CRETAN VENDETTAS:
ANOTHER ROAD ENDING TO SOCIAL EXCLUTION

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Abstract

Social exclusion constitutes a multidimensional dynamic phenomenon, which emanates from the limited access to social and public commodities (e.g. education, health care, social security etc.), the lack of which usually leads to financial indigence and marginalization. Certain categories of people run a higher risk and stand a good chance of being "victims" of social exclusion. One of these categories is people involved in Cretan vendettas, who experience intensely poverty, unemployment, exclusion and marginalization, basic factors of social exclusion. This study aims to show the basic dimensions of the problem of social exclusion, the way it has been and is still being experienced by the Cretans who have been involved in a vendetta.

Cretans attached to this tradition, filled with indignation, with the prevailing feeling of revenge, take the law into their own hands and end up committing murders. This bloody cycle of revenge leads to dozens of wiped out families as well as the marginalization of the parties involved.

It is easily understood that Cretan vendettas constitute another form of social exclusion. In this particular case, persecutors, people involved, whole families as well as villages are stigmatized and marginalized for the rest of their lives, even after the vendetta has ceased to exist.

Key words: *Cretan Vendetta, Social Exclusion, Precautionary Suppressive Measures*

Introduction

Social exclusion, the desocialization of fragile social groups and the rehabilitation to society of some of them is a phenomenon which has been the case of study for many researchers.

Social exclusion constitutes a multidimensional dynamic phenomenon, which emanates from the limited access to social and public commodities (e.g. education, health care, social security etc.), the lack of which usually leads to financial indigence and marginalization. Certain categories of people run a higher risk and stand a good chance of being "victims" of social exclusion. One of these categories is people involved in Cretan vendettas, who experience intensely poverty, unemployment, exclusion and marginalization, basic factors of social exclusion. This study aims to show the basic dimensions of the problem of social exclusion, the way it has been and is still being experienced by the Cretans who have been involved in a vendetta.

The term "social exclusion" was used for the first time in the 1960s, referring to the individuals who were not protected by welfare and faced serious financial difficulties. Common ground of the excluded, according to the first Report for the European Social Observatory for Social Exclusion (Carnations et al., 1990), is their poor relationship with the main mechanisms which produce and distribute resources: the working market, the family or other interpersonal nets and the state. Social exclusion acknowledges a number of factors (social-economic-political), which influence intricately the social status of the individual and grasps social reality as a multidimensional field, where the influence of economic causes upon the social status of the individual is not one-way, as it happens with the phenomenon of poverty. However, up until this day, there is not a widely accepted term of "social exclusion". In fact, every time that it is used it connotes a different content, bearing in mind the theoretical context used.

The preservation and propagation of social exclusion in the economically and socially developed societies comes in contrast with the pursuit of the sustainable development in these countries and the principle of equality of the fundamental rights of the citizen. Consequently, dealing with social exclusion as a major social problem with specifically significant economic consequences, should concern and set every local community thinking, from the local authorities and the members of the municipalities, up until the very last citizen of this community.

The individuals who experience the exclusion are tried hard; they encounter obstacles in exercising their natural rights, like freedom and self-fulfillment, within the society they live. The breech of their individual and human rights constitutes a traumatic experience, which leads them most of the time to a life of sordid poverty.

Societies have always had the tendency to treat disparagingly people that exhibited some kind of "difference" like for example the poor, the disabled, people with mental disabilities etc. An individual who is in some way "Other" and his placing in minority population groups because of different characteristics (racial, social, economic, professional etc.), constitute the most important elements of social exclusion.

In the same way the Cretan vendettas exclude individuals as well as whole villages from the society. Cretans who live mainly in mountainous villages follow by tradition an unwritten way of serving justice. "Vandita" is the term they use in Crete for the revenge the relatives take for somebody that was murdered, killing the perpetrator or one of his relatives.

The murder, that is, which is committed having revenge as motive for another murder. "It is about a social code based on the principle of honor and its preservation", says Professor George Nikolakakis, Department of Social Anthropology, University of the Aegean. And it is a very old phenomenon, as old as the organization of the first human communities. We could recall the double revenge that Minoas has been attributed with after the attacks his son Androgeos suffered in the areas of Marathon and Athens.

Cretans attached to this tradition, filled with indignation, with the prevailing feeling of revenge, take the law into their own hands and end up committing murders. This bloody cycle of revenge leads to dozens of wiped out families as well as the marginalization of the parties involved.

To sum up, it is easily understood that Cretan vendettas constitute another form of social exclusion. In this particular case, persecutors, people involved, whole families as well as villages are stigmatized and marginalized for the rest of their lives, even after the vendetta has ceased to exist.

1. Quantitative research for the vendettas

1.1. Descriptive quantitative interview of an involved individual in a Cretan vendetta

At this point follows a descriptive quantitative interview of an involved individual in a Cretan vendetta.

Where **"D"**: as reporters Kotronarou Nikoleta-Sabina & Mr. Eridiola.

Where **"E"**: as the friend of the perpetrator

Where **"S"**: the perpetrator

E: The incident took place in February 1998, when the law of Papathemelis about the opening hours of the nightclubs was active. All nightclubs, that is, had to close at 03.00 in the morning. Let it be mentioned that the Police Task Force was in Rethymno for the first time. The perpetrator was the owner of a bar in the center of Rethymno. S. was under the influence of alcohol during the whole night. Around 23.00 at night while he was driving towards his bar to open it he saw a car with its doors open in the middle of the road and the passengers under the influence of excessive amount of alcohol. S. tried to pass but they did not let him so they started arguing. In the end, he talked them through and the car with its passengers left. S. fearing that the argument would not have ended, went back to his house and took his gun. The passengers some time during the night went to S.'s bar looking for trouble but the staff was able to force them out and around 3 o'clock the bar was ready to close. Around closing time 4 people entered the bar but the staff refused to serve them and turn on the music. The boss told the staff to go home.

D: Were these people acquaintances of his? Did they have a grudge against him? Did you know them personally?

E: These people had no connection with S. or I, however, they had a very bad reputation.

D: Wasn't there anyone left at the bar with S.?

E: No, no one stayed but nothing else was heard in Rethymno that night. The next morning it was in the news that one dead and one injured were found in a bar in Rethymno. S. told me later what had happened that night. When the 4 men entered the bar they tried to force S. to serve them. S. refused because he had problems with the police. After some time arguing S. grabbed his gun and threatened to kill them. 2 of them left but the other 2 remained and started to beat him up. Fearing for his life he fired the gun in the dark. One of them was fatally wounded and the other one was injured in his pelvis. S. called his partner to help him hide the body. Leaving the scene to hide he called an ambulance. The next day S. surrendered to the authorities.

D: Was he sentenced to life imprisonment?

E: Initially yes, but later he appealed and spending a lot of money in lawyers his sentence was reduced to 14 years and was transferred to the agrarian prison in Chania where his sentence was reduced automatically into 7 years. In the end, he was released in four and a half years due to good conduct.

D: How was his life afterwards? Where did he live after his release from prison?

E: After his release S. was afraid of the retribution from the victims' relatives so he moved to Athens with his cousin. Despite the property he had back home, he started working as a taxi driver and never revealed to anybody his address, he even asked from his family and friends not to contact him, he would only contact with them. After 7 years, retribution finally found him. One

night just before he went into his taxi it blew up and his brother was shot by 2 perpetrators that appeared out of nowhere. After this incident S. considered that he was a target and moved abroad. Since then our communication has been limited.

D: Does his family ever see him or have they lost contact because of the incident?
E: No, no one can contact him, only S. communicates with his family once in a while. In fact, he asked his family to move to another place as soon as possible. His life was ruined; he lost his fortune and his family. He is considered a citizen who automatically became a minority within the society he has always lived.

The above vendetta proves that this phenomenon still plagues the island. Like in S.'s case, all people involved in a vendetta, along with their families are marginalized in society. After their release from prison they sought a new life away from the scene of the crime because they felt out of place in their birthplace. Insecurity and fear prevail for as long as they live. A vendetta is not only a bloody custom but also erases people from society as though they never existed before.

1.2. Quantitative research in questionnaire form in Rethymno and Chania

At this point we will present the results of the research in questionnaire form that we carried out in the prefectures of Rethymno and Chania in order to answer our basic assumption "What are the factors which contribute to the creation of the Cretan vendetta in the 21st century."

Our sample in total is defined into 100 residents in the prefectures of Rethymno and Chania, aged 18-60, regardless of educational level (basic/secondary/higher education). Each one answered 4 basic questions concerning the Cretan vendetta. At the end of this poll we gathered the data we consider important to present to you and in turn you can extract your own conclusions giving emphasis to our results and taking into consideration the fact that the people participating live inside and outside of Crete.

First, we will present three charts concerning the age, the educational level and the origin of the people asked.
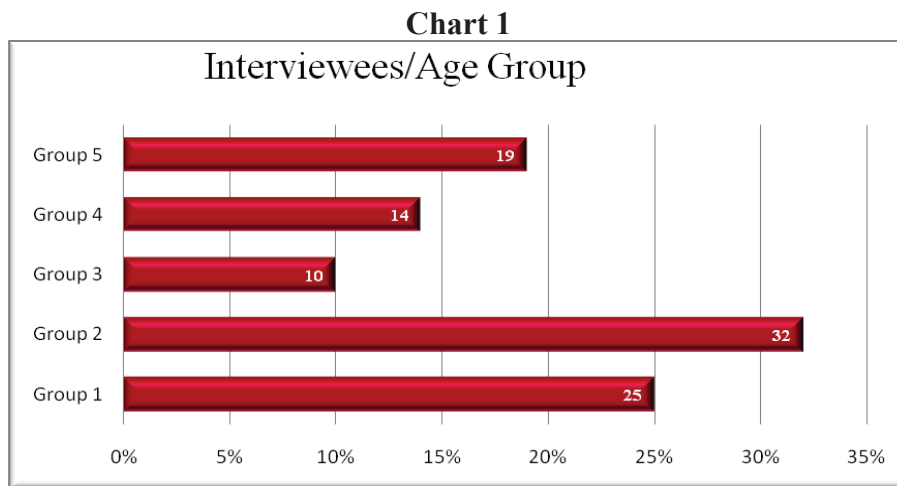
Chart 1

Group 1	18-24 years old
Group 2	25-35 ››
Group 3	35-45 ››
Group 4	45-55 ››
Group 5	55-65 ››

Chart 2
Interviewees / Educational level

Higher Education (University or other kind of studies)	78%
(Basic & Secondary Education)	24%

Chart 3
Interviewees / origin

Origin 1	Rural areas of Crete (outskirts)	18%
Origin 2	Urban areas of Crete (Chania, Rethymno, Heraklion Ag. Nikolaos)	28%
Origin 3	Outside of Crete (the rest of Greece)	54%

We will now present in detail the 4 basic questions in our poll and the conclusions which have been extracted as far as the phenomenon of the Cretan vendetta is concerned.

- Questions of the research
1. Do you believe that the economic crisis could be the pretext for the beginning of a vendetta? And if so, to what extent?
On a scale of 1-10
Where 1 is the minimum and 10 is the maximum

2. Societies are supposed to have been modernized throughout the centuries. What is the reason for the existence of such a bloody and customary phenomenon like the vendetta?
Mention 3 basic causes

3. From your point of view, are the consequences still obvious of the vendetta in the society today?
On a scale of 1-10
Where 1 is the minimum and 10 is the maximum
- E.g. People labeled even if they haven't been involved in a vendetta – "the killer's son"
- E.g. a person stigmatized for the rest of hislife
- E.g. wipe-out of a whole family - immigration (even abroad)

4. Hypothetically speaking, if a vendetta were to start within your family or between your family and another one, what would be your attitude in the event of a very close person of yours being murdered - e.g. parents or siblings
i. Active ("take the law into my hands, an eye for an eye")
ii. Passive (wait for the matter to be settled in court)

- Comments on the results
Taking into consideration the above factors (age - chart 1, educational level - chart 2, and origin – chart 3) we can draw the following conclusions:
As far as the age factor is concerned, we can notice the fact that although the interviewees of the second group are included in the younger generation of 25-35 years old they adopt the notion

that the Cretan vendetta still exists in contemporary society (32% out of 100 interviewees), while the first group of 18-24 years old holds the same view with the percentage of 25%. More particularly, from the four questions they were asked we can notice a difference in view of the population's age concerning the modernization of the society compared to the all-time custom of the vendetta. In other words, older aged people castigate the Cretan vendetta because of the modernization of societies, while the younger ones accept it regarding that it connects with the matter of Cretan honor, the "unwritten law" and mainly the legacy of this custom from their ancestors. With a feeling of awe we notice that mainly young native Cretans are ardent supporters of the idea of the Cretan autonomy because of the fact that the rest of Greece votes against the vendettas while they consider it as an exclusively local characteristic.

Based on the educational level, undergraduate in the last year of their studies come to 78% while secondary / basic education to 24%, we can draw the conclusion that with the current economic situation the vendetta might be, in a way, the solution to economic transactions, even if its repercussions are devastating in a social and moral level. As far as the first one is concerned, human relations are spoiled and a competitive atmosphere is created with sole purpose one's own interest which results in social exclusion. Afterwards, people involved or not in such a dispute are stigmatized, "labeled" from their social surroundings for life (e.g. "the killer's son"). The general average, 5 on a scale to 10, of the interviewees believes that even today the negative repercussions of a vendetta are still evident.

Finally, taking into consideration the origin as an impact of the answers given since 54% concerns residents outside of Crete, 28% urban Cretan areas (e.g. Rethymno, Chania etc.) and 18% rural areas of the island. We can observe that native Cretans in the majority act based on sentiment and morality ("An eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth"). Primary role in the Cretan society holds honor and dignity. These two values lead them into acting of their own accord ("take the law into my own hands"). On the opposite side classified are the non-natives who holding progressive views consider the vendetta an obsolete matter.

In conclusion, bearing in mind the personality of each individual, we have to pinpoint the special interest in the percentage of the final question concerning the hypothesis of a potential murder of a close person in a probable vendetta. Out of 100 interviewees, 50 were in favor of the murder, which creates a great concern in such a public poll.

2. The Cretan Vendetta as the cause of social exclution

2.1. The definition of social exclusion
The term social exclusion is widely spread, especially in politics. However, the concepts attributed to it usually vary and are sometimes in contradiction. The difficulty in defining the specific term lies in the fact of its determining with accuracy the characteristics of social exclusion, the reasons that cause it, and the mechanisms of its production and reproduction are due to the fact that the aspects are many as well as the characteristics, the reasons and the conditions of its manifestation. (M. Vlachadi, Immigration-Social exclusion and Political Incorporation in Greece). The term social exclusion was used in the beginning of the 1970s to refer to those individuals who were not protected by the welfare state and were considered to be social pariahs. Social excluded people consist of individuals with physical and psychological disabilities, elderly people, drug addicts, criminals, people with a tendency to suicide etc.

In the decades of the 70s and the 80s globalization and the new tendency towards privatization and the decrease in the rendering of state services, as well as the irregularities in the work market led to the increase in long-term unemployment, and also in the instability of social

relations. It has been acknowledged that employment was not related only to income, but also to acquisition of social networks and the sense of good order. The unemployed were excluded from the participation in the normal activities of the society. Social exclusion is the accumulation of cumulative procedures with successive inconsistencies of the economic, political and social network, which alienate gradually individuals, groups, communities and areas leading them to an adverse position in relation to the power apparatuses, the resources and the prevailing values.

Economic, social, ideological as well as political factors are connected and interact. The phenomenon of exclusion is not something new; since ancient times people and whole communities were excluded temporarily or forever from the whole as well as from certain forms of social life. Individuals living in Greece and in countries of the European Union are in a condition of social exclusion. This is happening because of the mass movement of labor, the gap between north and south and the changes in the political system, the organizational form of the economy in Eastern Europe during the period of 1990 and due to the political crisis in the countries of Middle East and parts of Asia.

The term of social exclusion refers to two fields of analysis. The first one deals with the dynamic procedures through which specific individuals or groups are labeled as different from the prevailing standard of social behavior. The place and the accommodating division constitute, in this approach, the medium of expression as well as the significance of the procedures of the symbolic exclusion. The homeless Roma and the immigrants of the "basements" constitute familiar and timely examples. This dimension of "social exclusion", although it composes an integral part of the concern that goes along with the term, is not adequately discussed in Greece. The relative dialogue focuses on the second aspect of the concept, on the reasons and the repercussions of tangible inequalities. The reason for this position lies in the emphasis given by the politics of the European Union to the role of the work market as the basic means for dealing with social exclusion. Criticism leveled from this aspect is justified. The analytical prospects of this concept, however, are limited significantly if the multifaceted prospect of understanding the discriminations it offers, is unrecognized.

Social exclusion as a form of political intervention was constituted gradually during the 1990s through the effort of specific "consulting" institutions of the European Union to redefine the European position towards the insistent forms of socio-economic problems. The concept of exclusion functions as a connection between the Anglo-Saxon priorities in battling poverty and the French, more with the "relevant" approaches: it examines not only the issue of income inequalities, but also the social and cultural dimensions of deprivation. Bridging the gap between the different approaches is attempted through the theory of Marshall (1950) about the status of citizen.

The concept of the status of citizen does not refer here to the plain participation of the individuals in a political organization or in their position concerning the prevailing political institutions. The interest focuses on the "socio-cultural", the materialistic, the symbolic and the dialogical dimensions of the exclusion, conveying the discourse from the legislated rights to the procedure of active social participation in them, while the limited capacity of participation is considered to affect negatively the goal of equal access to opportunities of individual and collective development. The concept of rights, in other words, examines the relation of the political adjustments with the social infrastructures and dynamics, showing the distance between the "de jure" and the "de facto" rights different groups enjoy. In the case of Greece, the concept of rights presents problems not only in the tangible regulative frame but also in its dynamic, relevant dimension.

Similarly to other countries, the type of the status of citizen which was legislated in Greece defined the access to the legal and political rights of the newly-established state based on the national origin of the individuals. The "jus sanguinis" concept of the homogenous state, however, is still present as a legal category. The procedure of acquiring the Greek nationality, for example, continues to differentiate the applicants for naturalization based on the Greek or not origin, reckoning a parallel (easier) course of actions for the subjectively defined, though institutionally consolidated, category of the same descent foreigners. The Greek institutional framework exclusively provides for the religious defined minority group of the Muslims in Thrace, while it does not recognize the existence of minority groups in the country, despite the especially wide definition of the relevant category. Indicative of the difficulty in which the issue of minorities is approached is the fact that the "European Chart of the Regional or Minority Languages" which was drawn up in 1992 from the Council of Europe, was not signed, and also the "Treaty Frameworkfor the Protection of Ethnic Minorities" which was signed by the Greek government in the Council of Europe in 1997, was not ratified. The refusal of the recognition of the particularities that characterize specific population groups creates the conditions for discriminations as well as circumstances of confusion. The prevailing characteristic of the recent public discourse about the acquisition of the Greek nationality was the difficulty of a clear approach of the relative concepts. The tendency to identify the discourse about the subjective term of nationality with the legal term of nationality indicates the problems of realizing these rights for the people who will acquire them.

The symbolic exclusion constitutes a formational factor of social discriminations. The "broadmindedness" in which the European discussion about exclusion approaches the reasons that restrict the participation in social procedures, is capable of bringing on the table chronic problems of exclusion, complementing the image of important indicators like the one of poverty. The emphasis given in the procedures that define access to the centers where decisions are made, as well as in social services, in education and work market, shows the tension and the climate of isolation, giving the spark for their dealing with.

The Observatory of the European Comities for the Ethnic Policies connects social exclusion with the social rights of the citizens, with a specific basic viable level and the participation in important social and professional opportunities of the society.

The Center of Analysis of Social Exclusion in Great Britain distinguishes the voluntary from the involuntary exclusion (Burchardt et al, 1999). Various researchers have defined over time social exclusion as follows:

Le Grand considers that an individual is socially excluded, if he is a resident in an area but for reasons out of his control cannot participate in the usual activities of the particular community, even if he wanted to.

Barry (1998) limited the above definition, claiming that even if often some individuals or groups voluntarily choose not to participate, yet this decision is a figment of their mistaken impression that their participation will not be appreciated by the rest of the community. Therefore, exclusion exists only if the society indeed denies the participation.

Amartia Sen broadens the concept of poverty introducing the concept of capability. He combines the shortage of income with the absence of capabilities of an individual to acquire income or participate in activities that will offer him the capabilities for social inclusion.

Burchardt (2000) supports that an individual is socially excluded, if he does not participate reasonably in specific activities of his community and that is due to causes beyond his control, even if he would like to participate. In a relative empirical research, Burchardt et al. diagnosed five kinds of activities, in which every individual should participate: in consumption, in saving up, in production, in political activation and in social action.

Atkinson (1998) suggests some dimensions of social exclusion. More specifically he considers that it is about a multi-dimensional term. Social exclusion includes many more aspects than a simple financial theory. Exclusion can be described best when all these dimensions are included and especially their interrelations. It is an interactive concept; traditionally social exclusion was referred to a situation which described the isolation of households and their inability in accessing resources. Gradually it was realized that such an individualistic approach did not take into consideration the weakness of the community to offer options and capabilities to the households in danger. The Anglo-Saxon School, influenced by liberalism, considers poverty as the result of individual responsibility and concern of social politics is to offer equal opportunities to every citizen, to survive in a competitive society. On the other side, the French School considers social exclusion as the procedure of detachment from social hierarchy and the objective of social politics is social inclusion.

Social exclusion is based on relativity, that is, the idea that exclusion can be diagnosed comparing the circumstances of certain individuals (or groups) in relation to others in a specific time and space. People can even be excluded from the activity of certain organizations. The characteristics of exclusion can become visible only after a period of time, as an accumulative reaction. Emphasis is given not only in the consequences of poverty and its possibilities, but also in the lack of prospect for the future. Social exclusion is conceived as a procedure and not as a static consequence. Emphasis is also given in the removal of its causes and not in the reinforcement of certain social groups. The research should depict the way out from poverty and the causes leading to it.

Chtouris, Zissi, Papanis and Rondos (2004) suggest the recognition of complex (competitive) procedures, in which the individual is captured during his socialization, his educational process or his inclusion in the work market. These procedures are related with: a) the contradictions between the effort of social ascent of the whole family and the individual efforts, b) the contradiction between the family organizational production and the obscurity of the banking system, the lack of infrastructure and the absence of supporting systems in private enterprise, c) difficulties in access and communication, introversion of the family institution, d) the contradiction between the dysfunctions of public organizations and their strong interventional function, as well as the centralized form of organization.

According to Levitas (1999), there are three approaches to social exclusion:
a) The integrationist approach, in which occupation is considered the basic force of incorporation through income, the sense of identity and self-deserving which work offers and social networks.

b) The approach of poverty, in which the causes of exclusion are related with the low income and the lack of material resources.

It is easily understandable that social exclusion cannot be approached solely based on economic criteria such as the insufficient income. Apart from this basic criterion, social exclusion concerns and includes the deprivation of access rights to social goods.

The content of the concept of social exclusion extends beyond the field of economic tolerance and includes a political field, that is, the absence or lack of social and political rights, as well as the socio-cultural level, since the social lies in a state of isolation, alienation and also marginalization of important parts of the population. It is about a multi-dimensional phenomenon the analysis, understanding and explanation of which requires a multi-faceted scientific approach.

Economic analyses should be in step with sociological approaches of the phenomenon of social exclusion, as well as with assessments of psychological repercussions on individuals and socially excluded groups.

At the same time, the consolidation or not of the political, individualistic and social rights in these groups constitutes a basic criterion to evaluate the contemporary democratic state and its institutions, as well as give a modern content to the concept of human rights. The degree of real exclusion consists in the complete rupture of social bonds, particularly bonds connected with occupation, family and residence. Individuals in such a situation are often marked by apathy, total lack of interest for the society they are in, and indifference for any kind of rehabilitation in the society. They are the ones who hardly ever participate in social affairs and in shaping their prospects, which are indifferent, who do not have endurance, are incapable of reacting, are trapped because of the "stigma" they bear and are afraid of nearly everything.

2.2. How vendettas lead to social exclusion

Despite the blood shed during a vendetta, the "moral relief" and the "restored prestige" of the avenger are deep, since on one hand he can be exposed to a new blood cycle, on the other though, he has done his "social duty", in the way he himself means it. He has been vindicated and at the same time he has vindicate his deceased relative in the name of whom he takes his revenge. In fact, in more traditional acts of vendetta the name of the unvindicated deceased had to in a way be heard during the revengeful act. Despite the final vindication the avengers feel and the support they receive in certain cases from their fellow countrymen (Papadosifos case) these individuals do not cease to be coldblooded criminals who cannot under any circumstances live a normal life after the commit of the murder.

The devastating consequence of a vendetta is the eradication of a whole family tree as well as the eradication of a whole village. This wild custom puts a stigma on the victimizers, the families of the victimizers and the victims and also the whole of the Cretan society. The citizens do not feel safe, and fear takes over them as this phenomenon still exists in some western villages of Crete up until today. When the individuals who have committed the murders are released from prison, then a difficult road towards their rehabilitation to society begins.

The involved Cretans in a vendetta constitute a socially vulnerable group. When a crime is committed in a closed society like the one in Crete, it is natural for the facts to spread everywhere and as a result the person involved in the murder to be stigmatized for the rest of his life. When a vendetta starts, the members of the family of the initial victim have one and only one goal, revenge. They believe that only in this way justice can be served. "Only if he gets what he deserves, there will be a fair trial", the specific law rules.

These people more specifically, instigated by the injustice they feel, the hatred and also the indignation against the other family, the only thing they are after is revenge. In these cases time becomes significant, the hours, the days even the years that go by with sole purpose the planning of revenge. Once a vendetta begins, bloody murders usually follow it until its remission. Even when the murderers are punished and end up in prison, their families live in fear of the retribution.

After their release from prison, the involved parties in a Cretan vendetta continue to fear for their life. This is the reason why they do not stay at the scene of the crime but move from place to place fearing for the retribution. It can be easily understandable that these events will continue to torture them one way or another.

Furthermore, these frequent removals and the constant danger they feel prevent their normal rehabilitation to the society after their release. Their life is not normal. On the contrary, these things exhaust them financially as well as psychologically. Most of them have spent all their

money and fortune in order to buy off their sentence, whether to cover the cost of the trial or their rehabilitation to a new social environment, in which they feel safer, however, detached from their family and their birthplace. Cretans are indissolubly connected to their birthplace so this mandatory "migration" wears them out psychologically. Anxiety and fear possess them leading to uncertainty. Defeat and weakness to have dreams lead to a feeling of frustration, anger and in other cases depression of the released convicts and their closed family circle. The weakness of having dreams results in not expecting anything or finding meaning in anything for them or their children. Apart from the eradication of the family vendettas cause as we can understand the social exclusion of the people in the Cretan state.

Of course in other cases the custom of the vendetta stops whether with successive marriages between the opposing families or the mediation of people with high prestige (Pendarakis-Sartzetakis vendetta). However, the people involved continue to live with difficulties. Dozens of people and whole families bear the stigma of the vendetta in their lives.

Their social environment feels fear towards them because they do not accept them and treat them with suspicion. Their incorporation to the society is not smooth since not even the state can provide the suitable mechanisms for their acceptance after their release from prison. The victimizers find it hard to become acceptable and make go away the ghosts from the past.

Vendettas have been the cause of exclusion for whole villages. A characteristic case is Patima, Apokorona. While entering the village there is a sign full of gunshot holes saying "Well, this is Patima", although the past tense would be more appropriate. Eighteen whole years have passed since that black afternoon of the 23rd May 1994 when the first act of a tragedy that ended in a vendetta was written.

A 53-year-old mother of four children was found murdered and sexually violated in a rural area of the village. The conflict between two families for some land was the cause for a chain of executions which started in Patima and spread to Rethymno, Amaliada, Mitilini and Athens. Six people were put under the ground from a vicious cycle of blood that although it closed it left open wounds. This is a typical Cretan vendetta the consequences of which pay today the five decrepit residents of the village ghost, who live in loneliness and isolation. These residents are the victims of a heavy curse and the more they shout that they exist the less their voice echoes in the empty houses, the desolate streets. They wish to get rid of the old events that stigmatized their village their life as they say is dramatic. There is nothing left in this village, the five sole residents refuse to abandon their birthplace and their fortunes.

These people because of the vendetta live social exclusion every day from the rest of the Cretans. The rest of the people are afraid to go near Patima since it is considered informally as a restricted area.

It is worth mentioning the fact that along with life the interest of the state for Patima has ceased to exist. A doctor visits the place every fortnight there are no means of transport since with the outbreak of the vendetta desolation came along with it. The future of the village is easily predictable, besides the examples in Western Crete are not few. Like Anadena in the mountainous region of Sfakia, Patima in Apokoronas will be in the black books of history as another place where only ghosts of an old vendetta reside.

Case of study for sociologists, a curse that stigmatizes the island, the vendettas which have been recorded in the modern history of Crete are unfortunately many and their consequences dramatic. From the ruthless clash of the Pendarakis-Sartzetakis, the annihilation over land disputes of the Sygelakis-Grilakis in Apokoronas, the interfamily vendetta of the Striligas in Mylopotamos, Rethymno, and the Bonatakis-Koukoulas in Pervolakia, Kissamos, up to the vendetta of the Mouzourakis-Dikonimakis in Patima, the cycle of blood covered the earth with dozens of

gravestones. Whole families were eradicated, fear of retribution spread over the small local communities and villages once full of life are in danger of being erased from the map.

Conclutions - Suggested suppressive and precautionary measures for the vendetta

It is worth seeing that these introverted mountainous communities function with strong collectiveness, in fact this collectiveness - which mainly protects the whole of the community and not each individual separately - is one of the reasons that the vendetta and the like have long-lived: because they have prevented the community from falling apart. The vendetta itself develops between two powerful and large families, as it is depicted by the word "family" which means vendetta in Cretan dialect, and the family councils are the ones who select the victim or face every threat. (D.A.Xiritakis, "An affair of honor-Cretan vendetta stories").

It is interesting, that is, to emphasize the fact that the unwritten laws which define how the mountainous closed communities function correctively, with the sole purpose to solve the problems caused inside the community not only by the vendettas but also by other emergency incidents that upset one of the powerful families along with the community such as a kidnapping, a cattle stealing, or a grassland trespassing. The correction is being carried out through strictly defined ways which the unwritten law provides usually by a marriage between the opposing families. Besides, it would be unthinkable for a society to exist without its soothing mechanisms. What is strange is the fact that all these coexist with the Official Law of the Greek state, along with the social changes in progress not only in the urban areas but also in all the mountainous communities.

Despite the fact that the phenomenon of the Cretan vendetta continues to exist until today in certain mountainous villages, local authorities and the Greek state in general must take effective and immediate measures to battle this unwritten law. More specifically the police should be stricter with the Cretans. In Crete the phenomenon of carrying arms is intense. Most Cretans carry arms to feel safe as they claim. The police authorities may be aware of this fact, yet their controls are ineffective.

Furthermore, the local Authorities also need to act. Of course there needs to be a development in mechanisms to battle criminality in Crete. The Greek state should follow organized tactics to eradicate offending behavior and should also cater for the smooth rehabilitation to society of former convicts, individuals that is who were involved in a vendetta and were released from prison.

Another fact that has to be pinpointed is that education in turn should take certain measures. Modernization of mountainous villages and also education could iron out this bloody custom. The residents of these villages should also report incidents of criminality to the authorities so that these can be responsible to take action. When the above measures are set in action the phenomenon will subside to a great extent.

It is worth mentioning that the phenomenon of desocialization of the people involved in vendetta cases is mainly due to the insecurity they feel for their life. It is understandable that the local society of Crete has the duty to provide the mechanisms for their smooth rehabilitation and the normal continuation of their lives. The society itself should accept these people and embrace them, because despite the harm they did by taking the law into their hands, they have not ceased to be citizens of our modern society having the same rights with us.

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