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IMPLICATIONS OF MEDIA DEMOCRACY IN GREEK POLITICS

Abstract

The paper analyzes the impact of media communications on Greek Politics. By referring to articles from daily newspapers and also by commenting on existing literature we try to highlight the basic implications on democratic procedures and values that contemporary democracy is facing because of the “colonization of media”.

The **first part** of the paper is discussing relevant theoretical approaches for the close interconnection between media and politics and the absorption of public sphere in media sphere. Mediated politics are nowadays the main form of politics and the most important source for citizens regarding political information. Substantial democratic functions *in* and *within* media that are defining- more or less -significant political issues and procedures were changed. Changes in political parties’ structure are also included in the same discussion and their current role in parliamentary politics.

The **second part** emphasizes on specific cases from Greek politics where the influences of media have obviously affected or supported political decisions and policies. Specific examples and cases are mentioned underlining at the same time that these conditions of media democracy are also part of global political system which is sharing common news, sources and practices. “Americanization” of politics has implied new paths and ways of expressing and exercising policies.

In the last part of the paper several conclusions and remarks are made for current political scenery in Greece. Taking into account the “mediatization of politics” as a given condition of politics, we should adjust politics in media democracy but trying to keep the word and content of democracy alive.

I. Introduction

Media democracy is the term which signifies with the most vivid and succinct way the close interconnection between media and politics. Most of the current theoretical approaches intend that nowadays there is not only a strong connection between media section and political section but they are overlapping each other in so many ways that

is hard and difficult to distinguish them (fusion or symbiosis model)¹. A good methodological proposal in order to uncover this bond is the use of media and their procedures as interpretation tool for politics since communicative dimension in politics is substantial factor for the realization of political ideas and proclamations.

In the core of political action and procedures stands **political discourse**, as the main instrument for exercising power. Traditionally, political discourse carries the main burden of the communicative dimension of politics. Thus, it is “assigned” with the tasks of addressing citizens and their needs, of forming new political ideas, of synthesizing political proposals and in the end, of initiating political action itself by expressing intentions and will into words. When mediation from media industries interferes in all these functions of political discourse the usual result is that primary political messages do not reach their recipients with the same content because their meanings are somehow filtered and adjusted to media rules and expectations. Therefore, politics are been perceived in a different way as well, since cognitive and perception parameters - always dependable from the way discourse is publicized-determine both the production and the reception of “political” as a totality.

In this “publication” procedure the **ideological orientation** of media also counts. The latter depends on their ownership status, their “political alliances”, on specific economic interests and certainly on journalists themselves. Apart from the fact that media are considered ideological institutions and not only channels for the distribution of information, another parameter, the **technological** one is present affecting politics in the term of ideologies. Digital electronics, and new advancements in telecommunications technology has turned political discourse into an **apolitical rhetoric** that “*washes away conflict theories about society and replaces them with the inevitable, progressive, and entertaining images of virtual world*” (Sussman, 2005:1).

The present paper constitutes a small part of the empirical research of my PhD with the title: “**Political Discourse and Mass Media: Legal, Political and Social Dimension**”. The first part of the PhD, is consisted by three chapters and critically analyzes while synthesizing, leading theoretical approaches concerning political discourse, ideology, ending up to the basic characteristics of media political discourse, or “communicative” discourse as we call it. In general, it provides an analytical framework for the better comprehension of the close interrelation and

¹ For a brief analysis of contemporary theories regarding the interdependence between media and politics see Meyer &Hinchman, 2002:49-52.

interdependence of media and politics today based on observations and qualitative analysis of the relevant literature concerning the nature of contemporary political discourse. The characteristics of media political discourse serve as criteria and basis for the description and analysis of modern democracy that follows in the next part.

The second part of the PhD is where the quasi-empirical research is presented which is supported by references analysis from articles chosen from the daily and weekly Greek press in the effort to provide a more realistic representation of media democracy in Greece and to specify assertions and theories in the level of political reality. Stepping on the remarks we have reached in the first part through the identification of the expressions, structure and communicative alterations that were imposed on contemporary political discourse, and by commenting on the articles, we contemplate the basic features of contemporary political scenery in Greece under media domination. We underline, though, that specific characteristics of domestic politics apply and are responsible factors that make media democracy in each country a “unique homogenized” regime. The second part is divided in three chapters as well. The Legal, Political and Social dimension each one of them reflecting while critically approaching reasons and consequences that could be addressed from a legal, political and social perspective.

The present paper combines an eclectic summary of the “Political Dimension” of the aforementioned PhD with few inferences from the “Legal Dimension”. We will concentrate our interest to the focal points and implications of media democracy on Greek politics as they are revealed from the study of the relevant literature, presenting, in parallel, critical evidence drawn from newspaper articles.

II. Political “narrations” of contemporary media democracy

We refer to “narrations” as the specific word signifies and composes multiple factors of the present situation, and because we think that what media have mainly changed are “narrations” of contemporary politics. Media spectrum has covered political and social life in their totality. Whether our research is focused on procedures, political discourse or political ideas, it is obvious that politics have to bare the “colonization” of media. In any “colonization” situation, what’s more in media colonization, the crucial question arising focuses on the dominant part which decides and prevails against the other. More specifically, hypothesis questions could be formed like this:

Are media imposing their rules to politics or vice versa? Who is in charge of the function of media democracy? As Meyer & Hinchman are highlighting:

“In colonizing politics the logic of media system does not simply restructure the way the political is portrayed or its relation to other systems; it affects the political process at the ‘production’ level, i.e. where the political sphere emerges as a unique form of life”. (2002:57).

Enzensberger (1974) is approaching the issue with a more realistic view, pondering over the problem of media power. As he proposes, the issue is not to find out whether media have power. Anyway, this is a fact we have acknowledged and accepted long time ago. The focal point is who controls media and exercises power *in* and *within* their context.

In this undefined relationship between media and politics, we assume that media act as the definitional term for politics meaning that instead of the medium’s “obedience” to politics we have the opposite situation. Media implications on politics concern both “**internal**” (procedures, decision,) and “**external**” politics (methods of publicity, citizens’ perception of politics). The problems we have detected in our research are related both to internal and external dimension of politics underlying though that the external side is naturally vulnerable to the medium of publicity.

It is rather impossible to summarize in a few pages the whole discussion on media democracy but we can support our argumentations by including the main points to the well-known term of “**americanization**” (Papathanasopoulos, 1996). To achieve a better control of this huge topic we have developed a few basic thematic categories and included our remarks in them. Therefore we have focused on the following basic sector-implications:

- a) Important consequences are detected in the **representative character of democracy**. In the first place media do not always provide equal access to all politicians neither to all political opinions. Hence, only specific political elites are privileged with the participation in media public sphere. Second the internal sphere of political parties has been altered due to the lack of interest from citizens which mainly derives from the decline of ideological representations in political parties and in consequence, decline in representative basis of political parties. The absence of strong ideological bonds has loosened structures of political parties and in some cases changed the whole image of the party itself. New forms of “inclusive” parties appeared

fighting to convince for their capability to cover a wide political spectrum of ideas. Even if we accept that inclusiveness serves democratization of political opinions within parties still the problem of inactive citizens remains unsolved. The fact that main aspects of “representativity” are been mediated intentionally by an additional factor, that is media, has caused series of problems. Political parties lost their main democratic responsibility and duty of articulating social interests with their public discourse. Moreover, the apolitical contribution of TV is direct because what is been promoted are not ideological fights but spectacular quarrels that provide neither political proposals nor solutions. They just keep television programme going on.

- b) Furthermore, **functional and structural problems in basic constitutions of parliamentary democratic procedures** and values have occurred such as the role and the power of parliament, the role of political parties in it and other relevant cases are also detected because of media intervention in politics. Naturally, malfunctions in the representative character of contemporary democracies have imposed chain reactions to institutions that are related to this feature. If problems in political parties are discerned then it is quite obvious that parliamentary procedures and the symbolic power of parliament are weakened inevitably. Much more importance and attention is given to political representation on TV rather that in parliament. Elected politicians nowadays do not necessarily represent different societal groups and interests but on the contrary and as surveys indicate, most of the times are elected according to the sequence of their appearance on TV. A new political virtue was promoted within media democracy; the ability to be communicative and appealing to a great number of people regardless of the real political dimensions of this presence. On the other hand, being appealing does not mean being real as well. “Truthfulness” has replaced truth on TV.
- c) **Political communication** and electoral campaigns turn to be another communicative strategy in the hands of experts, ignoring real political decisions (Swanson & Mancini, 1996). In neoliberalism milieu where political consultants and market experts are involved in elections much more than voters themselves, it’s beyond any doubt that politicians are used and “sold” like any other “product” adapting new roles. Modern communicative methods expect politicians to engage in politics under the logic of “playing” rather that

“acting”. **“Theatricalization”** is the key term in order to understand all the above procedures. Market rules apply also to political information which is been gradually detached from real problems and social expectations

- d) The **replacement or absorption of public sphere from media sphere** which leads to the absence of political dialogue, lack of political activism and other relevant situations consist one of the key arguments for the discussion on media dominance (see Dahlgren, 1995). In the era of extended visibility, the concept of “public” as a place of common shared experiences and exchange of ideas has declined. Citizens nowadays are engaged in representations of the world provided by media and constitute their experiences according to the constructed, nevertheless, **“common visibility”**. Henceforth, since these media representations are carefully de-politicized political attitude cannot escape the mainstream of avoiding real politics and adopting media politics.
- e) Serious changes in **political behavior of citizens** that apart from being voters they are first viewers and inevitably consumers of political spectacle by TV. (Entman, 1989). Electorate is “consuming” politics is speedy media times and the essential time for politics in order to be understood, appreciated and judged is been replaced by media mechanisms. The concept of “consumerism” has affected crucial political procedures and perceptions.

In the end, depoliticization and the transformation of ideology seem to identify with the best given way the consequences of the aforementioned situation (Norris, 2002, Deligiaouri, 2006). Since the connotation of the terms is negative they could also act as alerts for our political awakening.

On the other hand, we should not ignore **positive contributions** that media have imposed on political procedures. The direct and “live” information citizens gain from TV, the continuous watching of politicians by journalists leaving no space for mistakes and the democratization of the freedom of speech (under preconditions that should be kept) are some of the privileges of democracy in the “Information Society”. Certainly, an in depth analysis reveals that the quantity of information is not most of the times equal with “quality”. The latter (quality) is not always the expected one and sometimes it is not serving politics at all but it is used as a mean of manipulation.

What is mostly discouraging is the overall impression that is been conveyed, that political spectacle has become integral part of TV spectacle and while an increase in political agenda of news was noticed the absurd loss of political content in political

news is imminent. This has happened because **“hyper-politicization” of news agenda** does not mean necessary that political issues are being discussed neither it means that whatever TV anchors call “political issue” is in its core -substance political. As Papadimitriou emphasizes on this subject:

*“The non-conformity between political discourse and social reality, since political rhetoric and practices of political parties are not related directly to collective social processes, and the lack of content in only phenomenological reactions of citizens, have led to the surfacing of an apolitical condition, we could call it **“hyper-politicization”**, which [...] implies rather political apathy, since common consciousness is missing, the basic prerequisite for the active participation of citizens in political proceedings” (2006:147).*

Therefore we should not take the term “political” for granted but we have also to consider it under suspicion for its use from media. The preferred form of “soft politics” (p.e. political contradictions with no real meaning, comments on the personal life of politicians etc) do not really produce political dialogue and pluralism and certainly do not lead to justified political decisions. Anyway, in media agenda is included any event that can possibly produce spectacular images and cause endless discussions on unsolved problems (Edelman, 1997)². Politics is always a good source of infotainment (Bennett, 1999).

To return to our preferred term of political narrations of media, we notice that media political narrations are short, spectacular, direct, consumable, and easy replaceable when necessary, always accompanied with aesthetical commands. Demands for high television rates in combination with wide spread adore in “spectacle”, are the most determinant factors for the adjustment of the language and content to the **common denominator of masses** regarding the level of comprehension. The so called **“Minimal Common Culture”** that Baudrillard (1994) refers to, aims to encompass the paradox procedure where people are absent in the production of the culture and act only as consumers of it, having a great trust on media, instead of being the “formers” of culture that media should respect.

It is crucial, therefore, to understand that people learn to believe by cognitive mechanisms promoted by media and what’s more important learn how to think. Logical estimation and critical approach are procedures underpinned and cultivated by

² M. Edelman explains the cynical way that media and politicians create and make use of “problems” and “crisis”.

TV “education” and certainly related to other factors of **socialization** (school, family etc) although they seem to be in a constant decay. In this sense people are getting used to accept that an irrelevant daily activity of a politician (p.e. jogging) could be more important than a political riot or a significant political event only because media have decided beforehand for the importance and the hierarchy of events. Hierarchy always implies an ideological procedure not necessarily an “evil” one but it certainly constitutes a selective prearrangement.

We believe beyond any doubt that media democracy is not another form or evolution of traditional representative democracy. Media democracy is the dominant form for contemporary politics nowadays in its whole, it is the main forum where power is exercised and is been understood as such. In corroboration of this statement almost all surveys indicate clearly that media are the main source of political action and information at the same time. Thus, media condensate the official political scenery and they are the stage where political “theatre” acts and where political dramas are presented. Perhaps we should be talking not only for the “Communication of politics” (Negrine, 1996) but also for the: “Politics of Communication” which seem to be even more powerful as a connotation term.

III. Media Reflections on Greek Politics

Remarks on Greek media democracy can be adequately understood only if they are placed in the global political framework of free market and free economy which is the dominant political and economical model in Western democracies. Transnational capitalism and hyper-industrialism enriched by the spirit of neoliberalism and progressive privatization are the key factors for the “deregulation” scheme in media industries. Certainly, particular conditions have interfered in the Greek case due to the idiomatic character of Greek political scenery.

More specifically, in Greek media democracy the first efforts for “free” television took place in 1987 as the result of a continuous struggle and political contradiction between the governmental party at that time (PASOK) and the major opposition political party (ND). The core argument of the political contradiction was the pressure on behalf of ND for the need of “liberation” of the freedom of speech and the abolishment of state monopoly in the area of telecommunications. In 1989, the

first municipal television channel (TV-100 in Thessaloniki) has commenced broadcasting in Northern Greece (see also Papathanasopoulos, 2005:286-287).

The “explosion” of private- commercial media in Greece, has followed more or less the global model. First “media democracy” was established and grew up in a very fast way and afterwards the effort for the regulation of the new communicative environment emerged. Therefore, media democracy as the “legitimate” political democracy was legitimized retroactively. The situation that “de facto” legitimization has preceded against “de jure” legitimization is in charge for problems that grew gradually and never solved on time. Progressively these problems were exaggerated taking dimensions that could be avoided if a legal “providence” in collaboration with political doughtiness has interfered in the early stages of the new-coming political scenery. Some of these problems were confronted in details by the recent (in 2001) Revision of Greek Constitution and several amendments and changes in relevant articles (5A, 9A, 14, 15) were forwarded in the effort to provide a safer ground for media democracy. Simultaneously, “information” was upgraded to the level of a constitutional right and was placed beside to already well-known constitutional rights.

For the purpose of facilitating our research we have identified **three periods of Greek media democracy**. The first from 1980-1987, the second from 1987-1996 and the third from 1996 up to date.1996 is a special date because the two major political parties in Greece having recognized the importance of media in political communication and in the election campaigns, they have decided to address television as their official public forum for political contradictions. Therefore, M.Evert and K.Simitis have employed TV screen as their main political arena and the first debate of political leaders has appeared on our TV screens with “strict” rules and very formal procedures. This was the first intentional attempt from official politics to “pass” to the new era of political communication which was, consequently, signaled with the passing to “indirect” mediatized communication. (To Vima, 2004)

In this point we have to make clear that the previous example is significant because it proves that engagement of media in politics wasn’t really promoted by media themselves but it was principally an “institutional” decision since politicians deliberately accepted media interference in politics. Certainly this “acceptance” did not mean that politics surrendered unconditionally to media but what has followed indicates the weakness of politics to resist to communicative ascendancy which was expanded day by day to all areas of political and social life.

In order to trace the features and symptoms of media democracy as they are understood and analyzed within the framework of Greek politics we will refer to phrases and characteristics drawn by newspaper articles. From the plethora of articles concerning the object of our research, we have chosen to mention in this article only some of them that we think they constitute a representative sample and they describe more “vividly” media democracy.

To begin with, “**Democracy of market**” is the term used by Papaioannou (2004), to show the strong bonds between media democracy as political power and the rules of market economy. Other articles’ comments on the press, name media democracy as “**negative**”, (“Prologika”, 2004), or as the democracy of “**remote control**” (“Mikropolitikos”, 2002). K. Tsoukalas (2004a) emphasizes on the absence of real political speech and arguments and the natural boredom of TV viewers towards a mediatized political spectacle that has nothing much to offer except from a continuous “parade” and sequence of politicians in front of TV screens, all of them supporting similar political ideas. Therefore he calls media democracy “**democracy of boredom**”. This new democracy is also accompanied by a new **tele-culture** which is described by the abatement and limitation of political content as well as the abolition of justified argumentation (Tsoukalas, 2004b). A very good remark on the effects of media democracy is proposed with the construction of a new cultural locus, and regime, at the same time, under the name of “**telepolis**” which has both positive and negative attributes (Gouliamos, 1993). Basically, as a positive attribute author proposes the opening of the field of public dialogue and action and as a negative he considers the compulsory compliance of telepolis with the rules and functions of advertisement and marketing. The author places television in the role of the “**social mind**” of modern democracy.

Regarding political behaviour of citizens in media democracy the term of “**passive democracy**” (Halkiotis, 2004) is been underlined, unfolding and providing reasons for the symptoms of the declination of political interests of citizens and their reluctance to participate in political procedures since participation is, in most of the cases, somehow exhausted and constrained to the limits of TV watching. This situation is also described as “**tele-voyerism**” (Papathanasopoulos, 1996). Another important dimension to media democracy is proposed by N. Mouzelis (2004) and the term “**market-dominance**” enforced on media, which reflects the tendency of economic capital to ‘buy’ political and cultural capital by controlling TV.

The above short but enlightening presentation for the features of media democracy in Greek press show, in the majority of the articles, a **negative point of view** regarding the way this democracy functions and the perspectives that may serve. It is clear that in most of the references what is underpinned is the incommensurable and disproportional “enlargement” of media sphere which has gradually occupied the whole public sphere, serving as the official public forum (see also Dahlgren: 1995). The chain reactions are evident to the new political ethics that were introduced parallel to new forms of political participation. When political participation became dependent to pseudo-events (Plios, 2004) has turned inescapably to **pseudo-participation**. Pseudo-participation is also reflected to pseudo-representation as most of the citizens (59, 6%) believe that social forces are not been represented by political parties (Imerisia, 2005). Crisis in political parties and their failure to correspond successfully to societal expectations is clearly accepted and commented by politicians themselves (see p.e: Bakoyianni, 2002, Kastanidis 2005). Perhaps the above evidence proves the paradox statement that Papathanasopoulos (2005) supports in one of his articles; the coexistence of “**silent democracy**” with “noisy media”. This “paradox” is bizarre feature that seems to be inherent in the conceptualization of the notion of democracy (Mouffe, 2004).

Political events are framed and sometimes invented from media because teledemocracy needs political spectacle to survive. We will mention two indicative cases from Greek political life that show the direct interference of new mediated communicative ethics on politics.

a) First the new-born political “**Party of Free Citizens**” (KEII) which D. Avramopoulos was leading, had a successful communicative strategy on mass media, especially on TV. The ability of D. Avramopoulos and his communicative talent were proved insufficient, in the end, to convince people that a new political proposal was formed. The new party seemed to deny a basic political principle, that political parties should express clearly their political ideology and thesis (Botopoulos, 2002). But, even “sparkling” and “appealing” events in politics need a real political thesis to acquire and stabilize a position in political system and it seems that this precondition was not fulfilled adequately in the attempt in question and this party was soon dissolved.

b) Similar to the previous example, is the so-called “**communicative storm**” (Darzanou, 2004, Kaimakis, 2004) that took place a few months before the last

National Elections in 2004 for the new elected leader of the Socialist party (PASOK), G. Papandreou and seemed to be successful in the beginning of his incumbency, as an electoral strategy. Early surveys revealed voters' satisfaction for the succession in the presidency of the party and a hidden belief that it was not only a substitution of a person but also the beginning of a new political course of the party and the inauguration of fresh political ideas. Yet the results of National Elections of 2004 proved again that communicative events may trigger political interest but they cannot change by themselves electoral percentages and voting preferences.

c) Another indicative example of media democracy has to do with the last **Presidential Election in Greece, in 2004** regarding election procedures of K. Papoulias. As it was clear TV procedures had already decided for the person that should be elected "revealing" the intentions and agreements between K. Karamanlis and G. Papandreou. Parliamentary procedures have followed just to "ratify" decisions made on TV (Galiatsatos 2004, Hrysogonos, 2004, Papaioannou, 2004). Certainly rules of consociational democracy prevail in these cases and broad political consensus is also expected in the presidential election by the Greek Constitution. The issue is though, that media time is much quicker and direct than real political time. Whenever media production demands, political processes are bypassed by media always serving the concept of "presentism". In that way public opinion is preoccupied and shaped accordingly. In that case it is very difficult for a politician to undertake the political responsibility to act against media constructed public opinion.

Conclusions extracted from the above indicative examples prove the contradictory character of media democracy. In the first place, the good news that derives from these examples is that citizens' political criteria may be altered by media commands and pseudo-events but they have kept part of their integrity and in most of the cases, political symbolism cannot replace political reality. The bad message reveals how politics can become either a "trivial" or significant topic according to media production schemes and models. Interferences in political procedures is not only a procedural issue, it is a substantial one. The problem is not that politics are engaged for their publicity to media industries. The problem is that their significance relies sometimes to media symbolism and representations.

IV. Conclusion

The independence between the fields of “media” and “politics”, using Bourdieu’ (1998) theoretical concepts (also see Couldry, 2003), seems to be negated by media democracy. Media democracy as the unified term for the description of contemporary democracy proves the truth of this argument. Most of the times the term is used to describe the ways by which media have acquired a decisive role in political process. The concept of “mediacracy” goes a step beyond and supports the thesis of media being not only strong interference to politics but acting as catalysts by internalizing politics in media framework and rules.

Democracy nowadays is necessarily seen through the lens of media democracy because media is the predominant molder of reality. Democracy was always interwoven with communicative dimension of politics. We should pinpoint though, to avoid absolute negativism, that the “technological” route to teledemocracy as procedural and communicative parameter was inevitable because of technological evolution in telecommunications. What could have been prevented, with the assistance of political will and legislative framework, was the total identification of modern democracy in the terms of media democracy. The danger of media jeopardizing political system and democratic values is always imminent if we face media and their publicity with unconditional obedience.

If we consider that media political discourse is a “meta-language” (Dunn, 1988) then perhaps we are in the era of “**meta –democracy**” and we should consider and investigate this new aspect of democracy under contemporary rules that govern politics, media and public sphere. We strongly believe that that we cannot provide sustainable arguments against or in favor of teledemocracy only in comparison to previous situations. Media democracy is a historical form of democracy that should be addressed under the rules of its production and dominance concurrently and always in relation to modern connotations and functions of media and politics. When a specific social and political phenomenon emerges, is because very specific social conditions surface that are bringing forth new needs and ways of communication.

Apparently, the “new public space of politics” (Ortega, 2004) which is literally media space does not always comply with democratic axioms like transparency, equality of participation and other ethical and political issues because it does not acquire the legality of its actions on democratic principles but on commercial

and “spectacular” criteria. Besides the well-known argument for only procedural changes in democracy due to media determination is not correct because the “quality” of democratic procedures determines democracy itself. Since nowadays media are constructing our political universe we have to accept media democracy as the dominant and existing form of democracy but guaranteeing that the word democracy remains under the preconditions and meanings that it has to serve. A critical scrutiny of media democracy constituents could help us reconsider the true content of democracy while reminding us that “political praxis” (Kastoriadis, 1975/2006) can interfere actively and change established imbalances in contemporary democracy.

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³ Articles unsigned or written by unknown author are put in order according to their title.

The international image of Greece

An analysis on the occasion of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games

By Maria Fola

Introduction

This paper examines the international image of Greece before, during and after the Olympic Games of 2004. In today's world, the Olympic Games is a special event¹ that captures the world's attention. During the Games of the XXVIII Olympiad in Athens, for the first time ever a record 201 National Olympic Committees (NOCs) participated in the Olympic Games. The overall tally for events on the programme was 301 (one more than in Sydney 2000). More than 21,000 media representatives from around the world attended the Games in Athens. Popularity in the Games reached soared to new highs as 3.9 billion people had access to the television coverage compared to 3.6 billion for Sydney 2000².

While preparing for the Games, the Organising Committee for the Olympic Games³ ATHENS 2004 (ATHOC) commissioned⁴ a series of public opinion surveys on the Olympic Games event, the public's perception on the progress of preparations and the image of the host country and host city to key international audiences.

¹ Jago and Shaw (1998, p. 29) suggest that *a special event is a one-time or infrequently occurring event that provides the consumer with a leisure and social opportunity beyond everyday experience. Such events, which attract, or have the potential to attract, tourists, are often held to raise the profile, image or awareness of a region.*

² Data was retrieved on June 1, 2007 from www.olympic.org

³ The organisation of the Olympic Games is entrusted by the International Olympic Committee (IOC) to the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of the country of the host city as well as to the host city itself. The NOC forms, for that purpose, an Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (OCOG) which, from the time it is constituted, communicates directly with the IOC, from which it receives instructions...From the time of its constitution to the end of its liquidation, the OCOG must comply with the Olympic Charter, the contract entered into between the IOC, the National Olympic Committee and the host city (Host City Contract) and the instructions of the IOC Executive Board. Nowadays, these Organising Committees have turned into enormous administrative entities employing hundreds of people. The Organising Committee starts its work with a period of planning followed by a period of organisation which culminates in the implementation or operational phase (Description retrieved on June 1, 2007 from www.olympic.org).

⁴ The project was basically commissioned to a consortium of MRB, VPRC and Research International companies, supported sometimes by other research projects available to ATHOC.

That process resulted in a wide range of research data, deriving from several public opinion surveys (quantitative, qualitative, targeting general public or opinion leaders etc). A selected part of that data is examined and analysed in this paper. Our main focus is the international image of Greece on the occasion of the Olympic Games. Key question remains whether Greece and the city of Athens has benefit from this event and the opportunity to get into the media spotlight and has strategically managed to form or enhance its international image.

1. The Olympic Games of 2004: a case study of PR and media opportunities

The term "Competitive Identity" has been put forward by Simon Anholt, a leading authority on managing national identity and reputation. In his new book (Anholt, 2007, p. 3) Simon Anholt defines Competitive Identity as "a new model for enhanced national competitiveness in a global world". In essence, Anholt argues, that in today's globalised environment every country competes with every other in order to put forward its main attributes and promote itself towards key audiences of interest (tourists, investors etc). It is what corporations have been doing for many years, through branding, marketing and communication techniques. Anholt puts forward the idea of nation branding and emphasises upon the fact that in today's world, countries need to emerge and establish themselves in the eyes and minds of key stakeholders in a way that matches their strategic objectives.

In May 2000, Gianna Angelopoulos – Daskalaki was appointed by the prime minister of Greece President of ATHOC. Mrs Angelopoulos undertook a tremendous effort to convince all key stakeholders in Greece and abroad that Athens was able to, in fact, prepare for and stage a successful Olympic Games event in a timely and efficient manner. It was a time of great controversy as far as the preparations of the Greek Games were concerned, with former IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch pointing a 'yellow card' to the organisers in Greece, due to major delays in Olympic works and other parts of the preparations.

Mrs Angelopoulos was definitely the woman for the task. Not only herself but also the whole of ATHOC team worked extremely hard for the remaining five years in order to help staging a successful Games. They did more than that: they realized that the upcoming Olympic Games event was a great media and PR opportunity for Greece "to re-launch itself in they eyes of the world"⁵. It is

⁵ Re-launching brand Greece has been a key message of all Gianna Angelopoulos public speeches, memos and articles since she took office in May 2000.

what Anholt refers to as correcting the image of a place or a country⁶. Thus the necessity to investigate the international image of Greece, find out what the world thought of the host country of the 2004 Games and decide upon what needed to be changed, emphasized upon, and communicated.

2. December 2003: a contemporary Greek competitive identity might be formed against stereotypes

In December 2003, according to a tailor made qualitative research⁷ among opinion leaders in six countries, Greece is primarily being perceived as idyllic holiday destination and secondarily as a place of great cultural significance.

At that time, our respondents spontaneously associate Greece and the Greeks with holidays and leisure. Sun and sea are part of this stereotypical image, as also are spontaneity and laissez-faire as well as a sense of warmth and hospitality. The significance of the Greek culture mainly stems from its history and link to ancient times, rather than from the nation's modern achievements.

Respondents also seem to have a clear image of the Greek people, who are described as warm, friendly, welcoming, traditional, family-oriented, strong, and proud people that love life. The Greeks are perceived to possess a large degree of self-assuredness, as people who manage to solve problems rather ad hoc thanks to their creativity and ability to improvise. Such skills or attributes, however, are often perceived in juxtaposition to what is required for the economic and political life of a modern state to progress. Greeks seem to be lacking the qualities of careful planning, reliability and organisational skills, which are perceived by our respondents as key to the success of a modern state.

Furthermore, the Greeks are not associated with attributes considered to play an important role to modern democracies, such as social responsibility or capable administration. Respondents describe the Greeks as disorganised and somewhat 'indolent'. In a world where emphasis is placed on performance and efficiency, especially within the EU environment, the Greeks seem, in light of the aforementioned description, as pleasant and passionate, but 'essentially harmless' and 'relatively unimportant', 'a nation that must not necessarily be taken all that seriously', even when bearing in mind Greece's historical impact on the history of the Western World.

⁶ Anholt, S (2007) *idem*, p. 67

⁷ The research was carried out by TNS ICAP between Nov – Dec 2003 using the one-to-one in depth interviews technique. The research involved key opinion leaders (journalists, media officials, government officials and representatives of international sports associations) in six countries: Japan, USA, France, United Kingdom, Germany and Spain. 30 interviews were carried out in the USA and 20 in each of the remaining countries.

It comes as no surprise that few respondents are able to comment on Greece's economical or political situation, mainly because the country is not regarded as having a particularly exceptional profile on these factors.

Journalists seem to be more familiar than other respondents with the Greek economy, political climate, and government. Still, most respondents, including journalists, receive little information about Greece and as characteristically said by a respondent '*...modern Greece is poorly marketed and largely not promoted*'.⁸

It is clear that, at that point in time, Greece could not continue to rely on its natural beauty, ancient history and culture as a means to attract the world's attention to its current presence and achievements. The upcoming Olympic Games is thus perceived as a great media opportunity to draw attention to the country's present achievements. Opinion leaders specifically express the need to be "guided" through the achievements of Greece as a contemporary country in order to dispel all myths and clichés regarding the passionate but unreliable Greek character. According to the opinion leaders, it would be advisable to focus communication more on Greek modernity and socio-economical development rather than Ancient Greece the classical values and the natural beauty of the country.⁹

There is a clear need for action. A consistent strategy in developing, promoting and implementing key messages for the positioning of brand Greece is required.

3. Two months before the Games: the public is following the news, expectations for a good event are formed

Between June and July 2004, two months prior to the beginning of the Games, the consortium of research companies conducted a quantitative survey on the image of Greece to the international audiences¹⁰. Although the results cannot directly be compared to the previous research, as a different methodology is applied to a different audience based on a different questionnaire, it is very interesting to be able to follow these results, as the same research was also repeated after the end of the event.

- a. Awareness of the country where the 2004 Olympics are to be held

⁸ TNS ICAP *Global report on the Image of ATHOC and the host City*. Athens: prepared for ATHOC, 2004

⁹ TNS ICAP, *idem*

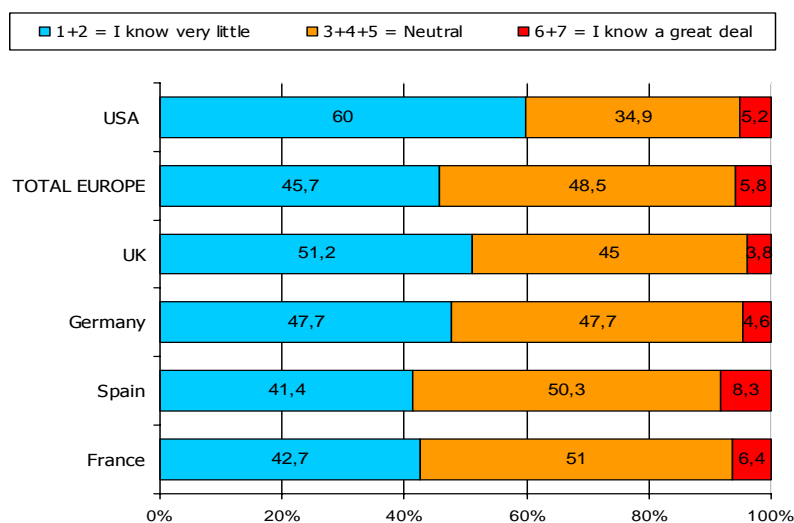
¹⁰ This survey was carried out in 5 countries: the US, Germany, France, Spain, and the UK. The methodology of random dialing was applied to general public (men and women over 18 years old). Sample dissemination is as follows: USA 1003 interviews, Germany 503 interviews, Spain 503 interviews, France 501 interviews, the UK 500 interviews.

One of the main questions of this survey is the one that examines the public's awareness of the country where the 2004 Games are to be hosted. The fact that limited information¹¹ or knowledge of Greece is shared amongst international audiences emerges again as one of the key findings. A percentage as high as 60% of the American respondents tells us that they know very little about the country, while in the European countries this figure reaches a 45,7% of the respondents. These are rather disappointing figures, taking into account that, at the time of the research, most international media publish regularly a great amount of information on Greece and the upcoming Games. Spanish audiences seem to be more informed among all Europeans asked, as a 8,3% of them tell us they know a great deal. In the UK, positive answers barely reach 3,8%.

Table 1

How well do you believe that you know Greece?

Scale 1 – 7
 1 = know very little, 7 = know a great deal



Base: All respondents – US = 1008. UK = 500, Germany = 503, Spain = 503, France

Spanish respondents also tell us that they have read or heard a lot about Greece recently (19,1%) and more specifically items which cover Greece but are not related to sports events. The UK audiences seem again to be those

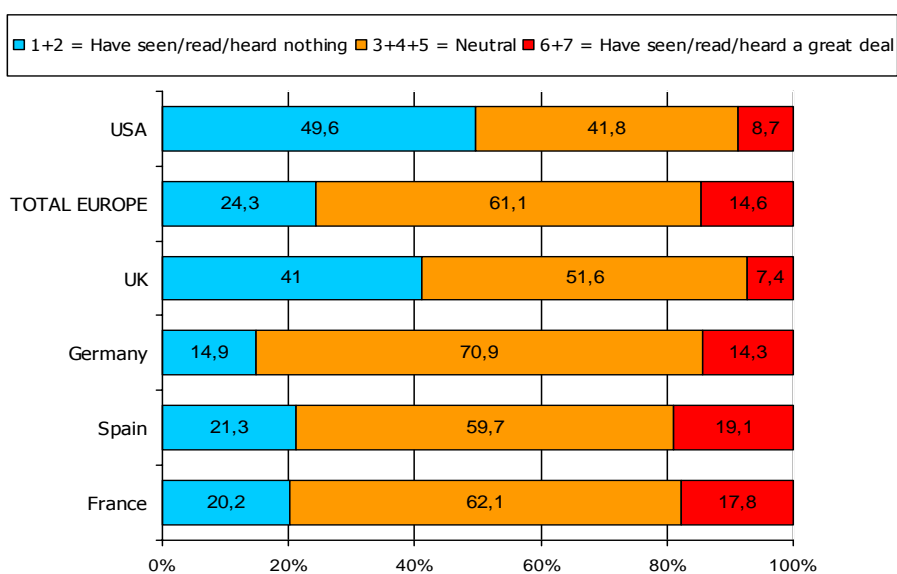
¹¹ "The reason why people don't know about the latest achievements of the country is probably not that they looked for the information and couldn't find it: it is almost certainly because they never felt inclined to look for it" in Anholt S (2007) *idem* p. 65

least informed (positive responses reach 7,4%), even less than the Americans (8,7%).

Table 2

Did you happen to see, read, or hear anything about Greece? That is items which covered Greece and were not about the sports events

Scale 1 – 7
 1 = have seen/read/heard nothing, 7 = have seen read/heard a great deal



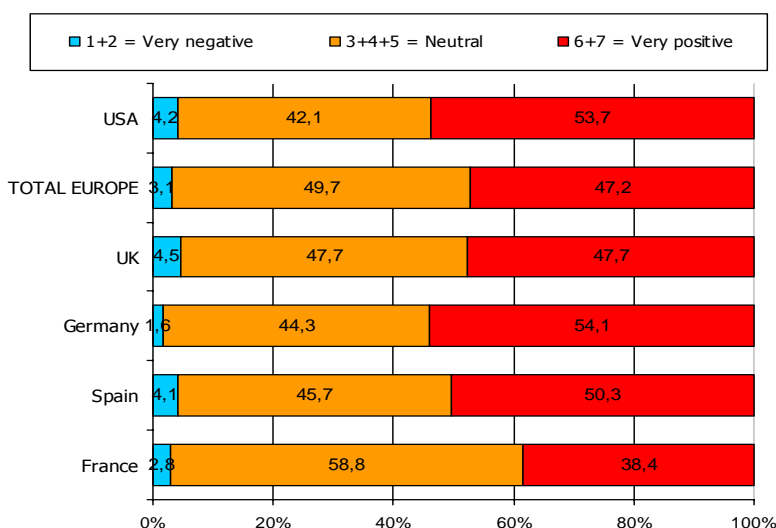
Base: All respondents – US = 1008. UK = 500. Germanv = 503. Spain = 503. France

Those who have seen or heard a lot about Greece perceive the information they have as positive for the country. 53,7% of the American respondents and 47,2% of the European ones tell us that they consider what they have heard very positive for the country.

Table 3

Do you consider what you have seen, read or heard about Greece, to be positive or negative?

Scale 1 – 7
 1 = very negative, 7 = very positive



Base: Those who have seen or heard a lot about Greece – US = 213. UK = 111. Germany = 183. Spain = 195. France =

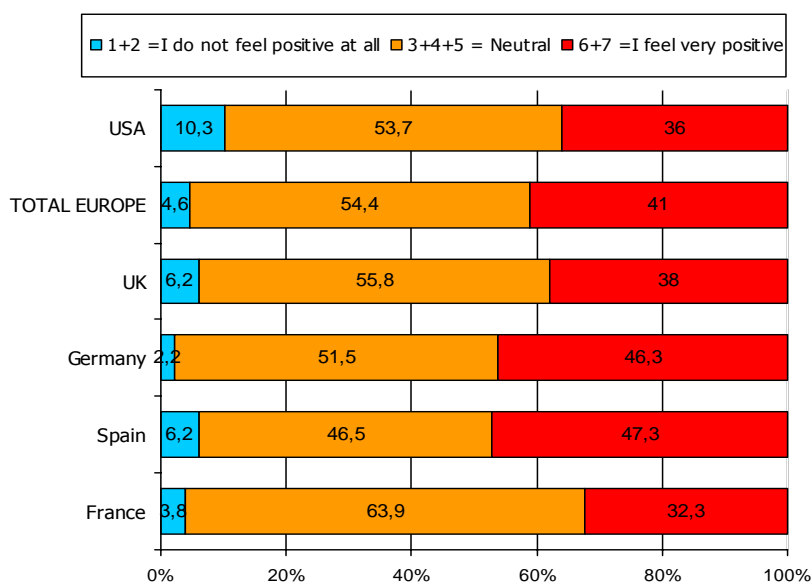
Additionally, it seems that Greece inspires positive or neutral feelings and reactions to the great majority of our respondents. This is also one of the key findings in the 2003 survey, with opinion leaders showcasing what can be called an emotional tolerance on Greece and its current image. It is the Germans that express more positive or neutral feelings towards Greece (97,88%), while the average positive / neutral responses in Europe reaches 95,4%. In the USA 89,7% of the sample tells us they feel positive or neutral about Greece (table 4).

So we are in fact dealing with a rather positive or at least neutral point of view on Greece from key international audiences. It is therefore an ideal opportunity for consistent key messages to be promoted to international audiences, such that enhance the current image of the country, explain its attributes, benefits and offerings or can create productive current connotations. The ground is set for an appropriate promotional strategy to be implemented.

Table 4

To what degree is Greece a country for which you feel positive?

Scale 1 – 7
 1 = not feel positive at all, 7 = feel very positive



Base: All respondents – US = 1008. UK = 500. Germany = 503. Spain = 503. France

b. The image of Greece abroad

It is of great interest to look at the data featuring on table 5, as they present the average responses of our sample towards stereotypical comments on our country. It is clear that more popular statements on Greece are:

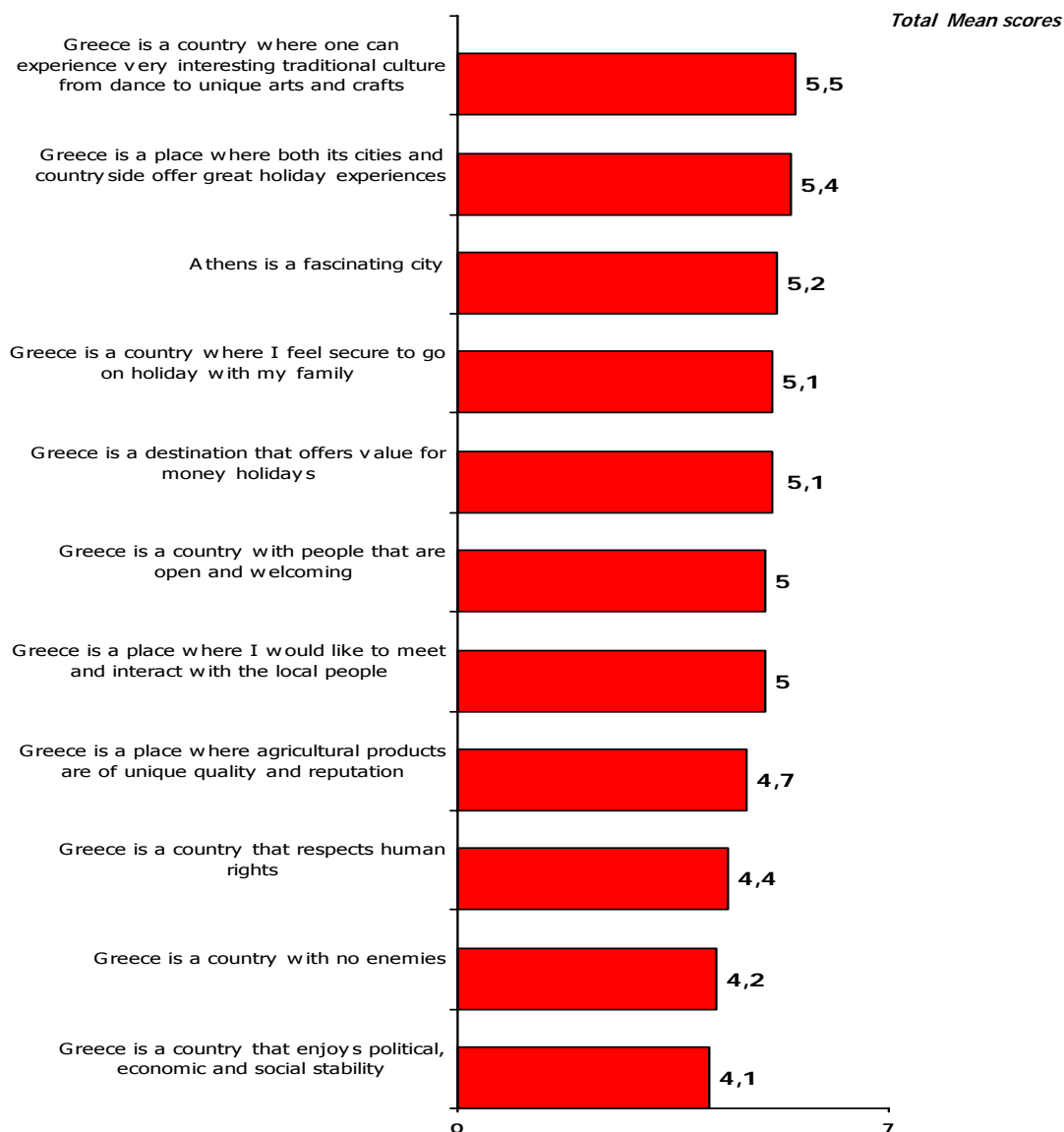
- That in Greece one can experience a very interesting traditional culture from dance to unique arts and crafts (we more recall that international opinion leaders also liaised strongly with references on Greek culture)
- It is a country that can offer a great holiday experience

A rather surprising mean score of 5,2 tells us that Athens is a fascinating city (responses are given on a scale between 1 to 7, 1=I disagree completely, 7=I agree completely). So Athens might in fact be a city that presents great PR opportunities. Last on the list of popular statements is the one discussing the political and economic situation of our country (mean score 4,1%).

Table 5

I will now read to you a number of statements that other people have expressed about Greece.

Please tell me to what degree you agree or disagree with the following statements



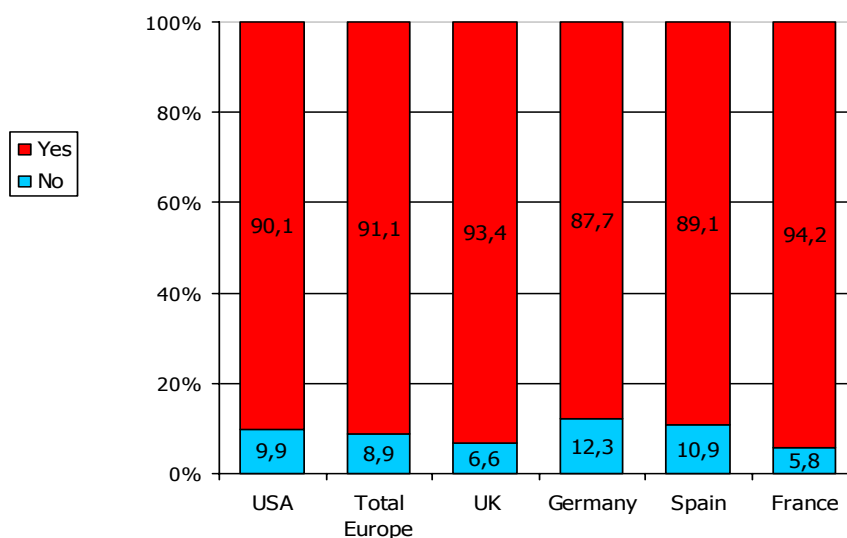
Base: All respondents: US = 1008 + UK = 500 + Germany = 503 + Spain = 503 + France = 501

c. Familiarity with the 2004 Games

This survey shows an impressive familiarity of all international audiences reached with the Olympic year 2004 and their host country and city. Average positive responses on Olympic year awareness are as high as 90,1% in the US and 91,1% in Europe.

Table 6

Awareness of the Olympic year 2004

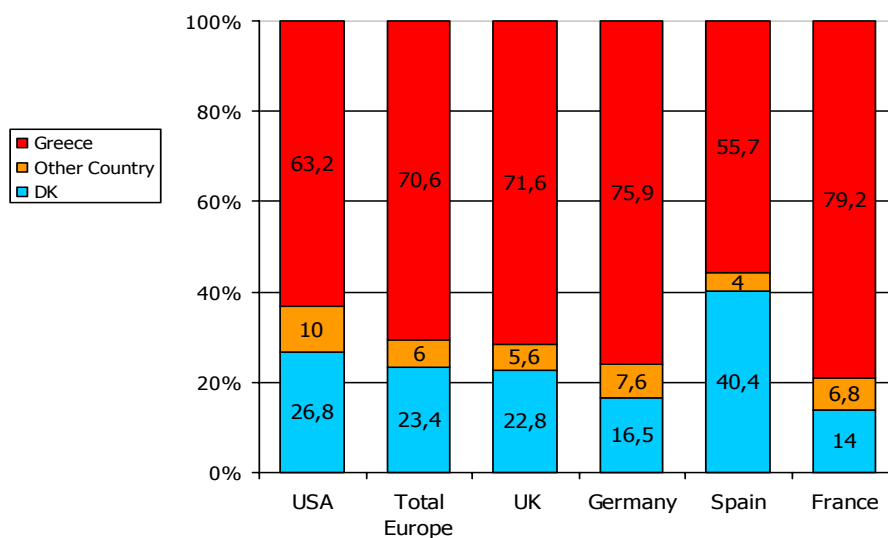


Base: All respondents – US = 1008. UK = 500. Germany = 503. Spain = 503. France =

Average positive responses on the country that is to host the 2004 Games reach 63,2% in the US and 70,6% in Europe. Average positive awareness of the host city of the 2004 Games is 56,3% in the US and 68,3% in Europe.

Table 7

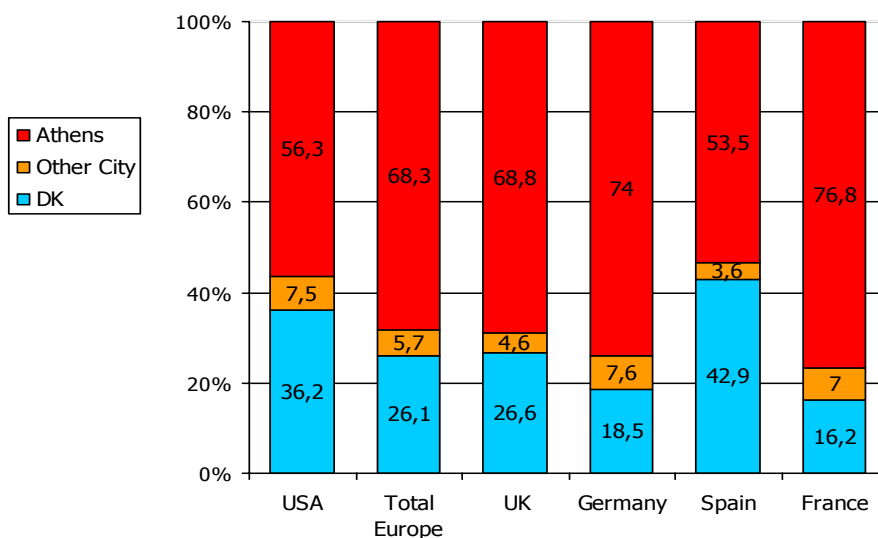
Awareness of the country where this year's Olympic Games are to be held



Base: All respondents – US = 1008. UK = 500. Germany = 503. Spain = 503. France =

Table 8

Awareness of the city where this year's Olympic Games are to be held



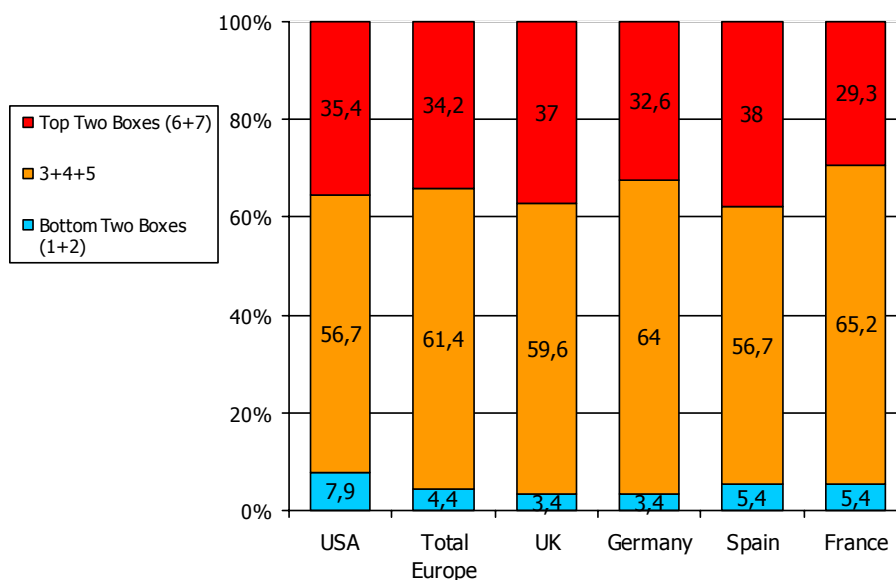
Base: All respondents – US = 1008, UK = 500, Germany = 503, Spain = 503, France =

International audiences generally think that the 2004 Games will be a successful event. This belief is particularly strong among the Spanish (38% think that the Games will be successful). US audiences are more skeptical towards the Games, with 7,9% of them thinking that the Games will be rather unsuccessful. There is no surprise there. During the preparations of the hosting of the Games, the American and English press in particular held numerous reports on the state of preparations of the Athens Games, most of them were rather pessimistic on the progress of preparations, bringing to their audiences a series of bad news on the delays of the construction works, the budget constraints, all sorts of problems that the Greeks would definitely face with security, transportation and the chaos in the city itself. So it comes as no surprise that most of the international audiences in the US or those referring to the US and English press would not feel so positive about the success of the Games.

Table 10

How successful do you believe the Athens 2004 Olympic Games will be?

Scale 1 – 7
 1 = Very unsuccessful, 7 = Very successful



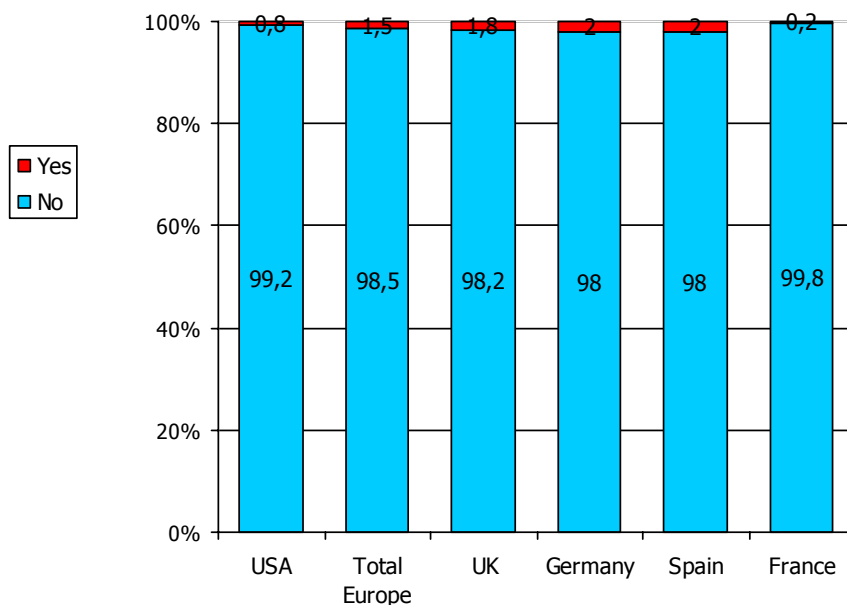
Base: All respondents – US = 1008, UK = 500, Germany = 503, Spain = 503, France = 501

Such negative media reports and publicity, amounting to plenty of discouraging information and comments on the upcoming event, was bound to have an impact on the international public opinion and their intention to visit Athens for the Games. Looking at the average responses coming from all countries involved in the survey is rather disappointing. Just two months before the opening of the Games, international public seems to be telling us: We hope you have a successful Olympic Games. We would really like to see Greece hosting a wonderful event. Still we do not intend to visit the country and watch. Let us stay in the security and comfort of our homes and plasma screens.

Indeed, asked whether they intend to visit Athens during the Games, an average 98% of all respondents say No.

Table 11

Intention to visit Athens during the Olympic Games?

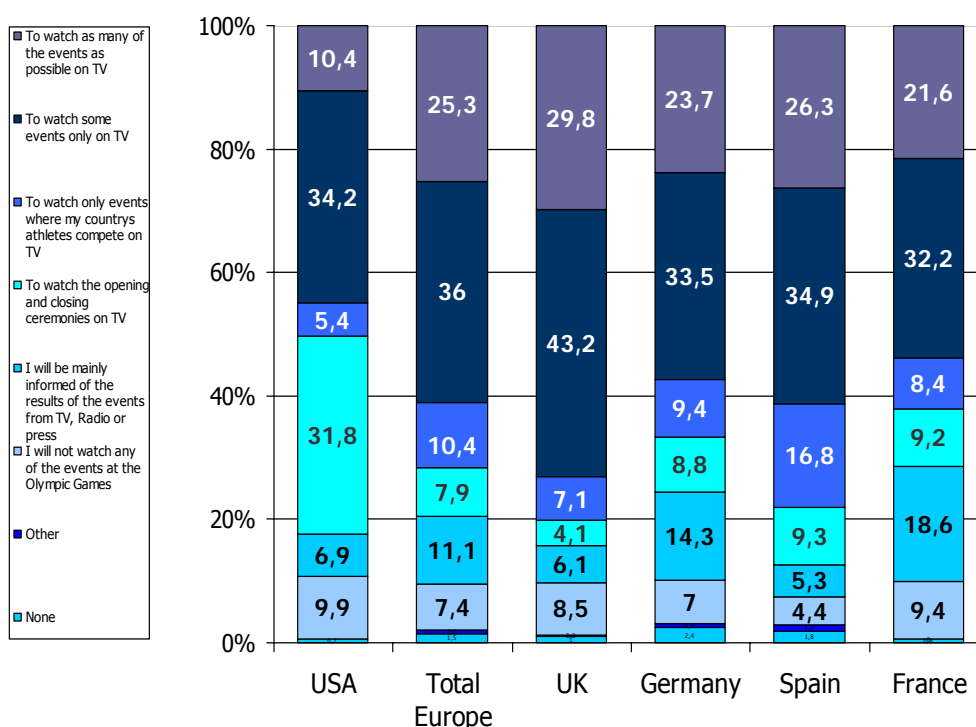


Base: All respondents – US = 1008, UK = 500, Germany = 503, Spain = 503, France = 501

In fact, most Americans and Europeans tell us they will stay at home and watch the Games on TV. Results show that the audience does not lack interest in the Games. However, it is the portraying and predictions on the success of the event – or rather lack of it – that does not encourage the public to travel to Greece on the occasion of this special event¹².

Table 12

Which of the following do you plan to do during the Olympic Games?



Base: Those who have no intention to visit Athens during the Olympic Games – US = 995, UK = 493, Germany = 498, Spain = 495, France = 500

¹² At the closing ceremony of the 2000 Olympics in Sydney, former IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch and Australia's Olympic tourism strategy had been described as a role model for future host cities. The IOC's director of marketing, Michael Payne, suggested that Australia was the first Olympic host nation to take full advantage of the Games to vigorously pursue tourism for the benefit of the whole country. See Brown, G et al "Developing Brand Australia: examining the role of the events" in Morgan, N. et. al (2004), pp 279-305.

d. Expectations on the 2004 Olympics

Let us now examine the specific expectations of the international public on the 2004 Olympic Games, which, on several occasions, remind us of those of the international opinion leaders examined in previous research.

In a scale from 1 to 7, whereby 1=I disagree completely and 7=I agree completely, the respondents explain to us what their specific expectations on the Athens Games are.

Looking at the most popular comments, most of our respondents expect the Games to provide athletes, spectators, viewers and volunteers alike with a unique Olympic experience (5,4). The Athens Olympics will combine history, culture and peace with sporting excellence (5,2). Greece will have a unique branding opportunity, through the hosting of the Games, to justify that it is in fact a European country (5,2). Our respondents express less enthusiasm towards security during the Games (4,8), the organizational aspect of it (4,8) and the opportunities to attract foreign investment to the country (4,7). Transportation issues also arise as rather problematic, according to our respondents.

Tables 13 A and B present all responses.

Table 13A

I will now read to you a number of statements that other people have expressed regarding their expectations of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games.

Total Mean scores

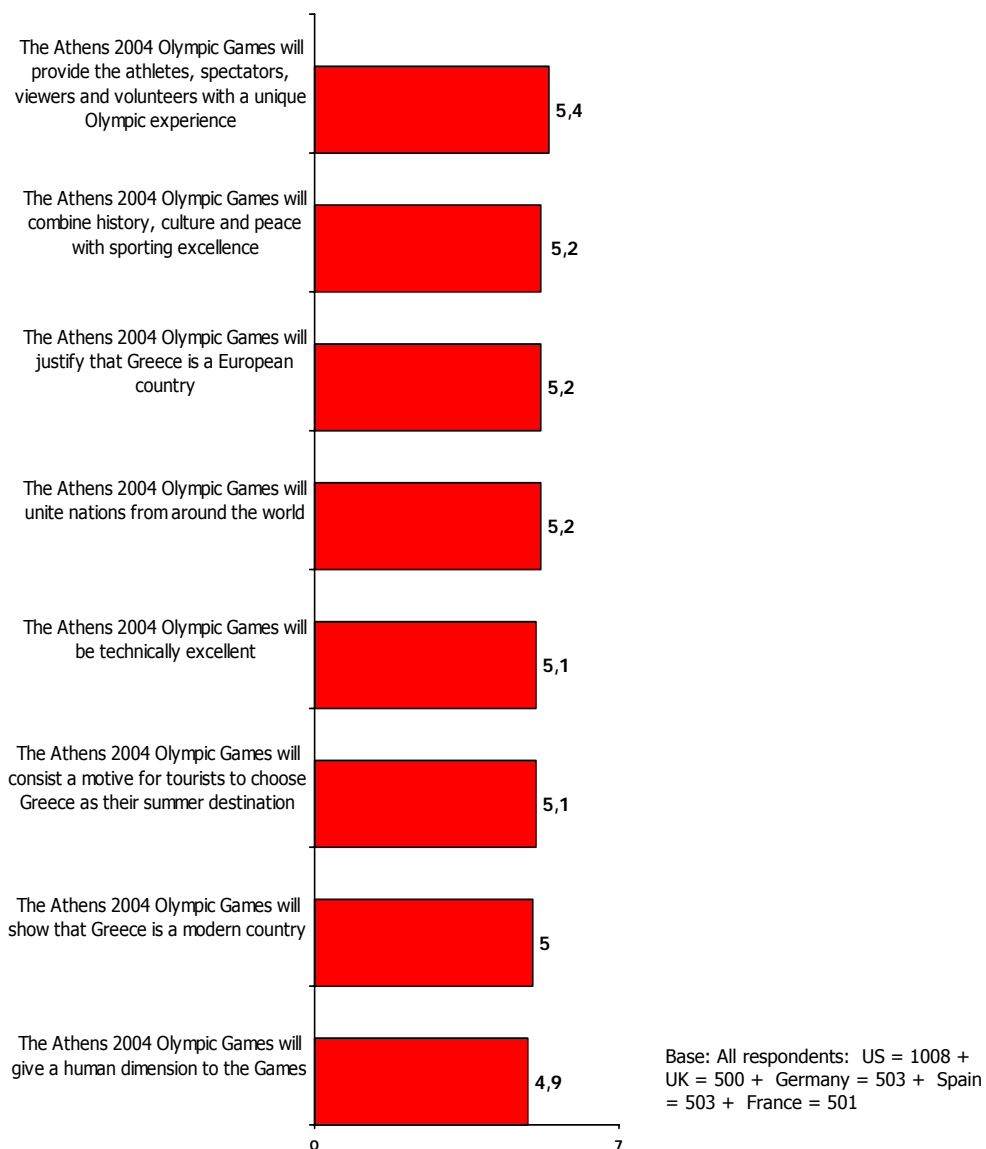
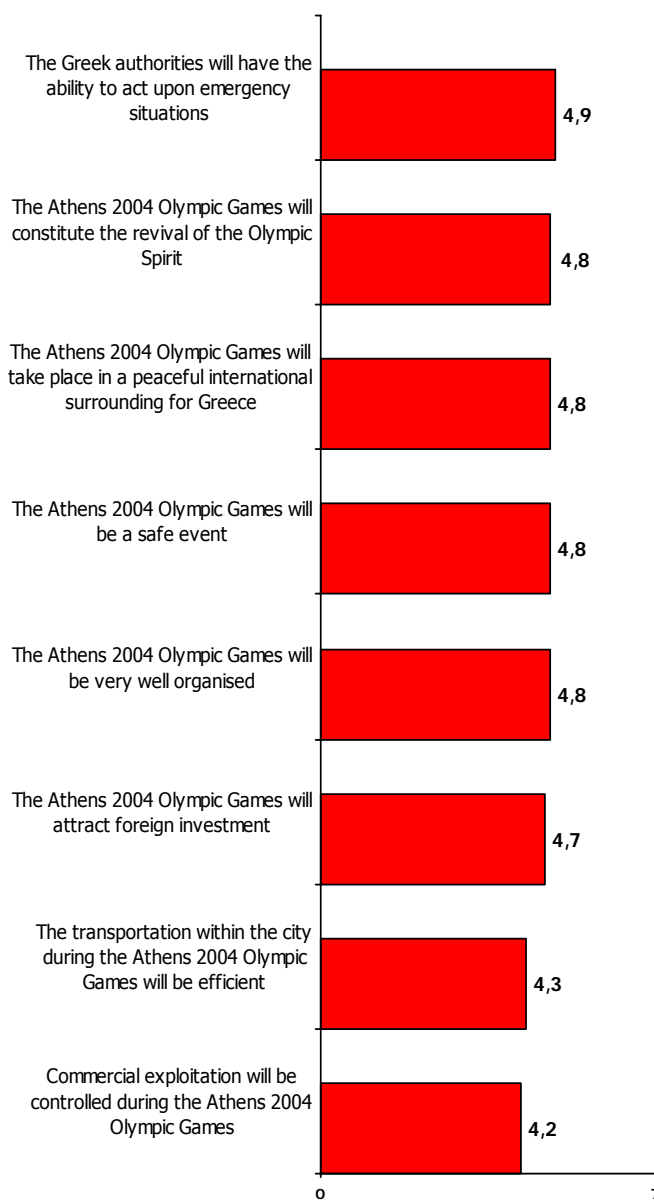


Table 13B

I will now read to you a number of statements that other people have expressed regarding their expectations of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games.

Total Mean scores



Base: All respondents:
US = 1008 + UK = 500
+ Germany = 503 +
Spain = 503 + France =
501

4. August 2004: To the people of Greece, we apologize!

During the 17 days of the Olympic Games, after an emotional opening ceremony that managed to engage and involve the world, comments and reporting of the international press talks about a triumph. Greeks – though disorganized, chaotic and improvising – manage to stage a well organized event, involving thousands of spectators, volunteers, engaging thousands of athletes and the world. The atmosphere around the city is that of a unique Olympic celebration. Transportation works, and it is easy to move from one venue to another, there are no security issues, and all visitors feel comfortable and in fact enthusiastic being in Athens, following the sports events, having fun.

It seems that Athens made it. Greek people won¹³. The international media are ecstatic – and some of them feel rather guilty. Reporter Ann Killon of San Jose Mercury News, on her main story, apologized to the people of Greece on behalf of the international media for all negative press and massive criticism they faced during the preparation phase of the Games¹⁴. On August 21, 2004, she reports from Athens: "The Greeks could sue for defamation of character. They could demand an apology from the world. Instead they just shrug and order another frappe. Their Olympics are going beautifully. Just like they expected. After all, they invented this business. For years, we heard how miserable these Olympics would be, how dangerous, how choked with traffic, how polluted, how unfinished. After just a couple of days, some observers turned in an instant thumbs-down on the Games. No atmosphere. No crowds. The horror - gymnastics wasn't even sold out! Such rips are ridiculous. For one thing, you can't judge the Olympics until they start. And, in reality, the Athens Games didn't start until Friday, when track and field got under way... The Games aren't over, but so far, Athens feels very safe. And there hasn't been much to whine about. The buses run on time. The taxis are cheap. The phones work... Are they as great as the Sydney Summer Olympics, which drew rave reviews? So far, they're not far behind (and gymnastics wasn't sold out there either - not everyone loves the little pixies as much as Americans). The scene at Darling Harbor was terrific - but the crowded cafes of the Plaka, in the shadow of the Acropolis, are almost as lively. Are these Games as great as Barcelona, which I didn't attend but many veteran Olympic writers say is their favorite? They're not far behind - and they're beating Barcelona in ticket sales. And how do they compare to Atlanta? There is no comparison. The United States hosted the worst Summer Olympics of the modern mega-

¹³ "Ellines, Kerdisate", was the phrase that opened the speech of Jacques Rogge, IOC President, during the closing ceremony of the 2004 Games in the Olympic Stadium of Athens on 29 August 2004.

¹⁴ Ann Killon. "To the people of Greece: we apologise". San Jose Mercury News, posted 21 August 2004 www.mercurynews.com

Games era... Not only were the Greeks underestimated, their capital city has been mistreated. For those of us who haven't been here before, Athens is a surprising delight.

And Rich Reilly from Sports Illustrated apologizes in Greek as well¹⁵: Syngomi. An open letter to Athens and its crowd: "Sorry about the way we acted. We were paranoid and stupid and just flat out wrong. Our bad. If you want, we'll sleep on the couch. We mocked you, ridiculed you, figured you wouldn't be ready. We envisioned you as a bunch of lazy, swarthy guys in wife-beater T-shirts chugging ouzo instead of finishing the baseball dugouts. We were sure steeplechasers would have to jump over drying cement, pole vaulters over tractors, divers into 3 feet of water. We were wrong. It was all done and it was beautiful".

5. September 2004: the international image of Greece improves, a contemporary national identity emerges

The positive impact of the 2004 Olympics seems to have enhanced the international image of Greece, both for the international press as well as to the perception of the public. ATHOC repeated the survey on the image of the country in September 2004, applying the same methodology as in the June – July 2004 survey¹⁶ as well as the same questionnaire. Looking at the comparative results it is clear that the positive impact of the Games has been perceived by the general public internationally.

Below the comparative results for each of the items already addressed are presented. The first column shows the results of the June – July 2004 survey, while the second column shows the results of the September survey.

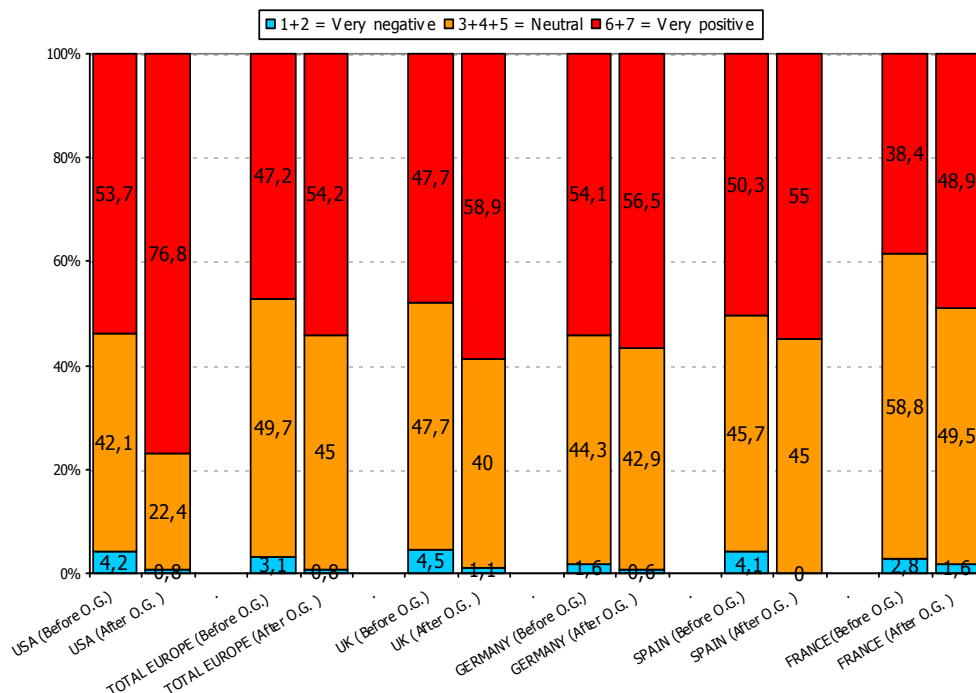
¹⁵ Rich Reilly. "We were wrong, Greece overcame the world's paranoia to stage a glorious Games" posted 31 August 2004 www.sportsillustrated.cnn.com

¹⁶ This survey was carried out in 5 countries: the US, Germany, France, Spain, and the UK, between 1 and 22 September 2004. The methodology of random dialing was again applied to general public (men and women over 18 years old). Sample dissemination is as follows: USA 1001 interviews, Germany 507 interviews, Spain 502 interviews, France 502 interviews, the UK 519 interviews.

Table 14

Do you consider what you have seen, read or heard about Greece, to be positive or negative?

Scale 1 – 7, 1 = very negative, 7 = very positive
 Comparable results on research before & after O.G.

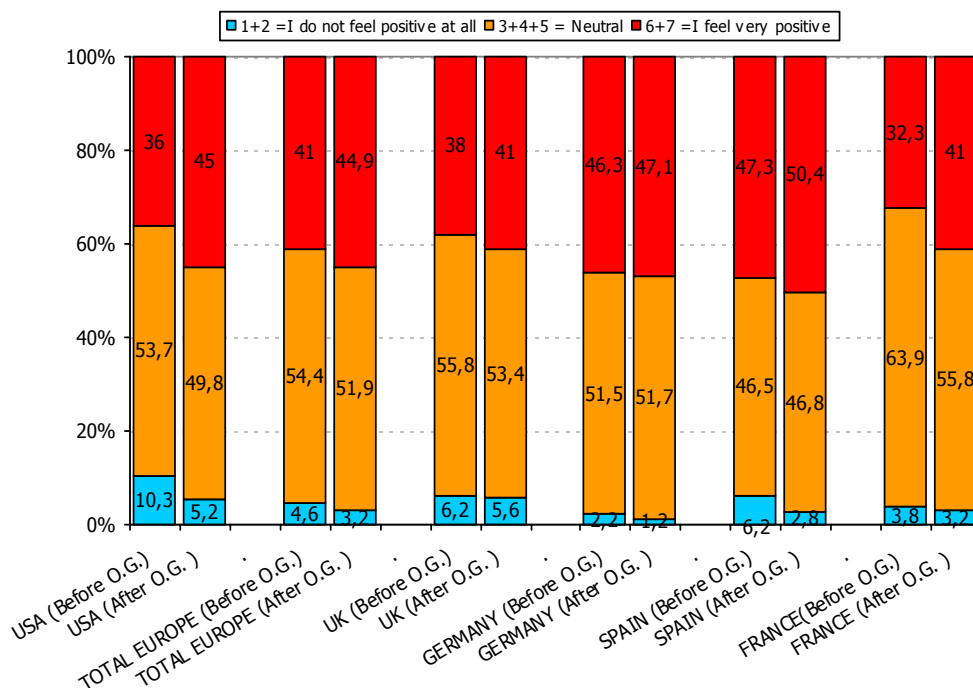


Messages or information reaching out to international audiences seem to be perceived in a lot more positive way (table 14). Additionally, respondents tell us that they feel more positive towards Greece, with figures reaching 45% in the US, compare to 36% prior to the Games, and 44.9% in Europe, compared to 44% of positive perceptions prior to the Games (table 15).

Table 15

To what degree is Greece a country for which you feel positive?

Scale 1 – 7, 1 = not feel positive at all, 7 = feel very positive
 Comparable results on research before & after O.G.



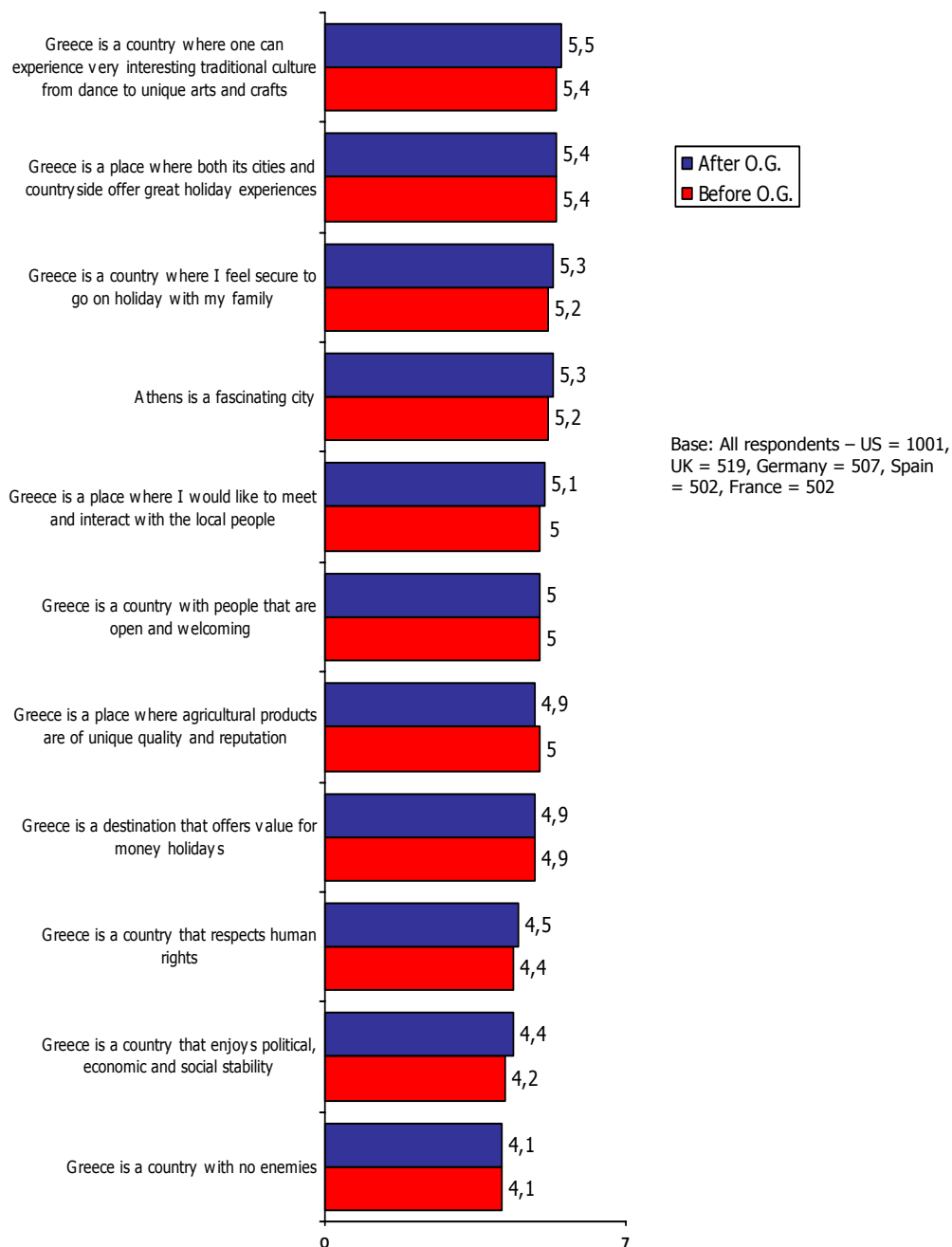
Positive opinions and comments expressed on Greece seem to be engaging a larger percentage of the international public. It is important to note that the greatest increase in figures (+ 0.2 on mean scores) can be seen in relation to the comment "Greece is a country that enjoys political economic and social stability". That is precisely the area where international opinion leaders identified the need for improvement, in order to enhance brand Greece on an international level.

Table 16

I will now read to you a number of statements that other people have expressed about Greece.

Please tell me to what degree you agree or disagree with the following statements

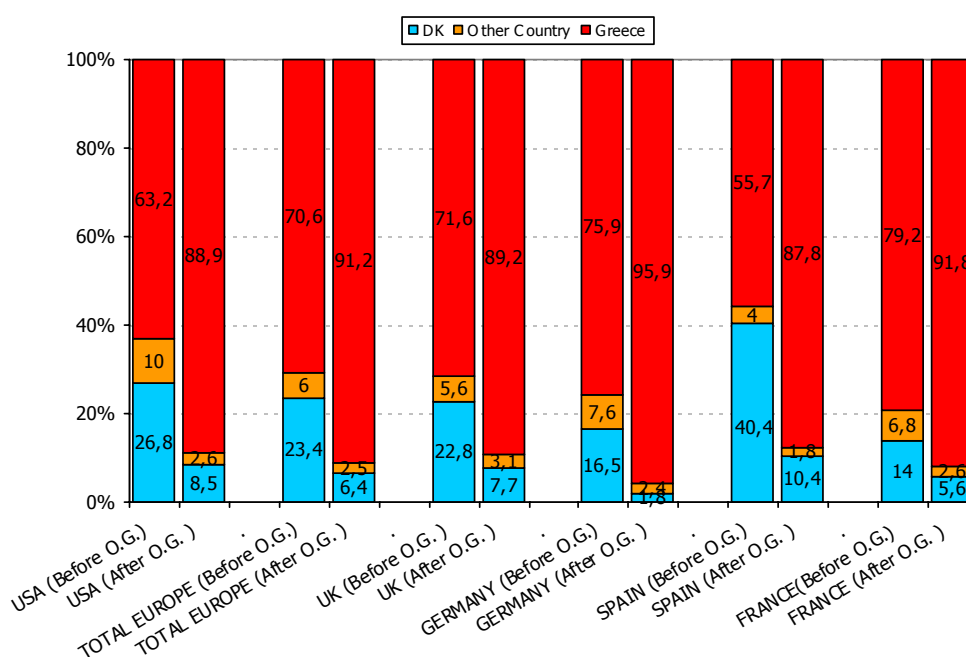
Total Mean scores



Awareness of Greece as the host country of the 2004 Olympic Games has also significantly improved. In Spain, the country that showed the weakest awareness prior to the event, awareness results are enhanced by almost 32%. In all countries involved in the survey awareness levels reach results higher than 88% after the hosting of the Games.

Table 17

Awareness of the country where this year's Olympic Games are to be held
 (comparable results on research before & after O.G.)



Base: All respondents – US = 1001, UK = 519, Germany = 507, Spain = 502, France = 502

Our respondents have read or heard a lot about Greece on the occasion of the Games, as positive answers have improved in all categories.

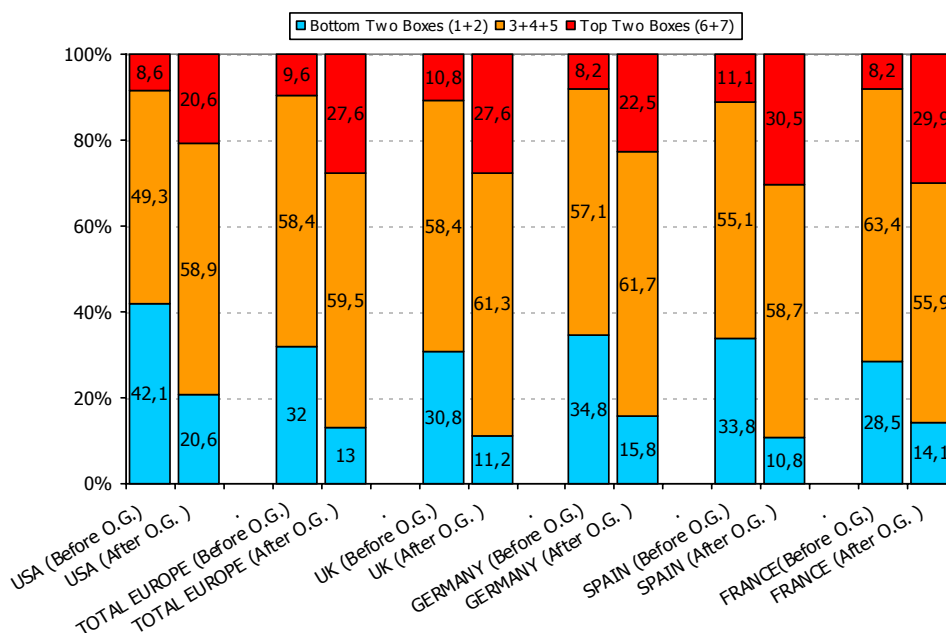
Table 18

Have you seen, read or heard anything about the Athens 2004 Olympic Games

Scale 1 – 7

1 = I know nothing, 7 = I know a great deal

(comparable results on research before & after O.G.)



Base: All respondents – US = 1001, UK = 519, Germany = 507, Spain = 502, France = 502

The impression of the international public on the success of the event reaches significantly improved positive levels. In the US, those audiences that expressed less enthusiasm than all other audiences prior to the hosting of the event, positive answer have improved by 24,8%. In Europe, positive results reach on average 44%, with 34,2% prior to the Games. Table 19 shows all comparative results.

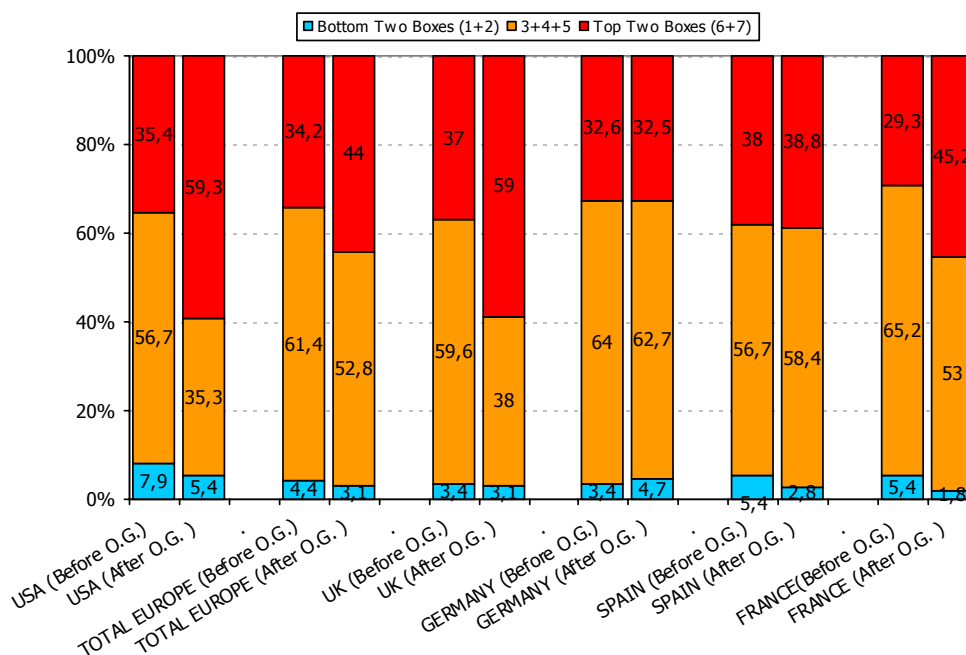
Table 19

How successful do you believe the Athens 2004 Olympic Games were?

Scale 1 – 7

1 = Very unsuccessful, 7 = Very successful

(comparable results on research before & after O.G.)



Base: All respondents – US = 1001, UK = 519, Germany = 507, Spain = 502, France = 502

Eventually, the general public in all countries involved in the survey expresses a lot more positive comments on Greece after the staging of the 2004 Olympics. The country seems to be justifying its belonging to the European world (positive answers are increased by 0,4 on mean scores). The Games showcased Greece as a modern country (positive answers are also increased by 0,4 on mean scores). Additionally, although the world was thinking organizational chaos would prevail, the Games are perceived as well organized (positive answers are increased by 0,6 on mean scores), and held in a secure, safe environment. The question on security issues is the one demonstrating the most significant shift of the international public opinion, with positive answers are increased by + 1 on mean scores). Tables 20 A and 20 B show how the answers of our respondents changed, compared to those given before the staging of the Games.

Table 20A

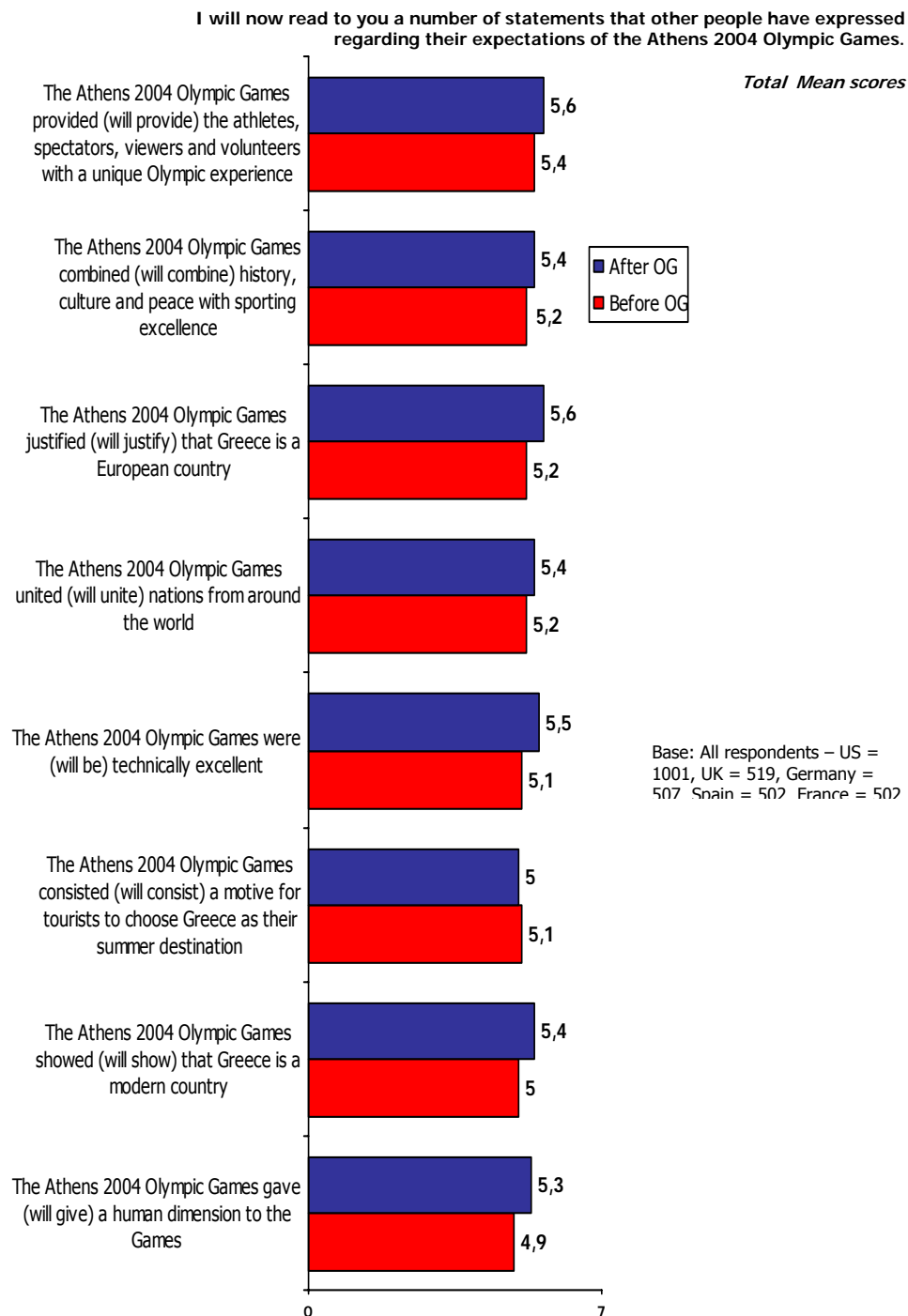
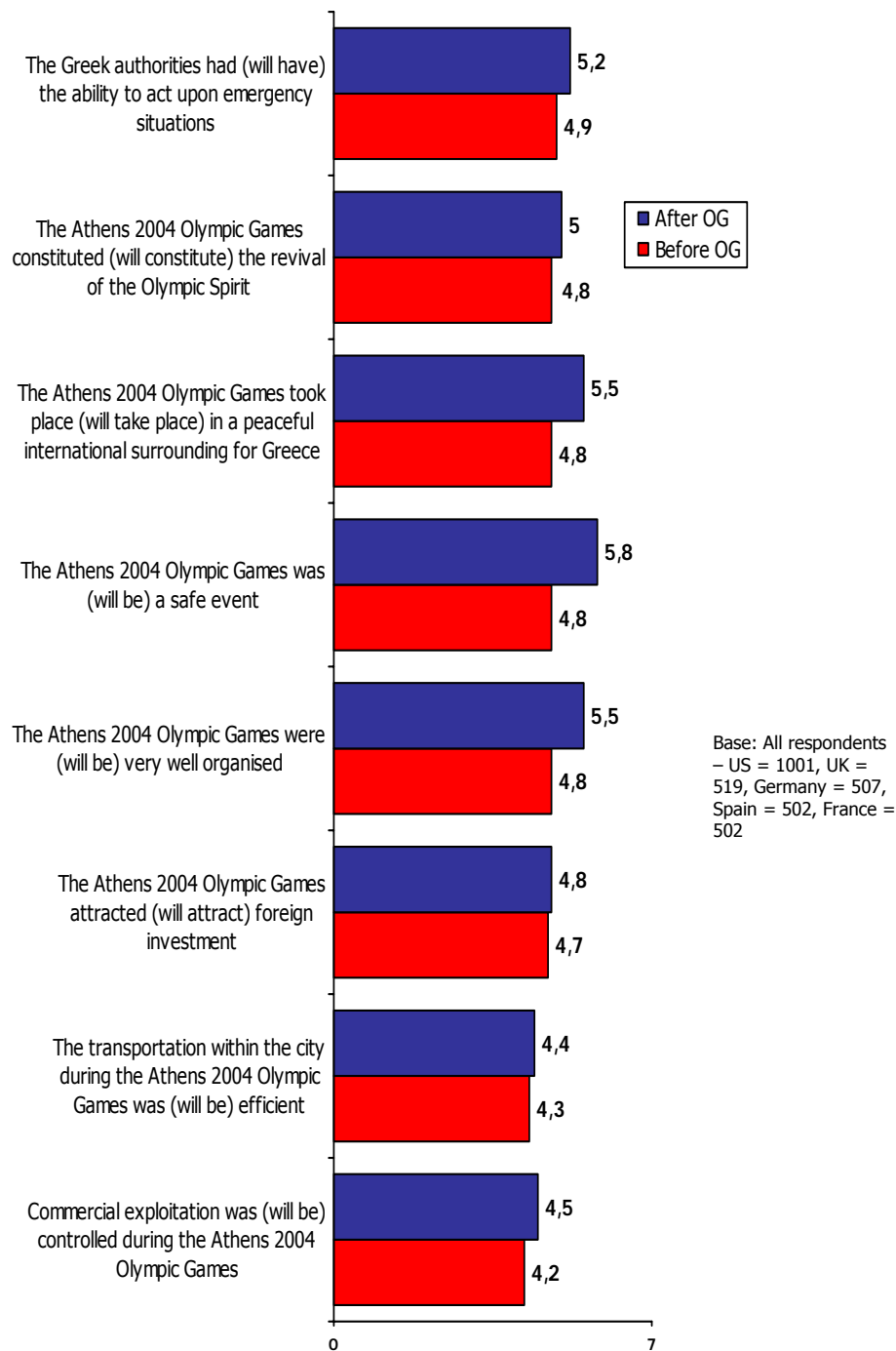


Table 20B

I will now read to you a number of statements that other people have expressed regarding their expectations of the Athens 2004 Olympic Games.

Total Mean scores



6. Epilogue

The Olympic Games of Athens 2004 was a successful special event. The 17 days of the Games attracted worldwide media attention. Athletes, spectators and all parties involved experienced a unique celebration of sports, hosted by a country that managed to showcase its contemporary achievements.

However, as Athens discovered rather too late, the event itself does not automatically do anything for the country's brand. It is a media opportunity, not a branding activity itself and the most important thing for countries as they prepare for such events is to know precisely what they are going to say and prove about themselves while the global media spotlight is switched on (Anholt, 2007. p. 110).

For the country, it was a unique opportunity to relaunch itself to the eyes of the world with a consistent strategy of objectives, means and vehicles, key messaging, successful implementation and follow up. The Greek government and all bodies and authorities involved needed to agree upon a consistent strategy of brand development and relaunch, which is not what happened¹⁷. That is quite unfortunate, given that the Games was a unique branding and repositioning opportunity for the country.

By the time the next Olympic event takes place – the Beijing opening ceremony is on 8 August 2008 – the world has forgotten most about the previous host country. What is more, almost three years after the Games, Greece is still focusing on attracting tourists based on the sea & sand messaging¹⁸ and very little – if any – public or private initiative aims to portray the country's modern achievements, promote different forms of tourism or, even more, send out a consistent, strategic messaging to the world about who we are, what we are good at, and what different opportunities there are to explore.

In October 2000 in Sydney, Christopher Brown, head of the special Tourism Task Force of the Australian Government, talks to Kristen Aiken from ABC Local Radio about the future of the tremendous effort that Australia put towards organising the Games "What we've certainly done is achieve that promotional platform remarkably well. It's a credit to everybody involved in the Games. What we need to do now though is not rest on our laurels, not think that the gold medals we've won in terms of promotion will simply translate into flights into Australia full of rich tourists wanting to create jobs. That is a challenge that we have to keep going with. We've got to keep

¹⁷ Indeed, key promotional message of ATHOC were "There is no place like home" and "In the true spirit of the Games". Key promotional message of the Ministry of Tourism during the Games was "Live your myth in Greece".

¹⁸ Key message of the 2007 Ministry of Tourism campaign is "Greece, explore your senses".

advertising, we've got to keep marketing, we have to keep flying that Australian flag all round the world because we go stale pretty quickly once the Olympic circus leaves town"¹⁹.

And Barcelona, the host city of what is generally considered a very successful Olympic event, still offers tourists the opportunity to visit the Olympic Venues, the local Olympic Museum and has consistently worked on attracting visitors and improving its infrastructure and offerings consistently after the Games of 1992.

As for Athens and Greece, the question on whether the country has benefited from hosting the Games and to what extent still remains untouched.

¹⁹ Author's personal records

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Anti-Americanism in Greece (1947-1967):

Criticizing the American way of life

Introduction

Interest in anti-Americanism worldwide has been renewed since 11/9¹. The case of Greek anti-Americanism has been characterized as *legacy anti-Americanism*². In my PHD study, I am trying to see how this legacy was created, with reference to the field of ideas, tracing anti-Americanism to its origins and pointing out its development through the years. In order to do that, I have chosen to focus on the role of the Greek press in the establishment of anti-Americanism. My study is divided in two major parts: the first covers the period from 1947 to 1967 and the second covers the period from 1967 to 2001. I have selected a series of historical events that I consider crucial for Greek-American relations and I study the way the Greek press perceived and narrated these events and the role of US, in particular. I have also selected to study certain newspapers based on their representation of the political spectrum, their circulation figures, their political influence and their continuity in time. For the first period, the newspapers selected are the following: 1. *Kathimerini*, 2. *Apogevmatini*, 3. *Ta Nea*, 4) *Rizospastis*, and, for the long period that *Rizospastis* is

¹ Roger P., *L' Ennemi Americain: genealogie de l' antiamericanisme francais*, Seuil, Paris 2002.
Crockatt R., *America embattled: September 11, anti-americanism and the global order*, Routledge, London 2003.
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² Peter J. Katzenstein, Robert O. Keohane, *Anti-Americanisms*, Policy Review, no139 O/N 2006, p. 25-37.

out of law, *Avgi*. For the second period of my study, I have added the newspapers *Ethnos* and *Eleftherotypia*.

American intervention in Greece begins with the Truman Doctrine (1947)³ and is initially accepted in messianic terms, with the exception of the Communist party. By the end of this period, though, which is marked by the military coup in Greece (1967), a strong anti-American sentiment has spread all over the country due to a series of factors, such as the dissatisfaction towards the American attitude to the Cyprus issue, which is the major national issue of the period, the poverty that invades the population, the disfunction of democratic institutions, as well as the resentment against the military presence of Americans in the country, and most of all, against their control over many aspects of the citizens lives.

These feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction are shaped into an integrated system of discourse that gradually becomes part of the country's political culture. Based on the material provided, primarily by the press of this period, we can point out the main concepts that shape anti-American discourse under the influence of two major ideological traditions, nationalism and communism, which contradict one another, but also coexist and exercise a great influence on the way people perceive and interpret social and political reality. These concepts are: a) independence, which refers to the perceived loss of national sovereignty, b) friend or foe, which describes the alterations that took place in the perception of the US as an ally nation, and c) what is perceived by the Greeks as '*Americanism*' or '*American way of life*'. These three levels of analysis shape the first cohesive version of Greek anti-Americanism which is defined by columnists of this period as the ideology that brings together citizens from the entire political spectrum, the Left, the Centre and the Right. This constitutes an amazing convergence since it takes place only a few years after the Greek civil war.

In this paper, I would like to focus on the third concept, *American way of life* as opposed to the Greek, and sometimes the European, way of life. *Americanism* is identified with a variety of negative manifestations such as criminality, moral decline,

³ Gianouloupoulos G., *O Metapolemicos cosmos. (1945-1963)*, Papazisis, Athina 1992, p.81-82.

and corruption. There is also a great underestimation for American culture, which is considered not only inferior, but also dangerous. But beyond all of that, we can also discern deeply rooted stereotypes according to which America- the landscape, the people, the society- is inhuman and cruel. There is, of course admiration and envy for the ‘American dream’, but distrust remains. Despite its technological and economical achievements, America remains hostile to the Greeks. The perceived ‘essence’ of American civilization is considered to be incompatible with the ‘essence’ of Greek and European civilization.

1. Images of America: Basic concepts

The concept of *mystery*: The American continent is a great mystery to the Greeks. The contradictions, the antitheses in her interior never cease to amaze them. A Greek politician, M. Papakonstantinou, who traveled to America and wrote down his impressions, notes: “*As she was covered up in mystery until Columbus discovered her, she still remains in the fog created by antithesis and contradictory information and each one of us tries every once a while, every day, to rediscover her*”⁴. America is an enigma and the feelings she provokes to Greek visitors are contradictory. A Greek journalist, who also visited America, wrote: “*America is a great and inexhaustible subject and every time someone visits her, he leaves filled by impressions and feelings of admiration and horror*”.⁵ Awkwardness seems to be the best word to describe these feelings.

The sense of awkwardness is also explicit in the following concepts. These concepts are essential constructive elements of the image of America and most of them are ambiguous. Their meaning can be interpreted both positively and negatively depending on the ideological viewpoint.

The concept of *magnitude*: Greek, but also the European visitors, are astonished, first of all by the scale, the magnitude, the size that characterizes America: “*The first impression, the element that is repeated always and everywhere in a*

⁴ M.Papakonstantinou, *Ameriki: taxidi kai gnorimia*, Athina 1969, p.14.

⁵ *Ta Nea*, 1/7/1957, p.1.

stereotypic way is: big, huge size”⁶, “*There is no end in this land, in this inhuman lonely place*”⁷. This magnitude is interpreted in two ways: positively because it offers endless possibilities, and at the same time, negatively as it is considered somehow frightening.

The concept of *power*: The New World is considered to be a strong, powerful world⁸. In the pro-American bourgeois press, American power is an object of admiration and is described with appeal to biological metaphors connected with the concept of life and health⁹. The concept of power is also present in the anti-American discourse of the Left and is also described in biological terms. But, in this context American power is feared¹⁰.

The concept of *youth*: The concept of youth has a double meaning as well. The *New World* is a world free from the ties of the past, but also a place without history, without tradition. The Greeks view this lack of history as some sort of cultural inferiority. This view is also manifested in the evaluation of certain objects that are considered to be typical of American civilization, such as plastic. A Greek novelist notes “*plastic has one disadvantage, it doesn’t grow old naturally like everything else but it ends up suddenly one day being out of use, without any marks of history*” on it¹¹. He also argued that small American cities are intolerable. What makes them intolerable is the fact “*that they have never suffered, no disaster, no trauma has ever marked them*”¹². The absence of history, the absence of pain separates the Old from the New World.

The concept of *entrapment*: American cities are described by novelists and journalists with admiration, but also resentment. The architectural forms, the scale, the rhythm of life, the domination of motors and engines are strange to the Greek visitor and create feelings of pressure, a sense of entrapment: “*...under the skyscrapers I feel lost in this vast city...I feel as if I were castaway in this peculiar*

⁶ M.Papakonstantinou, *Ameriki...*, p.23. Also V.Vassilikos, *H Mithologia tis Amerikis*, p.10.

⁷ V.Vassilikos, *H Mithologia tis Amerikis*, Estia, p.22.

⁸ *Kathimerini*, 2/9/1956, p.1.

⁹ *Kathimerini*, 9/3/1947, p.1.

¹⁰ *Rizospastis*, 2/3/1947, p.1, *Rizospastis*, 22/3/1947, p.1.

¹¹ V.Vassilikos, *H Mithologia tis Amerikis...*, p.20.

¹² *Ibid*, p.67-68.

Babel”¹³. In many of these cases, the visitors see these cities as an expression of the American system, of the cruelty of capitalism and they end up describing a scenery of horror: “*only distance or darkness can hide their ugliness, but when you get close their ugliness jumps out like a vampire. The daylight kills the magic and reveals all the harsh details*”¹⁴ ...roads strained like ropes where people hung the shreds of their dreams and the world looks like a nightmare”¹⁵.

The descriptions of New York City are a good example of this ambiguous mood. New York is the city symbol of America, a city that captures the imagination, but also brings about the sense of awkwardness¹⁶. It is seen as a city that never goes to sleep, a city of vertigo¹⁷. Writers of the Left, in particular, depict New York completely deprived from glamour. According to them, New York is the “*sad city*”, a huge melting pot that “*crashes*” millions of people¹⁸. But even beyond the Left, New York is perceived as a jungle that symbolizes the American way of life and the Greeks look up to with awe¹⁹.

Finally, the Greek visitor looks for an escape. A journalist notes “*I am just a simple man from the Orient and America brings about peculiar feelings to me: I admire, I am scared and I want to escape from here*” and according to him the same thing happened to his fellow travelers (also Greek): “*It was as if they were chased, until they arrived at the port, by the awful rhythm of the American way of life...*”²⁰.

The concept of *morbidity*: We have already mentioned that the observer’s ideology has a determining influence on his observations. “*The mythology of America*”, a book by Vassilis Vassilikos based on his impressions of a journey in America, is a good example that illustrates how our stereotypes and prejudice shape and determine what we ‘see’ when we visit another country. The rejection of the American model can be discerned behind every description he makes.

¹³ *Ta Nea*, 3/6/1957, p.1.

¹⁴ V.Vassilikos, *H Mithologia tis Amerikis...*, p.52.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.60

¹⁶ *Ta Nea*, 8/6/1957, p.1.

¹⁷ *Ta Nea*, 31/5/1957, p.1.

¹⁸ *Avgi*, 21/2/1957, p.3.

¹⁹ *Avgi*, 7/6/1964, p.4.

²⁰ *Ta Nea*, 1/7/1957, p.1.

What the writer persistently ‘sees’ and describes is an alienated, sick world. The following abstract refers to a simple walk in a suburb, but the writer manages to describe a world that looks real, but is actually fake, a world that looks normal and healthy, but is heavily sick, finally, a world too perfect to be human: “*The streets are too clean, the houses seem colourless...How will the children grow up in such neighbourhoods, where there is nothing to ruin? What will be their recollections from their childhood when they have never been deprived from anything? ...our dreams were filled up with dreams because we were deprived from so many. What will they have to remember living in a street like this, so unbearably empty, with trees so high they can’t climb on... (the houses being) a line of symmetrical, washed out, unsmiling cubes...more like a graveyard actually? How can I possibly describe this misery, the silence of those houses, this great absence?*”²¹. His argument seems to be that these suburbs, that seem so perfect, are actually an example that illustrates the sickness of the American system. Avgi argues that this book “*actually reveals that the American way of life is a monstrous fraud*” and “*puts the knife deep under the shining surface and reaches the centre of this rotten wound...and finally condemns this dead body*”²². The metaphors of death, sickness and rotten body are repeatedly applied by the Left in order to describe America.

The concept of *abundance*: For the entire postwar period America is considered to be the privileged land²³, the place that has been “*blessed by modern gods*”²⁴ with endless possibilities and incredible wealth²⁵. Nothing in America is impossible. This also reflects to the character of the people and stimulates creativity and productivity. But watching this orgasm of productivity, the fervour, the stress, the anxiety, the Greek visitor feels a stranger and disapproves: “*Thank god! We are much better off at home...(because) we have a way of maintaining our tranquility and peace of the soul without all this stress and agony. If only we had some more money...*”²⁶ we

²¹ V.Vassilikos, *H Mithologia...*, p.79-80.

²² *Avgi*, 14/6/1964, p2.

²³ *Ta Nea*, 5/6/1957, p.1.

²⁴ *Kathimerini*, 18/3/1956, p1.

²⁵ *Ta Nea*, 24/7/1957, p.1.

²⁶ *Ta Nea*, 11/6/1957, p.1.

are astonished by all this incredible wealth and power, but we prefer the glory and the hunger of our homeland...²⁷.

But in any case, American wealth is looked upon with jealousy. Greece, as the press of the right puts it, is the country with the “*many wars and the lesser goods*”²⁸. Greek journalists can’t help comparing the standards of living in the two countries and they keep talking about starving Greeks, while Americans can easily enjoy a very comfortable life²⁹: “*I visited the homes of simple employees. What they have, here is considered to be luxury*”³⁰.

All these concepts mentioned above, the magnitude, the power, the abundance, the youth, as well as the sense of entrapment, explain why America is such a mystery to the Greek observer. Rather than being a mystery, it would be best to say that it’s completely different and strange.

2. The American dream: Curse or Blessing?

a. Criticizing the socioeconomic model

In the postwar bourgeois press, and especially the press of the Right, there is a strong pro-American tradition and propaganda. America is presented as a capitalist heaven and the famous “*American dream*” is an object of admiration. The socioeconomic system is considered to guarantee security and happiness³¹. But even in the bourgeois press, the myth of the “*American dream*” is not unanimously accepted and the columnists often express awe and fear for the cruel and wild nature of American capitalism³².

On the other side, the Left tries continuously and intensely to deprive the “*American dream*” from its appeal and argues that impoverishment and huge inequality are the main characteristics of American capitalism. For the Left, the

²⁷ *Ta Nea*, 12/6/1957, p.1.

²⁸ *Kathimerini*, 28/11/1958, p.1.

²⁹ *Ta Nea*, 1/6/1955, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 24/6/1957, p.1.

³⁰ *Ta Nea*, 12/7/1957, p.1.

³¹ *Kathimerini*, 27/1/1957, p.1.

³² *Ta Nea*, 24/6/1956, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 12/7/1957, p.1.

“American dream” means that “everyone is free to die of hunger”³³. Avgi points out that “reality is different from propaganda. 60% of American families live in misery. They cannot even cover their basic needs”³⁴. The Left recognizes that there is prosperity in the US, but only for the privileged few³⁵.

The concept of *cruelty, inhumanity*: Vassilikos in his book also refers to the dark side of the “American dream” emphasizing on human misery: “I look at the inexpressive faces around me... Lips sealed with a bitter line that brings together Sunday with Monday. Frozen look. Where are they all running to? Where are we all running like this, each one of us trapped in his private isolation?”. “I look around me and there are so many people drunk, poor sitting on the pavements, shreds of human beings”³⁶. But even bourgeois writers reproduce this image: “Who hasn’t heard of the endless chase for dollars, the harshness of their society and the loneliness of their souls, the absence of warmth in their lives, the absence of any human feeling in general...How can this kind of miserable life, full of agony, be compared to the life in our continent, with the picturesque villages, the Mediterranean sunshine...it maybe poor, but it is so peaceful and sweet...”³⁷. The Greek, Mediterranean way of life is superior in quality.

There is also a particularly negative perception of American society. A dark, sick image is derived from a series of texts that refer to it. Drugs, mental diseases, violence and miserable lives are believed to the other side to the “American dream”³⁸. The stereotype of a mentally ill America is often followed by sarcastic comments on the tendency of Americans to psychoanalyze. For Americans, psychoanalysis is thought to be “a sort of basic need, along with the car, the fridge and the TV”³⁹. American way of life, which has distanced itself from the principles of humanism and is based exclusively on technological achievements, is considered to be responsible for the mental break down of the American society. The “American dream” is depicted in the darkest colours by the press of the Left: “Electric buttons cannot make you happy.

³³ Avgi, 7/12/1955, p.1.

³⁴ Avgi, 22/11/1955, p.3. Avgi, 24/5/1964, p.4. Avgi, 28/4/1957, p.4.

³⁵ Avgi, 25/4/1956, p.3.

³⁶ V.Vassilikos, *H Mithologia...*, p.110, 113.

³⁷ M.Papakonstantinou, *Ameriki...*, p.11.

³⁸ Avgi, 4/5/1955, p.1.

³⁹ V.Vassilikos, *H Mithologia...*, p.58.

When the love for man is absent machines can kill...Electric chairs of death, the Lynch law, work that brutalizes men, inquisitions of McCarthyism and the war hysteria...” lead to madness⁴⁰. Avgi also adds: “That’s their world...Buttons and pills. Buttons during the day. Pills during the night. Buttons of every sort. The innocent ones that you press and you get your frozen coke or your cigarettes and the other button that if pressed the nuclear war starts...This kind of automatization and robotization is beyond human measures”. And, according to the same journalist, when the night comes Americans cannot sleep and they resort to pills, all sorts of pills: “tranquilizers, hypnotics, drugs, pills that substitute happiness or religious consolation, pills that make you forget. Yankees choose their pills and they try to sleep. If they do fall asleep, then the nightmares begin”⁴¹.

Common people also seem to believe that life in America is nightmarish. The following comments, written down by a reporter, were made by the audience during a play about modern America: *“What’s there to be jealous of?...They be more advanced as far as technology is concerned, but they are inferior in matters of the soul, of tenderness...The system has destroyed them. It uses every mean to kill their humanity, radio, television, the press, everything in order to bring them down. And above all that, the exhausting work that leaves them no time to think...That’s their way of life...In America, human life has no value”⁴².*

The deep conviction that there is something deeply inhuman in the American system is manifested in various occasions. F.ex. information about the way that American soldiers are trained in Sierra Nevada is interpreted as indicative of a cruel and barbarian mechanism that assimilates to Nazism. The American soldier is he who sheds no tears, who is ruthless and merciless⁴³. This American cruelty is believed to destroy anything it touches, even the famous Greek soul if it has been exposed to it for a long time. When Vassilikos visits his uncle who has been an immigrant in the US for decades, he notes: *“His face has a cruelty that is completely absent from his brothers (who remained in Greece): the look in his eyes can suddenly turn harsh and frozen, as if it was made of glass. And that’s something that only life in the promise*

⁴⁰ Avgi, 17/3/1956, p.2.

⁴¹ Avgi, 6/9/1964.

⁴² Avgi, 17/12/1957, p.2.

⁴³ Avgi, 18/9/1955, p.1..

land can do to you”⁴⁴. Avgi also makes special reference to a statement made by Charlie Chaplin according to which “Americans don’t even know how to cry”⁴⁵. And she goes on defending the Greek way of life, the traditional social and family values and exaggerates the fear that American tendencies can influence Greek customs and habits. The choice of words in this discussion is revealing. The word often employed for American influence is *erosion*. Another common metaphor for this is that of a *poisonous fluid* that penetrates the body of Greece.

The concept of cruelty, the concept of inhumanity is deeply rooted in the representations of America and involves a wide range of situations. In particularly emotional moments, like in the following article concerning an American’s attack to a Greek woman, the concept of inhumanity becomes the key of the narration. This key is used to interpret a series of events and unifies elements that are not directly linked, like a person’s appearance and the essence of a culture. The story begins like this: “The monster was wearing a necktie. He had his hair fixed in the American way. Eyes blue half closed. He looked like a tiger”. After that, the narration criticizes the civilization that is responsible for creating this monster: “a civilization that is based upon brutality and the thirst for blood...Civilization normally means love for man. But we have a bitter experience from the land of freedom. Too many Frankensteins... So much savagery. so much darkness and inhumanity”⁴⁶.

Fetishism/ demonization of the dollar: It is a common belief that everything in America turns around money: “There, the poets have to pay for their inspiration; painters pay their models and Blacks their becoming equal with Whites”⁴⁷. Dollar is considered to be the power that puts everything in motion and therefore, is considered omnipotent: “The omnipotent dollar inspires everything and everyone: technicians, intellectuals, scientists, businessmen, artists, employees, merchants, gangsters...”⁴⁸. There is a sort of fetishism in these texts as far as the dollar is concerned. The dollar is not just a metonymy for American wealth, but a symbol with positive and negative connotations, a symbol of American omnipotence, but also a

⁴⁴ V. Vassilikos, *H Mithologia...*, p.70.

⁴⁵ Avgi, 8/12/1955, p.1.

⁴⁶ Avgi, 6/6/1957, p.2.

⁴⁷ V. Vassilikos, *H Mithologia...*, p.47.

⁴⁸ *Ta Nea*, 11/7/1957, p.1.

symbol of evil. It is believed to be what dictates American policy and diplomacy, the only real god in which Americans believe in⁴⁹. As it is explicitly said about the US “*liberty is a relative concept. Dollar, on the other hand, is an absolute concept*”. The dollar prevails even in personal relations “*Americans shape their admiration towards you only in relation to the dollars you earn*”⁵⁰.

The Left tries to demonize this symbol of American capitalism. In its analysis the dollar is the source of internal and external misfortune. One dollar is the “*materialized struggle of millions of people...Exhaustion and monotony...You have to do everything in your power to catch up with the Taylor line...You finally lie down exhausted. And for that you finally get your bloody dollar giving away the other 10 to ‘General Electric Corporation’...(the dollar) creates volcanoes in Jordan, South Korea, Persia, Turkey, South Vietnam, Greece...It turns the universe upside down...It leads millions of children to crime. It leads 30% of American girls below the age of 12 to prostitution...Abraham Lincoln you are such an unfit emblem for this fatal peace of money*”⁵¹. The Left also insists on the limits on American democracy set by the economic system and the gigantism of corporations⁵². A series of actions of the US in foreign policy are explained with resort to the slogan “oil and trusts”⁵³.

b. Criticizing the political system

A big part of the anti-American rhetoric of the Left is based on the criticism of the political system of the US. In the context of the Cold War and postwar ideological confrontation in Greece, this kind of criticism has a special gravity. As far as the Greek Left is concerned, pointing out the weaknesses of American democracy is central to its political and communication strategy. But this criticism gradually appears in the discourse of the Centre, even though it doesn’t reach the same depth as it does in the communist press. The criticism of the Center on the American system is intensified as we move away from the Civil War and we reach the mid ‘60s, with the Centre becoming more radical and approaching the Left.

⁴⁹ M. Papakonstantinou, *Ameriki...*, p.11.

⁵⁰ *Ta Nea*, 6/7/1957.

⁵¹ *Avgi*, 9/7/1957, p.2.

⁵² *Avgi*, 6/3/1957, p.1.

⁵³ *Ta Nea*, 14/1/1957, p.1.

Avgi repeatedly makes reference to the handicaps of American democracy and sites cases of censorship and discrimination⁵⁴. She even questions whether the US has an actual democracy and whether its citizens are really free⁵⁵. McCarthyism, anti-communist expedition, racism as manifested by the activity of Kou Klux Klan, are pointed out as the black spots of American Republic⁵⁶. As far as anti-communism in the US is concerned, *Avgi* argues that McCarthyism created McCarthy and not the opposite, because it is always the system that shapes the person and not vice versa⁵⁷. For the Left, America is synonymous to brutal violence and to the distortion of truth⁵⁸. The pro-communist press also exploits the weaknesses of American democracy in order to argue that the genuine iron curtain is located in the West, and not in the Orient⁵⁹.

But, as we have already mentioned, the criticism on American Republic comes not only from the Left, but also from the Centre. The main points the Centre focuses on are: McCarthyism, but also the racial issue in the US⁶⁰, as well as the rise of extreme Right with reference to the candidacy of Goldwater for the presidency⁶¹. The upheaval in the black ghettos in Los Angeles, in August 1965, gives the opportunity to bourgeois press to make sarcastic comments about American democracy: *“American propaganda has been and still is infuriatingly verbose in pointing out the tremendous dangers of communism and the virtues of American republic. An upheaval in the “black ghetto” of Los Angeles was enough to reveal the true face of the so-called reformers of the world. The American Republic-that interferes in such a destructive way in so many countries, including our one, has suddenly been enlightened by 2000 fires in L.A.”*⁶². And the Left has the chance to agree with the Centre and argues that racism grows where anticommunism grows as well and says

⁵⁴ *Avgi*, 10/3/1955, p.1. *Avgi*, 14/1/1956, p.1. *Avgi*, 16/1/1957, p.1.

⁵⁵ *Avgi*, 19/6/1957, p.5. *Avgi*, 30/6/1957, p.7. *Avgi*, 15/1/1958, p.1.

⁵⁶ *Avgi*, 3/2/1956, p.1. *Avgi*, 11/2/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 14/2/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 26/2/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 20/3/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 3/5/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 27/6/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 28/6/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 7/9/1956, p.1. *Avgi*, 9/9/1956, p.1. *Avgi*, 18/10/1956, p.4. *Avgi*, 27/9/1958, p.2. *Avgi*, 27/10/1965, p.3. *Ta Nea*, 3/10/1955, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 2/10/1957, p.1.

⁵⁷ *Avgi*, 20/10/1954, p.1. *Avgi*, 26/2/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 1/5/1957, p.3.

⁵⁸ *Avgi*, 26/1/1955, p.1. *Avgi*, 9/11/1957, p.1.

⁵⁹ *Avgi*, 30/5/1956, p.5.

⁶⁰ *Ta Nea*, 14/4/1964, p.3.

⁶¹ *Ta Nea*, 20/7/1964, p.3. *Ta Nea*, 21/7/1964, p.3. *Ta Nea*, 7/8/1964, p.3. *Ta Nea*, 6/10/1964, p.3.

⁶² *Ta Nea*, 18/8/1965, p.3.

that Americans are actually “*cannibals who want to reform the rest of the world*”. *Avgi* attributes the brutality exhibited towards the Black to the structure of American society and the political edification of the American people and concludes that Americans “*murder their Black compatriots as easily as they kill the Vietnamese...*”⁶³.

3. The American Character

Greek journalists and writers try to understand the character of Americans in order to point out what makes them so different and what motivates them to act every time their actions have a direct effect on our lives. Well, first of all, Americans are believed to be extremely naïve⁶⁴, easily deceivable, and not very bright in contrast to Greek brilliance⁶⁵. In the Greek cinema, there are a number of comedies where poor, but smart Greeks try to take advantage of rich, but naïve Americans. This stereotype appears not only in the sphere of popular culture, but also in the bourgeois press in order to interpret and excuse American attitude during this phase of the Cyprus issue which was not what the Greek side would have wanted it to be. Especially for the Right, this is a very convenient stereotype in order to appease popular discontent for American policy and attribute everything to British and Turkish plots⁶⁶.

On the other hand, of course, Americans are considered realists, very practical and cynical. If we add to that, the love for money and the development of capitalism, we get the powerful stereotype of the American businessman. Americans are thought to act as businessmen in world politics. This means that they sacrifice emotions, morals and justice to serve their purpose⁶⁷. At moments of extreme Greek discontent with American handlings in the Cyprus issue, the press declares that American cynicism is completely incompatible with the values of Greek civilization and its respect for freedom and dignity⁶⁸. Gradually, we can see the establishment of the conviction that there is an unbridgeable gap, as far as their mentalities and their values

⁶³ *Avgi*, 17/8/1965, p.1.

⁶⁴ *Avgi*, 25/11/1955, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 26/10/1956, p.1.

⁶⁵ *Avgi*, 23/9/1955, p.2.

⁶⁶ *Kathimerini*, 30/11/1955, p.1. *Kathimerini*, 18/12/1955, p.1. *Kathimerini*, 5/2/1956, p.1. *Kathimerini*, 15/3/1956, p.1. *Kathimerini*, 4/8/1957, p.1. *Kathimerini*, 25/8/1957, p.1. *Kathimerini*, 27/9/1957, *Kathimerini*, 5/12/1958, p.1. p.1. *Apogevmatini*, 13/10/1955, p.1. *Apogevmatini*, 20/12/1954, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 7/10/1958, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 16/10/1958, p.1.

⁶⁷ *Ta Nea*, 16/9/1955, p.1.

⁶⁸ *Ta Nea*, 20/9/1955, p.1.

are concerned, between the American and the Greek people. The Greek dignity (*filotimo*), and the inability of Americans to understand it, becomes the dividing line between the two people⁶⁹.

Kathimerini, the most prominent newspaper of the Right, hosts an interesting psychological analysis of American politics based on the coexistence of two opposite tendencies in the American soul, materialism and idealism. In this analysis, it is argued that American tendency for isolationism coexists with the need to gain admiration and respect by the rest of the world⁷⁰. *Kathimerini*, supposedly referring to Americans, concludes “*You are not as self sufficient as you choose to appear at times*”⁷¹. The press of the Right also attributes great importance to the role of religion, of Christianity in the lives of Americans⁷². But the Left sarcastically comments that the only thing worse than American materialism is American idealism⁷³, and the press of the Centre argues with irony that “*Americans are religious and pious in their own peculiar way. They idolize money, but they are also attached to the Bible*”. And adds that “*it’s actually strange how Americans compromise religion with antireligious passions*”⁷⁴.

4. American way of life/Americanism

At this point we will focus on the way the Greek public opinion perceives and evaluates the American way of life, the American culture, or else, what has been called “*Americanism*”. The main sources the Greeks derive their information from are mainly the products of American cultural industry and the experiences of those who actually visited the US. We should not also underestimate the evaluations made and stereotypes created by the observation of Americans living in postwar Greece, diplomats and military staff, members of the American Mission and sailors of the 6th fleet.

⁶⁹ *Ta Nea*, 10/6/1957, p.1.

⁷⁰ *Kathimerini*, 28/3/1947, p.1.

⁷¹ *Kathimerini*, 18/5/1955, p.1.

⁷² *Kathimerini*, 27/1/1957, p.1.

⁷³ V. Vassilikos, *H Mithologia...*, p.107.

⁷⁴ *Ta Nea*, 3/9/1957, p.3.

Cultural inferiority: A permanent perception about American culture is that it is inferior to European, and of course to Greek. *Kathimerini* suggests, in 1954, that American culture is a degenerate version of European culture that is deprived from spirituality, originality and good taste and refers with irony to certain products that are considered to be characteristic of American civilization: “*Many fine European qualities that were transferred by the distant ancestors of Americans, have now faded out...I wonder if the tasteless food combined with the uniformity and monotony of intellectual food, have slowly, by the years, with all that pop-corn, all those chewing-gums and coca-kolas, made them lose the valuable good taste of mother Europe*”⁷⁵. A bourgeois politician also notes in his book about America: “*You can’t possibly compare Americans to Europeans...After all, it’s no secret that they are loutish...uneducated, and they are known for their poor taste in dressing, their wild music and their shabby architecture...How can one feel toward rich rustics...? How can you take them seriously?*”⁷⁶.

The press of the Left points out that America hasn’t been fortunate in the work of Greek writers and that all those who visited her expressed their complete antithesis to the so-called “*American way of life*”. Its interpretation for that is based on the distinction between civilization and culture. The basic argument is that Americans might have progressed in technical civilization, but they don’t have any serious culture and the Greeks can see that right away⁷⁷. At this point, the press of the Right, the Centre and the Left are in the same wavelength. The Right criticizes f.ex. the uniformity of American culture and the role of American cultural industry: “*Given America’s incredible wealth...one is so often surprised by the intellectual monotony of the people living in this privileged environment...Standardization has progressed far beyond products and is also applied to humans...In this equalization of people’s minds, television has a crucial role, this nightmarish presence that feeds millions of people with poor quality material, a mixture of corny cliché sermons, and generous portions of advertisement*”⁷⁸. This passage written by the pro-American Right could very well been published by the Left as well.

⁷⁵ *Kathimerini*, 22/12/1954.

⁷⁶ M. Papakonstantinou, *Ameriki...*, p.11.

⁷⁷ *Avgi*, 14/6/1964, p.2.

⁷⁸ *Kathimerini*, 14/7/1957, p.1.

Cultural Imperialism: Despite the belief in its cultural inferiority, American culture is feared for its influence, real or imaginary. The Left takes over the mission to warn the Greeks for the dangers that lie beneath the expansion of American culture. The criticism of the Left goes beyond accidental and unplanned consequences, and involves the denunciation of a supposedly well-organized plan that serves the ultimate goal of subordinating people in every place of the world to the American socioeconomic and cultural model.

Avgi attacks American cultural imperialism and elaborates exhaustingly on its means and methods. During the election period of 1956, *Avgi* presents an extensive research entitled “*Americans in Greece*”. A part of this research refers to the so-called “*intellectual aid*” and is characterized as “*one more aspect of our people’s enslavement*”. The journalists that conducted the research argue that America uses “*comics, cartoons, luxurious ‘information centers’ and institutes*” to “*propagate the infamous ‘American way of life’*” and to “*corrupt people’s conscience, to turn Greeks into slaves that won’t be able to think freely...And of course, the first target of this attack are the children of Greece*”⁷⁹. *Avgi* makes reference to the alleged “*10 commands of Hollywood*”, that are “*sex, drugs, adventure, immorality, sleepless nights, robberies, orgies, audacity, vertigo...and dollars*” and is very critical about some fetishes of American culture, basically symbols from the film industry, like the “*tough guy with the fist and the sexy doll dressed in a negligee*”, and also the concept of “*easy-life*”, the blue jeans and, of course, modern dances⁸⁰.

There is also discontent about the emergence of English as a predominant language all over the world, and complete mistrust about the interference of Americans in the Greek literary production, even if that involves the promotion of Greek literature, since even that is considered to be one more step to the direction of intellectual enslavement: “*They take our writers and they turn them into clowns in their circus...They have them traveling in New York, Minnesota, Arizona. They want to control everything about us. Thoughts. Writing. Ideas. Dreams. Art. Feelings..*”⁸¹. We can here detect the nightmarish vision of an omnipotent America, able to control

⁷⁹ *Avgi*, 22/3/1955, p.3.

⁸⁰ *Avgi*, 3/5/1965, p.3.

⁸¹ *Avgi*, 22/10/1958, p.2.

everyone and everything. *Avgi* also attacks as means of enslavement and carriers of American propaganda the following: “*films about gangsters, several American editions that have flooded our country, financed editions of cold war propaganda, the “Voice of America” and the several American schools...*”. The ideology of the ‘American way of life’ can be summarized like this: “*gangsters, cowboys, racism, hedonism...*”. Fighting against this sort of aid is, according to the Left, fighting to save Greece⁸².

It is interesting to note that the metaphors employed by the Greek press in order to talk about the influence of American cultural products over Greek youth are the metaphors of erosion and pollution. The following abstract is very characteristic: “*And then you realize that there are a thousand ways, a thousand paths, a thousand means that America employs and finally finds her way through the pores of your child’s body and poisons it to the core with the poisonous gifts of her jungle. Newspapers, cinemas, posters, radio, advertisement, colourful, wild, armed, barbaric comic books, sources of corruption and destruction...All of that give away an awful smell...they leave behind them a seed, a wild grass that has to be uprooted by the hands, and even by the nails and the teeth. The fruit of their jungle are extremely dangerous*”⁸³.

Avgi also presents a thorough critic of the American film industry arguing that postwar export of Hollywood films was a crucial part of American aid in order to advertise the American way of life. That resulted to the colonization of European film industry and the dominance of the spirit of Hollywood in Europe. It is also worth mentioning that all these arguments about the penetration of American cultural production are based on the semantic field of intrusion and dominion⁸⁴. As far as Greece is concerned, the columnists note, with indignation, that cinema has already reached even the most remote places. They doubt that American cinema has even the ability to create art. Its cultural content is discarded being characterized as “*vulgar propaganda. War and nothing else but war. Barbarianism...and stupidity*”⁸⁵.

⁸² *Avgi*, 26/2/1957, p.1.

⁸³ *Avgi*, 22/9/1955, p.1.

⁸⁴ *Avgi*, 9/1/1955, p.1.

⁸⁵ *Avgi*, 30/9/1955, p.1.

But, according to the Left, Cold war propaganda, that is addressed to they young, is not conducted just with the films, but also with the cartoons that are “*filled with guns and knives and tanks and airplanes and you clearly see their effort to create a war hysteria to the young viewers...But the young Greek is also corrupted by comic books and detective novels that come from America and have flooded over the recent years our country*”⁸⁶.

Continuing on the subject of American cultural imperialism, *Avgi*, also cites school books sent from America, propaganda films prepared by the CIA, as well as colleges and Greek-American institutes that are said to “*prepare American citizens, that not only feel contempt for our country, but they are also willing to do great harm to her*”. And there are also all those porno magazines and the “*American bars*” filled with “*the smoke of American cigarettes*”, where you can here “*Elvis Presley barking*” and orgies are believed to take place⁸⁷.

Moral Decline: We are going to focus here on the way Greeks deal with the American way of life as a threat to their moral values and to the Greek way of life, as they define it. Starting, we can point out four major issues that are central to this kind of discourse: sexual revolution, the emancipation of younger people, and especially women, drugs and crime. As far as the Left is concerned, we can spot a moral alarmism expressed through an organized campaign against the American way of life.

To some extent this tendency is also expressed by journalists and writers of the Centre. F.ex., Psathas, a very well known columnist of this period who happens to be also a popular play writer, feels the need to warn the parents for the dangers that threaten the children who imitate the American way of life⁸⁸. Examples of such imitation would be, for instance, having parties at home after turning the lights off and without their parents being present. According to him this kind of behavior is not compatible with “*innocence*”. On the contrary, it “*awakens sexuality prematurely*”⁸⁹. This antithesis between innocence and sexuality, the antithesis between Greek and American youth, appears in many occasions.

⁸⁶ *Avgi*, 22/3/1956, p.3.

⁸⁷ *Avgi*, 26/9/1957, p.3.

⁸⁸ *Ta Nea*, 19/5/1956, p.1.

⁸⁹ *Ta Nea*, 20/11/1956, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 24/11/1956, p.1.

Psathas argues that the problem of sexual and criminal activity is a major problem for American society and he criticizes the “*unrestrained freedom*” that young Americans enjoy, along with the “*unbelievable hysteria of rock n roll*” and Elvis Presley⁹⁰. He feels for the Greek parents “*who are struggling in vain to keep their children within the limits of traditional obedience and discipline*” and he is very critical to the claims of young Greeks for freedom and independence. He thinks that this kind of freedom inspired by American standards, if applied to Greek society, would lead to a disaster because “*it was not born in our land*” and would deprive the young from the “*right guidelines*” and would leave them “*helpless facing corruption*”⁹¹.

Quite similar to that, the press of the Left detects American influence in the words of the young Greek who says: “*I want to live...I can’t stand your silly old habits...your silly moral and social obligations*” and neglects his parents and his unmarried sisters⁹². The generation gap is seen as a result of the destructive American influence: “*It is as if everything changed at once and our children went mad. They don’t agree with anything, their only response is sarcasm, they live as if they were to die tomorrow*”⁹³. Avgi rejects this individualistic pattern that is so appealing to young Greeks and detects the source of evil to America: “*this pathetic ‘ego’ is taught there, day and night, in every school, stage, screen, Sunday school, book, television, every experience of daily life that leads them to the road to perdition...this spirit of ‘ego’ is developed, cultivated and presented as national social edification...This mania of the sick ‘ego’...the hatred and the fanaticism and the barbarity are transferred through a thousand ways, by a thousand means...*”⁹⁴. America symbolizes moral decline. It is the road to perdition.

At the same time, America is perceived as a physical power beyond control that threatens to suffocate Greece. This threat, this ‘*disease*’ is devious and it is

⁹⁰ *Ta Nea*, 3/7/1957, p.1. Also, *Avgi*, 24/1/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 7/3/1956, p.3.

⁹¹ *Ta Nea*, 4/7/1956, p.1.

⁹² *Avgi*, 8/12/1955, p.1.

⁹³ *Avgi*, 25/9/1958, p.3. *Avgi*, 7/11/1965, p.2.

⁹⁴ *Avgi*, 8/12/1955, p.1.

present everywhere⁹⁵. America is dangerous in its grand and its minor manifestations. In the system of metaphors, we can see that America is systematically presented as something that attacks and wears of healthy organisms (“*poison*”, “*rotten root*”)⁹⁶. The confrontation between the Greek and the American way of life is presented in terms of biology or health. The ultimate goal is the survival of “*the healthy tradition of moral living that is deeply rooted in our people’s soul*”⁹⁷. A series of facts and news are interpreted using the following antithetical couples, dead/alive, healthy/sick. The first, positively evaluated, term refers to what is genuinely Greek and the second, negatively evaluated, term to anything that comes from America.

It is interesting to observe the moral conservatism of the Left in these anti-American comments. Avgi criticizes even the Greek Church for not having done much to face the influence of American trends, and especially rock n roll. The Left also rejects jazz music as it is considered to be an expression of the savage, wild instincts of American spirit. And once more she warns about this river “*of mud that threatens to burry us in the bog*”. “*The erosion becomes possible with the dollar that circulates systematically, diabolically in the veins of the Greek family, after it has turned into poison, into drug...The erosion of our moral values and our lives takes place every hour, every minute*”⁹⁸. In many of these cases, the conclusions made are not based in a structure of arguments, but they are actually built around the system of metaphors that we have already mentioned. Consequently, these conclusions are often irrational.

Educators of the Left also argue that there is a fatal correlation between rock music, criminality and sexual immorality. Roza Imvrioti describes the above as the “*flowers of evil*” that corrupt the “*pure soul of the young*”. And we should not think that this would be an accidental effect. America seeks to corrupt young people in order to make them passive instruments for her goals⁹⁹.

⁹⁵ Avgi, 18/12/1955, p.1.

⁹⁶ Avgi, 18/9/1958, p.2.

⁹⁷ Avgi, 20/9/1958, p.2.

⁹⁸ Avgi, 28/2/1957, p.2.

⁹⁹ Avgi, 8/6/1957, p.1.

In many of the cases cited above, the rejection of the American way of life reveals a fear for, and a rejection of, modernism¹⁰⁰. We can find a humorous version of this tendency in the popular films of this period. F.ex. in the “*Aunt from Chicago*” (1957) the Greek-American immigrant that returns to Greece brings modern ideas concerning the way children should be brought up and she tries to persuade the conservative parents to accept them.

As far as moral values are concerned, America is identified with sexual immorality. The changes in the mores of young Greeks are severely criticized and considered to be imitations of Hollywood. This stereotype features not only in the press, but also in literature, as f.ex. in Tsirkas novel “*Lost Spring*”¹⁰¹. The press of the Left orchestrates a moral campaign and stresses out that parents should protect by all means their children’s innocence against American influence¹⁰². This moral warning also operates as a symbol: it is not just the pure and innocent young Greeks against the corruptive power of American culture, but also the pure Greece that faces the brutal and immoral America.

The picture is completed by a series of references to the low educational level of Americans and to the lack of values of young Americans. According to the information published in the Greek press, they are nihilists and pessimists, they have a tendency to drugs and alcohol, they form gangs and do murders, and when they are having fun, they do vandalisms and orgies. In this frame, Greenwich Village and the beatniks¹⁰³ are presented as “*a refuge for pervert guys, fake artists and intellectuals*” who “*know no limits in dissoluteness*” and they end up to “*prostitution and crime, to gain the money for their expensive drugs*”¹⁰⁴.

Prostitution: As we have already noted, the presence of Americans in Greece is directly connected with corruption and immorality. The most infamous district of

¹⁰⁰ Richard Kuisel argues that one of the sources of post-war French anti-Americanism was the insecurity of the French people for the establishment of a new socioeconomic model represented by the USA, based on the identification of America with modernism and consumer society. R. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: the dilemma of Americanization*, University of California Press, p.104.

¹⁰¹ St. Tsirkas, *Hameni Anoixi*, Kedros 1976, p.78.

¹⁰² *Avgi*, 18/12/1955, p.1.

¹⁰³ St. Tsirkas, *Hameni Anoixi...*, p.10.

¹⁰⁴ *Avgi*, 7/6/1964, p.4. *Avgi*, 17/7/1964, p.2.

the period, Troumba in Piraeus, is thought to bear the mark of American civilization: “All you can do is revolt and feel sorry for the decline of human value. You won’t find elsewhere as many American bars as you will find here...”¹⁰⁵. The rise of prostitution in Greece is believed to be a direct consequence of American presence. *Avgi* hosts for many days, in her first page, a thorough research entitled “Young girls in the mud...The American Bars. The evil mechanism of corruption” or “American corporals- maharajas. The golden net”¹⁰⁶.

The journalists that conducted the research argue that a tremendous number of young girls associate with these American maharajas who want them to be “as young as possible” and they edict them to smoking, drinking, even drugs. And, according to *Avgi*, it’s not just the poor girls who end up to prostitution, but also girls from the middle classes that have been brought up with the American way of life¹⁰⁷. The presence of the men of the 6th fleet in Troumba and their association with prostitutes is also a theme in Greek films of the period. Also, Tsirkas, in his novel, depicts the decadent mores of a group of Americans living in Greece in the mid ‘60s¹⁰⁸.

Criminality: The disapproval of sexual immorality is often combined in these passages with the fear for the rise of criminality. Sex and crime (“films with gangsters” and “porno magazines”¹⁰⁹) are interrelated in the representation of the American way of life. American culture is repeatedly characterized as a “culture of crime”. According to this perception, American culture gives birth to crime and crime sustains American culture. It’s also worth observing that even the word “culture” is often put in quotations as far as America is concerned.

This essentialist approach, that is very popular to the Left, according to which American culture is compatible with crime, while Greek culture is not, manifests itself very clearly in the following two stories that were published in *Avgi*. In May 1956, two children of Americans living in Greece put ropes around the necks of Greek

¹⁰⁵ *Avgi*, 10/2/1957, p.5.

¹⁰⁶ *Avgi*, 18/8/1957, p.1. Also St. Tsirkas, *Hameni Anoixi...*, p.113, p.150.

¹⁰⁷ *Avgi*, 20/8/1957, p.1.

¹⁰⁸ St. Tsirkas, *Hameni Anoixi...*

¹⁰⁹ *Avgi*, 24/7/1955, p.1.

children and provoked the anger of a wider public¹¹⁰. This incident was considered to be indicative of American tendency toward violence and crime and of the unbridgeable gap that separates Americans from Greeks. A difference of quality, a difference of essence was established: “*We raise human beings. They raise tigers*”¹¹¹. But a few weeks later something very unusual for Greek standards took place. A young girl, Greek this time, killed another as they were playing and the newspaper insists on the same stereotypes: “*As far as our children are concerned, murder was and still is unknown...They may be surrounded by this new way of murder, death and destruction that is called new way of life, but Greek children still hold on...They don’t give in to it*”. But the fact remains; a Greek child killed another and that remains to be explained. American way of life is once again guilty. The newspaper suggests that the young girl may have seen a film or maybe she was living close to the American children that we mentioned above. And concludes: “*May God save us...from the evil of the new way of life*”¹¹².

The rise of criminality is attributed by *Avgi* in 1965 to the influence of James Bond films¹¹³. The press hosts a series of information about criminality in the US, with emphasis on children’s criminality¹¹⁴, combined with criticism on the American educational system¹¹⁵. The city of Chicago is a very popular symbol of crime in this discourse¹¹⁶. We should point out, though that this connection between American way of life and crime could also be seen as the Left’s answer to the Right’s connection of communism and crime¹¹⁷.

The link between crime and moral decline is American cinema¹¹⁸. Hollywood is considered to be one of the causes of criminality and both the press of the Centre¹¹⁹ and the press of the Left suggests that the government should forbid the import of

¹¹⁰ *Avgi*, 31/5/1956, p.3.

¹¹¹ *Avgi*, 3/6/1956, p.2.

¹¹² *Avgi*, 15/7/1956, p.2.

¹¹³ *Avgi*, 7/11/1965, p.2.

¹¹⁴ *Avgi*, 28/10/1955, p.1. *Avgi*, 3/12/1955, p.1. *Avgi*, 25/7/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 14/8/1957, p.3. *Ta Nea*, 6/5/1965, p.3.

¹¹⁵ *Avgi*, 9/3/1956, p.1.

¹¹⁶ *Avgi*, 6/12/1955. Also V. Vassilikos, *H Mithologia...*, p.73.

¹¹⁷ D. Papadimitriou, *Apo ton lao ton nomimofronon sto ethnos ton ethnikofronon*, Savvalas, Athina 2006, p.207.

¹¹⁸ *Ta Nea*, 5/9/1958, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 6/9/1958, p.1. *Avgi*, 22/3/1956, p.3.

¹¹⁹ *Ta Nea*, 30/7/1958, p.1.

these films in the name of “*parents and all the descent people*”¹²⁰. In the following abstract a journalist describes a film with gangsters and Frank Sinatra starring: “*on the screen...the wrecks of the American way of life...an awful world that I couldn’t stand watching and I couldn’t wait to get out to get some fresh air*”¹²¹. The Left deprives the heroes of Hollywood from their myth and describes them as brutalized creatures. It argues that in these films the ideal of life is diminished and the law of jungle prevails¹²².

Teddy boys: Based on all the above, Avgi defines the American way of life, as it has been transferred to Greece, as “*a new way of life and entertainment, that’s not addressed not the mind, not to the emotion, but to the lowest instincts of man, in the animal inside him*”. It’s a “*new evil drug*” that destroys any humanity. The pro-communist press urges Greek society to unite and “*resist*” to this attack that seeks to bring down morally the young Greeks. The older generations have to help the young “*not to lose their souls*”¹²³. Once more the American way of life is thought to be the contrary of humanism. Americanism is considered closer to animal existence.

As far as Greece is concerned, teddy boys are considered to be a big problem. Teddy boys, according to the newspaper *Ta Nea*, are the young people who love American cultural products¹²⁴ and they are often characterized as “*the new fruit of the American way of life*”¹²⁵. Avgi believes that it is a serious social phenomenon and hosts a research for the subject. In the research, it denounces the unspeakable behaviour of our children that has the stamp ‘*made in USA*’ on it and is a source of “*agony for every Greek family*”. What is annoying about teddy boys is that they are “*disrespectful to everyone and everything, (they are) narcissists, (they have) a wild way of life, mores and customs completely strange to us, incomprehensible way of entertainment, lack of ideals and lack of purpose*”¹²⁶.

¹²⁰ Avgi, 8/6/1957, p.1.

¹²¹ Avgi, 23/10/1956, p.3.

¹²² *ibid*

¹²³ Avgi, 4/10/1958, p.1.

¹²⁴ *Ta Nea*, 5/7/1958, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 6/7/1958, p.1. *Ta Nea*, 30/7/1958, p.1.

¹²⁵ Avgi, 18/10/1956, p.3.

¹²⁶ Avgi, 25/9/1958, p.3.

But *Avgi* clarifies that the young Greeks are not responsible for this phenomenon and traces the responsibility to the presence of the American factor in many aspects of young Greeks daily life. The fear of the Left is that the phenomenon of teddy boys will result to Americanization and to the loss of national conscience: “*Within a few years, Greece will be inhabited by Greeks as far as their origin is concerned, but Americans in the soul, and even more Americans of the worst kind*”. “*Teddy boys, corruption and lack of patriotism are interrelated*” as a professor explicitly puts it¹²⁷. *Avgi* questions the patriotism of young people who adopt American trends. Everything on them is annoying, the hair, the clothes, the look. Americanization leaves its marks on the body and on the soul. Rock n roll, once more, appears as a force of evil. Under the influence of rock n roll, young people all over the world start “*acting hysterically as if they were gangsters or members of the Kou-Klux-Klan*”¹²⁸.

Americans in Greece: provocative and dangerous: The material offered by the press concerning details about the activities and life style of Americans living in Greece is a valuable source of information about the perceived gap that separates Greeks and Americans. We don't focus here on political events, but rather on several aspects of daily life. This material enlightens how Greek public opinion evaluates the life style of Americans living in Greece and the reason why Greeks believe that Americans are provocative, arrogant and disrespectful. Significant and less significant things contributed to the formulation of this conviction. Things that may seem insignificant at first, acquire sometimes a meaning that couldn't have been predicted. F.ex. the short-sleeved shirts that Americans wear in Greece are considered strange by the locals. Sometimes, they think it's just another sign of American naïveté¹²⁹, but some others they consider this kind of dressing as lack of respect and they attribute to it political meaning. A good example for that is American ambassador Pewrifoy who had the habit of meeting with Greek politicians, but also the king, dressed in a very informal way¹³⁰.

¹²⁷ The abstract comes from a letter of professor E. Dragonas published in *Avgi*, 26/9/1958, p.3.

¹²⁸ *Avgi*, 15/7/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 18/10/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 5/3/1957, p.4 *Avgi*, 31/3/1957, p.4 *Avgi*, 28/9/1958, p.2. *Avgi*, 29/9/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 18/9/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 3/5/1956, p.3. *Avgi*, 22/9/1955, p.3. *Avgi*, 18/12/1955, p.3.

¹²⁹ *Kathimerini*, 15/9/1954, p.1.

¹³⁰ *Avgi*, 17/9/1955, p.2. *Avgi*, 14/3/1957, p.2.

But far more important, for the shaping of a negative image of Americans living in Greece, is the presence and the activities of the men of the 6th Fleet. Sailors and soldiers entertain themselves beyond control and they often resort to actions of violence, a dangerous and disturbing crowd of drunk and crude men who don't respect the locals and their customs; that's how Greeks see American military presence¹³¹. They are constantly looking to start a fight and to harass women and they can do all that unpunished because they are protected by extraterritoriality: "*It's disgusting to look at them...*"¹³². "*Keep your women at home. Close your shops...That's what the inhabitants of the Greek islands should shout when the 6th fleet approaches...*"¹³³.

Avgi representing the average Greek wonders: "*Are these men a civilized army?...Troumba, whisky, misbehaviour, punches, robberies, beating innocent people, drunken debauch, provocation, lack of respect toward the country, the women, our mores, toward the patience and the tolerance of Greeks...*". The press of the Left stresses out the need to protect the Greek family, the need for a quiet life¹³⁴. The journalists that write down these stories seem to believe that Americans cannot adjust to civilization and suppress their animal instincts¹³⁵. The disapproval of the activities of these soldiers reflects on the American way of life as a whole. Once more American and Greek customs are considered to be incompatible¹³⁶.

Greeks observe with indignation that the coastline of Attica is full of English labels, hotels, bars, restaurants in the service of Americans. And those "parasites" enjoy an easy life¹³⁷. And next to the men of the 6th fleet there the members of the American Mission. Their life style in Greece is considered to be parasitic as if they were in a colony. At the same time their contribution to Greece is denied. What the press says, in the name of the average Greek, is that they do nothing and "*we fill their pockets with money*"¹³⁸. It's "*some guy named John that takes our bread from us and*

¹³¹ Avgi, 3/2/1955, p.1 Avgi, 10/3/1955, p.1. Avgi, 25/11/1956, p.2. Avgi, 18/5/1957, p.2.

¹³² Avgi, 18/9/1956, p.3. Avgi, 20/11/1958, p.2.

¹³³ Avgi, 24/10/1957, p.1.

¹³⁴ Avgi, 1/11/1958, p.2.

¹³⁵ Avgi, 21/2/1957, p.2.

¹³⁶ Avgi, 20/11/1955, p.1.

¹³⁷ Avgi, 24/4/1956, p.3.

¹³⁸ Avgi, 29/4/1956, p.3. Avgi, 8/3/1955, p.1.

enjoys our sun” and he doesn’t care about the Greeks trying to earn their living¹³⁹. Their life style is luxurious and provocative for Greek standards. Avgi says “*an American ally in Greece is like a god in his throne*”¹⁴⁰ and repeats that simple soldiers live in villas and “*enjoy privileges that even Greek ministers don’t have*”¹⁴¹.

Americans in Greece earn a lot of money, they are well fed and live in comfortable houses¹⁴². This stereotype is combined with the auto-stereotype of starving poor Greeks. “*We are the miserable of the world. People that don’t even have enough bread...*”¹⁴³. It is easy to understand why Greeks find annoying the sight of well-fed Americans. The following story published in the press refers to an incident where American sailors attacked a Greek taxi-driver: “*Among four ruthless big guys that have devoured countless steaks and have grown their muscles and have become inhuman and savages, what could he possibly have done being a driver tormented by the cold, the taxes, the hunger...?*”¹⁴⁴.

But there are also simple incidents of daily life that intensify this feeling of provocative inequality between Greeks and Americans. During the Christmas of 1956, the American ambassador is looking for his son’s dog that had been lost and in his statements he spoke about his child’s drama. This word, “drama”, was severely criticized, not by the Left this time, but by a newspaper of the Centre: “*His child’s drama may be important, but there are far more important dramas in this country, where thousands of children are living under such conditions that would be really jealous of the very fortunate conditions under which, not only the ambassador’s son, but even his dog are living...it’s our impression that this statement was made by people who know nothing about this country where they represent their homeland...*”¹⁴⁵. Greek problems are very different from American problems.

¹³⁹ Avgi, 21/9/1956, p.2.

¹⁴⁰ Avgi, 29/9/1955, p.1.

¹⁴¹ Avgi, 14/5/1955, p.1.

¹⁴² Avgi, 21/9/1956, p.2. Avgi, 29/9/1955, p.1.

¹⁴³ A research conducted at the time actually showed that Greeks were the last among ten countries in consuming meat and sugar, Avgi, 5/11/1958, p.2. Avgi, 6/11/1958, p.2.

¹⁴⁴ Avgi, 1/11/1958, p.2. Avgi, 24/9/1955, p.2.

¹⁴⁵ Ta Nea, 28/12/1956, p.1.

The privilege of extraterritoriality and the cases of violence with American perpetrators are a big source of problem in the coexistence of Greeks and Americans. Americans are considered to be dangerous in every moment of daily life. Public opinion and the press express their indignation every time Greek people are harmed by Americans who remain unpunished¹⁴⁶. Avgi describes Americans as authoritarian and barbarian masters who supposedly say: “*Me and only me...I am the whole world! Nobody else matters! Me, the lord, the maharaja, the sultan*”, “*I have the right to kill you and I will never have to pay*”¹⁴⁷.

The opposite side of this image is the Greek self-image. Greeks imagine that they are extremely inferior to the eyes of Americans: “*They believe they are the new gods on earth. They think we are mosquitoes, a colony, inferior creatures born to serve their goals*”¹⁴⁸. And elsewhere: “*To be an American, to chew your gum and be mad enough to think that you command the waves, the atmosphere, heaven and earth*”¹⁴⁹. Avgi thinks that “*every American is possible to have thought at a time that he is a few inches taller than all the other people in the world...*”¹⁵⁰. Avgi is convinced that Americans have a special hatred for the Greeks and assimilates them to the Nazi occupation of Greece¹⁵¹. In any case, we can discern a well-established representation of an omnipotent arrogant American.

The Left systematically seeks to establish a demeaning evaluation of every element connected to the postwar American presence in Greece, from material goods to art and from fashion to human behaviour. The prevailing of American way of life is presented as a source of constant agony: “*They do anything in their power to put our minds to sleep. Our lives have become an all day struggle just to earn our living... There is also agony to protect our children from the dirt that comes from their underworld...*”¹⁵².

¹⁴⁶ Avgi, 5/7/1956, p.1. Avgi, 26/10/1956, p.5. Avgi, 25/8/1956, p.5.

¹⁴⁷ Avgi, 5/7/1956, p.1 Avgi, 21/9/1956, p.1.

¹⁴⁸ Avgi, 18/5/1957, p.2. Avgi, 7/6/1957, p.2. Avgi, 9/12/1956, p.5.

¹⁴⁹ Avgi, 20/3/1956, p.2.

¹⁵⁰ Avgi, 14/6/1957, p.2.

¹⁵¹ Avgi, 6/12/1957, p.1.

¹⁵² Avgi, 7/6/1957, p.2. Avgi, 14/3/1957, p.2.

Concluding remarks

The depreciation of the American system takes the form of a whole strategy in the discourse of the Left in order to deal with the appeal and the mythology of the “*American dream*”. The Left doubts even whether America has actually created a civilization of her own. As the Left puts it American civilization is “*chewing gums, heroin, marihuana, electric chair, western culture, gangsters, dollars and extraterritoriality...brutalizing work until you drop, the agony of unemployment, the horror and the cruelty of intensive exploitation of men...*”.

At this point it is interesting how all the above are unified in the analysis of an intellectual of the Left, Markos Avgeris, who tries to define the “*American why of life*” or “*Americanism*” as he calls it. His extensive analysis is entitled “*Americanism is a global danger*”¹⁵³. He argues that Americanism is the nightmarish expression of nuclear era that began with the use of atomic bomb in 1945. Ever since, America has been the “*great terrorist*”¹⁵⁴. He points out that the ‘*essence*’ of Americanism is fear, violence and death: “*the presence of Americanism always, now matter how it is manifested, brings about a feeling of uneasiness. It is followed by a wave of destruction and fear, something wild that comes from the heart of the jungle. From the minor to the grand manifestations, from the musical hysteria of jazz to the wild dances, from the colourful shirts or the images of animals, from the cinema’s saga of violence and killings to the large trusts of criminals that threaten the big cities to the American politics, the ideas and intellectuals*”¹⁵⁵. A similar view is expressed by a journalist commenting the actions of American pilots in Vietnam: “*American pilots have their heads filled with all those evil freedoms that flatter their lowest instincts and encourage the most savage impulses*”¹⁵⁶.

That is the essence of Americanism that is expressed in art, in economy, in politics, in philosophy: “*Americanism has a specific style and a specific ethos. You can see it in the architectural expression of the skyscrapers*” that makes the cities look

¹⁵³ This analysis was written in 1957 and is inspired by the announcement of the “Eisenhower doctrine” for the Middle East.

¹⁵⁴ *Avgi*, 15/1/1957, p.1.

¹⁵⁵ *Avgi*, 15/1/1957, p.1.

¹⁵⁶ *Avgi*, 25/4/1965, p.5.

like “houses of giants or like huge cemeteries. American capitalism suffers from the gigantism of prehistoric monsters. The daily life has something inhuman and irrational; it goes by in an atmosphere of irrationalism”. Avgeris also argues that Americanism dreams of absolute power over the world and plans to eliminate anyone willing to resist: “American capitalism drunk from power and greedy for conquests is eager to swallow the globe. That’s what makes American politics brutal and abrupt”¹⁵⁷.

In Avgeri’s argumentation we find unified in a system many of the concepts that construe some very powerful images and stereotypes of America. We can trace a unifying principle for all these things connected with America that are thought to be annoying, strange, provocative, dangerous. It’s the fear for a world that is “organically sick and extremely dangerous because it is placed beyond any human measure”¹⁵⁸. We could call all this “deep America”. In all those narrations cited we can see the establishment of a system of thinking. There is a cohesive perception that brings together the way Greeks ‘see’ American landscape, the inhabitants of this land, the socioeconomic system, the American way of life as a whole. It is interesting noting that the characteristics of the land are projected to the people and their way of life and vice versa, things that characterize Americans in their private or social activities, in reality or supposedly, are thought to be qualities of the land. There is a latent irrationalism in these judgments about America that focuses on the concepts of wildness, inhumanity and danger.

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¹⁵⁷ *Avgi*, 15/1/1957, p.1.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid*

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“War and Propaganda: The use of the internet in Informational War”, Propaganda of coverage and coverage of propaganda of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan- The Greek case

“There is more and more information and less and less meaning”

Jean Baudrillard¹

Abstract

This paper aims at investigating the relationship between two fundamental issues- war and propaganda- that engage the interest of political communication, within the communicative environment of the internet examining three Greek news portals.

The current paper draws on the rich theoretical background created by many important scholars on the abovementioned issue to create a basis for the examination of the importance of propaganda in contemporary war and vice versa within a technologically sophisticated medium like the internet.

Using content analysis we aim to discover how the news coverage of the two most important contemporary conflicts, Iraq and Afghanistan, by three of the most important Greek news portals might contain propagandistic elements in regards mostly of their sources, content, and layout.

Keywords: informational war, propaganda, coverage, internet

1. The contemporary war: From industrial wars to contemporary wars

What is war has been the main question for many theorists. There is a wide range of different theoretical perspectives- political, historical, psychological, anthropological, sociological, demographic rationalist etc. -trying to explain its nature and rationale. Numerous books and papers have been written trying to explain and define this phenomenon². A first definition we came across tells us that “War should be understood as an actual, intentional and widespread armed conflict between political communities”³, or as Clausewitz puts it in the most famous phrase of his: “War is merely a continuation of politics with other means”⁴. Our purpose at this part of the paper is to focus on the main characteristics that differentiate the contemporary conflicts from the ones of the early and mid 20th century.

According to Webster⁵ there are specific elements characterizing what he called the “industrial war”. Examining the recent history of wars, starting from the First World War in 1914 and reaching the wars conducted until 1970, he distinguished some morphological characteristics that could be used to define the nature of the wars of that time, such as the territorial sovereignty, which was the main cause of conflicts, the mobilization of great parts of the population and in great numbers to support the war and make up for the really heavy casualties and the dominant role of the state by taking control of key sectors of production and infrastructure. These are the main characteristics of wars conducted during the age of modernity, when conflicts engaged gradually the sum of society⁶.

In contemporary wars or conflicts, one could detect characteristics of completely different nature than the abovementioned ones described by Webster for industrial wars. To begin with, none of the contemporary wars is conducted in the name of a specific power or powers that initiate them or because of a worldwide controversy between explicitly specified geopolitical sides. Instead, they are presented as interventions on behalf of an ecumenical discourse and an ecumenical value system⁷, depleting the main cause of the most of the up to the 20th century wars, the tangible assets of geopolitical disputations.

Each contemporary conflict is, right from its beginning, characterized by a catalytic for the outcome of the war disproportion of power between the adversaries-because of that they are expected to last only a few days or weeks- and all contemporary conflicts tend to be rationalized cloaked in the necessity of global peace and harmony⁸. On one hand, all

military operations have to be presented as necessary and justifiable. On the other hand, the war is nowadays more than ever an act of propaganda for the same reasons it needs to be justified through propaganda. Propaganda gives war reasons for taking place, whereas war itself constitutes a very significant contemporary form of propaganda so as to contribute to the establishment of a new world order containing the virtues of the ones that make the wars. In addition we should note at this point, that contrary to previous wars that mobilized the sum of society, “all war institutions have nowadays been moved to the fringe of society having undertaken a more specific technological role”⁹.

Because of the fact that contemporary wars usually lack a concrete geopolitical cause in order to declare their legitimacy all over the world and mobilize only a small part of society composed by professionals of war, the role of mass media in the dissemination of propagandistic information during pre-war, wartime and post-war periods is more than ever crucial. Mass media, print and electronic ones, is the only communication channel through which information concerning war can reach nowadays the wide masses in order to influence their judgment. “Wars conducted in another place become “our” wars only because the media create the illusion that we take part in them”¹⁰. After all, mass media is the main knowledge source of the people on almost every piece that constitutes their reality. “In contemporary societies the members of the audience tend to be dependent on the information sources that derive from the media as far as their knowledge on what is going on in their society is concerned”¹¹, or as Postman puts it: “We don’t see reality the way it is, but the way our languages are. And our languages are the media. The media are our metaphors. Our metaphors create the content of our culture”¹². Hence, even though no massive mobilization of society takes place during wars, people learn about the wars through the media. “This leads us to an increasingly pervasive control on behalf of the professionals of war on the information flow to and from the war”¹³. “Control and management of information are considered very important parameters equal to war strategy”¹⁴.

This control of the information flow that through the media reaches the wide public is part of what is called informational war. According to Taylor¹⁵ there are three basic dimensions connecting the nations: diplomacy, financial dimension, military dimension and what he calls the “hidden dimension”. This dimension having to do with the gathering and dissemination of information, ideas, perceptions and messages is being used to help political and military regimes improve their negotiating capabilities and can be fit to all other dimensions.

What we are particularly interested in here is the combination of this “hidden informational dimension” with the military one, called “informational war” and to be more specific the section that has to do with the control of media before, during and after wartime periods.

We should note here that the word control doesn’t necessarily mean restriction of the information quantity that reaches the public, but also abundance of pre-checked, by the professionals of war, information. “It is obvious that during war the officers take media on their side in order to make them present the facts in acceptable by the public ways”¹⁶. First example of informational war was the 1st Gulf War, which included for first time the informational operations dogma- aiming at defining war as a situation comprised of “information procedures”¹⁷- by taking advantage of the worldwide reach of the new media to control them to western coalition’s account.

2. Defining Propaganda

Pretty much like war, propaganda has developed throughout the years into something different enough than the propaganda of the WWI. War though, had a complex effect on the repute of propaganda. Although the practice had, albeit unnamed, been variously used by governments for centuries (Napoleon was an inspired practitioner), it was not until 1915 that governments first systematically deployed the entire range of modern media to rouse their populations to fanatical assent¹⁸.

When one makes a flashback in the history of propaganda he can assume that propaganda is based on three interacting elements: the control of human thought, increased sophistication of the communication systems available to forward propaganda and the understanding of the psychology of propaganda and the further use of its findings¹⁹.

There is a wide range of theorists having stated various definitions regarding propaganda. All definitions from the first to the last ones can be “categorized” into different groups depending on which aspect of propaganda they underline. Famous and really eminent scholars can be found among those who have dealt with the phenomenon of propaganda.

Many of the first theorists to have stated a definition influenced by the wide use of propaganda in WWI as a method for dispersion of lies, included in their analyses moral judgments for propaganda and presented it as a method of dubious credibility. Among the most characteristic definitions of this rationale one can find the definition of Leonard

Doob, who stated that “propaganda is the effort to change the personality and attitude of people using non scientific and untrustworthy aims and methods”²⁰. More acrimonious, though not scientific, characteristic nonetheless of the negative essence that the notion of propaganda had obtained in the aftermath of WWI is the opinion of Lord Ponsonby in 1926, who among others defined propaganda as a direct enemy of free thought and sneaky administrator of the free information flow that opposes the constant search of mankind for the truth²¹.

Another tendency emerging from the definitions we have come across is the direct link of propaganda with psychological methods and manipulations. In other words through these definitions propaganda is presented as a basically psychological method. Propaganda at its basis remains an action or series of actions aiming at a certain results, but the way followed to achieve these results is based on psychological manipulations. This approach of propaganda comes within the context of the middle and the end of mid-war era, when a more dispassionate research on propaganda was taking place mostly in the US. Most important representatives of this period are Harold Lasswell²² and the Institute for Propaganda Analysis²³ having presented us quite similar definitions of propaganda.

Apart from the abovementioned tendencies there are theorists who, according to the definitions they have given us, focused on the methodological character of propaganda, defining it mainly as an act which aims at certain results. One of the most important theorists to have talked about propaganda and placed the theoretical debate about it at a new level was Jacques Ellul. Defining propaganda as a method, he referred to various characteristics of propaganda as well, saying that it could contain, apart from lies, various kinds of truth, i.e. half truths or statements that might contain very little truth, in order to be more persuasive for the propagandees and that modern propaganda is constant and exists in almost every manifestation of human life²⁴. After all, the distinction between truth and lie can be subjective. “There is not a single reality or a single truth”²⁵. What one considers being true, can be another man’s lie. Ellul gave new directions and fresh ideas for the study of propaganda, but influenced by his religious background, being a theologian, he didn’t avoid expressing moral assessments on propaganda. Similar to the ideas of Ellul appears to be Antonio Miotto. “Propaganda is a technique of social pressure which tends to create psychological or social groups with a unified structure across the homogeneity of the affective and mental states of individuals under consideration”²⁶. In addition Miotto, like Ellul, underlines the fact that propaganda as a social phenomenon cannot be studied outside the social context it emerges. Following,

we meet R. Jackall telling us that “propaganda is the technique aiming at influencing human action through the use of representations”²⁷. One of the most important recent efforts in depicting the characteristics of propaganda diachronically was made by Jowett and O’ Donnell, who define propaganda as “the deliberate, systematic effort for shaping perceptions, control of thought and guidance of attitude, so as to succeed a stance that will subserve the predefined aims of the propagandist”²⁸.

Apart from the definition itself, Jowett and O’ Donnell, within their presentation of the most important characteristics of propaganda stretch out the fact that propaganda can be interpreted as a communication process as well²⁹. This fact alone adds one more aspect in the definition and analysis of propaganda.

The communication side of propaganda and its significance in the analytical deconstruction of it is being acknowledged by P. Taylor, one of the most important contemporary theorists, who tells us that “propaganda is nothing more than the communication of ideas organized in such way so as to convince people behave or act according to the desirable-for the propagandist-ways”³⁰, noting in addition that it can also be approached as “a specific form of power including communication and the media and not financial pressure or the threat of violence”³¹.

A really interesting communicative analysis is the one of G. Pleios who talks about propaganda in terms of propagandistic discourse³². Even though he doesn’t give us a concrete definition on it, he tries to define it through its attributes, drawing a detailed picture on what he means by propagandistic discourse. Among others, to propagandistic discourse belongs the discourse of mass media and mass culture, it tends to express itself through generalizations, it abolishes the discrimination between public and private space and encourages on one hand the development of an amorphous way of thinking that invents causalities, clichés based on unique events, and on the other hand it detects uniqueness in repeated and standardized facts, encouraging in that way a superficial perception of reality.

All the above mentioned definitions prove the kaleidoscopic nature of propaganda. We would argue that is really difficult to try and define propaganda within a few lines and grasp at the same time its multiplicity as a phenomenon, especially when one wants to present a holistic analysis of it. After all, most of these definitions are being tugged by further analyses that exceed the purposes of the current paper.

Therefore in this paper we define propaganda not in terms of trying to give a characteristic and exhaustive definition, but rather in order to clarify what propaganda means for the contemplations and the rationale of the current research.

Having that in mind, propaganda is both discourse and action, thought and implementation. To be more specific we consider propaganda as deliberately conducted process of thought, discourse and action or discourse as action, practiced by individuals or groups using means of communication³³ and aiming at influencing other individuals or groups to adopt or not to adopt certain opinions, attitudes or practices.

We should note here that it might be difficult in some cases for someone to discern propaganda from persuasion, because the boundaries between conduct and rational interaction are in many cases very elusive³⁴.

What we would like to stretch out at this point is that in order to examine propaganda thoroughly one needs to study it using only scientific and not ethical criteria, by treating it as something neutral. Being a process of weaving and cultivating ideas, “there is no need to use moral judgments to argue that propaganda is good or bad. It just is. We should expel moral judgments from the procedure of propaganda and transfer them to the issue of the aims of propaganda”³⁵.

3. The Internet as a mass medium

The exchange of information between people is one of the most basic elements of human civilization and the social life of human beings. The amount of information circulating everyday and to which people are censured is huge, transforming them into “news addicted people”³⁶. We also live in dramatically developing communication environment. Just a few years ago people had no idea of concepts like multimedia or internet, but by the end of the 20th century a technological revolution took place having as its epicenter information technologies³⁷.

“The developments having taken place in the recent past within the communicational environment are numerous and in many cases exponential”³⁸. The most characteristic example is the internet. The fact that it offers the user a vast variety of services has made it irreplaceable for millions of people³⁹. Through its morphological, structural and operational characteristics, the internet has brought many changes in the communication process. Its importance is unquestionable, encouraging the conduction of research on its

consequences on different sectors of everyday life like communications, culture, politics etc.

At this point we would like to focus on the informational side of the internet, and more specifically on the use of it as a mass medium by its users in order to get informed on events taking place around the world.

The internet, descendant of the ARPANET, is a fully decentralized, horizontal communications network, comprised of thousands smaller computer networks⁴⁰. We could argue that exactly this decentralized and in some cases anarchic structure of the internet, where “everyone since the mid 90’s can become communicator and receiver of messages at the same time”⁴¹, combined to the everlasting flow of a great bulk of information, the rather easy access- especially in the western world- and its, at least superficial, extrication from a single central control organization, urges the users to trust it more and more for their everyday avocations. At the same time, we should not disremember that each user can communicate with others almost in real time or connect with them in order to exchange files, information and opinions.

Analyzing furthermore specific characteristics of the internet, one should begin from the fact that it brought a new scale of speeds in the dissemination of information. This fact contributed to the reformation of the western societies in financial, political and social level, transforming them into “informational societies” which “indicates the attribute of a specific form of social organization in which information generation, processing and transmission become the fundamental sources of productivity and power”⁴², meaning that information is nowadays not only a tool for financial development and social expression, but also an irreplaceable part of a social structure based on the information itself. Instead of just taking advantage of information, the contemporary social structure depends on it. A significant problem created by this abundance of information is the assessment of its quality⁴³. Having created a channel that offers us an abundance of information, we haven’t at the same time developed the mechanisms required to evaluate the quality of this huge quantity of information circulating in the internet.

A research conducted in Greece, dealing with the percentage of internet penetration in everyday life and the different applications of it, demonstrated that 42% of the users surf the internet searching and downloading news updates from news portals⁴⁴. The percentage of users surfing the internet for accessing news bulletins is expected to rise in the future, because of the fact that the internet is considered to be a rather “independent” medium, extricated from direct political control, because “the offer and choice of

information is not anymore subject to the exclusive control of the communicator”⁴⁵. Another similar research conducted by the ABC News Poll in the US demonstrated that almost half the Americans get their news updates from the internet and one third of them increased their trust in internet news sources after September 11th 2001⁴⁶. As Chomsky puts it, talking about the internet: “alternative mass media may well play the role of alerting mechanism for the lower classes, by letting them interact freely and allow them to constitute a fearful for the elites democratic front”⁴⁷.

In addition, the capability of the internet to merge different types of discourse, such as text, sound, image and video within the same medium, combined to its interactivity and disposability at any time and its rather inexpensive, at least nowadays for the citizens of the so called “western world”, access, makes it very attractive for everyone having access to it to use it as a tool for his/her everyday briefing on news around the world.

Within this privileged communicative environment of information abundance and coalescence of different types of discourse the internet plays nowadays a significant role in the coverage of important events like wars around the world. All big traditional news corporations have set up web pages in order to take advantage of the potentials the internet offers in terms of quick and flexible broadcasting of information. In addition, many new exclusively internetic “players” have emerged trying to “compete” the traditional ones.

A first problem rising as far as the role of the internet as a mass medium is concerned, is that “it operates without any specific journalistic criteria and without any restrictions within the practically infinite cyberspace, offering a great opportunity to the ones aiming at disseminating propagandistic information”⁴⁸.

In addition “the flow, variety and speed of information are so big that the citizen might well encounter problems in choosing and evaluating this information, resulting in confound and a situation of information overdose”⁴⁹. This becomes even more difficult in case of wars, where the media are obliged to support a specific side. Only by pluralism in approach we will be able to approach the truth a little bit more.

Last but not least, we should note that the internet cannot be considered yet an ecumenical⁵⁰ medium like press, television and radio. In fact the internet still remains a privilege of the western, developed countries, for a series of reasons. It is characteristic that in 2007 the number of internet users around the world was estimated at around 1,1 billion, 570 million of which were in the US, Canada Europe and Australia⁵¹. In other words three areas having less than 18% of the world population, at the same time have

more than half of the internet population (52% of internet users). In addition the evidence on the users' profile demonstrate that the internet in Greece as well as in other countries, is particularly popular, with percentage of use over 55%, among people of middle and higher education, with high income, students and mainly residents of big cities⁵².

Within this "informational war friendly" communication environment, we will try to examine the use of internet in informational war through the examination of articles published in Greek news portals covering the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

4. Rationality of the research

Having defined the notion of propaganda by stretching out its main characteristics and among them the protagonist role of mass media in the dissemination of propaganda-examples throughout the history are television and the cinema, "which formed specific images created to serve an ideological aim and to escort the common sensibility serving as a symbolic artificial member"⁵³ -, the more than ever informational nature of contemporary war and the possibilities offered and issues raised within the technologically sophisticated informational environment of the internet, we proceed in referring to some basic points of the current research.

With this research we don't anticipate to give straight, concrete and extensive answers in whether the internet promotes wartime propaganda or whether it acts as a free medium having a reliable character, or if one can argue that propaganda is more eminent nowadays within the internet than in previous years in different mass media. This requires a multi-level research including all actors that take part within a communication process. These actors which are common place, with some diversifications, of all theories and models of communication, are the communicator (the sender of the message), the message itself, and the receiver.

The current research, instead, anticipates to contribute to the further investigation of questions arising on the relationship of internet and propaganda. With the galloping advances in information technology, how freely does the information circulate after all? Is it controlled in any way? If yes, how? Is the information we see and read in order to "build" our image of the world impervious to propaganda? If not, does that happen to our benefit?

These are only some of the questions waiting to be answered in future research on the relationship of propaganda with the internet and the new technologies that have invaded the communications field.

“In an age of propaganda the only aim our actions should have is towards its recognition for what it actually is: a persuasion method having invaded our everyday life”⁵⁴.

5. Theoretical hypotheses- Main research question

We should note again that the study of propaganda is not the study of a “mean” thing. In addition “the most effective propaganda as it has developed through the years is the one of the facts, being based, if possible, on persuasive arguments rather than feelings”⁵⁵. From the already presented theoretical background we formed a set of hypotheses to be further researched:

1. Even though we are in an, at least theoretically, post-war period in both conflicts under examination (Iraq-Afghanistan) we expect- because of the abundance of information the internet offers- to find an average of more than one report per day on both wars in all news portals.
2. Violent events (conflict between adversaries, attacks mainly against civilians on behalf of the resistance etc.) are expected to appear way more in the news reports- according to the informational war strategy for the justification of the war on behalf of the coalition forces- than political procedures aiming at the rebuilding of these countries in the aftermath of war, even though they are theoretically undergoing a process of reformation. In addition, we expect predominance as far as the sources are concerned of western media (news agencies, channels etc.).
3. Since the more energetic pole is the one of coalition countries and forces⁵⁶, we expect to find references on politicians and other actors mainly of these countries, followed by actors of the local political scene.
4. Since the war in Afghanistan has Greek participation in the form of armed forces, in contrast to Iraq, we expect an equally extensive coverage of this conflict as the one of Iraq on behalf of the Greek news portals we examine.
5. Since the articles reporting the events in Iraq and Afghanistan appeal to the internet users of a country whose public opinion has repeatedly expressed its opposition for both conflicts, we don't expect to find in the articles verbal

expressions that demonstrate the support of the article on either side, especially the one of the western coalition. Instead, we expect propagandistic coverage to be mainly conducted through the publishing of specific events, rather than the expression of opinion supportive of the coalition.

Our main research question is whether the news articles of three Greek portals (ert.gr, in.gr, flash.gr) reporting the news on the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan can be said to conduct a coverage containing propagandistic elements promoting the strategy of informational war of western coalition forces.

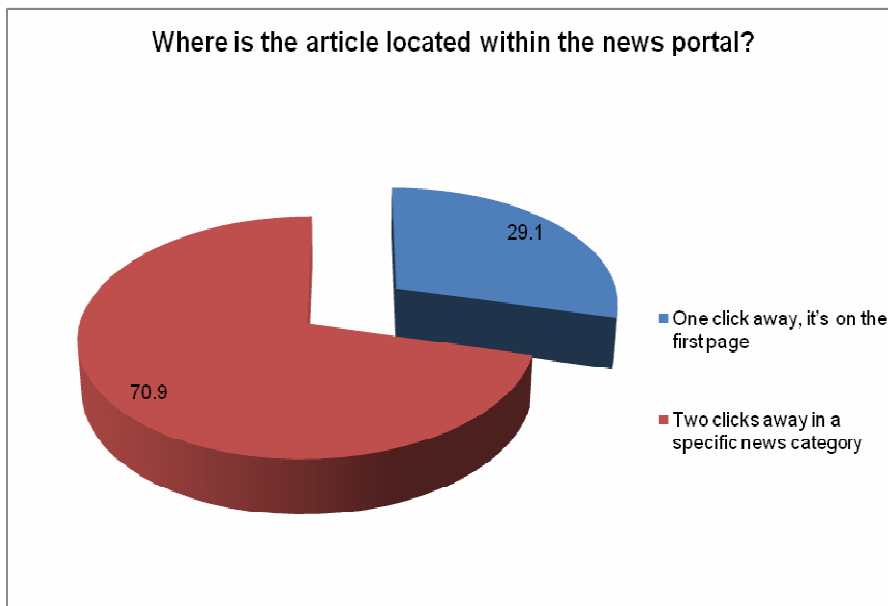
6. Research Method

The research was conducted between 12th of April and 12th of May 2007. We examined the news articles of three of the most important Greek news portals www.ert.gr, www.flash.gr, www.in.gr. Apart from the fact that they are important as news portals in terms of the visits they receive, in.gr is in the 2nd place among the top 100 Greek sites, ert.gr is in the 19th place and flash.gr is in the 37th place⁵⁷, the rationale behind this choice is that each portal stands as the internet presence of a different medium (mainly press in the case of DOL, radio in the case of Flash and TV in the case of ERT). We were visiting the pages three times a day, in order not to lose any of the reports on the conflicts of our interest and in addition to locate the report the soonest possible so as not to miss if it was published on the home page of the site (it is a code of our protocol), because of the rather frequent refresh of the news shown on first page.

The analysis method followed was content analysis of all news articles that appeared in the news portals of our interest during the period of our research. The articles published and hence studied during our research period in all three news portals, were 79.

7. Findings of the research

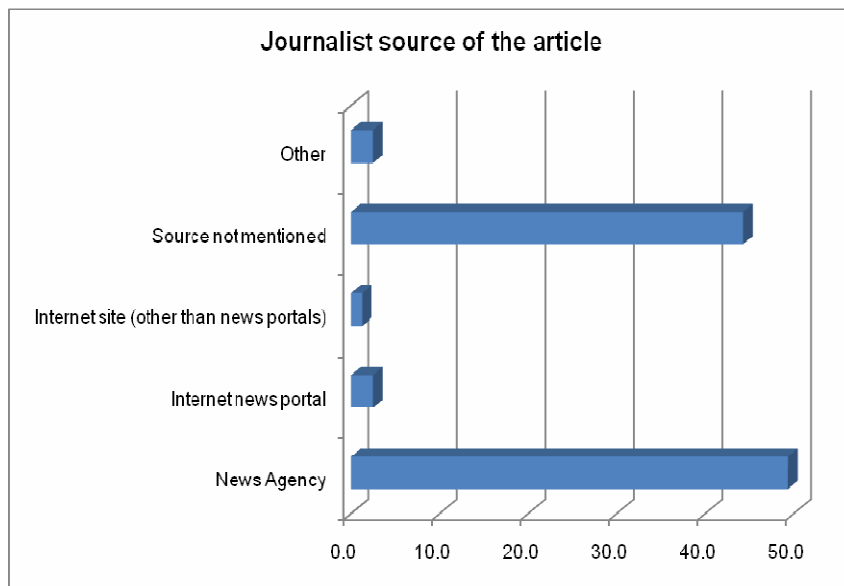
Testing our first hypothesis, the average number of the articles that appeared during our research period, we found that in a 30 day period the amount of the articles in the three news portals we examined was 79, an average of 2.63 articles per day, which is rather many for two conflicts being in post-war period. In addition we studied the location of the articles and found that 29.1% of them was located on the first page (home page, mentioned here as one click away from the user) of the portals, 70.9% was found two clicks away, in a specialized category. For in.gr and flash.gr this category is the international news, while for ert.gr there is a specialized news category under the title “Iraq”, within the category “world”, whereas news for Afghanistan appears under the category “world”. In other word we could say that news reports concerning the two conflicts of our interest can be found rather easily by the ones who will use the specific portals for their briefing.



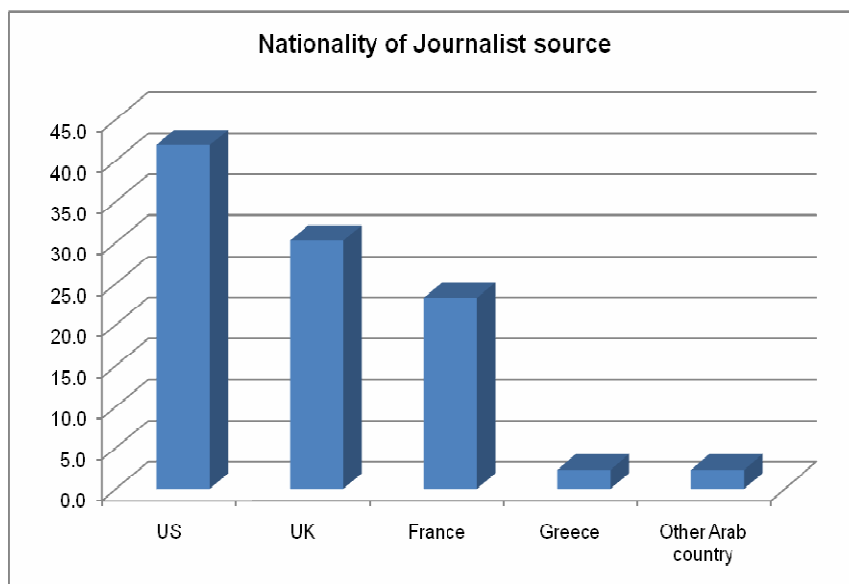
Testing our second hypothesis on the sources of the articles, we came up with some very interesting results. We divided the sources mentioned within, above or below the articles studied in journalist and non-journalist sources.

For journalist sources including various kinds of media (including news agencies, internet sites, TV, radio, print media the percentages are very indicative: almost half the reports claim to have as source a news agency (49.4%). The fact that a significant percent- more than 40%- of the articles (especially observed in www.flash.gr) don't mention any

sources is based on the fact that since the portals pay the news agencies for the news reports, they are not obliged to quote them as sources, because they have bought the copyright of the report too.

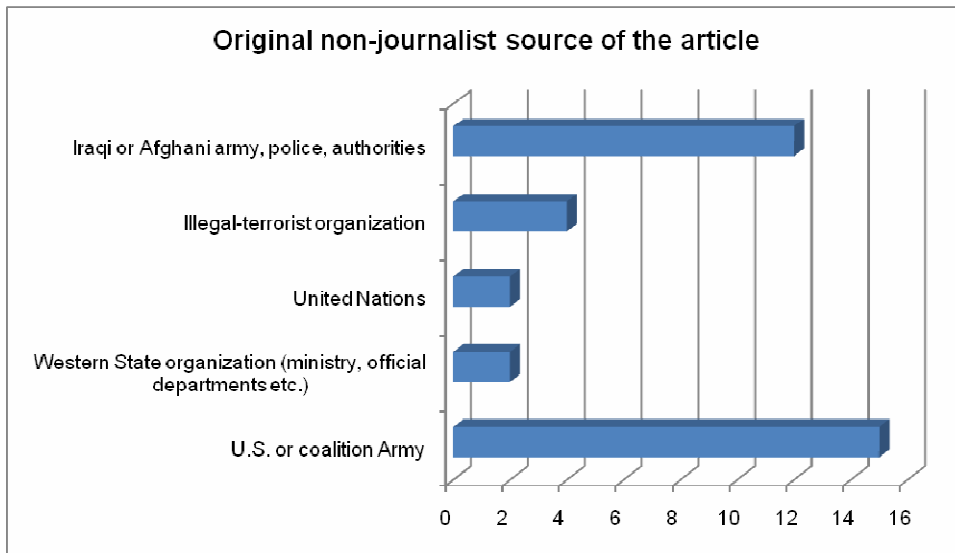


Interesting also is the nationality of the journalist source. Only 1 article had as its journalist source an organization coming from the rest of the world, apart from western countries. Not even a single article appeared to have as source a medium coming from the countries that conflicts are taking place (Iraq, Afghanistan). First comes the US (41.9%), followed by UK (30.2%) and France (23.3%).

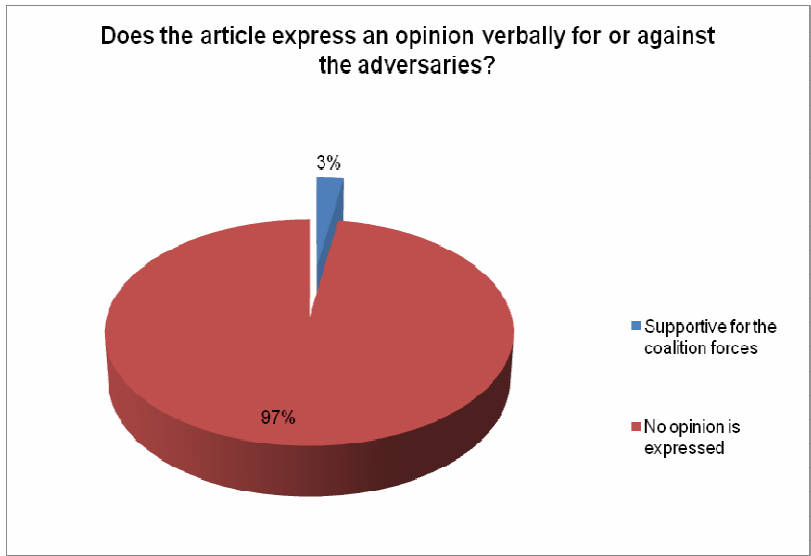


Coming now to other non-journalist organizations, referred as protogenic sources in the articles- to be more specific the phrase mostly used to describe non-journalist

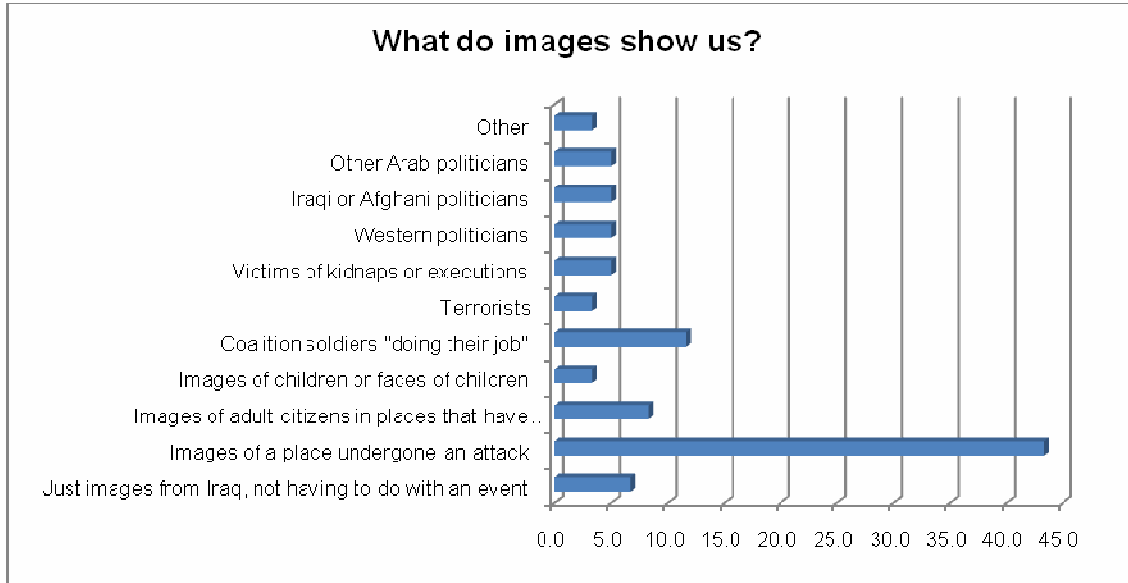
organizations as sources was “according to statements of...”- one can easily observe that in the articles that a non-journalist source is being mentioned (42 out of 79), the US Coalition Army gets the first place with 15 articles, followed by announcements or statements made by Iraqi or Afghani officers of both police and government (12 articles) belonging to the regimes established by or with the acquiescence of the western powers in the aftermath of the wars.



Testing our fifth hypothesis we found that in only two of the articles studied there is an opinion verbally expressed for the coalition forces. To become more accurate, in one article the opinion expressed was: “During the last months explosions are taking place everyday in Baghdad by suicide bombers, even though the american forces endeavour to ensure security in this area since last February”. And in the other article: “This attack is a shocking violation of security during the third month of the common efforts of American and Iraqi forces for the repression of violence in the capital city of Iraq”⁵⁸. All other articles do not express verbally any opinion on either of the adversaries.

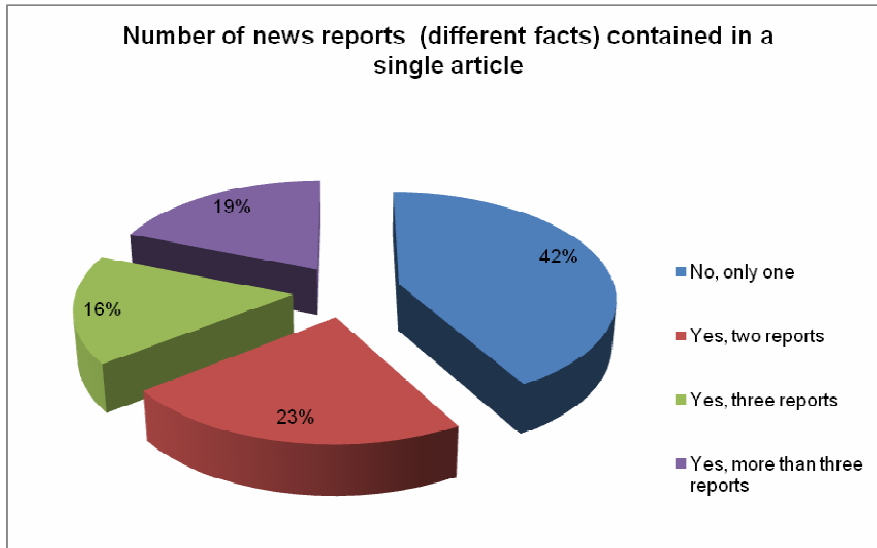


Apart from verbal expressions that play a protagonist role in forming the discourse of the reports, there might be other non-verbal elements that contribute. In our research, the non-verbal elements escorting most articles were pictures, photos or video stills, that in most cases tried to give us a clue of the catastrophe described in the article. Thus, almost half of the pictures (43.3%) show us the places undergone the attack described in the article. In addition in 2nd place come the pictures showing coalition soldiers “doing their job” (11.7%).

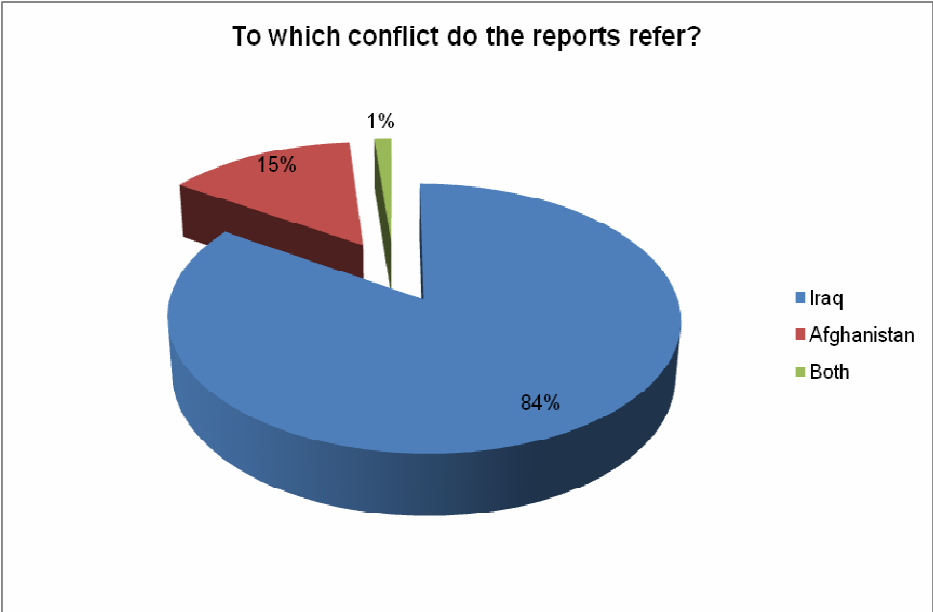


At this point we would like to note that the following observations on the articles studied, are made in a different than the article level. Meaning that, from now on, our analysis

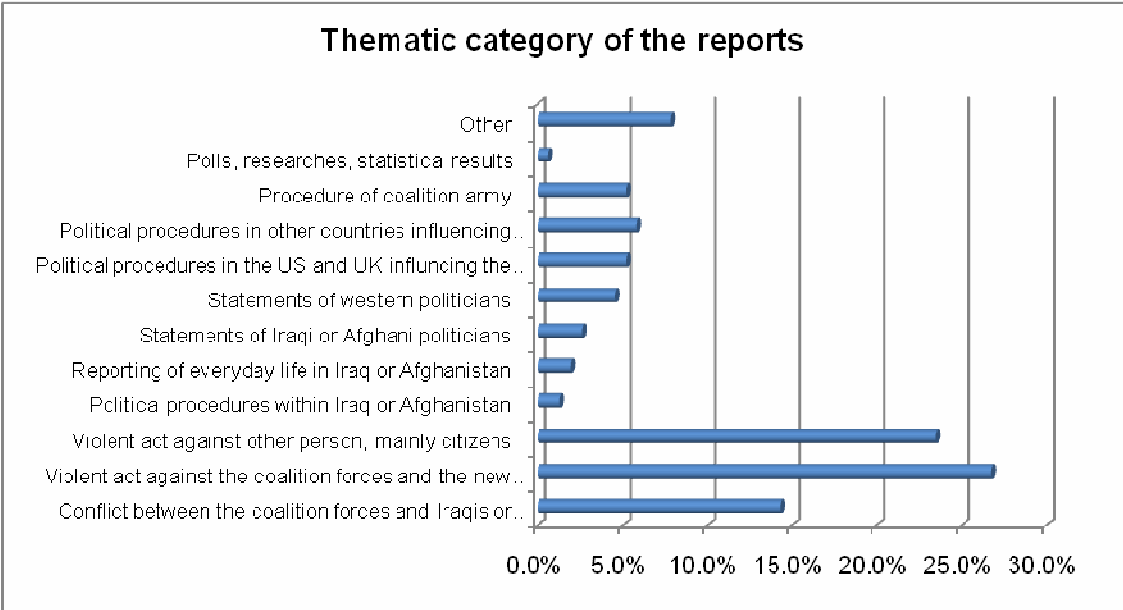
unit are the reports contained in the articles and not the articles. This happened because we noticed that most of the articles (58%) contain more than one reports on different events of Iraq or Afghanistan⁵⁹, and therefore we decided to conduct the research in a more in-depth level, so as not to lose the number of events reported in each article. We should also note here that in all articles examined we further studied up to three reports for each article, meaning that in articles containing more than three reports we analyzed the first three ones.



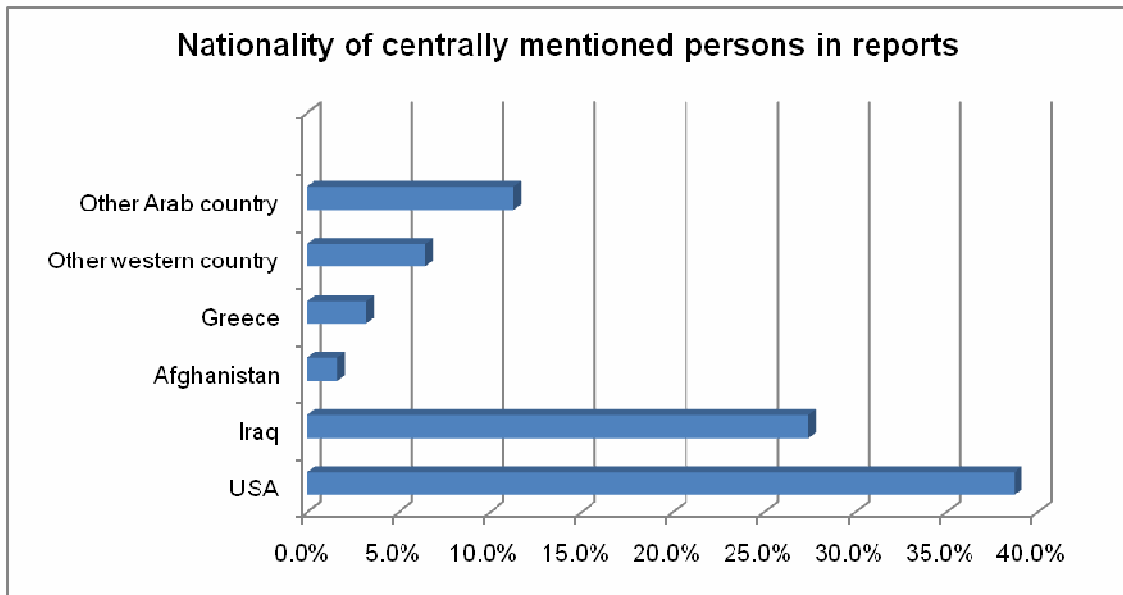
We will start by examining our fourth theoretical hypothesis on the interest of the news portals on the war on Afghanistan compared to that of Iraq, because of the fact that a unit of the Greek army has been sent there contributing to the western forces. Even though Iraq is reported more in the international news, we expected that there would be a small difference in the number of reports on the two wars in the articles. Yet we were wrong. Iraq dominates the reports (84%, 129 reports), Afghanistan comes way behind (15%, 22 reports), whereas 2 reports refer to events having to do with both war zones.



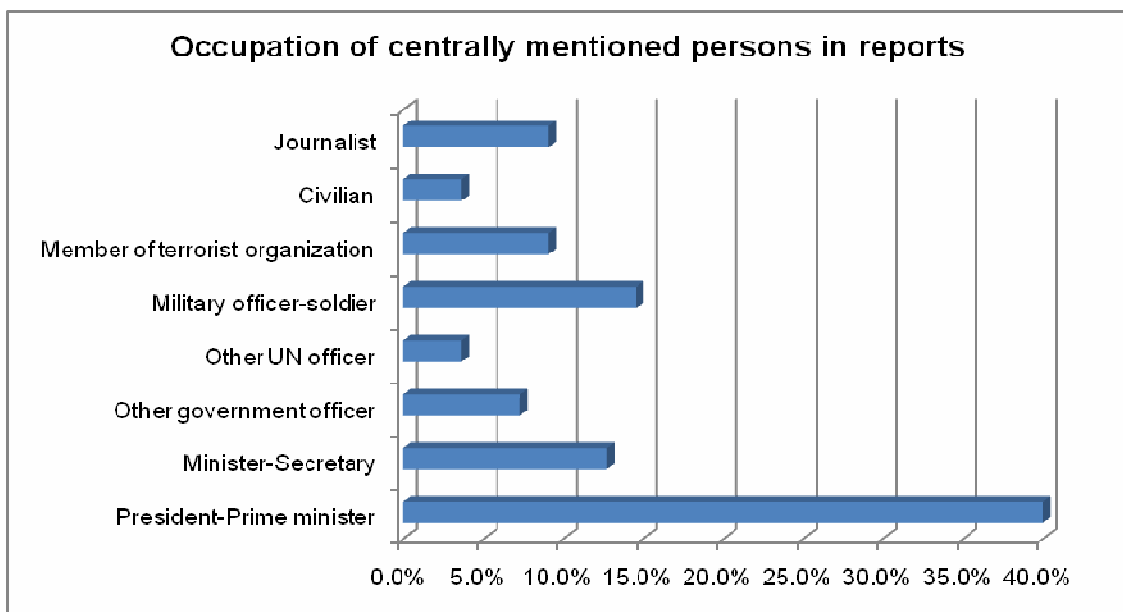
As far as the thematic of the different reports is concerned, as we have expected, violent acts like terrorist attacks, kidnaps and murders against the coalition forces, officers of the new regime and civilians are more than half of the reports (50.3%), presenting in that way- especially Iraq (where the percentage rises to 82%)- as a country of constant death.



Regarding the nationality of the persons presented centrally in the reports- we count the person whose statements or actions are presented the most in a report- in 30 out of 55 reports, where a person is centrally presented, the person comes from a western country (USA-24, Greece-2, or other western country-4).

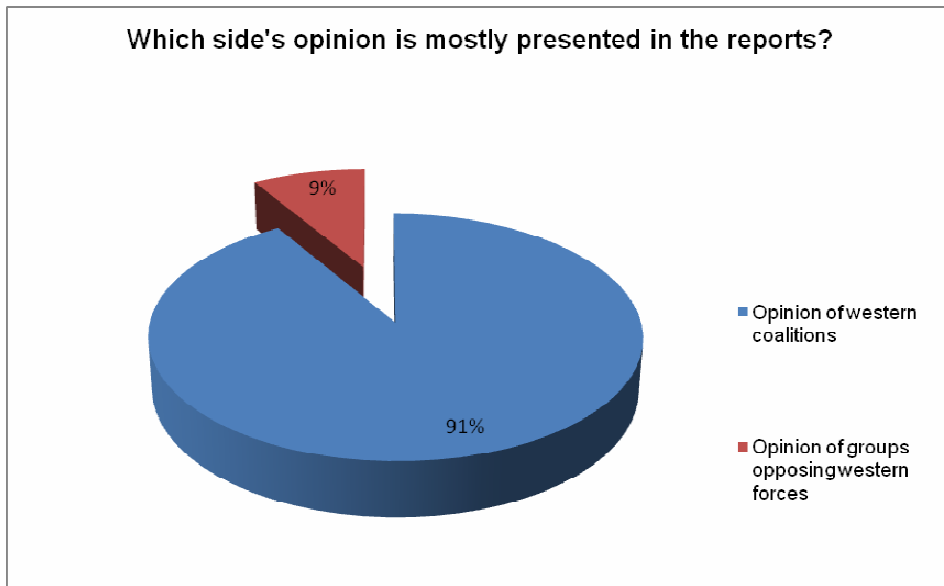


Among the persons mostly mentioned is George Bush (7 reports), Nuri Al-Maliki (9 reports), Mahdmud Ahmadinedjand (3), Condoleeza Rice (2), Dick Cheney (2), Manusher Motaki (2), William Caldwell (2). Regarding the centrally presented persons, one can observe from their occupations that the majority of them are political or military officials of western coalitions' nations or of the regimes established after the war, or persons not connected directly with the two adversary sides. On the opposite side almost nobody from Iraqi or Afghani resistance is presented centrally, and when the reports talked of someone against the western coalitions he was given the label of the terrorist.



A last very important element characterizing the coverage of the two conflicts by the articles published in the three news portals we examined is the presentation of opinions of

the opposing sides, if an opinion was being expressed on either of the conflicts. In 91% of the cases we encountered the opinion of a member of the western coalitions or the friendly to the west regimes established after the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.



We would like to say at this point that the protocol used contained more variables than the above presented ones (for a full version of the protocol see appendices). The above presented variables are the most important ones in giving an answer to our research question.

8. Conclusion

Based on the above presented findings of the research, we could claim that indeed there are propagandistic elements in the coverage of the two post-war periods in Iraq and Afghanistan, or because of the relevant character of propaganda⁶⁰, elements that might appear as propaganda to the Greek readers of these articles. To become specific, the reporting of the conflicts by the three news portals we studied appears to be pretty one-sided, missing one important element towards the approaching of truth: pluralism.

In terms of the sources, the reports appear to be almost totally unilateral. The almost exclusive journalist sources of the Greek news portals are western news agencies. In addition, in many articles it is referred that the report was originally broadcasted by the coalition army or other local regimes' sources taken afterwards by the journalists of the news agencies to become further distributed to other news organizations and finally reach the public. In other words the army and regimes here appear to be the protogenic sources of the news, controlling the information flow right on its beginning. "The challenge for the propagandist nowadays is to control the information on its source"⁶¹. The army seems to understand that the granting of access to the media, though dangerous in a sense, it's necessary for the contemporary informational war, because it's the easiest and most efficient way to manage the media⁶². Hence, in many cases, we are dealing with information that has not been investigated, cross-checked and then reported by professional journalists, but by one of the adversaries, and this information ends up being presented as news that "illuminates" us on the situation in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Although the vast majority of the articles don't express any opinion supporting the western coalition, and do not attempt to dramatize the events using emotionally enriched denotations, the images escorting the articles might have a propagandistic and dramatizing role too. Most of them depict places undergone attacks, perpetrated against innocent civilians or those who try to repress violence, exercised by the- in most cases- Iraqi resistance. We could claim that this is a form of visual dramatization. In this way there is an amplification of the perception that the only way to beat the continuous hostilities is by maintaining armed forces in Iraq. As for Afghanistan, the majority of reports refer to conflicts between the western forces and the Talibans, a more war-like situation, which for propagandistic reasons is being far less reported than Iraq. In addition by not reporting the march of events in Afghanistan, even though there is Greek interest there, the Greek portals we examined seem to simply reproduce the reports received by

the foreign news agencies, without any particular interest for the Greek unit being in Afghanistan. After all the war in Iraq was the one that raised the highest level of resistance on behalf of the public opinion, even in countries considered to be allies of the US-leaders of the western forces, and therefore needs to be propagated more in order to justify its conduct.

Another important point we would like to focus on is the thematic category compared to the number of the reports contained in a single article. The events presented in the reports deal as mentioned before with hostilities, either bomb attacks against civilians or the new regime- mostly in Iraq- or conflicts between the western forces and the Taliban. Almost nothing is being reported on political procedures of these two countries in the post-war period, which is supposed to be a reconstruction period, on how the so many years awaited democracy is being restored, on problems of the people living there, on opinions of the opposition, on opinions and actions of humanitarian organizations or of other non-governmental organizations. In addition the number of the reports contained in a single article, most times of the same thematic (violent acts, hostilities and conflicts), pile on the impression of the reader for the chaos ruling in these countries and the need for an external intervention to restore order.

Of great importance are the persons whose actions and opinions are being presented. In our case the plain report on a specific person's actions might count as propaganda, because, as we noticed before, there are no evaluative or dramatizing denotations on the events or statements taking place and the articles, and with the exception of the two articles we referred to before, the articles just report facts. Thus, the promotion of actions or statements of western politicians mainly, framed with politicians of the newly established regimes in Iraq and Afghanistan, form a unilateral presentation.

The points presented here appear to be more than enough to support our argument that the coverage of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan in the three Greek news portals we examined has propagandistic elements, unveiling a constant effort to rationalize and justify the continuous presence of western armed forces in the abovementioned areas. We don't claim that it is propaganda, because propaganda is a matter of perception too, therefore our argument is that the reports might well be considered to offer a unilateral and therefore of propagandistic nature presentation of the events. It would be very interesting to further deepen this kind of research by comparing the coverage of the three Greek news portals with other portals from the US or the UK or from other western countries, or Arabic countries, even though we have expected Al-Jazeera and other

important Arabic news corporations to appear as sources in the news reports as a minority, the findings belied our expectations. In other words a comparative content analysis would be really interesting. Unfortunately the limitations imposed by the short time period available to complete this research didn't give us the chance for something more comprehensive.

We hope, nevertheless, to have achieved what we aimed for right from the beginning: to demonstrate that propaganda can be traced within the chaotic communicational environment of the internet, using as case study three Greek news portals, and that nowadays is more than ever necessary for contemporary wars in order to rationalize their *raison d'etre*. We have reasons to believe that the relationship between propaganda and war is nowadays a bidirectional relationship. War needs propaganda, for reasons we have already explained, and at the same time propaganda needs the war as its tool in order to consolidate its results in our everyday life. War nowadays is more than ever an act of propaganda.

One thought of Philip Taylor will be my epilogue of this paper: "Propaganda can serve a peaceful world, with respect to human rights. After all, it's not propaganda itself that has to be treated with suspiciousness, but the intentions behind it. Propaganda doesn't start wars, the intentions do"⁶³.

APPENDICES

1. Coding Protocol

1. **Article Number** (any article referring to various issues regarding the two conflicts that lie in the center of our research). (ert.gr articles' scores begin from 101, flash.gr scores begin from 201, in.gr scores begin from 301)

2. **Article date**, the date that the article was published

3. **Word number**

4. **Portal of the article:**
 1. Ert.gr,
 2. Flash.gr,
 3. In.gr

5. **Journalist source of the article:**
 1. Athens News Agency,
 2. Foreign western news agency,
 3. Foreign non-western news agency,
 4. Foreign western TV Channel,
 5. TV channel of Iraq or Afghanistan and their wider area (neighbor countries),
 6. Foreign radio station,
 7. Foreign newspaper,
 8. Internet site (other than news portals),
 9. More than one of the above,
 10. Athens News Agency and other source,
 11. Source not mentioned

6. **Nationality of the source**
 1. US
 2. UK
 3. France

4. Russia
5. China
6. Iraq
7. Greece
8. Afghanistan
9. Other Arab country
10. Other western country
11. Other country
12. No specific country

7. Name of the source: If in question 7 we get an answer from 2-8 & 10, name the (other) source

8. Presented as protogenic, non journalist sources:

1. U.S. or coalition Army,
2. Western State organization (ministry, official departments etc.),
3. United Nations,
4. Non governmental organizations,
5. Illegal-terrorist organization,
6. There is no non journalist source

9. Name of the source: Name of the non-journalist source

10. Does the article contain more than one news reports?

1. No, only one,
2. Yes, two reports,
3. Yes, three reports
4. Yes, more than three reports

11. Nature of the first report of the article:

1. Events' description,
2. Actor's opinion report,
3. Mixed report (1&2)

12. To which conflict does the first report of the article refer?

1. Iraq,
2. Afghanistan,
3. Both

13. Category of the first report of the article:

1. Conflict between the coalition forces and Iraqis or Afghanis,
2. Violent act (terrorist attack, kidnap, murder) against the coalition forces and the new regime
3. Violent act against civilians or others (journalists, members of a non governmental organization)
3. Help offered to the suffering people of Iraq of Afghanistan by international organizations,
4. Political procedures within Iraq or Afghanistan,
5. Reporting of everyday life in Iraq or Afghanistan,
6. Statements of Iraqi or Afghani politicians,
7. Statements of western politicians,
8. Financial proceedings of Iraq or Afghanistan,
9. Western financial proceedings directly related to these two conflicts,
10. Iraqi or Afghani social procedures (changes in education, health or other social interest matters)
11. Political procedures in the US and UK having to do with the conflicts,
12. Political procedures in other countries influencing the conflicts directly

14. Nationality of the person mainly mentioned in the first report of the article:

1. USA
2. UK
3. Iraq
4. Afghanistan
5. Greece
6. Other western country
7. Other Arab country
8. Other country

9. No person is centrally mentioned

15. Occupation of the person centrally mentioned in the first report

1. President-Prime minister
2. Minister
3. Other governmental officer
4. UN General Secretary
5. Other UN officer
6. Military officer-soldier
7. Member of terrorist organization
8. Member of NGO
9. Civilian
10. Journalist
11. Other

16. Name of the centrally mentioned person of the first report

17. Nature of the second report of the article:

1. Events' description,
2. Actor's opinion report,
3. Mixed report (1&2)

18. To which conflict does the second report of the article refer?

1. Iraq,
2. Afghanistan,
3. Both

19. Category of the second report of the article:

1. Conflict between the coalition forces and Iraqis or Afghanis,
2. Violent act (terrorist attack, kidnap, murder) against the coalition forces and the new regime
3. Violent act against civilians or others (journalists, members of a non governmental organization)

3. Help offered to the suffering people of Iraq of Afghanistan by international organizations,
4. Political procedures within Iraq or Afghanistan,
5. Reporting of everyday life in Iraq or Afghanistan,
6. Statements of Iraqi or Afghani politicians,
7. Statements of western politicians,
8. Financial proceedings of Iraq or Afghanistan,
9. Western financial proceedings directly related to these two conflicts,
10. Iraqi or Afghani social procedures (changes in education, health or other social interest matters)
11. Political procedures in the US and UK having to do with the conflicts,
12. Political procedures in other countries influencing the conflicts directly

20. Nationality of the person mainly mentioned in the second report of the article:

1. USA
2. UK
3. Iraq
4. Afghanistan
5. Greece
6. Other western country
7. Other Arab country
8. Other country
9. No person is centrally mentioned

21. Occupation of the person centrally mentioned in the second report

1. President-Prime minister
2. Minister
3. Other governmental officer
4. UN General Secretary
5. Other UN officer
6. Military officer-soldier
7. Member of terrorist organization
8. Member of NGO

9. Civilian
10. Journalist
11. Other

22. Name of the centrally mentioned person in the second report

23. Nature of the third report of the article:

1. Events' description,
2. Actor's opinion report,
3. Mixed report (1&2)

24. To which conflict does the third report of the article refer?

1. Iraq,
2. Afghanistan,
3. Both

25. Category of the third report of the article:

1. Conflict between the coalition forces and Iraqis or Afghans,
2. Violent act (terrorist attack, kidnap, murder) against the coalition forces and the new regime
3. Violent act against civilians or others (journalists, members of a non governmental organization)
3. Help offered to the suffering people of Iraq of Afghanistan by international organizations,
4. Political procedures within Iraq or Afghanistan,
5. Reporting of everyday life in Iraq or Afghanistan,
6. Statements of Iraqi or Afghani politicians,
7. Statements of western politicians,
8. Financial proceedings of Iraq or Afghanistan,
9. Western financial proceedings directly related to these two conflicts,
10. Iraqi or Afghani social procedures (changes in education, health or other social interest matters)
11. Political procedures in the US and UK having to do with the conflicts,
12. Political procedures in other countries influencing the conflicts directly

26. Nationality of the person mainly mentioned in the third report of the article:

1. USA
2. UK
3. Iraq
4. Afghanistan
5. Greece
6. Other western country
7. Other Arab country
8. Other country
9. No person is centrally mentioned

27. Occupation of the person centrally mentioned in the third report

1. President-Prime minister
2. Minister
3. Other governmental officer
4. UN General Secretary
5. Other UN officer
6. Military officer-soldier
7. Member of terrorist organization
8. Member of NGO
9. Civilian
10. Journalist
11. Other

28. Name of the centrally mentioned person in the third report

29. Does the article express an opinion for or against one of the two adversaries?

1. Yes,
2. No

30. If yes in the previous question:

1. Supportive for the coalition forces,
2. Against the coalition forces,
3. Against the resistance,
4. Neutral (doesn't support obviously either of the sides)

31. At which place in the portal is the article located? How easy is for the user to locate it?

1. One click away, it's on the first page,
2. Two clicks away in a specific news category,
3. More than two clicks away

32. Does the article include other kinds of discourse than written text:

1. Yes, photo(s),
2. Yes, video (or link to video file),
3. Yes, sound (or link to sound file),
4. No, it's plain text

33. Does the article include links to other news portals or websites?

1. Yes, western news portals,
2. Yes, other non- western news portals,
4. Official Western governmental websites
5. NGO's
6. No, it doesn't include links

34. Does the title or the photo legends of the article contain any metaphors or evaluative denotations?

1. Yes
2. No

35. What do images or videos show?

1. Just images from Iraq, not focusing on any person, not having to do with an event
2. Images of a place undergone an attack, not focusing on any person
3. Images of adult citizens being in places that have undergone attacks
4. Images of children or faces of children
5. Iraqi soldiers "doing their job"
6. Coalition soldiers "doing their job"

7. Terrorists
8. Victims of kidnaps or executions
9. Western politicians
10. Iraqi or Afghani politicians
11. Other Arab politicians
12. Other country's politicians
13. Other

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3. Endnotes

¹ Taylor, Ph. (2004) *War and International Relations in the Age of Information*, Papazisis, Athens, 2004, p. 40

² We mention here two of the most characteristic ones in the Greek literature,
Kaffes, G. (2000), *What is War?* Papazisis, Athens
Kondylis, P (2000), *Theory of War*, Themelio, Athens

³ Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, first published Fri Feb 4, 2000; substantive revision Thu Jul 28, 2005, <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/war/>

⁴ Robin Brown in Thussu Kishan D.- Freedman D. (eds.), *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*, Sage, London-New Delhi, 2003, p. 87

⁵ Webster, F. in Thussu Kishan D.- Freedman D. (eds.), as above, p. 61-62

⁶ Lekkas, P (2004), *War in modernity and the myths of modern ideology*, Greek Political Science Review, 24, November 2004, p. 72

⁷ Tsoukalas, K. (2004), *Wars and domination in the new millennium*, Greek Political Science Review, 24, November 2004, p. 52

⁸ Tsoukalas, K. (2004), as above, p. 56

⁹ Webster, F. in Thussu Kishan D.- Freedman D. (eds.), *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*, Sage, London-New Delhi, 2003, p. 63

¹⁰ Taylor, Ph. (2004) *War and International Relations in the Age of Information*, Papazisis, Athens, 2004, p. 240

¹¹ McQuail, D., S. Vidal (1991) *Models of Communication for the Study of Mass Media*, Athens, Kastaniotis, p. 118-121

¹² Postman, N. (1985). Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business. New York, Penguin Books, p. 14

¹³ Webster, F. in Thussu Kishan D.- Freedman D. (eds.), *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*, Sage, London-New Delhi, 2003, p. 64

¹⁴ Galanis G., G. Papadopoulos (2004) *Mass Media, Power and the War in Iraq*, Athens, Papazisis, p. 153

¹⁵ Taylor, Ph. (2004) *War and International Relations in the Age of Information*, Papazisis, Athens, 2004, p. 77

¹⁶ Webster, F. in Thussu Kishan D.- Freedman D. (eds.), *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*, Sage, London-New Delhi, 2003, p. 65

¹⁷ Brown, R. in Thussu Kishan D.- Freedman D. (eds.), as above, p. 90

¹⁸ Bernays, E. (2004) *Propaganda*, Ig Publishing, p. 11

¹⁹ Jowett, G. S. and V. O' Donnell (1995), *Propaganda and Persuasion*, London, Sage, σελ. 48

²⁰ Leonard Doob (1935), *Propaganda: Its Psychology and Technique*, New York, Henry Holt and Company, p. 31

²¹ Taylor, P. (2003) *Munitions of the Mind*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, p. 1

²² Chomsky N.-Clark R.-Said E. (2000) *The New Order: Secrets and Lies*, Livanis, Athens, p. 22.

“Propaganda is the expression of opinion or action, which are deliberately implemented by individuals or teams in order to influence the opinion or action of other individuals or teams based on predetermined ends through the use of psychological manipulations”

²³ Institute for Propaganda Analysis (1971), *The fine Art of Propaganda*, Octagon Books, p. 26. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis comprised of scholars and journalists, is known as the first independent effort in the US to conduct empirical research on propaganda aiming to warn the public and protect the public interest. Its definition is as follows: “Propaganda is the expression of opinions or actions carried out by individuals or groups with a view to influencing the opinions or actions of other individuals or groups for predetermined ends and through psychological manipulations”.

²⁴ Ellul, J. (1973). *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. New York, Vintage Books.

²⁵ Galanis G., G. Papadopoulos (2004) *Mass Media, Power and the War in Iraq*, Athens, Papazisis, p. 29

²⁶ Antonio Miotto (1953), *Psicologia della Propaganda*, Florence, Editrice Universitaria, p. 24

²⁷ R. Jackall , *Propaganda* (1995), London, Palgrave, p. 12

²⁸ Jowett, G. S. and V. O. Donnell (1995), *Propaganda and Persuasion*. London, Sage, p. 6

²⁹ Jowett, G. S. and V. O. Donnell (1995), as above, p. 1

³⁰ Taylor, P. (2003) *Munitions of the Mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*, Manchester, Manchester University press, p. 6

³¹ Taylor, Ph. (2004) *War and International Relations in the Age of Information*, Papazisis, Athens, 2004, p. 84

³² Pleios, G. (2001) *The Discourse of Image, Ideology and Politics*, Papazisis, Athens

³³ Characteristic for the role of mass media in propaganda are the words of P. Taylor: “let’s not try to fool ourselves. Being in an age of information, nevertheless we are in the age of media too, thus in an age of propaganda”. Taylor, Ph. (2004) *War and International Relations in the Age of Information*, Papazisis, Athens, 2004, p. 86

³⁴ Demertzis, N. (2002), *Political Communication: Risk, Publicity, Internet*, Papazisis, Athens, p. 33

³⁵ Taylor, P. (2003) *Munitions of the Mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*, Manchester, Manchester University press, p. 8

³⁶ Pleios, G. (2001) *The Discourse of Image: Ideology and Politics*, Papazisis, Athens, p. 29

³⁷ Castells, M. (2000) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, p. 1

³⁸ Warner J. Severin, James W. Tankard, Jr. (2000) *Communication Theories: Origins, Methods and Uses in the Mass Media*, New York, Longman, p. 3

³⁹ Graham, G. (1999). *The Internet: A Philosophical Inquiry*. New York, Routledge

⁴⁰ Castells, M. (2000) *The Rise of the Network Society*. Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, p. 6

⁴¹ Galanis G., G. Papadopoulos (2004) *Mass Media, Power and the War in Iraq*, Athens, Papazisis, p. 25

⁴² Castells, M. (2000) as above, p. 21

⁴³ Webster, F (2002) *Theories of the Information Society*, Routledge, London, p. 24-29

⁴⁴ Research *The Use of Internet in Greece* conducted under supervision of MRB Hellas for the Information Society Organization of Greece in 2005

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- ⁴⁵ McQuail D. (1997) *Introduction to the Theory of Mass Media*, Athens, Kastaniotis p. 55
- ⁴⁶ Williams, A. R. in Thussu Kishan D.- Freedman D. (eds.), *War and the Media: Reporting Conflict 24/7*, Sage, London-New Delhi, 2003, p. 176
- ⁴⁷ Noam Chomsky (2003) *The Mass Media as an Instrument of Public Control and Imposition*, Athens, Eleftheros Typos, p. 51
- ⁴⁸ Jowett, G. S. and V. O. Donnell (1995). *Propaganda and Persuasion*. London, Sage, p. 160
- ⁴⁹ Galanis G., G. Papadopoulos (2004) *Mass Media, Power and the War in Iraq*, Athens, Papazisis, p. 26
- ⁵⁰ A diachronical issue is that of the so called “digital divide” (stated by Simon Moore in 1996). This term defines a distinction of societies based on the existing difference in the penetration of new technologies- among them the internet- of the developed western world on one side, and the developing countries on the other.
- ⁵¹ Statistics from www.internetworldstats.com on usage and population of the internet.
- ⁵² National Research on New Technologies and Information Society 2005, conducted by V-PRC and the National Network of Research and Technology, http://www.vprc.gr/2/1232/21_1_gr.html
- ⁵³ Ramonet, I. (2001) *Silent Propaganda: Masses, Television, Cinema*, Athens, Polis, p. 8
- ⁵⁴ Taylor, P. (2003) *Munitions of the Mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*, Manchester, Manchester University press, p. 321
- ⁵⁵ Taylor, P. (2003) as above, p. 15
- ⁵⁶ Based on the research conducted by the Laboratory for Social Research in the Media “Images of War: The Post-War period in Iraq and the television news, 2004-2005”. Research conducted in Greek television news bulletins (www.media.uoa.gr/sociallab, available in Greek only)
- ⁵⁷ Data published on http://www.alexa.com/site/ds/top_sites?ts_mode=lang&lang=el , accessed on 10th of March 2007.
- ⁵⁸ Both articles found in www.in.gr on 12/04/07 and 18/04/07
- ⁵⁹ The events are being distinguished by their geographical difference. E.g. bomb attacks in different cities of Iraq
- ⁶⁰ See in the current paper p.6 on the relevance of truth and lie
- ⁶¹ Taylor, P. (2003) *Munitions of the Mind: A history of propaganda from the ancient world to the present day*, Manchester, Manchester University press, p. 11
- ⁶² Taylor, Ph. (2004) *War and International Relations in the Age of Information*, Papazisis, Athens, 2004, p. 326
- ⁶³ Taylor, P. (2003) as above, p. 324