

PLURALISM IN TRANSITION: CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF  
THE LEGALIZATION OF PRIVATE AND MUNICIPAL  
RADIO BROADCASTING IN GREECE

A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA  
BY  
JUDY RENE SIMS

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
1990

Copyright 1990 by Judy Rene Sims

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents . . . . .	i
List of Tables . . . . .	iv
Acknowledgments . . . . .	v
Abstract . . . . .	vii
 CHAPTER ONE: Introduction and Research Problem . . . . .	 1
Significance . . . . .	2
Research Questions . . . . .	4
Definition of Terms . . . . .	5
Theoretical Framework . . . . .	7
Review of Related Theory and Literature . . . . .	12
Intercultural Communication . . . . .	13
Mass Communication Research in Mediterranean Democracies . . . . .	23
Pluralist Theory and Theories of Bureaucratic Dysfunction . . . . .	28
Social Change Literature . . . . .	35
Methodology . . . . .	39
Thesis Organization . . . . .	47
Summary . . . . .	49
References . . . . .	53
 CHAPTER TWO: History of Greek Radio Broadcasting . . . . .	 57
Introduction . . . . .	57
Radio Broadcasting: The Early Years . . . . .	58
Radio in Wartime Greece . . . . .	64
The Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute (HNBI) 1945-1970 . . . . .	67
HNBI Programming . . . . .	79
Radio and The Colonels' Regime: 1967-1974 . . . . .	84
Greek Radio and Television Corporation (ERT) 1975-1987 . . . . .	88
ERT Single Agency (ERT S.A.) . . . . .	96
Summary . . . . .	98
References . . . . .	106

CHAPTER THREE: Greek Broadcasting in Transition: The Introduction of Legally Recognized Private and Municipal Radio--A Challenge To the State . . . . .	109
---	-----

"Non-Encouraged" Private Radio 1950-1969 . . . . .	109
Clandestine and Pirate Radio Broadcasts 1983-1987. . . . .	112
Athens Municipal Radio . . . . .	116
Top FM 924 Private Radio . . . . .	119
Piraeus Municipal Radio . . . . .	121
Thessaloniki Municipal Radio . . . . .	124
Antenna 97.1 FM Private Radio . . . . .	127
Proedrika Diatagmata [Presidential Decree] . . . . .	129
Greek Politics and Radio Broadcasting 1989 . . . . .	132
Problems of Access and Control . . . . .	136
Summary . . . . .	139
References . . . . .	151

CHAPTER FOUR: Forces Operative in the Establishment and Development of Private and Municipal Radio Stations in Greece . . . . .	154
---	-----

Political Parties in Greece . . . . .	155
Forces Identified by the Five Political Party Spokespersons . . . . .	156
The Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK) . . . . .	156
The New Democracy Party . . . . .	160
The Communist Party of Greece . . . . .	161
The Greek Left . . . . .	162
Democratic Renewal . . . . .	163
Forces Identified by Managers and Directors of Private and Municipal Radio Stations . . . . .	163
Private Radio Stations . . . . .	163
Municipal Radio Stations . . . . .	165
Forces Identified by Editors, Publishers, Journalists, and Intellectuals . . . . .	167
Forces Identified by Lawyers, University Professors, and Spokespersons for the Church of Greece . . . . .	176
The Forces Reconsidered . . . . .	181
Summary . . . . .	187
References . . . . .	192

CHAPTER FIVE: Pluralism in Transition: Cultural Implications of the Legalization of Private and Municipal Radio Broadcasting in Greece . . . . .	195
The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of Private and Municipal Radio Stations as Articulated by the Five Political Party Spokespersons . . . . .	197
PASOK . . . . .	197
New Democracy . . . . .	200
Communist . . . . .	200
Greek Left . . . . .	202
Democratic Renewal . . . . .	204
The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of Private and Municipal Radio Stations as Articulated by Managers and Directors of Private and Municipal Radio Stations . . . . .	205
Private Radio . . . . .	205
Municipal Radio . . . . .	207
The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of Private and Municipal Radio Stations as Articulated by Editors, Publishers, Journalists, and Intellectuals . . . . .	209
The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of Private and Municipal Radio Stations as Articulated by Lawyers, University Professors, and Spokespersons for the Church of Greece . . . . .	216
The Meanings Reconsidered . . . . .	225
Summary . . . . .	232
References . . . . .	237
CHAPTER SIX: Summary and Conclusions . . . . .	240
Summary of Data . . . . .	241
Research Questions . . . . .	259
Research Question #1 . . . . .	259
Research Question #2 . . . . .	262
Research Question #3 . . . . .	264
Discussion . . . . .	270
Limitations . . . . .	279
Retrospective Self-Critique and Suggestions for Further Research . . . . .	286
Conclusions . . . . .	290
References . . . . .	300
Appendix A . . . . .	304
Appendix B . . . . .	310
Appendix C . . . . .	313

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	National Broadcasting Institute Stations (1938-1957) . . . . .	73
Table 2:	Percentage Breakdown of Total HNBI Broadcast Time Spoken Word Broadcasts . . . . .	81
Table 3:	Percentage Breakdown of total HNBI Broadcast Time Music Programs . . . . .	82
Table 4:	Percentage Breakdown of Total HNBI Broadcast Time Variety . . . . .	83
Table 5:	Greek Radio Stations, Their Affiliation and Their Power--1985 (AM) . . . . .	94
Table 6:	Greek Radio Stations, Their Affiliation and Their Power--1985 (FM) . . . . .	95
Table 7:	History of Greek Radio Broadcasting 1920-1987 .	102
Table 8:	Private Radio Stations (1952-1957) . . . . .	111
Table 9:	History of Greek Radio Broadcasting 1952-1989 .	147
Table 10:	Forces Operative in the Establishment of Private and Municipal Radio Stations in Greece . . . . .	183

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Upon completion of this thesis, a colleague presented an Ojibway dream net to me as a gift to celebrate the fulfillment of a dream. This thesis, which developed from a sincere and personal interest in the culture and people of Greece, is the result of both hope and dreams. I would like to thank the following persons for encouraging this hope and helping to make this dream a reality:

Dr. Donald Browne, my advisor, for sharing his knowledge and understanding of broadcast communications and for his scholarly guidance and human understanding.

Dr. Chin Chaun Lee, for his suggestions regarding how to work with voluminous amounts of qualitative data and for his way of professing.

Dr. Judith Martin, for sharing her understanding and knowledge of intercultural and cross-cultural communication.

Dr. Popie Marinou Mohring, for her sincere and empathic support and for sharing her scholarly understandings of the culture of Greece.

Dr. George Shapiro, Dr. David Rarick, and Dr. Diane Katsiaficas.

Dr. Theofanis Stavrou and Sotiris Stavrou who directed studies of the modern Greek language, culture, and society.

The Minnesota Student Project for Amity Among Nations (SPAN).

My SPAN colleagues with special thanks to Teresa Callies and Angela Shand for their assistance with transcriptions.

Ike Pappas, for his letters of introduction, contacts, and encouragement.

The Embassy of Greece, Washington, D.C.

The Ministry to the Prime Minister's Office, Athens, Greece.

My colleagues at the University of Minnesota with special thanks to Rebecca Lind for her assistance, suggestions, and humor.

Linda Gruber, my typist, for her positive attitude, patience, and quality work.

Dr. Nancy Reist, for her critical support, guidance, and energy.

Maya Gaki and Giorgios Douadjis for their hospitality and love, and for sharing their knowledge and understanding of journalism and broadcast communications in Greece.

My mother, my father, and my brother for their love, support, interest, and patience.

The interviewees, for their willingness to participate in this study.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis describes an investigation of the changes in Greek radio broadcasting since 1981. Specifically, this thesis focuses on the legalization of private and municipal radio as both evidence and indicator of social change within modern Greek society. This thesis examines the transition from State controlled radio to legally recognized private and municipal radio in modern Greek through (1) a review of the history of Greek broadcasting from 1920-1987, focusing mainly on the developments and changes in the State broadcasting system, (2) a review of the history of the establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio broadcasting in Greece, (3) discussion of the forces operative in the transition from State controlled broadcasting to legally recognized private and municipal radio broadcasting, and (4) discussion of the meaning of the transition focusing on social change, cultural implications, and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control.

This study is based on 40 face-to-face interviews conducted in Greece during the summer of 1988 with spokespersons and opinionmakers from positions of power within the Greek society. Interviews were conducted with spokespersons and opinionmakers from the following categories: (1) the government; (2) the five political parties recognized by the Greek Parliament during the summer of 1988, including

the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the New Democracy Party, Diana, the Greek Left, and the Communist Party (KKE); (3) managers and/or directors from the legally recognized private radio and municipal radio stations; (4) editors, publishers, and journalists; (5) lawyers; (6) spokespersons from the Church of Greece; (7) spokespersons from Greek State radio and television (ERT S.A.); and (8) university professors. The interview data are supplemented, enhanced, and supported with documents, photographs, books, newspaper, magazine, and journal articles.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY, AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### Introduction

The primary objective of this thesis is the examination of the legally recognized private and municipal radio stations which developed in Greece between 1987 and 1989. Specifically, the examination focuses on the historical development, operation, structure, and control of these stations. In addition, this thesis examines the forces operative in the establishment of the private and municipal radio stations, as well as the meaning of the transition from State broadcasting to private and municipal broadcasting in terms of social change, cultural implications, and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control.

As the State or government in power controlled broadcasting for the first 60 years in Greece, and private and municipal radio stations were not legally recognized until 1987, an understanding of the roots and history of Greek broadcasting from the early 1920's is imperative. Thus, this thesis describes and explains in depth the history of the State radio broadcasting system as well as the transition to and establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations.

#### Research Problem

Specifically, this study approaches and views the

development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations as strongly related to problems of control, access, and lack of pluralism, due to Greece's history of State or government controlled radio broadcasting. As Papacosma (1988) and Katsoudas (1985) make clear, by not allowing private stations, the State has controlled radio from its inception and, whether dictatorial or freely elected, the government in power has tended to manipulate the airwaves for its own purposes:

Such control can affect all forms of programming but is particularly important in the presentation of news, whose contents can be arranged to present the government in a constantly positive light. Balanced objectivity is more the exception than the rule (Papacosma, 1988, p. 26; Katsoudas, 1985, pp. 137-151).

Thus, the research problem concerns the nature of State or government controlled broadcasting in Greece, how it relates to the emergence and development of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations, and how the transition has affected problems of control, access, and pluralism.

### Significance

As private and municipal radio stations were not legally recognized in Greece until 1987, this research is current and contributes to the existing literature concerning mass communication in Greece. This thesis is unique in that it provides a review of the history of Greek radio broadcasting from 1920-1989. Further, as research concerning the most recent developments in radio broadcasting in Greece is quite

limited (Zarharopoulos, 1985; 1989), this thesis contributes to the field of study.

According to Jay Blumler's article, "Purposes of Mass Communication Research: A Transatlantic Perspective" (1978), "critical communications research is skeptical of the very project of taking a single purpose and studying the means of its realization in isolation from the historical situation in which such planning and activity takes place" (Blumler, 1978, pp. 219-230). As the institution of radio broadcasting in Greece is a distinctly political institution with social and economic ramifications, this thesis is presented within the context of Greek sociopolitical, economic, and political phenomena. This study examines the means of the realization of private and municipal radio broadcasting with emphasis on the historical situation in which it occurred and emerged, in the tradition of critical mass communications research.

This thesis also contributes to an understanding of pluralist theory, theories of bureaucratic dysfunction, and theories of social change. This study considers the recent changes in Greek radio broadcasting since 1987 and, specifically, the establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations, as both evidence and indicator of the power of human beings to act and influence social change within Greek society. This study examines the forces, both external and internal, operative in the change to and development of private and municipal radio stations. Concepts

of pluralism, access, and control are examined, discussed, and considered within the context of their meaning within Greek society, as well as their relationship to the structure and operation of the newly established private and municipal radio stations. Economic, social, and political phenomena that functioned to create the change and transition from State broadcasting to private and municipal broadcasting in Greece are explored and informed through a synthesized theoretical framework of pluralist theory, theories of bureaucratic dysfunction, and theories of social change.

Finally, as this study is qualitative in nature, based on the metatheoretical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm, and a research approach which employs, primarily, the descriptive data-gathering tools of face-to-face interviews, this thesis contributes to the literature concerning qualitative methodological procedures. In particular, this study provides further understanding of qualitative research in an intercultural setting. Although this study does not focus on communication behaviors unique to Greece, an understanding of such behaviors is imperative in order to conduct qualitative research, specifically, face-to-face interviews, in Greece.

### Research Questions

The following three research questions provided direction for this study:

- (1) What external and internal forces were

operative in the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece?

- (2) How, if at all, has the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations contributed to the existence of a more pluralistic environment in Greece in terms of diversity of information and the creation of a broadcast system composed of competing components encouraged by differing motivations?
- (3) How, if at all, has the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations affected issues of access and control of Greek radio broadcasting?

#### Definition of Terms

The following terms and concepts used to discuss the research topic and the areas and issues of interest related to the topic, are defined to provide further clarity to this study:

- (1) **Pluralism:** A political philosophy or ideology asserting the desirability of diffusing power widely among a variety of associations--religious, economic, professional, education, and cultural--and fragmenting government into decentralized units, so that society is dominated either by the State nor by a single class (Abercrombie, Hill and Turner, 1984, pp. 184-185). In terms of broadcast systems and this study, pluralism refers to a condition present when a broadcast system has competing

components encouraged by differing motivations (usually the motives of public service and profit) for programming (Head, 1985, p. 6; 414).

(2) **Control:** Forms of control over broadcast stations, whether they be legal and political (that is, laws and censorship), economic (ownership and support), or social (criticism and the giving or withholding of patronage). Control, as understood in this study, refers to any religious, economic, political, or social influences that may affect access or pluralism as defined in this study.

(3) **Access:** "Communication freedom means the liberty to be not only on the receiving end but on the sending end as well. An ideal system gives access to broadcasting facilities for varied ideas, groups, and individuals" (Head, 1985, p. 8). Access, as considered in this study, refers to both the degree of accessibility to radio station facilities by the public for purposes of broadcasting and the public's ability to access diverse sources of information.

(4) **Privatization:** "A deregulatory trend toward the transfer of control over matters hitherto under government domination to private hands" (Head, 1985, p. 414).

(5) **Municipal:** In Greece, the term "municipal" when applied to radio stations, means a business of the municipality.

(6) **Forces:** The term forces, as considered in this study, refers to any exogenous or endogenous influence, pressure, or demand of a social, political, economic, cultural, national or

international nature as perceived by the subjects in this research.

### Theoretical Framework

Denzin (1970) discussed the difficulties involved in theory construction; he suggests one deficiency of modern sociology theory is a misunderstanding of what theory is:

Some theorists suggest that theories are interrelated sets of concepts, or logico-deductive schemes, or images of reality, or even conceptual frameworks. Others refer to sociological classics as theory, while still others distinguish grand theory from middle-range, formal, and/or substantive theory (Denzin, 1970, p. 65).

Theory, as understood by this researcher, refers to an organized system of knowledge that is both the result of research and thinking, and the catalyst for more research and thinking (Emmert and Barker, 1989, p. 13). Emmert and Barker (1989) explain the purpose and nature of communication theory:

A theory of communication should reveal, describe and interpret an underlying system that governs communication. Communication theories deal with actions and behavior, affect and emotions, cognition and understanding, relationships and associations, as well as patterns and structures (Emmert and Barker, 1989, p. 13).

This thesis attempts to understand the development and establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations in Greece on several levels--understanding of the meaning of the messages concerning the topic as communicated in the interview situation, understanding of the topic in terms of the power of humans to act and influence social change, and understanding the topic in terms of cultural implications, and

the concepts of pluralism, access, and control. This approach necessitates the synthesis of several theoretical conceptualizations--pluralist theory, theories of bureaucratic dysfunction, and theories of social change--into one framework. The purpose of this framework, a design of this researcher's imagination, is to convey most effectively an understanding of this study. In support of an imaginative approach to theory construction, MacIver (131) argues:

I conclude that the great need of sociology is not ready-made methods nor ready-made models but the trained and disciplined imagination . . . Our aim is to understand and to convey to others the understanding of the intricate and often baffling web of social relationships, which, being created by man, must be understood by a similar capacity in ourselves (MacIver, 1931, pp. 25-27, 35).

This study employs a mode of investigation, qualitative research, that shares the metatheoretical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975; Putnam and Pacanowsky, 1983). Putnam and Pacanowsky (1983) explain the schools of thought making up this paradigm:

[they] share a common core; the centrality of meaning in social actions. Specifically, interpretive approaches aim to explicate and, in some cases, to critique the subjective and consensual meanings that constitute social reality . . . .[they also] share general assumptions about the nature of reality and social order, the role of knowledge in social action, and the relationship between human beings and their environment (Putnam and Pacanowsky, 1983, p. 32).

According to this perspective, individuals have free will and actively create their own environments, although they do this within the perceived constraints of social structures. Social

structures are seen as symbolic representations of human relationships that have real consequences in their impact on day-to-day behavior. They cannot be viewed independently of the social forces that formed them. Thus, according to Putnam (1983), there is an interaction between individual will and social structures in which each shapes and responds to the other (Putnam and Pacanowsky, 1983, pp. 31-54).

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979), theorists of all schools of thought within the interpretive paradigm tend to share a common perspective:

their primary concern is to understand the subjective experience of individuals. Their theories are constructed from the standpoint of the individual actor as opposed to the observer of action; they view social reality as an emergent process--as an extension of human consciousness and subjective experience. Insofar as a wider social environment is accorded ontological status, it is regarded as the creation and extension of the subjective experience of the individuals involved . . . . All theories constructed in the context of the interpretive paradigm are anti-positivist. They reject the view that the world of human affairs can be studied in the manner of the natural sciences (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 253).

According to Putnam (1983), there is no single methodological approach that is most appropriate for interpretive research. Choice of methodological approach is determined by the assumptions of social reality that underlie the research (Putnam and Pacanowsky, 1983, pp. 31-54). In order to research the development and establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations in Greece, the data-gathering techniques of the face-to-face interview and of observation were

chosen. As explained previously, this data-gathering technique was chosen primarily for two reasons: (1) the importance of *couvenda* [conversation] in the Greek culture, and (2) this researcher's ontological and epistemological assumptions.

In order to provide the reader with a more thorough understanding of the reasons behind this researcher's choice of the interpretive paradigm as a guiding theoretical framework for researching the topic, it is necessary to review this researcher's ontological, epistemological, methodological, and metatheoretical assumptions.

Ontological assumptions concern one's beliefs about the nature of the subject matter to be studied; in terms of communication, such beliefs describe the nature of human communicators and the process of communication itself. Epistemological assumptions concern appropriate ways of studying the subject matter of a discipline. Methodological assumptions concern the research techniques that are appropriate to disciplinary inquiry. Metatheoretical assumptions address the types of theoretical explanations that are appropriate to human communication. Smith (1987) argues that the four components (ontological, epistemological, methodological, and metatheoretical assumptions) are hierarchically and reciprocally related and suggests that a researcher's ontological and epistemological views determine the sorts of theoretical explanations he or she deems suitable (Smith, 1987, pp. 299-301).

As stated previously, one's ontological assumptions, in terms of communication, concern the nature of human communicators and the process of communication itself. This researcher views communication as a creative process, as a purposive activity, and as an interactive reality.

The idea of communication as a creative process assumes that all instances of social reality, communication among them, are created by the process of communication. Thus, communication constructs itself as well as other noncommunicative social realities (Smith, 1987, p. 305). Communication as a purposive activity assumes that people are capable of choice and self-directed action (Smith, 1987, p. 306). And, the idea of communication as an interactive reality assumes that communication is a choice-making behavior which takes place within boundaries that expand and contract as a function of a relatively fixed potential context (Smith, 1987, p. 341).

The epistemological assumptions of this researcher are rooted in the constructivist realist paradigm, which suggests that a communicator's meaning for a given situation is believed to constitute the primary data for communication researchers. Researchers are thought to reconstruct a communicator's meanings by the interpretations they assign to them (Miller, 1983, p. 32).

As stated previously, metatheoretical assumptions address the types of theoretical explanations that are appropriate to human communication. In order to explain and understanding the

results of this study, this researcher believes that a synthesis of three theoretical approaches--pluralist theory, theories of bureaucratic dysfunction, and theories of social change--most effectively inform this research. Theories of bureaucratic dysfunction and theories of social change are addressed in the following section, which reviews related theory and literature.

In review, the methodological design of this study, qualitative in nature, is based on the metatheoretical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm. In an effort to establish a theory-method complex, the data-gathering technique of face-to-face interviews and of observation were employed as the primary research tools. A theoretical framework, composed of a synthesis of pluralist theory, theories of bureaucratic dysfunction, and theories of social change, serves as the approach by which the data were analyzed and explained.

#### Review of Related Theory/Literature

In order to provide the reader with a better understanding of the nature of this study, the following review of literature summarizes some of the theory and previous research relevant to this study. This review focuses on the following four areas: (1) intercultural communication research; (2) literature related to mass communication research in mediterranean democracies; (3) pluralist theory and theories of bureaucratic dysfunction; (4) theories of social change.

## Intercultural Communication

In order to conduct qualitative research effectively in Greece, an understanding of intercultural communication is imperative. Intercultural communication, also called "cross-cultural communication", refers to communication between members of different cultures or subcultures (Devito, 1986, p. 162). Communicating face-to-face with persons of another culture, especially a culture that may be quite different from one's own culture, requires a certain sensitivity and awareness of the values, attitudes, and behaviors of that culture. Awareness and understanding of communication behaviors unique to a particular culture as well as intercultural differences can influence, significantly, the structure of the research interview and increase the possibility of conducting successful interviews in terms of the research goals.

For example, intercultural communication awareness can affect the choice of questions and topics to be addressed in the research interview; as well, it can affect how the researcher's social and nonverbal behaviors are communicated and interpreted by the interviewee. Perhaps, most importantly, it can affect how the interviewee responses are interpreted by the interviewer.

Research findings and suggestions by Triandis and Vassiliou (1972), Samovar, Porter, and Jain (1981), and Furnham and Bochner (1986), Zarharopolous (1985), and Broome and Bertsekas (1989) strongly shaped this researcher's approach and

analysis. Without prior understanding and awareness of communication and cultural differences between the United States and Greece, this researcher would have experienced severe misinterpretation and could have been perceived as a culturally insensitive person. As this research was conducted with the epistemological spirit of the interpretive approach, value was placed on human interpretation; thus, attempts to minimize barriers to understanding and interpretation were critical.

Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) conducted an intensive comparative analysis of the subjective cultures of Americans and Greeks. According to the authors, the findings, which are presented as explanations of Greek subjective culture from an American perspective, illustrate consistencies in the response of subjects to different kinds of instruments. The authors express their concern with substantive findings rather than the methodology that led to the findings (Triandis, Vassiliou, 1972, p. 300). The data, which are based on empirical studies, were obtained with various instruments, including semantic differential scales that utilized characteristics elicited from open-ended interviews of Americans and Greeks; a role differential instrument designed to compare the way Americans and Greeks perceive relationships between people; a Thurstone scale designed to provide descriptions of social behaviors, and an Osgood (1957, 1965) instrument for describing three dimensions of attitudes.

According to Triandis and Vassiliou, a good deal of consistency across methods was evidenced (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, p. 299). Explanations, based on the history, geography and environment of Greece, often were provided to supplement the data. Although the authors suggest that their procedures are reliable, valid, and internally coherent, it is difficult for one to know the basis for some of their explanations and conclusions as one is not provided with an extensive description of the methodologies utilized (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, p. 355).

However, the authors provide considerable information concerning communication behaviors unique to Greece. Specifically, the authors discuss appropriate social behavior in Greece, the Greek character, Greek attitudes and values, and cultural differences.

Traditional Greek culture is more "collectivist" than "individualistic" in nature and emphasizes distinctions between "ingroup" and "outgroup" to a much larger extent than do Western societies. According to Triandis and Vassiliou, a Greek defines his universe in terms of the "ingroup" over the "outgroup" and his social behavior is dependent, strongly, on whether the other person is a member of his ingroup. The ingroup in traditional Greek society includes family, relatives, friends, and even friends of friends. In addition, persons who are perceived as showing concern for one's welfare are seen as members of the ingroup. Behavioral responses to

members of the ingroup are characterized by cooperation, protection, and help. Outgroup members include those in the community outside the immediate family, the extended family, and the network of ingroup affiliations. Behavioral responses to members of the outgroup include rejection, defiance, resentment, and undermining (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, pp. 304-305).

The sense of responsibility and obligation to the ingroup is known as "philotimo"; it is the most important element of the Greek-self concept, and it is basic to a Greek's personal being and even his status within a family, village, district, as well as his nationalism (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, pp. 308-309). Philotimo is not translatable with a single English word; it is a concept that refers to several aspects of Greek character and social relations (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 6). Triandis and Vassiliou explain the meaning of philotimo:

A person who has this characteristic is polite, virtuous, reliable, has a "good soul," behaves correctly, meets his obligations, does his duty, is truthful, generous, self-sacrificing, tactful, respectful, and grateful (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, pp. 308-309).

As Broome and Bertsekas (1989) explain, it is impossible to have good relations with Greeks unless one is aware of philotimo (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 6).

Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) provide useful information concerning Greek attitudes and values. According to the authors, Greeks have a much clearer system of values than Americans; they agree among themselves to a much greater extent

than Americans (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, pp. 325-326). A review of the author's research concerning Greek attitudes and values reveals the following information pertinent to this study: (1) Greeks love to discuss, to argue, and match their wits with other debators; (2) political concepts, such as capitalism, democracy, nationalism, and socialism, are seen as more powerful by Americans than by Greeks. Nationalism, on the other hand, is seen as "more good" by Greeks than by Americans; (3) Greeks see democracy, peace, patriotism, and the Constitution as the determinants of freedom; (4) Greeks see the concept of truth, primarily, as the opposite of lying; Greeks see the progress of the society and the individual, job and success as consequents of truth; and (5) Greeks see trust in the context of personal relationships as a consequence of the other person's good behavior and character; trust is a prerequisite of effective cooperation within the ingroup (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, pp. 299-335).

In the area of cultural differences, Triandis and Vassiliou suggest that significant differences exist between Greeks and Americans (persons from the United States). The authors discuss implications of the differences:

It is not surprising that when the two cultures come in contact they achieve limited interpersonal success and insufficient admiration . . . the implication of the present analysis is that the two subjective cultures are indeed so different that is unlikely that "unmodified" Americans and Greeks could have a successful relationship (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, p. 335).

The authors' findings concerning differences between

Americans and Greeks suggest the importance of developing, in advance of cross-cultural research, an awareness of differences as well as how to behave in the interview situation in order to account for such differences. An awareness of differences also was important in analysis of interviewee responses.

Samovar, Porter, and Jain (1981) provide the reader with limited information concerning intercultural communication in Greece; however, they do support the findings of Triandis and Vassiliou concerning differences between Americans and Greeks. Although the authors do not state the source of their information concerning intercultural communication in Greece, they provide a diagram which illustrates differences between cultures according to a minimum-maximum dimension. Cultural factors such as physical appearance, religion, philosophy, social attitudes, language, heritage, basic conceptualizations of self and the universe, and degree of technological development comprise the basis for the comparison. According to the authors, the amount of difference between two cultural groups can be seen to depend on the relative social uniqueness of the two groups. As the authors make clear, the differences between the United States and Greece are illustrated as "maximum" according to the dimensional scale (Samovar, Porter, and Jain, 1981, p. 30).

Furnham and Bochner (1986) cite numerous research studies including Hofstede, 1984; Triandis, 1975; Collett, 1982; and Morris, Collett, Marsh and O'Shaughnessy, 1979, that yield

specific information concerning intercultural communication research in Greece. Specifically, Furnham and Bochner address nonverbal behaviors and concepts of time unique to the Greek culture. The authors provide an example of a nonverbal behavior specific to Greece:

In the United States a raised thumb is used as a signal of approval or approbation, the "thumbs up" signal, but in Greece it is employed as an insult, often been associated with the expression "katsa pano" or "sit on this" (Furnham and Bochner, 1986, p. 207).

In fact, there are numerous other nonverbal behaviors unique to Greece. For example, in the United States, one nods the head in an up and down movement to indicate agreement. In Greece, one nods the head forward and downward with a slight tilt. The head never moves backwards. Further, to indicate non-agreement in Greece, one nods the head straight backwards with a quick motion. Understanding and awareness of such nonverbal behaviors is essential.

Samovar, Porter, and Jain (1981), as well as other authors including Zarharopoulos (1985), Dicks (1972), and Mead (1955) address concepts of time orientation unique to the Greek culture. Time orientation is concerned with how people schedule their time and the importance they place on being punctual (Samovar, Porter, and Jain, 1981, p. 42). Hall (1959), for example, describes the value of promptness in American life:

Promptness is . . . valued highly in American life. If people are not prompt. it is often taken either as an insult or as an indication that they are not quite

responsible. There are those, of a psychological bent, who would say that [Americans] are obsessed with time (Hall, 1959, p. 21).

As Zarharopoulos (1985) indicates, the Greek conception of time is not necessarily unique to the Greeks; it is in line with the Mediterranean temperament (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 58). Dicks (1972) reports, "The clock is no master of the Greeks and they find it distasteful to organize their activities to external limits" (Dicks, 1972, p. 36). An understanding of the Greek conception of time was imperative in order to conduct this research.

Broome and Bertsekas (1989) discuss the Greek approach to conflict in interpersonal communication, exploring the traditional foundations of struggle as a way of life. The authors' views are based on anthropological, sociological, linguistic, and communication literature about Greece, as well as research conducted in Greece between 1980 and 1989. According to the authors, conflict in interpersonal communication is an aspect of everyday transactions in Greece that is unavoidable. Further, interpersonal struggle is evident in several related aspects of Greek social reality: (a) conversation style, (b) the competitive nature of social relationships, (c) the use of deception in relations with outgroup members, and (d) the process nature of relational struggle (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 8).

As Broome and Bertsekas (1989) explain, "to the unaccustomed ear, every conversation appears to be an argument,

and gentleness seems to play no part in dialogue" (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 8). Lee (1959) described the conversational style of Greeks as "contrapuntal virtuosity, incisive, combative, loud" (Lee, 1959, p. 146). Further, in support of the findings of Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) that Greeks love to discuss, to argue, and to match their wit with other debaters, the authors suggest that "couvenda", or conversation, indeed serves a number of important functions in Greek society (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, pp. 9-10).

Interpersonal struggle also is evident in the competitive nature of social relationships. According to Holden (1972), a "deep current of rivalry and suspicion" runs between Greek and Greek; relationships are in a constant state of flux because of the competitive nature of the Greek's social orientation (Holden, 1972, pp. 1-36). Broome and Bertsekas (1989) explain the Greek competitive orientation to relationships:

The approach to competition in Greece reflects the collectivist nature of traditional Greek culture. Whereas in individualist cultures such as the United States and most of Europe, competition is between individuals, in Greece competition is primarily between the ingroup and the outgroup (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 11).

According to Broome and Bertsekas (1989), interpersonal struggle is further evident in the Greek social reality in the use of concealment and deception in relations with outgroup members. As stated earlier, Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) suggest that Greeks define the concept of truth primarily as the opposite of lying. Broome and Bertsekas (1989) explain the

role of concealment and deception in relations with outgroup members:

They serve as important means for upholding ingroup and family honor and prestige. . . . The use of lies and the frequent omission of information provided to others leads to the expectation that some form of deception is likely when interacting with members of the outgroup, or at the least, that it is not unusual for others to attempt deception. It is acceptable as a means for achieving a desired goal, and each person develops skills in the art of guilefulness. . . . Deception is also part of the network of obligations to family and friends in Greek society. Official and business relations are characterized by a system of patronage where a friend or family supports one's interest, even in cases where something wrong has been done (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 13).

As Broome and Bertsekas (1989) make clear, "despite the competitive nature of relations with the outgroup and the use of deception in communication with the outgroup, the interpersonal struggle characteristic of Greek relationships is not totally focused on outcome, but rather, tends to center on process" (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 13). According to the authors, interpersonal struggles provide not only stimulation and satisfaction for Greeks, but also play an important role in strengthening ingroup solidarity: "the hostility and opposition directed toward the outgroup serves as a complement to the cooperation necessary within the ingroup" (Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 13).

Awareness and understanding of Greek interpersonal communication, including conversation style, the competitive nature of social relationships, the use of deception and concealment in relations with outgroup members, and the process

nature of relational struggle, provided this researcher with a more clear perspective in the analysis stage of this study. It is important to note that this researcher believes that, at times, she was considered a member of the ingroup; at other times, it was difficult to know.

### Mass Communication Research in Mediterranean Democracies

According to Geoffrey Pridham (1984), the simultaneous regime transition of Greece and Spain and, consequently, their comparable stages of democratic development, together with similarities in their socioeconomic conditions and political cultures, argue in favor of their being considered as a case-study in "mediterranean democracy" (Pridham, 1984, p. 17). Pridham's study is based on the view that sufficient time has elapsed since the demise of their authoritarian regimes to make a comparative study viable; the authoritarian regime ended in Greece with the coup against the colonels in July 1974 and the regime in Spain ended with the death of Franco in November 1975. Pridham's (1984) work offers useful insights and theoretical considerations into the dynamics of the structure, performance, and stability of the political system in Greece as well as the dynamics of its social and economic development--information fundamental to understanding the process of social change.

Examination of an analysis of the transformation of Spain's communications media during its political transition

from democracy in the 1975-1980 period, thus, is relevant to this study. de Moragas Spa (1983), who conducted such an analysis, reported the following changes evidenced by the radio communications system during the period of transition:

the transformation of the networks of the National Movement and of its social organizations (CAR, REM, CES) and their final assimilation into RTVE [Radio Television Espanola]; the appearance of "free" radio and the battle to establish municipal regional radio (de Moragas Spa, 1983, p. 505).

Greece experienced strikingly similar changes in broadcasting during its period of transition. The State broadcasting system, ERT, was transformed into a single agency, ERT S.A., and the free-radio movement functioned to legalize private and municipal radio.

According to de Moragas Spa, one of the principal transformations of broadcast communications during the stage of political transition was to be found in the battle by private broadcasters and some professionals in State broadcasting to be able to provide political information:

From October 1977 on, the radio increased, spectacularly, its informative programs, debates, and interviews and played an important role in political education and democratic participation. In keeping with its logic of competition, even the State radio, RNEW, accepted and permitted programs directed by journalists who made room for the leaders of the Left and for union representatives whose presence, on the other hand, was still persistently vetoed on television (de Moragas Spa, p. 504).

According to reports by interviewees in this study, the Greek State broadcast system (ERT S.A.), similarly adjusted its programming with the presence of competition from the legally

recognized private and municipal radio stations.

de Moragas Spa also explained the phenomenon of the appearance of free radio stations in Spain:

These [free-radio] stations were a response by political groups locating themselves outside parliamentary logic, first from the Left but later also from the extreme Right. . . . the principal argument was that of giving a voice to those on the margins of society. . . . the free radios [were] demanding above all else their legalization. They [did] not hide and they broadcast their own arrests. . . . all activity [was] centered on the justification of the existence of free radio as a right. The movement thus [sought] the protection of the Constitution (de Moragas Spa, p. 506).

As indicated by the results of this research, the free-radio movement in Greece, similarly, was composed of intellectuals and pirate radio activists from all sides of the political spectrum. Further, the free-radio movement in Greece was centered on the justification of the existence of free radio as a constitutional right.

As Pridham (1984) suggests, the simultaneous regime transition of Greece and Spain, as well as their comparable stages of democratic development, argue in favor of their being considered as a case-study in "mediterranean democracy." Examination of mass communication research in Spain during its transition from authoritarian rule may indeed provide further understanding of the movement to establish private and municipal radio stations in Greece.

Few studies focus on mass communication in Greece; still fewer studies concern recent changes in Greek radio broadcasting. The scholarly contributions of Efthimios

Zarharopoulos (1985 and 1989) provide the most recent and thorough examination in this area.

Zarharopoulos (1985) conducted a descriptive study designed, first, to document the amount and type of foreign mass media penetration in Greece; second, to examine the legal status and structure of the media so as to determine the power, structure and control of each medium; and third, to determine the operational and ideological norms of the media as a way of explicating any norms produced by foreign influence (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 15). It is important to make clear that his study was conducted before the legalization of private and municipal radio broadcasting in Greece.

The methods and procedures of the study of the mass media, which focused on broadcasting (radio and television), the press, the cinema, the music industry, and advertising, involved the use of content analyses, statistical sources, and critical analyses. Participant observation and interviewing were the main means through which data were collected and verified for much of the study.

This study is particularly useful in terms of this research as Zarharopoulos provides a thorough account of his methodology, a combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Zarharopoulos' qualitative approach utilized ethnographic research procedures such as field surveys, interviews and participant observation. The author provides detailed accounts of successful and unsuccessful strategies for

conducting qualitative research in Greece.

Zarharopoulos' (1985) study, which focuses on mass communication in Greece; provides extensive information concerning the broadcast communication services in Greece; he describes, in detail, the organization of the State radio broadcasting services, as well as its programming.

Zarharopoulos' findings concerning listener satisfaction of State radio programming, however, may conflict with the findings of this study. According to Zarharopoulos:

it can safely be stated that Greek radio today provides the largest variety of programming radio could possibly offer given the number of stations and the number of program services involved, thus seeming to satisfy the listeners' interests. It can also be safely stated that any listener at just about any time of the day can find foreign popular music on some radio station in Greece (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 200).

According to the results of this author's study, listeners were not satisfied with the programming of the State radio broadcast services. It is important to note, however, that Zarharopoulos' study was conducted in rural areas, whereas this study was conducted in the metropolitan cities of Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki.

Additional research conducted by Zarharopoulos (1989) focuses on the establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations. The author provides a brief review of the history of broadcasting in Greece between 1923 and 1989, explores the legal structure of Greek broadcasting, and discusses deregulation and free radio. In the discussion of

private and municipal radio stations, the author cites numerous Greek newspaper sources, which often supported and thus served to verify the interviewee data gathered by this researcher.

### Pluralist Theory and Theories of Bureaucratic Dysfunction

An increasing number of social theorists have concerned themselves with the development of theoretical perspectives which are essentially pluralist in nature (R. Dahl, 1982; A. Fox, 1973; R. Harrison, 1980; B. Hostefde, 1980; W. James, 1909; and R. Nisbet, 1953). The pluralist view stresses the diversity of individual interests and goals. As Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest, many of the ideas and research findings which this interest has generated point the way towards the development of a pluralist theory of organizations:

taken together [these findings] . . . lay the basis for the analysis of organizations as pluralist political systems--according to which organizations and their environment are viewed principally as arenas of conflict between individuals and groups whose activities are oriented towards the achievement of their own personal goals, values and interests (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 202).

Burrell and Morgan articulate organizational life from a pluralist perspective:

Organizational life, from a pluralist standpoint, is a power play between individuals and groups who draw upon their various sources of power in order to control their work situations and to achieve whatever objectives they value. The organization is viewed as a plurality of power holders who derive their influence from a plurality of sources (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 203).

Burrell and Morgan (1979) see the pluralist view as reflecting three sets of assumptions relating to what they describe as

interests, conflict, and power. Further, the authors suggest that a theory of interests, conflict, and power at an organizational level necessarily implies a theory of interest, conflict, and power at a societal level (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 217). Burrell and Morgan discuss conflict within organizations, as viewed from a pluralist perspective:

From a pluralist perspective, conflict within organizations is viewed as an inevitable and erdicable feature of everyday life. The organization is seen as a web of cross-cutting conflicts between the individuals and interest-cutting groups which give it life . . . For the pluralist, conflict must be institutionalized in some way, so that it can find expression and 'work itself through' without prejudice to the survival of the system as a whole (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 203).

This researcher employs pluralist theory in order to consider the conflict and interests expressed by persons associated with the free-radio movement as well as to understand how the process of privatization of Greek radio broadcasting became a process of transition in power. In essence, this transition involved a giving up of power by the State. This study is concerned with how various groups legitimized their needs and interests into a "power to" have access and a "power to" control broadcast facilities and information through the conflict created by the free-radio movement. As Hannah Arendt (1970) suggests, power is consensual:

It needs no justification, being inherent in the very existence of political communities; what it does need is legitimacy . . . Power springs up whenever people get together and act in concert, but it deprives its legitimacy from the initial getting together rather than

from any action that then may follow (Arendt, 1970, p. 52).

This researcher's conceptualization of "power to" access and control is explored in contrast to the State's "power over" access and control of information and broadcast facilities; and ultimately, how peculiarities of the bureaucratic structure of the State broadcasting system functioned to become dysfunctionally powerless in Greek society. As Arendt writes:

all political institutions are manifestations and materializations of power; they petrify and decay as soon as the living power of the people ceases to uphold them. This is what Madison meant when he said 'all governments rest on opinion,' a word no less true for the various forms of monarchy than for democracies (Arendt, 1970, p. 41).

The power distance research of Hofstede (1980) provides insight into the type of theories about power that could develop in Greece. According to Hofstede, if different cultures can be shown to maintain consistently different power distances in hierarchies, the Power Distance norm can be used as a criterion for characterizing cultures. Hofstede cites Gasse (1976) who argues that "each culture justifies authority using its major values" and then proceeds to picture a continuum of which the two poles are "monolithism" and "pluralism":

At the monolithic pole, cultures are characterized by power held by few people; at the pluralistic pole, competition between groups and leaders is encouraged, control by leaders is limited since members can join several organizations, democratic politics are fostered and information sources are independent of a single organization (Gasse, 1976, p. 6).

Hofstede argues that a country's Power Distance Index (PDI) norm affects the type of theories about power that will be developed in that country. According to Hofstede, in the low PDI countries, one tends to find "pluralist" theories; in high PDI countries, elitist theories. Hofstede's research placed Greece in the middle (Hofstede, 1980, pp. 99-182). Examination of the social and political history of Greece suggests, in fact, that the country is in the midst of a transition from authoritarian rule to democracy. To place Greece in the middle range appears to be an appropriate assessment. Activities expressed by persons associated with the free-radio movement emerge as an indicator of the development of a pluralist theory of power.

Theories of bureaucratic dysfunction also function to provide further understanding of this study. Merton (1968), Selznick (1949), Gouldner (1954a and b), and Blau (1955) all demonstrated the unintended consequences of formal organization. Merton (1968) discusses some of the potential negative aspects and dysfunctions of bureaucracies:

The transition to a study of the negative aspects of bureaucracy is afforded by the application of Veblen's concept of 'trained incapacity,' Dewey's notion of 'occupational psychosis' or Warnotte's view of 'professional deformation.' Trained incapacity refers to that state of affairs in which one's abilities function as inadequacies or blind spots. Actions based upon training and skills which have been successfully applied in the past may result in inappropriate responses under changed conditions. . . . Dewey's concept of occupational psychosis rests upon much of the same observations. As a result of their day to day routines, people develop preferences, antipathies, discriminations, and emphases

(Merton, 1968k, pp. 251-252).

According to the interviewees associated with the free-radio movement in this study, the Greek State broadcasting system was unable to respond appropriately to the technological and economic changes facing Greece both on an international and national level. The question became, how could Greece survive, economically, politically, and socially, on a monopoly of information?

Merton (1968) describes some additional peculiarities characteristic of the structure of bureaucracies:

Most bureaucratic offices involve the expectation of life-long tenure . . . bureaucracy maximizes vocational security. The function of security of tenure, pension, incremental salaries and regularized procedures for promotion is to ensure the devoted performance of official duties, without regard for extraneous pressures (Merton, 1968, p. 250).

E. G. Cahen-Salvador suggests, as well, that the personnel of bureaucracies is largely constituted by those who value security above all else (Cahen-Salvador, 1926, p. 319).

Security, in fact, appears to be one factor related to dysfunction within the Greek State broadcasting system.

According to Zarharopoulos (1985):

Not only are the top administrative positions filled by the government, but so are all non-permanent positions. Only permanent civil-service employees are relatively safe in any government change. Usually, however, the government-appointed heads of each service even approve the actors and actresses in various programs keeping in mind their political affiliations (Zarharopoulos, 1985, pp. 239-240).

According to some ERT S.A. employees interviewed in this study,

a hesitancy, indeed, existed due to the security provided by the government. Further, some ERT S.A. employees expressed that producers and directors were hesitant to make creative changes due to a fear of losing their position. As the data in the study indicates, the State broadcasting system became dysfunctional for various reasons; in essence, it was unable to respond appropriately to the changing conditions emerging in Greek society. Many people ceased to uphold the institution.

As Burrell and Morgan (1979) explain, "in cases where these unintended consequences were dysfunctional as far as the formal goals of the organization were concerned, it was usually because they were functional for other interests within the organization" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 207). As Burrell and Morgan (1979) make clear, the important question becomes functional or dysfunctional for whom?

As stated previously, this study views the government and establishment of private and municipal radio stations as strongly related to problems of control, access, and lack of pluralism, due to Greece's history of State or government controlled radio broadcasting. According to the results of this research, activists and intellectuals involved in free-radio movement found the State broadcasting system to be dysfunctional. On the other hand, the State broadcast system was perceived as functional according to the government in power. In essence, the conflict involved a conflict of interests. As Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest, a theory of

interests is thus a direct corollary of the theory of dysfunctions (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 208).

Burrell and Morgan (1979) explain the focus of plurality of interests as viewed by action theorists:

theorists who adopt the action frame of reference as a basis for their analysis of organizational situations usually do so in recognition of the fact that any social situation is characterized by a plurality of interests. They also frequently point to the conflicts which exist within the situations studied, and occasionally draw attention to the role of power as a variable worthy of analysis (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 209).

Action theory is based on the view that human beings in a social situations interpret and define that situation in ways which have a meaning for them; humans are viewed as having the power to act, and thus, act accordingly. As Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest, "the idea that there will be a plurality of such definitions [of the situation] is central to this standpoint" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 209).

The work of Goffman (1961), Turner (1971), Goldthorpe et al. (1968), Silverman (1970), and many symbolic interactionists support the idea that organizational situations are characterized by a plurality of interests. As Burrell and Morgan explain, these studies, Silverman's (1970) work in particular, "provide an excellent illustration of the ways in which conflicts in expectation, modes of involvement in an organization and general conflicts in the definition of situations can account for change within organizations" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 211; Silverman, 1970, pp.

155-163).

This study views the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations as both evidence and indicator of the power of human beings to act and influence social change within Greek society. This study is based on interviewees' definitions of a situation, that is, a problematic situation involving control, access, and lack of pluralism. Their definitions and interpretations of the problem reflect both a plurality of interests as well as the need to express a plurality of interests. Theories of bureaucratic dysfunction as well as pluralist theory thus serve to provide further understanding and analysis of this study. It is important to make clear, however, that this study focuses on the concepts of control and access as the elements to be considered within pluralist theory as well as a means by which to understand the assumption of power.

### Social Change Literature

Numerous theories of social change exist; this thesis is informed by (1) theories concerning causes or factors of change (Boudon, 1984); (2) theories regarding the variables that change in the analysis of social change (Durkheim, 1964); (3) functionalist or equilibrium-type theories which focus on how social systems remain stable in the presence of forces that might lead to change (Parsons, 1951; 1964); and (4) theories concerning how mass communication functions as an agent of

change (Laswell, 1971). One theory of social change is not sufficient to discuss and analyze the data obtained from this research. The results of this study indicate that social change occurred in some areas and not in others.

According to Boudon (1984), one theory of social change focuses on the causes or factors of change. Boudon makes clear that because of the existence of causal feedback, the notion of cause can be ambiguous when it is used in the analysis of social change; thus, Boudon suggests an approach which examines change as a result of a process characterized by a linked series of actions, reactions or retroaction rather than of a cause or a group of causes. According to Boudon (1984), "it is the end point of the whole of the process, and one cannot impute causality to one or more of the elements of that process" (Boudon, 1984, p. 19).

This thesis views the development of private and municipal radio stations as both evidence and indicator of the power of human beings to act and influence social change within Greek society. External and internal economic, social and political phenomena are considered as a linked series of actions and reactions that resulted in social change, that is, the establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations.

According to sociologist Emile Durkheim (1964), "social facts" are the variables that change in the analysis of social change. Durkheim contends that social facts are properties of

a group social system which can be subdivided into two sets--the institutional or structural set, and the aggregative or distributive outcomes set. The institutional or structural set consists of the physical properties of a social system such as legal rules and a country's communication system. The number and location of a country's radio stations belong to the institutional or structural set of social facts. The aggregative or distributive outcomes set consists of collections or summaries of individual actions such as rates of radio listening and diffusion of information and innovation (Hernes, 1976, pp. 513-547).

In considering the nature of social change in Greek society, this thesis views the establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations as a "social fact." If social facts are what change in social change, then the emergence of a new institutional or structural social fact can be considered as evidence of social change.

Functionalism, an equilibrium-type theory of social change, focuses on how social systems remain stable in the presence of forces that might lead to change (Tan, 1985, p. 367). The functionalist theory of social change, exemplified by the "grand" theories of Talcott Parsons, studies how and why social systems do not change (Parsons, 1951 and 1964). According to Parsons, four processes--adaption, goal attainment, integration, and latent pattern maintenance--function to neutralize forces that could lead to

change. According to functionalists, a change in cultural patterns or values in a system is a prerequisite for structural change; further, functionalists theorize that changes in cultural patterns occur only with great difficulty and over long periods of time. Social systems, although capable of change, rarely change (Tan, 1985, p. 368).

As stated previously, the results of this research indicate that social change occurred in some areas and not in others. For example, although many private and municipal radio stations were granted frequencies, research indicates that most of the radio amateurs and "pirates" whom "free radio" was intended to serve were not granted legal status. Rather, licenses were granted to municipalities and wealthy private citizens, generally with political power and ties to the newspapers. Thus, the free-radio movement was not fully realized. It is the functionalist perspective of social change which provides understanding in this area, that is, what cultural values may be affecting why the Greek social and structural system appears to not be changing in certain respects.

And, finally, research and theories concerning how mass communication can serve as an agent of social change (Laswell, 1971) are used in this study to argue how the development of private and municipal radio stations have functioned to provide the Greek public with information and intelligence. According to Laswell (1971), mass communication can serve a correlation

function concerning the selection and interpretation of news and events and the development of public opinion. The establishment of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations, according to this research, created a more pluralistic environment of communication characterized by greater access to information, more discussion of political and societal problems, more representative political debates, a greater freedom of choice, more objectivity in the news, improvement in the nature of political communication interactions, more choices in the realm of music, and the creation of a forum for discussion of local problems and local solutions. Consideration of how mass communication can function as an agent of social change thus provides an additional perspective from which to view the development of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations in Greece.

### Methodology

In order to research the recent changes in radio broadcast communication in Greece, the data-gathering techniques of the face-to-face interview and of observation, qualitative methods of research, were conducted. These data-gathering techniques were chosen, primarily, for two reasons: (1) this researcher's ontological and epistemological assumptions concerning the nature of human communicators and the process of human communication, and (2) the importance of couvenda

[conversation] in the Greek culture. Interviews served as the primary source of data and functioned as the major research tool. Interview data were supplemented, enhanced and supported with secondary sources including observations, government documents, photographs, books, newspaper, magazine and journal articles.

Over 40 face-to-face interviews were conducted during a three-month period from June 15 through September 15, 1988; interviews were conducted in the cities of Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki. Except for one interview, all of the interviews were recorded on audio tape. One interviewee refused to be recorded. Only one interviewee requested a copy of the tape. Although use and understanding of the Greek language was necessary in order to arrange the interviews, a majority of the interviews were conducted in the English (American) language. A translator, chosen by the interviewee, assisted in interviews conducted in Greek.

As this researcher engaged in intercultural interpersonal communication interaction (face-to-face interviews), understanding of the Greek culture as well as verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors unique to the Greek culture was imperative. For example, an understanding of appropriate social behaviors, values, concepts of time, views of conflict, and nonverbal behaviors unique to Greece served to improve the quality of the relationship during the interview in terms of perceptions, affection and inclusion. Stewart and Cash (1988)

explain the importance of perceptions in the interview process:

Perceptions affect the way interviewers and interviewees respond to one another. Each party comes to an interview with perceptions of the other and of self which may change as the interview progresses. . . . Positive perceptions result from the use of clear, logical language and supporting evidence as well as from appearance factors such as . . . manner . . . (Stewart and Cash, 1988, p. 17).

Although the authors' understanding of the importance of perceptions in the interview process is based on research conducted in the United States, it can be applied to the interview situation in Greece. This researcher's ability to speak the Greek language as well as demonstrate an understanding of other nonverbal communication behaviors unique to Greece appeared to improve the interview situation. As Landis and Brislin (1983) explain, "In Greece, one is not expected to know the language, although a few words of Greek create delight, and increase by an order of magnitude (a factor of ten) the normally hospitable tendencies of that population" (Landis and Brislin, 1983, p. 84). Further, many interviewees expressed a kind of awe at this researcher's familiarity with and interest in the topic. In any case, this displayed knowledge also improved the interview relationship. As Triandis and Vassiliou (1972) report, in Greece, persons who are perceived as showing concern for one's welfare are often regarded as a member of the "in group" and thus receive cooperation, protection and help (Triandis, Vassiliou, 1972, p. 305).

As indicated previously, the data-gathering technique of the face-to-face interview is a form of qualitative research. Qualitative researchers have been criticized and characterized in the past as theoretically aimless and methodologically shifty. Philipsen (1977) suggests the importance of "linearity" in the design and conduct of qualitative research in order to address and resolve such criticisms. Linearity refers to the specification, in advance of data collection, of both a purpose for research and of the steps to be taken to serve the purpose. As Philipsen (1977), explains, the requirements of qualitative inquiry can make it difficult to design and conduct research according to the standards of linearity which are implicitly or explicitly reflected in scientific inquiry in speech communication. He outlines steps that the qualitative researcher should consider before conducting such research:

Specifically, the [qualitative researcher] should, in advance of his [her] field work, specify as explicitly as possible, (1) the phenomenon to be described, (2) conceptual linkages of that phenomenon to the process of communication, and (3) the descriptive [theoretical] framework he [she] will use to study the phenomenon selected (Philipsen, 1977, p. 45).

This researcher specified, in advance of data collection, both a purpose for the research and the steps to be taken to serve the purpose. This included the concepts and categories which were to be the object of inquiry, as well as aspects of the theoretical framework used to inform the research. It is important to note, however, that an a priori theory was not

imposed. Theory and ideas emerged during and following data collection. Still, from the onset of this research, a clear sense of a relevant theory-method complex was established.

In terms of categories of inquiry, this researcher chose to focus on interviews with spokespersons and opinionmakers from positions of power within the Greek society. An attempt was made to interview representatives from various positions within this research schema. Thus, interviews were arranged with spokespersons and opinionmakers from the following eight categories: (1) the government; (2) the five political parties recognized by the Greek Parliament during the summer of 1988 (the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the New Democracy party, Diana, the Greek-Left, and the Communist Party); (3) managers or directors from the private and municipal radio stations; (4) editors, publishers and journalists; (5) lawyers; (6) spokespersons from the Church of Greece; (7) spokespersons from the Greek Radio and Television (ERT S.A.); and (8) university professors. A complete list of interviewees and factors which dictated selection of the eight categories is provided in Appendix A.

Before traveling to Greece, this researcher developed a list of potential interviewees based on content analysis of the Athens News, between 1986 and 1988. The Athens News, a daily English newspaper published in Athens, served as one source of information concerning the names of persons active in the free-radio movement, current government ministers, current State-broadcasting directors, political party spokespersons,

and persons affiliated with the private and municipal radio stations. The interviewee list was further developed in Greece by means of "snowball sampling" (Sudman, 1976), a procedure in which future respondents are located from information provided by previous respondents (Sudman, 1976, p. 210).

Interviews were arranged by means of various methods. Access to interviewees was managed through direct telephone contact by this researcher, assistance provided by personal friends in Greece affiliated with the State broadcasting system, letters of introduction, assistance from the Embassy of Greece, Washington, D.C., and numerous persons working in the Ministry to the Prime Minister's Office in Athens, Greece.

Before traveling to Greece, this researcher met with two representatives from the Embassy of Greece in Washington, D.C., Dr. John Leveras, a government appointed spokesperson, and Achilles Paparsenos, press attache. Mr. Paparsenos cabled Mr. Telemachos Chytiris, General Secretariat for Press and Information in Athens, with information concerning the nature of this researcher's study and arranged for Mr. Chytiris to provide assistance.

In addition, two letters of introduction from Mr. Ike Pappas, Ike Pappas Network Productions, Inc., Washington, D.C., and Dr. Theofanis Stavrou, Modern Greek Studies and Student Project for Amity Among Nations, served to open a few doors (see Appendix B). And, two personal friends in Athens, Maya Gaki and Giorgios Douadjis, newscasters and journalists

affiliated with the State broadcasting system, assisted in providing a list of potential interviewees and arranging interviews with persons in the State broadcasting system.

It is necessary to make clear that the letters of introduction were used only at the beginning of the research process, the letters served mainly as a courtesy and formal introduction to the Ministry to the Prime Minister's Office concerning the nature and intentions of this researcher's study in Greece, and the letters were not shown or mentioned to a majority of the interviewees. The letters proved most useful in obtaining assistance from the Ministry to the Prime Minister's Office regarding certain categories of interviewees. In particular, the Ministry provided telephone numbers of the offices of the various political parties and the government ministers. All other telephone numbers were obtained through alternate means.

In order to set up the interviews, this researcher described herself as a communication scholar and historian from the University of Minnesota and explained the nature and purpose of the study. All interviewees were told the same information. Interviewees, on occasion, asked how this researcher learned of their name.

The standardized open-ended interview approach was utilized to collect the qualitative data (Patton, 1980, p. 198). The standardized open-ended interview, as described by Patton (1980), consisted of "a set of questions carefully

worded and arranged with the intention of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each respondent the same questions with essentially the same words." Indeed, questions were carefully worded in advance, and each interviewee was asked the same questions. (See Appendix C). It may be important to note that questions were asked in the same sequence in a majority of the interviews, however, in some cases, questions were asked when the topic emerged in the conversation. In the researcher's opinion, this technique served to improve the quality of the interview in terms of natural transitions, and, it appeared to indicate to the interviewee that the interviewer, indeed, was listening. Patton (1980) explains the importance of the standardized approach:

The standardized open-ended interview . . . reduces the possibility of bias that comes from having different interviews for different people, including the problem of obtaining more comprehensive data from certain persons while getting less systematic information from others. . . . The basic purpose [of this approach] is to minimize interviewer effects by asking the same questions of each respondent. . . . the problems of legitimacy and credibility for qualitative data can make it politically wise to produce an exact interview form that one can show to decision makers and information users, telling them with certainty that these are the exact questions that will be asked of [those] who are interviewed (Patton, 1980, pp. 198; 202-203).

This interviewer attempted to make clear to each interviewee that every interviewee would be asked the same core of questions. This approach was well-received. In addition, the intended length of time of the interview was communicated to all interviewees at the beginning of the interview. Each

interview lasted approximately one hour.

Settings for the interviews varied. Spokespersons for the various political parties were interviewed in their respective party offices. Government ministers were interviewed in offices located in the Ministry to the Prime Minister's building. Managers, directors and news editors for the private and municipal radio stations were interviewed in the stations. State broadcasting directors were interviewed in the State broadcasting facility. Spokespersons for the Church of Greece were interviewed in the Church headquarters in Athens. Activists and intellectuals involved in the free-radio movement were interviewed in a variety of locations including apartments, offices, and cafeneions [coffee shops]. Editors, publishers, and journalists were interviewed in the office of the newspaper or magazine. Lawyers were interviewed in their law offices, and university professors were interviewed in their university offices.

### Thesis Organization

This chapter introduces the topic, articulates the research problem, explains the significance of the research, states the research questions that provided direction for this study, and defines terms and concepts used to discuss the research topic. This chapter also discusses the theoretical framework through which this study was conceptualized, reviews the related theory and literature, explains the research

methodology, and provides this preview of the remaining chapters.

The second chapter reviews the history of Greek broadcasting from 1920-1987, focusing mainly on the developments and changes in the State broadcasting system. The review attempts to provide understanding of the developments in Greek broadcasting within the context of modern Greek history.

The third chapter focuses on Greek broadcasting in transition; specifically, a review of the early "non-recognized" private radio stations that appeared in Greece between 1950-1969, discussion of clandestine or pirate stations, and an examination of the legally recognized private and municipal radio stations which developed between 1987 and 1989. The law and Presidential Decree which set the parameters for the establishment of these stations is reviewed as well. The review attempts to provide understanding of the developments in Greek broadcasting within the context of modern Greek political history.

The fourth chapter reviews the forces, both external and internal, operative in the transition from state controlled radio broadcasting in Greece to legally recognized private and municipal radio broadcasting. Chapter four considers the power of humans to act as well as the economic, social, and political phenomena that functioned to create the change and transition.

The purpose of the fifth chapter is to articulate the meaning of establishment and development of private and

municipal radio stations; that is, the transition from State radio broadcasting to private and municipal radio broadcasting, as understood and explained by the interviewees. Specifically, chapter five focuses on the meaning of this change in terms of cultural implications and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control.

The sixth chapter relates the previous five chapters. It includes a brief summary of the findings followed by a discussion of how these relate to the research questions posed by this researcher. Chapter six also features discussion, review of the limitations, and conclusions.

### Summary

This chapter introduced the objective of this thesis, that is, the examination of the legally recognized private and municipal radio stations which developed in Greece between 1987 and 1989. As stated in this chapter, the examination focuses on the historical development, operation, structure, and control of these stations. In addition, this thesis examines the forces operative in the establishment of the private and municipal radio stations, as well as the meaning of the transition from State broadcasting to private and municipal broadcasting in terms of social change, cultural implications, and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control.

This chapter states the research problem; specifically, this study approaches and views the development and

establishment of private and municipal radio stations as strongly related to problems of control, access, and a lack of pluralism, due to Greece's history of State or government controlled radio broadcasting. The research problem, thus, concerns the nature of State or government controlled broadcasting in Greece, how it relates to the emergence and development of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations, and how the transition has affected problems of control, access, and pluralism.

This research is significant for a number of reasons: (1) This research is current and contributes to the existing literature concerning mass communication in Greece; (2) this thesis provides a review of the history of Greek radio broadcasting from 1920-1989; (3) this study examines the means of the realization of private and municipal radio broadcasting with emphasis on the historical situation in which it occurred and emerged in the tradition of critical mass communications research; (4) this thesis contributes to an understanding of pluralist theory, theories of bureaucratic dysfunction, and theories of social change; and (5) this study contributes to the literature concerning qualitative methodological procedures.

The following three research questions provide direction for this study:

- (1) What external and internal forces may have been operative in the development and establishment of

private and municipal radio stations in Greece?

- (2) How has the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations contributed to the existence of a more pluralistic environment in Greece in terms of diversity of information and the creation of a broadcast system composed of competing components encouraged by differing motivations?
- (3) How has the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations affected issues of access and control of Greek radio broadcasting?

Terms and concepts, used to discuss the research topic, including pluralism, control, access, privatization, and municipal, are defined. Definitions are communicated in order to provide further clarity to this study.

Discussion of the theoretical framework is provided, as well as a review of related theory and literature. The methodological design of this study, qualitative in nature, is based on the metatheoretical assumptions of the interpretive paradigm. A theoretical framework, composed of a synthesis of pluralist theory, theories of bureaucratic dysfunction, and theories of social change, which serves as the approach by which the data were analyzed and explained, is reviewed. A review of related theory/literature is provided which focuses on the following four areas: (1) intercultural communication research, (2) literature related to mass communication research in mediterranean democracies, (3) pluralist theory and theories

of bureaucratic dysfunction; and theories of social change. Explanation concerning how the review of theory and literature shapes the approach of this thesis is also provided in the review.

The research methodology also is explained in this chapter. The data-gathering technique of the face-to-face interview, a qualitative method of research, was employed as the primary research tool. Interview data were supplemented, enhanced and supported with secondary sources including observations, government documents, photographs, books, newspaper, magazine and journal articles.

This chapter also includes a preview of the remaining chapters. The next chapter reviews the history of Greek broadcasting from 1920-1987, focusing mainly on the developments and changes in the State broadcasting system. The review attempts to provide understanding of the developments in Greek broadcasting within the context of modern Greek history.

## REFERENCES

- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., and Turner, B. (1984). Dictionary of sociology. (2nd ed.). London, England: Penguin.
- Arendt, H. (1970). On violence. London: Allen Lane, The Penquin Press.
- Blau, P. (1955). The dynamics of bureaucracy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blumler, J. (1978). Purposes of mass communication research: A transatlantic perspective. Journalism Quarterly, 55: 2: 219-230.
- Bogdan, R. and Taylor, S. (1975). Introduction to qualitative research methods: A phenomenological approach to the social sciences. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Boudon, R. (1983). Why theories of social change fail: Some methodological thoughts. Public Opinion Quarterly, 47, Summer.
- Brislin, R. W., and Landis, D. (1983). Handbook of Intercultural Training I: Issues in Theory and Design. New York: Pergamon.
- Broome, G. and Bertsekas, J. (1989, November). "Palevome": Foundations of struggles and conflict in Greek interpersonal communication. Paper presented at the Speech Communication Association Convention, San Francisco, California.
- Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (1979). Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis: Elements of the sociology of corporate life. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heineman.
- Cahen-Salvador, E. G. (1926). La situation materielle et morale des Fonctionnaires. Revue politique et parlementaire.
- Dahl, R. (1982). Dilemmas of pluralist democracy: Autonomy vs. control. London: Yale University Press.
- Dahl, R. (1984). Modern political analysis. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- de Moragas Spa, M. (1983). Mass communication and political change in Spain, 1975-1980. In Mass communication review yearbook. Wartella, E. and Whitney, C. (Eds.), Vol. 4. Beverly Hills: Sage.

- Denzin, N. (1970). The research act. Chicago: Aldine.
- Devito, J. (1986). The communication handbook: A dictionary. New York: Harper and Row.
- Dicks, B. (1972). The Greeks: How they live and work. Newton Abbott, England: David and Charles.
- Durkheim, E. (1964). The rules of sociological method. New York: Free Press.
- Emmert, P. and Barker, L. (1989). Measurement of communication behavior. New York: Longman.
- Fox, A. (1973). Industrial relations: A social critique of pluralist ideology. In J. Child, Man and Organization, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1973.
- Furnham, A., and Bocher, S. (1986). Culture shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments. London: Methuen.
- Gasse, Y. (1976). Technological uniformity and cultural diversity in organizational structure. Working papers 76-7 and 76-8. Sherbrooke, Quebec: Faculte' d'Administration, Universite' de Sherbrooke, 1976.
- Goffman, E. (1961). Asylums. New York: Doubleday.
- Goldthorpe, J., Lockwood, D., Bechhofer, F., and Platt, J. (1969). The affluent worker: Industrial attitudes and behavior. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Gouldner, A. (1954a). Patterns of industrial bureaucracy. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Gouldner, A. (1954b). Wildcat strike. New York: Antioch Press.
- Gouldner, A. W. (1959). Reciprocity and autonomy in functional theory. In A. W. Gouldner, For sociology. Harmondsworth: Allen Lane, 1973.
- Hall, E. (1959). The silent language. Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett.
- Harrison, R. (1980). Pluralism and corporatism: The political evolution of modern democracies. London: George Allen and Unwin.

- Head, S. (1985). World broadcasting systems: A comparative analysis. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.
- Hernes, G. (1976). Structural change in social processes. American Journal of Sociology, 82.
- Holden, D. (1972). Greece without columns: The making of the modern Greeks. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott.
- James, W. (1909). A pluralistic universe. New York: Longman, Inc.
- Katsoudas, D. (1985). Greece: A politically controlled state monopoly broadcasting system. West European Politics, 8:137-151.
- Laswell, H. (1971). The structure and function of communication in society. In Schramm, W. and Roberts, D. (Eds.), The process and effects of mass communication. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lee, D. (1959). Freedom and culture. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- MacIver, R. (1931). The elements of social science. New York: Dutton.
- Mead, M. (Ed.). (1955). Cultural patterns and technical change. New York: UNESCO.
- Merton, R. (1968). Social theory and social structure. New York: Free Press.
- Miller, G. (1983). Taking stock of a discipline. Journal of Communication, 33, No. 3.
- Nisbet, R. (1953). The quest for community. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Parsons, T. (1951). The social system. New York: Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1964). A functional theory of change. In Etzioni, A. and Etzioni, E. (Eds.), Social change. New York: Basic Books.
- Patton, M. (1980). Qualitative evaluation methods. Newbury Park, California: Sage.

- Philipsen, G. (1977, Summer). Linearity of research design in ethnographic studies of speaking. Communication Quarterly, 25, No. 3.
- Pridham, G. (Ed.). (1984). The new mediterranean democracies: Regime transition in Spain, Greece and Portugal. New Jersey: Cass.
- Putnam, L. and Pacanowsky, M. (1983). Communication and organizations: An interpretive approach. London: Sage.
- Samovar, L., Porter, R., and Jain, N. (1981). Understanding intercultural communication. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Selznick, P. (1949). T.V.A. and the grass roots. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Silverman, D. (1970). The theory of organizations. London: Heinemann.
- Smith, M. (1987). Contemporary communication research methods. Belmont, California: Wadsworth.
- Stewart, C., and Cash, W. (1982). Interviewing: Principles and practices. (3rd ed.), Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown.
- Sudman, S. (1976). Screening for rare populations. In S. Sudman, Applied Sampling. New York: Academic Press.
- Tan, A. (1985). Mass communication theories and research. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Triandis, H. and Vassiliou, V. (1972). A comparative analysis of subjective culture. In H. Triandis, The analysis of subjective culture. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Turner, B. (1971). Exploring the industrial subculture. London: Macmillan.
- Zarharopoulos, E. (1985). Foreign mass communication in Greece: Its impact on Greek culture and influence of Greek society. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.
- Zarharopoulos, E. (1989, October). Mass communication in Greece: Power/freedom and broadcasting in Greek society. In T. Stavrou (Chair), Power/freedom: Politics, social life, and the arts in modern Greece. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Modern Greek Studies Association, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

CHAPTER TWO  
HISTORY OF GREEK RADIO BROADCASTING

Introduction

In order to understand more clearly the current state of radio broadcasting in Greece, as well as the meaning of the recent changes in Greek radio broadcasting, it is necessary to examine the history and roots of the operation and structure of Greek radio broadcasting within the context of complex Greek sociopolitical, economic, and political phenomena. Examination of the history of modern Greece reveals a country wracked by an unusually troubled history of constantly changing and unstable governments, a catastrophic civil war, and a chronic history of military intervention in its political process. Furthermore, Greece's heritage of Orthodox Christianity, as well as several centuries of Ottoman Turkish rule constitute additional profound influences on the development of Greek history and society. In essence, Greece's troubled history has distorted its political, economic, and social development in numerous and significant ways, including its development of the medium and institution of radio broadcasting.

Review of the history and roots of the operation and structure of Greek radio broadcasting thus must be discussed within the context of Greek sociopolitical, economic, and historical phenomena. In Greece, the institution of radio broadcasting is a distinctly political institution with social

and economic ramifications. Discussion of the history of this institution cannot be separated from the history of the country. Thus, the following review of the history of Greek radio broadcasting attempts to provide understanding of its developments within the context of modern Greek history.

This chapter reviews the history of Greek broadcasting from 1920-1987, focusing mainly on the developments and changes in the State broadcasting system. Chapter Three focuses on Greek broadcasting in transition, with a review of the early "non-recognized" private radio stations that appeared in Greece between 1950-1969 and the introduction of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations.

Documentation of the early history of radio broadcasting in Greece is not extensive. Several sources from Greece, including the work of professor and legal advisor for the Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute, George A. Koumantos, as well as the historical descriptions provided by three scholars, Dr. Elliot Grinnell Mears, former U.S. Resident Trade Commissioner in Greece and Stanford professor; media scholar, Walter B. Emery; and John Keshishoglou, author of The Development of Broadcasting in Greece (1962), serve as the basis for the review of the pre-1980's history.

#### Radio Broadcasting: The Early Years 1920-1945

The history of Greek radio broadcasting began in the early 1920s, a time of great political turmoil in the country.

Greece emerged from the First World War a country divided against itself; this division came to be known as the National Schism. The fundamental cause of this schism is attributed to the differences that developed between King Constantine of Greece and his prime minister, Eleftherios Venizelos, over Greece's involvement in the First World War. By 1916, matters reached a head following a coup d' etat by a group of pro-Venizelos officers in Thessaloniki. In 1917, King Constantine went into exile and Venizelos became prime minister of Greece; Venizelos' supporters purged his royalist opponents from government positions (Clogg, 1981, pp. 23-24).

Thus, the roots of the history of Greek radio broadcasting can be traced to the turbulent times of the Venizelos government. Radio broadcasts began on an experimental basis. Greek scientists interested in the possibilities of using electromagnetic waves for broadcasts to the public conducted experimental transmissions in Athens. On March 1, 1922, C. Petropoulos, a professor of physics at the University of Athens, demonstrated a complete receiving set for radio telegraphy in front of the Society of Physic Sciences. Interested students formed a group of amateur radio operators; in the following years the group came to be known as the Union of the Greek Amateur Radio Operators (UGA) ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI).

Early broadcasting experiments in Greece also took place in 1923 at the Votanikos station of the Ministry of Navy Radio

Command in Athens. A 200-watt imported transmitter designed for radio-telephony was used. The transmitter was imported from the Swedish company, Sensak Radio Aktiebolaget ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vo. XVI).

By 1925, the Venizelos dictatorship had been replaced by the military dictatorship of General Pangalos. During this time, two additional broadcasting experiments took place at the Magaris School in Athens by members of the UGAO. The broadcasts featured speeches, songs, and poems "(Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI). The broadcasts, which were advertised by the press, were received well by the limited number of amateur receivers that existed in Athens at that time (Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 16).

Apparently seeing a need to regulate radio, the Ministry of the Navy exercised limited regulatory jurisdiction over the medium in Greece from 1921 to 1926. All transmission and receiving installations were required to be authorized by the Ministry; further, owners of radio sets were required to pay license fees of 500 drachmae upon purchase of each set, a considerable sum at that time. Installation of an outside antenna was prohibited; only antennas placed on wooden frames were permitted, and they were to be used inside the house. Only one antenna per house was permitted ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI). Elliot Grinnell Mears described the government's regulatory action:

the government has adopted a restrictive policy, including

the prohibition of broadcasting, the granting of licenses for reception and the requirements that only Greek citizens can have reception and then only under license (Mears, 1929, pp. 156-57).

In 1928, the Pangalos dictatorship was overthrown by Venizelos, who maintained a premiership until 1932. It was during this time that the first radio station in Greece to provide regularly scheduled programs was established, in the northern city of Thessaloniki. Christos Tsinguirides, a student of electronics at the University of Stuttgart, financed and constructed the radio facility, which he operated privately for more than 20 years. The transmitter and studios were located on the grounds of the International Trade Fair of Thessaloniki ("Radiophonikos Stathmos Thessalonikis," Radiophia-Teleorasis, April 1945, p. 14). Tsinguirides' broadcasts consisted mainly of news, recorded music, lectures by professors, and interviews with authors and other celebrities in the community (Emery, 1969, p. 282). Commercials were limited at this time; Tsinguirides had to support the station with his own funds. It was not until several years later that he began to receive substantial profits from commercials (Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 20).

The experimental transmissions in Athens, the programs of the Thessaloniki stations, and broadcasts reaching Greece from other countries awakened the interest of the Greek people to the wonder and power of radio. The market for radio receivers in Greece soon began to expand (Emery, 1969, p. 282).

In 1926, the control of radio broadcasting was transferred from the Ministry of the Navy to the Radio Electric Service Section of the Ministry of Posts, Telegraph and Telephone (PTT). The PTT maintained wireless stations along the coast and made periodic broadcasts from Piraeus, the port of Athens, for the Coast Guard ships (Emery, 1969, p. 282; Mears, 1929, pp. 156-157).

In 1929, the Greek government began to accept bids for the installation of a transmitter which was to serve the entire country. The lowest bid was offered by A. Demetriadis who agreed to supply, install, and operate a Marconi transmitter. A conflict arose between Demetriadis and the government; the transmitter never was installed ("I Radiophonia en Elladi," Neoteron Encyclopedikon Lexikon Iliou, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI).

In 1936, the Greek government of John Metaxas decided to set up and operate its own broadcasting system (Journal of Government, No. 95, 1936). Metaxas considered the broadcast system a matter of national pride as well as a useful tool to "educate" the Greek society (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 2). The PTT invited bids for the construction of radio stations; a German company, Telefunken, was awarded the contract to build a 100 kilowatt medium-wave station in Thessaloniki. Persisting financial crisis and political instability prevented the execution of the construction plans; thus, the contract with Telefunken never was fulfilled (Emery, 1969, p. 283).

Later that year, the Greek government decided to proceed

with the building of the radio facilities, but on a more modest basis. New bids were invited for the construction of a 15 kilowatt transmitter in Athens. Telefunken was awarded the contract and thus prepared the transmitter. The government voted the sum of 11 million drachmae for the construction of a building to house the transmitter in Liosia, a city seven kilometers outside of Athens. Money was allocated for the purchase of equipment and cables as well as the reconditioning of the Zappeion building, which was to become the studio of the broadcasting station ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI).

In 1937, the transmitter was delivered to Greece, and the Telefunken Company completed the installation. On March 23, 1938, King George III inaugurated the first national broadcasting station of Greece ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. and Emery, 1969, p. 283).

In 1938, the government established the Radio Broadcasting Service (YRE) under the Ministry of Press and Tourism; the service was organized to control broadcasting. The technical aspects of broadcasting were to be controlled by the Ministry of Tele-Communications and Transportation (Keshishoglou, 1962, pp. 20-21).

In April 1939, the Greek Government invited American manufacturers to submit proposals for the installation of a 10 kilowatt broadcasting station at Thessaloniki and a five kilowatt station at Jannina. The proposed stations were to be

used to relay programs from the 15 kilowatt station in Athens (New York Times, April 11, 31:2, 1939). According to the New York Times:

two plants for the generation of electricity are wanted to augment the undependable supply available at the sites of the proposed two broadcasting stations . . . . two complete antennae will be required, as well as equipment for broadcasting transcribed programs from both stations, according to the specifications forwarded to the Department of Commerce (New York Times, April 11, 31:2, 1939).

The Greek Government was interested not only in proposals for broadcast installations; during the first six months of 1939, the Greek Minister of Economy authorized a global import quota for radio sets of 40,000 kilos and an extra quota of 20,000 kilos for radio sets of United States origin. In June 1939, the United States Department of Commerce announced that effective July 1, 1939, three-fourths of the quota for the importation of radio sets into Greece was reserved for sets priced below 2,500 drachmas or \$21.50 (New York Times, June 16, 47:8, 1939).

Shortly before the declaration of World War II, the Ministry of Press and Tourism signed another contract with Telefunken to increase the power of the national station in Athens from 15 to 70 kilowatts. The declaration of war postponed this effort ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI).

#### Radio In Wartime Greece

German forces entered Athens on April 27, 1941. A final

appeal to the Greek people was broadcast from the Athens station the night before the German troops arrived. The broadcast called upon the Greek people to have courage and patience; it proclaimed that "Greece will live again and will be great" (The Times, April 28, 1941, p. 5).

The Ministry of Press and Tourism was abolished by the German forces; broadcasting was controlled by a temporary committee which was placed directly under the Prime Minister. In May, 1941, the Germans helped form the Hellenic Broadcasting Society (AERE) for the control and exploitation of broadcasting; the Society was placed directly under German orders ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI and Greece: A Portrait, 1979, p. 173).

Under German control, the Athens national station became an instrument for Nazi propaganda (Emery, 1969, p. 283). The Tsinguiridis station in Thessaloniki was used both for propaganda and to entertain the German troops (Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 23). According to Keshishoglou, the German and Italian Commands issued an order requiring all owners of radio receivers in Athens and vicinity to declare and register the sets with their Commands:

These radio sets were then sealed in one frequency so that they could only receive the national station of Athens. At the same time they confiscated all other receiving sets in the country. People were repeatedly ordered to turn over their receiving sets to the Germans. The penalty for those who failed to do so was anywhere from life imprisonment to death by a firing squad (Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 22).

Although radio sets were confiscated, many Greeks kept

their radios hidden and frequently listened to the BBC's Greek broadcast "Edo Londinon" (Bays, 1988, p. 33).

The Germans operated the national station of Athens, which was equipped with a Telefunken transmitter, but the station in Thessaloniki was troublesome. Keshishoglou, who visited the Thessaloniki station in 1939 and also interviewed the son of Tsinguiridis in 1960, described the situation at the Thessaloniki station:

Tsinguiridis had built his equipment himself. The tubes, condensers, oscillators, wiring, and so forth, were scattered all over the station. Such was the chaos that no German radio engineer could find how and where to begin . . . Ultimately, they had to draft Tsinguiridis to operate the station for them . . . [Tsinguiridis] being a brave patriot, decided to sabbotage the German transmission . . . pretending that something went wrong, he often switched off the equipment and spent several days trying to repair the alleged defect . . . the Germans finally got the meaning of the frequent stops . . . Tsinguiridis was imprisoned. . . .

[Later] they had to bring Tsinguiridis back . . . they placed one of their engineers with orders to follow and observe carefully every movement Tsinguiridis was going through while operating the station. They even shot several thousand feet of movie film recording all of his movements in the station. Tsinguiridis was aware of this . . . he made several irrelevant connections, alterations, etc., to confuse the Germans further. When their movie was completed, they . . . sent Tsinguiridis to jail, intending to execute him as an enemy of the Third Reich . . . they failed again to put the station in operation . . . finally, the Germans built their own 20 kw broadcasting station in Thessaloniki (Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 25).

Tsinguiridis was released, but the Germans destroyed the majority of the equipment of his station during the departure of their forces from Greece in October, 1944. It was not until September, 1945, that Tsinguiridis was able to put his station

on the air again (Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 26). Meanwhile, a team of German soldiers, under the command of Captain Schmitt, tried to destroy the transmitter of the Athens national radio station; however, their plans became known and the station was saved from complete destruction. The Athens station was able to resume operations on October 20, 1944 ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI).

The Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute  
(HNBI) 1945-1970

In 1945 the Greek Government established the Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute (HNBI), a new, autonomous organization ("Radiophonia," Encyclopedikon Lexikon Ilios, 2nd ed. Vol. XVI; Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 29). The HNBI, which was set up under Act. No. 45/1945 of the Constitution, was established to supersede a broadcasting organization, the Society for Radio Broadcasting, which was instituted during the occupation of Greece by the Axis powers and controlled by the Germans (EBU, Jan. 1966, p. 53). The HNBI acquired title to all radio installations previously owned and operated by the society (Emery, 1969, p. 283). The first task of the HNBI after the war was to repair the 15 kilowatt transmitter in Athens and to build additional transmitters which would provide coverage for the more densely populated areas of Greece (Emery, 1969, p. 285).

Shortly after its establishment, the HNBI was placed in charge of all radio broadcasting in the country. According to

Zarharopoulos, the government wanted total control of the medium as it could play a vital role in the outcome of the Greek civil war (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 4). The HNBI attempted to force the Tsinguiridis station to broadcast the national programs from Athens. The national programs were to be sent from Athens by a short wave, one kilowatt transmitter that was under construction at the radio-electric workshop of the University of Athens. Tsinguiridis refused; his station was then closed by order of the HNBI ("Radiophonikos Stathmos Thessalonikis," Radiophonia-Teleorasis, April 1945, p. 27).

In 1947, the HNBI established its own station in Thessaloniki. The station was equipped with a two kilowatt medium wave Marconi transmitter operating on a frequency of 804 kilocycles. The station, broadcasting on low power, could be received only in Thessaloniki and some nearby communities (Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 27).

Thus, in 1947, two HNBI stations were broadcasting in Greece--one in Athens and one in Thessaloniki. The Athenian station, equipped with three studios and a 15 kilowatt transmitter, was broadcasting on a frequency of 601 kilocycles. The studios lacked recording equipment, except for two Telefunken machines for recording on discs. The record library contained approximately 15 thousand records; most of the records were in poor condition (UNESCO, 1947, p. 124).

The HNBI radio stations lacked qualified staff members. Most of the journalists working for the HNBI began their

careers as newspaper journalists. Colleges or specialized institutions for the training of technicians or radio engineers did not exist. Some of the heads of the technical services were trained abroad. Radio announcers and actors received no professional training (UNESCO, 1947, p. 124).

In 1947, there were no exact figures on the number of receiving sets in Greece. The broadcasting budget was based on the license fees received for 40 thousand receiving sets; a great majority of the sets were located in Athens. The license fee for receiving sets was 10 drachmae per month. The proceeds of the license fees for receiving sets were allocated for broadcasting. At the time, advertising was not allowed on Greek radio (UNESCO, 1947, p. 124).

In March 1948, a new short wave transmitter was installed in Athens. And, between January and April 1948, permission was granted by the government for the import of \$50,000 worth of receiving sets and spare parts (UNESCO, 1947, p. 124).

The early 1950s marked the end of the civil war in Greece, a great catastrophe of casualties, devastation and displacement of the population. The end of the civil war in Greece ushered in a confused period of coalition government. Progress towards reconstruction began under the right wing government of Marshal Papagos between 1952 and 1955 (Clogg, 1981, p. 32). During this time, an experimental station operated by the University of Athens began broadcasting, and private radio stations began to appear in Greece. The HNBI did not encourage the creation

of such stations, but they did not stop them either, evidently because most of these stations were of low power and away from Athens (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 5; and Keshishoglou, 1962, p. 39).

In 1953, the Government passed a law establishing a legal framework for the operation of the HNBI (Koumantos, 1966, p. 53). The statute declared the HNBI as a public service agency, created by law and subject to state control; it also granted an exclusive franchise for broadcasting to the HNBI (Emery, 1969, p. 283). George A. Koumantos, Professor of the University of Athens and Legal Advisor to the Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute, offered the following description of the legal character of the HNBI:

it is no easy matter to determine the precise legal character of the HNBI. Although it is generally regarded as being a public authority, or, to use the Greek terminology, a body incorporated under public law, there is uncertainty as to whether what is understood by these terms exactly corresponds to the structural nature of the HNBI. The fact is that, both in the eyes of the law and in practice, the Institute enjoys far less freedom from state control than is the case for public corporations in general. The highest point of this state of increased dependency is the legal status of the director-general, who . . . is freely appointed and removed by the Cabinet, and thus regarded as a government employee.

This state of affairs makes it doubtful whether "public authority" is exactly the right term to describe the Institute; it might be more realistic to say that its form is a hybrid one coming somewhere between a public authority and direct operation by the State (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 53).

Meanwhile, in the Greek political arena, Constantine Karamanlis succeeded Papagos in 1955; Karamanlis headed a

conservative National Radical Union (ERE) government for the next eight years. During this time, Greece prospered economically, although great disparities in income existed. The development process also was accompanied by a dramatic flight of the population from the countryside to the towns, with the result that by the beginning of the 1980s, more than a third of the entire population of Greece was concentrated in Athens (Clogg, 1981, p. 32).

By 1957, the HNBI, which had increased its facilities with the new political developments, was broadcasting three programs, including the National Program, the "Dhefteron Programa" (Second Program), which was introduced by the HNBI in 1952 and accepted commercials, and the Third Program, which was introduced by the HNBI in 1954. Emphasis of the National Program was on music, the Second Program featured popular Greek and foreign music, the Third Program provided classical music (Keshishoglou, 1962, pp. 34-47).

HNBI's new facilities included a 150 kilowatt medium-wave transmitter in Athens and five kilowatt transmitters in Thessaloniki, Komotini, Rhodia, and Chania. A five kilowatt and a two kilowatt transmitter in Athens also were in operation, as well as low-power transmitters (less than 250 watts) in Volos and Patras. In addition, a 50 kilowatt station in Corfu provided coverage for the northwestern part of Greece (EBU Bulletin, January-February 1957, pp. 53-54).

As indicated in Table 1, 12 national broadcasting

institute stations were in operation in nine different locations in 1962 (U.S. Foreign Broadcast Information Service, April 1960, pp. 204-208; and Johansen, 1962, pp. 83-84).

TABLE 1

## National Broadcasting Institute Stations

<u>City and Station Name</u>	<u>Power (Watts)</u>	<u>Frequency (kcs)</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
ATHENS	7500	6075	1938
I Foni tis Ellados (Voice of Greece)	7500	6177	
	5000	7142	
	5000	7300	
	5000	9607	
	5000	11718	
	5000	11927	
	5000	15345	
	5000	15424	
	5000	17745	
	5000	17778	
	5000	17800	
	5000	21485	
THESSALONIKI	5000	1043	1947
Radiophonikos Stathmos Thessalonikis. (Radio Thessaloniki). Macedonian Regional Service.			
VOLOS	1000	1484	1949
Radiophonikos Stathmos Volou (Radio Volos). Thessaly Regional Service.			
PATRAI	500	1511	1950
Radiophonikos Stathmos Patron (Radio Patrai). Peloponnesus Regional Service.			
HNAIA	5000	1511	1950
Radiophonikos Stathmos Chanion (Radio Hania). Crete Regional Service.			
ATHENS	150000	728	1952
Radiophonikos Stathmos Athinon. Ehnikon Programa (Radio Athens National Program).			

TABLE 1 (cont.)

## National Broadcasting Institute Stations

<u>City and Station Name</u>	<u>Power (Watts)</u>	<u>Frequency (kcs)</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
ATHENS Radiophonikos Stathmos Athninon. Dhegteron Programa. (Second Program).	50000	1385	1952
ATHENS Radiophonikos Stathmos Athinon. Triton Programa. (Third Program).	15000	665	1954
KOMOTINI Radiophonikos Stathmos Komotinis. (Radio Komotini). Thracian Regional Service.	5000	1403	1954
RHODOS Radiophonikos Stathmos Rhodou. (Radio Rhodes).	5000	1493	1955
CORFU (KERKYRA) Radiophonikos Stathmos Karkyras. (Radio Kerkyra).	50000	1007	1957
AMALIAS Radiophonikos Stathmos Amaliados. I Foni tis Illeias. (Radio Amalias. The Voice of Ileia). Originally a private station. It was acquired by the HNBI in 1960.	1250	1562	1957

As explained previously, by 1962, the HNBI was operating 12 national broadcasting institute stations in nine different locations throughout Greece. Politically, during this time, George Papandreou won a majority in parliament and embarked on a moderately reformist program with his Center Union Party. Constantine Karamanlis, the former prime minister, went into a self-imposed exile in France.

Until 1967, the HNBI continued to possess administrative and financial autonomy of radio broadcasting under certain conditions and restrictions as set forth in the law. Article II of the law specified that the HNBI had the exclusive right to establish, maintain, and exploit all technical means for the broadcasting of both domestic and foreign programs (Emery, 1969, p. 284). The technical operations and the financing thereof were subject to the control and supervision of the Ministry of Communications. In all other respects, including programming, regulatory control was vested in the Office of the Minister to the Prime Minister (Emery, 1969, p. 284).

Article VII of the law provided for an Administrative Council of nine members composed of officials with special interest in radio from various government ministries, as well as private citizens whose knowledge and qualifications contributed to the determination of HNBI policies. Under the laws in force, the Council, which was appointed by Royal Decree

on the proposal of the Minister to the Prime Minister's Office, was "invested with all powers and issues directives governing the activity of the Institute" (EBU Review, January 1966, p. 53). The Council consisted of the senior vice-president of the Council of State as president, and six members who had to be (a) a member of the Council of State or of the State Audit Office, or of the State Legal Council, (b) a senior official from the Ministry of Finance, (c) a senior official from the General Telecommunications Management of the Ministry of Transport, (d) a senior official or special adviser from the Prime Minister's office, (e) a proprietor, director or editor of an Athens daily newspaper, and (f) a philologist or man of letters with broadcasting experience.

The Director-General of the HNBI was appointed by the Cabinet upon the nomination of the Minister to the Prime Minister (Emery, 1969, p. 284). Koumantos commented on the powers of the Director-General:

although supreme power is nominally in the hands of the Administrative Council, the real power largely vests in the Director-General. True, in the eyes of the law, he is regarded as the "rapporteur" on the questions debated in the Administrative Council and acts as the "supreme executive organ" with regard to that body's decisions. The Director-General cannot, however, be looked upon as subordinate to the Council. He is in fact directly answerable to the Minister to the Prime Minister's Office, holds the title and rank of permanent undersecretary of a ministry and can, like all permanent undersecretaries, be freely removed at any time (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 53).

Article XII of the law prescribed technical standards and requirements for the maintenance of radio stations and

networks; it also provided for an advisory technical committee to be appointed by the Minister of Communications in collaboration with the Undersecretary of the Minister to the Prime Minister. The committee was composed of the technical director of the HNBI, as well as representatives of the Ministry of Communications, the Army, and other Government establishments and institutions of higher learning (Emery, 1969, p. 284). The purpose of the Technical Consultative Committee was to advise the Administrative Council on technical questions relating to the planning and modernization of the country's broadcasting network (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 54).

The original law provided for a Supreme Advisory Council which was required to review reports twice a year from the HNBI regarding programming and performance. The Council was composed of the Archbishop of Greece, the President of the Academy of Athens, the deans of the universities and polytechnic schools, the Chief of the general staff of the Army, the Governor of the Bank of Greece, and representatives of various ministries. In 1961, however, the Government decided that the Council was no longer needed and its operations were terminated (Emery, 1969, p. 284).

The HNBI was financed by the income from license fees on radio receivers, from the sale of advertisements for its radio magazine, and from commercial broadcasts in its Second Programme. Koumantos described HNBI's

financing system:

the system at present in operation is based on two sources of income: one derives from fees, licenses, or to use the Greek terminology, "subscriptions", and the other from advertising. Every owner of a receiving set is obliged to pay a subscription of 160 drachmae (30 drachmae - US \$1) per year (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 55).

Article XVIII of the law specified that no one in Greece could own a radio receiver without payment of a license fee.

Manufacturers and dealers were required to report monthly to the HNBI all sales of receivers with the names and addresses of the purchasers. Police were authorized to "seal" radio sets if the tax was not paid (Emery, 1969, p. 284). According to Koumantos, however, there never was "resort to physical constraint, which normally constitutes the ultimate sanction in cases of non-payment of a public debt to the state" (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 55).

Koumantos, commenting on HNBI's 1965 budget, wrote in January, 1966 that "the system at present in force for the collection of subscriptions must be regarded as a failure" (Koumantos, 1966, p. 55). According to Koumantos:

of the 1965 annual budget, almost one-third was to be covered by advertising and two-thirds by subscriptions. However, whereas the advertising receipts have been obtained as planned, a large proportion of the revenue from subscriptions will be impossible to raise, and the Government is having to make good the deficit (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 55).

As it was estimated that a substantial number of people were not paying the license fee, a new law came under

consideration in the Greek Parliament in 1965. Koumantos described HNBI's financial state of affairs which led to the incorporation of a "subscription" system:

it is obvious that this state of affairs--which, furthermore, is getting worse from year to year cannot be allowed to continue. The authorities are considering several ways out of this difficulty, the most effective being . . . the incorporation of the "subscription" in the direct taxation levied by the state, since . . . it can be assumed that every taxpayer owns at least one receiving set. . . . A Bill has been drafted which would empower the Public Electricity Enterprise to collect the HNBI's subscriptions on a compulsory basis in conjunction with its own charges to electricity users. If the Bill becomes law there might be some hope of improving the Institute's financial position (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 55).

The new law, passed in the mid-1960's, abolished the license fee and substituted a monthly charge of 10 drachmae to be paid by every consumer of electricity, except for residents in towns with a population less than five thousand and for electricity consumers whose monthly bills ran less than 60 drachmae (Emery, 1969, p. 287).

#### HNBI Programming

By 1966, the HNBI had a network of the following 10 transmitting stations: 1. Athens, National Program (150 kw), 2. Athens, Second Program (50 kw), 3. Athens, Third Program (15 kw), 4. Corfus (50 kw), 5. Salonica (5 kw), 6. Komotini (5 kw), 7. Chania (5 kw), 8. Rhodia (5 kw), 9. Volos (1 kw), and 10. Patras (300 w). An additional station was under construction in Zante (50 kw), as well as one in Amalias, which

operated originally as an illegal private station but was subsequently annexed by the Institute. All of the stations transmitted either their own programs or the programs broadcast over the entire HNBI network, most of which were produced in Athens (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 56).

In practice, program planning at the HNBI was the exclusive province of the Director-General, without any interference from the Administrative Council (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 56). Koumantos provided a description of the HNBI programming content in 1966:

the Athens National Program is mainly of an informative character, and is on the air for a total of 102 hours per week. On average, 40% of this total time is transmitted over the whole HNBI network. The Athens Second Program is chiefly light in character and runs for a total of 94 hrs. 20 mins. weekly, an average of 25% of this time being broadcast over the Institute's entire network. The National and Third Programs do not contain commercial broadcasts; in contrast, the Second Program is almost wholly composed of such transmissions (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 56).

Tables 2, 3 and 4 show the percentage breakdown of total broadcasting time (238 hours 20 minutes) by types of program on the HNBI (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 56):

TABLE 2

Percentage Breakdown of Total HNBI Broadcast Time  
Spoken Word Broadcasts

Type of Program	Percentage of Total Broadcast Time
News--current events	9.50%
Cultural programs	2.40%
Drama--feature	2.10%
Children's and school broadcasts	1.50%
Miscellaneous	<u>3.00%</u>
TOTAL	18.50%

As indicated in Table 2, 18.50% of the total HNBI broadcast time was allocated to such spoken word broadcasts as news, cultural programmes, drama, children's and school broadcasts, and other related miscellaneous programs.

TABLE 3

Percentage Breakdown of Total HNBI Broadcast Time  
Music Programs

---

Type of Program	Percentage of Total Broadcast Time
Greek music	28.00%
Serious music	20.50%
Foreign light music	<u>26.00%</u>
TOTAL	74.50%

---

As indicated in Table 3, 74.50% of the total HNBI broadcast time was assigned to music programs including Greek, serious, and foreign light music.

TABLE 4

Percentage Breakdown of Total HNBI Broadcast Time  
Variety

---

Type of Program	Percentage of Total Broadcast Time
Variety	7.00%

---

As indicated in Table 4, 7% of the total HNBI broadcast time was assigned to programs described as the "variety" type.

Documentation of data concerning audience research for the HNBI is not extensive. Koumantos, however, offered the following general audience research statistics:

88% of families in Athens and 70% of families in Salonica listen regularly to radio broadcasts. Among the listeners of the HNBI's three programs, 44% give preference to the National Program, 52% to the Second Program, and 4% to the Third Program (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 56).

Thus, between 1957 and 1967, the HNBI developed its facilities to include 12 national radio stations in nine locations throughout Greece; it expanded its programming to feature three Programs; and it designed a new system to finance the operations. According to Koumantos, the HNBI was still in need, however, of a more efficient operation. In 1966, George Koumantos wrote of a future vision for the HNBI:

the HNBI is in need of a legal form better adapted to the varying nature of the function it has to fulfill, of a sound system of financing which will enable it to operate and invest without having to resort to government funds, and finally, of a statute which ensures its impartiality towards the political parties and other social groups (Koumantos, January 1966, p. 57).

Koumantos' future vision for the HNBI, however, was blurred during the next eight years; an acute political crisis interrupted and changed the social, political, and economic structure of Greece.

#### Radio and The Colonels' Regime: 1967-1974

Political crisis broke on 21 April 1967 when a small group of ultra right wing officers mounted a coup d' etat. The Colonels' regime, as it came to be known, was headed by its

strong man, George Papadopoulos. The Colonels took over the press and the radio. Through press censorship and the regime's control of broadcasting, the Greek people were subjected to a barrage of propaganda (Clogg, 1986, p. 190). C. M. Woodhouse, in The Rise and Fall of the Greek Colonels, described the oppression in Greece during this time:

The music of Mikis Theodorakis was banned because he was, or had been, a Communist . . . An index of 760 forbidden books by over 200 Greek and foreign authors (including Sophocles, Aristophanes and Shakespeare) was published. . . . Censorship of the press was naturally total. Everything to be published had to be submitted in advance, so that the censors could prevent publication by mere delay. Newspapers were also compelled to publish certain items, including commentaries on the government and its work. Offenses were severely punished; six newspapers were banned in May 1967 (Woodhouse, 1985, pp. 35-36).

According to an "Athenian," in Inside the Colonels' Greece, translated by R. Clogg (1972):

Radio and television in Greece had always been strictly controlled by the government and could scarcely lay claim to an objectivity of the B.B.C. type. Nevertheless this state control, even if partisan, never entailed the suppression of all dissident voices, of all embarrassing truth, of all untrammelled discussion on intellectual subjects. After the coup, however, radio . . . came under the immediate control of army officers placed in the broadcasting services, which have simply become instruments of a propaganda machine as intolerant, and as intolerable, as those of other totalitarian countries. Not content with singing their own praises from morning till night, the colonels have imposed their own opinions and standards in intellectual and artistic matters. The result has to be seen to be believed . . . Gramophone records are . . . subject to censorship. Any song considered subversive is forbidden (Clogg, 1972, pp. 95-96).

The "Athenian" also wrote of the fervor with which Greeks listened to Greek-language programs of a number of foreign

radio stations during the Junta:

The fervor with which these broadcasts are listened to can only be appreciated by those who have been similarly deprived of free information. Even in the smallest villages, people rely on transistor radios to listen to London, Moscow, Paris, and especially Deutsche Welle in Cologne, whose Greek transmissions are by far the most outspoken and critical of the dictatorship. At the times of these broadcasts the streets and coffee houses of villages empty. The following morning one of the main subjects of conversation is 'Cologne said yesterday that . . .' and 'London confirms . ..'. In this way the statements of those in opposition, those in exile, and of the resistance organizations are made widely known. It is also thanks to these broadcasts that the arrests of Greeks who are held incommunicado by the authorities are publicized.

The contribution that these broadcasts make to the maintenance of morale should not be underestimated. For thanks to them, not only do the Greek people learn what is kept from them by their present rulers, but they also feel less isolated morally, less betrayed by the outside world. In the present struggle in Greece for freedom and human dignity, these broadcasts play a role comparable to that of the B.B.C. during the Nazi occupation (Clogg, 1972, p. 103).

According to the resistance manifestoes of the Greek underground documented by Rousseas (1967), intellectuals expressed the following concerning the Junta:

Dictatorship has put a muzzle over the liberty of thought and expression. All Greek intellectuals and artists are desisting from any kind of active creative presence within the framework of the fascist regime . . . The firm position that Irene Papas took against the regime has made a big impression on our people. As "Ici Paris," the Greek program of the French radio transmitted, the great Greek actress, actually in Cannes, declared that the instigators of the military putsch, as well as their instruments, are nothing but Nazis and that the entirety of the Greek people is in radical opposition with them. Irene Papas added that she intends to stay abroad and fight with all her means until democracy is reestablished. Another Greek who recently left in order to become the messenger of the Greek people's struggle abroad, the writer Kostas Kotzias, has called on all intellectuals,

artists, scientists, on all the governments and the peoples of Europe: 'The blow which facism has dealt Greece is a blow on all of Europe,' stressed the patriot writer. 'Remember where compromises with the facists led humanity in the past. The counteroffensive must be decisive. Greece is calling on you for help' (Rousseas, 1967, pp. 220-221).

Numerous accounts and documented manifestoes of resistance exist describing the activities of censorship and control exercised by the Colonels' Regime. Clearly, the Junta had a significant effect and impact on Greek society and culture, an effect which to this day still has not been forgotten.

In 1973, George Papadopoulos, Prime Minister, had himself elected President of Greece. Within the year, rumblings of mass discontent began to be heard (Clogg, 1986, p. 197).

Students at the Athens Polytechnic University began broadcasting appeals on clandestine radio for a worker-student alliance to overthrow the dictatorship. One of the original students who occupied the Polytechnic in 1973 and who operated the student radio station during the Polytechnic seige was Maria Damanaki, currently one of the most popular women parliamentarians in Greece. During the seige, Damanaki called for help and medical supplies, and urged the students to continue the struggle (Greek-American, November 23, 1989, p. 16).

Papadopoulos was deposed in a bloodless coup; seven years of brutal, inefficient and unpopular dictatorship ended as abruptly as it had begun. Within the year, Constantine Karamanlis returned from his 11 year self-exile in Paris to

oversee the dismantling of the dictatorship and the return to democratic rule (Clogg, 1986, p. 199). Karamanlis won convincing victories in 1974 and 1977; having successfully and bloodlessly engineered the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, Karamanlis was able to focus his attention to the country's depressing economic problems and undertake much needed structural reforms in education (Clogg, 1986, pp. 208-209). In addition, during this time, one of Karamanlis' most remarkable measures was to legalize the Communist Party (KKE), which had been officially banned since 1947.

In June 1975, a general referendum supported a new Republican constitution, with a parliamentary democracy (The International Year Book and Statemen's Who's Who, 1986, p. 212). Following the establishment of the 1975 Constitution, a law was passed by the Parliament which restructured the Greek broadcasting system. Law 230/1975 took effect on 1 April 1976; it established the Hellenic Radio Television (ERT) as the new legal entity for broadcasting replacing the Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute (Law 230/1975; Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 237).

#### Greek Radio and Television Corporation (ERT) 1975-1987

According to Article 1 of the law, the object of ERT was to provide "information, education, and recreation for the Greek people . . .," through the "organization, operation, and development of radio and television" (Law 230/1975). Article 2 specified ERT as a "société anonymne"--ERT was to belong

exclusively to the state" (Law 230/1975). According to the law, "no one else, either individuals or corporate bodies, has the right to transmit radio or television broadcasts intended for general reception through the air or by closed or wired circuit" (Greece: A Portrait, 1979, p. 173). Article 3 of the same act stated that, "ERT programs must be imbued with democratic spirit, awareness of cultural responsibility, humanitarianism, and objectivity, and must take into account the local situation" (Law 230/1975).

While Article 14 of the Constitution provided protection of speech and the press, Article 15 did not extend the same protection to broadcasting. The legal position of radio was defined by the Constitution as follows:

Radio . . . [is] subject to the direct control of the State and [has] as [its] purpose the objective and balanced dissemination of information and news, and of literary and artistic productions, maintaining the quality of broadcasts which this social mission and the cultural development of the country impose (Constitution, 1975 and Greece: A Portrait, 1979, p. 173).

As set forth by the Constitution, broadcasting in Greece was treated as a natural resource and given to the control of the State (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 7).

In 1979, ERT operated nine local radio stations, which when they were not tuned in to the First or Second Program network, broadcast a local program each day from studios operating in the provincial towns of Thessaloniki, Corfu, Konotini, Volos, Rhodes, Patras, and Chania. In addition, ERT broadcast "The Voice of Greece" worldwide on two short wave

transmitters at Avlida in Attica (Greece: A Portrait, 1979, p. 173).

Before proceeding to the next phase in the history of Greek radio broadcasting, it is necessary to again refer to the nature of the political situation in Greece. A new element in the political spectrum emerged with the reappearance of Andreas Papandreou, who had been in exile in Sweden during the Colonels' Regime. Papandreou had been building up a party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). PASOK included in its stated objectives national independence, popular sovereignty, social liberation, and democratic structures (Clogg, 1986, p. 203). Papandreou campaigned steadily against Karamanlis and increased PASOK's vote in each election between 1974 and 1981. In the elections of October 1981, the Greeks elected the first socialist government in their country's history, headed by Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. PASOK campaigned with the slogan, "allagi" or change; PASOK claimed itself to be the political carrier of change and transformation in Greek society (To Kyvernetiko Programma tou PASOK, 1981).

Prime Minister Papandreou guaranteed and promised the following in his party platform: (1) freedom of opinion and expression; (2) the direct and active participation of all citizens in the political life of the country with genuine democratic procedures; (3) administrative decentralization with the strengthening of municipal power; and (4) the participation of all power in the cultural development of Greece (Declaration

of the Fundamental Principles and Aims of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, 1974; Spourdarakis, 1988). The issue of broadcast communications, however, was not addressed specifically in the Declaration of the Principles and Aims of PASOK.

Still, the legal structure of ERT was one of the targets of PASOK before it came into power in 1981. PASOK spoke of the need to change the structure of ERT declaring that the broadcast system was used to promote only the party in power. Following the 1981 elections, however, PASOK did not change ERT's legal structure, although it made more airtime available to opposition parties (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 240). Data collected by this researcher through interviews support this claim; indeed, PASOK provided and made available more airtime to opposition parties than any previous ruling party had done.

In 1982, Law 1288/1982 created ERT-1 and ERT-2 (Law 1288/1982; Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 238). ERT-1, a public corporation owned by the State, was governed theoretically by a Board of Directors. According to Zarharopoulos,

This board is comprised of 20 people, all from certain high offices in government, banking, education, and people appointed by political parties. The Chairman of the Board of Directors [was] the Governor of the Bank of Greece (Article 13, 230/1975). The powers of the Board of Directors [were] mainly advisory. The Administrative Council [had] more powers to actively take part in the day to day operations of ERT-1. [The Administrative Council was] composed of seven members who [were] appointed for three years by the Council of Ministers (Cabinet). The Chairman of the Administrative Council [was] also appointed by the Cabinet. The purpose of the Administrative Council [was] to "supervise and control

ERT-1 services" and to draw up budgets and plans for the developments of ERT-1.

The head of the daily operations of ERT-1 [was] the Director General, assisted by two assistant directors general. All three [were] appointed by the Cabinet (Zarharopoulos, 1985, pp. 238-239).

As Zarharopoulos explains, the legal and operational structure of ERT-1 even as a public corporation was heavily controlled by the government in power as all important decision-makers were appointed directly by the Cabinet. And, ERT-1 was closely supervised by the Deputy Minister to the Presidency (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 239).

ERT-2, on the other hand, was not a public corporation. Law 1288/1982 declared it to be a public service of the Ministry of the Presidency (Law 1288/1982; Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 239). According to Zarharopoulos,

ERT-2 [was] governed by a General Council of five members appointed by the Ministry to the President. . . . ERT-2 [was] therefore also controlled by the party in power as most important decision makers [were] appointed by it and as it [was] supervised by the Minister to the Presidency (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 239; Government Gazette, 1982/120).

As Zarharopoulos explains, both broadcast systems (ERT-1 and ERT-2) were required by law to broadcast any announcements requested by the government. In addition, the government appointed heads of each service usually approved the actors and actresses in various programs keeping in mind their political affiliation (Zarharopoulos, 1985, pp. 239-240).

As indicated in Table 5, in 1985, ERT-1 operated 11 medium wave AM stations; ERT-2 operated 11 medium wave AM stations,

and two private, non-profit stations broadcast from Amaliada and Messologhi (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 248). And, as indicated in Table 6, in 1985, ERT-1 operated 17 FM stations throughout Greece; ERT-2 did not have any FM stations.

TABLE 5

## Greek Radio Stations, Their Affiliation and Their Power

Medium Wave Stations (AM)					
Location	ERT-1	Power	Location	ERT-2	Power
Athens			Athens		200 kw
First Program		150 kw	Thessaloniki		50 kw
Second Program		50 kw	Iraklion		10 kw
Third Program		15 kw	Ionnina		10 kw
Zakynthos*		50 kw	Kavala		1 kw
Kerkyra* (Corfu)		50 kw	Kozani		1 kw
Thessaloniki		150 kw	Larissa		5 kw
Komotini		5 kw	Orestiada		10 kw
Volos*		1 kw	Pyrgos		4 kw
Rhodos*		5 kw	Serres		1 kw
Chania*		5 kw	Triplois		10 kw
Patra*		1 kw	Florina		10 kw
Samos		1 kw			
Orestiada		1 kw			
Private non-profit stations					
Amaliada		1 kw			
Messologhi		1 kw			

\*Regional Stations

TABLE 6

## Greek Radio Stations, Their Affiliation and Their Power

FM Stations**		
Location	Program Service	Power
Athens	First-Second-Third	10 kw
Megara	First-Second	3 kw
Volos	First-Second-Third	10 kw
Thessaloniki	First-Second-Third	10 kw
Kavala	First-Second	10 kw
Alexandroupolis	First-Second	3 kw
Kastoria	First-Second	10 kw
Ioannina	First-Second	3 kw
Kerkyra	First-Second	3 kw
Kephalonia	First-Second	10 kw
Tripolis	First-Second	10 kw
Kalamata	First-Second	3 kw
Chania	First-Second	3 kw
Iraklion	First-Second	3 kw
Rhodos	First-Second	3 kw
Thera	First-Second	10 kw
Mytilini	First-Second	3 kw

\*\*ERT-2 did not have any FM stations

## ERT Single Agency (ERT S.A.)

In February, 1987, the Greek government introduced a bill on the creation of a single agency for the Greek Radio and Television (ERT) networks, which included a number of changes in the organization and operation of the stations (Paparsenos, Embassy of Greece, 1987). The bill, which was enacted into Law 1730 in October 1987, provided for the establishment of a single agency (ERT S.A.) for the two ERT networks. Thus, the major change resulting from the law was that now one company, Greek Radio-Television Inc. (ERT S.A.) has complete control of broadcasting in Greece (Law 1730/1987).

The new company is a public, State-owned, non-profit corporation. Its purpose is to provide "information, education, and entertainment to the Greek people." It was given exclusive rights to "the transmission of any kind of sound or picture anywhere in the country through radio or television" intended for reception either through the air, cable or any other form (Article 2, Law 1730/1987). ERT S.A., which has administrative and financial autonomy of broadcasting, operates under the social supervision of the Assembly of Representatives for Social Control (ASKE) of Television Viewers and Radio Audiences.

The ASKE is comprised of 50 members: 10 government representatives, 10 representatives from the political parties, three local government representatives, two ERT S.A. representatives, 15 representatives from social and scientific

agencies, and 10 personalities of the world of arts and letters. The ASKE is responsible for supervising adherence to the general principles governing the broadcast of advertisements, adherence to the principles governing programmes, and serves as an advisory agency on the annual budget (Paparsenos, Embassy of Greece, 1987).

In addition, ERT S.A. is governed by a seven-member board of directors, comprised of a President, Vice-President, three radio television experts (all five to be appointed by the government), one ASKE representative, and one representative of the ERT S.A. employees (Paparsenos, Embassy of Greece, 1987). As Zarharopoulos explains, the ruling party once again controls Greek broadcasting by directly appointing at least five of the seven members of ERT's Administrative Council (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 9; Helliniki Eteria, 1988).

The law also provided for the establishment of radio stations in other cities of Greece. According to the law, such stations have autonomy regarding programming and can link up with the national stations. ERT S.A., however, has the right to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio stations to local government organizations, to natural persons of Greek nationality and legal entities controlled by Greek citizens. The law declared that details on private and municipal radio stations were to come later in a Proedrika Diatagmata (Presidential Decree) (Law 1730/1987).

## Summary

This chapter reviewed the history of Greek broadcasting from 1920-1987, focusing mainly on the developments and changes in the State radio broadcasting system. In order to understand more clearly the history of Greek radio broadcasting during this time, this chapter examined the history and roots of the operation and structure of Greek radio broadcasting within the context of complex Greek sociopolitical, economic, and political phenomena. As the institution of radio broadcasting in Greece is a distinctly political institution with social and economic ramifications, discussion of its development within the context of the history of Greece cannot be separated. Table 7 features a chronological history of Greek radio broadcasting, 1920-1987.

Examination of the history of modern Greece reveals a country wracked by an unusually troubled history of constantly changing and unstable governments, a catastrophic civil war, and a chronic history of military intervention in its political process. Furthermore, Greece's heritage of Orthodox Christianity, as well as several centuries of Ottoman Turkish rule, constitute additional profound influences on the development of Greek history and society. In essence, Greece's troubled history has distorted its political, economic, and social development in numerous and significant ways, including its development of the medium and institution of radio broadcasting.

The overall pattern of Greek broadcasting from its creation in the early 1920s to the mid-1980s is one of varying degrees of governmental usage of the medium, but also one of persistent government control. Immediately following the first experimental radio broadcasts at the University of Athens, the Ministry of the Navy declared regulatory jurisdiction over radio communications. All transmission and receiving installations were required to be authorized by the Ministry, and owners of radio sets were ordered to pay a license fee upon purchase of each set. In time and between numerous dictatorships, the control of radio was transferred to the following governmental agencies: (1) Radio Electric Service of the Ministry of Posts, Telegraph, and Telephone (1926-1938); (2) the Radio Broadcasting Service under the Ministry of Press and Tourism (1938-1941); (3) the Hellenic Broadcasting Society, which was controlled by the German forces during their occupation of Greece; during this time, radio became an instrument for Nazi propaganda (1941-1944); (4) the Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute (1944-1967); (5) the Colonels' Regime, a six-year period of extreme censorship and control (1967-1973); (6) the Hellenic Radio Television, ERT (1975-1987); (7) Hellenic Radio Television, ERT S.A. (1987 to present). During the time between 1920-1987, private radio was never considered a legally recognized institution, although such stations began to emerge in the early 1950s.

In October 1987, a bill, which was enacted into Law 1730,

provided for the establishment of a single broadcasting agency, ERT S.A. Thus, one company, Greek Radio-Television Incorporated, was given complete control of broadcasting in Greece. The new company, which still exists today, is a public, state-owned, non-profit corporation. Its purpose is to provide "information, education, and entertainment to the Greek people." ERT S.A. was given exclusive rights to "the transmission of any kind of sound or picture anywhere in the country through radio or television" intended for reception either through the air, cable, or any other form" (Article 2, Law 1730/1987). Research from 1985 reveals that ERT operated 22 AM stations and 17 FM stations throughout Greece, although origination of radio programming was highly centralized in Athens (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 248).

Law 1730 also gave ERT S.A. the authority to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio stations to local government organizations, to natural persons of Greek nationality, and legal entities controlled by Greek citizens. The law declared that details on private and municipal radio stations were to come later in a Proedrika Diatagmata (Presidential Decree) (Law 1730/1987).

It should also be noted that Law 1730 was enacted during the socialist government (PASOK) of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, who had guaranteed and promised the following in his party platform: (1) freedom of opinion and expression; (2) the direct and active participation of all citizens in the

political life of the country with genuine democratic procedures: (3) administrative decentralization with the strengthening of municipal power; and (4) the participation of all people in the cultural development of Greece (Declaration of the Fundamental Principles and Aims of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, 1974; Spourdalakis, 1988). The issue of broadcast communications, however, was not addressed, specifically, in the Declaration of the Principles and Aims of PASOK.

Examination of the history of broadcasting from its creation in the early 1920s to the mid-1980s reveals a medium persistently controlled by the government in terms of access to radio station facilities for purposes of broadcasting as well as control of program content. Private radio stations were prohibited. Opinions, news, and information broadcast via the radio were subject to State supervision and regulation. The State, in fact, had the power over access and control of radio broadcast facilities as well as information. Pluralism, in terms of a broadcast system composed of competing components encouraged by differing motivations, did not exist, aside from the two private stations in Amaliada and Messologhi.

TABLE 7

History of Greek Radio Broadcasting 1920-1987

1917	Venizelos government in power.
1920s	Experimental radio broadcasts begin in Greece at the University of Athens, the Votanikos station of the Ministry of Navy Command in Athens, and the Magaris School in Athens by members of the Greek Amateur Radio Operators (UGAO).
1921-1926	Ministry of the Navy declares regulatory jurisdiction over radio communications. All transmission and receiving installations are required to be authorized by the Ministry; owners of radio sets are ordered to pay license fees of 500 drachmae upon purchase of each set.
1925-1926	Pangalos dictatorship.
1926	Control of radio transferred to the Radio Electric Service of the Ministry of Posts, Telegraph, and Telephone (PTT).
1928	First radio station in Greece to provide regular programs established in Thessaloniki by Christos Tsinguirides.
1928-1932	Military coup d' etat; Venizelos premiership.
1936	General John Metaxas dictatorship; Metaxas' government sets up and operates its own system to "educate" the Greek society.
1938	Greek government establishes the Radio Broadcasting Service (YRE) under the Ministry of Press and Tourism.
1939	Second World War begins.
1941	German forces enter Athens.
1941	The Ministry of Press and Tourism is abolished by the German forces. Hellenic Broadcasting Society (AERE) is formed for the control and exploitation of broadcasting by the Germans. The Athens national station becomes an instrument for Nazi propaganda. German and Italian Commands issue an order requiring owners of radio receivers in

TABLE 7 (cont.)

Athens and vicinity to declare and register the sets with their Commands.

1944	German forces depart Greece; the Athens national radio station resumes operations.
1945	Greek government establishes the Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute (HNBI), a new and autonomous organization.
1946	Greek Civil War begins.
1947	HNBI operates two radio stations in Greece, one in Athens and one in Thessaloniki.
1951	Greek Civil War ends.
1952	Private radio stations begin to appear in Greece. The HNBI does not encourage the creation of such stations.
1952-1955	Greek government passes law establishing a legal framework for the operation of the HNBI. HNBI is declared a public service agency, created by law and subject to State control. HNBI is granted exclusive franchise for broadcasting.
1955	Constantine Karamanlis' National Radical Union (ERE) government in power.
1962	HNBI broadcasts three programs. Facilities increase to 12 stations in nine different locations throughout Greece.
1964	George Papandreou wins majority in Parliament. Papandreou embarks on a moderately reformist program with his Center Union Party.
1965	Greek Parliament abolishes the license fee for radio and substitutes a monthly charge of 10 drachmae to be paid by every consumer of electricity. The HNBI continues to possess administrative and financial autonomy of radio broadcasting.
1966	HNBI has a network of 10 transmitting stations throughout Greece.

TABLE 7 (cont.)

- 1967 Political crisis with a military coup d' etat; the Colonels' Regime, headed by George Papadopoulos, controls the press and radio.
- 1973 Athens Polytechnic University student uprising. University students broadcast appeals on clandestine radio for a worker-student alliance to overthrow the dictatorship.
- 1973 Colonels' Regime ends. Constantine Karamanlis returns from self-exile to engineer the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.
- 1975 Hellenic Radio Television (ERT) is established as the new legal entity for broadcasting. Law 230/1975 declares ERT belongs exclusively to the State. Law declares "no one else, either individuals or corporate bodies, has the right to transmit radio or television broadcasts intended for general reception through the air or by closed or wired circuit. Article 15 of the Constitution does not provide protection of speech to broadcasting.
- 1979 By this year, ERT operated nine local radio stations.
- 1981 Greeks elect their first socialist government headed by Andreas Papandreou and his Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). PASOK campaigns with the slogan, "allaghi" or change.
- 1982 Law 1288/1982 creates ERT-1 and ERT-2. ERT-1 is designated a public corporation owned by the State. ERT-2 is declared a public service of the Ministry of the Presidency.
- 1987 Law 1730/1987 creates a single agency, ERT S.A., to control broadcasting in Greece. The new company is organized as a public, state-owned, non-profit corporation. Its purpose is to provide "information, education and entertainment to the Greek people." It is given exclusive rights to "the transmission of any kind of sound or picture anywhere in the country through radio or television" intended for reception either through the air, cable or any other form. Law 1730/1987 also gives ERT S.A. the right to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio

TABLE 7 (cont.)

stations to local government organizations. The law declares that details on private and municipal radio stations are to come later in a Proderika Diatagmata (Presidential Decree).

## REFERENCES

- ASKS radio equipment: Greece invites makers to bid on two broadcasters. (1939, April 12) New York Times, p. 31: 2.
- Bays, K. (1988, October 12). 50 Chronia hellinikis radiofonias [50 years of Greek radio]. Eleftheorotypia, p. 33.
- Broadcasting stations of the world: Part I (1960, April), United States Foreign Broadcast Service, pp. 204-208.
- Clogg, R. (1972). Inside the Colonels' Greece by "Athenian." Translated by Clogg. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Clogg, R. (1981). Modern Greece. London: The Historical Association.
- Clogg, R. (1986) A short history of modern Greece (rev. ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dallas-Damis, A. (1989, November 23). Greek Diary. Greece Today, p. 16.
- EBU Bulletin, (1957, January-February), pp. 53-54.
- Emery, W. (1969). National and international systems of broadcasting: Their history, operation and control. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- German troops in Athens: Last phases of the battle of Greece. (1941, April 28). The Times. pp. 4-5.
- Government Gazette [Ephimeris tis kyverniseos] (1982, October 1).
- Greece, A Portrait. (1979, November), Athens: Research and Publicity Center Kede Ltd., p. 173.
- Greece. In International Yearbook and Statemen's Who's Who (1986), p. 212.
- Greek Constitution (1975) Law 230/1975.
- Helliniki eteria topikis anaptixis ke aftodyikisis (1988) Radio-fono ke topiki aftodyikisis [Radio and local government]. Athens: EETAA.
- I radiophonia en Elladi. Neoteron encyclopedikon lexikon Iliou, (2nd ed., Vol. 16).

- Johansen, L. (1962) World Radio-TV Handbook, (16th ed.), Copenhagen, Det Berlingske Bogtrykkeri, pp. 83-84.
- Journal of government, (1936), Athens, Greece, 95.
- Journal of government, (1943, May 17), Athens, Greece, 63.
- Keshishoglou, J. E. (1962). The development of broadcasting in Greece. Unpublished master's thesis, State University of Iowa, Ames, Iowa.
- Koumantos, G. (1966, January). Broadcasting in Greece: Structure, organization and operation. EBU Review, 95B, 53-57.
- Mears, E. G. (1929). Greece today: The aftermath of the refugee impact. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Paparsenos, A. (1987, February 24). Single ERT agency bill. Washington, D.C.: Embassy of Greece, pp. 2-3).
- Radiophonia [Radio]. Encyclopedikon lexikon Ilios (2nd ed., Vol. 16).
- Radiophonikos stathmos Tehssalonikis. (1945). Radiophonia-Teleorasis. April, p. 14.
- Report on set imports from United States: January-June, 1939. (1939, June 16). New York Times, p. 47: 8.
- Report of the commission on technical needs. (1947) Press, film, radio. Paris: UNESCO, p. 124.
- Rousseas, S. (1967). The death of a democracy: Greece and the American Congcience. New York: Grove Press.
- Spourdalakis, M. (1988). The rise of the Greek socialist party. New York: Routledge.
- To Kyvernetiko Programma tou PASOK. (1981), Athens: Greece.
- Woodhouse, C. (1985) Rise and fall of Greek Colonels. New York: Franklin Watts.
- Zarharopoulos, E. (1985). Foreign mass communication in Greece: Its impact on Greek culture and influence on Greek society. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.

Zarharopoulos, E. (1989, October). Mass communication in Greece: Power/freedom and broadcasting in Greek society. In T. Stavrou (Chair), Power/freedom: Politics, social life, and the arts in modern Greece. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Modern Greek Studies Association, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

## CHAPTER THREE

### GREEK BROADCASTING IN TRANSITION: THE INTRODUCTION OF LEGALLY RECOGNIZED PRIVATE AND MUNICIPAL RADIO--A CHALLENGE TO THE STATE

A review of the history of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations in Greece necessitates further consideration of the "non-encouraged" private radio stations which appeared after 1952, discussion of the emergence in the 1980s of clandestine or pirate radio stations, and, finally, an examination of the legally recognized municipal and private radio stations which developed between 1987 and 1989, as well as the law and Presidential Decree which set the parameters for the establishment of these stations. Review of the private and municipal radio stations, stations which, in time, became legally recognized, is organized chronologically.

#### "Non-Encouraged" Private Radio 1950-1969

As reviewed in Chapter Two, private radio stations began to appear in Greece in the early 1950s. According to Keshishoglou (1962), five private, low power, local radio stations operated in Greece between 1952 and 1962; these stations serviced strictly the population of a particular town (Keshishoglou, 1962, pp. 39-41). Keshishoglou described the nature and existence of these stations:

At the present time, it is not clear to me why the HNBI permitted the establishment of these stations and what kind of an agreement there exists between their owners and the HNBI. Several attempts to clarify this point were unsuccessful. The stations failed to return the

questionnaires sent to them and the HNBI never mentioned anything about them, either.

It seems reasonable to assume that these stations support themselves with revenues from advertising and that they are permitted to operate with the understanding that they will relay HNBI's programs for a certain number of hours during the week. It is highly probable that the HNBI does not finance these stations (Keshishoglou, 1962, pp. 39-41).

Table 8 indicates the location, power, frequency, and the year each of the five private stations was established (Johansen, 1962).

TABLE 8  
Private Stations

City and Station Name	Power (Watts)	Frequency (kcs)	Year Established
MEGARA Idiotikos Radiostathmos Megaron. (Megara Private Radio Station).	60	1186	1952
MYTILINI Idiotikos Radiostathmos Mytilinis. (Mytilini Private Radio Station).	100	6240	1952
KARPENISSION Idiotikos Radiostathmos Karpenissiou. (Karpenission Private Radio Station).	300	6525	1954
HIOS Idiotikos Radiostathmos Chiou. (Hios Private Radio Station).	100	6590	1957
SPARTA Idiotikos Radiostathmos Spartis. (Sparta Private Radio Station).	50	1236	1957

As indicated in Table 8, private stations were located in the areas Megara, Mytilini, Karpenission, Hios, and Sparta. The station with the greatest power, 300 watts, was located in Karpenission.

Research conducted several years later revealed the existence of as many as 100 private radio stations operating on low power (250 to 350 watts) in Greece (Emery, 1969, p. 286). According to Emery (1969), these stations were operated by municipalities, local trade unions, and other private groups. The stations were self-supported; some derived revenue from advertising.

Many of the stations were located in remote, mountainous regions far removed from the surveillance of the government in Athens. In time, however, the Ministry became increasingly concerned about the existence of the stations, which were said to have caused problems of interference and adversely affected radio operations. Thus, the government was forced to intensify its efforts to prohibit the unauthorized operations (Emery, 1969, p. 286). Koumantos (1966) described the HNBI's reaction to the illegal stations:

one cannot fail to notice the appalling number of infringements of the HNBI's monopoly. Wholly illegal low-power private stations abound throughout the country, ranging from the child's toy to the organized transmitter with regular programs and even commercial broadcasts. The Institute possesses no legal means whereby it could effectively try to stamp out these stations, and its monopoly, being unprovided with sanctions, is in effect lex imperfecta. The Institute is reduced to talking about the administrative action which the Government ought to take, but behind certain legal uncertainties as to the manner of their intervention, rather than enact measures which they consider may be unpopular (Koumantos, 95B, January 1966, p. 56).

#### Clandestine and Pirate Radio Broadcasts 1983-1987

A movement, composed of intellectuals and pirate radio

activists from all sides of the political spectrum, began to emerge as early as 1983 seriously demanding the right to operate radio stations. Basil Coronakis, publisher of Greece's Weekly, described the activities of the pirate radio activists:

they were broadcasting regularly, giving dedications of songs to the youth, broadcasting advertisements, and collecting money. I don't think that the government really wanted to stop them, because they were not political, you see (Coronakis, 1988).

Numerous pirate radio stations broadcast illegally during this time. The composer, Manos Hadizakis, opened an illegal radio station for a short period of time; when the station was closed by the police, Hadizakis' public stature and the ensuing melee all helped to publicize the free-radio movement (Kriklanis, 1988). Other notable illegal radio stations included "Anti-logos" and "Channel 15", both of which were closed down by the police.

"Anti-logos", which made its first illegal broadcast in December 1983, was the creation of numerous journalists affiliated with a popular magazine, ANTI (Papoutasakis, 1988). "Anti-logos" was stopped by the police; its transmitters and operating equipment were destroyed. ANTI devoted several issues of its publication to the free-radio movement, including the December 16, 1983 issue, printed before the first broadcast by "Anti-logos"; the December 23, 1983 issue, printed after the first broadcast; and a special edition, July 24, 1986, which was based on a mass media conference in Greece featuring the texts of numerous free-radio speeches (Papoutasakis, 1988).

"Channel 15" was named after Article 15 of the Constitution of 1975, which states that "radio shall be under the immediate control of the State (Article 15, Constitution, 1975). Channel 15 was organized by Russos Coundouros, who is considered by many as the "father of free radio". Coundouros had been involved previously with an organization, the Protection of Television Viewers, before he created the Channel 15 commission (Velios, 1988). According to Alexander Velios, intellectual and first Director of the Piraeus Channel One Municipal Radio Station, "Coundouros made one of the first free broadcastings, illegally, with the police running after him. He broadcast during the National elections of 1985; he made another illegal broadcast during the Municipal elections of 1986" (Velios, 1988). Channel 15 operated from numerous apartments, never in the same place. In 1986, police arrested 17 Greek intellectuals and free speech activists associated with Channel 15 and charged them with operating a pirate radio station in defiance of the state monopoly on broadcasting. A journalist, Alexander Yotis, who was arrested with the Channel 15 group, commented on the charges brought against him:

This is a human rights issue. We believe we have the constitutional right to broadcast ideas and opinions freely. With radio and television under state control that doesn't happen (Stockton Record, July 2, 1986).

Throughout 1986, the press featured a great amount of information and created enormous publicity concerning the activities and trials of the Channel 15 commission. Channel

15, in essence, developed the public's attention to the free-radio movement and stirred further action.

Responding to the demands of people, the son of Andreas Papandreou, George Papandreou, Education Minister, spoke out in favor of the free-radio movement. The November 12, 1986 issue of newspapers such as Logos featured a photograph of George Papandreou and headlines reading, "Radio For Everyone" (Logos, November 12, 1986). According to intellectual, Alexander Velios, George Papandreou "wanted to play liberal and to come out as a progressive figure and support free radio when all of the other Ministers of the government were against it" (Velios, 1988).

In December 1986, following the announcement of George Papandreou, Andreas Papandreou officially announced his intentions to formulate a comprehensive policy on the establishment of free radio broadcasts:

I have asked the Speaker of Parliament to proceed with the creation of an all party parliamentary committee which will formulate a comprehensive policy on the establishment of free radio broadcasts by March 31, 1987. Any citizen will have the right to operate a local [radio] station, but the creation of a network of such local stations will not be permitted either directly or indirectly. What will be required of the all-party committee will be to define the form which state control will take as well as which limitations will govern the control of the broadcasts (Athens News, December 2, 1986).

By the end of March, 1987, Greek broadcasting still was controlled and operated under the direct supervision of the State. The Parliament had not created a comprehensive policy

for the establishment of free radio broadcasts, and Papandreou's PASOK had not changed the legal structure of ERT.

According to a press release from the Greek Embassy on May 14, 1987, George Papandreou stated that free radio offered the utmost to a democratic approach to the problems of the time and that radio was a social necessity that would free creative forces in the provinces and the cities (Greek Embassy, May 14, 1987). The Parliament, however, still had not created a comprehensive policy for the establishment of free radio broadcasts. Many people felt that the Greek government was in no hurry to create such a policy.

By the end of May 1987, the free-radio movement had created a substantial following by the public. Miltiades Evert, the Mayor of Athens and a member of the opposition party, New Democracy, decided to force the government, in essence, to allow the establishment of a municipal radio station for Athens.

#### Athens Municipal Radio

In May 1987, Athens 984 FM Radio began broadcasting from the Municipal Building, Liossion 22, in the heart of Athens. Terence Kwik, Representative of the Athens Municipality and former anchorman of ET-1 television, described the actions of Mayor Evert:

Miltiades Evert announced the construction and set-up of a municipal radio station during the 1987 campaign. He was so "apofasistikos" [decided-determined]. When Miltiades says that he is going to do something, he is

going to do it. . . . We announced that our first, free, independent radio station would be ready the 31st of May, 1987. 24 hours before [the broadcast] we didn't have the permission of the government. But, at the very last hours, knowing that we were going to do it [broadcast] at any cost, the government said okay, go ahead. But, it was us, who forced the government to give the permission for legal broadcasting (Kwik, 21 July 1988).

Yiannis Tzannetakos, former Channel 15 activist, became the General Director of the Athens 984 FM municipal radio station. When the station first began broadcasting, its transmitter was located on the terrace on top of the building; as the station did not have license to broadcast, the broadcasters felt they needed to protect themselves from any governmental interference. Later, the transmitter was moved to Lycabettus Hill, which overlooks Athens (Tzannetakos, 28 July 1988). During the summer of 1988, the station transmitted only to parts of Athens.

Approximately 160 persons were employed at the station. According to Tzannetakos, the station employed five groups of journalists who were assigned to one of the following five schedules: 6 a.m.-11 a.m., 11 a.m.-4 p.m., 4 p.m.-9 p.m., 9 p.m.-2 a.m., or 2 a.m.-6 a.m. Approximately 50 persons worked as journalists at 984 FM; some journalists worked only with the news, others programmed interviews or talk shows.

Approximately 20 persons were employed as technicians and 25 persons to transmit the musical programs. All of the programs were broadcast live, rather than taped. According to Tzannetakos, various categories of music were broadcast

including foreign music and Greek music. Tzannetakos explained that it was difficult to find persons who know Greek music well:

There are many young persons who know foreign music very well, let's say, Anglo Saxon music, but fewer of them know Greek music. This is our greatest problem. We don't have special references and magazines about Greek music. If one wants to study Greek music, one must be a collector of interviews, of albums, and such. Whereas, for foreign music, there are hundreds of specialized editions, annuals, almanacs, and such. For Greek music, nothing exists. And for this reason, it is very difficult (Tzannetakos, 1988).

During the summer of 1988, Athens 984 FM broadcast 24 hours per day. The programs were organized into "zones," which are roughly equivalent to "blocks" of programming in U.S. broadcasting. Beginning at 7 a.m., the station broadcast a three-hour zone titled "Good Morning to Everybody," which featured news, the main items from the newspapers, music, five minutes on the political parties, and two editorials everyday from journalists with different political tendencies. "We have about 15 very well known journalists who give one editorial every week," Tzannetakos explained. Concerning programming of the political parties, he pointed out:

Everyday, we broadcast five minutes for one Party. For example, on Monday--New Democracy, on Wednesday--the Communist Party, etc. And, also, every week we allocate 15 minutes for the parties in the Municipal Council, because there are parties in the Municipal Council (Tzannetakos, 1988).

The third zone included programming from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.; it featured political interviews, a review of the foreign press, music, and a major one-half hour newscast at 3 p.m. The

fourth zone, which featured pop and rock music for young listeners aged 13-25, broadcast from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. A fifth zone, designed specifically for the broadcast of Greek music, was featured from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m.; a one-half hour newscast was scheduled at 8:30 p.m. Everyday, from 10 p.m. until 11 p.m., except during the weekends, 984 FM featured Black music. "Easy Listening" was programmed from 11 p.m. until midnight.

Pop music, independent productions, and European records were featured from midnight until 1 a.m. Greek music was programmed from 1 a.m. until 3 a.m. After 3 a.m. and through the early morning, foreign and Greek music were featured.

Tzannetakos described the late-night programming:

It is live and with two announcers--one man and one woman. They have connections with our listeners. They are keeping company, let's say, to everybody. They answer the telephones, they conduct some small gallups (Tzannetakos, 1988).

The term "gallups" refers to audience measurement; for example, what kinds and numbers of persons (age, gender, etc.) telephone the station, who is listening, and so forth. According to Tzannetakos, 984 FM employed the international audience research firm, Nielsen, to survey their audience.

#### Top FM 924 Private Radio

Top FM 924 was one of the first private radio stations to begin broadcasting in Athens. The station, which commenced its operations in May 1987, was located in a remodeled two-story house in Filothei, a northern suburb of Athens. Top FM was owned by Christos Lambrakis, the owner of a chain of

newspapers, including Ta Nea, To Vima, Tahydromos, and Ikonomikos Tahydromos. Four other persons also owned shares of the station and served on the station's Board of Directors, including Mr. Efthimiou, Mrs. Cannelli, Mr. Haladzis, and Mr. Yiannopoulos (Kapsis, 19 July 1988).

Approximately 40 persons were employed at Top FM. The staff consisted of reporters, newswriters, producers, music programmers, and technicians. Top FM broadcast 24 hours per day. Fifteen percent of the programming was allocated to news, which did not include sports or art features; the remainder of the programming was music-oriented. Except for four hours in the late night, most of the programming on Top FM was live. In the morning hours until 12:30 p.m., live programming featuring news, criticism, and music, was oriented to the population in general. At 12:30 p.m., Top FM broadcast a radio game for listeners to call in and participate, although the callers were not broadcast directly on the air. Kapsis explained that the station did not broadcast telephone callers on the air; in time, the management hoped to obtain a technical delay device:

We do not air the phone calls. We haven't done that yet. We're a bit afraid of what might happen, so on that part we're a bit conservative. We get weirdos saying obscene things on the telephone sometimes, so we prefer to tape them and then play it on the air. But I think that the station is opening up more and more all of the time (Kapsis, 19 July 1988).

A news magazine featuring interviews or a reportage produced by the journalists was scheduled from 2:30 p.m. until 3:30 p.m. A rock music program, "Rockline," aired from 3:30

p.m. until 6 p.m. Greek music was featured from 6 p.m. until 8 p.m. After 8 p.m., light foreign music, folk music, and rock music was scheduled until midnight. Kapsis described the after midnight programming as "a live program in the night with people talking for the lonely souls."

### Piraeus Municipal Radio

Piraeus Channel One municipal radio station, a business of the municipality of Piraeus, was the second municipal station to begin broadcasting in June 1987. The existence of Channel One is credited partly to the efforts of the Mayor of Piraeus, Andreas Andrianopoulos, also a member of the New Democracy party (Velios, 1988; Lamprinakos, 1988).

Piraeus Channel One radio, located on the fourth floor of the Municipal Building in Piraeus, the city known as the port of Athens, was directed by Alexander Velios, who described the station's activities in its early months:

Everyone's attention was focused on us. We were doing something which was interesting and important for the people, for the competent members of society. In the newspapers, there was much publicity and everyday there were discussions. Our political emissions had a great audience. We received hundreds of telephone calls congratulating us that we offered something new and free (Velios, 1988).

Velios was dismissed after seven months due to what he referred to as "a whole series of bureaucratic and economic problems which made me speak out publicly to denounce them." Velios was replaced by George Lamprinakos (Velios, 1988).

During the summer of 1988, Channel One broadcast most

clearly to the coastal areas in the Attica region. The station's ability to transmit and to be received was limited by the interference created by mountainous areas.

Approximately 100 persons were employed at Channel One. The staff included 43 journalists/political analysts, 40 musical producers, five sound engineers, one technical engineer, and three program coordinators. Telephone receptionists and secretaries accounted for the remainder of the staff. Lamprinakos commented on the training of some of the employees, "most of the people working here, not the journalists, are old pirates. So, they know by themselves, how to work out a program on the air." As no training programs have existed in Greece for journalists or radio programmers, the people usually learned broadcasting and/or journalistic skills either from the State broadcasting facilities or from pirate experiences (13 July 1988, Lamprinakos).

In the beginning, Channel One did not transmit 24 hours per day; it broadcast from 6 a.m. until midnight. As of the summer of 1988, the station was broadcasting 24 hours per day. Channel One's schedule featured various news and entertainment programs throughout the day. Beginning at 6 a.m., the station broadcast an entertainment program titled, "Start of the Day." News and weather were featured from 8 a.m. to 10:30 a.m.; this program was prepared by a team of journalists. During the late morning and until the early afternoon, 10:30 a.m. to 1 p.m., Channel One programmed musical entertainment.

A half hour program focusing on local issues and the news of Piraeus was featured from 1 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. A political program featuring interviews and music "from a political, not informative," point of view was programmed from 1:30 p.m. to 2 p.m.

The late afternoon featured music targeted for the youth and the younger generation, aged 14-25 years. According to Lamprinakos, each producer of the youth program chose his/her own music for the show. Lamprinakos commented on the kinds of music featured during the youth program:

No Greek music is featured on this program because the youngsters don't like Greek music. 90 percent of this music is of the English language, and 9 percent of the 90 percent is American music (Lamprinakos, 1988).

In the early evening, from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m., Channel One broadcast a community calendar type of program that featured a review of movies, restaurants, and plays. A two-hour local news magazine program, titled "The Voice of the Town," which focused on Piraeus, was featured from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m. A major 25-minute news bulletin of the day was scheduled from 8 p.m.-8:25 p.m. A musical program, which featured either Greek songs or foreign songs was scheduled from 8:25 p.m. to 10 p.m. According to Lamprinakos, "most of the time we do not mix the Greek music with the foreign music." Diverse music was featured from 10 p.m. to 11 p.m.

The second political program of the day was featured from 11 p.m. until 1 a.m. The program included music and interviews

of a political nature. Music and talk were featured from 1 a.m. to 3 a.m. A two-hour block of Greek music was scheduled from 3 a.m. to 5 a.m. A taped musical program, with no talk, was featured until 6 a.m.

Two studios, an office for journalists, a reception area, and two offices were located in the station. The studios were small and the equipment was simple.

### Thessaloniki Municipal Radio

Thessaloniki 100 FM, the third municipal radio to begin broadcasting, commenced its operation on September 4, 1987 (Possidonos, 25 August 1988). The existence of Radio 100 FM, a business of the municipality of Thessaloniki, is credited to the efforts of the outspoken Mayor of Thessaloniki, Sotiris Kouvelas, a member of the New Democracy party (Possidonos, 1988).

Establishment of the Thessaloniki municipal radio station created tremendous controversy with the government in Athens. One must keep in mind that the government still had not created its comprehensive policy for the establishment of free-radio broadcasts. It was not until October 1987 that broadcast law 1730/1987 was enacted. As reviewed in Chapter Two, law 1730/1987 created the single agency ERT S.A. and gave ERT S.A. the right to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio stations to local government organizations (Article 2, Paragraph 4, Law 1730/1987). The law, which created a

commission to supervise license proceedings, declared that details on private radio were to come later in a Presidential Decree (Helliniki Eteria, 1988). This decree was not published until January 1988.

Perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate its power and authority, in December, 1987, troops were sent from Athens by the government to demolish the station. (See Appendix D). According to reports, the Public Order Ministry flew squads of riot police from Athens to stand guard while the concrete structure housing the transmission facility was razed by bulldozers (Greek-American, January 30, 1988; Possidonos, 1988; Manousis, 1988). Deputy Premier Menios Koutsogiorgas, spokesperson for the government, defended the government's actions in Thessaloniki:

The events in Thessaloniki concerned unlawful acts and an effort to restore law and order, and were not connected with the operation of a free radio station. The police acted within the law. The government had granted the right to municipal authorities to establish radio stations. Therefore, it [the government] was not all disturbed by the operation of free radio stations. In this particular case, however, the charge was that a plot of forest land had been occupied and an unlicensed construction erected. This was prohibited for all Greek citizens, and more particularly, for community leaders, who should set an example (Greek-American, December 29, 1987).

New Democracy leader, Constantine Mitsotakis, accused the government of arbitrary, authoritarian, and undemocratic behavior in handling the issue (Greek-American, December 29, 1987). New Democracy deputies described the demolition as "a provocation, at a time when thousands of new and unlicensed

buildings have been erected and the government has not demolished them" (Greek-American, December 29, 1987).

Within the year, Thessaloniki Municipal Radio 100 FM began broadcasting Greek music, news talk shows and some political programs from a new and modern building located on a main street, Agelaki, in downtown Thessaloniki. A second station, FM 101, began broadcasting international music and news from the same building in July, the summer of 1988.

According to Kostas Possidonos, business manager for the station, approximately 48 persons staffed both FM 100 and FM 101; 13 persons were employed in the news department and 24 persons in the music department. Technical, clerical, and business employees accounted for the remainder of the staff.

Both FM 100 and FM 101 broadcast live, 24 hours per day. A limit on the amount of commercial time of no more than 240 seconds per hour was decided by the management.

The station was equipped with modern technology including computers, a fax machine, a xerox machine, portable tape recorders, compact disc players, reel-to-reel machines, and modern consoles. The music programmers chose the music to be broadcast; music was provided from record companies that serviced the station. In the early hours, FM 101 broadcast rock music from the 1960's and the 1970's for the older listening audience. Current music was broadcast from 10 a.m.-11 a.m. for the younger audience.

According to Possidonos, recent gallups (audience research

reports), which were conducted by Elliniko Radio and Television Association indicated FM 100 with a 59% share of the market. Possidonos explained that several other radio stations, private stations, existed in Thessaloniki at that time. These stations included FM 103, Radio Thessaloniki, and 9 Wave. An underground radio station, Cosmoradio, also was broadcasting in Thessaloniki during the summer of 1988.

### Antenna 97.1 FM Private Radio

Antenna 97.1 FM, another private radio station, began broadcasting in Athens on May 23, 1988 with 650 watts of power. The transmitters and antennae of the station were located on Pendeli mountain. The studios and offices of Antenna 97.1 FM were located in a modern building on Kifissias Avenue across from the Olympic Stadium in Athens. Jason Moschovitis, the General Director of Antenna 97.1 FM, explained that the station was allowed by the Ministry of Communications to broadcast to the Attica area:

Not only in the city of Athens, but of the region of Attica. The law permits the establishing of local radio stations. And the definition of local is the region, we call it "nomos." And, concerning the Athens area, it is established that Attica is local. That means four million people--half of the population of Greece, approximately. And, more than half of the financial power (Moschovitis, 1988).

Antenna 97.1 FM Radio was owned by Mr. Minos Kyriakou, a Greek shipowner. Approximately 150 persons were employed at Antenna. According to Mr. Moschovitis, 50 persons were employed as journalists, and 30 persons were employed as

technicians dealing with equipment and sound. The remainder of the staff worked with music, drama, art, or as talent. Mr. Moschovitis explained the difficulty involved in trying to locate talent and journalists:

It is difficult to find jouranalists that are accustomed to the use of radio. You can find good jouranalists from the written press. But, it is not always efficient to have a good jouranalist from the written press. The journalist has to be similarly experienced and efficient in radio (Moschovitis, 1988).

Antenna 97.1 FM, marketed as "the station of superstars," broadcast 24 hours per day. Moschovitis described the programming of the station as "based on two things: news and music:"

We have 17 news bulletins a day, three to four minutes each. Two of the news bulletins in the afternoon are half an hour in duration; they are a kind of news magazine. We also have news flashes, whenever it is needed. We have 24-hour news service. We also have journalists in the station during the night. Our last news bulletin is at 12:30 a.m. The first bulletin of the day is at 6:30 a.m. All through the night, we have people here, in case something of importance is happening (Moschovitis, 1988).

Mr. Moschovitis described further Antenna's music and news programming:

It is Greek music and mainly pop music. 60 percent is American, British, or something from Western Europe--where the hits are coming from. Having the music as the first item is to catch the audience and the young people. Then, to establish a high standard reputation and to be reliable, we hav accurate, good news (Moschovitis, 1988).

According to Moschovitis, Antenna broadcast up to only eight minutes per hour of commercials (Moschovitis, 1988).

Moschovitis explained that the Nielsen multinational

research firm reported audience survey information to Antenna; "we had our first research report after completing two months on the air. We'll have our second one by the end of September." Results of the audience survey were not discussed. According to the Hollywood Reporter (1989), [Antenna's] aggressive news presentation style pushed it up to number two in the national listener ratings, and its advertising revenue in December 1988 was reported at the drachma equivalent of more than \$200,000. A mere eight months after its inauguration, the station was about to cover its costs; 1989 would be a year of profit (Hollywood Reporter, February 27, 1989).

#### Proedrika Diatagmata [Presidential Decree]

It was not until January 1988 that the "Proedrika Diatagmata" [Presidential Decree], published in the Government Gazette, set the parameters for the establishment of radio stations. The decree allowed the establishment of FM radio stations by entites as set forth by law 1730/1987, between 87.5 and 107.7 MHZ, with a required license. Furthermore, it set out the parameters for such operations:

These stations have as a goal the objective and on equal terms transmission of information and news as well as products of speech and the arts, while upholding the qualitative standards of the broadcasts which are imposed by the [broadcasters'] social mission and the cultural development of the country (Article 1, Paragraph 2).

The specific parameters for the establishment of radio stations are outlined in the 24 articles of the decree. According to Antonios Vgontzas, who drafted the law for private

and municipal radio broadcasting, Article two of the decree outlines the guidelines for licenses (Vgontzas, 1988).

Article three of the decree designates who is suitable for a license. Licenses can be granted to the following organizations or persons: municipal organizations, personal legal firms of Greek nationality, and Greek citizens (Vgontzas, 1988).

According to Article four of the decree, one person is not permitted to own more than one license. Further, paragraph three of Article four states that ERT S.A. has the right to give every kind of assistance to all local municipal radio stations. Vgontzas explained the reasoning behind such assistance:

ERT S.A. might give technical, educational, or programming assistance to the municipal stations because we think that all of these institutions do not exist as just an opportunity for private capital to have more gains. We consider the stations as belonging to the public interest. Also, this assistance might help the stations learn how to control, how to govern, and how to run a radio station (Vgontzas, 1988).

Article five of the decree concerns the criteria for the allocation and renewal of licenses. The criteria, however, according to Vgontzas, "are not exclusively written." Further evidence indicating the abstract nature of the criteria is provided by Roumeliotis (1988), who stated that "when the first 29 licenses were approved in May 1988, the commission never announced its criteria for allocating these licenses, most of which went to municipalities and publishing companies"

(Roumeliotis, May 1988).

According to Vgontzas, however, applicants for and owners of licenses must meet the following criteria: (1) proper technical and equipment considerations, including protection of telecommunications, other mass media, and air traffic; (2) programming must be of a certain quality--diverse, well-balanced, and representative, not exclusive to a particular group. Programming must represent local intellectual, cultural and social powers, and especially the youth; (3) applicants and licensees must obey the law concerning the mass media; (4) applicants and licensees must possess the knowledge, experience, abilities, and talent required for broadcasting; a demonstrated tradition of working in the mass media is considered, especially experience in the press (Vgontzas, 1988).

Article six forbids networking of stations or technical and programming connection with other stations. Article seven, according to Vgontzas, concerns how to keep the face and the Greek nature of local stations (Vgontzas, 1988).

Article eight addresses technical issues and frequencies. According to Article nine, advertisements for a specific product must not exceed 5% of the total permitted advertisement time; total advertisement time must not exceed 8% of the entire program and/or 10 minutes per hour. Further, advertisement of toys and tobacco is not permitted (Vgontzas, 1988).

According to Article 10, stations must address local

needs. Article 11 states a limit of two years for licenses, which are renewable. The remaining Articles, 12-24, concern technical issues, application and renewal procedures, and governing committees. According to the decree, municipal stations are to be supervised by an executive council representing the parties within each city council. One of the decree's most controversial provision, Article 16, was the requirement that both private and municipal stations have an Ethics and Standards Committee composed of the president of the Supreme Court of Administration, "Areos Pagos," journalists from the Athens dailies, and two persons experienced in the mass media from universities (Vgontzas, 1988; Hellinki Eteria, 1988).

As stated previously, following the Presidential Decree, the first 29 licenses were approved in May 1988. Most of the licenses were given to municipalities and publishing companies.

#### Greek Politics and Radio Broadcasting-1989

During 1989, as the number of private and municipal radio stations continued to develop, significant changes began to occur within the Greek political arena. As the General elections in Greece were scheduled for June 1989, the intensity of political discussions heightened. The medium of radio served as a popular vehicle for such discussions as well as for the promotion and publicity of the parties. According to Quinn

(1990), New Democracy and PASOK escalated their campaigns in an effort to win over undecided voters. Advertising firms were hired; the New Democracy Party, PASOK, and the Left Coalition spent billions of drachmas on posters, magazine and newspaper advertisements, and radio spots. New Democracy spent twice as much money as PASOK on such political advertising (Quinn, April 7, 1990). It is important to make clear, as mentioned earlier, the political affiliations associated with the municipal radio stations. The New Democracy Party was in control of the three major municipal radio stations in Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki.

By January 1989, the Greek political arena was experiencing a shift in power and control. Voter confidence in the PASOK party had diminished with continuing reports of an alleged financial scandal involving Andreas Papandreou and a Greek-American, George Koskotas, who had chaired the Bank of Crete. A poll published in the generally pro-governmental Greek magazine, Tachydromos, showed PASOK trailing the New Democracy Party 38% to 20.5% (Hellenic Times, December 14, 1988, p. 1). According to U.S. reports in December 1988, support for PASOK, which won 46% of the vote in the 1985 National election, plunged to 20% in Athens, half the population base of New Democracy (Time, December 19, 1988). And, a February 1989 report from a Washington based political consultation and risk analysis firm predicted the New Democracy Party as the winner of the upcoming June election (Hellenic

Times, February 8, 1989, pp. 2, 10).

Andreas Papandreou, in fact, was not victorious in the June General elections. The New Democracy Party finished first in the popular vote, but failed to win the vote needed to guarantee a majority in the 300-seat Parliament. Nearly complete returns gave New Democracy 44.3% of the vote and 144 seats in Parliament. PASOK had 39.1% and 125 seats, and the Coalition of the Left and Progress, a broad-based alliance of the Communist Party with small parties of the Left, had 13.1% and 29 seats. The small right-of-center Democratic Renewal Party had 1.1% of vote and one seat in Parliament; the one remaining seat was taken by an independent Moslem-minority candidate (Hellenic Times, June 21-June 27, 1989, p. 1; The New York Times, June 20, 1989, p. 3).

An election law written and passed by the Socialists a few months before the election created a seat-distribution system favoring smaller parties and making it difficult for the front-runner to achieve a majority on its own. The Socialists wrote the law to improve their chances, recognizing that they would probably wind up in second place as a result of the Government financial scandals (New York Times, June 21, 1989, p. 4).

Constantine Mitsotakis, leader of the New Democracy Party, was formally asked by President of Greece, Christos Sartzetakis, to find allies to form a government. Allowed only three days, according to the Constitution, to form an interim

government, Mitsotakis contacted Communists and dissident Socialists. Mitsotakis called for an immediate shake-up at the state television network, the intelligence agency, and central telecommunications system, charging that all had been badly abused by the Prime Minister. Holding the balance of power for the first time in decades, the Communists and their allies, indicated they would not approach any other party in forming a new Government before making their own bid to form an alliance. Thus, as Mitsotakis failed to form a government, Papandreou was given an opportunity to attempt a coalition of his own (New York Times, June 21, 1989, p. 4; Hellenic Times, June 21-June 27, 1989, p. 1).

At this point, Papandreou was hospitalized for pneumonia; his efforts to form a coalition government from his hospital bed ended with a rebuff from the Communist alliance (The Sun, June 28, 1989). Thus, the leftist coalition was given an opportunity to form a government. The leftist coalition was able to form an interim government, headed by Minister Tzannis Tzannetakis; the coalition was composed of an unusual union of the New Democracy and Communist parties for the purpose of investigating corruption in the outgoing government of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou (Hellenic Times, July 12-July 18, 1989, p. 1).

The political situation in Greece remained confused after the General elections in November 1989. Greek voters failed for the second time in five months to choose a new government.

With 94% of the vote counted, New Democracy had 46.45% of the vote and 148 seats in Parliament, needing 151 seats to insure control. PASOK ran a strong second, winning 40.77% and 128 seats. Running third once again was the Coalition of the Left and Progress with 10.77% and 21 seats. Leftists outside the Coalition won two of the remaining seats, and a Greek Muslim took the third (Los Angeles Times, November 7, 1989, p. A5). As all three of the major parties failed to form a coalition administration of their own after the election, political leaders headed by President Christos Sartzetakis negotiated the formation of an interim all-party government. A respected 85-year-old economist and former Governor of the Bank of Greece, Xenophon Zolotas, was chosen to head the government (Hellenic Times, December 6, 1989, p. 3). The interim coalition government was organized to oversee the country until the next General election which was scheduled for April, 1990.

#### Problems of Access and Control

By July 1989 in Athens, there were 28 fully licensed, operating stations and approximately 60 other applicants waiting to be granted one of the 19 or so remaining frequencies. In Thessaloniki, there were 29 licensed radio stations and possibly up to 60 pirate and unlicensed stations sharing the airways (Roumeliotis, 1989, July 23). In all, over 200 licenses were approved for the entire country, although the exact number of stations operating was not known, because some

stations were operating without a license, while others with a license were not yet on the air (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 13).

Although many private and municipal radio stations were granted frequencies, research indicates that most of the radio amateurs and "pirates" whom free-radio was intended to serve were not granted legal status. Rather, licenses were granted to municipalities and wealthy private citizens, generally with political power and ties to the newspapers.

The initial concept of the free-radio movement, that radio pirates would be free to operate without the fear of landing in jail and that radio would offer different political views, has not been fully realized. Although the private radio stations have functioned to promote a healthier discussion of political ideas through their news and public affairs programs, most of the municipal stations function under the direct control of the mayor, which in many cases means censorship (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 13). For example, the general manager of the Athens 984 FM station and former Channel 15 activist, Yiannis Tzannetakos, was eventually fired because the station was not quite following the party line (Timoyannakis and Tzathas, 1989).

Further evidence of the non-realization of the initial concepts of the free-radio movement is indicated by Alexander Velios, intellectual and first general director of Piraeus Municipal Radio, Channel One. As mentioned earlier, Velios was dismissed after seven months due to what he referred to as a

whole series of bureaucratic and economic problems which made him speak out publicly to denounce them. Velios, in fact, was caught between control pressures and his belief and desire to maintain independence and pluralism. Velios described the conflict:

It's not a coincidence that the two municipal radios of Athens and Piraeus were the initiative of two anti-government Mayors, who were at the same time leading personalities in the opposition party, New Democracy. In fact, breaking the monopoly of the State in political broadcasting was an opposition act. And, New Democracy, or at least, some circles in New Democracy, wanted to see the two radios as anti-ERT. That is to say, that the two State radios were supposed to make New Democracy propaganda while the State radio would make PASOK propaganda. This is how they saw us. . . . Political power in Greece is a miserable, narrow, authoritative, purely deeply fascist conception in whatever, concerning propoganda, mass media information, newspapers, etc. (Velios, 1988).

Velios stood firm with his beliefs concerning the initial ideals of the free-radio movement, that is, an independent and pluralistic force. According to Velios, his actions resulted in his dismissal. Velios described the difference between the early days of Channel One and Athens 984 FM and the radio today:

the people had a feeling of what a free and pluralistic media could be . . . but now, there is nothing. It has become routine. The myth is not there anymore. They take it more for granted. The journalistic spirit, the free journalistic spirit having entered in the free radio is not something bright and new and surprising anymore. It's just routine . . . we don't have a real free journalism in Greece. . . . The audience doesn't know what an independent approach of news can be. . . . Journalism had a chance, but it didn't take it through the free radio to give, to create, a new standard of independent journalism (Velios, 1988).

Velios explained that he, Russos Coundouros, and some of the

activists from Channel 15 were trying to create a new radio station, with Velios serving as the news director for the station. Velios expressed his concern for the people of Greece, the listening audience, "we will see if the country, if the public, is able to make the distinction between a Lambrakis party press radio station, a Kyriakou radio station of stars and music, and a station that is really free and independent."

### Summary

This chapter focused on Greek broadcasting in transition; specifically, a review of the early "non-recognized" private radio stations that appeared in Greece between 1950-1969, discussion of clandestine or pirate radio stations, and an examination of the legally recognized private and municipal radio stations which developed between 1987 and 1989. The Law and Presidential Decree which set the parameters for the establishment of these stations was reviewed as well. The review attempted to provide understanding of the developments in Greek broadcasting within the context of modern Greek political history.

Private radio stations began to appear in Greece in the early 1950s; research conducted in 1969 revealed the existence of as many as 100 private radio stations operated by municipalities, local trade unions, and other private groups. These stations, considered unauthorized and illegal operations, were often located in remote, mountainous regions far removed

from the surveillance of the government in Athens (Emery, 1969, p. 286).

A movement, composed of intellectuals and pirate radio activists from all sides of the political spectrum, began to emerge as early as 1983 seriously demanding the right to operate radio stations. This movement included among others the pirate radio broadcasts of composer Manos Hadizakis; "Anti-logos", the station organized by the publisher, journalists, and intellectuals involved with the Leftist and progressive magazine, Anti; and "Channel 15", named after Article 15 of the Constitution of 1975, which states that "radio shall be under the immediate control of the State (Article 15, Constitution, 1975). Channel 15, composed of intellectuals and journalists, was organized by Russos Coundouros, who is considered by many as the "father of free radio."

By 1986, the press began to feature a great amount of information and created enormous publicity concerning the free-radio movement. The press, in essence, heightened the public's awareness of the movement and stimulated further action. Then, when the social environment appeared to be sufficiently prepared for further developments, George Papandreou, Education Minister and son of the Prime Minister, spoke out in favor of the free-radio movement. George Papandreou's actions may have been influential in persuading his father, Andreas, to speak publicly on the issue as well.

Less than one month after his son's announcement, Andreas Papandreou officially proclaimed his intentions in December 1986 to formulate a comprehensive policy on the establishment of free-radio broadcasts.

By the end of May 1987, however, Greek broadcasting still was controlled and operated under the direct supervision of the State. Further, the Parliament had not created its comprehensive policy for the establishment of free radio broadcasts. The free-radio movement by now had developed a substantial following by the public. At this time, Miltiades Evert, the Mayor of Athens and a member of the opposition party, New Democracy, decided to force the government, in essence, to allow the establishment of a municipal radio station for Athens. Athens 984 FM thus began broadcasting in May 1987 in the heart of Athens; the station was broadcasting illegally, yet the government decided not to stop them.

The sequence of events following the establishment of the Athens Municipal Radio station reveals the emergence of one private or municipal radio station after another. Some of the most prominent new radio stations included Top FM 924 private radio, owned by Christos Lambrakis, the owner of a chain of newspapers; Piraeus Channel One Municipal Radio, organized by the Mayor of Piraeus, Andreas Andrianopoulos, a member of the New Democracy party; Thessaloniki Municipal Radio, organized by the Mayor of Thessaloniki, Sotiris Kouvelas, a member of the New Democracy party; and Antenna 97.1 FM Radio, a private

station owned by Minos Kyriakou, a Greek shipowner.

The establishment of the Thessaloniki Municipal Radio station in September 1987 created tremendous controversy with the government in Athens. Although many private and municipal radio stations had begun broadcasting, the government still had not created its comprehensive policy for the establishment of free-radio broadcasts. It was not until October 1987 that broadcast Law 1730 was enacted, which gave ERT S.A. the authority to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio stations to local government organizations. The law, which created a commission to supervise license proceedings, declared that details on private radio were to come later in a Presidential Decree. The Decree was not published until January 1988. Thus, perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate its power and authority, in December, 1987, troops were sent from Athens by the government to demolish the Thessaloniki Municipal Radio station on the grounds that the station was erected on lands that were unlicensed for construction. Needless to say, the act by the government created great discussion in Greece.

One month later, in January 1988, the Proedrika Diatagmata [Presidential Decree] was published in the Government Gazette. The Decree set the parameters for the establishment of radio stations. Neither the Decree nor the commission described in detail, however, the criteria for allocating licenses. Most of the licenses went to municipalities, publishing companies, and investors with strong financial backing. According to some,

many of the original radio amateurs and pirates whom free-radio was intended to serve were not served.

This chapter included descriptions of the structure, operation, and programming content of the various private and municipal radio stations. In general, the stations programmed news and music. Spokespersons for all of the stations described the news programming of their stations as being quite different from the approach of the State stations. According to the descriptions, the stations featured a more pluralistic approach regarding the content of the news; more information was broadcast in terms of differing perspectives and types of information. Further, according to the descriptions, the stations featured more multi-party discussions as well as a multiplicity of opinions. Another feature of many of the new stations was the programming of foreign music and cultural news. This kind of programming, in terms of news and foreign music, was often described as an approach different from that of the State stations.

This chapter considered the relationship between the growth of the new radio stations and the significant changes that began to occur within the Greek political arena in 1989. The General elections in Greece were scheduled for June 1989, and the intensity of political discussions heightened. The medium of radio served as a popular and important vehicle for such discussions as well as for the promotion and publicity of the parties. The importance of understanding the political

affiliations associated with the municipal radio stations was made clear. The New Democracy Party controlled the three major municipal radio stations in Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki.

By June 1989, the Greek political arena had experienced a major shift in power and control. Voter confidence in the PASOK party had diminished with continuing reports of an alleged financial scandal involving Andreas Papandreou. The June General elections resulted in a defeat for Andreas Papandreou; no party, however, was able to win a majority. A coalition government, based on an alliance between the Communists and the New Democracy Party, was formed.

By July 1989 in Athens, there were 28 fully licensed, operating stations and approximately 60 other applicants waiting to be granted one of the 19 or so remaining frequencies. In Thessaloniki, there were 29 licensed radio stations and possibly up to 60 pirate and unlicensed stations sharing the airways (Roumeliotis, 1989, July 23). In all, over 200 licenses were approved for the entire country, although the exact number of stations operating was not known, because some stations were operating without a license, while others with a license were not yet on the air (Zarharpoulos, 1989, p. 13).

The political situation in Greece remained confused after the next General elections which occurred in November 1989. Greek voters failed for the second time in five months to choose a new government. An interim all-party coalition government thus was formed until the next General elections,

which were scheduled for April 1990.

Finally, this chapter explored and introduced the idea that the initial concept of the free-radio movement has not been fully realized in terms of access to broadcast facilities for purposes of broadcasting as well as the establishment of a truly alternative media. Issues of control also were included in this discussion. Examination of the history of the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations revealed, in fact, apparent problems with access and control.

According to numerous accounts, licenses were granted to municipalities and wealthy private citizens, generally with political power and ties to the newspapers. The data further suggested an element of mayorial control associated with the municipal radio stations. Such accounts concerning problems related to access and control appear to contribute to the notion that, according to some respondents, a truly alternative form of media still has not been realized in Greece.

This chapter thus described the transition from State controlled radio broadcasting to the establishment of private and municipal radio stations; further, this chapter introduced the concepts of access and control and begins to make clear the unique properties associated with each during the transition. In essence, the transition resulted in changes of degree and type of access and control which, in turn, appear to have resulted in the realization of a form of pluralism reflecting

such changes. Understanding of the nature of the concepts of access and control and their relationship to the development of pluralism in Greece is a theme which, although only introduced in this chapter, is addressed and enhanced throughout the remaining chapters of this thesis.

TABLE 9

History of Greek Radio Broadcasting 1952-1989

- 1952 Private, low power radio stations begin to appear in Greece.
- 1967 Political crisis with a military coup d' etat; the Colonels' Regime, headed by George Papadopoulos, controls the press and radio.
- 1969 As many as 100 private radio stations operating on low power in Greece by municipalities, local trade unions, and other private groups. These stations are not encouraged by the government.
- 1973 Athens Polytechnic University student uprising. University students broadcast appeals on clandestine radio for a worker-student alliance to overthrow the dictatorship.
- 1973 Colonels' Regime ends. Constantine Karamanlis returns from self-exile to engineer the transition from authoritarianism to democracy.
- 1975 General referendum supports a new republican Constitution. Parliament passes a law restructuring the Greek broadcasting system.
- 1975 Hellenic Radio Television (ERT) is established as the new legal entity for broadcasting. Law 230/1975 declares ERT belongs exclusively to the State. Law declares "no one else, either individuals or corporate bodies, has the right to transmit radio or television broadcasts intended for general reception through the air or by closed or wired circuit." Article 15 of the Constitution does not provide protection of speech to broadcasting.
- 1979 By this year, ERT operated nine local radio stations.
- 1981 Greeks elect their first socialist government headed by Andreas Papandreu and his Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). PASOK campaigns with the slogan, "allaghi" or change.
- 1982 Law 1288/1982 creates ERT-1 and ERT-2. ERT-1 is designated a public corporation owned by the State. ERT-2 is declared a public service of the Ministry of the Presidency.

TABLE 9 (cont.)

- 1983 Radio "Anti-Logos" makes its first illegal broadcast in December. This station is stopped by the police; its transmitters and operating equipment are destroyed.
- 1985 Russos Coundouros, considered the "father of free radio", forms Channel 15, named after Article 15 of the Constitution of 1975, which states that "radio shall be under the immediate control of the state." Channel 15 broadcasts illegally during the National elections of 1985.
- 1986 Channel 15 broadcasts illegally during the Municipal elections of 1986. The police arrest 17 Channel 15 intellectuals and activists, and charge them with operating a pirate radio station in defiance of the state monopoly on broadcasting.
- 1986 The press features a great amount of information and creates enormous publicity concerning the activities and trial of Channel 15. Channel 15, in essence, develops the public's attention to the free-radio movement.
- 1986 November 12. George Papandreou, Education Minister and son of the Prime Minister, speaks out in favor of the free-radio movement.
- December. Andreas Papandreou officially announces his intentions to formulate a comprehensive policy on the establishment of free radio broadcasts by March 31, 1987.
- 1987 March. Greek broadcasting still controlled and operated under the direct supervision of the State. The Parliament has not created its comprehensive policy for the establishment of free radio broadcasts; Papandreou has not changed the legal structure of ERT as it had promised in its party platform.
- May. George Papandreou states that free radio offers the utmost to a democratic approach to the problems of the time and that radio is a social necessity that will free creative forces in the provinces and the cities. The Parliament, still, has not created its comprehensive policy for the establishment of free radio broadcasts. Many people feel that the Greek government is in no hurry to create such a policy.

TABLE 9 (cont.)

May. Mayor of Athens and member of the New Democracy Party, Miltiades Evert, decides to force the government, in essence, to allow the establishment of a municipal radio station for Athens. Athens Municipal Radio, 984 FM, begins broadcasting.

May. Top FM 924, one of the first private radio stations in Athens, begins broadcasting. Top FM is owned by Christos Lambrakis, the owner of a chain of newspapers.

June. Mayor of Piraeus and member of the New Democracy Party, Andreas Andrianopoulos, organizes a municipal radio station for the municipality of Piraeus. Piraeus Municipal Radio, Channel One begins broadcasting.

September. Mayor of Thessaloniki and member of the New Democracy Party, Sotiris Kouvelas, organizes a municipal radio station for the municipality of Thessaloniki. Thessaloniki 100 FM Radio begins broadcasting.

October. Parliament enacts Law 1730/1987 which creates a single agency, ERT S.A. to control broadcasting in Greece. The new company is organized as a public, state-owned, non-profit corporation. Its purpose is to provide "information, education, and entertainment to the Greek people." It is given exclusive rights to "the transmission of any kind of sound or picture anywhere in the country through the air, cable or any other form." Law 1730/1987 also gives ERT S.A. the right to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio stations to local government organizations. The law declares that details on private and municipal radio stations are to come later in a Proedrika Diatagmata (Presidential Decree).

December. Troops sent from Athens by the government to demolish Kouvelas' Thessaloniki transmitter and station claiming that the plot of land where the transmitter was erected was not licensed for construction. Thessaloniki 100 resumes broadcasting within the year at another location.

1988

January. Proedrika Diatagmata (Presidential Decree) is published, which sets the parameters for the establishment of private and municipal radio stations.

May. Antenna 97.1 FM, a private station owned by

TABLE 9 (cont.)

shipping magnate, Minos Kyriakou, begins broadcasting in Athens. The station is marketed as "the station of the superstars."

June. ERT S.A. President, Andreas Christodulides submits his resignation. Antonis Kovaivos takes his position as President. Opposition newspapers claim that the ERT S.A. resignation is part of a move by PASOK to ensure the fullest possible media coverage for itself during the 12 month run-up to the June 1988 elections.

July. Thessaloniki 101 FM Municipal Radio begins broadcasting.

August. EYMME, a Mass Media Service, is established by the government as a public agency under the supervision of the Ministry to the Prime Minister's Office to supervise national radio and television organizations and local radio stations. Andreas Christodoulides, former ERT S.A. President, is appointed Director.

1989

June. General elections. Papandreou is unable to maintain power. Failure to elect a majority party. Coalition government, headed by Minister Tzannis Tzannetakis, is formed composed of an unusual union of the New Democracy and Communist Parties.

July. The number of private and municipal radio stations explodes. In Athens, there are 28 fully licensed operating stations and approximately 60 other applicants waiting to be granted one of the 19 or so remaining frequencies. In Thessaloniki, there are 29 licensed radio stations and possibly up to 60 pirate and unlicensed stations sharing the airwaves.

November. General elections. Papandreou unable to regain power. Failure again to elect a majority party. All-party interim board coalition government headed by former Bank of Greece governor, Xenophon Zolatas. Next General election is scheduled for mid-April 1990.

## REFERENCES

- Ailing Greek leader fails to form coalition. (1989, June 28).  
The Sun.
- Anti (December 16, 1983). Athens, Greece.
- Anti (December 23, 1983). Athens, Greece.
- Anti (July 24, 1986). Athens, Greece.
- Athens News (December 2, 1986).
- Broadcasters arrested. (1986, July 2). Stockton Record.
- Emery, W. (1969). National and international systems of broadcasting: Their history, operation and control. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- Coronakis, B., Editor and publisher of Greece's Weekly. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece, Summer 1988.
- Filios, D. (1988, December 14). Political storm rages over Koskotas scandal. Hellenic Times, pp. 1; 2; 8.
- Filios, D. (1989, February 8). Bad news for PASOK. Hellenic Times, pp. 2; 10.
- Filios, D. (1989, June 21-June 27). Mitsotakis wins, or does he... Hellenic Times, p. 4.
- Free radio committee. Embassy of Greece press release. Washington, D.C. May 14, 1987.
- Government defends attack on city radio station. (December 29, 1987). Greek-American.
- Greek Constitution (1975) Article 15.
- Haberman, C. (1989, June 21). Greek conservative is seeking coalition. New York Times, p. 3.
- Haberman, C. (1989, June 21). Papandreou is looking to Communists for help. New York Times, p. 4.
- Helliniki Eteria Topikis Anaptixis ke Aftodyikisis. (1988). Radio-fono ke topiki aftodyikis [Radio and local government]. Athens: EETAA.

- Hope, K. (1988, January 30). City hall stirs Greek political rivalries. Greek-American.
- Johansen, L. (1962). World Radio-TV Handbook, (16th ed.), Copenhagen, Det Berlingske Bogtrykkeri, pp. 83-84.
- Kapsis, P., News Director, Top FM Radio 92.4 FM. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 27, 1988.
- Keshishoglou, J. E. (1962). The development of broadcasting in Greece. Unpublished master's thesis, State University of Iowa, Ames, Iowa.
- Koumantos, G. (1966, January). Broadcasting in Greece: Structure, organization and operation. EBU Review, 95B, 53-57.
- Kriklanis, G. Publisher of Greece Today. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece, Summer 1988.
- Kwik, T., Representative for the Mayor of Athens and former ERT newscaster. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 21, 1988.
- Lamprinakos, G., General Manager, Piraeus Municipal Radio, Channel One. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 13, 1988.
- Law 1730 (1987). Athens, Greece.
- Montalbano, W. (1989, November 7). Political impasse remains after election in Greece. Los Angeles Times, p. A5.
- Moschovitis, J., General Director, Antenna Radio. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece, July 28, 1988.
- Papandreou out! (1989, July 12-July 18). Hellenic Times, p. 1.
- Papoutsakis, C., Editor of Anti. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece, Summer 1988.
- Possidonos, K., Business manager, Thessaloniki Municipal Radio 100/101 FM. Personal Interview. Thessaloniki, Greece, August 25, 1988.
- Proedrika Diatagmata [Presidential Decree]. (January 1988). Athens, Greece.
- Quinn, P. (1990, April 7). Inside Greece. Greek American, 6.

- Radio for everyone. (1986, November 12). Logos, p. 1.
- Roumeliotis, A. (1988, May 13). Anridrasis ya anisi katanomi adion [Reactions to unequal distribution of licenses]. Eleftherotypia, p. 27.
- Roumeliotis, A. (1989, July 23). To panorama ton FM ke sti Thessaloniki [FM panorama and in Thessaloniki]. Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia, p. 38.
- The trouble with television. (1989, February 27). The Hollywood Reporter, p. S-30.
- Timoyannakis, P. and Tzathas D. (1989, August 1). Krisi ston 984 [Crisis at 984]. Ta Nea, p. 2.
- Tzannetakos, Y., Former General Director of Athens Municipal Radio 984 FM, and Channel 15 activist. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece, July 28, 1988.
- Velios, A., Intellectual and first director of Piraeus Municipal Radio, Channel One. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece, August 3, 1988.
- Vgontzas, A., Lawyer; drafted law for Greek private and municipal radio broadcasting. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August and September 1988.
- Zarharopoulos, E. (1989, October). Mass communication in Greece: Power/Freedom and broadcasting in Greek society. In T. Stavrou (Chair), Power/freedom: Politics, social life, and the arts in modern Greece. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Modern Greek Studies Association, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### FORCES OPERATIVE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE AND MUNICIPAL RADIO STATIONS IN GREECE

According to the interviewee data, a number of forces, both external and internal, functioned to create the change and transition from State radio broadcasting to private and municipal radio broadcasting in Greece. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and discuss the various forces related to the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations as articulated by the interviewees. Discussion of the forces is presented and organized according to the responses of the interviewees representing the various positions of power within Greek society as outlined in Chapter One. The decision to present and organize the discussion of forces in this manner was based on careful consideration; this researcher feels that identification of the forces as articulated by the various interviewees provides insight to and better understanding of the history of the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece. It is important to make clear that this researcher makes no attempt to claim any force as being the most important force. Further, this review cites only those forces identified by the interviewees; other forces may exist.

First, a brief introduction of the political party system of Greece is provided. The introduction is followed by a review of the forces identified by spokespersons from each of the five

political parties. (Spokespersons from the Greek Radio and Television and the government are included in the PASOK political party perspective.) Second, forces identified by the managers or directors from the municipal and private radio stations are reviewed. Third, forces identified by editors, publishers, journalists, and intellectuals are presented. Fourth, forces identified by lawyers, university professors, and spokespersons from the Church of Greece are reviewed. Fifth, the forces are categorized and presented in Table 10, which features an organized perspective. In the summary, the forces are reviewed and discussed.

#### Political Parties in Greece

During the summer of 1988, four major recognized political parties were represented in the 300-member Parliament: the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the New Democracy Party (ND), the Community Party of Greece (KKE) and the Democratic Renewal Party (DA or Diana). There were also a number of independent Deputies, some of them party leaders, who were either elected on the ballots on one of the major parties or who, since the 1985 elections, left the parties they were elected with and set up new parties (Coronakis, May 9, 1988). Thus, a fifth political party, the Greek Left, is represented in this study, although in 1988 it was not recognized as a major political party represented in the Parliament.

According to Papacosma (1988), it is only recently that

Greek political parties have been organized in a fashion that departs from the previously dominant clientelistic networks; ideology increasingly distinguishes the parties from each other (Papacosma, 1988, p. 25). Shinn (1986) explains the nature of the previous dominant clientelistic network system:

Traditionally, Greek political parties were based largely on personal connection and personalities, lacked real organization with mass membership and tended to appeal to narrow segments of the electorate. Greeks invoked their own contacts, usually through a patron-client relationship, to promote their individual interests, rather than developing and pursuing common interests through mass political organizations or interest groups (Shinn, 1986).

In the mid-1980s, party politics in Greece continued to exhibit some of the old characteristics, but at the same time began to evolve into more mass-based, issue-oriented parties similar to those found in West European political systems. The transition from a predominately personalist to a mass party basis was spurred in part by the forces of change unleashed by urbanization and industrialization (Shinn, 1986).

Thus, with a brief introduction to the political party system in Greece, the following section reviews the forces which functioned in the establishment and development of private and municipal radio as identified by the five political party spokespersons. The review is organized according to the political party with greatest representation to the party with least representation in the Greek Parliament.

#### Forces Identified by the Five Political Party Spokespersons

The Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK). The Panhellenic

Socialist Movement (PASOK), the brainchild of Andreas Papandreou, was established in September 1974. The political ideology of the party is described as "left of center socialists" (Coronakis, May 9, 1988).

Nikos Athanassakis, journalist and director of the Press office of PASOK, identified the following six forces related to the establishment and development of private and municipal radio in Greece:

- a. The Left;
- b. Groups associated with the magazine, Anti;
- c. Amateur radio broadcasters;
- d. Students from the 1973 Polytechnic University uprising;
- e. University professors; and
- f. Miltiades Evert, the Mayor of Athens.

Athanassakis described his understanding of these forces in detail:

There were small groups before and after 1981 asking for or demanding free radio. It was mainly forces from the Left or unions of people who had a clear idea of what was going on in Europe in terms of privatization of the media . . . It was not the Communist Party; they were not interested.

Other interviewees, including Christos Pappas, spokesperson for the Communist Party; Michalis Papayiannakis, spokesperson for the Greek Left; Antonias Vgontzas, lawyer, author of the law for the private and municipal radio stations, and assistant professor of law at the University of Athens also noted that the Communist Party was not interested.

Athanassakis explained the role of Anti, the source of the illegal broadcasts of Radio "Anti-Logos," the role of the Polytechnic students, and the role of university professors:

There were smaller groups, let's say radical groups, groups associated with the progressive magazine, Anti . . . and some of the students from the Polytechnic uprising . . . There also were young individuals, amateur broadcasters who wanted to communicate, not political communication, but rather music and entertainment. There were also elaborations from professors in the universities who specialized in constitutional affairs.

Athanassakis described the actions of Miltiades Evert, Mayor of Athens:

During the preparation of the new laws of local radio broadcasting stations [1987], we had some peculiar phenomena; the new Mayor of Athens, Mr. Evert, came out and said that he would have his own radio station by a certain date. He was told that the law was moving through the Parliament and that he should wait. But he wanted to play on it for a number of reasons. I think it's obvious. He began broadcasting, not waiting for the new law, playing a little bit the heroic part on a very safe ground; I would say, heroism without risks. The law passed very soon after that date . . . The intervention of the Athens radio station created conflicts that could have been avoided (Athanassakis, August 3, 1988).

The political motives of Mayor Evert were mentioned by other interviewees as well, including Andreas Christodoulides, Director of the Special Mass Media Services and former President and Managing Director of ERT S.A.; Basil Coronakis, Editor and Publisher of Greece's Weekly; Alexis Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Embassies; Alexander Velios, intellectual, journalist, and former Director of the Piraeus Municipal Radio station; as well as Antonias Vgontzas, lawyer, author of the law for the private and municipal radio

stations and assistant professor of law at the University of Athens.

Andreas Christodoulides, Director of the Special Mass Media Services (a PASOK appointment) and former President and Managing Director of ERT S.A., identified the following six internal and external forces as instrumental in the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations:

- a. Developments in broadcasting throughout Europe;
- b. Pirate radio broadcasters;
- c. George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister;
- d. It was time for the Greek society to make this step forward;
- e. The activities of Russos Coundouros, Channel 15 and Anti; and
- f. The political motives of the New Democracy Mayors of Athens, Thessaloniki and Piraeus.

Christodoulides explained his understanding of these forces:

The main reason was the development in broadcast communications all over the world, especially in Europe. We also had a lot of radio pirates. Free radio was also a demand of a section of the society. Some of their motives were political; but others, their motive was that they realized that we needed this change in the way that we broadcast in Greece. And, this also includes people from the PASOK party. George Papandreou, for example, was one person who really started this discussion. It was time for the Greek society to take this step forward. A few years ago, at the beginning of 1981, the government was afraid of all of these changes; but two years later everything changed. I think that the government was already determined to take the steps. It was not something which came out by forcing the government to do it. It was already in the mind of the government that changes in radio broadcasting must be the first step in the area of mass communication.

There was another group, Channel 15 and Russos Coundouros. I think this group worked about a year and a half before George Papandreou started his intervention. I attended some of the seminars of Coundouros' Channel 15. And, in these discussions, the level of expertise and the ideas were there, in all of them. That was one group which worked quite nicely -- let's say -- insistently and not politically. They didn't play politics. They belonged to parties, but they didn't make free radio as a political item . . . Some newspapers and magazines, such as Anti also were active. And, some of the mayors got into this business, I think, for political reasons -- not always anti-government -- but also inside their own party. Most of the people who played this role came from different parties. It was not an idea which came through the social groups, i.e. trade unionists, feminists. They didn't start it. To be honest, Coundouros' group was the first to start it and the rest came up later (Christodoulides, September 8, 1988).

The responses of the other interviewees support Christodoulides' understanding of the origins of the free-radio movement. None of the respondents included social groups such as trade unionists or feminists as actors significant in the movement. Other interviewees confirmed Christodoulides' understanding of the role of Russos Coundouros including Alexander Velios, intellectual, journalist, and former Director of the Piraeus Municipal radio station; and Stratis Stratigis, elected member of the 1988 Parliament representing the Democratic Renewal Party.

The New Democracy Party (ND). The New Democracy Party (ND), established in November 1984 by Constantine Karamanlis, was the second largest political party recognized in the Greek Parliament in 1988. Led by Constantine Mitsotakis, the political ideology of the party is described as "right of center conservatives" (Coronakis, May 9, 1988).

Theodore Kassimis, spokesperson for the New Democracy Party, identified the following two forces as instrumental in the establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece:

- a. The municipalities of Athens, Thessaloniki and Piraeus, run by New Democracy politicians; and
- b. George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister.

Kassimis described the activities of the three municipalities as well as George Papandreou's involvement:

In the October 1986 municipal elections, New Democracy candidates won the mayorships of the three major cities, Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki. Immediately, in the spring of 1987, those three cities started to broadcast municipal radio.

George Papandreou started to promote that he wanted free radio. He took the flag, he delivered speeches and statements. He said that the people need the free radio (Kassimis, August 1, 1988).

The Communist Party of Greece (KKE). The Communist Party of Greece (KKE), established in November 1918, is organized according to standard Soviet model; control of local party cells is centralized in the highest party organization, the Politburo, led by the secretary general. In 1988, the party was led by Executive Bureau Secretary General Harilaos Florakis; the political ideology of the party is described as "pro-Moscow communists" (Coronakis, May 9, 1988).

Christos Pappas, spokesperson for the Communist Party and member of the Committee for Television and Radio of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, identified the

following internal and external forces as affecting the establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece:

- a. Pressure by commercial interests;
- b. Radio amateurs; and
- c. The activities of Channel 15.

According to Pappas, economic forces were a consideration:

It was the pressure by the commercial interests to be active in the field of radio broadcasting; this is something that happened already in other countries. This pressure made it possible for the government to allow private radio.

Pappas recalled the activities of radio amateurs and Channel 15:

There were, first of all, the radio amateurs who wanted really to work free in that field because there were many policiary methods [policies] prohibiting them. They were not allowed to broadcast. And then, there were other organizations like Channel 15 which made propaganda for the so-called free radio (Christos Pappas, September 1988).

The Greek Left (EA). The Greek Left Party (EA), established in April 1987, was known previously as the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) Interior. During the summer of 1988, the leader of the Greek Left Party was Secretary General Leonidas Kyrkos. The political ideology of the party is described as "Eurocommunist." In May 1988, the Greek Left held only one seat in the Greek Parliament (Coronakis, May 9, 1988).

According to Michalis Papayiannakis, spokesperson for the Greek Left, the following four internal forces affected the establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece:

- a. The Mayor of Athens, Miltiades Evert;

- b. Pirate radio enthusiasts and intellectuals; in particular, Channel 15;
- c. George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister; and
- d. The Left, not the Communists; rather, radicals such as Nikitas Yionarakis, who worked for free radio for local powers not for private interest.

Papayiannakis clarified the Communist perspective:

The Communists were against it. They said that there would be an opportunity for big capital to take control of information and communication (Papayiannakis, September 6, 1988).

Democratic Renewal (DA; Diana). The Democratic Renewal party (DA; Diana) was established on September 6, 1985. Led by Constantine Stefanopoulos, the political ideology of the party is described as "right of center conservatives" (Coronakis, May 9, 1988).

Vassilios Manginas, lawyer and spokesperson for the political party Democratic Renewal, identified only one force related to the establishment of private and municipal radio in Greece. According to Manginas, "It was the pressure that everybody speaks about now in Europe and from Greek enterprises abroad; everybody speaks about privatization of the media" (Manginas, September 7, 1988).

Forces Identified by Managers and Directors of  
Private and Municipal Radio Stations

Private Radio Stations. Pandelis Kapsis, Editor in Chief for Top FM private radio, identified the following three forces as associated with the development and establishment of

private and municipal radio stations:

- a. The inability of the State radio to feature objective news;
- b. Editors who wanted to have private radio as a first step toward private television; and
- c. George Papandreou, Education Prime Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister.

Kapsis discussed the State radio's inability to feature objective news:

There were many forces operating. One, obviously, was the political climate in Greece. There was a movement in favor of private radio and municipal radio because of the inability of the State radio to have news that was accepted by the rest of the parties as objective. The news was more oriented to propaganda and this created a reaction which led to a movement in favor of free radio.

As Kapsis explained, both economic and political forces played a role:

Another reason is the editors who wanted to have private radio as a first step towards private television which interests them. The third factor is that Mr. George Papandreou wanted to have a personal campaign; he wanted to differentiate himself from the government, and he wanted to create his own political base. That helped a lot. In the long term, it is not a serious reason, but in the short term it proved very effective because the opposition within the government ended after George Papandreou said that he was in favor of private radio. He is the son of the Prime Minister, you know. Possibly, there are other factors but these are the main factors (Kapsis, July 27, 1988).

Jason Moschovitis, General Director of Antenna 97.1 FM radio, identified the following four forces as associated with the development and establishment of private and municipal radio:

- a. A need to have a wider expression of views;
- b. A kind of harmonization with the climate that exists in the European community;

- c. The time arrived; the subject matter was mature; and
- d. George Papandreou, Education Prime Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister.

Moschovitis explained his understanding of the forces:

I think that the government felt the pressure of the majority of the public opinion. That is, a need to have a wider expression of views. I think that it was a kind of harmonization with the climate that exists in the European community of which we are members. But basically, I think that the time came for it; the subject was mature.

According to Moschovitis, George Papandreous was not a major force:

Also, the moment that the government decided that they had to go with the private stations, then, the person who was chosen to announce this and take all of the political credit was the son of the Prime Minister, George Papandreou. But personally, I don't believe that he was the force behind the decision. I think he was chosen as the person to take the credit (Moschovitis, July 28, 1988).

Thus, according to Moschovitis, other forces including the need to have a wider expression of views, the need to harmonize with other countries in the European community, and the notion that the time had arrived worked together as a force more influential than that of George Papandreou's involvement.

Municipal Radio Stations. Yiannis Tzannetakos, Manager of Athens 984 FM Municipal Radio, identified the following three external and internal forces:

- a. The general climate in the common market;
- b. A small group of intellectuals; specifically, Channel 15; and
- c. The mayoral candidates of 1986; specifically, Miltiades Evert of Athens.

Tzannetakos discussed briefly Greece's role in the European economic community and described the activities of Channel 15 and the Mayors:

First of all, it was the general climate in the common market, in all of the countries of the common market. Second, it was a pressure that began from a small group of intellectuals, mostly independent personalities sympathizing all of the parties from the conservative people to the Left. The group was called Channel 15 because 15 is the article of our Constitution that regulates broadcasting. I participated in this movement. Also, many of the staff at 984 FM were members of this movement. We organized seminars, small congresses and illegal transmissions. Also, our small organization took the initiative to propose to all of the mayoral candidates that they put in their program a desire to have local or municipal radio stations. And they did it; it was a success. And so, we can say that the people not only of Athens but all over Greece, by voting for the Mayors, helped to establish municipal radio. So, it was all of these pressures. With the climate, the tendencies, and the fact that all of the parties agreed. It was very mature to establish this.

Tzannetakos described Mayor Evert's involvement:

In January 1987 when Evert became Mayor, he founded a committee from all of the parties that participated in the Municipal Council. The Council agreed to establish the Athens radio station in May 1987; the government had not yet established the law (Tzannetakos, July 28, 1988).

George Lamprinakos, General Manager of Channel One, Piraeus Municipal Radio Station, identified the following two internal forces:

- a. The municipal stations of Athens and Piraeus; and
- b. The new younger politicians; specifically, George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK), Miltiades Evert, Mayor of Athens (ND), and Andreas Andreanopoulos, Mayor of Piraeus (ND).

Lamprinakos described the activities of the municipalities

of Athens and Piraeus:

The municipal stations of Athens and Piraeus were a force. A lot of people liked these stations and there were a lot of listeners. The State stations started to lose listeners; these listeners were taken by the municipal stations. So, more or less, the government, the State, was forced to make the law which permitted the private and municipal radio stations.

Lamprinakos spoke of the new generation of politicians:

George Papandreou, the son of the Prime Minister, was instrumental as well. He encouraged and discussed the idea of free radio in Parliament . . . I think that this new radio was the idea of the younger politicians like Miltiades Evert, Andreas Andreanopoulos and George Papandreou. These pioneers of the free radio came from both sides of the political spectrum. But all of them are of the new generation of politicians who have more free ideas--how can I say it? (Lamprinakos, July 13, 1988).

Fotis Manousis, General Manager of Thessaloniki Municipal Radio 100/101 FM and General Secretariat of the Municipality of Thessaloniki, articulated only one force as significant. According to Mr. Manousis, there was a need for pluralism in the media: "The need to have a polyphony of voices; a need existed for other sources of information" (Manousis, August 1988). Although Fotis Manousis did not specify the source of such need, one might make a reasonable assumption that the need was expressed by, at least, persons sympathetic to the New Democracy party as well as persons associated with political parties other than PASOK.

Forces Identified by Editors, Publishers,  
Journalists and Intellectuals

Basil Coronakis, Editor and Publisher of Greece's Weekly, an English language publication, identified the following two

internal forces as affecting the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece:

- a. The mayors affiliated with the New Democracy Party; and
- b. Pirate radio broadcasters.

Coronakis explained the activities of the mayors and the pirate broadcasters:

The government was forced to accept radio as it has now been forced to accept satellite television. The mayors all of a sudden decided to go into radio. They simply went. The government could not stop them. Before then, we had a lot of pirate radio broadcasters. These pirates were broadcasting regularly. I don't think that the government really wanted to stop them because they were not political. The municipal stations were different. They were political; they broadcast news. Their programs were so good at the beginning that it was difficult for the government to stop them.

According to Coronakis, the motives of the mayors were purely political:

It was the mayors who belonged politically to the Nea Dimokratia [New Democracy], the conservative opposition. I think the reason they did it, let's be realistic, was purely political. The three mayors, Evert of Athens, Andreanopoulos of Piraeus and Kouvalis of Thessaloniki, are three political people deeply politicized. They have political goals. They could care less about the communities. All of them--they look at the national Parliament; they look at the chair of the Prime Minister--and sooner or later one of them probably will sit in that chair using the community and the radio, the television and whatever else they are going to bring about to the mind as a means to get their targets. So, these mayors were instrumental. I think they did it for their own purposes probably to acquire a voice, even within their own party (Coronakis, September 1988).

Coronakis' assessment of the motives of the New Democracy mayors may be close to the truth. In April 1990, a major transition

occurred within the government of Greece. The New Democracy party gained control of the Parliament; the new Greek Cabinet included Miltiades Evert as the Minister to the Premier and Sotiris Kouvelas as the Minister to the Interior (Konstandaras, 1990, p.10).

According to George Kriklanis, publisher and General Director of Greece Today, an English language daily newspaper, the following three external and internal forces were related to the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece:

- a. Greece's membership in the European Economic Community;
- b. Pirate radio broadcasters; and
- c. The Mayor of Athens, Miltiades Evert.

Greece's role in the Europe Economic Community functioned as a force, according to Kriklanis:

Greece has an image to protect and in this case to project. How does it look if a democratic country only allows government television and radio? It's a natural result of Greece's entry into the EEC and assuming its presidency as well, that the barriers against having municipal radio have been loosened. Only as a result of illegal pirate radio was the issue made public . . . it was not until the Mayor of Athens, Miltiades Evert, pushed and pushed (Kriklanis, August 1988).

Alexis Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries and former Director of Press and Information, Greek Embassy in the United States, identified the five following forces:

- a. Public dissatisfaction with the State media; a desire from the public to do away with the govern-

- ment monopoly on the media;
- b. How the government perceived the public desire;
- c. Miltiades Evert, Mayor of Athens;
- d. George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister; and
- e. Greece's role in the European Economic Community.

Phylactopoulos described problems of the State radio and how they related to the development of private and municipal radio:

There is always a time for something when the conditions become right for certain actions. There was definitely pressure from the public to do away with the government monopoly on media. The lack of quality work on Greek radio has been to a great extent responsible for the public dissatisfaction. When I say lack of quality work, I mean programming that did not reflect the tastes or the desires of the public. The public was not viewed as a consumer, which it was, but as a captive audience which could be pumped with any kind of program that the radio entity wanted to provide it with. So the pressure was mounting for more interesting programs on the radio as well as for more plurality of opinion expressed in commentary and in the news. Given this kind of public need for private radio, the government had to respond.

According to Phylactopoulos, the public expected a change in the media from the promises made in PASOK's party platform:

The government had to live up to the expectations of the public given that so many of the other expectations had been frustrated. This government came to power from a so-called "green book" which was its platform, its social contract with the people, in which it made mention of its intention to leave NATO, its intention to leave the ECC and its intention to interfere in economic life much more than it really did interfere in the end. And given the number of programs, social and otherwise, that were never promoted by the government, broadcasting was one issue in which they felt they had to move on. They could afford to do something about this issue given that they had promised it to the people and given that there was this kind of public support for private radio. It has something to do with how

the government perceived the public desire at the moment. It should be noted, as indicated in chapter two, that according to the documents gathered by this researcher, PASOK never made specific reference in their party platform to changes in broadcasting. According to interviewee data, however, PASOK rhetoric outside of the party platform did focus on such changes.

Phylactopoulos commented on the role of the mayors; in particular, the role of Mayor Evert:

I think that the municipalities took the matter into their own hands very firmly, especially the three new mayors. Evert, for example, in Athens, said that he was going to go ahead with his municipal radio station whether the government had enacted a law or not.

Phylactopoulos spoke about George Papandreou's role:

I think, also, to his credit, George Papandreou had some decisive influence towards this direction. George Papandreou is a broad-minded man. He saw that this kind of thing had to be done. I am sure you know the details of how and what point he did what he did, but my general feeling is that along with the mayors you should add him.

And, concerning Greece's role in the European Economic Community, Phylactopoulos explained:

I think that the government must have thought that sooner or later EEC directives would have obliged it to take some steps in the direction that it took. So rather than do something under duress, it decided to do it on its own now (Phylactopoulos, July 28, 1988).

Costas Cavathas, entrepreneur, Editorial Director and publisher of numerous magazines, including Four Wheels, Sound/Hi/Fi, Flight, and Satellite, identified the following three external and internal forces as related to the establishment

and development of private and municipal radio in Greece:

- a. Greece's role in the European Economic Community;
- b. Miltiades Evert, the Mayor of Athens; and
- c. Channel 15.

Cavathas explained the connection between the development of private and municipal radio and Greece's role in the European Economic Community:

I think that the answer to this question is very simple. If we are members of the European community, we have to do as the rest of the countries in the community do. In every country of the European Economic Community, municipal and private radio are free, so why not in Greece? It had to come sooner or later. We are in Europe. We have to do as the Europeans do. We are either in or out. There's no question of in-between.

Cavathas briefly discussed the involvement of Mayor Evert and described the activities of Channel 15, of which he was a member:

The change came not because the government wanted it but because Mayor Evert did it first here in Athens. The government saw that it had no other choice but to allow private radio and municipal radio. It all started with the Channel 15 committee of which I was a member from the beginning. Channel 15 gathered around it a number of Greek intellectuals and jouranlists and people who were not afraid, let's say, of free speech. We started doing a lot of "illegal" things like transmitting from various houses in Athens--pirate broadcasts--talking about free radio and how it should be. The police came and confiscated the equipment. The people who were on the organizing committee of Channel 15 went to jail (Cavathas, August 8, 1988).

According to Alexander Velios, intellectual, journalist and former director of the Piraeus municipal radio station, the following two internal forces were instrumental in the development and establishment of the private and municipal radio

stations:

- a. Channel 15 and Russos Coundouros; and
- b. Miltiades Evert, the Mayor of Athens.

Velios described the activities of Russos Coundouros and the initiative of Channel 15:

The first initiative, Channel 15, occurred in 1985. Channel 15 was organized by Russos Coundouros, a radio specialist and activist in the organization the Protection of Television Viewers (EPT). Coundouros is the father of free radio. He made the first free broadcasting, illegally, with the police running after him. He made a broadcasting during the national elections of 1985. He made programs, illegal radio programs. Later, he made other illegal broadcastings during the municipal elections of 1986. I was on the Channel 15 commission. Tzannetakos, [now the] Director of Athens Radio, was on this commission. Very many journalists and other personalities who went to the free radios were on this commission.

According to Velios, action by the three mayors to establish municipal radio was politically motivated:

The three liberal mayors, especially Mayor Evert, saw the political hit, the political benefit from going with the wave of free radio. And, they did it. They did it without the permission of the government. What could the government do? Once they did it, the government was politically unable to prevent it. The idea of free radio was in the air; it had entered into the consciousness of the people (Velios, August 3, 1988).

Terence Kwik, representative of the Athens Municipality and former ERT S.A. journalist, identified the following two forces as affecting the establishment and development of private and municipal radio in Greece:

- a. Greece's role in the European Economic Community; and
- b. Miltiades Evert, the Mayor of Athens.

Kwik explained his understanding of the forces:

Number one, we are members of the European Economic Community. Number two, it was the decision of Mayor Evert, who announced the set-up of a municipal radio station during the election campaign. Evert was so "apofasistikos" [determined or decided]. When Miltiades says that he is going to do something, he is going to do it. I think that there was no other choice for the government but to give the permission for private radio stations. We forced the government to give permission for legal broadcasting (Kwik, July 21, 1988).

Costas Yennaris, Press Counselor for the Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus, identified the following seven internal and external forces:

- a. Political developments in Greece since 1974 after the fall of the Junta; the question of the development of the freedom for the individual;
- b. PASOK's party platform;
- c. The uprising at the Polytechnic and the radio station established during that time;
- d. Greece's relationship with the European Economic Community;
- e. Anti;
- f. Journalists; and
- g. George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou.

Yennaris discussed the relationship between Greece's experience with the Junta and the developments in broadcasting:

I think it has to do with the political developments in Greece since 1974 after the fall of the Junta. It seems that there was a concentrated maturity amongst the political and cultural leadership of the country in many fields. And, one of them, probably the most important and most relevant to that issue concerns the question of the development of the freedoms for the individual. This, I think, is a direct result of the experience of the Junta rule here. Since 1974, there has been a discussion going on, a public debate, on issues connected with this basic

principle of individual rights. And I think that the freedom given to broadcasting is the result of that social maturity which was created over these years.

According to Yennaris, plans to change the media were included in PASOK's platform from the beginning:

In practical terms, I think that PASOK right from the beginning provided for private and municipal broadcasting as part of their policy. The fact that they did it so many years after they took power has to do with the effort exerted by them to restructure certain institutions in society so that the establishment of private and municipal broadcasting would not create problems in society. The timing of the liberalization of private and municipal broadcasting came about as a result of these changes, perhaps in somewhat of a more hasty way than what the government had expected. In any case, that's the essence of the matter.

Again, it is necessary to make clear that according to the documents gathered by this researcher, PASOK never made specific reference in this party platform to changes in broadcasting.

Yennaris considered the Polytechnic University radio station as a related force as well:

One more internal reason is probably the experience that the Greeks had with the uprising at the Polytechnic and establishment of the illegal radio station by the students there. I think it gave them a vision of the possibilities of broadcasting, vis-a-vis the protection of their civil rights.

One must keep in mind that the influence of the Polytechnic uprising probably was limited to a certain extent to Athens and the surrounding area.

Concerning the relationship between the developments in broadcasting and Greece's role in the European Economic Community, Yennaris explained:

I think that there were external reasons as well. The

association of Greece with the European Economic Community brought them closer to the advantages of free radio in Europe. I think that it was something inevitable because of the overall relationships created between Greece and the European Economic Community.

Yennaris recalled the activities of persons associated with

Anti:

I think there were a lot of people who contributed toward the establishment of private and municipal radio broadcasting. I don't think that I can name just one person as an instrumental person. I recall the efforts made by the Left Wing magazine, Anti, to establish a radio station long before the law was passed. Their pioneer efforts strengthened the demand for free radio.

Journalists played a role in the development of free radio according to Yennaris:

I think that the journalists played an important role as well. Inasmuch as most Greek journalists at some point experienced and passed through the State radio, they saw the limitations there. The journalists contributed quite a lot in informing the public of the need for private and municipal radio stations.

Yennaris explained the roles played by both George and Andreas Papandreou in the changes:

I would not like to mention any individuals just in case I am being unfair to anybody; but, for example, the Minister of Education, George Papandreou, was also a crusader in this cause. As far as the law is concerned, I would say that the most important factor in having it passed was the Prime Minister himself. But, I think that there were a lot of factors. I think it was the joint effort of many, many forces, many dimensions (Yennaris, July 20, 1988).

Forces Identified by Lawyers, University Professors  
and Spokespersons for the Church of Greece

Antonias Vgontzas, lawyer, author of the law for the private and municipal radio stations, and assistant professor of law at the University of Athens, identified the following

forces:

- a. Pressure from the press, especially from a few big bosses;
- b. The New Left and Anti;
- c. The government;
- d. George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister; and
- e. Miltiades Evert, Mayor of Athens.

Vgontzas explained his understanding of the forces:

There was a pressure from the press to have private radio, especially from a few big bosses in the press area who wanted to exploit the whole mass media prospect. There also was a pressure for private radio in the last decade from the forces outside the established political spectrum and outside the established political forces, let's say, from people who belong to the New Left. The New Left in Greece doesn't belong to the established forces. There is a special characteristic to these people. They're just intellectuals, professors, and journalists. This group had been pressing for private radio; the pressure became stronger since 1983. At that time, the idea of private radio was adopted by many intellectuals who found as a means a very good magazine, Anti, which is a faction in the area of the New Left. This was the most important attempt to have a private radio. Until 1985, there wasn't any pressure from the political parties to have private radio.

Vgontzas recalled the activities of Mayor Evert:

During the municipal elections of 1986, three people belonging to the New Democracy party were elected. And one of these people, Mayor Evert, said that he was going to have a radio of his own.

Vgontzas explained the role of the government, George

Papandreou and Andreas Papandreou, in the changes:

But before the mayors acted, there already had been discussion by the government in Parliament. There was a discussion that they would give the right to have free radio to the municipalities. At the same time, George Papandreou, the son of the Prime Minister, was also

discussing free radio. And then in December 1986, quite suddenly, Prime Minister Papandreou spoke for free radio for every citizen, not only for the municipalities. Papandreou then said that the legal system of the new free radio would be developed in a parliamentary committee. If I remember well, and I know it quite well, this idea of free radio for everyone was cultivated among Papandreou's counselors since the summer of 1986. Later, in February 1987, the government sent a draft for the radio broadcasting system. In February or March, Mayor Evert said that he was going to have his own radio without permission. He wasn't going to wait. It was quite well understood that the government had the opinion that it would not be a good idea to react to such a movement by Evert. Some say, I don't, that Papandreou wanted Evert to form a radio station to build up an inner rivalry to Mitsotakis [leader of New Democracy party]. There is a rumor about that, but I won't, I cannot say yes or no (Vgontzas, September 5 and 9, 1988).

Professor John Metaxas, Professor of Political Science at the University of Athens and former Director of ERT, identified the following two internal forces:

- a. The State radio was not broadcasting pluralistic information; and
- b. A demand from the political parties for PASOK to fulfill its promise to have State media with more pluralistic and multidimensional information.

Metaxas described the emergence of the demand for more pluralistic information:

Before the 1980's, a demand for more pluralistic information did not exist. Before the 1980's, Prime Minister Karamanlis used to declare that since only the government accomplishes acts, people need only to be informed on acts accomplished by the government. So, since that was the prime idea, no forces surfaced demanding more pluralistic information. No one ever thought of asking for it before. The situation of the State's radio, in spite of important changes after 1981 [PASOK in power], was still not very good from the point of view of pluralistic information. Political parties then began to exploit the fact that the government had no accomplished its promise to leave the mass media more, to have more pluralistic, more multidimensional information. Since the government's

program left a window open that this change in the media would be accomplished, demand was created and really pressured on this fact. It was expected that this demand would be satisfied (Metaxas, September 8, 1988).

Professor Vassilis Karapostolis, Professor of Social Communication and Language at the University of Athens, identified the following two external and internal forces:

- a. Privatization of the media in Europe; and
- b. A consideration about pluralism.

According to Professor Karapostolis, the changes in broadcasting were inevitable:

I suppose that this was a rather unavoidable change. At a certain point, the government and centers of political and economic power decided to follow this route, which had been opened before. I mean, in Europe, everywhere, such changes in the media have been taking place. There was also a consideration about pluralism. Not as a value in itself but as a functional value. I mean, at a certain point of Greece's development after the second World War, some political circles and people understood that the polarizations had bad effects to all sides. So they started to organize a pluralism (Karapostolis, September 7, 1988).

Melina Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication at the University of Athens and author of Sociology of Mass Media, identified the following forces as instrumental in the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece:

- a. The mayors of Athens and Thessaloniki;
- b. Dissatisfaction with the State media; and
- c. Private business initiative.

Professor Sarafetzinou described the involvement of the mayors and the public's dissatisfaction with the State media:

I believe the government was forced to do it. It was not their own choice. The opposition party succeeded in electing out of its own ranks the mayors of the two big cities of Greece, Athens and Thessaloniki. And they, for their own purposes and their own motivations, decided; there's been a lot of dissatisfaction for the last ten years, at least, with the way the government controls the radio broadcasting organization in Greece. It has been a very tight control, a very partisan control, in a very obvious and blatant way. I think it has become even more intensified since 1981 when the present government was elected.

According to Sarafetzinou, the government was forced to legalize private and municipal radio:

When the government announced its decision to legalize private and municipal radio, it was kind of a defacto announcement. I mean, when the mayors said that they were going to start broadcasting out of their own local stations, it was almost illegal. The government had a choice, either to legally prosecute the Mayor of Athens and the Mayor of Salonika or to give in. I think they realized that sooner or later that they had to give in or it would be very unpopular. They would lose votes if they entered into this kind of legal fight with very popular mayors like the two who attempted this kind of thing.

Private initiative may have been a factor as well according to Professor Sarafetzinou:

I think there might also have been pressure from business circles because, as you probably know, on an international level investments in radio broadcasting in general have become very lucrative. And private initiative is very eager to enter into this field which up until now has been a complete government monopoly (Sarafetzinou, September 9, 1988).

Mr. Hatzifotis, spokesperson for the Church of Greece, identified the following external and internal forces:

- a. Greece's role in the European Economic Community; and
- b. A need to have a freedom of broadcasting; to have full opportunities.

Hatzifotis explained his understanding of the forces:

We are now among the common market, the European Economic Community. We must have also in Greece a freedom in radio broadcasting. We must do much because today we must have full opportunities. This really is something that is important for communication in Greece. Also, before, we only had the State radio, ERT, which is something that is under the control of the Greek government (Hatzifotis, July 11, 1988).

### The Forces Reconsidered

As stated previously, the purpose of this chapter is to identify and discuss the various forces related to the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece as articulated by the interviewees. In order to consider the various forces from an organized perspective, forces were reviewed and categorized into five distinct areas: (1) a dissatisfaction with the State media in terms of a problem of objectivity of news, and thus a desire for a more pluralistic set of sources of information; (2) the interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative media; (3) various politically related motives, i.e. the desire by the opposition party, New Democracy, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions; fulfillment of the promises espoused in PASOK campaign rhetoric concerning changes in broadcasting; George Papandreou's personal campaign to create his own political base; and the desire by persons of Leftist orientation, (not

Communist), to create free radio for local powers; (4) various economic reasons, i.e. private or commercial initiatives; Greece's role in the European economic community; and the interests of editors and big press bosses to have private radio as a first step toward private television; and (5) forces originating from the idea that it was time for Greece to modernize, i.e. developments already under way in the privatization of broadcasting throughout Europe. Once again, it is important to make clear that this researcher makes no attempt to claim any force as being a most important force. Further, this review cites only those forces identified by the interviewees; other forces may exist. Table 10 features an organized perspective of the various forces.

TABLE 10.

Forces Operative in the Establishment of Private and  
Municipal Radio Stations in Greece

**Public Dissatisfaction with the State Media:  
A Desire for Pluralism**

1. Public dissatisfaction with the government monopoly of the State media and the State media's inability to feature objective news and pluralistic information.
2. A desire and need to have a wider expression of news and a polyphony of voices in Greece.

According to the data, the "desire and need" for pluralism was expressed by, at least, the following groups within Greek society:

- (a) forces from the Left (not Communist), i.e. intellectuals, journalists, and university professors;
- (b) students from the Polytechnic uprising;
- (c) amateur/pirate radio broadcasters;
- (d) the New Democracy mayors of Athens, Thessaloniki, and Piraeus;
- (e) persons sympathizing with one or another of the parties from the conservative people to the Left;
- (f) the political and cultural leadership of the country in many fields.

**The Public Interest**

1. The activities of pirate radio and illegal broadcasters including the activities of Russos Coundouros and other intellectuals involved with "Channel 15," those persons

TABLE 10 (cont.)

associated with the magazine, Anti, its radio station, "Anti-logos" and students involved in the radio station established during the 1973 Polytechnic University uprising.

2. Journalists, who had at some point experienced and passed through the State radio, spoke about limitations they saw there as well as free speech, "free radio and how it should be."
3. University professors. According to the interviewee data, no specific statements were cited that articulate the reasons for this group to be considered as a force. However, one statement was mentioned that provides insight; that is, the group included university professors who specialized in constitutional affairs. Further, university professors often were included with mention of intellectuals and journalists.

### Political

1. Miltiades Evert, Mayor of Athens, a New Democracy politician. Sotiris Kovelas, Mayor of Thessaloniki, a New Democracy politician. Andreas Andreanopoulos, Mayor of Piraeus, a New Democracy politician. It should be noted that not all of the interviewees cited the mayors as a force. Further, of those interviewees who did include the mayors, only some mentioned specific reasons. Reasons cited for the involvement of the mayors included political motives, benefits, and goals for their own purposes, i.e. to acquire a voice, even within their own party, and to achieve their respective goals to become Prime Minister.
2. The Left. According to the interviewee data, persons associated with the Left worked for free radio for local powers, not for private interest; further, this group expressed a need for free speech.
3. George Papandreou, Education Minister (PASOK) and son of the Prime Minister. Of those interviewees who cited George Papandreou as a force, only some mentioned specific reasons for his involvement. Reasons cited for his involvement included: his belief that the people needed free radio and his personal political motives; that is, he wanted to have a personal campaign, he wanted to differentiate himself from the government, and he wanted to create his own political base.

TABLE 10 (cont.)

4. PASOK's party platform and how the government (PASOK) perceived the public desire. As indicated previously, according to the documents gathered by this researcher, PASOK never made specific reference in its party platform to changes in broadcasting. Specific promises and guarantees stated in the party platform that could be related to broadcasting are reviewed in Chapter Two. According to interviewee data, however, PASOK campaign rhetoric outside of the party platform did focus on such changes.

According to interviewee data, reasons associated with PASOK as a force included:

- (a) the government was determined to take these steps;
- (b) it was in the mind of the government that changes in radio broadcasting must be the first step in the area of mass communication;
- (c) the government had to live up to the expectations of the public given that so many of the other expectations had been frustrated; given the number of programs, social and otherwise, that were never promoted by the government, broadcasting was one issue in which they felt they had to move on;
- (d) the fact that PASOK waited so many years after they took power had to do with the effort exerted by them to restructure certain institutions in society so that the establishment of private and municipal broadcasting would not create problems in society;

TABLE 10 (cont.)

(e) a rumor also was mentioned that Andreas Papandreu wanted Mayor Evert to form a radio station to build up an inner rivalry to Mitsotakis [New Democracy leader].

5. A demand from the political parties for PASOK to fulfill its promise to have a State media with more pluralistic and multidimensional information.
6. Political developments in Greece since 1974, after the fall of the Junta; the question of the development of the freedoms for the individual.

**Economic**

1. Greece's role in the European Economic Community.
2. Pressure by commercial interests and the initiative of private business.
3. Editors who wanted to have private radio as a first step toward private television as well as pressure from a few big bosses in the press.

**Modernization**

1. Developments in the privatization of broadcasting throughout Europe.
2. It was time for the Greek society to make this step forward.

## SUMMARY

A major factor of this thesis concerns the examination of the forces operative in the establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece. This study approaches and views the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations as strongly related to problems of control, access, and lack of pluralism due to Greece's history of State or government controlled radio broadcasting. Examination of the operative forces, as articulated by the interviewees, thus provides understanding of the approach of this thesis. Data collected through face-to-face interviews with persons representing the various positions of power within Greek society supports the approach of this researcher.

This chapter examined the forces operative in the transition from State controlled radio broadcasting in Greece to legally recognized private and municipal radio broadcasting. Responses of the interviewees concerning forces were reviewed and categorized into five distinct areas: (1) a dissatisfaction with the State media in terms of a problem of objectivity of news, and thus a desire for more pluralistic information; (2) the interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media; (3) various politically related motives, i.e. the desire by the opposition party, New Democracy, to break the State monopoly and

create a forum for their discussions; fulfillment of PASOK's party platform; George Papandreou's personal campaign to create his own political base; and the desire by persons of Leftist orientation (not Communist), to create free radio for local powers; (4) various economic reasons, i.e private or commercial initiatives; Greece's role in the European economic community; and the interests of editors and big press bosses to have private radio as a first step toward private television; and (5) forces originating from the idea that it was time for Greece to modernize, i.e. developments in the privatization of broadcasting throughout Europe.

This researcher made no attempt to claim any force as being the most important force; however, it was suggested that certain forces appeared to be stronger than others, in the opinion of this researcher. Based on the experiences of this researcher in gathering and analyzing all of the data for this study, the following three forces were suggested as the most important: (1) forces concerned with the public's dissatisfaction with the State media and thus a desire for more pluralistic information; (2) forces associated with the interests of various public interest groups; and (3) the various politically related motives. In the opinion of this researcher, forces concerned with the public's dissatisfaction with the State media and their resulting desire for more pluralistic information as well as forces associated with the activities of various public interest groups functioned as the source of the movement to establish and

develop private and municipal radio in Greece.

Although all of the forces are interrelated, some occurred earlier than others in the history of the movement. In the opinion of this researcher, forces that originated from the realm of the political surfaced later rather than earlier. The public's dissatisfaction with the State media and the resulting desire for more pluralistic information surfaced as the theme expressed most consistently and most strongly from the interviewees. Examination of the history of the movement revealed that this dissatisfaction was then channeled through the active interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media. The persistent illegal activities of the various public interest groups, who were strongly committed to creating changes in the arena of broadcasting communications, appears to have heightened awareness of the movement for free radio in Greece. Public discussion increased and was accompanied by greater coverage in the press of the free radio movement. It appears, in fact, that the persistent illegal activities of the various public interest groups created the appropriate social environment for the ensuing discussion and movement of the issue towards realization by politically related forces and motivations. The groundwork was accomplished by the public interest groups and then, when the time appeared to be socially correct, the politicians joined the movement.

However, this is not to suggest that the various politically related motives were not significant to the movement. The realm of the political played a powerful and effective role in the movement to establish and develop private and municipal radio stations in Greece. George Papandreou's decision to speak out and publicly support the free radio movement was a vital step in the process. As son of the Prime Minister, George Papandreou was influential in persuading other members of the Greek Parliament as well as his father to the need and benefits of free radio. Likewise, the strong stance taken by the New Democracy Mayors, in particular, the Mayor of Athens, Miltiades Evert, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions was, perhaps, the turning point in the movement. When Mayor Evert decided to commence broadcasting from his own municipal station in Athens--regardless of the law--the movement was in full force. Everything following the broadcast from Mayor Evert's station was quite unstoppable. One station after another appeared; the government, that is, PASOK, was forced to comply.

In essence, the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece was the result of a process of various interrelated forces working together in a timely fashion. As Boudon (1984) makes clear in his theory of social change which focusses on the causes or factors of change, the notion of cause can be ambiguous when it is used in the analysis of change. Boudon suggests an approach which examines

change as a result of a process characterized by a linked series of actions, reactions or retroaction rather than of a cause or a group of causes. According to Boudon, "It is the end point of the whole of the process, and one cannot impute causality to one or more of the elements of that process" (Boudon, 1984, p. 19).

This researcher made clear throughout this study that this review cited only those forces identified by the interviewees; other forces, indeed, may have existed. However, considering the fact that many of the same forces were identified by numerous interviewees, it appears that at least some, if not most, of the major forces which impinged upon the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece were pinpointed in this study.

Awareness of the forces provides further understanding of how and why the transition from State radio broadcasting to private and municipal radio stations occurred in Greece. Awareness of the forces also serves to illuminate the meaning of the transition and change in terms of cultural implications and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control.

## REFERENCES

- Athanassakis, N., Journalist and Director of the Press Office of the Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK). Personal interview. Athens, Greece. August 3, 1988.
- Boudon, R. (1983). Why theories of social change fail: Some methodological thoughts. Public Opinion Quarterly, 47, Summer.
- Cavathas, C., Editorial Director and Publisher, Four Wheels, Sound/HiFi, Flight, and Satellite. Member, Channel 15. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. August 8, 1988.
- Christodoulides, A., Director of the Special Mass Media Services and former President and Managing Director of ERT S.A. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 8, 1988.
- Coronakis, B. (1988, May 9). The Greek Parliament. Greek Report, p. 3.
- Coronakis, B., Editor and Publisher of Greece's Weekly. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 1988.
- Hatzifotis. Spokesperson, Church of Greece. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. July 11, 1988.
- Kapsis, P., Editor in Chief, Top FM Radio. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. July 27, 1988.
- Karapostolis, V., Professor of Social Communication and Language, University of Athens. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 7, 1988.
- Kassimis, T., Spokesperson for the New Democracy Party. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. August 1, 1988.
- Konstandaras, N. (1990, April 12). Mitsotakis, Cabinet sworn in. The Greek American, p. 10.
- Kriklanis, G., Publisher and General Director, Greece Today. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. August 1988.
- Kwik, T., Representative, Athens Municipality. Former ERT S.A. Journalist. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. July 21, 1988.
- Lamprinakos, G., General Manager, Channel One Piraeus Municipal Radio. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. July 13, 1988.

- Manginas, V., Lawyer and Spokesperson for the Democratic Renewal Party. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 7, 1988.
- Manousis, F., General Manager, Thessaloniki Municipal Radio 100/101 FM and General Secretariat of the Municipality of Thessaloniki. Personal interview. Thessaloniki, Greece. August 1988.
- Metaxas, J., Professor of Political Science, University of Athens, Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 8, 1988.
- Moschovitis, J., General Director, Antenna 97.1 FM Radio. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. July 28, 1988.
- Papacosma, V. (1988). Politics and Culture in Greece. Ann Arbor: Center for Political Studies Institute for Social Research. The University of Michigan, p. 25.
- Papayiannakis, M., Spokesperson for the Greek Left. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 6, 1988.
- Pappas, C., Spokesperson for the Communist Party (KKE) and Member of the Committee for Television and Radio of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 1988.
- Phylactopoulos, A., Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries and former Director of Press and Information, Greek Embassy, United States. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 1988.
- Sarafetzinou, M., Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication. University of Athens. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 9, 1988.
- Shinn. (1986). Greece: A Country Study. Area Handbook.
- Tzannetakos, Y., Manager, Athens 984 FM Municipal Radio. Member Channel 15. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. July 28, 1988.
- Velios, A., Intellectual, Journalist, and former Director, Channel One Piraeus Municipal Radio. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. August 3, 1988.

Vgontzas, A., Lawyer and author of the law for the private and municipal radio stations. Assistant Professor of Law, University of Athens. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. September 5 and 9, 1988.

Yennaris, C., Press Counselor, Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus. Personal interview. Athens, Greece. July 20, 1988.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### PLURALISM IN TRANSITION: CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE LEGALIZATION OF PRIVATE AND MUNICIPAL RADIO BROADCASTING IN GREECE

According to Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner (1984), pluralism is defined as a political philosophy or ideology asserting the desirability of diffusing power widely among a variety of associations--religious, economic, professional, educational and cultural--and fragmenting government into decentralized units, so that society is dominated neither by the State nor by a single class. In terms of broadcast systems and this study, pluralism refers to a condition present when a broadcast system has competing components encouraged by differing motivations. As indicated in Chapter Four, the various interviewees identified the following differing motivations or forces related to the establishment of private and municipal radio in Greece: (1) a dissatisfaction with the State media in terms of a problem of objectivity of news, and thus a desire for a more pluralistic set of sources of information; (2) the interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media; (3) various politically related motives, i.e. the desire by the opposition party, New Democracy, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions; fulfillment of PASOK's party platform; George Papandreou's personal campaign to create his own political base;

and the desire by persons of Leftist orientation, (not Communist), to create free radio for local powers; (4) various economic reasons, i.e. private or commercial initiatives; Greece's role in the European economic community; and the interests of editors and big press bosses to have private radio as a first step toward private television; and (5) forces originating from the idea that it was time for Greece to modernize, i.e. developments already under way in the privatization of broadcasting throughout Europe.

The purpose of this chapter is to articulate the meaning of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations; that is, the transition from State radio broadcasting to private and municipal radio broadcasting, as understood and explained by the interviewees. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the meaning of this change in terms of cultural implications and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control.

Access, as considered in this study, refers to both the degree of accessibility to radio station facilities by the public for purposes of broadcasting and the public's ability to have access to diverse sources of information. Control, as understood in this study, refers to any religious, economic, political, or social influence that may affect access or pluralism as defined in this study.

In order to consider the meaning of this change as understood by the interviewees, interviewee responses are organized and presented, again, according to the various

positions of power within Greek society as outlined in Chapter One. First, the meaning of the change as articulated by spokespersons from each of the five political parties is presented (spokespersons from the Greek Radio and Television and the government are included in the PASOK political party perspective). Second, the meaning of the change as explained by the managers or directors from the municipal and private radio stations is reviewed. Third, the meaning of the change according to editors, publishers, journalists, and intellectuals is presented. Fourth, the meaning of the change as interpreted by lawyers, university professors, and spokespersons from the Church of Greece is presented. Fifth, the explanations of meaning are categorized and presented in Table 11, which features an organized perspective. In the summary, the interpretations of the meaning are reviewed and discussed.

The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of  
Private and Municipal Radio Stations as  
Articulated by the Five Political  
Party Spokespersons

The Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK). According to Nikos Athanassakis, journalist and director of the Press Office of PASOK, although the change means greater pluralism in terms of access of information, some public interest groups have been unable to obtain a license to broadcast and thus have been denied access to radio facilities for purposes of broadcasting:

For sure it gives greater ability, it gives a chance for greater choice for alternatives. We know that some of them will be used as parties' voices sometimes. This is not

bad . . . There is a greater pluralism. Still, I do not believe that the new radio stations really presented another model of radio broadcasting. And that is a question to be examined. I still don't believe that what we had in mind at the beginning, [that is] to give the chance for expression to, let's say, the amateurs, the illegal broadcasters of the past, that they were the first that benefitted from the new law. Some of them created groups and had their applications for license and they are in the game, but most of them are still outside of the existing framework (Athanasakis, August 3, 1988).

Evidence in support of Athanasakis' claim that most of the original illegal broadcasters are still outside of the existing framework is provided by Roumeliotis (1988), who reported that "the first 29 licenses were approved in May 1988, but the commission never announced its criteria for allocating these licenses, most of which went to municipalities and publishing companies" (Roumeliotis, May 1988). In an analysis of regulatory structures of broadcasting that have appeared in various European countries, Donald Browne (1988) identified a quality that characterizes most, if not all, of them: lack of specificity in setting conditions, at least where community service is concerned. Speculating on the reasons for a reluctance to specify conditions, Browne suggests several reasons, among them, fear on the part of governments that the 'wrong' sorts of applicants may wish to operate stations:

If the government keeps the licensing conditions general or vague, then it doesn't risk embarrassment when the 'wrong' applicant loses and then accuses the government of having rigged the licensing conditions so that it couldn't possibly have won (Browne, 1988, p. 133).

In the case of Greece, as Zarharopoulos (1989) explains, "soon it became clear that those radio amateurs and 'pirates' whom

free radio was intended to serve were not being served" (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 12). Athanassakis' claim is evidenced further by the statement of Christos Pappas of the Communist Party of Greece, which is presented later in this chapter.

As Andreas Christodoulides, Director of the Special Mass Media Services (a PASOK appointment) and former President and Managing Director of ERT S.A. explained, the new stations have created some options for choices in the realm of music and discussion:

They can select more--from more areas--songs they want to hear. A small percentage of the Greek people may look also for some discussion, which is taking part on some of the radios. There are two or three radio stations that have quite nice discussions on subjects which are of interest; this is something which a percentage of the people follow. But if you hear the radio stations, you will see that most of the time is spent on foreign songs, popular music. I don't think that the people try to become educated from the radio or to extend their knowledge or to become informed about what is happening. Only a very small percentage look at this, and only a small percentage tries to hear news from different radio stations.

According to Christodoulides, pluralism, as he understands it, still has not been realized in Greece:

Unfortunately, this is a reality. It's nice for us to say, oh it's happening, it's beautiful, everybody can hear anything, and we have now full communication, we have been informed about everything and we have pluralism. I don't know if this is pluralism. I'm not sure what pluralism means, in connection with the radio broadcasting. For me, it means that you will have good and, let's say, impartial information about the happenings in Greece and abroad. But, if you hear the news of the radio of the Mayor of Athens, or the opposition to the government, and if you look to the other side too, for the pro-government, you will hear the opposition radio starts with everything which is dark and everything which is not good for the government. From the other side you will look the other way. But this is not freedom and impartiality and things like that. You have to

select your news--what is the best, what is the one which is the big news for today, not to put everything together because they are against the government (Christodoulides, September 8, 1988).

The New Democracy Party (ND). According to Theodore Kassimis, spokesperson for the New Democracy Party, the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece means that the Greek people have access to more information, a factor critical in the process of democracy:

They are now free. They have more information. The people are listening to other opinions except the opinions of the government, which is very important for them. I think that this is a big step for the democracy (Kassimis, August 1, 1988).

The Communist Party of Greece (KKE). According to Christos Pappas, spokesperson for the Communist Party and member of the Committee for Television and Radio of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations has forced discussion of societal problems and forced the State radio to change:

The time is very short to make such a conclusion. But this is an opening . . . the main positive thing we have now is that we speak about problems. We have new stations . . . something happens. ERT, for example, must do something. They see that they have to do something. This is something positive. We find it positive.

As Pappas makes clear, radio licenses still are not accessible to everyone; further, commercial interests have introduced a new problem of control:

The radio amateurs are not satisfied by the solution that that government gave to this problem because all of the frequencies were given to the commercial interests and not to the real amateurs. And this is exactly the problem that we pointed out. We must have another sort of solution to

that problem. We must form and shape the conditions for a real free radio and television so that these activities will be for the society's best. . . . The people who have the money can control communication; they can control the flow of information, which is, in our view, not for the interests of the society and for the interests of the democracy . . . Privatization will not give the solution.

Although Pappas critiqued positively the journalistic work of Athens' municipal radio station, he expressed a concern and fear of control by commercial and economic interests:

Of course, we have some new stations now, the first station, let's say, the Athens' Municipality station, was giving some good examples of real journalistic work. Some good work, really. And this, we are afraid, will not continue. Because in this revolutionary epoch time of the last year, there were some good journalists--some good work has presented in the beginning--but then, the real big monsters of the commercials will come and they will take this for their own interests. Which means bad tasted programs of low quality only for the interest of profit and not for the interest of the development of the society.

Pappas explained the Communist Party's view of the type of pluralism needed in Greece:

We want Greece to change in the direction we want. The problem, first of all, concerns information and communication. Communication channels should guarantee the objective information and pluralistic expression of views. The problem of change in the society is not, in my opinion, a question of the information organization. It is a question of the political powers. The flow--the net of communication--and the controlling power of this net should guarantee the free expression of the political powers. So change must come through the interplay of the political powers, not through the will of the controlling powers of the information net. This is democracy, in our opinion . . . For Greece, it means that we must be aware of what happens in the world. We must have information from the world. But that doesn't mean that we must forget what happens in our country . . . We are afraid if our information net in Greece is controlled by powers outside, they are interested only by a little part of what happens in Greece. But we are not only of that. We must give the information to the world, the real information of what happens in Greece. What Greece, the culture, the artistic

powers in Greece can give. Not what other interest groups want (Pappas, September 1988).

The Greek Left (EA). According to Michalis Papayiannakis, journalist and spokesperson for the Greek Left, freedom of choice and an increase in discussion of opinion have emerged as a result of the establishment of the new radio stations:

Freedom of choice, which is very appreciated. For women and old people at home, for example, it is much better company because it is more lively and there is discussion. People can call and talk on the radio. This is very important. Of course, sometimes it is very dull with meaningless contests. But many times it is much more interesting. Discussions, for example, about a political or social situation. Opinions are discussed. But, technically, we are lagging behind. I mean, for the moment, the new radio stations are working with very elementary techniques. There are the studios, usually just a room with some machines. The telephones in Greece are not very good. There is a future there, I think, and the people like it, surely, very much.

As Papayiannakis explained, the State radio's concept of propaganda cannot work anymore in the Greek culture. Information, controlled by the State, is not preferred by a majority of the listeners:

One of the most important changes is that the official radio is wrecked. It's finished. It's over. The State, all of the State stations together don't have the audience index. They are under the score of Evert's radio alone [under the audience ratings of the Athens municipal radio]. This is a very real change because the idea, or perhaps the concept of propaganda they had--not exactly propaganda, the style of the official radio--was very official, very pompous. And, this is over. It can't work anymore. And this is very important from the point of view of the culture.

According to Papayiannakis, the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations has created a very real change for Greece; that is, more pluralistic information:

We also have, very clearly, more freedom and more pluralistic information. This is not enough. I mean, the radios have some sources of information and there is a problem of sources for information in Greece. The new stations use all the sources of information they have. The official radio doesn't. In most of these free radios, all political parties are mentioned; they are given some minutes to talk. Evert's station, for example, gives five minutes every morning to every political party. In organizing political debates, everybody has been invited from time to time. All parties, all persons have been invited. And this is a very real change.

Papayiannakis described the influence of religion on the Thessaloniki municipal radio station:

The municipal radio of Thessaloniki, it's not very satisfying, but it is still better than the official one. It is very conservative and very rigid in style. It resembles very much the official station. They are very conservative, and they have a lot of influences, very visible ones; the church, for example. The church in Thessaloniki has a lot of influence. The mayor of Thessaloniki, Kouvalis, is very much related to church people. He's considered a man of the church.

Papayiannakis expressed his preference for the Athens' municipal radio station:

I think the Athens' radio station is the best. Really, it is very surprising, because Evert was considered as a tough man of the Right. His radio is very good. It is free; it is pluralistic and it is modern.

Papayiannakis, a journalist, spoke of TOP FM, the station owned by Christos Lambrakis, who also owned the paper where he was employed:

Top FM belongs to our boss, Lambrakis. It belongs to this group of press. To Vima, Ta Nea, etc. It is very modern. They have good music; young people like it very much. Their information is rather good but not as good as Evert's information. Top FM has interesting debates.

It is interesting at this point to consider Lambrakis' history in

the press, and in particular his role during the junta.

According to Clogg (1972):

Christos Lambrakis, proprietor of a group of centre newspapers, was imprisoned and deported for having refused to cooperate with the regime. Even after the lifting of censorship he declared that he would refuse to publish any political commentary as long as martial law forbade free discussion, and he went on sending protests to the International Press Union, particularly at the time of the ban on the sale of his newspapers in the provinces (Clogg, 1972, p. 135).

Papayiannakis expressed his dissatisfaction with Channel One, the Piraeus Municipal radio station, which he considered a disappointment:

The Piraeus municipal radio station, Channel One, was a disappointment. The mayor of Piraeus, Adrianopoulos, is very young man of the Right party--very interesting, very liberal, very modern--and he's very cultural; he speaks many languages. But his radio, I don't know why but it's still stagnating. They didn't find their own personality (Papayiannakis, September 6, 1988).

Democratic Renewal (DA: Diana). According to Vassilios Manginas, lawyer and spokesperson for Democratic Renewal, the new radio stations have created greater access to information for the people of Athens and Thessaloniki:

The private radio is something very good for the Greek people, especially, for the people of Athens and Thessaloniki. As you know, all of the municipal and private radio stations are here in Athens and in Thessaloniki. In other small towns there are none or the quality of the stations in the small towns is not very good. But, in Athens and Thessaloniki, I think that it is very good because the people have a choice between six or seven or ten (especially in Athens) municipal and private radio stations. The people have the choice for information bulletins. All of these stations have an information service and for some events, events that the government would like to hide, let's say, or to present

certain events in another way, then, the private stations are coming out and saying more details and the whole truth on this event (Manginas, September 7, 1988).

The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of Private Municipal Radio Stations as Articulated by Managers and Directors of Private and Municipal Radio Stations

Private Radio Stations. As explained by Pandelis Kapsis, Editor in Chief for Top FM private radio, Top FM has contributed to the new reality of greater access to information. Further, the State stations appear to be changing as a result of the style of the new stations:

The news programs are much more open than they were before. This is, for Greece, a very important change. Our new programs are much more objective than ERT. . . . The State radio starts its news program with the announcements of the government, and it ignores party news or other news that is harmful to the government. The government sees ERT as its own propaganda machine; they have a sort of official news-line, which excludes things that are controversial. . . . We ignore the announcements of the government, and we start with what we see as news. And that is, I think, the best part of it. . . . Also, ERT is trying to copy the private stations. They are introducing live programs.

Kapsis described the emergence of a new orientation for radio stations; that is, audience listenership. He expressed also a concern for the potential consequence of such an influence:

The private radio stations are much more oriented towards audience listenership. And, although this brings a sort of professionalism into the programs, it also sometimes lowers the quality of programs. And, I think that we already have signs of this thing. I don't think that all programs on the private stations are better (Kapsis, July 27, 1988).

According to Jason Moschovitis, General Director of Antenna

97.1 FM radio, the new radio stations and the Athens municipal radio station, in particular, have created a reality of access to information previously unbeknownst to the Greek people:

The first radio station that was not controlled by the State was the Municipal Radio of Athens. The mayor of Athens is a political opponent of the government. So, for the first time, the Greek people listened through the airwaves to a voice that was different from the State. This was something outstanding and astonishing; it was something of a marvel. For fifty years, Greek people listened to the voice of the State, because it was the State-run radio. The Municipal radio in Athens opened the way.

Although Moschovitis attributes credit to the Athens Municipal radio station for opening the way for a new kind of radio programming, he believes that most of the new stations are similar in their approach:

But, I think that the radio station of the Municipality of Athens is no different from the other private radio stations. For instance, it is no different from our station, which is a private radio station, because the standards of program are the same. You cannot say that the Municipal radio has a different program, for instance, concerning the problems of the city and the problems of the people of the neighborhoods of Athens. It is based on the professional pattern of private radio. But, we have to give the Municipality of Athens credit; they were the leaders, and they opened the way.

In the opinion of Moschovitis, the new reality of access to information will positively influence future generations to think differently:

I think the influence of private radio and the effects of this move--a way of informing people and entertaining people--will have a tremendous effect on the Greek society in the future generations. It is difficult to evaluate the influence, but the next generation will be something different. I think it will be something outstanding; people will learn to think differently--to be informed differently--and this is a very positive effect (Moschovitis, July 28, 1988).

Municipal Radio Stations. As explained by Yiannis Tzannetakos, Manager of Athens 984 FM Municipal Radio, the change means a significant disruption of a previous control of information as well as the stimulation of new spirit of criticism in the Greek people:

It was a revolution or, let's say, a radical evolution because the electronic monopoly on information was broken. This was the first time in 50 years--a half a century--since the Greek Broadcasting Corporation was formed. This is of great significance. Traditionally, ERT was always under the control of the government. And, the people, they didn't believe the news on the State radio. With the new stations, the people were very enthusiastic that they had the opportunity to hear the news--all of the news--without the governmental propaganda. . . . The people now have more of a spirit of criticism, let's say, of comparison. We now have more sources of information.

The new stations have forced ERT to change, according to Tzannetakos:

Also, the State radio has changed. They became live, at least one part of their program became live. They are trying to imitate us, because they don't feel free. The persons who are working there--they don't feel free--whereas, here, they feel free. And, by feeling free, we are offering our best effort; that is an explanation of our success. We don't suppress our persons here. We give them the freedom to choose the music and to say what they want. There is no censorship; everybody with his responsibility tries to be objective. In the State radio, this doesn't happen. They are under control. It's a tradition (Tzannetakos, July 28, 1988).

Tzannetakos' understanding of the limited feeling of freedom of ERT employees can be considered with the findings of Hofstede (1980), who researched "power distance" in the Hermes multinational corporation of 40 countries. Questions dealt with perceptions of the superior's style of decision-making and of

colleagues' fear to disagree with superiors. Country organization in Hermes employed almost exclusively nationals of the country; this applied all the way through the level of country general managers with few exceptions. In terms of the "power distance index," Greece emerged as the "most afraid" country (Hofstede, 1980, pp. 92-136). If ERT employees fear to disagree with their superiors, this perhaps would manifest itself in a feeling of limited freedom.

According to George Lamprinakos, General Manager of Channel One, Piraeus Municipal Radio Station, the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations has created a new reality of access to information:

It means that the people, at any time, will hear another voice. From the State, there is only the voice of the government. Now, the people can hear more opinions and more issues (July 13, 1988).

Fotis Manousis, General Manager of Thessaloniki Municipal Radio 100/101 FM, and General Secretariat of the Municipality of Thessaloniki, believes the new stations have created a polyphony of voices, which serves to bring the Greek people closer to the truth:

It means another voice. It is the voice which is not controlled at all by any other political standards, if you like. To be quite exact, it is the voice of truth. For example, yesterday, we were the first radio station to actually report that our Prime Minister had gone overseas to have surgery for health reasons. The State radio had not yet reported this (Manousis, August 1988).

The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of  
Private and Municipal Radio Stations as  
Articulated by Editors, Publishers,  
Jouranalists and Intellectuals

According to Basil Coronakis, editor and publisher of Greece's Weekly, the means for expressing freedom of opinion has arrived to Greece, but it has not been realized. Still, Coronakis expressed that, in fact, the news is more objective as a result of the new stations:

I don't think that private radio brought any change to Greek society. Probably the youth now are more happy and satisfied with Radio Evert and Radio Adrianopoulos, but I don't think that municipal and private radio brought any major change. We have some news, some objective news, but I don't see any major change. Of course, it brought about a change in mentality as far as freedom is concerned. Now we feel a little bit more free. Which is not true. We are not free. . . . It is a fictitious idea of freedom, you see. They feel to be free, but in reality they are not. In Greece, there is an ideological centralization because of many historical events. There is an opinion monopoly; this is because of the polarized political situation and the recent history of Greece. There is not yet freedom of opinion; although the means for expressing it is there, it hasn't come yet.

During the interview with Basil Coroniakis, an elected member of the 1988 Parliament representing the Democratic Renewal Party, Stratis Stratigis joined the conversation. Stratigis spoke of the "opinion monopoly" in Greece and its relationship to the new stations as well as the new influence of competition:

There is only a similtude of freedom in these new municipal and private stations. Because, actually, what these stations are doing is trying to compete through very good music and very good disc jockeys. They are trying to gain a share of the advertising. Free expression comes through them, but it is occasional. It is accidental. It's an unusual day that somebody speaks freely, that you get extra, that it comes above the limits of the existing media monopoly, the opinion monopoly. Roussos Coundouros, he is

fantastic. He will tell you this, that actually there has been no progress. It's because all these stations are not based on a philosophy of providing free expressions, but they are based on a philosophy of competition. The State stations have brainwashed us to such an extent over these years that this competition is also a product of that brainwashing. It falls within it. It's inevitable (Stratigis, September 1988).

According to George Kriklanis, publisher and general director of Greece Today, the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations has created greater expression, a feeling of trust, and freedom of choice:

It means greater relaxation, greater education, even greater expression. It has not changed Greece in any really discernable way except it has made the average Greek feel that the Government really trusts him and is now allowing him more freedom to choose. As far as any discernable major impact, time will tell. Other than normal progressive social evolution, a broadening of horizons so to speak, I do not think all Greeks will suddenly stop speaking Greek or anything like that. It's a weak government that worries that if the reins of mass communication are unleashed upon its citizen they have something to worry about in the next elections. I do not think PASOK is worried about this. They enjoy the support of the people and they will even more, if they allow more public expression to increase (Kriklanis, August 1988).

Alexis Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries and former Director of Press and Information, Greek Embassy in the United States, expressed his perspective that the new stations, an example of the positive effects of privatization, have created pluralism and new access to information:

It means, first of all, better information. I think that the people will be better informed. What we have seen already is the marked improvement in the quality of the broadcasting of the State radios. What we have is really a fabulous example of how privatization helps. And in that sense, the Greek people will be getting more interesting

programs. They'll be getting better quality programs. They will be getting better information and more information--information reflecting the different political shades--you see. And, that can only be good, I think.

Phylactopoulos spoke further of the positive effects of privatization and competition:

Also, it may act, overall, to the Greek public as an indication of the fact that privatization is good for you. That privatization means competition, and competition means better service to the consumers. Let's not forget that the Greek government had a monopoly over the radio for so many years. It has always used it for its own purposes, and that was true with previous governments.

According to Phylactopoulos, the State stations will be forced, through privatization, to compete:

Also, I would imagine, that finally, the State-run stations will have to really compete. I haven't seen this become an issue yet, because you see, the private stations are better than the government stations. They get all of the advertising; they get a lot of advertising. As the quality improves, I imagine, you will see a situation where some advertising will return to State radio and thereby creating an uneven situation, a situation of inequitable treatment, which would necessitate that they'd not be given a subsidy anymore. How can you have two entities giving you service and one gets such a hefty subsidy from the government and the other one doesn't? I mean, why should they?

Phylactopoulos explained his view that only the very good radio stations will survive:

I am not suggesting that everything that is private is good; I am suggesting that when you allow privatization to happen, then, you improve the quality of the State operations, the levels of service stay high, generally. Now, as the radio privatized here, we saw a proliferation of radio stations. I am not sure that all of these stations are good and that they should stay in operation or will stay in operation. I think that very soon, only the very good ones will stay and the others will disappear for lack of funds.

According to Phylactopoulos, the development and establish-

ment of private and municipal radio stations means the emergence of a more mature and participatory voter and, possibly, an improvement of people's tastes:

I think that we will see a more mature voter emerge, somebody who decides who he is going to vote for on the basis of the issues. Not on the basis of left or right or prefabricated political positions. I also dare think that we will see an improvement of people's tastes if the changes are effective. Also, it will make Greece much more of a participatory democracy. This we have seen on the radio already. I mean, what really, is the great difference between private radio and what we used to get? It is that, first of all, it is alive and it has to compete. Therefore, it is right there at the news when it is happening. But the other thing that it is doing which is great is that it helps participation of the public. The public has discovered that there is a telephone line which can connect the man on the street with the broadcasting device and that you can get the opinion of the man on the street to bounce back to the people. And, this is a great development in this country. We never had that. The State radio was afraid of what would the person say. You see, it would upset the government if he said the wrong thing. I mean, you had to control it. Now, by and large, it has been left uncontrolled (Phylactopoulos, July 28, 1988).

As explained by Costas Cavathas, entrepreneur, editorial director and publisher of numerous magazines, including Four Wheels, Sound/HiFi, Flight, and Satellite, the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations was like a breath of fresh air, a relief from the broadcasts of the State controlled radio stations:

You should have been here, in Greece, when Athens 984 FM came on the air. We had years and years of the State monopoly and drab radio, which nobody listened to. I never listened to the radio. For 35 years, I never turned the radio on. There was no reason. They have had the same piece of music on at 8 o'clock in the morning for the last 40 years--the same useless and idiotic things--everyday. And then, 984 came to the scene; they had a very fresh approach. People were talking live on the radio. They were calling up the radio stations and they were talking about

their problems. The station went out and did reports on the scene about events that the State radio never mentioned. So, everybody began to listen to the radio again. It was radio days all over again. . . . The State radio cannot be innovative and original. The reason is very simple. You have so many civil servants there signing papers from the bureaucracy. You cannot talk, you cannot say what you feel. It's that simple (Cavathas, August 8, 1988).

According to Cavathas, something inherent within the bureaucracy of ERT S.A. was directly related to the inefficiency and inability of the journalists to perform their journalistic duties. Merton (1957) demonstrates that bureaucracy becomes inflexible because of various unanticipated consequences that derive from its structure:

Members may adhere to the rules in a ritualistic manner and elevate these above the goals they are designed to realize. This is inefficient if for any reason the rules do not establish the most efficient means; for example, if changing circumstances have made the rules out of date. Subordinates tend to follow orders even if these are misguided (Abercrombie, Hill, and Turner, 1984, p. 23).

Alexander Velios, intellectual, journalist, and former director of the Piraeus Municipal radio station, explained that although the new radio stations did not really create a new alternative model of radio, they broke the previous control of information by the State:

Literally speaking, we didn't give a new radio. In fact, we played with an improvement of the old State radio model. We didn't create a real alternative radio. What we did--what the first two municipal free radios did--was to break the monopoly, the State monopoly of news production. This is what we did. Where the State radios, the official radios had the official news giving the government view, we created radios where for the first time, you had free interviews. You had comments from all sides about political views, you had political personalities speaking freely, journalists functioning freely, as free persons. So, there was a freedom, in comparison.

According to Velios, the new stations merely infused the conception of the press into their system, and thus a real free journalism in press was unable to emerge:

But, I'm not sure that much has changed. As I told you before, with the free radios, we broke the monopoly of State production of news. But, in fact, even at this level, what we did was to put into the radio the conception of the newspaper. A big radio, like Athens' radio, let's say, put persons from five newspapers of different political colors in the station. But the conception was the same. You had journalists making political comments or presenting political news or broadcasting political interviews through their narrow party view. We don't have a real free journalism in Greece. We don't have newspapers speaking in the name of their own journalistic approach. Each newspaper, practically, with some exceptions, speaks in the name of the party of a political section.

Velios believes that the changes are an improvement although, in his opinion, the majority of the Greek audience is still unaware of the nature of an independent approach to news:

Still, we have an improvement. An audience larger than the audience of newspapers had a hint and a feeling of what a free and pluralistic mass media could be. But, still, the audience doesn't know what an independent approach of news can be. So, you have an audience, a great majority, which still is under the party views. Journalism had a chance, but it didn't take it through the free radio to create a new standard of independent journalism. It's too late. This might have been done in the beginning. Now, when you say private radio, already you have Top FM, which is the radio of Lambrakis. So you have a certain party of the press having chosen a radio. And, Antenna, with a known like Kyriakou, didn't create a new political status--it is the radio of stars. That is to say, broadcasting with famous personalities of art, music, etc. Nothing to create something--an independent voice. Channel 15, with Roussos Koundorous, is trying to create such a radio station. I am Director of News there. I have the political section of this radio. . . If everything goes well, in the middle of October there will be this new station on the air. There is the frame of freedom for a completely independent initiative. There we will see if the country has quite a few independent people, quite a lot in order to create a radio station. We will see if there is a public able to

make the distinction between a Lambrakis party press station or a Kyriakou radio station of stars and music and a station that is really free and independent. There, we will speak (Velios, August 3, 1988).

According to Terence Kwik, representative of the Athens Municipality and former ERT S.A. journalist, the establishment and development of private and municipal radio means the creation of a reality of greater access to news and information:

The biggest achievement is that the people hear the news. Everybody can express his own opinion about everything. I believe this was, really, a big service to the public.

In Kwik's opinion, ERT has not changed except in their musical programs:

Unfortunately, it hasn't changed ERT. We thought that this competition would improve the news service of the ERT radio channels. Unfortunately, what is going on in the private and municipal radio means nothing to them. They have improved, though, in the musical programs. They are more alive and more competitive now. But the news area has not improved (Kwik, July 21, 1988).

As explained by Costas Yennaris, Press Counselor for the Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus, although the establishment and development of private and municipal radio has caused confusion, it has contributed positively to the encouragement of local forums and functioned to decentralize the political structure of Greece:

The vision of a new body for a multi-lateral, multiple media has been established. This [however] has caused a confusion. Broadcasters have suddenly found a freedom that they never had before and you sometimes listen to all sorts of opinions and views on radio which create a sort of confusion. I mean you have to be really well-informed and of strong character to manage to get the best of these views and exclude the rest of the confusion that is coming about with it. But, apart from that, I think it gave the people, on a sort of local authority level, something to be proud of

and it drew their attention to the region itself. It creates the possibility of a local forum, if you like, which again brings up local problems, local debates, and local solutions, which, I think, is very beneficial for the Greek society, given that it has always been very centralized not only as a State, but also as a society. It really helps the decentralization, which is very much needed in Greece today.

Yennaris also spoke of the changes related to persons working in radio. Further, Yennaris expressed his feeling that the changes are going to be a determining factor in creating characters and individuals in the future:

I don't think that there is any change, tangible change. If there is any change, it's in the attitudes of people working in the radio as much as everybody wants to be on the radio. Everybody wants to listen to his voice on the airwaves which means that we get some really stupid people sometimes on the radio. But, I think change is inevitable. There is a lot of competition among the Greeks themselves in all fields. I can actually feel the competition between radio stations and broadcasters now. I think that this is something that can go either towards improving broadcasting or towards worsening it. It's not going to be the same. The chances are, or one hopes that, it is going to lead towards the improvement. I think it will, eventually. It's a quite interesting and fascinating subject. And, I think it is going to be a determining factor in creating characters, individuals as well as mass characters, in the next 20-30 years (Yennaris, July 20, 1988).

The Meaning of the Establishment and Development of  
Private and Municipal Radio Stations as Articulated  
by Lawyers, University Professors, and  
Spokespersons for the Church of Greece

Antonias Vgontzas, lawyer, author of the law for private and municipal radio stations, and Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Athens, described the changes as linked to an improvement in the nature of political communication; in essence, a change in the control of and access to information:

I think it has changed the political communication. The

political communication is more free. The people know that if the State radio is telling lies, they may turn the dial. And, I think this is something very good, because our State mass media system is not well famous for impartiality. That's the first thing.

According to Vgontzas, the new stations have influenced the cultural tastes of the Greek people; specifically, the attitudes of people toward others in the political spectrum. As Vgontzas explained, there has been a noticeable change in the nature of political communication interactions as well as a debasing of conservative ideology:

The second thing is that there is an influence on cultural tastes of our people. The impressions in public have been changed not by the government, but by the mayors, and especially by Evert. He has the first municipal radio station in our history, and he has been governing it in a very, very clever way. He gives the opportunity for people to express their own ideas. This has changed the whole attitude toward the whole spectrum. Let's say, the Communists are sitting quite well beside the Rightists. Before Evert's radio, the Communists or the Rightists didn't want to discuss together, and that was a reason for trivial conflicts between Evert and Mitsotakis--because the forces behind Mitsotakis are more conservative than the forces behind Evert. Although Mitsotakis comes from the central, still he is in New Democracy, at the top of a mountain of conservatives, he is a very conservative element. And Evert, though he's a Rightist, he is more progressive than Mitsotakis. Until now, the conservatives were conservative in cultural tastes. They liked other kinds of music, or et cetera. Nowadays, the conservatives accept everything, because it's antigovernment. So, there has been a debasing of the conservative ideology.

Vgontzas also spoke of a demand for new journalists and new speakers:

Another influence is that we have very many great changes in the people who are working in the mass media. I think now with so many private stations, there is a demand for new forces, new talents, new journalists, and more speakers. I don't know what is the orientation of these new forces, but we have new forces. And according to my own opinion, the

new forces are going to be liberal. Not socialist--neither socialist nor conservative--but people of their own. This is the tendency that I foresee (Vgontzas, September 5 and 9, 1988).

Professor John Metaxas, Professor of Political Science at the University of Athens and former Director of ERT, spoke of the relationship between competitiveness and pluralism as well as the influence of political parties and the press on the new radio stations:

I believe that changes will take place, although it's early now to say. Competitiveness between the private and municipal radio stations and the State radio stations is going to be very important concerning the pluralism in information. I think that this is a very important fact. I want to stress the fact, also, that a lot of the private and municipal radio stations express the interests of political parties or big editorial groups. There is not a radio station that is socially controlled. The radio stations are partisan controlled or press controlled. Actually, there is a strong conflict between the press for the control of these stations. A strong conflict. The fact that they are competitive for more pluralistic information will play a role.

In Metaxas' opinion, the potential of the private and municipal radio stations to express cultural and social concerns would be a great and positive thing for Greek society. Further, he described a new emerging style of journalists:

If the private and municipal radio stations succeed in their function of expressing cultural and social demands, it would be really great. It would be a positive thing for the Greek people to express different cultural and social interests and demands. It's very early, we cannot really say. Young journalists have really appeared through this type of radio with a new style and the will to act professionally and to be professional journalists (Metaxas, September 8, 1988).

According to Professor Vassilis Karapostolis, Professor of Social Communication and Language at the University of Athens,

the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations has created the possibility of encouraging more opportunity for discussion as well as positive interaction and exchange of an understanding of pluralism between Greece and the rest of Europe:

There are some changes. I don't know whether the establishment of these stations and changes in the most general sense are connected. I mean, regarding changes in the economic situation in Greece, we have a narrowness of the market. Chances are not so many as before, but because chances are fewer on the level of ideology or on the psychological level, there is a need for giving chances and for offering chances. I mean, the chance to talk to a station, the chance to have many channels in the TV, the chance to go more easily to Europe and to study, the chance to be financed by Europeans, or the chance to be in Europe. I mean, all these things are regarding Europe and are weighted against this economic depression more or less. There is a horizon before us; I don't know what this horizon contains, but there is something. There is pluralism and there is Europe. There are exchanges and there is a mobility. So this gloomy reality of the big city of Athens, of the economic situation, of pollution, can be released to a certain degree by these perspectives, real or not (Karapostolis, September 7, 1988).

Melina Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication at the University of Athens, explored many areas during the interview. She spoke of positive and negative changes; changes in the quality of entertainment programming, changes in the nature of journalism and the organization of stations. Professor Sarafetzinou expressed various concerns: concern regarding future control of radio stations, concern regarding a lack of attention to the needs and interests of the public in certain areas of programming, concern regarding the difficulties involved in the education of high culture to the

public, and concern regarding problems associated with the issue of invasion of foreign mass communication into the Greek culture and language.

In the area of negative changes, Sarafetzinou expressed an opinion that the new stations are qualitatively worse than the State stations in the area of greater pluralism of entertainment:

I don't think Greece has changed in any major way. I think in some ways it has changed to the worse. I believe, in the vast majority of cases, the new radio stations are qualitatively worse than what we had before. Before, the radio was extremely tightly controlled by the government, in a partisan sort of way. But, outside the news programs, I think there was more pluralism in the kind of entertainment that was being offered than in a majority of cases with the new radio stations. Now, the programs are more homogenized, in a sense. It's the same thing over and over again.

In terms of positive changes, Sarafetzinou explained that the new stations, within certain limits, offer a certain plurality of views:

But, there have been good developments, too, in terms of what news is available. In particular, I think the Athens station, 984, has offered for the first time the possibility of having, within certain limits obviously, a certain plurality of views, which was absent before. I think the new stations give the opportunity, occasionally, to be able to hear another view, another piece of information, or a news item which you wouldn't have been able to listen to or obtain under the previous situation when there was no municipal and private radio.

In Sarafetzinou's opinion, journalism has become more "efficient" with the emergence of the new stations:

There is also more efficient journalism than in the past. It is definitely more efficient than the others were. It's not just the question of government control. I think that's one aspect of it. The new stations have more latitude to broadcast views that do not toe the government policy.

According to Sarafetzinou, the new stations are organized

more efficiently due, in part, to the nature of competition:

I think that the new stations are more efficiently organized. They seem to me to be doing the work from a professional-technical point of view in a much better fashion than the State stations. There are several reasons why I think this is so. It's the more competitive system, you know, the open market, where to survive you have to compete and really prove your credentials. In the government controlled radio--these are government appointments--they have a certain kind of security. Once they get the job, they will only be dismissed because they haven't toed the government line. Their job security is not dependent on the efficiency of their work.

Sarafetzinou identified, in fact, one characteristic of the bureaucracy of ERT S.A. which may have contributed to its dysfunction. In his discussion of the nature of bureaucracies, Merton (1968) makes clear the link between Sarafetzinou's comment and bureaucratic dysfunction:

Most bureaucratic offices involve the expectation of life-long tenure, in the absence of disturbing factors which may decrease the size of the organization. Bureaucracy maximizes the vocational security. The function of security of tenure, pensions, incremental salaries and regularized procedures for promotion is to ensure the devoted performance of official duties, without regard for extraneous pressures (Merton, 1968, p. 250; and Laski, "Bureaucracy," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences).

Sarafetzinou questioned the future of the new stations in terms of control and access of information:

I think it is too early to judge the whole situation. I have a feeling that, as time goes by, there are going to be further changes. And, also, don't forget that, at the moment, 984, for example, is governed by the opposition party. I don't know what will happen when they come into government. Whether it will be as easy to allow for a plurality of views [as] when you are in the opposition. [Then] It's easy to voice criticism and to have to defend policies.

Sarafetzinou noted the fact that many of the young people appear to prefer the programs of the news stations; she also expressed her dissatisfaction with the Athens station's lack of attention in addressing the needs and interests of the public concerning the programming of classical music:

Beyond that, I think the young people find, from what I hear from my students at the university here, they find some of the programs on the new stations more to their liking. The music they can hear on these new stations is closer to their own tastes than the ones they could hear in the past. On the other hand, life is full of surprises. I was flabbergasted to read, like I think a lot of people, that 984 has only one morning session with classical music--Saturday morning. They have one hour or one and-a-half hours--I forget--where they broadcast on compact disc some very well known and very loved classical music pieces. According to a recent poll, this classical music program is number one in terms of popularity of all of the radio programs of the station. But, you see, it is indicative that they only have one period of classical music, still, even after that poll. They haven't increased their classical music program.

Sarafetzinou spoke of the problems associated with the education of high culture to the public:

Radio Three, the government station--they broadcast classical music. But, of course, there is a lot to be desired in the way their programs are presented. They are very esoteric, people go on and talk for hours in a language which I think they and some friends of theirs, hopefully, understand. They are not programs that are addressed to the mass public. They are not programs which have really tried to come to terms with the idea of how do you popularize high culture without debasing it. I think you really educate the masses without debasing your point, so to speak. I mean, so you have the two extreme masses. In one, you do away with high culture altogether and you just have the popular programs. In the other, you broadcast for the elite. And, the elite in this case boils down to 0.1% of the population--that small of a group really follows most or many of the programs of the Third Program of the State radio.

According to Sarafetzinou, the issue of the invasion of foreign mass communication has intensified with the presence of the new stations, many of which are offering a diet of foreign music and cultural news:

We are living in the era of an international mass culture for the first time where national cultures are being completely disintegrated; they are invaded by one international mass homogenized product. But, as far as Greece is concerned, I think this problem is more active now than it was a few years ago. When the present government came into power, there was a lot of rhetoric about protecting the Greek culture from the invasion of foreign products, but we haven't seen any of that happening. I'm not sure anymore what the Greek product is. I mean, it is not as if it exists and somebody has stopped its production. It has, itself, been degenerating or decaying for some time now. All of these new stations that have been established, more so than in the past with the government radio stations, are offering a diet of foreign music and news--not political news--but cultural news. I think the problem has become more intense now.

In Sarafetzinou's opinion, the State stations now are imitating the new private and municipal stations in the area of cultural entertainment:

The government stations now are following suit; they are following the private ones because they have discovered they are so popular. The government stations have to imitate, you see. Last night, for example, on the TV, it was announced that a new government controlled radio station has been established. The way it was described, it seemed to me to be a complete replica of the more recent private stations in Athens with a lot of popular music, news of popular culture, and so on.

Sarafetzinou spoke of the problem of the infusion of the English and American languages into Greek through the new radio stations:

Undoubtedly, with a few exceptions, the new radio stations have not made any efforts to overcome the problem or resolve it. I can give you an example. One day, I got into a taxi

cab and the man said to another passenger that was in there that he won't listen to the Athens 984 radio because he doesn't know any English--because he doesn't speak the language. He was joking, of course. There is so much English being used by the disc jockeys--English and American expressions.

Sarafetzinou explained the importance and meaning of language; she expressed her opinion regarding the damage that could potentially occur when a language and a culture become homogenized:

It's a question of the richness of the language. How many means of communication does it offer to express concepts, thoughts, and feelings? Language, itself, is a stimulus to develop thoughts; it's not just a means. It can act as a stimulus to make you think more, to make you feel more. I mean, when a language becomes impoverished of its tools, it means that you have become more impoverished as a culture, as a people, and as a person. It's not a question of trying to, in a chauvinistic kind of way, guard your geographical or national limits; it's your identity. I'm all for international brotherhood, but I don't think that means we should all become the same. It is something we don't want to see within a national society. You want each individual to keep his individuality in the same way, you want each culture and each nation to keep its own individuality and its own way of expressing itself. I mean, how much poorer the whole world would become if you found yourself in Athens and you couldn't tell the difference. If it looked and it felt and it tasted like any other city in the world. I think that this is an impoverishment. It's not a gain for humanity as a whole. So, having a language or a culture invaded by a product that is produced in this sort of stereotyped homogenized way by one country and then exported to all of the others and adopted as such with no adaptations at all and no assimilation into something that is already there, I think is a loss for everybody--not just for Greece--but for all cultures (Sarafetzinou, September 9, 1988).

Mr. Hatzifotis, spokesperson for the Church of Greece, expressed a certain dissatisfaction with the programming of the new radio stations. He also made clear the need for developing radio stations in areas other than the major cities

of Athens and Thessaloniki:

I think it is very soon to speak of changes. But I am not satisfied with the early stations. Most of them are making a tape or they are saying some words and playing some music. They are not good programs, most of them. Only a few are good. I think that if we can have a good radio that it will help the Greek culture and put Greece in a better position. We must take the educated people from the universities, the authors, and so on into the radio. Today, the radio is in the hands of the not so educated people. This is a big problem. Also, it's only in the small area in Athens that these new stations broadcast. But, you know, the Church of Greece is in all of Greece, and there is a problem of how to do the stations in every city. There are many difficulties. The radio is only for the big cities and, for us, this is a big problem. Because we are the Church, not just for Athens, but we are the Church for all of Greece. We hope by next winter to have a station of the Church. It will be private (Hatzifotis, July 11, 1988).

#### The Meanings Reconsidered

As stated previously, the purpose of this chapter is to articulate the meaning of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations, that is, the transition from State radio broadcasting to private and municipal radio broadcasting, as understood and explained by the interviewees. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the meaning of this change in terms of pluralism, access, and control. In order to consider the various meanings from an organized perspective, the responses were reviewed and categorized into nine distinct areas: (1) the breaking of the State monopoly of news; (2) the realization of pluralism; (3) the non-realization of pluralism; (4) changes in the State radio; (5) current and potential influences of control; (6) the emergence of a new style of journalism; (7) effects on

the Greek people; (8) an example of the positive effects of privatization; and (9) an intensification of the issue of the invasion of foreign mass communication.

These categories are defined more clearly in the summary which follows. It is important to make clear that this researcher makes no attempt to claim any expression of meaning as being the most important expression. Further, this review cites only those expressions of meanings as articulated and explained by the interviewees. Other meanings may exist.

Meaning of the Establishment and Development of Private and Municipal Radio Stations as Articulated by the Interviewees

**State Monopoly of News Production Broken**

1. It means that the State radio's concept of propaganda is over; it cannot work anymore.
2. It means that the State monopoly of news production was broken.
3. It means a significant disruption of a previous control of information.

These opinions were articulated by M. Papayiannakis, spokesperson for the Greek Left; Y. Tzannetakos, manager of the Athens Municipal radio station; and A. Velios, intellectual, journalist, and former director of the Piraeus Municipal radio station.

**Realization of Pluralism**

1. It means greater pluralism in terms of access of information.
2. It means more discussion of political and societal problems.
3. It means that discussion can now be heard from all elements of the political spectrum. It means that people can now hear debates involving representatives from all parties.

4. It means that people now can listen to more opinions, in particular, opinions other than those voiced by the government from the Stat radio stations.
5. It means that more opinions are expressed; people can call and talk on the radio.
6. It means freedom of choice.
7. It means that the people have access to more objective news programs.
8. It means a new reality of access to information previously unbeknowst to the Greek people has been created.
9. It means that the new polyphony of voices functions to bring the Greek people closer to the truth.
10. It means that the possibility of a local forum for discussion of local problems, local debates, and local solutions has been created. It means a step toward decentralization of the Greek political structure.
11. It means an improvement in the nature of political communication; there has been a noticeable change in the nature of political communication interactions as well as a debasing of conservative ideology.
12. It means that the possibility has been created for encouraging more opportunity for discussion as well as positive interaction and exchange of an understanding of pluralism between Greece and the rest of Europe.
13. It means more options for choices in the realm of music.

Numerous interviewees expressed such opinions including: N. Athannaskis, spokesperson for PASOK; A. Christodoulides, Director of the Special Mass Media Services and former President and Managing Director of ERT S.A.; T. Kassimis, spokesperson for New Democracy; C. Pappas, spokesperson for the Communist Party; M. Papayiannakis, spokesperson for the Greek Left; V. Manginas, spokesperson for Democratic Renewal; P. Kapsis, editor in chief for Top FM private radio; J. Moschovitis, General Director for Antenna private radio; Y. Tzannetakos, manager of the Athens Municipal radio station; G. Lamprinakos, general manager of the Piraeus Municipal radio station; F. Manousis, general manager of the Thessaloniki Municipal radio station; G. Kriklanis, editor

and publisher, Greece Today; A. Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries; C. Cavathas, entrepreneur, editor, and publisher of numerous magazines; T. Kwik, representative for the Municipality of Athens, and former ERT S.A. journalist; C. Yennaris, press counselor for the Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus; A. Vgontzas, lawyer, author of the Law for private and municipal radio, and Assistant Professor of Law at the University of Athens; V. Karapostolis, Professor of Social Communication and Language, University of Athens; and M. Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication at the University of Athens.

### **Pluralism Not Realized**

1. It means nothing; pluralism, in terms of good and impartial information, still has not been realized.
2. It means nothing; the means for expressing freedom of opinion has arrived to Greece, but it has not yet been realized.
3. It means little; only a similtude of freedom exists in the new stations. Free expression of views is occasional and accidental.
4. It means that only an improvement of the State model was created; a real alternative radio was not created.
5. It means nothing; the new stations merely infused the conception of the press into their system; a real free journalism in press was unable to emerge. The majority of the Greek audience are still unaware of the nature of an independent approach to the news.
6. It means that a problem of access still exists; some public interest groups have been unable to obtain a license to broadcast. Most of the licenses went to municipalities and publishing companies.

Such opinions were articulated by various interviewees including the following persons: N. Athannasakis, PASOK;  
A. Christodoulides, Director of the Special Mass Media Services

and former President and Managing Director of ERT S.A.; C. Pappas, the Communist Party; B. Cornakis, editor and publisher; S. Stratigis, elected member of the 1988 Parliament representing Democratic Renewal; and A. Velios, intellectual, journalist, and former director of Piraeus Municipal radio.

### **Changes in the State Radio**

1. It means the State radio has been forced to compete and improve; they are trying to copy the private stations.
2. It means nothing in terms of the State news service; the State news hasn't changed; only the musical programs have changed.

Views regarding changes in the State radio were articulated by the following interviewees: P. Kapsis, Top FM private radio; Y. Tzannetakos, Athens Municipal radio; A. Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries; T. Kwik, representative of the Municipality of Athens and former ERT S.A. journalist; and M. Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communications, University of Athens.

### **Influences of Control**

1. It means the Church of Greece may have some kind of influence, at least with the Thessaloniki radio station.
2. It means the private and municipal radio stations express the interests of political parties or big editorial groups.
3. It means that commercial interests have introduced new problems of control.
4. It means that audience listenership has emerged as a new orientation for radio stations.

The following interviewees expressed statements concerning influences of control: C. Pappas, Communist Party;

M. Papayiannakis, Greek Left; P. Kapsis, Top FM private radio; J. Metaxas, Professor of Political Science, University of Athens, and former Director of ERT; and M. Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communications, University of Athens.

### **New Style of Journalism**

1. It means the emergence of a new kind of journalist and a new kind of speaker.
2. It means the emergence of a more efficient style of journalism.

The following interviewees expressed statements concerning the emergence of a new style of journalism: A. Vgontzas, lawyer and author of the law for private and municipal radio, and Assistant Professor of Law, University of Athens; J. Metaxas, Professor of Political Science, University of Athens, and former Director of ERT; and M. Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communications, University of Athens.

### **Effect on the Greek People**

1. It means a positive influence on future generations to think differently and to be informed differently.
2. It means a stimulus has been created for a new spirit of criticism and of comparison, in the Greek people.
3. It means the youth now are more happy and satisfied, at least, with the Athens station and the Piraeus station.
4. It means a change in the mentality of the people as far as freedom is concerned.
5. It means a sense of trust has been created.
6. It means the emergence of a more mature and participatory voter and possibly an improvement of people's tastes.
7. It means a new determining factor in creating characters and individuals for the future.

Numerous interviewees suggested that the changes would have an effect on the Greek people: J. Moschovitis, General Director, Antenna; B. Coronakis, editor and publisher; G. Kriklanis, editor and publisher; A. Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries; C. Yennaris, press counselor for the Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus; and M. Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication, University of Athens.

#### **An Example of the Positive Effects of Privatization**

1. It means that the Greek people now have an excellent example of the positive effects of privatization and competition.

Only one interviewee expressed this viewpoint: A. Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries.

#### **The Issue of the Invasion of Foreign Mass Communication has Intensified**

1. It means that the issue of foreign mass communication has intensified. Many of the new radio stations program foreign songs and cultural news (not political news).
2. It means that the Greek language may be in danger of becoming homogenized. Many of the disk jockeys in the new radio stations speak in English or in the American language. There is a concern regarding the impoverishment of the Greek language.

Several interviewees expressed a concern related to the issue of foreign mass communication. Only the statements of Melina Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication, are cited in this chapter. In Chapter Six, however, the statements of the following other interviewees

are documented: J. Metaxas, Professor of Political Science, University of Athens and former Director of ERT; and M. Papayiannakis, spokesperson for the Greek Left.

### Summary

The purpose of this chapter is to articulate the meaning of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations; that is, the transition from State radio broadcasting to private and municipal radio broadcasting, as understood and explained by the interviewees. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the meaning of this change in terms of pluralism, access, and control. In summary, a review of the data clearly indicates that "pluralism" has and has not been realized in Greece as a result of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations.

This mixed evaluation of the meaning of the changes in terms of pluralism suggests that a fair and possibly accurate assessment of the issue has been measured. An evaluation indicating agreement by all of the respondents that pluralism, in fact, had been realized, would be questionable. The ideal of pluralism is just that--an ideal--and it exists nowhere in its "purist" form. Further, one must consider the fact that the changes in Greek radio broadcasting are a truly recent occurrence and also that Greece has a reputation and obvious history of instability in political, economic, and social realms. To claim that pluralism has been realized in Greek society would be a

quantum leap for a country that has endured and progressed through oppressive and brutal dictatorships as well as economic hardships. Greece exists today as a country struggling to find and maintain its identity in the midst of turbulent social and political change.

Still, as it is, perhaps possible to capture the essence of expression of a group of people, in this case, interviewees representing various positions of power within Greek society, it is worthwhile to consider such expressions of meaning. Review of the meaning of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations as articulated by the interviewees clearly indicates that, at least, several expressions of meaning seem to be a reflection of the reality.

According to many, the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations broke the State monopoly of news production. The State's concept of propaganda was revealed and was rendered powerless. As one interviewee expressed, "The free radio was a fruit the people hadn't tasted before. They tasted it, they liked it, they enjoyed it, and they are ready to fight for it. The freedom is a big narcotic, yes." To claim, however, that State control is over and finished is dangerous, especially concerning Greece. It is also worthwhile to note that the State stations appear to be changing as a result of the success of the new stations. The State stations were described as trying to imitate or copy the new stations. However, the changes, according to reports, were not occurring in the area of

news production, but rather in the area of music programming.

Pluralism, or at least some form of pluralism, appears to have emerged. However, as indicated by numerous interviewees, there still is room for improvement. On the positive side, it appears that this "pluralism" in Greece is defined in terms of greater access to information, more discussion of political and societal problems, more representative political debates, a greater freedom of choice, more objectivity in the news, improvement in the nature of political communication interactions, more choices in the realm of music, and the creation of a forum for discussion of local problems and local solutions; in essence, a movement towards decentralization of the Greek political structure.

On the negative side, several problems were made clear. A problem of access still appears to exist; some public interest groups apparently have been unable to obtain a license for broadcast. Most of the licenses and frequencies were allocated to municipalities, publishing companies, and well-financed investors. In addition, in the opinion of some, it appears that a real alternative radio was not created; the new stations merely infused the conception of the press into their system. As one interviewee expressed, "a real free journalism in press was unable to emerge." Such a perspective is easy to understand if one considers the fact that a vast majority of the journalists at the new radio stations transferred either from the newspapers or the State broadcasting system. There are no programs or schools

for broadcast journalism in Greece; there was no previous model of free radio broadcasting from which to learn journalism. Thus, as some interviewees expressed, pluralism, in terms of good and impartial information, still has not been realized; the means for the expression of freedom of opinion has arrived to Greece, but it too has not been realized.

And finally, it should be noted that any pluralism that has emerged exists mainly in the big cities such as Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloiniki. The free radio movement has not yet spread to the smaller cities throughout the Greek countryside.

Although some interviewees expressed an awareness of problems with the quality and orientation of journalism, others noted that a new style of journalism appears to be emerging in Greece. A new kind of journalist, a new kind of speaker, and a more efficient journalism may be arising. This is not a far-fetched idea; it seems natural that a new style of journalism and a new kind of journalist should evolve in time with the new stations.

The establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations, according to at least one interviewee, has provided an excellent example of the positive effects of privatization for the people of Greece. According to some, this example may help others to understand the nature of competition and survival, and thus stimulate entrepreneurial initiatives in other areas. The political and economic structure of Greece has operated for years within the framework of a strongly centralized

bureaucracy in which competition was not the energizing force. Examples of privatization and competition within the country have been few.

Clearly, the changes, according to many, will influence and affect the people of Greece in many ways. According to some, it will positively influence future generations to think differently and to be informed differently. According to others, it may function as a determining factor in creating characters and individuals for the future. Still others say that it may mean the emergence of a more mature and participatory voter. Certainly, the people feel more free now and have begun to develop a sense of trust. When one considers the significant impact of the junta's censorship on Greek society, this is, indeed, a positive step.

Some interviewees expressed concerns regarding influences that could or may currently control some of the new radio stations. Such controls include the possible influence of the Greek Church on the Thessaloniki municipal radio station, the influence of political parties and big editorial groups on some of the new radio stations, the new orientation of audience listenership, the interests of commercial inventors, and the influence of foreign mass communication and other languages on the Greek culture. All of these influences are potentially powerful; Greece's challenge will be to create a strong awareness of the significance and meaning of these influences and, then, learn to take control and influence the direction of its own future.

## REFERENCES

- Abercrombie, N., Hill, S., and Turner, B. (1984). Dictionary of sociology. (2nd ed.), London, England: Penguin.
- Athanassakis, N., Journalist and Director of the Press Office of the Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK). Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August 3, 1988.
- Browne, D. (1988). What's local about local radio? In RTV, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. pp. 122-137.
- Cavathas, C., Editorial Director and Publisher, Four Wheels, Sound/HiFi, Flight, and Satellite. Member, Channel 15. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August 8, 1988.
- Christodoulides, A., Director of the Special Mass Media Services and former President and Managing Director of ERT S.A. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 8, 1988.
- Clogg, R. (1972). Inside the Colonels' Greece. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc. (Note: This book was actually written by 'Athenian' and translated by Richard Clogg).
- Coronakis, B., Editor and Publisher of Greece's Weekly. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September, 1988.
- Hatzifotis. Spokesperson, Church of Greece. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 11, 1988.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values. Sage: Beverly Hills.
- Kapsis, P., Editor in Chief, Top FM Radio. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 27, 1988.
- Karapostolis, V., Professor of Social Communication and Language, University of Athens. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 7, 1988.
- Kassimis, T., Spokesperson for the New Democracy Party. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August 1, 1988.
- Kriklanis, G., Publisher and General Director, Greece Today. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August, 1988.
- Kwik, T., Representative, Athens Municipality. Former ERT S.A. Journalist. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 21, 1988.

- Lamprinakos, G., General Manager, Channel One Piraeus Municipal Radio. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 13, 1988.
- Laski. Bureaucracy. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. In Merton, R. (1968). Social theory and social structure. Free Press: New York.
- Manginas, V., Lawyer and Spokesperson for the Democratic Renewal Party. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 7, 1988.
- Manousis, F., General Manager, Thessaloniki Municipal Radio 100/101FM and General Secretariat of the Municipality of Thessaloniki. Personal Interview. Thessaloniki, Greece, August, 1988.
- Merton, R. (1968). Social theory and social structure. Free Press: New York.
- Metaxas, J., Professor of Political Science, University of Athens. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 8, 1988.
- Moschovitis, J., General Director, Antenna 97.1 FM Radio. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 28, 1988.
- Papayiannakis, M., Spokesperson for the Greek Left. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 6, 1988.
- Pappas, C., Spokesperson for the Communist Party (KKE) and Member of the Committee for Television and Radio of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September, 1988.
- Phylactopoulos, A., Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries and former Director of Press and Information, Greek Embassy, United States. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 28, 1988.
- Roumeliotis, A. (1988, May 13). Anridrasis ya anisi katanomi adion [Reactions to unequal distribution of licenses] Eleftherotypia, p. 27.
- Sarafetzinou, Melina, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication. University of Athens. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 9, 1988.
- Shinn (1986). Greece: A Country Study (Foreign Area Studies, 3rd ed.) Government Printing Office: American University.

Stratigis, S. Elected Member of the 1988 Greek Parliament, Democratic Renewal Party. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 1988.

Tzannetakos, Y., Manager, Athens 984 FM Municipal Radio. Member, Channel 15. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 28, 1988.

Velios, A., Intellectual, Journalist, and former Director, Channel One Piraeus Municipal Radio. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August 3, 1988.

Vgontzas, A., Lawyer and author of the law for the private and municipal radio stations. Assistant Professor of Law, University of Athens. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 5 and 9, 1988.

Yennaris, C., Press Counselor, Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 20, 1988.

CHAPTER SIX  
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The primary objective of this thesis was the examination of the legally recognized private and municipal radio stations which developed in Greece between 1987 and 1989. Specifically, the examination focused on the historical development, operation, structure, and control of these stations. In addition, this thesis examined the forces operative in the establishment of the private and municipal radio stations, as well as the meaning of the transition from State broadcasting to private and municipal broadcasting in terms of social change, cultural implications, and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control. Face-to-face interviews, conducted between June 15 and September 15, 1988, served as the primary source of data and functioned as the major research tool. Interview data were supplemented, enhanced and supported with secondary sources including observations, government documents, photographs, books, and articles from newspapers, magazines and journals.

This chapter includes a brief summary of the findings followed by a discussion of how these relate to the research questions posed by this researcher, and the theoretical and methodological perspectives employed in this study include pluralist theory and theories of bureaucratic dysfunction. Theories of social change, although not the primary theoretical

focus of this study, also were of interest to this researcher. The methodological design of this study, qualitative in nature, is based on the metatheoretical assumptions of the interpretative paradigm. The primary concern of this researcher was to understand and convey the subjective experience of the interviewees. This is followed by a discussion of the results and limitations of the study and suggestions for further research.

#### Summary of Data

Chapter two reviewed the history of Greek broadcasting from 1920-1987, focusing mainly on the developments and changes in the State broadcasting system. The review attempted to provide understanding of the developments in Greek broadcasting within the context of modern Greek history.

Examination of the history of modern Greece reveals a country wracked by an unusually troubled history of constantly changing and unstable governments, a catastrophic civil war, and a chronic history of military intervention in its political process. If one reviews the 12-year period of Greek history between 1955 and 1967, for example, one can note the fact that Greece was governed by 11 different Prime Ministers (Rousseas, 1967, p. 2). Furthermore, Greece's heritage of Orthodox Christianity, as well as several centuries of Ottoman Turkish rule, constitute additional profound influences on the development of Greek history and society. In essence, Greece's

troubled history has distorted its political, economic, and social development in numerous and significant ways, including its development of the medium and institution of radio broadcasting.

The overall pattern of Greek broadcasting from its creation in the early 1920s to the mid-1980s is one of varying degrees of governmental usage of the medium, but also one of persistent government control. Immediately following the first experimental radio broadcasts at the University of Athens, the Ministry of the Navy declared regulatory jurisdiction over radio communications. All transmission and receiving installations were required to be authorized by the Ministry, and owners of radio sets were ordered to pay a license fee upon purchase of each set. In time and between numerous dictatorships, the control of radio was transferred to the following governmental agencies: (1) Radio Electric Service of the Ministry of Posts, Telegraph, and Telephone (1926-1938); (2) the Radio Broadcasting Service under the Ministry of Press and Tourism (1938-1941); (3) the Hellenic Broadcasting Society, which was controlled by the German forces during their occupation of Greece; during this time, radio became an instrument for Nazi propaganda (1941-1944); (4) the Hellenic National Broadcasting Institute (1944-1967); (5) the Colonels' Regime, a six-year period of extreme censorship and control (1967-1973); (6) the Hellenic Radio Television, ERT (1975-1987); (7) Hellenic Radio Television, ERT S.A. (1987 to

present). During the time between 1920-1987, private radio was never considered a legally recognized institution, although such stations began to emerge in the early 1950s.

In October 1987, a bill, which was enacted into Law 1730, provided for the establishment of a single broadcasting agency, ERT S.A. Thus, one company, Greek Radio-Television Incorporated, was given complete control of broadcasting in Greece. The new company, which still exists today, is a public, state-owned, non-profit corporation. Its purpose is to provide "information, education, and entertainment to the Greek people." ERT S.A. was given exclusive rights to "the transmission of any kind of sound or picture anywhere in the country through radio or television" intended for reception either through the air, cable or any other form" (Article 2, Law 1730/1987). Research from 1985 reveals that ERT operated 22 AM stations and 17 FM stations throughout Greece, although radio was highly centralized in Athens (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 248).

Law 1730 also gave ERT S.A. the authority to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio stations to local government organizations, to persons of Greek nationality, and legal entities controlled by Greek citizens. The law declared that details on private and municipal radio stations were to come later in a Proedrika Diatagmata (Presidential Decree) (Law 1730/1987).

It should also be noted that Law 1730 was enacted during

the socialist government (PASOK) of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, who had guaranteed and promised the following in his party platform: (1) freedom of opinion and expression; (2) the direct and active participation of all citizens in the political life of the country with genuine democratic procedures; (3) administrative decentralization with the strengthening of municipal power; and (4) the participation of all people in the cultural development of Greece (Declaration of the Fundamental Principles and Aims of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, 1974; Spourdalakis, 1988). The issue of broadcast communications, however, was not addressed specifically in the Declaration of the Principles and Aims of PASOK.

Chapter three focused on Greek broadcasting in transition; specifically, a review of the early "non-recognized" private radio stations that appeared in Greece between 1950-1969, discussion of clandestine or pirate radio stations, and an examination of the legally recognized private and municipal radio stations which developed between 1987 and 1989. The Law and Presidential Decree which set the parameters for the establishment of these stations was reviewed as well. The review attempted to provide understanding of the developments in Greek broadcasting within the context of modern Greek political history.

Private radio stations began to appear in Greece in the early 1950s; research conducted in 1969 revealed the existence

of as many as 100 private radio stations operated by municipalities, local trade unions, and other private groups. These stations, considered unauthorized and illegal operations, were often located in remote, mountainous regions far removed from the surveillance of the government in Athens (Emery, 1969, p. 286).

A movement, composed of intellectuals and pirate radio activists from all sides of the political spectrum, began to emerge as early as 1983, seriously demanding the right to operate radio stations. This movement included among others the pirate radio broadcasts of composer Manos Hadizakis; "Anti-logos", the station organized by the publisher, journalists, and intellectuals involved with the Leftist and progressive magazine, Anti; and "Channel 15", named after Article 15 of the Constitution of 1975, which states that "radio shall be under the immediate control of the State (Article 15, Constitution, 1975). Channel 15, composed of intellectuals and journalists, was organized by Russos Coundouros, who is considered by many as the "father of free radio."

By 1986, the press began to feature a great amount of information and created enormous publicity concerning the free-radio movement. The press, in essence, heightened the public's awareness of the movement and stimulated further action. Then, when the social environment appeared to be sufficiently prepared for further developments, George

of as many as 100 private radio stations operated by municipalities, local trade unions, and other private groups. These stations, considered unauthorized and illegal operations, were often located in remote, mountainous regions far removed from the surveillance of the government in Athens (Emery, 1969, p. 286).

A movement, composed of intellectuals and pirate radio activists from all sides of the political spectrum, began to emerge as early as 1983, seriously demanding the right to operate radio stations. This movement included among others the pirate radio broadcasts of composer Manos Hadizakis; "Anti-logos", the station organized by the publisher, journalists, and intellectuals involved with the Leftist and progressive magazine, Anti; and "Channel 15", named after Article 15 of the Constitution of 1975, which states that "radio shall be under the immediate control of the State (Article 15, Constitution, 1975). Channel 15, composed of intellectuals and journalists, was organized by Russos Coundouros, who is considered by many as the "father of free radio."

By 1986, the press began to feature a great amount of information and created enormous publicity concerning the free-radio movement. The press, in essence, heightened the public's awareness of the movement and stimulated further action. Then, when the social environment appeared to be sufficiently prepared for further developments, George

Papandreou, Education Minister and son of the Prime Minister, spoke out in favor of the free-radio movement. George Papandreou's actions may have been influential in persuading his father, Andreas, to speak publicly on the issue as well. Less than one month after his son's announcement, Andreas Papandreou officially proclaimed his intentions in December, 1986, to formulate a comprehensive policy on the establishment of free radio broadcasts.

By the end of May, 1987, however, Greek broadcasting still was controlled and operated under the direct supervision of the State. Further, the Parliament had not created its comprehensive policy for the establishment of free radio broadcasts. The free-radio movement by now had developed a substantial following by the public. At this time, Miltiades Evert, the Mayor of Athens and a member of the opposition party, New Democracy, decided to force the government, in essence, to allow the establishment of a municipal radio station for Athens. Athens 984 FM thus began broadcasting in May 1987 in the heart of Athens; the station was broadcasting illegally, yet the government decided not to stop them.

The sequence of events following the establishment of the Athens Municipal Radio station reveals the emergence of one private or municipal radio station after another. Some of the most prominent new radio stations included Top FM 924 private radio, owned by Christos Lambrakis, the owner of a chain of newspapers; Piraeus Channel One Municipal Radio, organized by

the Mayor of Piraeus, Andreas Andrianopoulos, a member of the New Democracy party; Thessaloniki Municipal Radio, organized by the Mayor of Thessaloniki; Sotiris Kouvelas, a member of the New Democracy party; and Antenna 97.1 FM Radio, a private station owned by Minos Kyriakou, a Greek shipowner.

The establishment of the Thessaloniki Municipal Radio station in September 1987 created tremendous controversy with the government in Athens. Although many private and municipal radio stations had begun broadcasting, the government still had not created its comprehensive policy for the establishment of free-radio broadcasts. It was not until October 1987 that broadcast Law 1730 was enacted, which gave ERT S.A. the authority to grant establishment and operation rights for local radio stations to local government organizations. The law, which created a commission to supervise license proceedings, declared that details on private radio were to come later in a Presidential Decree. The Decree was not published until January, 1988. Thus, perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate its power and authority, in December 1987, troops were sent from Athens by the government to demolish the Thessaloniki municipal radio station on the grounds that the station was erected on lands that were unlicensed for construction. Needless to say, the act by the government created great discussion in Greece.

One month later, in January 1988, the Proedrika Diatagmata [Presidential Decree] was published in the Government Gazette. The Decree set the parameters for the establishment of radio

stations. Neither the Decree nor the commission described in detail however, the criteria for allocating licenses. Most of the licenses went to municipalities, publishing companies, and investors with strong financial backing. According to some, many of the original radio amateurs and pirates whom free-radio was intended to serve were not served.

Chapter three also included descriptions of the structure, operation and programming content of the various private and municipal radio stations. In general, the stations programmed news and music. Spokespersons for all of the stations described the news programming of their stations as being quite different from the approach of the State stations. According to the descriptions, the stations featured a more pluralistic approach regarding the content of the news; more information was broadcast in terms of differing perspectives and types of information. Further, according to the descriptions, the stations featured more multi-party discussions as well as a multiplicity of opinions. Another feature of many of the new stations was the programming of foreign music and cultural news. This kind of programming, in terms of news and foreign music, was often described as an approach different from that of the State stations.

Significant changes began to occur within the Greek political arena in 1989. The General elections in Greece were scheduled for June 1989, and the intensity of political discussions heightened. The medium of radio served as a

popular and important vehicle for such discussions as well as for the promotion and publicity of the parties. It is important to make clear the political affiliations associated with the municipal radio stations. The New Democracy Party controlled the three major municipal radio stations in Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki.

By June 1989, the Greek political arena had experienced a major shift in power and control. Voter confidence in the PASOK party had diminished with continuing reports of an alleged financial scandal involving Andreas Papandreou. The June General elections resulted in a defeat for Andreas Papandreou; no party, however, was able to win a majority. A coalition government, based on an alliance between the Communists and the New Democracy party, was formed.

By July 1989 in Athens, there were 28 fully licensed, operating stations and approximately 60 other applicants waiting to be granted one of the 19 or so remaining frequencies. In Thessaloniki, there were 29 licensed radio stations and possibly up to 60 pirate and unlicensed stations sharing the airways (Roumeliotis, 1989, July 23). In all, over 200 licenses were approved for the entire country, although the exact number of stations operating was not known, because some stations were operating without a license while others with a license were not yet on the air (Zarharopoulos, 1989, p. 13).

The political situation in Greece remained confused after the next General election which occurred in November 1989.

Greek voters failed for the second time in five months to choose a new government. An interim all-party coalition government thus was formed until the next General elections, which were scheduled for April 1990.

Chapter four examined the forces, both external and internal, operative in the transition from State controlled radio broadcasting in Greece to legally recognized private and municipal radio broadcasting. Responses of the interviewees concerning forces were reviewed and categorized into five distinct areas. Categorization of the forces was enhanced with identification of the interviewees who expressed the existence of each force. Thus, one is provided with some understanding of clusters of opinion related to each force. The five distinct areas of forces included: (1) a dissatisfaction with the State media in terms of a problem of objectivity of news, and thus a desire for more pluralistic information; (2) the interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media; (3) various politically relative motives, i.e. the desire by the opposition party, New Democracy, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions; fulfillment of PASOK's party platform; George Papandreou's personal campaign to create his own political base; and the desire by persons of Leftist orientation (not Communist) to create free radio for local powers; (4) various economic reasons, i.e. private or

commercial initiatives; Greece's role in the European economic community; and the interests of editors and big press bosses to have private radio as a first step toward private television; and (5) forces originating from the idea that it was time for Greece to modernize, i.e. developments in the privatization of broadcasting throughout Europe.

This researcher made no attempt to claim any force as being the most important force; however, it was suggested that certain forces appeared to be stronger than others, in the opinion of this researcher. Based on the experiences of this researcher in gathering and analyzing all of the data for this study, the following three forces were suggested as the most important: (1) forces concerned with the public's dissatisfaction with the State media and thus a desire for more pluralistic information; (2) forces associated with the interests of various public interest groups; and (3) the various politically related motives. In the opinion of this researcher, forces concerned with the public's dissatisfaction with the State media and their resulting desire for more pluralistic information as well as forces associated with the activities of various public interest groups functioned as the source--the origin--of the movement to establish and develop private and municipal radio in Greece.

Although all of the forces are interrelated, some occurred earlier than others in the history of the movement. In the opinion of this researcher, forces that originated from the

realm of the political surfaced later rather than earlier. The public's dissatisfaction with the State media and the resulting desire for more pluralistic information surfaced as the theme expressed most consistently and most strongly from the interviewees. Examination of the history of the movement revealed that this dissatisfaction was then channeled through the active interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media. The persistent illegal activities of the various public interest groups, who were strongly committed to creating changes in the arena of broadcast communications, appears to have heightened awareness of the movement for free radio in Greece. Public discussion increased and was accompanied by greater coverage in the press of the free radio movement. It appears, in fact, that the persistent illegal activities of the various public interest groups created the appropriate social environment for the ensuing discussion and movement of the issue towards realization by politically related forces and motivations. The groundwork--the dirty work--was accomplished by the public interest groups and then, when the time appeared to be socially correct, the politicians joined the movement.

However, this is not to suggest that the various politically related motives were not significant to the movement. The realm of the political played an extremely powerful and effective role in the movement to establish and

develop private and municipal radio stations in Greece. George Papandreou's decision to speak out and publicly support the free radio movement was a vital step in the process. As son of the Prime Minister, George Papandreou was influential in persuading other members of the Greek Parliament as well as his father to the need and benefits of free radio. Likewise, the strong stance taken by the New Democracy Mayors, in particular, the Mayor of Athens, Miltiades Evert, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions was, perhaps, the turning point in the movement. When Mayor Evert decided to commence broadcasting from his own municipal station in Athens--regardless of the law--the movement was in full force. Everything following the broadcast from Mayor Evert's station was quite unstoppable. One station after another appeared; the government, that is, PASOK, was forced to comply.

This researcher made clear throughout this study that this review cited only those forces identified by the interviewees; other forces, indeed, may have existed. However, considering the fact that many of the same forces were identified by numerous interviewees, it appears that at least some, if not most, of the major forces which impinged upon the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece were pinpointed in this study.

The purpose of chapter five was to articulate the meaning of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations; that is, the transition from State radio

broadcasting to private and municipal radio broadcasting, as understood and explained by the interviewees. Specifically, this chapter focused on the meaning of this change in terms of cultural implications and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control.

Pluralism, as considered in this study, referred to a condition present when a broadcast system has competing components encouraged by differing motivations. As indicated in Chapter Four, the various interviewees identified numerous differing motivations or forces related to the establishment of private and municipal radio in Greece including: (1) a dissatisfaction with the State media in terms of a problem of objectivity of news, and thus a desire for a more pluralistic set of sources of information; (2) the interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media; (3) various politically related motives, i.e. the desire by the opposition party, New Democracy, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions; fulfillment of PASOK's party platform; George Papandreou's personal campaign to create his own political base; and the desire by persons of Leftist orientation (not Communist), to create free radio for local powers; (4) various economic reasons, i.e. private or commercial initiatives; Greece's role in the European Economic Community; and the interest of editors and big press bosses to

have private radio as a first step toward private television; and (5) forces originating from the idea that it was time for Greece to modernize, i.e. developments already underway in the privatization of broadcasting throughout Europe. All of these forces, in essence, can be considered as vital components in the attempt to create a condition of a pluralistic broadcast system.

Access, as considered in this study, referred to both the degree of accessibility to radio station facilities by the public for purposes of broadcasting and the public's ability to access diverse sources of information. Control, as understood in this study, referred to any religious, economic, political, or social influence that may have affected access or pluralism as defined in this study.

Interviewee responses concerning the meaning of the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in terms of cultural implications and the concepts of pluralism, access, and control were reviewed and categorized into nine distinct areas. As in Chapter Four, categorization of interviewee responses concerning meaning were enhanced with identification of the interviewees who expressed particular opinions. Thus, one is provided with some understanding of clusters of opinion related to each response area. The nine areas included: (1) the breaking of the State monopoly of news; (2) the realization of pluralism; (3) the nonrealization of pluralism; (4) changes in the State radio; (5) current and potential influences of control; (6) an emergence of a new style of journalism; (7)

effects on the Greek people; (8) the positive effects of privatization; and (9) an intensification of the issue of the invasion of foreign mass communication. Although this study focused on the concepts of pluralism, access, and control, it is clear that not only were these issues addressed, but others were addressed as well.

A review of the data clearly indicated that pluralism was realized to a certain extent according to some interviewees as a result of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations. However, according to the responses of other interviewees, the changes did not result in the realization of pluralism. This mixed evaluation of the meaning of the changes in terms of pluralism suggests that a fair and possibly accurate assessment of the issue was measured.

According to many interviewees, pluralism, or at least some form of pluralism, appears to have emerged in Greece as a result of the changes. It appears that this "pluralism" in Greece is defined in terms of greater access to information, more discussion of political and societal problems, more representative political debates, a greater freedom of choice, more objectivity in the news, improvement in the nature of political communication interactions, the choices in the realm of music, and the creation of a forum for discussion of local problems and local solutions; in essence, a movement towards decentralization of the Greek political structure.

As stated previously, other interviewees made clear that

pluralism still has not been realized in Greece; several problems were articulated. A problem of access still appeared to exist; some public interest groups apparently were unable to obtain a license for broadcast. Most of the licenses and frequencies were allocated to municipalities, publishing companies, and well-financed investors. In addition, in the opinion of some, it appeared that a real alternative radio was not created; the new stations merely infused the conception of the press into their system. Such a perspective is easy to understand if one considers the fact that a vast majority of the journalists of the new radio stations transferred either from the newspapers or the State broadcasting system. There have been no programs or schools for broadcast journalism in Greece; there was no previous model of free radio broadcasting from which to learn broadcast journalism.

Finally, according to the data, any pluralism that has emerged in Greece appeared to exist mainly in the big cities, such as Athens, Piraeus and Thessaloniki. The free radio movement had not yet spread to the smaller cities throughout the Greek countryside, mainly because the free-radio movement, a recent movement, originated in the larger cities of Athens, Thessaloniki, and Piraeus.

Interviewee data also revealed that, according to many, the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations broke the State monopoly of news production. To claim, however, that State control is over and finished is

dangerous, especially concerning Greece. Interviewees also noted that the State stations appeared to be changing as a result of the success of the new stations. The State stations were described as trying to imitate or copy the new stations. However, the changes, according to reports, did not occur in the area of news production, but rather, in the area of music programming.

Although some interviewees expressed an awareness of problems with the quality and orientation of journalism, others noted that a new style of journalism appeared to be emerging in Greece. A new kind of journalist, a new kind of speaker, and a more efficient journalism appeared to be arising.

In addition, the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations, according to at least one interviewee, provided an excellent example of the positive effects of privatization for the people of Greece. According to the interviewee, this example may help others to understand the nature of competition and survival, and thus stimulate entrepreneurial initiatives in other areas.

Interviewee data also revealed that the changes, according to many, will influence and affect the people of Greece in many ways. According to some, the changes may positively influence future generations to think differently and to be informed differently. According to others, the changes may function as a determining factor in creating characters and individuals for the future. Still others said that the changes may mean the

emergence of a more mature and participatory voter. Clearly, the people were described as feeling more free now and beginning to develop a sense of trust.

And finally, some interviewees expressed concerns regarding influences that could or may currently control some of the new radio stations. Such controls included the possible influence of the Greek Church on the Thessaloniki municipal radio station, the influence of political parties and big editorial groups on some of the new radio stations, the new orientation of audience listenership, the interests of commercial investors, and the influence of foreign mass communication and other languages on the Greek culture.

### Research Questions

At this point, it is necessary to make clear how the findings relate to the research questions posed by this investigator. Three research questions provided direction for this study. The following review considers the link between each question and the findings.

#### Research Question #1

What external and internal forces were operative in the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations in Greece?

Interviewees did not appear to experience any problems in understanding the inquiries regarding operative forces. The findings clearly indicated the existence of both internal and external forces. As stated in Chapter Four and the Summary of

Data in this chapter, forces identified included: (1) a dissatisfaction with the State media in terms of a problem of objectivity of news, and thus a desire for a more pluralistic set of sources of information; (2) the interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media; (3) various politically related motives, i.e. the desire by the opposition party, New Democracy, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions; fulfillment of PASOK's party platform; George Papandreou's personal campaign to create his own political base; and the desire by persons of Leftist orientation (not Communist) to create free radio for local powers; (4) various economic reasons, i.e. private or commercial initiatives; Greece's role in the European Economic Community; and the interests of editors and big press bosses to have private radio as a first step toward private television; and (5) forces originating from the idea that it was time for Greece to modernize, i.e. developments already underway in the privatization of broadcasting throughout Europe.

Only those forces identified by the interviewees were addressed in this study; other forces may have been influential. However, considering the fact that many of the same forces were identified by numerous interviewees, it appears plausible that at least some of the major forces operative in the development and establishment of private and

municipal radio stations in Greece were made clear.

It is also worthwhile to note, perhaps, that although this researcher did not base this study on any hypotheses, all of the forces identified were predicted by this researcher, except some of the finer details in the realm of the political. It was not until this researcher was living in Greece and had communicated with many interviewees that the full impact of the activities of the New Democracy Party related to the movement to establish private and municipal radio became clear. This researcher was aware of the significance of politics in Greece; the full meaning of such significance became more clear when living in the culture. As Victor Papacosma (1988) indicates, Greeks are highly political and they view much of everyday life in political terms (Papacosma, 1988, p. 1).

In addition, this researcher made no attempt to claim any force as being the most important force. However, based on the experiences of this researcher in gathering and analyzing all of the data, it was suggested that certain forces appeared to be stronger than others. Specifically, the following three forces were considered to be the most significant according to this researcher: (1) forces concerned with the public's dissatisfaction with the State media in terms of a problem of objectivity of news, and thus a desire for more pluralistic information; (2) forces associated with the activities of various public interest groups; and (3) forces related to various politically related motives. This conclusion, however,

was purely subjective. It was not the intention of this researcher to determine the most important force; in fact, to attempt to discover such information would be a challenging task for any researcher.

Research question number one was thus addressed quite extensively, and the findings have provided information useful in understanding more fully how the transition and changes occurred as well as the meaning of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece.

### Research Question #2

How, if at all, has the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations contributed to the existence of a more pluralistic environment in Greece in terms of diversity of information and the creation of a broadcast system composed of competing components encouraged by differing motivations?

There were clearly a number of divergent responses to queries regarding the meaning of the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece. According to some interviewees, pluralism was realized to a certain extent as a result of the changes. However, according to the responses of other interviewees, the changes did not result in the realization of pluralism.

According to many interviewees, pluralism, or, at least some form of pluralism, appears to have emerged in Greece as a result of the changes. Such pluralism was characterized by greater access to information, more discussion of political and societal problems, more representative political debates, a

greater freedom of choice, more objectivity in the news, improvement in the nature of political communication interactions, more choices in the realm of music, and the creation of a forum for discussion of local problems and local solutions; in essence, a movement towards decentralization of the Greek political structure.

On the other hand, some interviewees made it clear that pluralism still had not been realized in Greece; several problems were articulated. A problem of access still appeared to exist; some public interest groups apparently were unable to obtain a license for broadcast as most of the licenses and frequencies were allocated to municipalities, publishing companies, and well-financed investors. In addition, in the opinion of some, it appeared that a real alternative radio was not created; the new stations merely infused the conception of the press into their system.

And, according to the data, any pluralism that did emerge in Greece appeared to exist mainly in the big cities such as Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki. The free radio movement had not yet spread to the smaller cities throughout the Greek countryside.

Thus, when one reviews the data and considers the research question, it appears that the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations did contribute to the existence of more pluralistic environment in Greece in terms of diversity of information and the creation of a broadcast system

composed of competing components encouraged by differing motivations. However, the question of the degree of contribution is controversial. In the opinion of this researcher, the changes contributed and appeared as an improvement from the previous environment which was informed mainly by the State broadcasting system. A vast majority of the interviewees confirmed this opinion. Still, when one examines the data, it is apparent that pluralism in its purest form was not recognized; that is, obvious problems were evidenced in the area of quality of journalism, as well as the ability of certain citizens to obtain a license for broadcast and have access to radio station facilities. Further, the data suggests that a real alternative radio was not created.

### Research Question #3

How, if at all, has the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations affected issues of access and control of Greek radio broadcasting?

As stated previously, access, as considered in this study, referred to both degree of accessibility to radio station facilities by the public for purposes of broadcasting and the public's ability to access diverse sources of information. Control, as understood in this study, referred to any religious, economic, political, or social influence that may have affected access or pluralism as defined in this study.

Perhaps the most significant change that occurred as a result of the development and establishment of private and

municipal radio stations in Greece, according to the data gathered in this study, was the fact that the State monopoly of news production was broken. The change, in essence, created a major disruption of a previous control of information by the State. Clearly, it is safe to say that all of the interviewees, except, of course, some of the subjects associated with the State broadcasting system, acknowledged this fact. This change in the control of information can be considered a major development for Greece, a country in which all legal broadcast communications were controlled by the State since the inception of radio broadcasting in the early 1920s. Never before in the history of Greece has such a transition in control of broadcast communications been evidenced. Broadcast communications have always either been controlled by the State, whether through the party in power, a dictator, or a foreign invader.

This change in the control of broadcast communications, no doubt, has affected the State's ability to propagandize. As other sources of information now exist, the people now have the opportunity to hear more discussion of political, social, and economic issues. Further, and of considerable importance, is the fact that the people now can hear opinions from representatives of all parties. In the past, the State broadcast system had the reputation of sharing only certain viewpoints. Most often, those viewpoints did not include representation of all political parties. It should be noted,

however, that, according to the data, the broadcast system directed by PASOK made a greater attempt than any other party of the past to feature more representative opinions.

In terms of access, the data suggested that the people of Greece now have greater access to information through the numerous choices of broadcast facilities. Interviewees often stated that the people now have a greater freedom of choice.

The data also indicated the potential influence of talk radio, a format previously unbeknownst to Greek society. Although this format still is quite new, it appeared to be a type of programming appreciated and enjoyed by at least some of the public. Persons are now able to hear the opinions of the person-on-the-street; persons are now able to call and talk on the radio.

However, although the data clearly indicated that greater access to more sources of information was realized, the data also suggested that only a similitude of freedom emerged. The voices of intellectuals, as well as representatives of the Communist Party, felt strongly that a problem of access still existed. Specifically, it was made clear that the means for expressing freedom of opinion had arrived to Greece, but it had not yet been realized. In essence, critics claimed that the new stations were merely an improvement of the State model and that a real alternative radio was not created. Further, critics suggested that the new stations merely infused the conception of the press into the broadcast system and that a

real free journalism was unable to emerge.

Access, as understood in this study, also focused on the degree of accessibility to radio station facilities by the public for purposes of broadcasting. It is clear that the word "degree" is of paramount importance when considering the term, access.

Obviously, more persons or groups than ever before in the history of Greece now have access to radio station facilities for purposes of broadcasting. A major development was evidenced by the fact that the opposition party, New Democracy, was allowed to have access and control radio stations in the three largest cities of Greece. In addition, other groups, usually financed by wealthy Greeks or owners of newspaper chains were granted frequencies and licenses. Access to radio broadcasting facilities by these groups is, in the opinion of this researcher, incredibly significant. Not only have these groups contributed to the existence of the diffusion of a polyphony of voices, but they also have created the first legal form or model of a radio station different from the State system. Although some interviewees argued that the new stations were merely an improvement of the State model, an improvement is a beginning.

One must keep in mind the tremendous forces working against the establishment of a truly alternative model of broadcasting. Where was such an alternative model supposed to have derived or originated from in Greece? Only one previous

model existed. There were no programs or schools for broadcast journalism in Greece; a vast majority of the journalists working at the new radio stations transferred either from the newspapers or the State broadcasting system. Only a small group of intellectuals and pirate radio activists, who may have experienced diverse forms of radio in other countries, may have had direct experience with such ideas.

Still, it cannot be refuted that access to radio station facilities was not granted to everyone. Most of the licenses and frequencies were granted and allocated to municipalities, publishing companies, or well-financed investors. According to the data, those persons--activists and intellectuals dedicated to the idea of broadcast freedom and the development of a truly alternative radio--were not granted licenses.

Finally, it is necessary to consider how the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece has affected issues of access and control in terms of any religious, economic, political or social influences. According to the data gathered in this study, the State monopoly of news production was broken and the State's ability to propagandize was severely disrupted. In essence, the State's ability to control information through broadcasting experienced a major transition.

While the state broadcasting system lost control of broadcasting, other factions within Greek society appeared to gain control or, at least, establish considerable influence

concerning the operation of various private and municipal radio stations. Specifically, four areas of influence emerged: (1) the influence of political parties; (2) the influence of big editorial groups; (3) the influence of commercial interests and audience listenership as a new orientation for radio stations; (4) the influence of the Church of Greece, at least, with the Thessaloniki Municipal radio station.

The influence of political parties, in particular, the New Democracy Party, has been mentioned previously. The New Democracy Party was able to launch radio stations in the three major cities of Greece. Although the municipal radio stations featured news and information from numerous perspectives, the stations were controlled by the New Democracy Mayors of those cities.

The influence of the big editorial groups has been mentioned as well. Many of the private stations were bought by publishing companies. Further, it was suggested that these stations merely infused the conception of the press into the stations.

The influence of commercial interests and audience listenership as a new orientation for radio stations was an inevitable influence with the development of both private and municipal radio stations. According to the data, the State did not focus its foremost attention on audience listenership when deciding its programming. On the other hand, the directors and/or managers of all of the new radio stations interviewed in

this study spoke earnestly about the use of audience research firms; further, discussion of "gallups" or polls was communicated with great interest and enthusiasm. Often, this researcher was provided with the results of such studies.

The influence of the Church of Greece, at least concerning the Thessaloniki Municipal radio station, was suggested as well. The Mayor of Thessaloniki, Sotiris Kouvelas, often was described as associated strongly with the Church of Greece. Other evidence of such an influence, for example, in terms of programming, was not noticed.

### Discussion

As research concerning the history of broadcast communications in Greece is quite limited, this study, which focuses on the transition, developments, and changes in Greek radio broadcasting between 1987 and 1989 contributes to the existing literature. This study is unique in that it provides a review of the history of Greek radio broadcasting from 1920-1989, as well as a detailed description of a society which experienced a major transition in the organization and structure of its broadcast system, that is, a transition from State controlled radio broadcasting to the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations. Analysis of the transition is complimented with a discussion of the forces which may have been operative in encounraging the transition. Further, the analysis is enhanced through

consideration of the meaning of the transition as understood and explained by the subjects of this study, persons representative of positions of power within Greek society.

It is important to make clear that this study thus reflects only the opinions and attitudes of a select group of persons within a specific period of time. Still, this study is useful in that it provides information and insights which can be considered in a comparative analysis of similar cultures which have experienced a similar transition in the organization and structure of their broadcast systems. However, it is important to point out that although many European countries have experienced or currently are experiencing a trend toward media deregulation, Greece presents itself as a unique case study. Greece's political culture, its transition from authoritarian rule to stages of democratic development, as well as its socio-economic condition argue in favor of it being considered as a case study in "mediterranean democracy" as Pridham (1984) makes clear. Thus, it would be most suitable to compare the changes in Greek broadcasting with the changes in other similar mediterranean democracies such as Spain and Portugal. As indicated in Chapter One, examination of the transformation of Spain's communication media during its political transition to democracy in the 1975-89 period reveals developments and changes similar to those experienced in Greece. Further research focusing on a comparison between the broadcast systems of these mediterranean democracies would

provide a useful and enlightening study.

As stated previously, research focusing on broadcast communications in Greece is quite limited. Still, it is possible to compare the findings from this study with the recent work of Efthimios Zarharopoulos (1985). As discussed in Chapter One, Zarharopoulos conducted a descriptive study designed first, to document the amount and type of foreign mass media penetration in Greece; second, to examine the legal status and structure of the media so as to determine the power, structure and control of each medium; and third, to determine the operational and ideological norms of the media as a way of explicating any norms produced by foreign influence.

Zarharopoulos' research, which was conducted before the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations in Greece, presents findings which, in fact, conflict with the findings of this study. According to Zarharopoulos, Greek radio appeared to satisfy the listeners' interests (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 200). According to the results of this study, listeners were not satisfied with the radio programming. As indicated by numerous interviewees, more diversity in musical programming was desired as well as the presentation of more objective news and the plurality of opinions. In fact, the expressed dissatisfaction of radio programming concerning these areas emerged as a force which stimulated the emergence of the free-radio movement and, ultimately, the establishment and development of private and

municipal radio. One possible explanation for the discrepancies in the findings between the two studies may be due to the fact that Zarharopoulos' study was conducted in rural areas, whereas this study was conducted in the metropolitan cities of Athens, Piraeus, and Thessaloniki.

Although at least one area of conflict emerged in a comparison of findings between this study and the work of Zarharopoulos, it is important to note that the findings of both studies revealed a concern regarding the influence of foreign media on the Greek language. According to Zarharopoulos:

Language is another element of Greek cultural continuity which is under attack . . . it is clear that the Greek language does indeed face a daily challenge by the invading other language: English. This is not necessarily because English has practically become the Greeks' second language, but because English is seen as the language a "modern" person should know, and because English words, which do not embody Greek concepts, are replacing corresponding Greek words (Zarharopoulos, 1985, p. 302).

Indeed, as suggested by some interviewees in this study, professors, in particular, the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations has contributed to the challenge facing the Greek language. Many of the disc jockeys at the new radio stations use English and American expressions as well as a diet of foreign music and foreign cultural news. The issue of the so-called invasion of foreign mass communication thus appears to have become more intense. Concerns were expressed regarding the future of the Greek

culture, specifically, the Greek language. As Melina Sarafetzinou, Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication at the University of Athens, earnestly expressed, "when a language becomes impoverished of its tools, it means that you have become more impoverished as a culture, as a people, and as a person" (Sarafetzinou, September 9, 1988).

John Metaxas, Professor of Political Science at the University of Athens and former Director of ERT, also expressed a concern regarding the influence of foreign mass communication on the Greek language:

There is a kind of Greco-English being created, a mixed language that really goes towards the impoverishment of both Greek and English. There's an aesthetical problem. That is the only thing we need to stress. It's speaking about dangers concerning the special culture (Metaxas, September 8, 1988).

Michalis Papayiannakis, spokesperson for the Greek Left, expressed a concern for the Greek language as well:

I don't think there is a real danger, but there is a little sort of devaluation--underevaluation of Greek performances--which could be a result of it, but something indistinct. There could be a danger. There are some risks, the problem of the Greek language, for example (Papayiannakis, September 6, 1988).

Others, however, felt differently about the issue.

According to George Kriklanis, editor and publisher of Greece Today:

What invasion? If some people felt this way they should have expressed it before Greece entered the EEC. Has the UK become less English? Or Germany less German? Of what about the French? They remain distinctively French in culture, character, and in every other way. Today's mass communications broadens one's culture, and, in certain

cases, expands it. But to say that Greece's culture will be infringed upon by other cultures shows a disregard for the Greek people's distinct cultural heritage and their ability to discard anything that's "bad" or "negative." The people here are old enough to discern what's "good for them" (Kriklanis, August 1988).

Alexander Velios, intellectual, journalist and former director of the Piraeus municipal radio station, expressed his views on this issue:

In order to protect your national identity, you must have one. This defensive attitude is the attitude of a country which in its subconscious knows very well that it has no identity, no national voice, no national aim, no national role to play. If this country had defenses, I mean cultural defenses against this attack of foreign culture, these defenses would have played and we wouldn't need to claim protection for ourselves against a foreign culture. The fact that a foreign culture finds their way into our country without defenses means that it is too late to claim, to shout for protection. The cultural protection is limitless; a country either has an identity and a culture of its own and it finds the protection, the self-defenses, or they shout for a defense like miserable persons (Velios, August 3, 1988).

Alexis Phylactopoulos, Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries and former Director of Press and Information, Greek Embassy in the United States, expressed his views with great emotion, which he made clear were "his own private opinions":

What culture? What culture to protect? I mean, really, what culture are we talking about? The dirt in the streets? The way people push each other? The Greek hospitality which used to be so great and is now becoming a sort of poor service? What culture? Okay, there are good things about this country, no doubt, but I don't quite see what we stand to lose by allowing foreign modes of behavior to penetrate the living room . . . What really, are we going to lose? (Phylactopoulos, July 28, 1988).

And, according to Vassilios Manginas, lawyer and spokes-

person for the political party Democratic Renewal:

The tradition of the culture is a very difficult thing to conserve. I don't believe that the invasion of these models from Europe and the United States is dangerous for us. You know, it is the time; the life is going on, and it is impossible to stop the messages to come into the country. We have other ways to preserve our tradition. We have other ways to preserve our culture, our language. But the problem is not, you know, all these messages which are coming from mass media. I don't believe that is a danger for Greek culture. I think that it is a problem of education, a problem of the universities, the Greek press, and also a problem of the family. But not the messages. The messages, it's impossible to--the messages are free to come here and make the life better (Manginas, September 7, 1988).

Although the issue of the invasion of foreign mass communication on the Greek culture was not the focus of this study, it emerged a cultural implication. As indicated by the diverse and emotionally expressive perspectives on this subject, it appears to be a subject of much controversy and discussion. In his recommendations for further research, Zarharopoulos (1985) found the question of the relationship between foreign mass communication and language to be worthy of further research. Likewise, this researcher found the area to be quite fascinating and recommends it as an area of further research.

Another area related to language which emerged in this study concerned the influence of the official Left Party language as well as the most dictatorship in Greece on the Greek language. Vassilis Karapostolis, Professor of Social Communication and Language at the University of Athens,

suggested that a process, which began some years ago related to the Left Party's official language in Greece, influenced young people to develop a type of "wooden language." Karapostolis described the Left Party's official language as "abstract sentimentalism too hard and incapable of expressing the different sides of sufferings and persecutions." This "wooden-language" developed into a new abstract expression after the Junta, which was described as quite "indefinite" and "somewhere but nowhere." In essence, one would express oneself but no one would know for certain on which point one had focused one's disagreement. According to Karapostolis, this has resulted in a language which deprives people of expressing themselves on the issues that are of most interest for them. As Karapostolis made clear,

The young people, the students, cannot talk, cannot speak about their problems. They decide not to talk at all. In Greece, we had a tradition of an easy speech flow in young people, in elder people. Now this tendency has stopped. And the traditional sociability of Greek people recedes back and is substituted by a loneliness which has the stamp of the Greek reality (Karapostolis, September 7, 1988).

Although this concern is not directly related to broadcast communications, it is connected with a time in Greece, the Junta, characterized by a massive brutal dictatorship and severe censorship of expression of opinion and thought. Thus, this researcher recognizes this phenomenon of the relationship between censorship and language in Greece as an area for further research as well.

In conclusion, this researcher must express her feelings concerning the value and importance of conducting this research study primarily by means of face-to-face interviews. The experience was incredibly enlightening, educational, as well as inspirational. Two areas of importance resulted in this research. First, as stated previously, a significant period of time in the history of Greek broadcasting was documented and described for historical purposes. Second, and of equal importance, on an interpersonal and cross-cultural level, education and enlightenment was experienced by both parties. It was important for this researcher to undertake the research process as a cross-cultural journey that would be beneficial to both cultures. Thus, in terms of the ethical and social responsibilities of a researcher, the very act of this research may have generated or contributed to greater cross-cultural understanding.

In the opinion of this researcher, scholars should keep in mind the ethical and social responsibilities and consequences of their research activities. This research explored more than has been addressed in this study and certainly is not complete. As the saying goes, "the moment you cease observing, pack your bags, and leave the field, you will get a remarkably clear insight about that one critical activity you should have observed . . . but didn't." In essence, the complete analysis isn't.

### Limitations

Numerous limitations, both obvious and not obvious to this researcher, exist in this study. Obvious limitations include issues related to cross-cultural and intercultural communication, the barrier of language, the nature of qualitative research procedures, the sample, and the procedure of data analysis. These limitations should be of concern to other researchers who intend to conduct research of this nature.

Concerning limitations relative to cross-cultural communication and intercultural communication, it is necessary that one be aware of potential misunderstandings that may arise from cultural differences in perception, experience, and meaning. Potential cultural bias must be acknowledged by the researcher at the onset of the study. As scholars of culture have noted, everything, including the researcher's areas and issues of interest, is influenced by one's culture, education, perception, and experience (Geertz, 1973).

A study of this kind, which involved the analysis of interview data of subjects from a culture different from that of the researcher, obviously was potentially vulnerable to many difficulties associated with cross-cultural and intercultural understanding. Communicating face-to-face with persons of another culture, especially a culture that may be quite different from one's own culture, required a certain sensitivity and awareness of the values, attitudes, and

behaviors unique to that culture. Although this researcher prepared herself with a background of information and knowledge relevant to communication behaviors unique to Greek culture and made every attempt to create an environment of clear communication, it is possible that misunderstandings may have occurred.

As indicated by Triandis and Vassiliou (1972), significant cultural differences, in fact, exist between Greeks and persons from the United States. According to the authors, the two cultures indeed are so different that it is unlikely that "unmodified" Americans and Greeks could have a successful relationship (Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, p. 335). This researcher made every attempt to "modify" herself through studies of the Greek language, the history of modern Greece, as well as the study of communication behaviors unique to Greece.

As discussed in Chapter One, traditional Greek culture is more "collectivist" than "individualistic" in nature and emphasizes distinctions between "ingroup and outgroup" to a much greater extent than do Western societies. Greeks tend to define their culture in terms of "ingroup" over the "outgroup" and one's social behavior is dependent strongly on whether the other person is a member of his/her outgroup. Behavioral responses to members of the ingroup are frequently characterized by cooperation, protection, and help. Behavioral responses to members of the outgroup include rejection, defiance, deception, concealment, resentment, and undermining

(Triandis and Vassiliou, 1972, pp. 304-305; Broome and Bertsekas, 1989, p. 8).

Reflecting on how this researcher may have been perceived, that is, in terms of "ingroup" or "outgroup", several thoughts come to mind. This researcher expressed an obvious concern and interest in the Greek culture by the very act of her research; this may have been perceived positively by some interviewees. Further, this researcher, although not fluent in the Greek language, was able to communicate in Greek which appeared to generate positive reactions. As Landis and Brislin (1983) suggest, "in Greece . . . one is not expected to know the language although a few words of Greek create delight, and increase by an order of magnitude (a factor of ten) the normally hospitable tendencies of that population (Landis and Brislin, 1983, p. 84). And, finally, the fact that this researcher presented herself as a second generation Greek-American offering a business card featuring her Greek family name, may have assisted in the creation of positive perceptions.

Still, it is possible that some interviewees may have considered this researcher as a member of the "outgroup" and thus, the behavioral responses of deception, concealment, and undermining may have been in force. It is difficult to predict precisely how and on which particular topics such responses might have manifested themselves. However, to speculate, it can be stated that certain interviewees strongly connected to

PASOK and the bureaucracy of ERT S.A. exhibited the lowest levels of inclusion, that is, a desire to be enthusiastically included in the interview. This is not to say that all PASOK and ERT S.A. interviewees exhibited such behavior. Still, the statements of certain interviewees reflected only a strong party line and offered nothing further.

Although this researcher speaks the Greek language, and is quite familiar with Greek culture, it is important to keep in mind that language is more than words; language expresses the world view of a culture and the relevant semantic-conceptual domains involved (Palmer and Barnett, 1982). In essence, one must keep in mind the undeniable relationship between language and meaning as well as language and reality.

Although this researcher attempted to interpret and communicate the meaning of the interviewee data in this study, it is certainly possible that misinterpretations occurred. According to R. Sykes (1988), qualitative researchers claim to attempt to be tuned into what people are thinking as well as the meaning of the messages of the participants in their studies. Sykes questions, however, if that is what qualitative researchers really do in their studies. According to Sykes, qualitative researchers are not interested in the meaning but in creating their own interpretations. Ultimately, Sykes argues, the result becomes the original realities of the participants versus the reality created by the investigator. Sykes' conclusion is noteworthy. Indeed, it is possible that this

researcher may not have presented the original realities of the participants, although it was her intent. Still, as Sykes makes clear, "the resulting work should provide the subjects themselves with a perspective they never thought about, if it's good" (Sykes, 1988).

As Samovar, Porter and Jain (1981) make clear, it is a well-established fact that the structure of a language frequently reflects a culture's themes. People have similar meanings only to the extent that they have had similar experiences or can anticipate similar experiences. In fact, it is culture that leads to current interpretations and reactions in language. Often, during the interview situation, an interviewee would state, "we have a word for it in Greek but I don't know how to explain it to you in English." Thus, another limitation of the study must include the barrier of language. Most interviewees chose to speak in English; by doing so, this researcher feels that the expressions were limited not only by the interviewee's knowledge of the American language, but also by the fact that certain words and concepts are either impossible or extremely difficult to translate into English.

It should also be noted that this investigator quoted all of the interviewees directly; responses were not rewritten and presented in her own words. Patton (1980) professes the importance of exact quotations in the process of qualitative analysis:

The exact observations you have made, the exact words

people have spoken in interviews--these can never be recaptured in precisely the same way, even if new observations are undertaken and new interviews are conducted. They are precious material, and they should be treated as such (Patton, 1980, p. 299).

A third limitation concerns the nature of qualitative methodology, per se. Critics have identified numerous limitations of qualitative research: (1) bias in stages of data collection and analysis, (2) the difficulty of generalizability of the findings to other settings or subjects, and (3) the effect elicited by the presence of the researcher among the subjects (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). However, one could argue that these problems are inherent in other research activities as well. Potential bias and distortion are the price one must pay to gain understanding of complex social settings (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975). One must keep in mind that the philosophical orientation of the qualitative researcher concerning analysis; that is, the idea that phenomena may not, in fact, lend themselves to precise measurement.

Qualitative researchers also have been criticized and characterized in the past as theoretically aimless and methodologically shifty. Philipsen (1977) advises the importance of "linearity" in the design and conduct of qualitative research in order to address and resolve such criticisms. Linearity refers to the specification, in advance of data collection, of both a purpose for research and the steps to be taken to serve the purpose. This researcher thus specified, in advance of data collection, both a purpose for

the research and the steps to be taken to serve the purpose. This included the concepts and categories which were to be the object of inquiry, as well as aspects of the theoretical framework used to inform the research. In terms of categories of inquiry, this researcher chose to focus on interviews with spokespersons and opinionmakers from positions of power within the Greek society. An attempt was made to interview representatives from various positions of power within this research schema. The analytic concept of power was chosen as the category of investigation over any type of demographic category as power may be the cardinal way that systems become organized.

This schema of research, which created the sample for this study, must also be included and addressed in this discussion of limitations. The data presented in this study reflects the views of a select group of persons within a select period of time. All of the subjects who were interviewed or observed were not quoted in this study due to the voluminous amount of data. An attempt was made, however, to feature a fair representation of the various categories.

Any attempt to collect the current expression in public life is an extremely difficult task. Issues of validity, reliability, and bias must be questioned. How effective is the mode of measurement? How accurate is the measurement? What is the extent to which repeated measurements under the same conditions could produce the same results? What is the degree

of distortion? Patton (1980) discusses three kinds of sampling errors that can arise in qualitative research designs:

There may be distortions in the situations that were sampled for observation (since it is seldom possible to observe all situations); there may be distortions introduced by the time periods during which observations took place--that is, problems of temporal sampling; and third, the findings may be distorted because of selectivity in the people who were sampled either for observations or interviews (Patton, 1980, p. 333).

As Patton makes clear, the evaluator-analyst must be careful to limit conclusions to those situations, time periods, persons, and contexts for which the data are applicable.

It is necessary as well to make clear that this researcher feels strongly that the mode of measurement employed, that is, the collection and analysis of face-to-face interviews supplemented with secondary sources including documents, photographs, books, and newspapers, was possibly the most appropriate way or process of discovery in terms of this topic and the Greek culture. As stated previously, the importance of couvenda, or conversation within the Greek culture cannot be overstated. As Hall and White (1966) make clear, for Greeks, discussion is the "spice of life" (Hall and White, 1966, p. 568). Quantitative research, for example, by means of a survey questionnaire, would not have been an appropriate way to understand and gather data relative to this topic in Greece.

#### Retrospective Self-Critique and Suggestions for Further Research

In an effort to provide a retrospective self-critique

concerning what this researcher would have done differently, now that she has been through the research experience, a few thoughts can be shared. In addition, this researcher can provide some suggestions concerning further research for others interested in this overall topic.

In retrospect, this researcher recommends that anyone conducting research similar to the design of this study live in the culture longer than three months. Three months, at least, is necessary to gather the interviewee data and supplementary information. This researcher would have preferred to live in the culture for at least six months. Although the time needed to adjust and adapt to another culture certainly varies from person to person, it is a process that involves both physiological and psychological challenges; in essence, it is a complex and interactive phenomenon that requires time. Oberg, 1955; Adler, 1975; Weaver, 1986; Lonner, 1986, as well as other scholars of intercultural communication have addressed the importance of understanding the cross-cultural experience as a transitional experience.

Related to the issue of time, it is necessary to note the problem of conducting research in Greece during the month of August. It seems that practically everyone in Greece "goes on holiday" at one time or another during the month of August. This tradition did not present too much of a problem for this researcher as she knew of its existence in advance and thus was prepared.

And finally, perhaps of most importance, this researcher would have interjected more probing questions during the interview process. Although this researcher did employ probing questions, additional probing questions could have produced perhaps more revealing and insightful data. Unfortunately, not knowing the "big picture" in advance of the research, it was difficult to know precisely which topics could have been enhanced with further information. However, this realization may, in fact, be a dilemma faced by many researchers. Still, it is necessary to stress the importance of the use of secondary and probing questions. Use of such questions, no doubt, distinguishes the skilled interviewer from the unskilled interviewer.

In terms of specific suggestions concerning further research for others interested in this overall topic, one area, that is, language, already was mentioned. Although there are certainly numerous subtopics of language that could be explored, two emerged in this study. One concerns the influence of foreign mass communication on the culture and language of Greece; the other concerns how the Junta, that is, severe censorship of expression and thought, influenced changes in the Greek language.

To study the influence of foreign mass communication on the Greek language would contribute to the literature of an increasingly popular field of study. However, before undertaking such research, scholars should truly be aware of

and understand the various perspectives and arguments associated with the issue. In the opinion of this researcher, one would have to "buy into" the idea of the potential of cultural homogenization. Further, to undertake such research, in the opinion of this researcher, is to view culture and language as stagnant rather than a dynamic and constantly moving process. And finally, such research might suggest that humans do not have the power to act to preserve and maintain whatever elements of culture and language they choose to preserve.

This is not to say that such research would not be significant. To document the changes could prove insightful. The design of such a study certainly would be a challenge, and, no doubt require a rather long-term study.

Likewise, to examine how the Junta affected changes in the Greek language might prove to be valuable research. Most likely, such research would necessitate a long-term study. Design of such a study might involve a comparative content analysis of the literature or speeches before and after the Junta or a comparative conversational or discourse analysis of conversations before and after the Junta, if such data were available. Such research could provide useful insights to various disciplines including sociobiology, education, psychology, communication, and sociology.

In addition, two areas of research specifically related to broadcast communications in Greece could prove valuable.

First, research is necessary which examines the changes in radio broadcasting that occurred after the completion of this study. Such a study could explore the developments, if any, or other changes in private and municipal radio broadcasting; specifically in terms of the realization or non-realization of forms of pluralism.

Finally, as the changes in radio broadcasting emerged as the first change in broadcast communication in Greece, an examination of the changes in television and satellite communications is needed. Little research has been conducted in these areas mainly because the changes have occurred only recently.

### Conclusions

Despite these limitations, this study was able to make some sense of a fascinating space in time in the history of Greek radio broadcasting characterized by a transition from State control to the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations. Through examination of the historical development, operation, structure, and control of these stations, as well as consideration of the forces, both exogenous and endogenous, which may have been operative in the creation of their existence, a documented description of this time now exists. This description is further enhanced through an exploration of the meaning of the transition as expressed by the interviewees. In line with the metatheoretical assumptions

of the interpretive paradigm, it was the intent and primary concern of this researcher to understand and convey the subjective experience of the interviewees.

As reviewed in Chapter One, the approach of this researcher necessitated the synthesis of both pluralist theory and theories of bureaucratic dysfunction as a framework to provide understanding. Theories of social change, although not the primary theoretical focus of this study, also were of interest to this researcher.

If one views Greek society as an organizational structure, a pluralist theory of organizations (Burrell and Morgan, 1979) indeed functions to inform the findings of this study. Greek society can be conceptualized as a pluralist political system in which it and its environment are viewed principally as an arena of conflict between individuals and groups whose activities are oriented towards the achievement of their own personal goals, values, and interests. As Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest, the pluralist view reflects three sets of assumptions relating to what they describe as interests, conflict, and power. This study employed pluralist theory in order to consider the conflict and interests expressed by persons associated with the free-radio movement as well as to understand how the process of privatization of Greek radio broadcasting became a process of transition in power. In essence, this transition involved a giving up of power by the State. This study was concerned with how various groups

legitimized their needs and interests into a "power to" have access and a "power to" control broadcast facilities and information through the conflict created by the free-radio movement.

Clearly, examination of the historical development of the private and municipal radio stations, as well as the forces which may have been operative in the creation of their existence, revealed the interplay of interests, conflict, and power. A wide array of interests associated with the emergence of the new radio stations was discovered, ranging from the interests of various public interest groups, i.e. pirate radio activists and intellectuals who desired the right to broadcast freely or establish an alternative broadcast media, to the interests and motives associated within the realm of the political, i.e. the desire by the opposition party, New Democracy, to break the State monopoly and create a forum for their discussions, to various economically related interests, i.e. private or commercial initiatives.

Conflict emerged, in a sense, as an energizing force, which functioned to not only create awareness of the desire and interests of the public, but also to stimulate the movement for free radio to its actualization and realization. The conflict created by pirate radio activists such as "Anti-Logos" and "Channel 15", as well as the illegal activities of the New Democracy Mayor of Athens to move ahead with the establishment of a municipal radio for Athens, together functioned to make

conflict an energizing force towards the realization of, at least, some form of pluralism in Greek society.

This researcher's conceptualization of "power to" access and control was explored in contrast to the State's "power over" access and control of information and broadcast facilities; and ultimately how peculiarities of the bureaucratic structure of the State broadcasting system rendered that system dysfunctionally powerless to a certain extent in Greek society. Theories of bureaucratic dysfunction thus provided further understanding of their study. Specifically, this study viewed the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations as strongly related to problems of control, access, and lack of pluralism due to Greece's history of State or government controlled radio broadcasting, a system of broadcasting operated via a massive bureaucracy.

Research focusing on bureaucratic dysfunction explored by Merton (1968), Selznick (1949), Gouldner (1954a and b), and Blau (1955) all demonstrated the unintended consequences of bureaucratic organization. Negative aspects and dysfunctions of bureaucracies as discussed by Merton (1968) were evidenced in the data. Such dysfunctions included the problems associated with vocational security and numerous other bureaucratic behaviors which inhibited the State broadcasting system, as an organization, to respond appropriately to the changing demands and needs of Greek society. According to the interviewees associated with the free-radio movement, the Greek

State broadcasting system was unable to respond appropriately to the technological, economic, and social changes facing Greece both on an international and national level. The question became, how could Greece survive, economically, politically, and socially, on a monopoly of information?

As Burrell and Morgan (1979) explain "in cases where unintended consequences were dysfunctional as far as the formal goals of the organization were concerned, it was usually because they were functional for other interests within the organization" (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 207). The question, in essence, then becomes functional for whom? According to the results of this study, activists and intellectuals involved in the free-radio movement found the State broadcasting system to be dysfunctional in terms of control, access, and a lack of pluralism. On the other hand, the State broadcasting system (ERT) was perceived as functional according to the government in power. In essence, the conflict involved a conflict of interests. As Burrell and Morgan (1979) suggest, a theory of interests is thus a direct corollary of the theory of dysfunctions (Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p. 208).

This study viewed the development and establishment of private and municipal radio stations as both evidence and indicator of the power of humans to act and influence social change within Greek society. This study was based on interviewees' definition of a situation, that is, for some, a problematic situation involving control, access, and a lack of

pluralism. Their definitions and interpretations of the problem reflect both a plurality of interests as well as the need to express a plurality of interests. Theories of bureaucratic dysfunction as well as pluralist theory thus served to provide further understanding in the analysis of this study.

As stated previously, theories of social change, although not the primary theoretical focus of this study, also were of interest to the researcher. Numerous theories of social change exist; one theory of social change is certainly not sufficient to discuss and analyze the data obtained from this research. The results of this study, indicate that change occurred in some areas and not in others.

Briefly, in terms of theories concerning causes or factors of change, indeed, as Boudon (1984) makes clear, the notion of cause can be ambiguous when it is used in the analysis of social change. If the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations can be viewed as social change in itself or as creating some other sort of social change in Greece, it appeared to occur through a process characterized by a linked series of actions, reactions, or retroaction rather than of a cause or a group of causes. The data in this study revealed forces exogeneous and endogenous linked through a process of historical developments. To claim any cause of force as the most important factor would be impossible.

A second area of social change concerned theories of

social change that focus on the variables that change in the analysis of social change (Durkheim, 1964). If "social facts" are the variables that change in the analysis of social change, as Durkheim (1964) suggests, then, in fact, Greece did obviously experience an institutional or structural change in its legal rules, as well as in its communication system. Further, according to the results of this study, aggregative or distributive outcomes also occurred in terms of rates of radio listening and the diffusion of information.

A third area of interest concerning social change considered functionalist or equilibrium-type theories which focus on how social systems remain stable in the presence of forces that might lead to change (Parsons, 1951; 1964). Although this study did not attempt to specifically address this issue, one can view the emergence of a dichotomy of interviewee perspectives concerning the realization of pluralism versus the non-realization of pluralism, perhaps, as indicator reflective of such a tension of forces. Further, although this researcher does not claim to establish a link between the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations and the recent changes in the political system in Greece, it is still worthwhile to note. In the April 1990 parliamentary elections, a major change in the government of Greece occurred; PASOK was unable to maintain power and the New Democracy Party won a slim majority. Constantine Mitsotakis was sworn in as Greece's new Prime

Minister after nearly a decade of Socialist rule (Anastasi, April 12, 1990). It is interesting to note that it was the New Democracy Mayors of Athens, Thessaloniki, and Piraeus who established, developed, and controlled the municipal radio stations of the three largest cities in Greece. In the new Greek Cabinet, Miltiades Evert, former Mayor of Athens, now serves as the Minister to the Premier; Sotiris Kouvelas, former Mayor of Thessaloniki, now serves as the Minister of the Interior.

The fourth and final area of social change of interest to this research concerned theories regarding how mass communication functions as an agent of change (Laswell, 1971). Indeed, as Laswell suggested, mass communication, specifically, the new radio stations, appeared to serve a correlation function concerning the selection and interpretation of news and events and the development of public opinion. The establishment and development of legally recognized private and municipal radio stations, according to this research, created a more pluralistic environment characterized by greater access to information, more discussion of political and societal problems, more representative political debates, a greater freedom of choice, more objectivity in the news, improvement in the nature of political communication interactions, more choices in the realm of music, and the creations of a forum for discussion of local problems and local solutions. Further, the data in this study revealed that the changes will influence and

affect the people of Greece in many ways. According to some, it will positively influence future generations to think differently and to be informed differently. Others stated that it may mean the emergence of a more mature and participatory voter.

Theories aside, one can view the establishment and development of private and municipal radio stations as a significant time in the history of Greece as well as Greek broadcasting. Greece may have experienced one of the most important transitions in its history. Following Europe's trend toward media deregulation (Hoffman-Reim, 1987), Greece finds herself at another major turning point. Faced with tremendous economic challenges, perhaps this new development will work positively for the Greek culture. It should be noted that radio was not the beginning and end of changes concerning mass communication in Greece. In November 1989, Greece's first private television channel, Mega Channel, was launched (Kelly, 1989).

Although the changes in broadcasting appear to have contributed to the existence of a more pluralistic environment in Greece in terms of diversity of information and the creation of a broadcast system encouraged by differing motivations, it was clear that problems of access and control still exist. As Zarharopoulos (1989) made clear:

It remains to be seen whether traditionally powerless elements of Greek society will have as much freedom in using the airwaves in the future as do powerful ones

## REFERENCES

- Adler, P. (1975). The transitional experience: An alternative view of culture shock. Journal of Humanistic Psychology, Vol. 15, No. 4, Fall.
- Anastasi, P. (April 12, 1990). New leader of the Greeks: Constantine Mitsotakis. New York Times, A3.
- Blau, P. (1955). The dynamics of bureaucracy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bogdan, R. and Taylor, S. (1975). Introduction to qualitative research methods: A phenomenological approach to the social sciences. New York: Wiley and Sons.
- Boudon, R. (1983). Why theories of social change fail: Some methodological thoughts. Public Opinion Quarterly, 47, Summer.
- Broome, B., and Bertsekas, J. (1989). "Palevome": Foundations of struggle and conflict in Greek interpersonal communication. Presented at the annual meeting of the Speech Communication Association, San Francisco, November 19, 1989.
- Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (1979). Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis: Elements of the sociology of corporate life. Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Heinemann.
- Durkheim, E. (1964). The rules of sociological method. New York: Free Press.
- Emery, W. (1969). National and international systems of broadcasting: Their history, operation and control. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- Geertz, C. (1973). The interpretation of cultures: Selected Essays. New York: Basic.
- Gouldner, A. (1954a). Patterns of industrial bureaucracy. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Gouldner, A. (1954b). Wildcat strike. New York: Antioch Press.
- Greek Constitución (1975; 1987). Article 2, Law 1730.
- Greek Constitution (1975). Article 15.

- Hall, E. and White, W. (1966). Intercultural communication: A guide to men of action. In Alfred G. Smith (Ed.), Communication and culture: Readings in the codes of human interaction. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hoffman-Reim, W. (1987). National activity and cultural values: Broadcasting safeguards. Journal of Broadcasting. 31 (1) 57-72.
- Karapostolis, V., Professor of Social Communication and Language, University of Athens. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 7, 1988.
- Kelly, S. (December 4, 1989). Greece gets 1st private TV channel. Electronic Media.
- Kriklanis, G. Publisher and General Director, Greece Today. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August, 1988.
- Landis, D. and Brislin, R. (1983). Handbook of intercultural training (Vol. 2). New York: Pergamon.
- Laswell, H. (1971). The structure and function of communication in society. In Schramm, W. and Roberts, D. (Eds.), The process and effects of mass communication. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lonner, W. S. (1986). In A. Furnham and S. Bochner's Culture shock: Psychological reactions to unfamiliar environments. New York: Methuen, pp. xv-xx.
- Manginas, V., Lawyer and Spokesperson for the Democratic Renewal Party. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 7, 1988.
- Merton, R. (1969). Social theory and social structure. New York: Free Press.
- Metaxas, J., Professor of Political Science, University of Athens. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 8, 1988.
- Oberg, K. (1955). Culture shock and the problem of adjustment to new cultural environments. Foreign Service Institute No. 19, pp. 1-6.
- Palmer, M. and Barnett, G. (1982). Using a spatial model to verify language translation. In Gudykunst and Kim (Eds.), Methods in intercultural communication research. London: Sage.

- Papacosma, V. (1988). Politics and culture in Greece, Ann Arbor: Center for Political Studies Institute for Social Research: The University of Michigan.
- Papayiannakis, M., Spokesperson for the Greek Left. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 6, 1988.
- Parsons, T. (1951). The social system. New York: Free Press.
- Parsons, T. (1964). A functional theory of change. In Etzioni, A. and Etzioni, E. (Eds.), Social change. New York: Basic Books.
- Patton, M. (1980). Qualitative Evaluation Methods. London: Sage.
- Philipsen, G. (1977, Summer). Linearity of research design in ethnographic studies of speaking. Communication Quarterly, 25, No. 3.
- Phylactopoulos, A., Director of Public Relations, Federation of Greek Industries and former Director of Press and Information, Greek Embassy, United States. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. July 28, 1988.
- Pridham, G. (Ed.). (1984). The new mediterranean democracies: Regime transition in Spain, Greece and Portugal. New Jersey: Cass.
- Roumeliotis, A. (1989, July 23). To panorama ton FM [FM panorama] Kyriakatiki Eleftherotypia, p. 38.
- Rousseas, S. (1967). The death of a democracy: Greece and the American conscience. New York: Grove Press.
- Samovar, L., Porter, R., and Jain, N. (1981). Understanding intercultural communication. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Sarafetzinou, M., Professor of Sociology and Mass Communication, University of Athens. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. September 9, 1988.
- Selznick, P. (1949). T.V.A. and the grass roots. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Spourdalakis, M. (1988). The rise of the Greek socialist party. New York: Routledge.
- Sykes, R. (1988). Quoted from a Noon Research Seminar, Department of Speech Communication, University of Minnesota. October 19, 1988.

- Triandis, H. and Vassiliou, V. (1972). The analysis of subjective culture. New York: Wiley.
- Velios, A., Intellectual, Journalist, and former Director, Channel One Piraeus Municipal Radio. Personal Interview. Athens, Greece. August 3, 1988.
- Weaver, G. (1986). Understanding and coping with cross-cultural adjustment stress. In M. Paige (Ed.), Cross-cultural orientations: New conceptions and applications. New York City: University Press of America, pp. 111-146.
- Zarharopoulos, E. (1985). Foreign mass communication in Greece: Its impact on Greek culture and influence on Greek society. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Illinois.
- Zarharopoulos, E. (1989, October). Mass communication in Greece: Power/freedom and broadcasting in Greek society. In T. Stavrou (Chair), Power/freedom: Politics, social life, and the arts in modern Greece. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the Modern Greek Studies Association, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

APPENDIX A  
INTERVIEWEES

Government

Andreas Christodoulides  
Director: Special Mass Media Services (PASOK);  
Former President and Managing Director of  
Greek Radio and Television S.A. (ERT S.A.).  
Zalacosta 10, Athens

Telemachos Chytiris  
Special Secretary,  
General Secretariat for Press and Information  
Zalokosta 10, Athens

Terence Nikolas Kwik  
Representative for Municipality of Athens;  
Former newscaster, Greek Radio and Television (ERT);  
Journalist.  
Athens Municipal Building  
Kotzia, Athens

John Leveras  
Spokesperson  
Greek Embassy, United States  
Washington, D.C.

Stavros Marandianos  
Public Relations,  
Ministry to the Prime Minister's Office  
Secretariat General of Press and Information  
International Public Relations Division.  
Zalacosta 10, Athens

Achilles Paparsenos  
Press Attache  
Greek Embassy, United States  
Washington, D.C.

Political Parties

Nikos Athanassakis  
Spokesperson: PASOK  
Secretary of Press Bureau  
Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)  
50 Har. Trikoupi, Athens

Theodore P. Kassimis  
Spokesperson: New Democracy/Press Officer;  
Press Officer: New Democracy;  
Former journalist;  
Elected member of 1990 Parliament: New Democracy  
18 Rigillis Street, Athens

Christos Pappas  
Spokesperson: Communist Party  
Member of the Committee for Television and Radio  
Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece.  
KKE The People's House  
Lioforos Iraklion 145  
Nes Ionia

Mihalīs Papyanakīs  
Spokesperson: Greek Left  
Member: Political Committee  
Professor & Economist/Paris  
Journalist: To Vima.  
Sina 3 (Office of To Vima), Athens

Vassilios Manginas  
Spokesperson: Democratic Renewal  
Member: Political Committee;  
Lawyer.  
17 Academia, Athens

Stratis Stratigis  
Elected Member of 1988 Parliament  
Democratic Renewal Party  
14 Loukianou, Athens

#### Private Radio Stations

Stephanos Dendrinis  
General Manager  
Radio Thessaloniki  
Pyrlos O.T.E., Thessaloniki

Pandelis Kapsis  
Editor in Chief: Top FM Radio 92.4  
7 Kapodistriou  
Filothei

Jason Moschovitis  
General Director  
Antenna Radio 97.1 FM  
10-12 Kifissias Ave.  
151 25 Maroussi, Athens

Tassos Papadopoulos  
Journalist  
24 Hours (Koskotas' planned radio station)  
Voukourestoiu, Athens

### Municipal Radio Stations

Sophia Jeanette  
Administrator,  
Diavios 10 92.8 FM Municipal Radio  
Agios Nikolau 96-131  
23 Nea Leosa

George Lamprinakos  
General Manager,  
Piraeus Channel One Radio  
Piraeus Municipal Radio  
Karaskou 185 10, Piraeus

Fotis Manousis  
General Manager,  
Thessaloniki Municipal Radio  
FM 100/FM 101;  
General Secretariat, Thessaloniki.  
Venizelou 45, Thessaloniki

Kostas Possidonos  
Business Manager,  
Thessaloniki Municipal Radio  
FM 100/FM 101  
16 Agelaki Street, Thessaloniki

Yiannis Tzannetakos  
General Manager,  
Athens 89.4 Radio  
Athens Municipal Radio;  
"Channel 15" activist.  
Liossion 22, Athens

### Journalists, Editors, Publishers, and Intellectuals

Costas Cavathas  
Editorial Director  
Satellite Television, Sound and High Fi.  
6 Gorgiou Street  
Athens 116.36

Basil A Coronakis  
Editor and Publisher,  
Greece's Weekly  
10 Fokidos, Athens

Yiannis Horn  
Owner and Managing Editor/Publisher,  
Athens News  
23-25 Lekka, Athens

George Kriklanis  
Publisher,  
Greece Today  
27-29 Emm. Benaki, Athens

Christos G. Papoutsakis  
Editor, Anti  
60 Dimocharous Street, Athens

Alexis Phylactopoulos  
Former Secretary Press and Information/Greek  
Embassy, United States.  
Director of Public Relations,  
Federation of Greek Industries.  
5 Xenofontos Street, Athens

Alexander Velios  
Intellectual;  
Former Director, Piraeus Municipal Radio.  
29 Voukourestiou, Athens

Costas Yennaris  
Press Counselor,  
Embassy of the Republic of Cyprus;  
Journalist.  
Ipsilantou 13-15  
Kolonaki, Athens

#### Lawyers

Antonias Vgontzas  
Lawyer and writer of law for private  
and municipal radio;  
Assistant Professor of Law, University of Athens.  
14 Sina, Athens

Church of Greece

Mr. Hatzifotis  
Spokesperson: Church of Greece  
Kolonaki Moni Petraki-3rd Floor  
Genadious Street 14, Athens

Greek Radio and Television (ERT S.A.)

Antoniades Andreas  
Director: ERT  
Office of Coordination  
Mesighion 402, Athens

Giorgos Douadjis  
Senior Broadcast Editor: ERT News;  
ERT Newcaster.  
Palio Psychiko, Athens

Maya Gaki  
ERT Journalist: Foreign Affairs;  
ERT Newcaster.  
Palio Psychiko, Athens

Kostas Ginnapolis  
ERT Journalist.  
Athens

Greg Vaios  
Disc Jockey: Greek Radio and Television (ERT)  
Record Producer: Wipeout Records  
Music Director, Seven Plus Seven  
7 Xiromerou, Athens

Pirate Radio Broadcasters (1988)

George  
Director: Cosmoradio  
Thessaloniki

University Professors

Melina Sarafetzinou  
Professor: Sociology and Mass Communication  
University of Athens;  
Author: Sociology of Mass Media.  
Syngrou 139, Athens

John Metaxas  
Professor: Political Science  
University of Athens  
Former Director of ERT  
19 Omirou, Athens

Vasilis Karapostolis  
Professor: Social Communication and Language  
University of Athens;  
Author: Communication in Greece.  
74 Zakyntou, Athens

Several factors dictated selection of the eight categories of inquiry presented above. As mentioned previously, this researcher chose to focus on interviews with spokespersons and opinionmakers from positions of power within the Greek society. The analytic concept of power was chosen as the category of investigation over any type of demographic category as power may be considered a cardinal way in which systems become organized. Categories thus were derived from various political, economic, and social elements within the structural system of modern Greek society. The categories chosen represent elements with a demonstrated history of active roles of power with modern Greek society. Research and current understanding of modern Greece reveals the importance and value of the realm of the political, the Greek Church, newspaper journalists, editors, and publishers, lawyers, and educators within Greek society. These elements, considered powerful in Greece, thus were chosen as categories of inquiry. The remaining categories--managers or directors from the private and municipal radio stations and spokespersons from the Greek Radio and Television (ERT S.A.)--were chosen because of their relevance to the subject matter.

APPENDIX B  
LETTERS OF INTRODUCTION

The following letters of introduction were written for this researcher by Mr. Ike Pappas, Ike Pappas Network Productions, Inc., Washington, D.C., and Dr. Theofanis Stavrou, Director of Modern Greek Studies and Student Project for Amity Among Nations, University of Minnesota. Please refer to Chapter One for details concerning the use of these letters.



June 16, 1988

Dear Telemahos:

This is to introduce to you my colleague Ms. Judy Bouranis Sims of the University of Minnesota's Speech and Communications Department. She will be spending the next several months in Athens and elsewhere doing some very important research on the changes that have recently taken place regarding private radio broadcasting in Greece.

I would appreciate it very much if you could offer her whatever assistance she may require in completing her work, including the arrangement of interviews with several key members of the government and the broadcasting community in Greece.

In addition to her work for the university, Ms. Sims will also be doing some preliminary research for me on the current status of broadcasting in Greece, anticipating that Mr. Christodoulides intends to invite me and my associates back to Greece to develop a plan to reorganize ERT Radio and Television, as he indicated when I was in Greece last April.

I also hope to see you soon in beautiful Greece.

Sincerely,

Ike Pappas

IP/dma

Mr. Telemahos Hytiris  
Special Secretary  
G.G.T.P.  
Zalacosta 10  
Athens, Greece

Ε.Δ.  
28.6.



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ  
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ

Αθήνα, 28 Ιουνίου 1988

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ ΜΟΡΦΩΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΧΕΣΕΩΝ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ Β

Αριθ. πρωτ.

ΔΥ

ΠΡΟΣ:

Ταχ. Δ/ση: Πλ.Καρύτση 12  
Ταχ. κώδικας: 101 86  
Πληροφορίες:  
Τηλέφωνο: 3233256

ΚΟΙΝ.:

ΘΕΜΑ: Παροχή διευκολύνσεων  
σε φοιτητή Ηεοελληνικών Παν/μίου ΜΙΝΝΕΣΟΤΑΣ.

Με το παρόν σας πληροφορούμε ότι ο *Τζέιντι Σίμς*  
(*Justin Sims*) φοιτητής του Τμήματος Ηεοελληνικών  
Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Μιννεσώτας, Αμερικής, με το οποίο  
η Δ/ση Μορφωτικών Σχέσεων του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού συνεργάζεται  
από 12ετίας, πραγματοποιεί στην Ελλάδα μορφωτικό ερευνητικό  
πρόγραμμα "στα πλαίσια των σπουδών του".

Για το σκοπό αυτό παρακαλούμε να του παρασχεθεί κάθε δυνατή από  
μέρους σας διευκόλυνση για την αποδοκμη εκτέλεση του έργου  
του.

Ευχαριστούμε για τη συνεργασία σας.

Βατερική διανομή

ΔΙΜΕ/Β

Ε.Υ.  
Ο Προϊστάμενος της Δ/σης

*Σ. Ρέπουλης*  
Σ. Ρέπουλης

## APPENDIX C

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

As reviewed in Chapter One, the standardized open-ended interview approach was utilized to collect the qualitative data. The standardized open-ended interview consisted of a set of questions carefully worded and arranged with the intention of taking each respondent through the same sequence and asking each respondent the same core of questions with essentially the same words. Questions were asked in the same sequence in a majority of the interviews, however, in some cases, questions were asked when the topic emerged in the conversation. Although all interviewees were asked the same core of questions, some interviewees were asked specialized questions related to their specific areas. For example, managers and/or directors of radio stations were asked questions about the programming and operation of the stations; lawyers were asked questions pertaining to the law.

#### Core Questions

In your opinion, what forces or pressures or considerations may have affected the decision by the government to allow--to legalize--private and municipal radio in Greece?

From your knowledge, what persons or groups or parties were active in trying to bring about the idea of private and municipal radio in Greece?

It may be too early to say, but in your opinion, has Greece changed in any way since the development of private radio? For example, Greek society, the organizational structure, politics? If so, how?

What do you think the new media--the private radio and municipal radio--mean to the Greek people?

What do you like about ERT S.A.? Examples?

What do you dislike about ERT S.A.? Examples?

Do you think that ERT S.A. should be saved, revamped, or do you think that it should be abolished?

Some people have expressed a concern for a need to protect the Greek culture from, say, the invasion of foreign mass communication. How do you feel about this idea?

I've asked everyone to define freedom of speech. What is it and what does it mean to you, in Greece?

Can you recommend or suggest anyone else that I might talk with about this subject?

APPENDIX D

PHOTOGRAPHS DOCUMENTING THE DEMOLITION OF THE  
STRUCTURE HOUSING THE THESSALONIKI 100 FM  
MUNICIPAL RADIO STATION TRANSMITTER BY  
TROOPS SENT FROM ATHENS, DECEMBER, 1987

The following series of photographs were given to this researcher by Fotis Manousis, General Secretarist, Thessaloniki and General Manager of Thessaloniki FM 100/101 Municipal Radio; and Kostas Possidonos, Business manager, Thessaloniki FM 100/101 Municipal Radio.

Police troops sent from Athens to demolish the structure housing the Thessaloniki 100 FM Municipal radio transmitter; December, 1987.



Center: The Mayor of Thessaloniki, Sotiris Kouvelas, during the demolition of the structure housing the Thessaloniki 100 FM Municipal radio station transmitter by troops sent from Athens; December, 1987.



Athens police troops demolish the concrete structure housing  
the Thessaloniki 100 FM Municipal radio transmitter;  
December, 1987.



ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟ  
ΡΑΔΙΟΦΩΝΟ  
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΣ



The concrete structure housing the Thessaloniki 100 FM Municipal radio transmitter demolished by the Athens police troops; December, 1987.

