally²⁵, so did the much more barbarous Ottomans. The constant use of the Greek language as a sovereign cultural element, which, despite any superficial crises, not only did not cease to be used, but also functionally and inexorably implanted the emerging language of the arrived Asian nomads, is a strong sign of this. It is true that, immediately after the Conquest of Constantinople and the establishment of the Ottomans, the official language of the new Empire remained the Greek. Not the Turkish, the Arabic (whose alphabet they adopted), or some other. In the other sectors of everyday life, besides the percentage of Greeks, which have been intimidated and for survival reasons chose to be Islamized, most people have not changed their customs, their way of thinking and acting. But even the Islamized Greeks did not experience Islam existentially, but as a tactic move for mere survival. The new religion has been adapted to the local cultural example, inevitably. Living examples of this alienated Islam are the survival of Orthodox (!) Customs by modern Turkish citizens, religiously Muslims, of Asia Minor²⁶, potential descendants of Islamized Christian communities in Greece, who, with the exchange of populations, reached Turkey, or even natives, also Islamized Christians. The anthropological research of the cultural wealth of present-day Turkey has to show the survival of manifold and rare data²⁷, which refer to various older incomplete islamized ethnicities, much older than the Ottomans. It is a fact that the constant thirst of the enslaved people for freedom has never ceased: in practice²⁸, or even in its conscience, it was constantly opposed to the occupation regime of the Ottoman Empire. Also managed to save a significant part of the system of self-managed communities²⁹, (where and when its tyrannical local chief allowed: vizier, pasha, aga) and the Church, despite the capitulation of her head to the conqueror, preserved the collective life of the people, keeping and performing, uninterruptedly, rituals, feasts, customs which saved the consistency, the Greek cultural awareness and the "continuity" of everyday lifestyle, without, though, preserving the continuation of a local political and governance model, loosing, thus, their own way of exercising power.

These remnants of the local way of life, which survived during the Ottoman domination, began to recede slowly, but increasingly, until their current methodical extinction, starting January 25, 1833³⁰, with the choice of the modern Greek people to exist as citizens³¹, voluntary adopters of the Western model: they chose to imitate the model of the national state, of the coexistence based on the *convention* (Constitution) and not on the *relation-ship* (Church of the community, of the faith), on the priority of use and not on the achievement of

²⁵ Οράτιος: Graecia captaferum victorem cepit (η κυριευθείσα Ελλάδα είχε κατακτήσει την νικήτρια Ρώμη)

²⁶ Indicatively: a) Hileladakis N. (2018) The Turks worship the Holy Mountain! (last access on 08/12/2018), b) Antoniadou M. (2018), Why the Muslims today celebrate St. George, The newspaper Step on the website (last access on 08/12/2018), c) Journal of Hestia, August 16, 2018, Muslims worship the Virgin, on the site <http://www.estianews.gr/eidiseis-arthra/mousoulmanes-proskynoun-tin-panagia-stin-thraki> (last access on 08/12/2018)

²⁷ The most ancient living form of the Greek language is today (!) In the Pontus of Asia Minor: British Independent magazine, Leading article: Not such a dead language on <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/editorials/leading-article-not-such-a-dead-language-2174681.html> (last access on 08/12/2018)

²⁸ In the four hundred years of Ottoman rule, historically, there have been recorded sixteen, altogether, smaller or larger liberating revolutions, more than one revolution per generation of enslaved (2011), 16 revolutionary movements until the day of freedom, at <https://www.antibaro.gr/article/3036> (last access on 08/12/2018))

²⁹ Athens: Tsoukatos publications (Polydronidis I. (2017), Greek Orthodox Communities in the Ottoman Empire (18th-19th-early 20th century)

³⁰ [Following the assassination of Kapodistrias, he met in Providence of Nafplio, E National Assembly and elected King Bavarian Prince Othon, who disembarked in Nafplion on January 25, 1833)

³¹ Citizen=ypokoos in greek, meaning "under the rule of". With the establishment of the modern Greek State and the adoption of the European national state model, is a European, the inaccurate rendition in the Greek of the Western term "citizenship", with the degrading (etymological) word of "ypokoosis", defining the historically proud Greek people (*ούκ εἰθίσται προσκυνεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησίοιν*)

the relationship³². The shape of the multinational cosmopolitan Eastern Roman Empire, where Hellenism constituted the universal way of life, the universal culture, was at its end. The new model of organized coexistence self-evidently identified with modernization and progress in post-Napoleonic Europe and was that of the *national state*. This model was applied to every aspect of the state system of the country, thus "building" a typical "western" state, which slowly and steadily, until the Second World War, increasing after and until the country's entry into the European Economic Community and, completely, from the entrance to the Economic Monetary Union today, eroded manners and customs, radically changed the way of thinking and acting, reaching today, in the full folk practice, identification with the contemporary habits of Globalization.

This anthropological change of the timeless Greek is more than just a change in the ethics and customs of a people, more than just adopting passive and voluntarily, an alien and inappropriate, unclear and arbitrary way of life. As noted above, the genesis of the Greek cultural model from antiquity and earlier, as long as archaeological excavation allows us and, above all, the minimal survival of the remains of the Greek libraries, yielded the inferior human instincts of individual survival and satisfaction, in the benefit of creating the city (*polis*), a rational society of needs. Hellenes do not mean man as a person, as a private individual, but only contemptuously³³. The Greek concept of life was social centred. The Greek aimed at coexistence in order to achieve the feat of the *relations* and not the *usefulness* of things. " Το ζητεῖν ἀπανταχοῦ το χρήσιμον (The quest of what is useful)" states the primitivism of subordination to the necessities of the instincts, whereas the relations that constitute the "political life", presuppose free, "great-hearted" people³⁴. Cohabitation as a guarantee of self-centeredness through contracts was inconceivable, and "society" as a company seeking interest ("societas") was barbarian.

This feat of life in such a city passed, organically, into the self-managed "community" and by the "church of the community (ancient Ecclesia Dimou)" found the continuation of its metaphysical axis in the "church of the faithful (Christian Ecclesia)" and was, thus, rescued during the Ottoman domination as a way of life, but without a central institutional body, that is, with no state representation. So when, after the revolution of 1821 and the liberation of a small part of Greece took place, the time for the re-establishment of a new Greek state, the institutional body for its state representation was, of course, sought out in the up-to-date organizational structure of the European *national state*.

It was, however, a form *unknown* to the Greek, who, ignorant of the Western way of thinking, did not know how to manage the New State's *convention* (Constitution), instead of the priority of the *relation* of things, the sharing in the feat of the city (community). The national state, an element of the French Revolution and Enlightenment, aimed at organizing collectivity based on the freedom of the individual (freedom of any personal choices), on the Equality of all individuals, in terms of their personal rights (ensuring, one to others) and to Brotherhood, through the common constitutional treaty. This scheme was, for the Western, a logical necessity of existence, a prerequisite for the renunciation of their barbaric medieval past. But for the Greeks there was no such need, they were unaware of it in their history, it was alien to their experiences. Already from the Hellenistic period to the Byzantine times and even in the Ottoman domination, Hellenism lived and flourished in a multi-ethnic and multi-racial coexistence of peoples. Their cohesive link was no contract, but the common way of life, the universal Greek culture.

The western nation-state scheme has destroyed this universality, by confining it in the narrow borders of the new European state. This was, also, the beginning of the end of the Greek cultural life proposition. Its ultimate alignment with modern globalized data is, today, the completion of this process: the end and the death of the Greek cultural model. This total, irreversible cultural alienation of the Greek is not, simply, a development in the national historical course of a people, who has changed habits. It is the death of one of the two most prevalent global cultural models; it is the overwhelming establishment of the remaining

³² Giannaras Chr. (2018), Europe was born from Schism, Athens: Icarus.

³³ Similarly to footnote 6

³⁴ Aristotelian Politics, 1338b 2-4

opponent, as the only formatter and manager of the world. It is clearly a major historical turning point, that runs through and affects every human activity today, from economy and work to religion, culture, urban planning.

2. The illegal constructions

The illegal structures, considered from this point of view, taking into account the changes of the social-cultural and, more than any other people, for the Greeks, their linguistic³⁵ anthropology, may lead to a new interpretation which, together with its, up to date, visions, can lead to a holistic and global approach to the identity³⁶ of illegal buildings. Equally important and wider in one field of human scientific engagement, the study of anthropological history can cultivate respect and modesty, since, through the study, we realize that we are heirs of a long, respected and, for the most part, a noble anthropological heritage³⁷. Thus, we can assume that today, more than ever, we have an obligation to reconsider the so-called illegal constructions, starting in 1922, teaching us the "secrets" of the irregular "folk architecture" of the spontaneous settlements of the refugees. Let's look deeper into why the informal national housing policy of the illegal constructions from the 1950s to the 1970s had such a significant positive effect on the economically damaged and socially divided post-world war and post-civil war Greek society .

Why have Western "diseases", such as social segregation, ghettos, drugs, strictly located Western European cities with dwelling areas-"sleeping containers" and commercial areas-"night ghost zones", not presented themselves in Greece? What were the hidden and unknown, until now, mechanisms, the endogenous and spontaneous ways of life of an ancient people, which produced a city rather than a ghetto? And why information, which in advance, almost prophetically, has, with so much simplicity and validity, shown the pathogenic failure of the Modern Movement, of Functionalism, is not the backbone of our national urban planning policy, but, instead, we remain unrepentant "retailers" of a foreign model of urban planning, historically millenniums younger than the familiar local one? The importance of adaptation and local data³⁸ is, only, recently perceived, and we, indifferently, continue to operate with the same cultural subordination of the "Kotzambasides" of the feudal Turkish occupation, consuming the products of the West without any assimilation. There is no

³⁵ The anthropologist's hypothesis Sapir-Whorf argues first that the structures of the languages affect the structures of civilizations and secondly that the different languages classify human experiences in a different way and thus demonstrate the difference in world perception (perception of things and environment) of each people. Especially the Greek language, a native language that fertilized the European language, shows an opposed difference of worldview from the languages, which they received and use the same words with, sometimes, a different meaning. See, Tziporopoulos-Efstathiou A. (2015), Archangelathos Glossas, Athens: Pelasgos Publications

³⁶Linguistic anthropology is of particular importance for the study of the Greek people and together with the social-cultural (study of the way of life and thought of peoples, "culture", English culture) and archaeological anthropology (mainly historical archeology, n with written monuments) will be the main research tools of this thesis

³⁷ Erickson P & Murphy L. (2002), History of Anthropological Thought, Athens: Critique publications

³⁸ The importance of adaptation to local architectural and urban data was soon recognized in our country. It began with the Decree of 19.10.1978 (Government Gazette 594 / Δ / 1978) "On the designation as traditional settlements of the state and the definition of the terms and limitations of the construction of these plots" and reached, initially through Law 4014/2011, and, today, Law 4491/2017, replacing OPs. (Committee on Urban Architectural Control). (Architecture Councils). The interest lies at a time when the Greek state has chosen to take a controlling role in the production of space in culturally "sensitive" areas of the urban fabric, a point which coincides with the end of the age of innocence for arbitrariness (1974) their speculative course. That is, when the customary law and the "tradition" cease to dictate the way of the structure when the production of space "in society" ceases and the useful production of space for individual enrichment begins. At that time, the law contract would replace (unsuccessfully) the social control mechanisms of the building.

conversion, or adjustment to the domestic. There is no indication of whether and how the achievements of Western societies can respond to the needs of Greek, or other societies. The specificity of Greek needs, the different historical addictions, priorities, notions, conditions? All, subtly neglected. After four hundred years of absence from the cultural stage, Greeks have re-entered the political arena of Europe with the constitution of the modern Greek state, as if they had no history, no past...

But why did the West, finally, manage to impose its own cultural model? Was it, simply, the expected biological end of millennia of life of an older cultural model? Beyond the reasonable and logical historical end, there is something else. Something irresistible. The unrivaled anthropological factor of our capitalist society, with the increasing dynamics of satisfying the instinctive impulses of the globalized human-consumer: the unlimited supply of material goods and, without limitation, the enjoyment of individual rights of attitudes and power, all these are, certainly, more attractive, more easily accessible within the Western model of life. This is the West's *useful* cultural proposition, much more digestible and tempting. And it is logical, because life in the polis, life in a political society, in a city, presupposes the self-denial of the person and giving-in to the "collective". Understanding this noticeable difference in the concept of life, the possible reasons for preference of one cultural model over the other are obvious...

Thus, after the 1970s, the mutation of illegal constructions follows the cultural mutation of Hellenism. The wise, spontaneous creations of social space and city have, slowly and steadily, turned into pure speculation (Pagonis 2014) reaching today, at the time of globalization, their sophisticated version: the transition from universal popular micro-illegalities scattered in every corner inside and outside the city plan, to the selective macro-illegalities of an economic elite (Hatzimichalis 2015). As expected, with the prevalence of the Western cultural proposal, there is no limit to individual profit; there is no limit to obtaining personal benefits and material goods, at least on a theoretical level. Thus, the illegal constructions of the 1980s lost their human scale in an existential quest for quantity, escaped their logical adaptation with the neighboring, also illegal constructions and ceased to be built by co-work and co-consciousness with the people around them; they ceased to communicate with the city life, which highlights their anthropological inability to understand and manage the foreign function of "life in *convention*", building under the *convention* of the Building Regulation.

The modern Greek version of urban "planning" seems more like a poor adaptation, an improper enforcement to a people with incompatible cultural background. The decades that have passed since the first law of legalization of illegal constructions (L.720 / 1968) and even more so by the first General Building Regulation (G.O.K. 1955), show that the Greek, almost always, recurses to other ways of servicing his housing needs. The *detour* road (with *straight* considered to be the legitimate, functioning within the framework of the organization-operation of a modern western state) seems, over time, to be the preferred one... It recalls the innumerable cases of endeavoring to enforce colonial rules of life to the various indigenous tribes from the Western European conquerors, often with unexpected results of failure. In our neighboring North Africa (Morocco, Tunisia), for example, the natives, who were placed to live in homes of European architecture, built the openings on the walls to avoid excessive local light and sunlight, and for reasons of privacy, that have to do with local customs and ethics. Interestingly, the Europeans, who lived there (in their foreign climatic conditions of Africa), insisted on living in their own "inappropriate" European buildings, although the local home plan, with a courtyard, would offer more comfort, but it was culturally *strange*³⁹.

Taking into account the contrasting difference between Western and Greek life, it is obvious that the two models of culture share only nominal definitions and intentions on concepts such as freedom, city, and democracy. The starting point for the realization of the one is the *person* and the shielding of all his needs on a rational basis, strictly theoretical, detached from the empirical relation(ship), while the other proposes the coexistence, the experience of the society according to diachronic, universal rules (Giannaras 2015). In an exaggeration, for the sake of a more eloquent glimpse of the gap between the two cultural

³⁹ See E. T. Hall, *The Hidden Dimension*, Garden City N.Y. : Doubleday & Co., 1966, 144, 151-152

models, we could compare the choice of Western-type *national state* by the freed modern Greek people, with the of imposing a formal habitation of northern Siberia on an native African of Equator. Even with the restoration of the right analogy in our special case, the incompatibility and failure of the venture is obvious.

In the micro scale of illegal constructions, but also less focused, at the level of the settlement, the anthropological mutation of the modern Greek was established by replacing the customary law and the "tradition" in the construction, with the rigid General Building Regulation, so with legal force. This transition was crucial. Tradition, also, has the power of a "law", but it is established through collective consent, not through a written contract. Respect for tradition ensures collective control, and this is because there is a common understanding of life. Without the regulating factor of tradition, institutionalization starts to take effect (Philippidis 2010). The loss of the common system of values leads to the disappearance of the spirit of cooperation that makes people respect the rights of their neighbors and, ultimately, the whole settlement. Changing the way of thinking has changed the way of planning and led to the lack of cooperation and the resorted to the legal contract, the *convention* of the building regulation. Exactly then, at that very moment of change of culture, the hidden inexplicable ability to produce "illegal" folk architecture was lost; architecture which protected the illegal expansions of the planned centers of modern Greek cities from the Western "diseases" of the Modern Movement. At that time, the Greek city died and took on the characteristics of a contemporary Western one.

The key question is always why? What was that endogenous element of the Greek people that created *the* city, the polis, not only in the classical era, but before and after WWII and what was the root cause of the alienation-degeneration of the informal houses of the epoch of over-consumption of the last thirty years? Which were the hidden components of the habits, the customs, the tradition survived through millennia? Perhaps the fact that those "wise" illegal houses were made by the lower classes, socially and educationally, not by some economic or spiritual elite, is a clue. Perhaps the fact that the completion of, only, the first two or three classes of elementary school was considered sufficient for taking up work and contributing to the harsh rural life of those years was what saved and preserved the tradition in the habits of the economic immigrants-builders of the modern Greek urban centers of the last century.

It was there that Pikionis⁴⁰ recognized "great art" when he considered raw naturalness as the main asset of spontaneous folk art. Defining the truth of construction in folk architecture as the "mother of harmony", exorcized the "fakeness of the civilized" West and warned that transient fashions from abroad led to individualism, to a cultural model, foreign and improper to the Greek. During this transitional period (the era of the Modern Movement and beyond), other spiritual people of the time will show the danger of the upcoming de-hellenization in the country's cultural production mechanism. Aris Constantinides views were largely following the same path as Pikionis'. With almost abhorrence to the modern (western) city, he considered nature and man as two, inseparably linked, elements and sought the "lost virginity" in traditional architecture. Far from European intellectual organizational patterns and rational regulatory methods, he sought the "tools" with which "the people build" into morals, customs, religion, society and landscape and climate. In his book *The Old Athenian Houses* (1950), he visibly stigmatized the "scenography" of the listed neoclassical buildings, contrasting the "real architectures of the old folk Athenian craftsman", the houses of which characterize the plan of a typical residence from antiquity until the Turkish domination. The architect-archaeologist Anastasios Orlandos (1887-1979), a prominent scholar of Greek architecture, from antiquity up to the time of the so-called *traditional architecture*, will identify in folk art the potential of creating "modern Greek art", condemning as a negative factor the destructive introduction of "innovative culture" from the west. The important folklorist, scholar of traditional architecture, George Megas (1893-1976), completes as a cause of disintegration of Greek art, the "mania of innovation", which "broke a lot of the natural and uncompromising

⁴⁰ Pikionis D. (1925), *Our Folk Art and We*, Philiki Company magazine 4, pages 145-158

development of our folk building"⁴¹. Also, the book *Sarakatsanoi*, by Hatzimichalis A. in 1957 for the drafts and primitive huts of the nomadic shepherd, was considered by many scholars as the purest survival of antiquity...

It is true that there has been resistance from part of the spiritual world to the upcoming subordinate, anthropological mutation. However, the new official heir and manager of the rich Greek cultural heritage was Hesperia (the West), not the (in the eyes of the New Europeans) post-Ottoman, "barbarized" and confined to narrow limits of the national state, Greece. The architecture of the new Greek state was not Greek, it was not classical, it was *neoclassical*, meaning, the reading and rendering of "Greekness" through the eyes of the West; the interpretation of the cultural example of the classical world, which, as we have seen above, was perceived in a highly defective way, and, above all, far from the way of the Greeks. The Greek tradition was removed from the Greeks themselves. Even the systematic research of the traditional architecture of the Cyclades of Contantine Papas - a Greek architect abroad - a rare and pioneering work, was ignored within the borders of Greece, never translated into Greek and although it is a project that for the first time involved the domestic traditional architecture in correlation with the works of modern architecture and their synthetic principles, it was, totally, ignored, thus giving the role of interconnection of Greek traditional architecture with the international trends and currents to foreigners⁴². In the same spirit of correlation between Greek traditional architecture and the West, Le Corbusier's book, *Texts for Greece*⁴³, preceded by a visit to the Cycladic islands with white abstract architecture, led to discovering ... "modern" white minimalism.

Reaching today and with the same ignorance of that deeper nature of the identity of the illegal constructions of the last fifty years and earlier, we are, for the first time, moving determined towards their slow extermination. The sanction in the Greek Parliament of a sequence of five consecutive laws regarding illegal constructions in the period 2009-2017, has also rekindled the national dialogue. The interest of the state is historically unprecedented and is the first time that the scope of the relevant legislation is universal, as it extends to the whole⁴⁴ of the country's real estate. But the intensity and quality of the measures, which are ultimately obligatory, lead in the opposite direction from that which the "spoiled" modern Greek people have been addicted to. For the first time, the measures adopted do not lead to horizontal legalization, i.e. to the definitive exclusion from demolition of all immovable property and for all owners. This is because the recent laws, combined with the imposed fiscal policy and the immense change in tax treatment of real estate, seem to allow, in the long run, only to a limited economic elite to maintain the profits from years of real estate investments.

The untouched, since the 1950s, real-estate and construction system in Greece, after the 23.04.2010⁴⁵ is, radically, changing for the first time, conveying space and society. The unofficial co-operation of the state with popular desire was a fact that no one dared touch. This violent, institutional revolution has consequences already visible: new constructions are limited⁴⁶ and is taken away from the hands of the small and middle class. The status of a vast sea of small properties, which made possible the formation of the modern Greek city, is dying. Historic record of 86% growth in the five-year period 2013-2016, but also as absolute

⁴¹ Megas G. (1942), *Objectives and Methods for the Research of Folk Building*, Planning-Urban Planning-Architecture 8, pages 41-44

⁴² (Philippidis D. (2010), *Anonymous Architecture in Greece*, or *Greek Rapport*, Athens: Melissa Publications, p. 209)

⁴³ Le Corbusier, *Texts for Greece*

⁴⁴ Article 52, Law 4449/2017 on Electronic Identity of Buildings.

⁴⁵ Announcement of Prime Minister G. Papandreou entering the country under economic surveillance, Megisti island

⁴⁶ Elements of the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) in May 2016: the size of the total building activity (Public-Private) in the whole country, measured by on the basis of the issued building permits, amounted to 849 building permits, corresponding to 140.200 m² of surface area and 634.300 m³ of volume. It represented a 31.5% decrease in the number of building permits, by 38.5% on the surface and by 38.9% on the volume, as compared to the corresponding month of 2015

figure in the year 2017, reaching 130,000, heritage disclaimers because of ENFIA⁴⁷ tax and related charges, indicate a change in the treatment of the property as an asset, which reverses its course. The above data, combined with the number of voluntary releases of building permits for demolition of illegal buildings, indicate their certain future extinction. With instruments the methodical law enforcement⁴⁸ in post-crisis Greece, we are moving – as the statistical data⁴⁹ show - towards a real estate restriction of legal, and illegal buildings, in the hands of a small economic elite, adapting to the current globalized prescripts, in a way that makes only the illegal macro-constructions, universally, accepted and consumable.

Thus, illegal constructions of the small and middle class, will, at some point, cease⁵⁰ to exist. But the question remains: why? Why did the Greek cultural example disappear and the Greek city from political community turned into collective individuality? What was that survived element, which emerged from the unskilled hands of popular craftsmen and builders of illegal houses and created a *polis*, rather than a sheer settlement of people? Why have we forgotten to design a social space and, instead, have produced numerous and lucrative cohabitations? A question that does not answer, only, about the nature of illegal structures, but it may review the whole national way of urban planning theory and practice. If this crucial question is not answered, then the unprecedented recent rise in living and health standards, unhindered access to amenities and facilities in our country, will be proven unbalanced and useless achievements, without the corresponding cultural connotation...

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⁴⁷ Enikononomia (05.09.2017), More than 150.000 heritage disclaimers in 2017 due to ENFIA, on the website <http://www.enikonomia.gr/my-money/164949,pano-apo-150000-apopoiiseis-klironomias-to-2017-logo-enfia.html>, (last access 03.06.2018)]

⁴⁸ L.3775 / 2009, L.3843 / 2010, N.4014 / 2011, N.4178 / 2013 and N.4495 / 2017

⁴⁹ 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 building permits issued, amounted to 849 building permits, corresponding to 140.200 m² of surface area and 634,300 μm of tumor. Thus, a 31.5% decrease in the number of building permits, by 38.5% on the surface and by 38.9% in volume compared to the corresponding month of 2015

⁵⁰ Yoyias N. (2018), contribution to the 5th Panhellenic Conference of Urban Planning, Volos, 27-30 September

Knapton S. (2018), Europe was the birthplace of mankind, not Africa, scientists find , at <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/science/2017/05/22/europe-birthplace-mankind-not-africa-scientists-find> (last access on 07/12/2018)

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