The Political Economy of Austerity Framing: Journalistic Reporting of The Greek Memoranda 2010-2015

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester,
2018

by

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Abstract

Christos Kostopoulos, The Political Economy of Austerity Framing: Journalistic Reporting of The Greek Memoranda 2010-2015

This project examines the interplay between framing and political economic theories to enhance understanding of journalistic production around significant political issues. The thesis focuses on the case of the memoranda signed between the Greek government and the creditor troika and their journalistic coverage from 2010 to 2015. The research addresses three relevant questions shedding light on how power influences journalistic practice and content production. The first question concerns how political economic structures can assist in the explanation of frames applied in the press. The second concerns how the frames themselves can contribute to understanding regarding the systemic relationships of power and framing struggles that lead to their application in news messages. And the last question concerns how the Greek media framed democratic debate about the memoranda. In order to shed light on the process of frame building a theoretical framework that brings together theories from framing research with structures and processes from the political economy of the media tradition has been developed. Furthermore, this theoretical framework has been informed by twelve qualitative semi-structured interviews with journalists and a frame analysis of articles from mainstream Greek newspapers and political party announcements covering a time frame of seven months for each memorandum. The theoretical framework of this thesis is inspired by Vliegenthart and van Zoonen's (2010) call for a multi-level analysis of power in frame building. The thesis concludes that political economy can indeed assist in explaining the frame building process and shed light onto how frames are applied in news messages by pinpointing how each level contributes to their structure. Furthermore, framing can also shed light on the systemic power relationships among the structures themselves and the development of a media system. Finally, it is concluded that the debate was framed in a polarized manner, however within limited margins of opinion.

Acknowledgments

A number of people have assisted in a multitude of ways in the completion of this research and I hope that I will be able to acknowledge and thank them properly in the coming paragraphs. Starting with my supervision team, Dr Maria Touri and Dr Vincent Campbell that were indeed a dream team, guiding me through the process steadily, coping with me through this journey of transformation from a student to a researcher. Not only they guided me, but also most importantly they gave me the space required to find my own voice in order to be able to look at this document now and feel an immense emotion of pride and fulfillment. Thank you both for your time and dedication to this project. Thank you for your insights and your feedback. But also thank you for helping me develop as a researcher and a human. Thank you for always pushing me to achieve and understand more. I hope that this thesis successfully projects your amazing guidance, and that my future endeavours in academia make you proud for the values and knowledge you have instilled in me during the making of this project.

I would be remiss if I failed to acknowledge the other amazing scholars that were involved in various stages of this process. Firstly, I want to thank Dr Jonathan Ong who was in the initial supervisory team of the thesis and gave me my first opportunity to teach in the seminars of his modules. We might not have been able to see this through together but you have also been an important part of my journey during my PhD and taught me a lot of invaluable lessons about what it means to be a researcher. The internal examiners of this project during the various examining stages have also played an important role in its development. Dr Julian Matthews and Dr Athina Karatzogianni I want to thank you for the time you put in reading parts of this thesis and your invaluable feedback, always steering me in the right direction. I always welcomed constructive criticism that would help me grow and you have always delivered. I would also like to thank all the journalists that agreed to be interviewed for this research.

Finally, I end with some personal acknowledgments of people that this PhD would not have been completed without. First, I want to thank my roommate and friend Dr Leandros Savvides. Without our endless conversations on how we perceive the world this project would look completely different. You helped me find my own voice; you answered my questions patiently, and were always there to share a bottle of whiskey when our PhD's brought us down! Moving on, I want to thank the Leicester squad in a random order, hoping that I do not forget anyone. Andreas, Nerina, Fotini, Giorgos Patsiaouras, Marco, Matteo, Madalena, Charis, Annie, Giorgos Kokkinidis, Dafne, Hannah, Shuhan, Mirjam, Flavio, Patricia I wish you all the best. Thank you for your friendship, and know that parts of this thesis were conceived during our conversations, or drinking beer with you guys! My friends in Athens, Christos and Akis; Thank you for always being there and always listening to my constant nagging about the PhD and what is left to be done. My late cousin Dimitris; I miss you and this work is dedicated in your memory. Last but not least I want to thank my parents Charis and Vivi and my brother Rafail, for providing love and care, and supporting me emotionally and financially throughout the process. I hope that I am making you proud every step of the way.

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ANEL: Anexartiti Ellines/Independent Greeks

DIMAR: Dimokratiki Aristera/Democratic Left

DOL: Dimosiografikos Organismos Lampraki/Journalistic Organization Lampraki

ECB: European Central Bank

EU: European Union

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

IMF: International Monetary Fund

KKE: Komounistiko Komma Elladas/Communist Party of Greece

LAE: Laiki Enotita/Popular Unity

LAOS: Laikos Orthodoxos Synagermos/Popular Orthodox Rally

ND: Nea Dimokratia/New Democracy

PASOK: Panellinio Sosialistiko Komma/Pan-Hellenic Socialist Party

PSI: Private Sector Involvement

SYN: Synaspismos tis aristeras, ton kinimaton, kai tis oikologias/Coalition of the Left, of the movements, and of ecology

SYRIZA: Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras/Coalition of the Radical Left

WWII: World War I

1. Introduction

1.1 The Media and the Economic Crisis: A Critical Juncture

The eruption of the global economic crisis after the meltdown of the financial sector of the United States in 2008 has been a pivotal point for scholarly inquiries about the media. The crisis provided an excellent case study to tackle questions regarding the role that the media had in this crisis, as for example whether financial media had a share of the blame for failing to critically engage with those that they reported upon (Schechter 2009). The crisis quickly escalated from a financial to an economic one affecting nearly every country around the globe. Therefore a lot of scholarly attention has focused on the local offshoots of the crisis and the role of the media either in Asia and Australia (Dutta and Sen 2014; Zhifei Mao 2014; Carson 2014), or in Europe (Sine Nørholm Just and Mouton 2014; Lopez and Llopis 2010; Cawley 2012; Joris et al 2014; O'Malley et al 2014 etc.).

Media and Communication research on the crisis has mainly focused on its representations and their societal impact and the influence of the crisis on the structures and practices of journalism. For example, the impact of the media in the construction of the social reality of the crisis has been examined through the naturalization of neoliberal ideologies (Dutta and Sen 2014). Moreover, Carson (2014) examined the impact of the crisis on the political economy of Australian media and concluded that managerial cutbacks impacted the capacity of journalists to hold financial institutions to account and perform their democratic role. Furthermore, the impact of the representation of the crisis on policy making and economic voting patterns was also examined (Wagner 2011).

Framing has been one of the most employed theories utilized by researchers in order to shed light on the media representations of the crisis. News frame analyses were conducted in a multitude of local or transnational cases contributing to knowledge about the reporting of the crisis, but also how the crisis and other factors impact frame building. Just and Mouton (2014) investigated elite framing struggles and how they construct the meaning of the post-crisis financial culture, whereas Cawley (2012) in the Irish context uncovered how framing can be used to create a division between the

public and private sectors of the country. Furthermore, the framing of the coverage of the crisis in the Low Countries was the concern of Joris et al (2014). On the other hand O'Malley et al (2014), and Mancini and Mazzoni (2015) used the economic crisis as a case study to investigate how it impacted media framing, alongside other factors, in the case of the Irish elections and in the case of a European public sphere.

However the economic crisis and its local offshoots present an excellent case study that can contribute to knowledge about media phenomena and debates in journalism and communication. For example, the crisis can be employed to investigate modern journalism and the process of media production. The prolonged timeline of the case, the impact of the crisis on the media, and the maturing of current developments in journalism, such as the digitalization of the newsroom, call for an in-depth investigation of content production during and post-crisis. Furthermore, the crisis has significant political and social impact, with the media playing a 'mediator' role among the structures of economy and politics, and the wider society, shaping perceptions regarding societal and political processes. The owners of the media have a vested interest in shaping these perceptions through the content their outlets produce. Therefore, the process of content construction regarding the crisis and the political economic structures that impact it is an important issue that deserves more scholarly attention. This thesis aims to contribute by combining framing and political economic theories and processes, in order to make sense of how the media construct the debate around political issues.

One of the most severely impacted countries was Greece, a case that garnered both journalistic and scholarly attention. Greece came to the forefront of the crisis in October 2009, when a new government announced that the projected deficit of the country was double than the estimations of the previous government (Katsikas 2012). After months of speculation about the future of the country, Greece asked for financial aid from the European Union and the International Monetary Fund on 23 April 2010 (Gemenis 2010). In exchange for the aid that the country received, there was an agreement on an extensive policy program of austerity measures and structural reforms that the country would implement under the supervision of a 'troika' consisting of the IMF, the European Commission, and the European Central Bank (Katsikas 2012). The failure of the first memorandum to fulfill its goals brought

Greece again to the forefront of the global media, as the country needed a second bailout agreement under increasing speculation of default (ibid). A second memorandum with the conditionality of another highly unpopular austerity program to be implemented by the Greek government ended that speculation (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013). However, the inability of the government to reach an agreement with the creditors on the final evaluation of the program and the election of SYRIZA as the majority partner in a new coalition government created new uncertainties for the Greek economy. After a protracted negotiation with the troika and renewed speculation about the country's membership in the Eurozone a third memorandum with harsh austerity measures was signed (Tsatsanis and Teperoglou 2016).

The exceptional circumstances that Greece was plunged into, and the importance of the Greek case not only for domestic but also global politics and media garnered a lot of scholarly attention as well. Researchers were interested in understanding how the Greek crisis was represented through global and domestic media, but also how the crisis itself impacted media and journalism in Greece. The attention of the international media to the Greek crisis was one particular strand of research, focusing on the representations of the Greek case and their societal impact. Framing analyses were the dominant research method employed to answer a variety of questions. For example Touri and Rogers (2013) examined the framing of the Greek crisis in the UK media to investigate the role of the media in fueling the rising Euroscepticism of the country, whereas Touri and Koteyko (2014) further probed the representation of the Greek crisis in UK media. Mylonas (2012) investigated the coverage of the Greek crisis in German tabloids arguing that a systemic crisis was represented as a showdown between Germany and Greece, assisting in the culturalization of the crisis through the scapegoating of Greece. Tzogopoulos (2011) on the other hand compared the frames promoted by US, UK, French, German, and Italian newspapers in order to shed light on the public image of Greece constructed in the foreign press. Finally, by employing a discourse analysis method Mylonas (2015) examined the coverage of the Greek case in German dailies and argued for the persistence of austerity discourses in the media despite the failure of the memoranda to attain their goals.

Less attention has been paid on how the domestic media covered the crisis and on how the various structural changes described in the previous paragraphs have impacted journalism and content creation. The case of Greece offers a compelling example to shed light on how the structural level impacts journalistic practices and content creation in the media. However, there are some notable exceptions that offer important insights. Regarding the coverage of the crisis by the domestic media Doudaki (2015) performed a discourse analysis of the coverage of the first and second bailout agreement by the Greek press uncovering the discursive mechanisms that were employed to legitimatize the memoranda. On the other hand the impact of the crisis on Greek journalism and the window of opportunity created by new technologies for new journalistic avenues was explored by Siapera et al (2014). Finally, despite not being explicitly concerned with the crisis the research of Veneti and Karadimitriou (2013) paints a current picture of the political economy of the Greek media and the changes that occurred in the early years of the crisis.

The crisis has been a catalyst for cataclysmic changes on every level that require further attention and analysis. More specifically on top of the continuous economic troubles of the country the crisis brought about major changes to the structures of politics and media. The political landscape in a country that was characterized by a stable party system for more than thirty years (Lyrintzis 2005) was liquidated during the crisis, before a new equilibrium started to form. The crisis also had an impact on the Greek media that have been experiencing a crisis of their own with declining revenues since the 1990s (Papathanassopoulos 2001). The many contradictions of the Greek media market in combination with the devastating blow of the economic crisis created a volatile situation during which many media organizations became insolvent and had to be sold off, or cease operations (Siapera et al 2014). As an outcome media labour became increasingly precarious, with flexible working conditions, few journalists on permanent contracts or on a cash-in-hand basis. The rising unemployment rates for journalists supported and enhanced these trends (ibid). Due to these changes the Greek crisis presents a significant opportunity to not only study how content creation is impacted by political economic structures and processes, but also how the content itself can contribute to knowledge about the structures themselves and the relationships of power among them, which is another aim of this thesis.

Although researchers so far have tackled important questions regarding the representation of the crisis in the media or the process of content creation, other important issues, some of which are addressed in this thesis have not received the attention they deserve. The significance of the case, as well as the extraordinary circumstances that the Greek media system found itself present an excellent opportunity to examine the process of content creation and the impact of power structures in the social construction of our realities. Furthermore, this examination of the production of media content under circumstances of precipitously falling revenues, and the maturing of digitalization processes allows for the investigation of the structures themselves, and whether these changes impact the power relationships within a media system. Finally, this project contributes by combining framing and political economic theories and processes in order to shed light on how the media construct the debate around political issues and the interests that are served in the process.

Framing theory is one of the most suitable approaches to answer such questions. Erving Goffman (1974) argues that social meanings only arise in processes of interaction, interpretation, and contextualization that produce social frameworks that determine which parts of the discourse are relevant. From then on scholars have contributed to the accumulation of knowledge regarding the framing process, despite being guided by distinct paradigmatic perspectives (D'Angelo 2002), recognizing in framing a concept that 'consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text' (Entman 1993, p. 51). Framing research benefits from the multiple paradigms that guide it, addressing a number of research questions and goals regarding the representation of issues in the media through frames, the production of those frames, the examination of the effects of those frames, and the impact of these frames in the production of social realities (D'Angelo 2002). Van Gorp (2007) argues that elements of news production are part and parcel of the framing process, whereas Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) deem the framing approach well suited to explain the news production process. However, despite the suitability of the concept for the investigation of news production, the question of how frame building actually works, how frames come to be embedded in news content, and how power influences this process have not been addressed sufficiently by researchers (Borah 2011). Entman

(1993) argues that politicians need to compete with one another and with journalists in order get their preferred explanations for social reality forward and conceal others. The political power gained from successfully setting the terms of the debate through framing (ibid) is why Van Gorp (2007) argues that frames are power mechanisms in their own right, especially since they hide the process of social construction (Gamson et al. 1992). It is because of this political power that it is crucial to understand the process of frame building, how it is influenced by power, and the impact of frames in fostering debate around political issues.

However, in order to address the aims of this research the media need to be investigated within the specific production paradigm that they operate under and through their relationships with the structures of the economy and politics, which play a defining role in the process of content creation. A relevant strand of research that assists in capturing these relationships is political economy. McChesney (2008) argues that political economists see the nature of the current system as an important factor for the content that the media produce. Furthermore McChesney also argues that the critical position of the political economy of communication research aims to understand 'why the range of legitimate debate is so constricted comparing to what is possible' (2004, p. 48) by investigating the structural factors and the labour process of communication (ibid). The severity of the crisis itself warrants the investigation of its impact on the media and on the practices and conditions of journalism, alongside other current developments such as the increasing introduction of new technologies in the newsroom and the media market, which influence the structures and the labour process involved in content production. Finally, political economy has also focused on the ideological role of the media, and how this ideology is produced in concrete practice (Murdock and Golding 1974), as well as the impact that political economic structures have on the diversity of content provided in a media market (Wasko 1984). Therefore, framing and political economic research are asking important and complementing questions that can be explored in the context of the economic crisis.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

This project sets out to examine the interplay between framing and political economic theories and processes, in order to shed light on content production in the press. More

specifically, this thesis investigates the various factors that impact the process of frame building, such as political economic structures and processes, as well as journalistic practices. Embarking from framing research that identifies a lack of a conceptualization of power in the frame building process this thesis aims to theoretically incorporate various levels of power influence and pinpoint how each level contributes to the process of frame building in the media. More specifically, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identify three levels of influence, namely the level of media routines, the organization level, and the extramedia level, whereas Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) call for analyses that incorporate the macro level consisting of the national media system, the meso level consisting of the structure of the news organization and the market, and finally the micro level consisting of the routines of journalists when negotiating with political sources and the individual agency of the journalist. This thesis argues for the compatibility of framing and political economic theories and for the necessity of combining them in order to shed light on the process of content production. A theoretical model of how the various levels of power influence the frame building process is developed, in order to address gaps in knowledge and propose an innovative way of investigating the impact of power in content production. This research incorporates the macro level consisting of the national media system and the structures of politics, and the market (extramedia level), the meso level consisting of the organizational structure of the newspaper, and the micro level consisting of the transactions between journalists and political sources, as well as the individual agency of journalists. Therefore, the aim of this research is to shed light on journalistic practices in content creation and how they are influenced by the structures of politics, the economy, the media, and the relationships among them.

A second aim of this research is to assess what are the implications of the frame building process for political power and how the frames applied in the press reflect the power constellation of the structural level. Reese (2010) argues that when research is focused on the 'what' questions regarding the internal structure of the frame and the frame building process, the analysis is also opened to the connections of the frames to the surrounding web of culture, revealing the ongoing elite contests that play a part in the process of frame building. Therefore, this research aims to understand what the frame building process and the frames that are applied in news messages indicate

about the framing contests that are taking place and as Entman argues 'whose power over government action is likely enhanced by media framing' (2007, p. 166). At the same time, this thesis aims to shed light on what the frame building process reveals about the power relationships on the structural level that shape the application of frames in the press.

Finally, this research aims to examine how the process of frame building can constrain democratic debate around political issues and the interests that are served in the process. Entman (1993) argues that frames play a major role in the exertion of political power as the frame registers the identity of the actors that competed to dominate the text, but also reflects the boundaries of discourse over an issue. Therefore, this research investigates the frame building process in order to evaluate how the structural level constrains democratic debate through its impact on journalistic labour.

Of course, in order to properly evaluate and demonstrate empirically these processes it is important to analyze them within a real-world context. Therefore, the case of the Greek crisis has been selected as an example that demonstrates the impact of power on the frame building process. It is important for a researcher looking into the frame building process to have a current overview of the journalistic process, therefore a side aim of this research is to unveil a present image of how journalists went about covering the case under investigation, and how they understand the influence of power on their job. More specifically, this research unveils whether and how the current phenomena of the economic crisis and the ongoing digitalization of the newsroom impact the journalistic process and ultimately frame building. Although the main goal of this research is to understand how political economic structures contribute to explanations of frame building in the Greek press, at the same time the frames found in news messages can contribute to knowledge regarding the political economic system that leads to their application. Finally, the dialectical relationship between the frame building process and the political economic structures can reveal the boundaries set on democratic debate through the framing of the case under investigation.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to achieve the aims of this research the following three research questions were set:

1) How is frame building in the press affected by political economic structures and power influences?

2) How do the frames applied in news messages inform our understanding about the framing contests and power struggles that shape them in news content?

3) How did the Greek press frame the debate about the three memoranda between Greece and the creditor troika?

1.4 Overview of the Project

The investigation of the frame building process and how it is influenced by power begins with the introductory chapter, which discusses how scholars have approached the global and Greek economic crises thus far and introduces the wider questions regarding journalistic content creation and political economic influences to the process.

The second and third chapters present literature reviews of framing and political economy. More specifically, the second chapter argues for the value of framing theory for explaining the news production process. Furthermore, the process of frame building is discussed, alongside the various levels of structures and procedures that impact it. Finally the wider implications of framing for political power and democratic debate are introduced. The third chapter argues for the suitability of political economic theory in explaining the frame building process, but also introduces the theoretical areas where frame building can contribute to our understanding of political economic structures and processes. Additionally, the various levels of structures and processes that impact frame building are introduced, alongside existing knowledge of how they impact content creation.

The fourth chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis by combining ideas introduced in the literature review. The contribution of theories from the

political economy tradition to the understanding of frame building is introduced, as well as how the frames themselves can assist understanding of framing struggles, what they reflect regarding the relationships among the political economic structures and how they set constraints to democratic debate.

The fifth chapter introduces the historical and sociopolitical background of the examined case and of the media system of Greece.

Chapter six presents the research design of the thesis, alongside the sampling rationale and data collection and analysis methods. Finally, the last section of the chapter focuses on how the findings from the different methodologies employed were analyzed and triangulated.

The next three chapters (Chapter 7,8,9) are the empirical chapters presenting and analyzing the findings of the thesis. Chapter seven discusses the interaction between developments on the macro level structures and their impact on the micro level negotiations between political sources and journalists and the impact of this interaction on the structure of the frames reconstructed from news messages. The main argument of the chapter is that the developments on the structural level have enhanced the power of political sources vis-à-vis journalists.

Chapter eight probes the interaction between the meso level organizational structure of the newspaper and the micro level agency of the individual journalist are probed, as well as the impact of this interaction on the structure of the frames applied in news messages. The main argument is that in the examined case journalists have little agency in news production and that the organizational structure of the newspaper constrains it through crystalized practices to ensure that the editorial stance is adhered to.

The last empirical chapter (Chapter 9) presents the interaction between the macro structure of politics and the meso level organizational structure of the newspaper, which shapes the editorial stance of the newspaper. The impact of this interaction is demonstrated in the frames applied in the news messages, and the main argument of

the chapter lies in the demonstration of how these interactions impact journalistic practices in order to lead to the application of these frames.

In chapter ten a discussion of the main findings of the thesis is offered, alongside the contribution of the research on framing and political economy research, the limitations and suggestions for future research.

2. Bringing Power Back to Framing: Framing and the News Production Process

This chapter argues in favour of employing framing theory to explain the news production process. A literature review of framing theory and process is presented, focusing on the connections of framing with news production. Ultimately the chapter illustrates the influence of power in the frame building process, as well as its political and democratic impact.

2.1 Framing as a Lakatosian Research Program: Employing Framing Theory to Probe News Production

This section presents the debate around the necessity of a unifying theory of framing and argues for the usefulness of the concept despite the lack of a common paradigm in accordance to D'Angelo (2002). Furthermore, the many origins and applications of framing theory in literature are discussed, ultimately arriving at communication research and the relevance of framing in exploring the process of media production.

Framing has been one of the most used theories in recent communications research, with a peak in its use as a concept in 2008 and 2009 (Vliegenthart and Van Zoonen, 2011). Pan and Kosicki (1993) trace the origins of the concept both in cognitive psychology and in sociology, whereas Van Gorp (2007) argues that other fields, such as communications, economics, linguistics, social-movements research, and political communications among others have often adopted it, attributing different meanings to framing. The experimental work of Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984) that investigates how people evaluate the options available to them when presented with alternative ways of presenting identical scenarios gave framing its roots in psychology. The work of Goffman (1974) introduced the concept in sociology arguing that individuals struggle to interpret the world they inhabit and apply interpretative schemas that classify information and form logical connections between said information. This widespread use of the framing concept has created a diversity of perspectives on what framing and a frame exactly is, leading Robert Entman to describe framing as a 'fractured paradigm' (1993, p. 51) in need of a synthesis of ideas under the discipline of communication.

On the other hand, D'Angelo refutes Entman's claims arguing that framing operates as a 'Lakatosian research program' (2002, p. 871) instead, that 'both supports competition among different theories and provides criteria to evaluate individual theories in light of new data' (ibid). Lakatos' metatheory posits that a research program is 'like a paradigm in that it provides a context for researchers to believe in the short-run irrefutability of hard-core conjectures' (1974 in D'Angelo 2002, p. 871). Understanding framing as a research program limits the role of paradigms and D'Angelo argues that there should not be one single paradigm as 'knowledge about framing has accumulated because the research program encourages researchers to employ and refine many theories about the framing process under the guidance of distinct paradigmatic perspectives on the relationship between frames and framing effects' (2002, p. 871).

Despite the lack of a general statement of framing theory, Entman argues in favour of its value:

> Whatever its specific use, the concept of framing consistently offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text. Analysis of frames illuminates the precise way in which influence over a human consciousness is exerted by the transfer (or communication) of information from one location – such as a speech utterance, news report, or novel – to that of consciousness (1993, p. 51-52).

Therefore, despite debates on the need for a unifying paradigm of framing the concept itself is an indispensable tool that enables researchers to understand power as it is exerted from a communicating text, but also as it impacts the structure of the text itself. Looking at framing as a research program D'Angelo (2002) identifies four empirical goals that individual framing studies pursue. These goals are a) the identification of frames, b) the investigation of the production of said frames, c) the examination of how news frames interact with the schemata of the individual, and d) understanding how news frames construct social realities and frame public debates. Therefore, the lack of a master paradigm and the multiple origins of the concept actually benefit framing research, allowing for a number of theories that shed light on different aspects and/or locations of the framing process (D'Angelo 2002).

Entman explains what the process of framing precisely entails:

> Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (1993, p. 52).

Embarking from the binary origins of framing, Scheufele (1999) understands the concept both as a macrolevel and a microlevel construct. On the macro level Scheufele and Tewksbury argue that framing 'refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience' (2007, p. 12). However, they argue that framing is not a tool of deceiving the audience employed by journalists and communicators, but more of a necessity dictated by the constraints of media labour, in order to reduce the complexity of an issue (ibid). The microconstruct conception of framing then applies to how that information is employed by people in order to form impressions regarding issues (ibid). However, Entman's (1993) definition of framing implies some intentionality in framing on the behalf of the framer, beyond that dictated by journalistic constraints, given that some parts of social reality are selected and some are left out. Describing the process of framing in political communication Matthes suggests this intentionality by arguing that:

> The key idea is that strategic actors, journalists, and audiences do not simply reflect or transport the political and social realities. In contrast, politics, issues and events are subject to different patterns of selections and interpretations. These interpretations of issues are negotiated, contested, and modified over time. In light of this, frames are selective views on issues, views that construct reality in a certain way leading to different evaluations and recommendations (2012, p. 249).

What these definitions suggest, is the value of the concept in examining both processes of media production, and media effects. On the process of media production

it is also fair to assume that framing is the outcome of both intentional actions on behalf of the actors, as well as of necessities dictated by the constraints of media labour, depending on the locus of examination. Therefore, a political actor is actively trying to frame social reality, whereas a journalist plays a part by selecting which frames to apply, or creating new ones. This process of selecting which social interpretation prevails in the media is determined both by intentional actions on behalf of the media, such as setting the editorial stance that journalists must follow, as well as by constraints posed by material conditions and the mundane realities of journalistic labour. Therefore, the media become a battlefield where alternative framings of social reality promoted by contesting political actors vie for domination.

2.2 Why Framing? The Benefits of Framing as a Theory for News Production Research

Bryant and Miron (2004) argue that in recent years framing theory has taken over from agenda setting as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communication. Scholars have argued that either framing is an extension of agenda setting (McCombs and Shaw, 1993), or that agenda setting is the first function of framing and that framing works through priming (Entman, 2007) relating the three concepts. This section introduces the concepts of framing, agenda setting, and priming as well as their similarities and differences, arguing for the suitability of framing as a theory that illuminates the process of media production and the impact of power on that process.

Agenda setting and priming are closely related concepts that focus on memory-based models of information processing (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007). Agenda setting links the emphasis placed on certain issues by the mass media and the importance the audience attributes to those issues (McCombs and Shaw, 1993). Priming, on the other hand, posits that the content of the media suggests to audiences which issues are the benchmark that they should evaluate the performance of political actors with (ibid). Priming has often been perceived as an extension of agenda setting, with scholars arguing that there is a correlation between how political actors are judged and the accessibility of issues in an individual's memory (Tversky and Kahneman, 1973 in Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). Furthermore, Iyengar and Kinder (1987) argue that

priming is a temporal extension of agenda setting, as the function of agenda setting of making some issues more salient, also makes those issues important in the judgment of a political actor or issue.

On the other hand, scholars also relate agenda setting and priming, with framing. McCombs (2014) argues that framing is nothing more than a second level of agenda setting that works by bringing forward aspects of an issue through different modes of presentation. However, this assumption has been criticized for oversimplifying the actual premise of framing. Price and Tewksbury argue:

> Agenda setting looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented (1997, p. 184 in Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007).

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) posit that the distinction between agenda setting and priming, and framing lies on their cognitive effects. Agenda setting and priming have accessibility effects, by making issues more accessible in the minds of people, whereas framing has applicability affects, which suggest connections among concepts (ibid). Therefore framing is a more complex construct, which suggests how to think about an issue and the relevant mental connections, instead of only suggesting what the issue is. The complexity of the framing construct allows for a deeper investigation of the textual level that does not reveal the causal links between issues and perceptions, as in the case of agenda setting and priming, but how the different issues are mentally connected through the journalistic process in order to construct explanations of social reality instead.

Entman (2007) also relates the three concepts, by theoretically subsuming agenda setting and priming under framing. More specifically, he argues that framing 'works to shape and alter audience members' interpretations and preferences through priming' (ibid, p. 164). Furthermore, he understands agenda setting as the first level of framing, namely the definition of problems worthy of public attention (ibid). Van Gorp (2007) on the other hand distinguishes framing from agenda setting and priming

in two aspects, embarking from a cultural and constructionist approach. The first characteristic that sets the theories apart is the fact that framing when situated in constructionism, focuses on the interactive process of constructing social reality (ibid), whereas, agenda setting and priming have causal theoretical premises (Scheufele, 2000) and try to establish correlations between people's perceptions and media content. Van Gorp argues that constructionist framing goes beyond exploring the effects of media content on the public, as 'from a constructionist perspective, media content constitutes both a dependent and an independent variable. Media content is the result of journalistic routines and extra-media pressures, and it is actively processed by the audience' (2007, p. 70). Framing thus incorporates the different representations that an issue can have in the media, but it also involves in the process journalistic production and the interpretations of the audience in a coproduction of social reality (ibid). Therefore, framing is more of a process, than a cognitive concept, particularly because framing incorporates the many structural factors that influence media content (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Consequently framing theory is better suited for investigations of news construction, the investigation of the journalistic process and the various influences that a journalist has to take into account when constructing a news article, which is a central objective of this thesis.

The second difference between framing, and agenda setting and priming lies on the focus of the concepts. More specifically, agenda setting and priming are concerned with issues, or as Kosicki (1993 in Van Gorp 2007) puts it 'the shell of the topic'. However, Van Gorp argues that:

> The conception of framing, however, makes an explicit distinction between issues and frames: One issue can be covered from multiple angles or frames, and the same frame is applicable to cover diverse issues. In framing research, attention can be paid to alternative hypotheses, such as the prediction that the media can take up an issue from the political agenda but use an opposite frame to cover it, or the particular way a frame can become dominant and how it subsequently is applied to cover a diversity of topics (2007, p. 70).

Therefore, although agenda setting and framing share the definition of the topic at stake, frames go beyond that, as they comprise of the connections between the various devices and the central idea that structures the frame (Van Gorp, 2007). The complexity of the relations between the devices in the framing construct qualifies framing theory for the explanation of the media production process as framing sheds light on the journalistic production process and the factors that influence it, in a manner that the causal relationships suggested by agenda setting and priming cannot.

The examination of framing in comparison to agenda setting and priming in this section argues that framing theory and process is better suited for the examination of the media production process. Framing suggests a process a work, instead of a causal relationship between the focus of the media and the response of the audience. This process allows for the examination of the journalistic process and the various extramedia factors that influence it, which shape the structure of the article. Furthermore, whereas agenda setting and priming focus on which issue is covered, framing focuses on how that issue is covered and the mental connections among the various devices that give rise to meaning, allowing for a more detailed understanding of both the production process but also how the media message guides the audience to think about the issue at hand. Therefore, having established the differences between the three concepts and having argued for the choice of framing as the theory with which media phenomena will be explored in this research, the discussion now moves on to exploring what a frame is, and how it works.

2.3 Frames in Culture: How Are They Applied in News Production and What is Their Political Impact?

One of the earliest works in framing is the work of Erving Goffman (1974) who argues that meanings only arise in processes of interaction, interpretation and contextualization. From these processes, 'social frameworks' (ibid, p. 24) arise that provide meaning, determine which parts of the discourse are relevant and suggest responses. Reese defines frames thusly: 'Frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world' (2001, p. 11). Furthermore, Matthes argues that frames: 'Are part of culture, they guide how the elite construct information, they affect

journalists' information selection, they are manifest in media texts, and they influence cognitions and attitudes of audience members' (2012, p. 248-249). Therefore, frames are independent of the individual, but at the same time they are the repositories from which the actors, such as political elites, journalists, and audiences, draw from to construct or interpret information. Reese understands frames 'as structures that draw boundaries, set up categories, define some ideas as out and others in, and generally operate to snag related ideas in their net in an active process' (2007, p. 150). This active process suggests that frames are not rooted either in media texts or in individual psychological elements, but rather that symbolic content is a manifestation of these frames (ibid).

There are many different areas that scholars identify frames in, such as the individual cognitive schemas of audiences or journalists, the communications by institutional actors and of course media content. In the context of political communication, Matthes argues that: 'frames can be found in the strategic communications of political and organizational actors, in the cognitive structures of journalists, in news media content, and in the minds of citizens' (2012). The strategic frames developed by professional communicators are the material from which journalists select, modify and add their own frames as well. Tuchmann (1976) describes journalistic frames as tools that journalists use to cope with incoming information and Matthes (2012) argues that journalistic frames are manifest in news media content, resulting in different ways of reporting about the same political issues from different media outlets. However, Van Gorp (2007) views frames as situated within culture, departing from Goffman's (1974) definition that conceptualizes frames as independent from the individual, having their own logic and meaning and emphasizes their connection with culture. Van Gorp (2007) argues that although the repertoire of frames is situated externally of the individual, individuals still make use of these cultural phenomena, such as in the case of media workers who apply and magnify those cultural frames in media content. The conceptualization of frames in culture changes how the news production process is understood. In order to probe the news production process it is imperative to develop a repertoire of frames as they exist in culture and then compare the news messages with that repertoire. As part of the journalistic process is to apply some of these frames in news content, the comparison of the culturally situated

frames with those applied in texts sheds light both to the news production process, but also to the structural power that impacts their application.

Understanding frames as situated within culture, Van Gorp (2007) generates six premises, which guide his theorizing about framing. He argues that there are more frames to be found in culture than the ones applied in the media, and those alternatives are available to the journalists and the audience to make different sense of the same issue (ibid). Therefore it is important to distinguish between the frames currently applied and the alternative frames available in order to explain why the frames currently applied are so persistent. Furthermore, Van Gorp (ibid) understands the actual frame as a part of culture and therefore not encompassed in media content. The connection of media content and certain frames is understood as part of the reading process, with the receivers connecting what they read in a news story with cultural phenomena they are familiar with (ibid). Due to the relation between the frames and the cultural phenomena they represent, they feel normal and natural, hiding the process of social construction (Gamson et al, 1992). Van Gorp argues that: 'because these frames often are unnoticed and implicit, their impact is by stealth. Frames may, in that respect, be regarded as a power mechanism in their own right' (2007, p. 63). Frames are an: 'invitation to read a news story in a particular way' (ibid). Understanding frames as situated in culture also incorporates the impact of a macrostructure in the framing process. How individuals interpret media content then does not hinge on psychological cognitive mechanisms but cultural processes that guide the interpretation (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). Frames are stable, as they are part of culture, and they interact with the mental structures of journalists and audiences, which are better termed as 'schemata' (Fiske and Taylor 1991 in Van Gorp, 2007). The fifth premise of frames is their persistent but also dynamic character (Van Gorp, 2007). That means that a frame changes very little or gradually over time, but at the same time the application of frames is subject to negotiation. As Van Gorp argues: 'frames are contested by journalists and the audience, new ones are selected and others may disappear without the frames themselves undergoing any change' (ibid, p. 64). Therefore, although the manifestations of frames in media content can be altered, the frames situated in culture remain unchanged. The final premise of framing and frames is the complex process of social interaction that is involved, described by Van Gorp:

> Framing involves the interplay that occurs between the textual level (frames applied in the media), the cognitive level (schemata among the audience and media makers), the extramedia level (the discourse of frame sponsors), and, finally, the stock of frames that is available in a given culture (ibid, p. 64).

This complex process of social interaction is the entrance point for understanding the news production process, as framing allows the investigation of how the interplay between the extramedia level and the practices of journalism impacts the application of frames that reside in culture to the textual level.

But what do frames contain? Hertog and McLeod argue that frames are 'structures of meaning made up of a number of concepts and the relations among those concepts' (2001, p. 140). Entman argues that:

> Frames, then, define problems-determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits… diagnose causes-identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments-evaluate causal agents and their effects; and suggest remedies-offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects (1993, p. 52).

However, when conceptualizing frames as situated in culture, there are other dimensions that need to be taken into account. Van Gorp (2007) argues that frames in culture can be reconstructed through an analysis of media content where they get embedded when journalists construct the news message in such a way that many elements refer to that frame. Then, the frame can be represented as a 'frame package' (ibid, p. 64), which is composed by the manifest framing devices, the manifest or latent reasoning devices, and an implicit cultural phenomenon that displays the package as a whole. The frame is held together under a central organizing theme that usually is reflected through a cultural phenomenon such as an archetype, a mythical figure, a value, or a narrative (ibid). The framing devices manifest in the text can be word choices, metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments, and visual images that point to the same core idea (ibid). Finally, the frame package is completed by the reasoning devices, which define and understand an issue (ibid). These reasoning

devices consist of Entman's aforementioned definition of frames, with the cultural phenomenon and framing devices providing the connections between these devices.

Entman argues that: 'frames work by highlighting bits of information, thereby elevating them in salience' (1993, p. 53). Explaining how frames work Van Gorp argues that framing is a form of metacommunication (2007, p. 65), arguing that the connection between the reasoning devices found in a text and the actual frame happens 'during the interpretation of the message by the journalist and the audience on the basis of a cognitive process' (ibid). Therefore, the media text does not merely provide with the information about an issue but how that issue should be understood. The implicit information conveyed by the frame contextualizes the information provided by the news, whereas the content of the media evoke the schemas that are congruent with the frame (ibid). Explaining how the framing devices activate schemas, Van Gorp argues:

> The receivers tie in a causal chain of reasoning devices within a frame package, of which, except for that one framing device, nothing is explicitly included in the text. Therefore, it is possible for a frame not to occupy a central position in the structure of the text but merely to be fleetingly present in a number of devices (2007, p. 66).

It is probable that a media text will also contain elements that are incongruent with the dominant frame, however, as Entman (1993) demonstrated one of the effects of framing is making the elements that are included in the frame more salient, although it is still a possibility that the receiver will decode the frame in ways that were not the journalist's intention, even if a potential counterframing of the subject is absent from a text.

This function of frames has important implications for political communication through the media. As frames bring forward some explanations for social reality, while obscuring others, audiences are led to interpret political issues in a specific way. It then becomes evident that politicians need to compete with one another and with journalists over which interpretation will be depicted in the media (Entman, 1993). Therefore, Entman argues that:

Framing in this light plays a major role in the exertion of political power, and the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power – it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the text. Reflecting the play of power and boundaries of discourse over an issue, many news texts exhibit homogeneous framing at one level of analysis, yet competing frames at another (ibid, p. 55).

Consequently it is possible that even when the same frame is applied, alternative reasoning devices will be contesting, or that the frames themselves will produce a homogenous debate setting the limits of discourse over an issue. As a result, unpublicized views have little to no effect on public opinion, whereas political proponents using alternative terms to those widely accepted will be perceived as lacking credibility, or fail to become understood by the audience (Entman, 1993). And this is precisely where the power of framing lies and why looking at framing contests in news texts reveals a lot about the construction of a debate around a political issue and the structural factors that guide it.

2.4 Working Across Paradigms: Connecting News Production and Framing with The Critical Constructionist Perspective

Framing analysis has multiple entry points and takes place in different locations or sites. As Reese argues: 'given the eclecticism and multiple perspectives, the definitive framing study will never be found. So, the researcher doing framing analysis must make some well-informed choices about the best point of entry to answer the question at hand' (2010, p. 17). It is useful then, to discuss the different paradigms that guide framing research and their relevance to the news production process.

D'Angelo (2002) identifies three paradigms; namely the cognitive, critical and constructionist. The cognitive paradigm is occupied with the capacity of frames to interact with the mental frames, or schemata of the individual and alter them by making different information more accessible, or in other words the negotiation between a news frame and the prior knowledge of an individual (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Valkenberg, Semetko, & de Vreese, 1999). The critical paradigm

understands frames as the outcome of journalistic routines, which ultimately views journalists as passive conduits of the perspectives held by political and economic elites (Tuchman 1978). The critical paradigm views those frames as dominating the news and subsequently dominating audiences. Martin & Oshagen (1997, p. 691) view frames that are linked to hegemonic processes as limiting to the range of debate and ultimately harmful to the democratic public sphere. The third paradigm is the constructionist one, which understands journalists as 'information processors who create "interpretive packages" of the positions of politically invested "sponsors" in order to both reflect and add to the issue culture of the topic' (Gamson & Modigliani 1987 in D'Angelo 2002, p. 877). However, this process is seen as harmful to civic opportunities as for example in the research of Pan & Kosicki (1993), which sees frames as limiting the acceptable positions within a policy debate and ultimately hurting the democratic process.

Returning to the discussion regarding the location of the frame, cognitivists locate frames based on their impact to the schemata of the individual, whereas those working within the critical paradigm locate frames in the strategic communications of political and organizational actors. Finally, constructionists situate frames in culture as a culturally shared and available stock, which both journalists and communicators access in order to make sense of issues and apply these frames in their messages, therefore having an impact on the individual schemata of their audiences. It becomes apparent that framing paradigms are important regarding how a piece of research conceptualizes the contribution of frames to the news production process and to the construction of democratic debate. Depending on the framing paradigm that a researcher works under the contribution of the journalist to frame building and news production processes changes. Cognitivists attribute the most agency to the individual journalist in frame building, as the process is defined by individual cognitive schemata that are employed to structure incoming information. On the other hand, critical scholars attribute the least agency to journalists, viewing them as passive conduits. In the critical paradigm it is concrete journalistic practices about dealing with incoming advocate frames that determine which frames are applied in news messages. Finally constructionists sit in between the other two perspectives giving journalists agency in processing advocate frames. Consequently the paradigm guiding a framing research also matters regarding how the researcher understands the

democratic impact of the frames applied in the media. Cognitivists understand the outcome of framing as neutral with journalists performing their work in response to the demands of pluralism and audiences as subjects that can be exposed to meaningfully different frames on a single topic (D'Angelo 2002). On the other hand both critical and constructionist scholars view the process of framing as restrictive to the acceptable positions within democratic debate.

D'Angelo (2002) argues that framing research benefits from working across paradigms. Reese views the ability to work across the paradigms as one of the strengths of framing research by arguing that framing can deliver a model that 'bridges parts of the field that need to be in touch with each other: quantitative and qualitative, empirical and interpretive, psychological and sociological, and academic and professional' (2007, p. 148). By employing framing as a 'bridging concept' a number of scholars have brought different locations of the framing process together either by following integrative research designs that connect all the processes of media production, media consumption and media content (Matthes 2012, Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2011) or some of them, such as media production and content (Reese 2010, Van Gorp 2007, Bruggermann 2014) or media content and its effects in public opinion (Pan & Kosicki 2001, Chong & Druckman 2007). Stephen Reese (2010) employs the bridging quality of framing by combining the critical and constructionist paradigms. He calls this a 'critical constructionist perspective':

> Critical in the sense that I see frames as expressions and outcomes of power, unequally distributed with public opinion dominated and enlisted accordingly and constructionist in the sense that I grant participants, such as journalists, some professional autonomy and take them seriously, using frames as "interpretive packages" in creating understanding of the social world (ibid, p. 19).

Reese's (ibid) research connects media production and content by considering how social actors participate in the creation and maintenance of certain frames and the interests that are served in the process. Therefore, this perspective is important for research that aims to shed light on the news production process, but acknowledges

that the application of frames in news messages is contingent on journalistic practices and power influences, that end up restricting democratic debate.

2.5 Framing and Media Production: Frame Building and the Social Forces that Influence it

The term 'frame building' (Scheufele, 1999) has been applied for research that focuses on the examination of the social forces that influence the process through which frames come to be applied in news messages. However, the question of how the process of frame building actually works has not been addressed sufficiently by researchers (Borah 2011). According to Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) the framing approach is well suited to explain the news production process, whereas Van Gorp (2007) argues that elements of news production are part and parcel of the framing process. De Vreese (2004) argues that frame building refers to the forces that shape the structural qualities of news frames. These forces can be both internal to journalism as well as external, since frame building takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites (Gans 1979, Tuchman 1978).

Framing theory posits that journalists apply frames either deliberately or unwittingly, however the frame that comes to be embedded in the news message is not determined a priori by the issue reported upon (Van Gorp 2007). The constructionist approach that Van Gorp employs, suggests that during the process of frame building journalists not only apply frames found in culture, but also the frames interact with the schemas of the journalists. More specifically he argues: 'There is an interaction between the journalist's (un)conscious selection of a frame – out of the cultural stock of frames – as the result of the individual belief system, and the influence of additional factors inside and outside the media organizations' (ibid, p. 67).

Brüggemann (2014) argues that journalists are in a process of defining what is at issue in public debates and that their professional criteria of newsworthiness, as well as value judgments play a part in the production of texts that include news frames. Furthermore, D'Angelo & Kuypers argue that: 'journalists cannot not frame topics because they need sources' frames to make news, inevitably adding or even superimposing their own frames in the process' (2010, p. 1). However these

definitions place the main agency of the framing process with the individual journalist, ignoring other levels of influence, such as the organizational structure and ideological leaning of the news organization, national and international cultures and structures, market constraints etc. Framing research lacks multi-level analyses that investigate the particular effect of the various factors that impact news production and frame building (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2011). There have been individual research studies that focus on higher levels of influence, instead of just attributing frame choices to the individual journalist, but these have been limited either in the examination of the macro level of influence and the comparison of national systems or the micro level, especially by focusing at source influences (ibid). Such examples are D'Angelo et al's (2013) research of framing of AIDS in Africa, which analyses and compares the national systems of four sub-Saharan countries and their influence on framing, but fails to detect the impact of the national system on framing. Furthermore, Strömbäck and Van Aelst's (2010) comparison of Belgian and Swedish TV news was also not able to determine the relative contribution of each to the variation of frames. Both studies have not incorporated other levels of influence in the process of frame building. On the other hand framing research that has concentrated on source differences as an explanatory factor for different frames has mostly focused on the agenda building power of sources, and found that the political, social, and economical power of sources is an important factor for building the news agenda (Bennett 1990, Gans 1979). However, these studies have not posed the question of how this power translates into news frames that are favourable to the interests of the sources.

In order to address what they call a lack of a conceptualization of power in framing, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identify three levels of influence that impact the frame building process; namely, media routines, the organization level, and the extramedia level. In a similar tone Vliegenthart and van Zoonen (2011) call for a multi-level analysis of news frames that incorporates a number of influences on the creation of news items. They call for analyses that incorporate the macro level of influence by looking at the national media system and how it affects frames, the meso level of influence by looking at the ideological leanings of the news organization and the pressures of the market and finally the micro level by looking at source relations and the individual agency of the journalist (ibid). These influences are explored in the

next chapter, however this section has established the value of the frame building process in explaining news production.

2.6 The Importance of Frame Building for Democratic Debate

Having assessed how power influences the process of frame building, this section discusses the wider implications of framing for political power and democracy. Entman argues that the role of framing research should be to determine 'whose power over government action is likely enhanced by media framing' (2007, p. 166), given that almost any nontrivial reality can be framed in two or more ways. However, even in cases where fierce debates are taking place through the media it is possible that bias exists in more fundamental levels. As scholars working in the critical studies tradition argue the media are framing consistently in favour of capitalism, patriarchy, individualism, consumerism etc. (Budd et al. 1999). It is of equal importance for framing research to shed light on both questions, as revealing the ongoing framing contests and who benefits from how the media are framing political issues, can at the same time reveal how and why the framing of the debate excludes other actors, who fall outside the scope of mainstream frames.

As Reese argues one of the main dividing lines in news framing research is whether the emphasis is on the 'what' or the 'how' of frames (2010, p. 19). The 'what' question is mainly concerned with the content of the frame, the process of frame building, and the narratives and myths as well as the framing and reasoning devices that make the frame work (ibid). The 'how' questions are centered in the process of competition among elites, and frames are strategic resources constructed and wielded by actors or groups in order to achieve an outcome (ibid, p. 20). However, as Reese posits although both approaches have merit the 'what' questions can also lead to answers to the 'how':

> Privileging the what leads to deeper inspection of frames in the social arena; that is, to identifying the key organizing principles and most relevant values that inevitably help guide the how studies that are more concerned with examining specific effects. The what of frames opens to analysis the internal structure both of frames themselves and their connections to the surrounding

web of culture – and in doing so more likely leads to the level of analysis question (2010, p. 20-21)

Therefore, by dissecting the frames and the frame building process, framing research can provide insights about the ongoing elite contests that play a part in the process of frame building. Consequently, probing the contribution of political economic structures to the process of frame building, at the same time can produce information about the structures themselves and their framing contests.

Framing contests do not take place in a vacuum as Feree et al. talk about a 'complex playing field that provides advantages and disadvantages in uneven ways to the various contestants in framing contests' (2002, p. 12), pointing to the differences in power and influence that different actors have when trying to promote their framing through the media. Lawrence posits the indexing theory as a way of linking concepts of power with framing:

> News frames on any particular issue are not static, but will shift in conjunction with shifts in power. Elections may bring new political players into key institutional arenas; evolving real world events may change the political calculations of those players; and different players will be important and powerful in different context. So we should expect news frames to shift over time and across contexts (2010, p. 270).

In order to understand what these frame contests and frame shifts indicate about the power relations that shape them, Van Gorp (2007) argues that it is important to combine the dialogical interaction with frame sponsors and the action of key events. Key events can lead to the activation of alternative frames in the media, as Gamson and Modigliani (1989) demonstrated in the case of nuclear power. Here the action of key events can be combined with Lawrence's indexing theory, as elections can play the role of key events that should bring about framing shifts.

Regarding the issue of frame sponsors, Van Gorp (2007) posits that in specific situations certain sponsors of a particular frame can try to influence the media, in order to get their preferred framing of the event, by strategic decision making in the

process of announcing their viewpoints. Press releases for example have a goal of convincing the receiver as much as informing them. Tewksbury et al. call these persuasive instruments advocate frames (2000, p. 806). The fact that journalists often rely on the same sources for their information, can lead to identical frames appearing in different media, thus enhancing the persuasive power of a frame. However, it is still possible that journalists can choose to go with a counter frame, or ignore the proposed frame all together (Van Gorp 2007). Nonetheless, advocate frames are mainly the primary material employed by journalists to cover an issue, as the final choice to whether a statement will be represented or not, how prominent it will be, and how it will be specifically worded is much more the result of journalistic choices and realities.

Entman explains the kind of power structures that can be revealed through frame analysis:

> The consolidating question, then, is whether the … framing content of texts … falls into persistent, politically relevant patterns. Powerful players devote massive resources to advancing their interests precisely by imposing such patterns on mediated communications. To the extent we reveal and explain them, we illuminate the classic questions of politics: who gets what, when, and how (Lasswell, 1966) (2007, p. 164).

By combining Entman's definition with the aforementioned conception of frame shifts, the dialogical interaction of frame sponsors and the action of key events, framing analysis can shed light on the power struggles that impact the frame building process. This is achieved by pinpointing how each level of influence contributes to the frames found on news messages and how those power struggles can constrain democratic debate around political issues. The analysis of how the various levels of influence contribute to the understanding of the frame building process can reveal at the same time how framing contributes to knowledge regarding the structures and their framing contests.

2.7 Summary

This chapter argues in favour of employing framing theory to examine news production. More specifically, the chapter presents the debate regarding whether framing should have a unifying paradigm (Entman 1993) or if framing research understood as a 'Lakatosian research program' (D'Angelo 2002) contributes better to knowledge. This thesis sides with the latter position, especially in examining the news production process. Furthermore, this chapter argues for the suitability of framing theory in contrast to agenda setting and priming theories, for examining the news production process. The various conceptualizations of frames, and the paradigms guiding framing research are presented, arguing in favour of probing the news production process by situating frames in culture as Van Gorp (2007) theorized them, and of working under a 'critical constructionist perspective' as Reese (2010) posited. Furthermore, the frame building process is examined and the various levels that influence it, arguing that the examination of frame building sheds light to news production. This chapter addresses the first aim of this research, namely the areas where political economic processes can contribute to our understanding of the frame building process. Finally, the wider implications of framing for political power and democratic debate were presented in order to address the third goal of this research, the contribution of framing in the construction of democratic debate around the memoranda.

The examination of the framing literature reveals a gap in knowledge that can be addressed in this research. A lack of research of the frame building process has been identified (Borah 2011), and more specifically a lack of research that incorporates multiple levels of influence in frame building and pinpoints exactly how each level contributes to the structure of the framing (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2011). As it was mentioned in the previous sections power and its contribution to frame building has been conceptualized in different ways, but this thesis concentrates on a multi-level political economy approach because, as it will be argued, this approach aligns with and complements the theory of framing. Furthermore this approach allows this thesis to address its research questions. Therefore, the next chapter argues for political economy as a complementing approach to framing, shedding light on how it can enhance our understanding of the frame building process, but also how framing can assist in our understanding of the political economic structures themselves and their framing contests.

3. Power Influences and the Media: A Multi-Level Political Economy Approach

This chapter argues in favour of employing political economy theory in order to address the gap in knowledge noted in framing literature. More specifically, political economic structures and processes are introduced and linked with the frame building process addressing the first goal of this research regarding how political economy can contribute to the understanding of the frame building process. Furthermore, the chapter illuminates how framing theory can enhance knowledge regarding the structures and processes themselves addressing the second aim of the thesis. The, widely used in research, political economic approach is discussed and an innovative conceptualization in three levels of influence that will be empirically explored in this thesis is proposed. Starting with the macro level of influence consisting of national media system constellations (Hallin and Mancini 2004), as well as of the market and ownership structures. Continuing, with the meso level, which consists of the media organization and theories regarding the commodification and intensification of media labour (Mosco 1996). And finally, discussing the micro level, consisting of theories regarding structuration and journalistic agency, as well as theories regarding the relationship between journalists and political sources.

3.1 Defining Political Economy

Mosco (1996) defines political economy as 'the study of the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources'. Nicolas Garnham elaborates by arguing that: 'it is always concerned with analyzing a structure of social relations and of social power. But it is particularly concerned to analyze the peculiarities of that system of social power called capitalism' (1990, p. 7). The four central constituents of political economic research are found in the work of Golding and Murdock (1991) and they are its focus on social change and history, the social totality, moral philosophy, and praxis. Wasko, Murdock, and Sousa (2011, p.2) problematize on the importance of the political economy approach and its difference from other types of analysis. The first central tenet of political economy is that its approach is holistic, through its focus on the relations between economic practices and social and political organization. The second is its focus on history and more specifically on the explanation of current

events based on the grounds of an analysis of longstanding transformations, shifts, and contradictions. The third tenet is the attachment of political economy to moral philosophy and its concern with the organization of communication as a means to creating a good society based in social justice and democratic practice. The final tenet of political economy is the obligation of critical political analysts to follow the logic of their analysis into practical action for change (ibid).

McChesney (2004) argues that there are two main dimensions in the political economy of communication. The first investigates the relationship between the media and the social structure of society by examining how media systems reinforce, challenge, or influence existing class and social relations. As McChesney summarizes: 'The political economy of media then links the media and communications systems to how both economic and political systems work, and social power is exercised, in society' (2008, p. 12). Therefore, the central questions for media political analysis are whether the media promote or undermine democracy, and play a role as a force for social change or oligarchy (ibid). McChesney argues that 'the critical position…is to try to understand why the range of legitimate debate is so constricted compared to the range of what is possible and what would be best for all society, not just the contenting business interests' (2004, p. 48). Garnham comments on the application of the inequality of the production of surplus to communication and makes a similar argument:

> A delimited social group, pursuing economic or political ends, determines which meanings circulate and which do not, which stories are told about what, which arguments are given prominence and what cultural resources are made available and to whom. The analysis of this process is vital to an understanding of the power relationships involved in culture and their relationship to wide structures of domination (1995, p. 65).

This definition provides a useful link between political economy and framing, as frames ultimately shed light on which elements of stories are circulated and given salience by the media. Garnham's argument is consistent with Vliegenthart and van Zoonen's (2011) as an analysis of the process of frame building can illuminate the power relationships that impact journalistic labour and ultimately the application of

frames in news content and help decode the relationship of framing to wider structures of domination. Therefore, framing theory can contribute to this dimension of political economy, as frame analysis can reveal the limits of legitimate debate and the frames as the mechanisms that achieve this process of constricting the range of the debate, addressing the third research question of this thesis.

The second dimension examines how ownership, advertising, and government regulation affect the establishment of media systems and media technologies and the ways that those systems influence media content. Political economy research emphasizes the structural factors and the labour process of communication (McChesney 2004). McChesney (2008) argues that political economists of the media do not believe that the current system is natural or impervious to change. They see the media system as a result of the policies established in the public's name, but often without the public's consent. Furthermore, they also see the nature of this system as an important factor for the kind of content produced by the media (ibid). The process of political economy consists of the analysis of the media and communication systems and their content, and the links with ownership, market structures, technologies, labour practices and government policies that shape them. Therefore this second dimension of political economic analysis can contribute to framing theory, as frame building seeks to shed light on content production and political economy provides the concepts that influence content creation and need to be taken into account in such an analysis, addressing the first research question of this thesis.

3.2 Why Political Economy? Addressing Criticisms from Cultural Studies

This chapter addresses the criticisms to the political economic approach from the relevant field of cultural studies. This discussion helps delineate the epistemological boundaries of this research, and situate this project in the bigger picture of social scientific approaches. Furthermore, a discussion of the differences between the two approaches can clarify the ontological underpinnings of the research, as important concepts such as power, are common in the two approaches but are understood and applied differently. Finally, since such a project could be approached through both strands of research, this discussion sheds light on the reasons that make political

economy a more suitable approach for addressing the research questions of the research.

One of the intellectual currents that challenge political economic thought is that of cultural studies, which is concerned with the constitution of meaning in texts. It is useful to understand how political economy addresses those criticisms in order to further understanding of media phenomena. The first area where political economic thought is attempting a critique of cultural studies concerns the centrality of power in the analysis of communication. In contrast to cultural studies, political economy sees power in the center of analysis and understands it both as a resource to achieve goals and an instrument of control within social hierarchies. Mosco argues on the position of power in political economy:

> Political economy thinks of power as a resource that is structured or rooted in what Mahon (1980) has called an "unequal structure of representation" a feature built into a system that rewards market position with privileged status within social hierarchies. Moreover, power is more than a resource – it is also a form of control that is used to preserve such privileged status against challengers (1996, p. 257).

Cultural studies thought on the other hand although it acknowledges power in various ways, focuses mostly on the personal, local and inter-subjective dimensions of it. Individual subjectivities, identities and collective action are in the center for cultural studies, whereas political economy sees power as structured within societal institutions (Mosco, 1996). Responding to culturalist theorizations of power, political economy acknowledges the subjective dimensions of power, however, it argues that those dimensions are mutually constituted with objective conceptions of power that stem from the rules governing societal structures (ibid). Therefore, an analysis of frame building benefits more from the combination with an analysis of power from a political economic point of view, as it can shed light on how institutions and the power that stems from them impact the production of messages and the kind of debate that these institutions are fostering.

To be sure, how these messages are received by the audience remains contingent. Addressing criticisms from cultural studies scholars to political economists, Mosco argues that cultural studies equate diversity with multiplicity embarking from the vantage point of the audience. More specifically he argues:

> Media diversity is not a substantial problem because information and entertainment are polysemic or subject to multiple readings and interpretations that, in essence, create their own diversity, whatever the number of formal producers and distributors (1996, p. 259).

Through this conception cultural studies are trying to address what they see as problems in political economy, namely economism and productivism (Mosco, 1996). Cultural studies argue that economism is the tendency to read texts from the logic, structure, and dynamics of capital. Productivism, reads the text from the circuit of capital that makes up the process of production. Nevertheless, political economy contents that it is vital to understand culture through the process of commodification (ibid). Political economy concedes that the text can have different meanings as read and produced, and that readers can also produce their own meanings, however, it argues that 'audiences are not passive, but neither are producers dumb' (ibid 1996, p. 260). Political economy in that way disagrees that diversity is the natural conclusion of media units or audiences. A large number of media units can ultimately create the same media substance and form, whereas, as Modleski (1986) argues, the limits of meaning creation by the audience are inscribed and established by the media industries. Mosco's argument substantiates this view:

> Media power, which gives those with control over markets the ability to fill channels with material embodying their interests, tends to structure the substance and form of polysemy, thereby limiting the diversity of interpretations to certain repeated central tendencies that stand out among the range of possibilities, including those marginalized few that diverge substantially rom the norm (1996, p. 262).

Nicholas Garnham (1990) argues that ideas are neither predefined by the economic base nor free-floating and autonomous. The analysis of the media he posits consists of

a middle-way approach, which examines the shifting relationships between economic, ideological and political levels (ibid, p. 27). What follows from this assumption is that the nature of the relationship between the media, the state, and the economy vary in different historical contexts and need to be investigated rather that predetermined by theory. The Westminster tradition, as Curran (2004) describes it, challenges media studies that focus either on the text or the audience, arguing that the political and economic forms of media organization and regulation influence the role and production of the media. In order to situate the possible meanings of polysemy it is important to view them within the power-geometry identified by the various levels of political economic processes.

Bernard Miege (2012) problematizes how political economists should analyze the role of communication systems in the mode of production. In order to do that he points out mistakes and dangers made when undertaking political economic research. More specifically he argues that it is important to 'avoid all-embracing approaches which assume that the changes we are witnessing are following the same course throughout all of the regions of the world and throughout all of the branches of industry, and so on' (2004, p. 88). A theory that can contextualize the importance of national culture is Hannitzsch's (2007) conceptualization of journalism culture, which points to the importance of the national context in journalistic work and how it interacts with objective processes and institutions. Therefore, it is important for any research that attempts to determine how political economic structures contribute to explanations of frame building, but also how framing can contribute to political economic analysis of media practices to differentiate between processes and structures that are universal, and the importance of the culturally bound specificities of each system.

3.3 The macro level of power influence: Media systems, market and ownership structures

After arguing in favour of political economy as a complementing theory to framing and pinpointing the goals that the two theories can assist this thesis in, this section presents the three levels of political economic structures and processes that influence frame building and will be explored empirically. The first level of influence consists

of the national media system constellations, as well as of the market and ownership structures.

3.3.1 The National Media System

The investigation of media systems has been a growing field in media research, especially since the seminal work of Hallin and Mancini (2004) who proposed three classifications of media systems; namely the Liberal model consisting of the US and the UK, the Democratic Corporatist model consisting of central and northern European countries, and the Polarized Pluralist model consisting of southern European countries (ibid). Since Comparing Media Systems was published a number of criticisms have been addressed towards the classifications developed by Hallin and Mancini. For example Pippa Norris (2009) argues that their framework lacks in several areas that need to be addressed before their models become an accepted conceptual typology. Hallin and Mancini actually endorse this criticism arguing that 'we intended our book to begin a process of developing an adequate framework for comparative analysis in this area, not to end it' (2012b, p. 54). Therefore, this section presents the typology that Hallin and Mancini (2004) have developed to classify European media systems, in order to shed light on how it can contribute to understanding the frame building process, but also how the frame analysis itself can enhance understanding of the workings of a media system.

Hallin and Mancini (2004, p. 8) argue that one cannot fully understand the news media without grasping the nature of the political and economic interests and the interrelationships they have among them and with the media. Therefore, the models they have developed try to capture those relationships as well as the historical conditions that have brought them about. Their models are based on a framework for the normative evaluation of media systems, consisting of four dimensions. These four dimensions are: a) The development of media markets and especially the press, b) The degree and nature of political parallelism, or the links between the media and the political system, c) the development of journalistic professionalism, and d) the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system (ibid). The systemic constellations of the media in a nation are very important in understanding how power works within that system, as they capture the relationship between media

organizations, politics, and the economy. The balance of powers between the media system, the political system, the economic system, and the state define what kind of power constellation exists in each country (ibid). Understanding the balance of powers in a media system is crucial because it can indicate how the macro level impacts journalistic practices, and ultimately how this affects frame building.

The first dimension concerns the development of the media market in each country and especially the press (Hallin and Mancini 2004). The important factors in this dimension concern both quantity and quality, as media systems are classified based on the level of development of the mass circulation press, as well as, the nature of the newspapers and their relation with their audience and their position in the process of political communication. Media in the Polarized Pluralist Model are involved in a horizontal process of communication among elite factions, are politicized in content, and addressed to a small elite that's already politically active (ibid). On the other hand the newspapers of Northern Europe are part of a vertical process of communication between political elites and ordinary citizens, given that they are addressed to a mass public (ibid). The fact that media in Southern Europe have low circulations means that political actors often subsidize them, which also impacts their development as a political institution.

The second dimension is the degree and nature of political parallelism, or in simpler terms the relationship that the media system has with the political system in the country. Although no media system in the world is literally neutral, Hallin and Mancini argue that: 'Important differences have persisted among media systems in the strength of connections between the media and political actors and in the balance between the advocacy and neutral/informational traditions of political journalism' (2004, p. 27). The classification of countries within a media system is assisted by the concept of political parallelism, meaning the level of association of a media organization with a general political tendency (ibid). The indicators that are used to assess how strong political parallelism is within a system have to do with media content and how strongly it reflects a political tendency, the organizational connections between media and political parties or organizations, the tendency of media personnel to be active in political life often serving in party or public offices, the partisanship of media audiences, and finally the journalistic role orientation and

practices between a publicist role and a more neutral role of providing information (ibid). One of the most relevant criticisms to Hallin and Mancini's models comes from Pippa Norris (2009, p. 335-336 in Hardy 2012) when she argues that we cannot fully understand media partisanship without looking at content. Hallin and Mancini (2012b) argue that a lot can be accomplished with small comparisons of content and that content analysis across systems is one of the more fundamental needs in the field. There have been studies that successfully investigate the influence of media systems on frames. For example Strömbäck and Luengo (2008) compare framing between Sweden and Spain in election news coverage whereas Strömbäck and Dimitrova (2006) compare framing between Sweden and the USA. Both studies demonstrate that the context of the country where news is produced impacts the selection of frames. However, these approaches are quantitative and compare generic frames that uncover journalistic routines, such as episodic/thematic framing and the tendency to cover politics as a horserace. Therefore, they do not account for the wider process of frame building, the multiple levels of influence, and the specific manner in which each level contributes to the process, which is one of the aims of this thesis.

The third dimension of a country's media system is the level of journalistic professionalization, which concerns the professional norms that guide a journalist's job (Hallin and Mancini 2004). In countries with higher levels of journalistic professionalization the norms of neutrality and objectivity are upheld, whereas in countries with low journalistic professionalization it is often the case that the media become instruments in the hands of their owners, meaning that the media have a clear goal in furthering the interests of their owner and the journalists are aware of that (ibid). Media operating in countries with high journalistic professionalization are more likely to adhere to the liberal ideal of neutrality, which translates in a seeming lack of apparent commentary. Newspapers that operate in countries with low professionalization, or even instrumentalization of the media, often take part in political disputes, supporting either one party or the other, and also there is a strong chance that they will quite often shift their support, in concurrence with their ownership's goals (ibid).

The final dimension that Hallin and Mancini (2004) explore when comparing media systems is the amount and nature of state intervention in the media system. The state

can intervene with its policies in matters of media ownership, funding and regulation. Another manner of state intervention is government advertising as a form of state subsidy. Finally, as Hall et al. (1978, in Hallin and Mancini 2004, p. 44) argue the state always has an important role as a source of information and as a 'primary definer' of news with a lot of influence in the framing of public issues.

Another important criticism to Hallin and Mancini's (2004) classifications that is also relevant to this research concerns the Polarized Pluralist Model and whether it is considered as inferior to the other models by the authors. There are two relevant criticisms towards the conceptualization of the Polarized Pluralist Model. The first is that Hallin and Mancini (2004) demonstrate a 'normative bias' by portraying the media of Southern Europe as backwards in comparison to their northern European counterparts. The second criticism comes from Albuquerque who notes that the Polarized Pluralist Model 'is defined in a negative manner relative to the Liberal and the Democratic Corporatist Models' (2011, p. 75) pointing to the definition of the Polarized Pluralist Model through its differences with the other models. In response to those criticisms Hallin and Mancini have argued that their intention was to 'construct empirical, rather than normative models of media systems' (2012b, p. 60). Furthermore, they are explicit in Comparing Media Systems (2004) that they have found no evidence that the media in Southern Europe are deficient in terms of their democratic performance. Additionally they argue that:

> In fact, in the countries we discuss under the Polarized Pluralist Model there tends to be a very active democratic life, characterized by high levels of participation in community, and particularly in political life, high voting turnout and a very lively public sphere where different views meet and contend in various ways including through the mass media. The politicization of media in Southern Europe, though it may be seen as normatively problematic in some ways, is intimately related to this active democratic life (2012b, p. 61).

Finally, Hallin and Mancini attempt to overturn the negative normative image of the Polarized Pluralist Model by proposing to see the models through their positive analytical characteristics, such as 'pluralism, partisanship – which is certainly as

significant a form of media agency as professionalism – a strong political role of the media, a close relation between the political and media fields'. Therefore, it needs to be stated that this research employs the Hallin and Mancini models in an analytical manner, rather than a normative, and therefore it does not suggest that the two other models are the best and the case under investigation is ordered on the basis of its distance to them. Rather, the specific case is investigated empirically with the Hallin and Mancini models employed as analytical tools and both positive and problematic traits of the national system under investigation are noted.

On the final chapter of Comparing Media Systems, Hallin and Mancini (2004) argue that by the beginning of the twenty-first century the differences between the media systems of advanced western capitalist countries had diminished. They list a number of forces that they believe push the systems towards a convergence on the Liberal Model (ibid). The chapter garnered a lot of criticism, especially from Hardy (2008), on grounds of persisting differences among the systems. Hallin and Mancini revisited their position in 2012, clarifying that subsequent research (Benson and Hallin 2007, Aalberg et al 2010, in Hallin and Mancini 2012b) confirms that indeed the differences among systems persist. Furthermore, they argue that 'media practices take their meaning within wider structural and cultural contexts; we do not believe that media practices or institutions can simply be transferred across contexts without being transformed' (ibid, p. 63-64). Framing theory can contribute to this debate, by shedding light on the media practices that take place during the frame building process and making sense of what those practices reveal regarding the constellation of power among the structures that consist a media system. It is then possible that through the examination of the frame building process changes in the media systems, as Hallin and Mancini (2004) classified them, will be noted.

3.3.2 Media Ownership Concentration

The second dimension of the macro level of power is the structure of the media ownership. Mosco discusses spatialization, or as it has been addressed in the political economy of communication 'the institutional extension of corporate power in the communication industry' (1996, p. 175). This growth has been addressed in terms of corporate concentration. One of the themes of research is the North American focus

on patterns of ownership concentration (ibid). Media concentration is understood in its horizontal and vertical forms. Horizontal concentration leads typically to cross-media concentration, whereas the typical example of vertical integration is the creation of conglomerate ownership, which combines firms in different lines of business (Murdock and Golding 1974). Corporations integrate with other firms in the market as a way of reducing uncertainties, when they do not control all the parts of the production process and need to depend on external markets to complete it.

There are three approaches to media concentration (Mastrini and Becerra 2013). The first approach is a marketing approach focused on the impact of consolidation on advertising rates and does not concern over concentration unless there is a monopoly. The second approach is the pluralist one which supports state intervention to curb the negative effects of concentration (ibid). The third approach is the critical, which sees ownership concentration as a dynamic process, constituted by markets, politics, technology, culture, and the main mechanisms through which capitalism achieves legitimization (ibid). The critical approach takes a firm stance against media concentration. Ben Bagdikian (1986) argues that ownership concentration diminishes the inclusion of critical voices in the media, and that media owners promote their values and interests through the outlets they control, either indirectly through the self-censorship of editors, or directly through the changing or spiking of texts. However, Murdock and Golding (1974) warn against the condemnation of monopoly and concentration per se, without explicating the reasons behind those denunciations. Secondly they warn against the production of anecdotal accounts of isolated events of suppression or manipulation, arguing that it is more important for political economists to look for systematic and general constrains on information, which derive from the necessities of working within the logics of the capitalist system. What Murdock and Golding stress is the importance of not focusing on cases of media ownership directly interjecting on the work of journalists, but on the everyday practices and choices that journalists have to make when producing a news piece.

McChesney (1999) is also concerned with media ownership concentration, arguing that market logic and convergence are turning the global media oligopoly into an even larger communication oligopoly. Murdock (1990) stresses that media ownership concentration is important, because rising costs for entering the media market limit

the number of people that can own media outlets and distort the idealized role of the press. However, the relationship between media ownership concentration and diversity of voice is not linear. Therefore, introducing more players into the market does not guarantee the inclusion of more critical voices. Doyle (2012) argues that there are a number of factors that need to be taken into consideration, such as the size of a market and the availability of resources, the structure of the media market, the diversity of content, sources, and innovation tendencies. Schiller also discusses the constraints posed by ownership concentration:

> Most Americans are basically, though unconsciously, trapped in what amounts to a no-choice information bind. Variety of opinion on foreign or domestic news or, for that matter, local community business, hardly exists in the media. This results essentially from the inherent identity of interests, material and ideological, of property holders (in this case, the private owners of the communications media) and from the monopolistic character of the communications industry in general (in Wasko et al. 2014, p. 147).

Murdock and Golding discuss how the structures of the media limit the range of information made available through them:

> The range of interpretive frameworks, the ideas, concepts, facts and arguments which people use to make sense of their lives, are to a great extent dependent on media output, both fictional and non-fictional. Yet the frameworks offered are necessarily articulated with the nexus of interests producing them, and in this sense all information is ideology. To describe and explicate these interests is not to suggest a deterministic relationship, but to map the limits within which the production of mediated culture can operate (1974, p. 226).

Political economists have focused on media ownership due to their concern that ownership concentration can lead to constrained information by limited production and distribution. Downing (2014) discusses the links between media content and media control, in order to explain how publics consent to or even endorse for considerable periods of time the policies and strategies of the governing circles. In order to do that he utilizes Gramsci's concept of hegemony (ibid), the taken for

granted cultural frameworks that explain the ruling elites' authority and are challenged when crisis occurs. He argues that the role of the media in the temporal construction of hegemony needs to be explored, but that the media need to be seen as part of a larger inherited political economy and national culture (ibid). Faraone also makes a similar point when he argues that:

> For those critical of the current economic system, however, the economy of communication is understood as the pivotal linking mechanism that simultaneously engineers consumption to match production and reproduces the ideological system that supports the prevailing status quo (2014, p. 189).

One of the conceptions of concentration (Wasko 1984, 1994) takes into account the market but shifts the focus from the multiplicity of product to its diversity. Research has proven that the sheer number of outlets does not guarantee diversity, as it is important that we look into the diversity in content and opinion. Those researchers that adopt this broader view argue that it is impossible to measure the level of concentration, however it is useful to paint the picture of content variety within a media market. On the other hand they argue that the narrower view that focuses on market share fails to account for concentration by providing a mechanistic and inadequate barometer. Frame analysis can provide a useful insight here and this research can contribute by offering framing as a tool to make sense of how the media constrict democratic debate (Entman 1993) through the process of frame building within media messages. Although the main concern of the thesis is to examine how political economy can enhance understanding of the frame building process, at the same time the examination of this process can contribute to political economic debates as well.

3.3.3 The Commercial Nature of Information: The Structure of the Market

Murdock and Golding (1974) argue that in order to analyze power relations within a society, as well as the process of legitimatizing class relations, it is important to analyze the economic context and the political consequences of the media. The starting point of Murdock and Golding (1974) is that they understand the media as an industrial and commercial organization that produces and distributes commodities,

enmeshed in the wider economic situation through reciprocal investments with other industrial concerns and through advertising. The fact that advertising is the economic basis of the media makes them vulnerable to setbacks in the economy (ibid).

Manning (2001) argues that broadsheet quality newspapers tend to have much lower circulation rates than popular papers and in that sense they are dependent on advertising revenue for their financial success. Furthermore, he (ibid) argues that dependence on advertising income constrains editorial strategy, because of the market logic it brings into journalism. The advertisers often pay more for access to middle and higher income readers and this has an impact on the editorial choices of a newspaper. Curran (1978) demonstrates this by pointing at the financial difficulties of left-of-center newspapers, due to the association of socialist and left positions with lower income readers from the advertisers. This structural dimension of the advertising market creates a tendency to promote the powerful and disadvantage the subordinate in media content. Manning (2001) points to why these patterns should concern us, arguing that such commercial imperatives and market structures have an impact on the range and nature of political discourse that is disseminated through the media.

Murdock and Golding (1974) also point out that at the heart of this system is the commercial nature of information that compels journalists and editors to package and sell this information with the goal of economic survival. In order to achieve this economic survival, information must be increasingly moderate, apolitical and entertainment-oriented. Murdock and Golding (ibid) quote an editor of the London Evening Standard who admits that dropping revenues for a newspaper affect its editorial operation by reducing political commentary and increasing the reliance on agency sources. In that case, the news becomes a means of handling social change and explaining threats away as temporary, deviant or inconsequential. Conflicts of interest and complex political processes are reduced to 'a necessary concentration on the arresting mythologies of the superficial drama of legislative life' (ibid, p. 227). However, it must be pointed out that Murdock and Golding draw their conclusions from examining media in the UK, therefore, as the previous section on the national media systems indicated the influence of the market structure can differentiate in other contexts. Therefore, this is another area where an analysis of frame building can

be guided by theory, but at the same time it can shed light to how different power constellations can impact journalistic practices.

Looking at the commodity form in communication, Mosco (1996) argues that political economy has emphasized on the structural forms that produce, distribute and exchange communication commodities, as well as the state functions of regulating these structures. Corporate and state structures and institutions have been the main point of focus for political economy, whereas, whenever the commodity itself was foregrounded the emphasis was on its embodiment in media content, media audiences and to a much lesser extend to the labour process in the communication industries. Although Mosco (ibid) does not underestimate the importance of institutions, he argues that more attention needs to be paid to the commodity form of the media and the commodification of audiences and labour.

Understanding media content as a commodity entails the process of transforming bits of information to systems of meaningful thought and then on to marketable products. Communication is a very powerful commodity because on top of producing surplus value it contains messages, symbols, and meanings, which help construct consciousness (Mosco 1996). The conclusion of this perspective has been that the media produce messages that reflect the interests of capital, and although the process is far from deterministic and straightforward, the messages tent to promote the interests of capital as a whole and specific class fractions. Murdock and Golding (1974) also view the mass media as an industry producing commodities with cultural values, and they argue that the mass media also disseminate ideas about economic and political structures. The result concerning the relationship between societal institutions and the media is 'a close inter-weaving within concrete institutions and within their specific commodity forms of the economic, the political and the ideological' (1974, p .132). Garnham, however, offers an alternative formulation in order to address concerns about the tendency to emphasize the meaning of ideological dimension of media production. Garnham sees the media as:

> Economic entities with both a direct economic role as creators of surplus value through commodity production and exchange, and an indirect role, through

advertising, in the creation of surplus value within other sectors of commodity production (1979, p. 132).

The point that Garnham is making is that the ideological part of the media has been embedded in the process of production. Therefore by investigating the process of the production of the media commodity, how the ideological function has been embedded in the process can be unveiled, instead of looking for instrumental functions of the media. It is because of this ideological dimension of the mass media that they are very important and interesting to research and why it is crucial to approach their investigation not only in terms of economics, but also in terms of politics. However, it is important to acknowledge the ideological role of the media and their role within the state apparatus, but also to demonstrate how this ideology is produced in concrete practice (ibid). As it was argued in the previous sections framing is a suitable theory to probe how the media produce ideology in concrete practice.

3.4 The Meso Level of Power Influence: Mediating structural power through labour

Having examined the structures of the macro level, it is important to explore the middle level of power. This level consists of the processes of commodifying journalistic labour and its product, the process of modernizing journalism through the inclusion of new technologies in daily practice, as well as the organizational structure of the newspaper. This intermediate level of power influence is the mediator through which the power of the structural (macro) level is translated to the daily practice of journalism and constrains journalistic agency on the micro level, through processes of labour commodification and intensification.

3.4.1 The Process of Labour Commodification: Declining Material Conditions and Labour Elimination Processes

Mosco (1996) argues that political economists have not adequately addressed the labour process in the production of media commodities, because of the craft and professional traditions that are dominant in the media industries. Political economy has emphasized the individual creative dimensions of media production, however, he

(ibid) posits that such a focus obscures a complex process of production, which has come to look more like the labour process in the general economy. The labour process of news production has been addressed by sociology (Tuchman 1978, Gans 1979), which has provided insightful research examining the organizational planning and the production processes of news production. These organizational processes have been put in place in news industries in order to smoothen out and make the process more predictable. Although this strand of research points to political and economic influences, Mosco (1996) argues that these influences have been left untheorized, however, as the coming paragraphs will demonstrate, there have been efforts to close that gap. On the other hand, Mosco accuses political economic research of replacing the essentialism of administration for the economic essentialism of the market. The organizational literature challenges political economy to:

> Develop a position that examines the process of production foregrounding political and economic power, specifically the commodification of labor. This would constitute an important link between institutional and textual analysis that retains the materialist strength of a political economic approach (1996, p. 159).

Mosco (1996) identifies some steps in that direction in research that investigates the introduction of new technologies, as well as, in research that looks into how work is being transformed through the changing patterns of employment and the changing nature of labour in the industry.

McChesney (2008) argues that corporate cutbacks and erosion of journalistic standards pose a challenge for the successful provision of journalism, which he views to be in crisis. In order to justify this he looks at the historical development of US journalism and criticizes the introduction of professional journalism as the antidote to the early 20th century crisis. The media system in the US in the 19th century was subsidized and partisan and McChesney (ibid) argues that such a system can offer a lot to democracy as long as there are numerous well-subsidized outlets providing a long range of opinions. For McChesney (ibid) the problem began with the intensification of commercial pressures and the prevalence of the logic of accumulation, which led to a less competitive media market that reflected the views

of the wealthy individuals who owned the media. The partisan press now reflected largely the interests of one class. Professionalization of journalists and depoliticizing of content (objectivity) was seen as the answer to this crisis. However, McChesney (ibid) sees that the theory of professional journalism has one problem, the inescapable decision making involved in journalism when deciding which story gets better coverage and the central narratives that are embedded in the news story, making it impossible to provide neutral and objective news.

One of the processes that undermine the professionalization of journalism according to McChesney (2008) is commercialization. The commercial attack on the autonomy of journalism has many forms. Firstly there has been a push towards cutbacks in the resources allocated to journalists. The effects of this budget cutting have been negative, with a relaxation of professional news standards (ibid). The nature of what gets covered and how it gets covered has also been impacted by budget cutting, since fewer reporters means that it is easier for PR executives to get their messages through unadulterated by journalism (ibid). When there are factual disputes between two sources the commercial pressures translate into reporters not looking into which one is telling the truth. Also journalists are more interested in putting political debate in terms of strategies, rather than looking at the actual facts. Furthermore, journalists face increasing pressures from management to take into consideration the commercial needs of the parent firms (ibid). The commercial pressures put on journalism are also pushing journalists to target and attract the most lucrative audience, which ends up with journalism directed at the middle and upper classes, ignoring the poor and working classes (ibid). Of course McChesney (2008) has written this with the example of the media system of the United States in mind. It is important to note that in countries with different systemic constellations and where journalistic professionalism has a different tradition, diminishing resources for journalists can have different effects on content, and that investigations of the frame building process can also shed light on the process of commercialization.

Political economists also investigate the exercise of class power in the workplace though the elimination of labour, such as job losses, wage cuts, and general diminishing of journalistic resources and the Greek case, especially after the crisis, has a lot to contribute to this strand of work. Andrea Carson (2014) has engaged in

research that addresses some of these issues in the context of Australia. More specifically she is researching how the declining advertising and circulation revenues, closures and cutbacks impact investigative reporting of corporate wrongdoing. She concludes that prior and during the global economic crisis the print newspapers failed to adequately scrutinize corporate power (ibid). More specifically Carson (ibid) argues that the redundancies caused by the financial crisis severely challenge the capacity of media groups to conduct investigative journalism. The structural changes to newspapers are not unique to Australia but are faced by all media companies across liberal democracies. Carson (ibid) also argues that declining investigative reporting of corporate power is also explained by the facts that advertising is the main source of income for the newspapers, meaning that they do not wish to antagonize their advertisers, and also it points out to newspapers being captured by their sources.

3.4.2 Labour Intensification Through the Introduction of New Technologies in the Work Place

Political economic research addresses the concern of a lack of theorizing that incorporates political and economic influences when investigating the introduction of new technologies and the impact that they have on journalistic practices (Mosco 1996). Such research was especially undertaken after the rising prominence of 'information society' (Castells 2009) theories that see the advancing of new technologies as an epochal shift that should fundamentally change media research as well. Garnham (1998 in Curran 2004) challenges this assumption arguing that the new technologies introduced in society reflect nothing more that a cumulative shift in methods of production and the part played by information workers, instead of a revolutionary shift.

Discussing the new and available technology in the 1980's and the claims that this technology gave people the means to control information Garnham (1990) argued that control of television did not only reside in technology but also in the allocation of spectrum, the assembling of skills and talent and the possession of significant amounts of capital. In the same manner Curran and Seaton (2002) discussing newspapers argued that new printing technologies in the 1980s did not undermine the

economic advantages of large press groups that continued to dominate the market. Frank Webster concurs:

> There can be no doubt that, in advanced nations, information has grown in economic significance, as the substance of much work, and in amounts of symbolic output. But the idea that all such might signal the shift toward a new society, an information society, is mistaken. Indeed, what is most striking are the continuities of the present age with previous social and economic arrangements, informational developments being heavily influenced by familiar constrains and priorities (2006).

What those arguments indicate is the importance of the distribution of economic and cultural resources in society, their influence on new technologies and the constraints that they pose on their emancipatory effects. Discussing the likely impact of the Internet on the press Sparks argues: 'it is likely to exacerbate existing tendencies to separate politics and ordinary life, and to concentrate public debate and information in just a few hands' (2000, p. 289). However, it is important to stress the non-deterministic relationship of technology concerning social impact. Raymond Williams (in Mosco 2004) argues that technology is little more than a congealed social relationship, and good as well as evil outcomes are possible, as it becomes everyday banality.

One example of technology as a congealed social relationship is the impact that it has on the labour of communication. Mosco (2004) argues that the replacement of mechanical with electronic systems facilitated the cutting of thousands of jobs. In similar fashion he (ibid) argues that this process is expanded now through the introduction of digital systems that intensify journalistic labour by adding the roles of editor and page producer to that of the reporter. Furthermore, the introduction of new technologies in the newsroom impacts the structuring of journalistic work. Digital technologies are eroding the former boundaries of time and space, since online-based media are reporting on news as they happen. This potentially changes the role of newspapers and effectively impacts the organizational culture of journalists, their professional ideology, and important elements of news production as Sparks (2004) points out. Finally, Sparks (ibid) discusses the impact of new technologies and more

specifically the Internet as a direct market competitor to offline media. Newspapers depend on advertising income to survive and the proliferation of online based outlets poses new constrains on their revenue making capabilities which in turn further impact the work and nature of journalism through further job loses and intensification of the labour process (ibid).

However, it is important not to adopt a deterministic outlook when investigating the impact of new technologies on journalistic labour. As Henrik Örnebring (2010) explains, there is a persistent tendency among journalists to explain their working practices as an outcome of the introduction of new technologies in the workplace, due to the proximity of technology on their everyday working life. However, new technologies in journalism need to be perceived as Braverman (1974, in Örnebring 2010) describes them, as servants of capitalism rather than forces in themselves. Örnebring (2010, p. 64) argues that changes in journalistic labour are 'not so much driven by technological necessity as by the capitalist necessity to reduce overall labor costs' and substantiates his argument by including Marjoribanks (2000, in Örnebring 2010) and Ursell's (2004, in Örnebring 2010) research, which claims that technology is a tool that allows managers to implement organizational changes that make labour more cost-effective and easier to control. Therefore, although journalists understand technology as the driving factor behind the intensification of their labour, it is important to keep in mind that it is the capitalist necessity of commodification and commercialization that employs new technologies as a tool that is the driving force. Therefore another important contribution that this thesis can make is through the investigation of how the introduction of new technologies, as a vehicle for capitalist necessities, impacts journalistic practices and ultimately frame building.

3.5 The Micro Level of Power Influence: The Impact of Structural Power on Daily Journalistic Practice

The micro-level consists of structuration theory, which captures the agency of the individual journalist in relation to structural power, and the relationships between journalists and political sources, which are very important in explaining the practices responsible for frame building. It is at this level that the aforementioned processes at

the intermediate level take place, enforcing the power of the structural level, posing constraints on journalistic practices and therefore shaping the frame building process.

3.5.1 Structuration Theory: Journalistic Agency Constrained by Structural Power

Structuration theory was developed by Anthony Giddens (1984) to analyze the constitution of social systems through the theorem of the duality of structure. Giddens (ibid) develops a model, which argues for a reciprocal relationship between agency and structure where the constitution of agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomena, a dualism, but represent a duality. Giddens argues that:

> The structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively. Structure is not "external" to individuals: as memory traces, and as instantiated in social practices, it is in a certain sense more "internal" than exterior to their activities in a Durkheimian sense. Structure is not to be equated with constraint but is always both constraining and enabling (ibid, p. 25).

Furthermore, Giddens (ibid) posits that time and space are essential co-ordinates in the constitution of social praxis. Giddens' conceptualization of structuration theory and method provides with a very useful analytical tool to probe any institution or system, wherein human agents participate, in order to make sense of how said institution or system could both constrain and enable the activities of the agent. However, it needs to be noted that Giddens' structuration theory has also come under criticism, especially from scholars embarking from the Marxist tradition. O'Boyle argues that:

> Giddens' rules are pale shadows of the structural constraints envisaged within the Marxist tradition. Giddens undoubtedly pays lip serve to the importance of the social context, but his relentless reduction of structures to praxis means that institutions are always what people produce, never what they are forced to confront (2013, p. 1021).

Furthermore, Alex Callinicos (1985) posits that despite Giddens' claim that structuration theory transcends long-standing dualisms in reality it remains firmly riveted to the pole of human agency. Therefore, although structuration theory is necessary in order to probe social systems, there needs to be an understanding of how social structures can have both an enabling, but more importantly a constraining role in the actions of agents. Social systems do not exist in a vacuum inoculated from power imbalances, and although social agents retain their agency at the same time they exercise that agency within structures and rules that lie beyond their control.

Mosco's (1996) application of structuration theory can address these criticisms from Marxist scholars, by suggesting a political economy approach to the concept, as he embarks from Giddens' structuration theory but applies the concept in communication and journalism: 'Structuration balances the tendency in political economic analysis to feature structures, typically business and governmental institutions, by addressing and incorporating the ideas of agency, social relations, social process, and social practice' (1996, p. 213). Garnham's (1990) argument that agency cannot be analyzed in the absence of structures, because structure provides the medium out of which agency operates concurs with structuration theory. Mosco (1996) explains: 'Structuration theory is an approach to social life that aims to address goal-oriented, reflexive human action, without giving up on understanding the "sutures" of power that mutually constitute social action' (p. 213). One of the problems with the duality of structure and agency is that research tends to focus on agency, turning structure into a set of operating rules. Mosco (1996) argues that political economy retains the duality of structure and agency, but gives more importance to power, by performing large-scale or macro-analyses of power. This approach is then combined with the microanalysis by looking at how power operates at the constitutive, interactive, or micro-level of power, as a way of understanding agency.

Commenting on the role of individuals within institutions Cook is arguing that:

> Political scientists such as William Riker and Kenneth Shepsle have argued that even if equilibrium and stability cannot arise out of individual preferences, each might be "structure-induced". Although, because of the

prominent role of the skill of individual actors the experimental and empirical evidence is thin at best for such structure-induced equilibria, this does not deny that while a particular choice may not be foreordained by structural arrangements, the possibility that some choice can be made at all may depend on them (1998, p. 68).

And then he concludes:

> Institutions are social patterns of behavior identifiable across the organizations that are generally seen within a society to preside over a particular social sphere. Although they make choice possible, the inherent cognitive difficulty of linking given practices to particular outcomes means that particular practices cannot be identified as the most beneficial, and all rules are valued in and of themselves unless and until they demonstrably harm the achievement of important goals. The rules and procedures that constitute institutions are understood as the quasi-natural way to get things done. As such, they endure over time and extend over space, and are widely recognized both within the organizations that constitute the institutions as well as from outside as all performing similar jobs that occupy a central place in the society and polity (1998, p. 71).

What Cook (1998) is saying here is that the patterns of behaviour of journalists shaped by material and historic conditions have crystalized into acceptable practices of journalistic work. By looking into those practices the complex picture of the political role of the media and the struggles of the various actors and tendencies that ultimately shape media content can be described. The limits to journalistic agency are defined by those crystalized practices, and although deviation from the norms is still possible, it is very likely that journalists will operate within those limits (ibid). Sousa and Fidalgo discuss how the structure of the market guides journalistic practices:

> The "invisible" daily commercial pressures might have a more significant impact on the daily choices journalists are expected to make. Due to the increasing fragmentation of audiences and the concomitant reduction of

advertising revenues, media companies are under increasing pressure and most journalists perform in commercial contexts (2014, p. 297).

Therefore it is important for any research that aspires to understand how journalistic practices are influenced by structures and then influence the process of frame building to ascertain how this practices have been historically formed, and their current state. This is important because journalistic institutions are both concrete and dynamic, so it is important to look at how journalism is practiced during the period examined, shedding light both on how the structures impact the process of frame building through structuration, but also what these practices reflect about the structures themselves.

3.5.2 Media-Source relationships: The Negotiation of Newsworthiness

Timothy Cook (1998) developed a model that views the mass media as a political institution and journalists as political actors. Conceptualizing the media as a political institution, Cook (ibid) contents that the news are coproduced by the news media and the government, but also views policy as the result of collaboration and conflict among newspersons, officials, and other political actors. Gans describes the relationship between journalists and sources as 'a dance, for sources seek access to journalists, and journalists seek access to sources. Although it takes two to tango, either sources or journalists can lead, but more often than not, sources do the leading' (1979, p. 116).

Cook (1998) argues that two factors impact the production of news in the American media. The first is the structural bias towards established and powerful sources and the second factor consists of the production values of the media themselves. McChesney (2008) concurs arguing that one of the three deep-seated biases found in the professional code of journalists is that in order to appear objective in the selection of news stories professional journalists follow official sources and not what they consider to be important. Therefore, if something is not in the agenda of official sources then it is likely not going to be covered by the media. Cook (1998) explains that there are two ways with which the media enter the authoritative allocation of values, thus becoming a political institution. The first one is by reinforcing political

power or providing a platform through which official actors may pursue their goals (ibid). So instead of actually participating in the allocation of values they augment and validate the power of those that have the authority to do so. But Cook (1998) explains that this is not the only thing the media do. The media are partially independent from their sources in producing news content and they can influence who is authoritative, what the values of politics are, and which allocations are made.

Cook (1998) discusses bias by stating that news is necessarily selective, but this selectivity does not translate into bias by itself. He argues that selectivity leads to bias when the same actors, stories, and issues become more and more favourably covered than others. This is concurrent with Entman's (2007) definition of framing bias, which argues that it is important to reveal consistent patterns of framing. The journalistic routines mean that the majority of reporters are positioned to encounter certain kind of sources, gather certain kinds of information and therefore create certain kind of stories (Cook 1998). However, proving that one political actor is consistently covered more favourably does not mean that the news organization is biased since there are different types of bias. Cook (1998) argues that the structural bias derived by the demands of the medium is more important than political bias derived from political preferences of the medium or newspersons or situational bias derived from the behaviour of the political actor and its suitability for coverage. Moreover, he argues that in order to connect the work that journalists perform with the products they create, it is important to look at the work routines of journalism and the implicit biases they contain. He argues that:

> The search for newsworthy stories and newsworthy events does not equally favor all political actors and all issues. Given that news is commonsensically expected to be both important and interesting, journalists defer to official sources to cue them into important events and issues but are more inclined to reserve the power to decide whether something is interesting enough to run prominently in the news (ibid, p. 89).

This power and bias from the side of the journalists Cook (1998) argues is wielded because of the power of objectivity. In an effort to adhere to the value of objectivity and conceal their own ideas the journalists implicitly include other values, more

specifically the ones that are inherent in their work routines and in the ideas of what makes a 'quality' story (ibid). This is also congruent with McChesney's (2008) deep-seated biases found in the processional code journalists, and more specifically the second and third biases. The second bias is that professional journalism avoids contextualization in order to avoid the accusation of partisan bias (ibid). The third bias is the most important, because the values of the commercial aims of the owners and advertisers are 'smuggled in', leading to a focus on government malpractice but not on the actions of big business (ibid).

Because of this built-in conflict Cook contents that the process of news making becomes a 'negotiation of newsworthiness' (1998, p. 90) which stands for the constant if implicit negotiations between political sources and journalists. Each side controls important resources and there are different levels in the process (ibid). One of the levels is the battle over where the negotiations will take place, with the political sources having the upper hand in setting the terms. The second level is the explicit interactions within those forums and the final level consists of the implicit negotiations going on after each party is out of sight of the other, with sources anticipating what is likely to enter the news and journalists returning to their organization to write their pieces (ibid).

The first part is the negotiation of the process of newsmaking, with sources having a lot of power in this part, since journalists need them in order to secure quotes and information (Cook 1998), and they retain control over which journalists they talk to and what they say. The second part is the negotiation of content that determines what the story will be about and which colouration it will be given by the journalist (ibid). Sources have less power in the negotiation of content as they have no control over the testimonies of other authoritative sources, or other stories that can take attention away from what they are saying (ibid). Therefore, the fact that the news media rely on official sources does not guarantee how these events are ultimately covered. The official sources provide the raw material but the final choice of how to frame that material remains with the journalist. Cook (ibid) argues that to understand how journalists construct a news story we must consider how their production values affect the political tone and impact of their reports. Their production values have an impact on which political actors they favour, more so than their political declinations. The

result of this process is that the news that appears on mass media may well be quite different than the preferred spin of the political actors. Even in stories that are instigated by political sources, the journalists have the ultimate power to the content, as they can quote alternative sources and enter their own comments and spin on the story (ibid). Of course, continuing access to powerful sources is something that the reporters keep in mind, but they also need to please their superiors, so they provide stories that maximize production values of vividness and clarity, alongside the journalistic values of balance and neutrality (ibid). Cook also discusses the power of the journalists to contribute to the news:

> The journalistic contribution to the news is, not surprisingly, even greater in other circumstances: for instance, when reporters can pick and choose among a range of opinionated authoritative sources; when they can compare current performance to past promises; when they have another story to weave in; and so forth (ibid, p. 106).

Cook's description of these micro journalistic processes is a very useful one, however, it does not completely theorize the macro level influences of ownership and organizational structure, the systemic relationships between media organizations and politics, and the national journalistic culture. In that case, what holds true for the US media can prove quite different in varying contexts. Allern and Blach-Orsten (2011) conducted a research that investigated the news media as a political institution in the Scandinavian context and how they are being affected by increasing commercialization. Their findings are very interesting because although they note an increased commercial incentive in the Scandinavian media they argue that they still are very much different from the Liberal Model media because they retain political and partisan ways of reporting the news because of their past. Therefore, the argument is that the political role of journalists is retained, even when it is argued that market imperatives produce objective journalism. The commercial pressures applied to journalists are a way of camouflaging the class interests of the media owners (ibid). Another piece of research that looks at the media as an institution and investigates their relationship with the state and business is Anker Brink Lund's (2007) paper on Scandinavian media markets. He argues that the role of the media in the Democratic Corporatist Model is to play a role not only as commercial marketers, but also as a

public arena for consensus-seeking debate. He moves on to investigate whether Scandinavian media are converging towards the liberal model or diverging by looking at the political economy of the media system in each Scandinavian country.

However, these scholars looking at the media as a political institution in the Scandinavian context have not actually demonstrated how these structures influence content. Therefore, here lies another gap in knowledge that this research addresses. The area not explored so far, is the connection of journalism's political role with the process of frame building. This gap is congruent with the identified gap in framing literature, concerning a lack of a multi-level analysis of power in the frame building process. How do the negotiations between politicians and journalists impact how issues are covered in the media and the frames that end up being embedded in media texts? Timothy Cook (1998) addresses this, but in the context of the American media and also on the specific time frame that he was working in. Therefore, it is important to look at how the negotiation of newsworthiness and framing work in a different cultural and economic background. Furthermore, his analysis is temporally fixed due to the lack of the macro level. The global economic crisis has severely impacted media organizations, and therefore it is safe to assume that the negotiation of newsworthiness has been impacted as well. A journalist working in a crisis stricken media organization, with dwindling resources will not have the time or the resources to actually perform his tasks, thus increasing the power of the source not only to point to what piece of the agenda will be discussed but also affect how it will be discussed. Therefore, framing can contribute here by shedding light on the framing struggles among political economic structures, which is the second aim of this thesis, on top of the first aim regarding how political economic structures can enhance our understanding of the frame building process.

4. Theoretical Framework: Combining the Framing and Political Economy Literatures

This chapter discusses how the relevant literatures presented so far can be combined to address the research questions of this thesis, presenting the theoretical connections between framing and political economy, in order to achieve three aims. The first aim is to theoretically make sense of how the three levels of power inform the understanding of frame building, by pinpointing how each level contributes to the process. The second aim is to establish what the news frames themselves can indicate regarding the power struggles and the relationships among the political economic structures that shape their application in the media. The third and final aim is to combine framing and political economic theory, in order to shed light on the role of the media in constructing democratic debate.

D'Angelo (2002) identifies four goals that framing research addresses, and three of them are relevant here; namely the identification of frames, the investigation of the production of said frames, and the understanding of how news frames construct social realities and frame public debates. Therefore, this chapter brings to light the dialectical process through which the understanding of the frame building process is enhanced by the incorporation of the insights of political economy, but at the same time the understanding of the frame building process enhances knowledge about the struggles at the structural level. Despite this dialectical relationship, the main focus of this theoretical framework is the process of frame building. This is because as Reese (2010) argues, research must privilege the 'what' questions, which concern the content of a frame and the process of frame building over the 'how' questions which focus on framing contests. Therefore by investigating the structure of the frame and how power contributes to its application in media messages, research can also uncover the ongoing framing struggles that impact the process.

4.1 Employing Political Economy to Explain the Frame Building Process

The main aim and focus of this thesis is to demonstrate the contribution of political economic theories to explanations of frames applied in media content. In order to address this aim the theoretical framework embarks from the gap in knowledge

identified in framing literature regarding the question of how the process of frame building actually works, which has not been sufficiently addressed by researchers (Borah 2011). Furthermore, this lack of frame building research is complemented by what Shoemaker and Reese (1996) describe as a lack of conceptualization of power in framing, and by Vliegenthart and van Zoonen's (2001) call for a multi-level analysis of news frames that incorporates a number of influences on the creation of news items. The argument that this theoretical framework builds is that in order to address the lack of frame building research and to fully understand the process of how frames come to be applied in news messages, it is important to address the lack of conceptualization of power as well. In other words, in order to explain the process of frame building it is important to bring in a multi-level analysis of power influences and pinpoint exactly how each level influences the structure of the frames applied in the media.

In order to create a theoretical model of power influence to the frame building process, this thesis draws from Shoemaker and Reese's (1996) levels of influence, as well as Vliegenthart and van Zoonen's (2011) call for a multi-level analysis of news frames. The outcome is a model of influences in the frame building process consisting of the macro or extramedia level, the meso or organization level, and the micro or media routines level. The macro level is constituted by the national media system, as well as the ownership and market structures, the meso level consists of the ideological leanings of the media organizations, but also of the specific strategies employed by the ownership of the organization to further commodify journalistic labour, and the micro level is constituted by journalistic agency and journalistic practices when negotiating with political sources and when constructing a news article. The first two levels are the extramedia level, and the organizational structure, as Shoemaker and Reese (1996) identify it. The micro level incorporates the influence of media/source relationships and journalistic practices, in order to address the lack of research that connects frames with multiple levels of influence (Vliegenthart and van Zoonen 2001).

The power influences of the macro and meso level consist of structures and practices mainly stemming from political economy theories, whereas the journalistic practices residing in the micro level connect Mosco's (1996) application of Giddens'

structuration theory in communication with the sociological theory of media/source relationships. This theoretical model is inspired from framing theories, such as D'Angelo's (2002) call for research that works across the framing paradigms, and Stephen Reese's (2010) research, which introduces the 'critical constructionist perspective', that understands frames as expressions and outcomes of power, but also grants participants, such as journalists a level of professional autonomy. Therefore, this theoretical model of power influences on the frame building process conceptualizes power in the structures residing in the macro and meso levels, and grants journalists agency in the micro level. However, structuration theory (Mosco 1996) suggests that agency is contingent on the constraints that the structures set on individual journalists, therefore all the levels are involved in a dialectical relationship with one another influencing the frame building process in a variety of ways that will be explored in the coming paragraphs. Furthermore, the boundaries between and across the various levels of the theoretical framework are permeable, following Giddens' (1984) structuration theory regarding the duality of structure and agency and the enabling and constraining properties of structures. That means that there are dialectical relationships between the levels and across the structures that consist each level, and that some structures can also have agency in the bigger picture of the framework. These will be further elucidated in the coming paragraphs.

In order to bring together ideas and theories from the political economy strand of research, which deals with structures and processes, with theories from sociology regarding journalistic practices, this theoretical framework employs the bridging quality of framing that Reese (2007) describes. More specifically Reese (2007) argues that framing can deliver a model, which bridges different parts of the field stemming from research within the three framing paradigms. Therefore, the structures and processes imported from political economy belong to framing research within the critical paradigm, whereas the practices of journalists when contacting political sources stem from sociology belong to framing research within the constructionist paradigm. Consequently, this research works within what Reese calls as the 'critical constructionist paradigm' (2010, p. 19).

Having established the points of origin for this theoretical framework, as well as the various levels of power influence and the structures and processes they consist of, this

section theoretically establishes how the levels interact with each other and the impact that they have on frame building. The interactions between the levels are crucial for frame building, as the structures of the macro level interact with the organizational structure in the meso level to produce outcomes in the micro level practices that shape the application of cultural frames in news messages. All of the levels have an impact in the structure of the frames located in news messages, in which frames will be featured and how, and to how these frames will evolve and/or shift through time.

The starting point of this theoretical model is the interaction of the macro level structures with the micro level journalistic practices. This interaction takes place in the meso level, where the individual media labourer struggles against the ownership of the media, and the logics of the capitalist market. The structure of the media is located in the meso level and acts as the structure that mediates the power of the structures located in the macro level to the micro level journalistic practices. This mediation is manifested through processes of labour commodification, which express the constraints posed on journalistic labour by the economic structures. Labour commodification processes in the media are expressed through labour elimination and intensification practices, as well as the process of commercialization. Labour elimination and commercialization strategies adopted by the ownership of press organizations are usually justified by the necessities of working within a capitalist market. Therefore they can be seen as meso level processes that mediate macro level structural constraints to the practices and resources of journalism, impacting frame building in the process. Cook (1998) argues that when negotiating with sources journalists employ important resources and although sources retain some power over defining which part of the agenda will be in the forefront, journalists retain the power to write their pieces as they wish controlling the framing of a story. However, the resources available to journalists are not fixed but contingent on macro level structures. McChesney (2008) describes commercialization as a process that involves budget cuts, which affect the resources allocated to journalists and negatively impact professional news standards as fewer reporters means more constrains for journalists and an enhanced capability by sources to pass their messages through the media. Therefore, frame building is impacted through the micro level and more specifically by the resources that journalists have in their negotiation with political sources. At the same time frame building is also influenced by the introduction of new technologies

in the workplace, which also impacts the resources and practices of journalists. New technologies as Örnebring (2010) argues are tools that allow managers to make labour more cost-effective and easier to control. Furthermore, Sparks (2004) argues that new technologies intensify the labour of journalists. Additionally, the proliferation of online-based outlets poses new constraints on the revenue making capabilities of newspapers, resulting to enhanced structural pressures for further labour elimination and intensification strategies at the media structure. Therefore, new technologies also have a significant impact on the practices and resources of journalists, and ultimately to frame building.

The interaction of the meso level organizational structure of the newspaper with the micro level journalistic practices and agency is also important for the analysis of frame building. Political economic literature substantiates this argument and specifically the section discussing individual agency, when operating within an institution or in other words the duality of structure and agency. Embarking from Mosco's (1996) structuration theory, which argues that structures must be employed to analyze agency since they provide the medium out of which agency operates, this framework considers daily journalistic practices to be stemming from the constraints posed by the organizational structure of the newspaper. The more constrains are posed by the media ownership, through the managerial class on journalists the less agency they are expected to have, thus producing content that is in accordance to the wishes of the ownership. However, that is not to say that journalistic agency is preordained and it's outcome foregone. As Cook explains: 'This does not deny that while a particular choice may not be foreordained by structural arrangements, the possibility that some choice can be made at all may depend on them' (1998, p. 68). To link this with Reese's (2010) critical constructionist framing paradigm, journalists are not viewed as simple passive conduits of elite frames, but texts and the frames applied in them are understood as the result of struggle. Struggle between different elite opinions, but also many times as struggle between the elites and the journalist. Of course, it is important to understand that the journalist does not command the same resources as the people owning the means of communication and the vessels of political power, and that is why the aforementioned processes curtailing journalistic resources are significant for the process as well. However, the struggle exists and its outcome is not always a given.

Furthermore, following Giddens' (1984) structuration theory the structure of the newspaper itself can also be conceptualized as an agent that is both enabled and constrained during its interaction with the macro level structures of politics and of the economy. Therefore, the final interaction that is important for frame building is the direct interaction between the macro and meso level. The macro level consisting of the constellation of power between the structures of the media ownership, market, and politics is decisive in dictating, which frames make their way in the mainstream of journalistic texts. This process is achieved through the interaction of these macro level structures with the structure of the media that shapes the editorial stance of each newspaper, and how it will align itself in accordance to the shifting realities of the constellation of powers in the macro level. The determination of the editorial stance of each newspaper is critical in the process of frame building. The aforementioned interactions between levels mediate this editorial stance to the journalists in the form of concrete practices and constrained resources and agency in order to ensure that the preferred frames and meanings of the managerial class are applied. The introduction of the structure of the market also incorporates the role of the audience and public in this framework. The framework does not explicitly discuss the role of publics in the frame building process, as it is more interested in the journalistic production process instead of how audiences interpret those frames. However, in the present hybrid media context readers can feed directly into frame building for example through their contributions in the public sphere and online media that can often contradict journalistic interpretations of issues. Instead, the public is incorporated in the frame building process in this theoretical framework through its role as the readership of newspapers and the consideration of journalists in their production process to construct articles that will appeal to the readership base of their outlet. Therefore, the role of the public is conceptualized as part of the structure of the media's marketing strategy.

In order to explain this theoretical framework in terms of where frames are found, how they operate, and the process of their application in news messages it is important to return to framing theory. This framework conceptualizes frames existing in culture, in similar terms to Van Gorp (2007). How these frames are applied in news messages is contingent on journalistic practices and resources, as scholars working in

the critical paradigm of framing have argued. These practices and resources lie on the micro level. However, following Reese's (2010) critical constructionist paradigm this framework does not view journalists as passive conduits but assigns them agency, albeit restricted as Mosco's (1996) structuration theory suggests. The structures that restrict this agency lie on the macro level and are mediated through the meso. Therefore, this is an innovative theoretical framework that combines insights from framing and political economy literature, in order to explain the process of frame building and address the first research question of this thesis. However, it needs to be noted that this theoretical framework is addressing a very specific part of the communication process, namely elite journalism. The frame building process in the modern hybrid media environment includes other components that influence it as well, for example the public, alternative media, digital and social media etc. This framework aims to capture the frame building process as it occurs in mainstream elite journalism.

4.2 Shedding Light on Political Economic Structures Through Frame Analysis

This section of the theoretical framework addresses the second research question, regarding how the frames themselves enhance our understanding of the framing struggles that take place during the frame building process and how the frames applied in the press can contribute to our knowledge about political economic structures and processes. In a way, this second research question is the mirror image of the first one, however the two questions are complementing each other in the same way that the two literatures are. Returning to Reese's (2010) argument that research must privilege the 'what' over the 'how' questions, he argues that by investigating the structure of the frame and how power contributes to its application in media messages, research can also uncover the ongoing framing struggles that impact the process. Therefore, this second research question is not the opposite of the first question, but the logical next step that captures the dialectical relationship between the frame building process and the structures that influence it.

Entman argues that 'the frame in a news text is really the imprint of power – it registers the identity of actors or interests that competed to dominate the texts' (1993, p. 55). Based on this, frame building and how the various levels of influence impact it

does not only further knowledge over the process itself but on a secondary level it also indicates how the frames themselves can contribute to the understanding of the framing struggles between invested actors that try to influence the construction of meaning in the media. In order to make sense of the struggles that take place in the background and determine which frames get attached in media content the concept of frame shifts that Lawrence (2010) suggests is a useful tool. What Lawrence suggests is that shifts in power in the world in politics will bring about shifts in news frames, as they are not static. Furthermore, Entman (2007) argues that it is important to reveal and explain persistent, politically relevant patterns in framing content. Therefore, identifying these shifts or patterns in the framing of newspapers can reveal how each newspaper aligns itself towards political power, by evaluating their overall framing. So for example in cases where an election should bring about a shift in frames, but a newspaper does not demonstrate this shift then it is safe to assume that the newspaper advocates against the party in power and so on. Patterns are more straightforward, as consistent patterns of frames that support a particular party, or political position can indicate the editorial stance of the newspaper and the aims of its ownership. But these shifts and patterns do not only reflect the political framing struggles and how they impact the editorial stance of a newspaper, but they can indicate wider insights regarding the constellations of power among the structures that impact frame building.

The theoretical model explicated in the previous section is the starting point for the probing of the second research question as well. More specifically, the investigation of the interaction between the macro level structures with the meso level structure of the media can provide insights about the ongoing framing struggles and relationships among the structures. For example, the investigation of frame building can provide with insights regarding the constellation of power among the various structures within a media system. Murdock and Golding (1974) have noted within the context of the UK media system that diminishing revenues lead to diminishing political commentary in the articles, pointing towards the complex relationship between the economic and political structures and their impact on content. Therefore, the typologies that Hallin and Mancini (2004) developed in order to classify the various European media systems can be employed in order to theoretically assist the analysis of the frames applied in news messages suggesting the connections among structures, however, at

the same time the frames reconstructed could be contradicting these typologies. Pippa Norris (2009 in Hardy 2012) has criticized the media system models, arguing that media partisanship cannot be fully understood without looking at content. Indeed, the investigation of the frames applied in news messages could contradict the models; especially since media systems are dynamic and ever evolving. In fact, Hallin and Mancini (2004) also point to the dynamic character of their models when they list a number of forces that diminish the differences among them and argue that these same forces push the systems towards a convergence on the liberal model. Therefore, the analysis of frame building is not only assisted by these typologies, but at the same time it yields new data regarding the evolution of a media system, especially considering the sweeping changes brought about by phenomena such as the economic crisis or the increasing digitalization and commercialization of journalism. If the analysis of the frames reconstructed from news messages points towards increases or decreases in political parallelism, or other changes regarding the relationships between the structures within a media system then the media models themselves can be updated based on these observations.

In order to shed light on how the investigation of the frame building process through political economic structures and processes can at the same time inform these structures and processes, it is important to look into micro level journalistic practices and what they reflect about the macro level structures that shape them. Mosco's (1996) structuration theory suggests that structure sets the limits of agency, whereas Cook (1998) posits that crystallized journalistic practices define what those limits are. Therefore, the investigation of journalistic practices and agency is crucial firstly for the investigation of the frame building process, but at the same time the limits to that agency and practices can provide insights regarding the structures and their contests. For example, the examination of the interactions between the macro level structures with the micro level practices, through the meso level processes of commercialization, labour elimination and intensification can provide with further insights regarding the framing contests, as well as the political economic explanations of journalistic practices. McChesney (2008) suggests that the process of commercialization increases pressures to attract the most lucrative audience in the context of the US media system. The analysis of frame building in other contexts can shed light on whether the process of commercialization has the same impact in other media systems as well.

Furthermore, the analysis of the frame building process can also shed light on debates regarding the digitalization of journalism and whether an 'epochal shift' (Castells 2009) has been brought about. Webster argues that 'what is most striking are the continuities of the present age with previous social and economic arrangements, informational developments being heavily influenced by familiar constraints and priorities' (2006). Therefore, the analysis of the frame building process can shed light on whether the introduction of new technologies has had a profound impact on the practice of journalism and content produced, or whether the previous power constellations of a media system continue their influence in the present age.

4.3 Making Sense of Framing Struggles: Setting Limits to Democratic Debate

The last part of this theoretical framework concerns the third research question, about how framing struggles frame the debate around a political issue and how the combination of framing and political economy literature can shed light on this process. McChesney (2004) argues that the critical position in the political economy of communication is to make sense of why democratic debate around political issues is so limited in range, compared to what is possible and what would be socially desirable. Furthermore, Murdock and Golding argue that the range of interpretive frameworks on offer are 'necessarily articulated with the nexus of interests producing them' (1974, p. 226) and that it is important to map the limits of this nexus. Manning (2001) also argues that the process of commercialization impacts content by restricting the range of political discourse found in media messages.

Based on these political economy theories, it becomes apparent that an investigation of the frame building process, with the theoretical framework that has been explicated in the previous sections is well suited to bring to the fore both the limits on the range of debate, as well as the nexus of interests that produces them. Matthes argues that 'frames are selective views on issues, views that construct reality in a certain way leading to different evaluations and recommendations' (2012, p. 249), pointing to the importance of framing in constructing social reality through a process of selecting parts of it and therefore limiting the range of opinions. Furthermore, Entman (1993) argues that news texts reflect the boundaries of discourse over an issue, consolidating the theoretical connections with critical political economy of communication scholars.

Therefore, the final stage of the analysis of the frame building process is the analysis of how the frames reconstructed in news messages reflect the boundaries of debate over an issue.

Downing (2014) argues that cultural frameworks are challenged in moments of crisis and points towards research that sheds light on the role of the media in the 'temporal construction of hegemony', pointing towards why this analysis of the range of discourse is important. The economic crisis has been an important challenge towards the established cultural frameworks and an analysis of the frame building process can shed light on how the media constrained the democratic debate over this crisis, assisting its naturalization. Furthermore, it can shed light on how democratic debate is constrained through the frames applied in media texts and the nexus of interests that impacts this process, enhancing our understanding of the role that the modern media play as 'a force for social change or oligarchy' (McChesney 2008, p. 12).

4.4 Summary

This research aims to reveal the frame building process and how it is informed by political economic structures, by employing the theoretical framework that has been explicated in this chapter. More specifically, by investigating the interactions between the various levels and pinpointing how each level contributes to the frame building process. Starting with the interaction between the micro level practices of journalists and the macro level structures of the market and the ownership of the media, as well as the interaction between the micro level practices with the organizational structure of the media, influence the structure of the frames applied in news messages. Finally, by shedding light in the interaction between the meso level structure of the media with the macro level structures of politics and the economy and how that interaction shapes the editorial stance of a newspaper and impacts the application of frames in its articles. Therefore, one of the tasks of the empirical part of this research is to demonstrate how the positioning of the structure of the media in relation to the structures of the economy and politics dictates what the ideological leaning of the newspaper will be, ultimately playing a decisive role in the shaping of its framing.

With this conceptualization this research aspires to shed light on how each level of influence impacts the process of frame building in the media by empirically demonstrating how journalistic practices are shaped by political economic structures and ultimately impact which frames will be applied in media messages and how they will be presented. Furthermore, in order to shed light on the process of frame building, it is important to discuss with the journalists themselves how they empirically understand the impact of the various levels of influence on their working practices. This is important in order to answer the questions of the agency they have when looking for information and constructing an article, what are the material realities of their employment, how they impact their practices, and how they translate into journalistic values the relationships between the structure of the media with the macro level structures. Addressing these questions can help the researcher address the question of how each level ultimately impacts the process of frame building.

However, the questions regarding agency and practices aforementioned are also important for the second aim of this theoretical framework. The aim is to complement the investigation of frame building in news media by shedding light on the power struggles that take place in the frame building process and what they can contribute regarding political economic explanations of journalistic practices and the relationships between the structures in a media system. Finally, this research aims to understand how the process of frame building sets limits on acceptable democratic debate through the frames attached to media messages. In order to empirically investigate these processes and structures this research will specifically focus on the case of the Greek memoranda for reasons that will be explained in the coming chapter that sets the context of the case and the sixth chapter explaining the methodology employed to empirically answer the research questions of the thesis.

5. The Historical Political Background of Greece and the Greek Media

This chapter provides necessary context for the case under investigation starting with a brief overview of Greek politics after the collapse of the military dictatorship in 1974, an era that has been coined as Metapolitefsi (regime change). Furthermore, an overview of the Greek sovereign debt crisis and the post-crisis political developments in the country is provided, especially those that coincide with the three memoranda. Finally, the historical development of the Greek press and its political economy are presented. This context is crucial in order to familiarize the reader with the political culture of the country, and the historical development of the relationship between press and politics, which has a significant impact on how issues are covered by the Greek media.

5.1 The Metapolitefsi Party System, 1974-2009

In order to fully understand the Greek sovereign debt crisis and its impact on the media it is important to present the most significant points of contemporary Greek political history. Lyrintzis (2005) argues that the fall of the dictatorship in 1974 marks a point of significant change for Greek politics, with the establishment of a relatively stable party system. This party system that emerged after seven years of military dictatorship has been called Metapolitefsi, which means a new political regime in Greek (Voulgaris 2002). The party system that was soon consolidated after the collapse of the military regime was a three-bloc configuration based on the Left-Right divisions that have dominated Greek politics since the beginning of the twentieth century (Lyrintzis 2005, p. 243).

The right was represented by the newly founded Nea Dimokratia (ND) party, led by Konstantinos Karamanlis who had been Prime Minister also in the 1956-63 period and led the country also in 1974-81 through consecutive electoral victories in 1974 and 1977 (Penniman 1979; Featherstone and Katsoudas 1985; Pappas 1999; in Lyrintzis 2005). Also founded in 1974 was the party that dominated the center and the center-left, as well as Greek politics for the most part of this period, the Pan Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). The party was founded by Andreas Papandreou and became pivotal to political developments after its electoral successes in 1981 and

1985 (Lyrintzis 2005). PASOK managed to grow within a few years from a party that secured merely 13,58% of the vote in 1974 to the largest political party in the country that secured 48,7% of the vote in 1981 (Moschonas 2013).

Finally, the left-bloc was defined by the Greek Communist Party (KKE) and the smaller reformist party SYNaspismos. The KKE was banned during the 1950s and 1960s, because of the outcome of the Greek civil war in 1945-1949, but legalized once more in 1974 with a political influence that fluctuated around 10% of the vote. Synaspismos on the other hand was a splinter party from the KKE that struggled around the parliamentary threshold of 3% (Kapteranyannis 1993 in Lyrintzis 2005). Despite efforts to create new parties in between the three blocs, or on the edges of them none of these efforts managed to have a significant impact on the political scene of the Metapolitefsi era (Lyrintzis and Nikolakopoulos 1999).

This party system has been characterized as a 'two-party system', with the two major political parties PASOK and ND alternating in power and attracting over 80% of the vote (Pappas 2001). PASOK dominated Greek politics for almost two decades (1980s, 1990s) with the exception of the 1990-1993 period. The second decade of PASOK in power (1993-2004) was led by Kostas Simitis as president of the party and Prime Minister, and characterized by his 'modernization' project (Lyrintzis 2005, p. 250). A significant change in the attitudes of the Greek society took place during the 1990s. Whereas the post-dictatorship era was described by a clear interest in politics, the 1993 election marks a turning point towards the electorate losing interest and becoming more apathetic, less trustful towards society, politicians, and parties. The tolerance or even involvement of the modernizers in the intersections of the state with economic interests reinforced these tendencies (Lyrintzis, 2005). Furthermore, the convergence between the two main parties and the diminishing of important ideological debates contributed to the decline in societal interest in politics (ibid).

Before the 2004 election Kostas Simitis stepped down from the presidency of PASOK, being replaced by the son of the founder of the party, George Papandreou, in order to introduce change and renew the party (Lyrintzis 2005). The elections of 2004 marked yet another turn for the political system of Greece, with Nea Dimokratia winning the elections for the first time since 1990 with a landslide victory (Lyrintzis

2011). The main pledges of ND were the reorganization of the state, the end of clientilism, and the introduction of transparency (ibid). ND secured a second electoral victory in 2007 and remained in power for five and a half years (2004-2009) (ibid). With the global financial crisis erupting in 2008 and among allegations for several economic scandals the government was forced to call for an early election in 2009 (ibid, p. 10). The election was won once again by PASOK, led by Giorgos Papandreou.

5.2 The Greek Sovereign Debt Crisis and the First Memorandum, 2009-2011

The eruption of the Greek sovereign debt crisis can be marked after the change of government in October, when the projected deficit of the country was expected to be double than the projections of the outgoing government, in fact being calculated to a 15,8% of GDP (Katsikas, 2012). The fallout of this revelation led to the markets focusing on the state of the Greek economy, which at the point had a 129 percent debt to GDP ratio and an 11 percent account deficit to GDP ratio (ibid, p.50). Katsikas reports that by the end of April 2010 Greek bonds were rated as 'junk' and their spread exceeded 1,000 basis points, thus making further loaning from the international markets impossible (ibid, p. 50). In order to address this Greece asked for financial aid from the EU and the IMF on 23 April 2010 (Gemenis 2010, p. 361). In exchange for the loan the Greek government signed a memorandum of agreement, entailing an extensive policy program, including tax increases and horizontal cuts in government expenses alongside a number of structural reforms, to be implemented under the supervision of what came to be called the troika consisting of the IMF, the European Commission, and the European Central Bank (Katsikas 2012, p. 50).

Despite the early significant success in reducing the deficit, the complexity of the structural reforms and the strong opposition to them, alongside the detrimental effects of austerity on the economy made the recession worse, thus leading to a failure to achieve the ambitious goals of the program. This created the necessity for a second bailout agreement (Katsikas 2012, p. 51). The agreement of the EU summit on 26-27 October 2011 between the European partners and Greece entailed a 50 percent debt restructuring deal called Private Sector Involvement (PSI), in exchange for further austerity measures. In a bid to consolidate his position George Papandreou announced

his plan to hold a referendum over the agreement, in order to turn a positive outcome to a vote of confidence to his government and avoid a snap election (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013, p. 526). However, the lack of support from the European governments to the plan created enormous pressures, which led to Papandreou's resignation on 9 November 2011 and the formation of a national unity government between PASOK-ND and the extreme right-wing LAOS under Prime Minister Lucas Papademos (ibid). The mandate of the government was the finalization of the PSI and the signing of the second bailout agreement, in order to lead the country to elections after the fulfillment of these goals.

5.3 The Second Memorandum and the end of the Metapolitefsi era, 2012-2015

The second bailout agreement for Greece was signed in February 2012, securing a new loan of 130 billion euros, alongside a debt restructuring deal called Private Sector Involvement (PSI), which reduced the privately held Greek debt by 106 billion euros (Katsikas 2012). The second memorandum was again agreed under the conditionality of implementing further unpopular austerity measures (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013). After signing the second memorandum elections were held on 6 May 2012 in an environment of economic uncertainty and popular outrage.

The election of 6 May 2012 marks the end of the era of domination of the Metapolitefsi party system, at least in the form that it dominated the country since the collapse of the dictatorship. PASOK and ND only amounted to 32 percent of the vote, and 41 and 108 parliamentary seats, thus being unable to form a majority government. The main winner of the election was the radical left SYRIZA, an alliance between SYNaspismos and 11 smaller left wing factions, which finished second with a 16,8 of the vote, improving its electoral outcome of 2009 by 12,2 percentage points (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013, p. 527). Furthermore KKE received 8,5 percent, DIMAR a splinter party from SYNaspismos registered at 6,1 percent, ANEL a right-wing splinter party of ND received 10,6 per cent, and the extreme right wing Golden Dawn party entered the Greek parliament for the first time with a 6,9 percent of the total vote (ibid).

The inability of the parties to form a majority government led to a political crisis and a new election was scheduled for 17 June 2012. The results of the second election confirmed the fragmentation of the two-party system. Nea Dimokratia won the election with a 29,7 percent of the vote, with SYRIZA following closely behind with 26,9 percent, confirming its rising influence in Greek politics. PASOK on the other hand suffered more losses receiving 12,3 percent of the vote. KKE also suffered significant loses from the election in May, dropping to 4,5 percent of the vote. ANEL dropped to 7,5 percent, whereas Golden Dawn remained steady receiving 6,9 percent of the total vote (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013, p 534-535). Despite ND being twenty-two seats short of the majority in the parliament in order to form a government, the negotiations between the parties this time bore fruit. More specifically a pro-bailout coalition government was formed, together with PASOK and DIMAR (Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou 2013). However the minority partners of the government chose to appoint technocrats as ministers instead of their elected MPs (ibid).

Vasilopoulou and Halikiopoulou researched the electoral campaigns of the Greek parties in the second election of 2012 and revealed that the campaigns focused on the management of the Greek economy and framed around the pro-anti memorandum debate and the question of whether Greece should remain in the Eurozone or not (2013). The results of the election confirmed the end of the old party divisions along the cleavages of left-right. The parties that before the election in June belonged to the pro-memorandum camp were ND and PASOK, whereas SYRIZA, KKE, DIMAR, ANEL, and Golden Dawn belonged to the anti-memorandum camp (ibid, p. 528). Of course, the inclusion of DIMAR in the pro-memorandum government formed after the election marks its transition to a pro-memorandum party.

The main objective of the new government was to negotiate the terms of the memorandum, without disturbing the position of Greece within the euro framework. The negotiations brought about a new package of austerity measures and structural reforms, in exchange for a loan of 13,5 billion euros. However, discussions on a proposed debt relief were postponed due to inconsistencies of opinion within the members of the troika (Rori 2016). The following two years were marked by a series of heavy measures and reforms that tested the government, such as the dismissal of

15,000 employees by the end of 2014, the recapitalization of the banks for 25 billion euros, and the speeding up of privatizations (Rori 2016). By the end of 2013 the economy remained in recession, and unemployment reached 28%, however the government succeeded in reducing the deficit, in achieving a primary surplus for the first time and successfully returning to the markets on a trial in 2014, thus building a Greek 'success story' narrative (ibid, p. 1325). Furthermore, a main point of contention was the closure of the public broadcasting group (ERT) by governmental decree in 2014, leading to the laying off of 2.656 workers and to DIMAR's withdrawal from the government, which was reduced to 153 MPs (ibid).

5.4 A New Two-party System and the Third Memorandum, 2015-2019

The years following the 2012 elections brought about a new party system, which is described either as a new polarized, two party system (Dinas and Rori 2013) or as a much weaker version of two-partyism with SYRIZA replacing PASOK (Tsatsanis and Teperoglou 2016). The first election exhibiting this new party system was the European election in May 2014 when SYRIZA won 26,56% of the vote, whereas ND came second with 22,72%, marking the first elections won by the party of the radical left (Rori 2016).

The inability of the government to reach an agreement with the troika on the final evaluation of the program, in combination with the failure of the parliament to elect a President of the Democracy provoked a snap election. The continuation of austerity policies by ND, combined with the strategy to rule via government decrees, which did not need the approval of the parliament led to increasing public frustration, which was expressed in the parliamentary election of 25 January 2015 (Boukala and Dimitrakopoulou 2017). SYRIZA was deemed to win the election according to all the polls from the spring of 2014 and the only question was whether an absolute majority could be achieved. The electoral result of 36.3 per cent of the votes secured 149 seats for the leftist party, two less than the 151 seats required for an absolute majority (Tsirbas 2016). Therefore a coalition government was formed between SYRIZA and the right-wing ANEL with Alexis Tsipras as Prime Minister. The two parties formed a coalition government based on their common anti-memorandum stance, despite

their programmatic differences on economic, cultural, and social issues (Tsatsanis and Teperoglou 2016).

The plan of the government was to see through the previous deal and seek a bridging loan until the end of the summer of 2015 that would provide enough time to prepare and present a new program owned by the Greek government. The troika on the other hand would accept only an extension of the previous agreement, leading to months of negotiations between the two sides and to renewed speculation around the future of the Greek economy and the continuation of Greece's membership in the Eurozone (Tsatsanis and Teperoglou 2016). The negotiations culminated in June with the Greek government calling for a referendum on 5 July 2015 on accepting or rejecting a proposal by the creditors. The reaction of the ECB on the announcement of the referendum was to cut off the provision of liquidity for the Greek banks, leading the Greek government to impose capital controls the day after the announcement of the referendum (ibid). SYRIZA and ANEL supported the rejection of the proposal, alongside Golden Dawn, whereas PASOK, ND, and To Potami sided with the 'Yes' (ibid). The KKE rejected the referendum as false, asking for the proposal of the government to be also tested through a referendum. The 'No' vote was victorious with 61,3% of the voters rejecting the European proposal and 38,7% accepting it. However, the Greek government returned to the negotiating table to reach a compromise and sign a deal. Following an intense negotiation, which lasted 17 hours, on 13 July 2015, Alexis Tsipras signed a new agreement for a 86 billion euro loan with harsh terms, even harsher than the ones rejected in the referendum (ibid, p. 437). The signing of the agreement by Tsipras brought to the fore the internal strife of SYRIZA between the supporters of the two political lines within the party, as they were expressed in the congress of the party in July 2013. More specifically, the first entailed the majoritarian political line, which supported negotiating with EU partners, albeit critical towards them. The second political line called for the complete rejection of the memoranda and a return to the national currency. The latter was supported mainly by the Left Platform and represented 30% of the party (Rori 2016). The capitulation of the Greek government led 44 MPs of SYRIZA to vote against the new deal on 14 August 2015. Although the memorandum was voted in with the support of the opposition, the government had lost the parliamentary majority, whereas the

revolting MPs created a new party named LAE (Popular Unity) before the snap election that was called for September 2015 (Tsatsanis and Teperoglou 2016).

Despite the complete U-turn that the signing of the memorandum signaled for both government partners the results of the election of September 2015 were largely a repeat of the January election, whereas LAE failed to secure parliamentary seats receiving less than the three per cent required to enter the parliament (Tsatsanis and Teperoglou 2016). The significant changes between the election in January and the one in September was that all the parties lost votes in absolute numbers, given that three quarters of a million voters decided to abstain from the second election. Up to the date of writing the same government and parliamentary constitution remain.

5.5 The Development of the Greek Press

This section discusses the historical development of the press system in Greece and the current state of the complex relationships with the system of politics, the economy, and the state. Hallin and Papathanassopoulos (2002) discern five major characteristics of the media system in Greece: low levels of newspaper circulation, a tradition of advocacy reporting, instrumentalization of privately-owned media, politicization of public broadcasting and broadcast regulation, and limited development of journalism as an autonomous profession (ibid, p. 176-177). In 'Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics' Hallin and Mancini (2004) classify Greece in the Polarized Pluralist model alongside other southern European countries with similar characteristics.

Beginning with the development of a mass press, Southern Europe and Greece are characteristic of low rates of newspaper circulation. As Hallin and Mancini argue this distinction is also important in terms of the role that the press plays in these countries:

> The newspapers of Southern Europe are addressed to a small elite – mainly urban, well educated, and politically active. They are both sophisticated and politicized in their content, and can be said to be involved in a horizontal process of debate and negotiation among elite factions (2004, p. 22).

Hardy (2012, p. 191) concurs arguing that in Polarized Pluralist countries the press has traditionally served elites and that the absence of a commercial press, or its late development, has created a close relationship between politics and the press, with the press serving as a means for political bargaining. The low rates of circulation for newspapers in Southern Europe and Greece have meant that the newspaper business has not been profitable, leading to subsidies by political actors with important repercussions for political parallelism and journalistic professionalism. Indeed high levels of political parallelism have been noted in the Greek media system, as Hallin and Mancini describe:

> Greek newspapers have always been political instruments above all, rooted culturally in passionate ideological divisions, and often tied to the state and/or parties, which have provided financial subsidies, help with distribution, and other forms of assistance… Greek journalists tend to be strongly opinionated and politically engaged, and often run for political office (2004, p. 98).

Furthermore, the low profitability of the press industry in Greece has created a complex state of dependency with the state. Hallin and Mancini report that: 'In Greece state subsidies to the press are not governed by a clear legal framework, consistent with the clientilist nature of Greek … They take the form of 'soft' loans, subsidies both over and covert, and state jobs offered to many journalists' (2004, p. 121).

These economic circumstances have led Greek journalism to be characterized by a tradition of advocacy reporting, with more emphasis on political commentary and opinion, whereas the political parallelism of the press is represented through the editorial stance of each newspaper (Hallin and Papathanasopoulos, 2002). The close connection between the press and party politics has led to the creation of different journalistic principles, than those of 'objectivity' and balance that shaped practices in the countries of the Liberal model (Papatheodorou and Machin 2003). Therefore, these tendencies have shaped public debate in Greece, which has been described as 'apolitical overpoliticization', meaning the passionate propagation of political positions without their overall criticism (Spourdalakis 1989, in Papatheodorou and Machin 2003, p. 35).

Journalism as an institution in Greece and in other southern European countries has not been strongly developed as an autonomous institution with its own professional values and practices, but it has been externally formed by the worlds of politics and the economy among others (Hallin and Papathanasopoulos 2002). Instrumentalization, which is the opposite of professionalization, is common in the Greek media system. Hallin and Mancini argue that: 'Instrumentalization is control of the media by outside actors – parties, politicians, social groups or movements, or economic actors seeking political gains' (2004, p. 37). In the case of Greece the press has been instrumentalized since powerful capitalists began acquiring media as a means of applying pressure to politicians. The outcome of the instrumentalization of the media is that journalistic autonomy is severely limited and media professionals often feel like they are not independent. More specifically when journalists were asked whether their work is subject to interventions, only 7,9% of Greek journalists answered no, whereas 65,7% answered that their work is subject to intervention, and 24,3% answered that they engaged in self-censorship. Furthermore, 75% answered that the most important determinant for their job was the 'line taken by owners of media enterprises' (Hallin and Papathanasopoulos, 2002, p. 182). It needs to be mentioned that these data are quite dated, however the data produced in this research can shed light on whether these trends still hold true in Greek journalism.

The historical conditions under which journalism was developed in Greece can provide explanations for the particular complex relationships aforementioned. Hallin and Papathanasopoulos argue that: 'One historical fact often cited about each of these countries is that the press for most of its history has been an advocacy press, created more for the purpose of making politics than making money' (2002, p. 182-183). However, although this historical fact is important in understanding why media organizations are instrumentalized in Greece, it does not offer a complete explanation for all the trends noted. Another important historical characteristic is the central role of the state in the development of the press market, with the media being dependent on state subsidies. Furthermore, the state plays a central role in the economy and the development of private capital as Vergopoulos argues that: 'Ever since the middle of the nineteenth century, nothing could be done in Greece without it necessarily passing through the machinery of the state' (in Mouzelis, 1980, p. 248). Papatheodorou and

Machin argue that: 'Perhaps the defining characteristic of the political culture is the dominant role of the state, not only as the driving force of economic development, but also as the guardian of vital social interests and the distributor of resources mainly through networks of political patronage' (2003, p. 34). Therefore, these historical facts confirm the importance of owning media for Greek capitalists as tools of applying political pressure and enhancing their business prospects. Another important historical characteristic of Greece that shaped the media is the late transition to democracy with the final consolidation of liberal institutions happening after 1974 and the fall of the military dictatorship. The complex and slow process of developing these institutions means that patterns from the previous periods persist and influence them. An example of these patterns is clientilism, which plays a crucial role in the development of press and journalism in Greece (Hallin and Papathanasopoulos 2002). Therefore, clientilism can provide an explanation for the weak autonomy of journalists and the enmeshing of professional norms with other social logics, such as party politics.

5.6 The Political Economy of the Greek Press

The development of the Greek press underwent many changes after the 1980s, alongside the political changes that the country was experiencing at the time. Up to that point the Greek press was dominated by traditional family-based ownership patterns (Papatheodorou and Machin 2003). In the 1980s the owners of the publishing firms were industrialists, with business interests that were limited to newspaper printing and publishing (Leandros 2010). No press owner held significant interests outside the press industry at the time (Simmons and Leandros, 1993). The inability of these owners to meet the costs of the technological innovations required for the modernization of their businesses led to a major restructuring of the ownership patterns of newspapers, as many traditional publishers sold their titles to new enterpreneurs entering the press market (Papatheodorou and Machin, 2003). Furthermore, new titles were also launched at the time significantly altering the ownership patterns of the Greek press with the new entrepreneurs engaging in a multitude of economic activities that went beyond the printing industry (Leandros, 2010). The new proprietors of the press were industrialists and ship-owners, but also

engaged in construction, banking and manufacture (Papatheodorou and Machin, 2003; Leandros, 2010).

The new owners of the media in Greece were interested in using their organizations as political leverage and as tools of influencing public opinion in order to promote their other economic activities (Leandros 2010). Furthermore, the persistence of the connection between press politicization and readership fluctuations meant that the political character of the press was not influenced by the changes in ownership patterns (Papatheodorou and Machin 2003). The parallel entry of the new owners of newspapers in the broadcasting business enhanced their political influence with Mouzelis and Pagoulatos arguing that: 'The owners of the media represent a center of power that no politician dares to question, unless he aims to commit political suicide. Their power is being reinforced by their dominant position in numerous business fields' (2003, p. 22).

The high political passions of the 1980s led to good results for the politicized newspapers throughout the decade (Papatheodorou and Machin, 2003). However, a number of factors in the 1990s led to a crisis of the press industry in Greece. More specifically the rise of private broadcasting that started in the twilight of the 1980s ended the comparative advantage that the press had to public broadcasting, which was viewed as biased in favour of the state and the government (Papathanassopoulos 2001). Furthermore, a number of scandals involving leading members of PASOK, and the subsequent polarization of the media, which took part in the political strife by vehemently supporting one side, or changing sides overnight led to a crisis of credibility for the Greek press (Papatheodorou and Machin, 2003). Finally, the change of attitudes of the public towards politics in the 1990s that was aforementioned led to a number of readers turning their backs on newspapers, especially those from younger generations (Papathanassopoulos 2001). The economic difficulties that ensued led to changes in newspaper content, which instead of being associated with a particular political party started identifying more with a political camp – right, left, or center, in a bid to attract more readers (ibid). However, the political stance of newspapers remained ever present, especially in periods of intense political conflicts (Komninou, 1990, 1996 in Papathanassopoulos 2001).

Despite the decline in sales noted in the 1990s, and the fact that launching a new newspaper was seen as a precarious investment, the total number of daily newspapers in circulation rose to 23 indicating the political role of newspapers in Greece as a tool of applying pressure to politicians, and influencing public opinion in order to further the interests of the media owners, despite the declining influence of the press (Papathanassopoulos 2001). This trend was continued in the following decades with the press market having a plethora of titles in 2011. More specifically, despite the continuation of the decline of circulation (from a peak of 35 million copies sold in 1989, to less than 10 million in 2011), 162 daily regional newspaper and 37 Athens-based were published in 2008 (Leandros 2010, p. 892) and over 70 newspaper titles in total in 2011 (Siapera et al, 2014, p. 452).

Although there are many newspapers in circulation, ownership concentration levels are high in the Greek press market. More specifically in 2008, four leading publishing houses controlled 69,7% of the market, a significant raise from the 59% they controlled in 1990 (Leandros 2010). Furthermore, the phenomenon of cross ownership among various types of media is prevalent in the Greek mediascape. The same trends of ownership concentration persisted after 2008 as well, with six publishers owning the largest national newspapers, alongside broadcast media, press distribution agencies, and magazines (Anagnostou et al, 2010). These groups are: Antenna Group, Lambrakis Press Group (DOL), Pegasus Press Group, Skai group, Alpha Media Group, and Vardinogiannis Group (Veneti and Karadimitriou, 2013). Three of these groups (DOL, Pegasus, Skai) are particularly interesting for this thesis as they actively participate in the press market.

The Lambrakis Press Group (DOL in Greek) is one of the oldest publishing houses in Greece, founded in 1959 by Christos Lambrakis. The group was under the leadership of journalist Stavros Psycharis since 2009, with an impressive publication list, including some of the highest circulating daily newspapers. DOL published Ta Nea, Sunday Vima, and Aggelioforos, alongside a number of magazines. Furthermore, the group owned a radio (Vima FM 99,5) and an 11% stake in Typetypos the owner of MEGA Channel, the first private TV station in Greece. The group was also one of the first companies to engage in new media with DOL digital and the news portal in.gr, among other ventures (Veneti and Karadimitriou, 2013). However, the group ran into

significant financial difficulties during the years of the crisis amassing debts that in 2017 reached the sum of 99 million euros (The Guardian, 2017). Therefore the group was forced to cease publication and go into receivership and an auction for new ownership. During the crisis years the former president of the group, Stavros Psycharis was also faced with tax evasion and money laundering accusations (ibid). DOL was one of the main targets of the new government of Greece under Alexis Tsipras, along other Greek media moguls, in an effort to 'reestablish transparency' (ibid). In May 2017 the group was bought by ship-owner Vangelis Marinakis who bid 23 million euros for the totality of the media ventures of the group (Naftemporiki.gr, 2017a). Furthermore, the Skai Group is a media group owned by the Alafouzos family with interests in shipping and construction, and among others it publishes the conservative Kathimerini, while it is involved in radio production and broadcasting with the Skai TV channel (Veneti and Karadimitriou, 2013). Finally, the Pegasus Press Group is another media group with significant press titles in publication, such as Ethnos and Proto Thema, alongside a 10% stake in MEGA Channel, magazines and Internet services among others. The group was founded and owned by the Bobolas family, which has interests in construction, however it was sold off ahead of surmounting debt (ibid, 2013). The Greek-Russian entrepreneur Ivan Savvides, who is active in the tobacco industry, and was also a former politician in Russia, bought the group in July 2017 for 3,58 million euros (Naftemporiki.gr, 2017b). The continuing interest of wealthy Greek entrepreneurs in the media market, despite the already proven financial precariousness of the investment, indicates the persisting relevance of the media as a tool for furthering other business interests and applying pressure to politicians.

The three other groups dominating the Greek media market are not active in the press industry. The Antenna group encompasses broadcasting TV and Radio stations in Greece and Cyprus, alongside publishing, music production, and media studies companies. Furthermore, the group is engaged in satellite broadcasting to USA, Australia, and Europe, while it has also penetrated the media markets of neighboring Bulgaria (2000), and Serbia (Veneti and Karadimitriou, 2013). The CEO of the group is Theodore Kyriakou, also a ship-owner and a large stakeholder in the oil shipping business (antenna-group.com, 2018). Alpha Media Group was one of the rare examples of foreign investment in the Greek media market, when in December 2008,

66,6% of its shares were bough off by the German RTL, with Dimitris Kontominas remaining as a minor shareholder. However, the Greek businessman acquired the totality of the shares in January 2012 becoming the owner of Alpha TV and Radio, as well as the cinemas included in the group (ibid, 2013). The last group is the Vardinogiannis Group, owned by the Vardinogiannis family, one of the wealthiest Greek families, that is also involved with shipping and oil refining. The group owns a share in MEGA Channel, while it also includes the TV station Star Channel and radios among others (ibid).

The slight changes in ownership patterns in recent years have not altered the fundamentals of the Greek communication system, despite any temporary conflicts or alliances between the owners of the media. The main developments have been the rising influence of the shipping lobby in the media, which can be explained by the fact that the shipping business was not influenced by the economic crisis. Furthermore another change has been the rise of the Internet as a new communication field, with offspring of wealthy Greek families (Kopelouzos, Giannakopoulos), alongside famous Greek journalists (Chatzinikolaou, Evangelatos) investing in websites (Veneti and Karadimitriou, 2013).

The contradictions of the Greek mediascape in combination with the advent of the economic crisis have created a very volatile situation, with many media organizations becoming insolvent despite the desire of their owners to hold on to their political influence (Siapera et al, 2014). A number of newspapers shut down, whereas other media organizations declared bankruptcy or sought protection from creditors (ibid). This created a number of firings, adding to the 'reserve army of unemployed' journalists that already existed due to the many short-lived titles that came up in the field (Papathanassopoulos 2001, p. 120). Siapera et al (2014, p. 454) report that the president of the Athens Journalists Union until 2013, Dimitris Trimis, estimated the unemployment rate for journalists around 30 percent, with a considerable number of underpaid, or owed money from their employers, journalists. The crisis has also brought increasingly flexible working conditions, with few journalists on permanent work contracts and many journalists working on a cash-in-hand basis, or getting paid by the piece (ibid).

The information provided in this chapter is important for contextualizing the case under investigation and will also serve in the analysis of the findings of this thesis. The next chapter focuses on the research design and methodologies that are employed in order to answer the research questions guiding this thesis.

6. Research Design and Methodology

This chapter presents the research design employed in this thesis, arguing in favour of a case study design, which is then discussed step by step. The first step is the presentation of the units of analysis and the time frame of the study. Following that is a discussion about the methodologies used to gather, analyze, and triangulate the data. The chapter also explicates the ethical implications for those involved in the process and the steps taken to ensure that the research abides by ethical standards.

6.1 Research Design: Case Study

To address the aims and research questions of the thesis the case study research design was deemed to be the most appropriate. The reason for this is that as Bromley argues all case study research starts from the same point: 'The desire to derive a(n) (up-)close or otherwise in-depth understanding of a single or small number of "cases", set in real-world contexts' (1986, p.1). Therefore, since this research aspires to investigate closely the process of frame building and how it operates in a real-world context, the case study design is appropriate.

Yin defines a case study as such: 'An empirical inquiry about a contemporary phenomenon (e.g., a 'case'), set within its real-world context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (2009, p. 18). The case study design offers the opportunity for in-depth focus on the case, but also enables the capture of a broader range of contextual and other complex conditions, allowing for research that goes beyond the study of isolated variables (Yin 2012).

Yin (2012) argues that the kind of research questions that a study is addressing can dictate the case study as the preferred design. When the research questions are either descriptive (What? questions) or explanatory (How or Why? questions) then the case study is the suggested design. As the research questions of this study are explanatory and seek to shed light on how the frame building process operates, the case study design is the most suitable. Furthermore, because case studies focus on the real-world context of a phenomenon the collection of data collected in natural settings is preferable, compared with relying on 'derived' data (Bromley 1986, p. 23). Therefore,

the case study design dictates the selection of data collecting methods that are collected on the natural settings of journalism.

Case studies offer a number of advantages to the researcher. Berg (2009) argues that case studies can be flexible and regarding the scope of the research they can either have a broad focus on life and society or a more narrow approach to the unit of analysis. Berg explains the role of the case study method, when concentrating on a single phenomenon:

> The researcher aims to uncover the manifest interaction of significant factors characteristic of the phenomenon, individual, community, or institution. But in addition, the researcher is able to capture various nuances, patterns, and more latent elements that other research approaches might overlook. The case study method tends to focus on holistic description and explanation (2009, p. 318).

A case study design allows for the investigation of the deeper causes of a phenomenon (Fiss 2009). Furthermore, the patterns and nuances that can be identified in case studies can assist in creating, extending, or testing theory (Gomm et al, 2000). Therefore the case study research design is optimal for this research as it allows for the capture of various nuances and patterns that reveal how framing is influenced by power in the specific case under investigation, as well as the incorporation of the context of the case and the impact that it has on framing. Furthermore, a case study design contributes by extending and testing theories and processes stemming from framing and political economy.

The case study method has been criticized and researchers often opt for an experiment or survey type of investigation. Yin (2003) identifies three reasons for this, namely the lack of a solid case study structure, that has led to sloppy or biased investigations, the lack of a basis for scientific generalization and the notion that case studies are too time consuming and result in massive, unreadable documents. Addressing these criticisms Yin (ibid) puts forward the argument that bias is not an exclusive characteristic of case studies, but can also be encountered in other research studies. Furthermore, Yin (ibid) claims that although case studies have been produced in a sloppy manner in the past, that doesn't have to be the case for the future. Finally case

studies have been criticized due to a lack of trust in the credibility of a case study researcher's procedures and a perceived inability to generalize the findings of the case study to any broader level (Yin 2012). However, case studies can meet these challenges by employing systematic approaches in data collection and analysis (ibid). Furthermore, case studies can be generalized to theoretical propositions and not to populations in the same way as an experiment (ibid). Yin mentions that 'in this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a "sample" and in doing a case study, your goal will be to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)' (2003, p. 10).

There are two types of case studies according to Stake (2005); namely the intrinsic and the instrumental case study. The direction and application of the case study are shaped by the interest in the case, as in an intrinsic case study it is the case itself that garners the researchers attention, whereas in an instrumental case study the case itself plays a supportive role to the understanding of a theoretical issue (Ridder 2017). This thesis employs an instrumental case study as the case of Greece is used as an example where wider theoretical issues of frame building and political economy can be explored. Furthermore, the case study has been applied to a number of diverging approaches, in regards to contribution to theory. Ridder (ibid) compares between four case study research approaches of Yin, Eisenhardt, Burawoy, and Stake and labels them according to their relationship with theory with summative labels; namely the approaches are labeled 'gaps and holes', 'no theory first', 'anomalies' and 'social construction of reality' accordingly. Ridder (2016 in Ridder 2017) explains that Yin's 'gaps and holes' approach aims to specify gaps or holes in existing theory and advance theoretical explanations. Therefore, because this research's starting point are the already existing theories of framing and political economy and its aim is to advance theoretical explanations of frame building, Yin's 'gaps and holes' approach is adopted and its specific methodology followed.

The first step in a case study is the definition of the case and what makes it special (Yin 2012). Yin argues that: 'one possibility arises if your case covers some distinctive if not extreme, unique, or revelatory event or subject' (2012, p. 7). A case can be selected based on the interest that it exhibits (Stake 2005), or because of theoretical reasons (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007). The previous chapter provided

with context on the Greek case study and many elements that make the case relevant and important to research. The advent of the economic crisis and its impact on the press of the country is an extreme event with global repercussions as the press industry is undergoing a crisis all over the world. Furthermore, the volatile political scenery in Greece is replicated in elections throughout Europe with significant implications for the relationship of press and politics. These factors are some of the reasons that make the Greek case study relevant and theoretically important, as they allow for the examination of the relationship between political economic structures and the frame building process in a real-world case. Although the findings from this research cannot be statistically generalized, there can be analytical generalizations to other cases.

6.1.1 Time Period and Key Events

This section presents the time frame selected for investigation and argues for the relevance of the selected period in focus. Van Gorp (2007) posits that key events can lead to the activation of alternative frames in the media, certainly if the events become part of our collective memory. The key events during the seven years of austerity have been the voting in of the three subsequent Memoranda between the Greek governments and the creditors, because as the previous chapter established, the memoranda became the main dividing line for the political life of Greece and their voting by the parliament coincided, preceded, or followed other important events such as national elections or the referendum. Therefore, this research focuses on three different time periods, which signal three different stages of austerity and governance in Greece. These periods are the passing of the First Economic Adjustment Programme for Greece in 3 May 2010, and the passing of the Second Economic Adjustment Programme for Greece in 1 March 2012. Finally, the last period concerns the passing of the Third Economic Adjustment Programme for Greece from the Greek parliament in 18 August. So the timeframes that data were collected from were the periods between February and August 2010, December 2011 and June 2012, and May and November 2015.

These moments were key in the shaping of debates about the measures and it is important to include three months of reports before and after the passing of each

memorandum in order to be able to notice patterns or shifts. Chong and Druckman (2007) argue that framing is best conceptualized as a process that evolves over time and that adding the dimension of time in the analysis gives the researcher the opportunity to separate new issues from previously debated issues and also to see framing shifts that turn 'traditional' issues to 'new' issues through reframing. Focusing on these three timeframes allows for the investigation of patterns and/or shifts, while at the same time it ensures that the data sample is kept manageable for qualitative human analysis. Furthermore, increasing the number of measurement points in time assists in addressing the issue of 'degrees of freedom', which Swanborn defines thusly:

> In a case study we seem to have more equations than unknowns, or, as it is commonly expressed, "the number of units is smaller than the number of variables". As a consequence, the researcher can fit almost any model or theory to the data of the studied case (2010, p 99).

Enlarging data points is the strategy to decrease the number of potentially relevant theories and address the supposed lack of degrees of freedom (ibid). One of the possible ways to enlarge data points is to increase measurement points in time, therefore adding validity to the choice to investigate three different time frames.

6.2 Embedded Case Studies: Units of Analysis and Sampling Rationale

The second step in a case study research design is the decision between a single or a multiple case study and a holistic or an embedded case (Yin 2012). The design that is more fitting for this research is the embedded case study approach, which is defined by Berg as such: 'Embedded case studies involve looking at one case study but including several levels or units of analysis. In other words, this case study approach includes examination of a subunit, or several subunits, of the overall focus of the research' (2009, p. 318). Therefore, this approach is well suited for the examination of the case study of Greece and the relationship between frame building and power influences as it allows for the examination of multiple subunits, which are crucial in order to answer the research questions of the thesis. Furthermore, opting for an embedded approach and the introduction of multiple subunits is useful for addressing

the 'degrees of freedom' issue. Swanborn (2010) argues that introducing a lower aggregation level, with many subunits increases the number of degrees of freedom.

The subunits selected in this research are the political announcements of the parties defining the memoranda, the newspapers and the articles covering the memoranda and the interviews conducted with journalists in order to understand the practices that influence the application of frames in news content. These elements were selected as units in accordance to the theoretical framework of the research. The following subsections present the theoretical significance of each unit and the sampling rationale for collecting the relevant data.

6.2.1 Collecting Political Announcements

The first subunit of analysis is the announcement of the political parties of Greece, that were selected following Van Gorp's (2007) conceptualization of frames in culture. As the theoretical framework of this research established this thesis employs Reese's (2010) critical constructionist paradigm and also conceptualizes frames in culture. Therefore, collecting the party materials serves two purposes. The first is to create what Van Gorp (2007) calls a 'cultural repertoire of frames', that can be compared with the frames applied in news messages. The second is to have the advocate frames promoted by political sponsors, in order to shed light on the framing contests ongoing in the articles.

Although different parties consisted the Greek parliament during each period this research focuses only on the four parties that participated in the parliament during all the time frames (PASOK, Nea Dimokratia, SYRIZA, KKE). These four parties cover a broad range of opinions in the Greek political scenery within the left-right spectrum, as the smaller parties that joined that parliament are either parties that broke off from these more traditional ones or that are similar. Furthermore, these parties have distinct political ideologies with Nea Dimokratia being the conservative and liberal party of Greece, PASOK the social-democratic, SYRIZA a coalition of leftist parties, and KKE a Marxist-Leninist party. Thus, these parties cover a broad spectrum of ideology as well. The fact that these traditional parties were a constant in the parliament throughout all the periods investigated, albeit with differentiating influence, allows

the research to uncover shifts and patterns in how their frames are applied in the media. The announcements were collected from the websites of each party, by employing keyword searches on their online databases with the words memorandum (μνημόνιο), lending agreement (δανειακή σύμβαση) and reforms (μεταρυθμίσεις).

6.2.2 Collecting Newspaper Articles

The second subunit of analysis is the newspaper article. The selection of this subunit is straightforward, as the investigation of the frame building process takes place on the newspaper articles. Archival data is one of the common sources in case studies, and newspapers fall into the category as one type of channel (Yin 2012). However, the difference of the editorial leanings of each newspaper is important and in order to present a more balanced picture it is important to select media that are known to have opposing orientations (ibid). Therefore, the selected newspapers cover as much of the political spectrum as possible.

The left wing Avgi, which has significant political and economic ties with SYRIZA, is investigated. Furthermore the center-left Ta Nea which is owned by the Lambrakis Publishing Group and traditionally supported the social-democratic PASOK. And finally the conservative Kathimerini, which traditionally supports the Nea Dimokratia party. These newspapers were selected as they cover the mainstream of political opinion in Greece within the left-right spectrum and they are the highest in circulation newspapers representing their political delineation. For example on March 14, 2018 Kathimerini sold 14.220 copies and Ta Nea 13.370 copies. Avgi only sold 970 copies, however it is of special interest because of its tight connection with the political party of SYRIZA, and because it is one of the few newspapers in Greece with a leftist editorial stance. Unfortunately, circulation data were not available for the periods under investigation, but as it was established in the previous chapter Kathimerini and Ta Nea were always among the highest newspapers in circulation justifying their inclusion in the research. In order to collect the news items keyword searches were performed on the online databases of the newspapers Kathimerini and Ta Nea with the words memorandum (μνημόνιο), lending agreement (δανειακή σύμβαση) and reforms (μεταρυθμίσεις). Since the online archive of the newspaper Avgi did not include all the time frames that were required, PDF forms of all the newspapers from

the specific time frames were secured and keyword searched on the same merit. Each time segment and each newspaper was analyzed separately, with the unit of analysis being the article for the news messages. However, there was a consideration for multiple frames, or even contradicting ones that can coexist within a news item.

6.2.3 Selecting and Interviewing Journalists

The third subunit consists of the interviews conducted with journalists. This unit was selected because of the necessities outlined in the theoretical framework of the research. A second common source of data for case studies comes from nonstructured interviews (Yin 2012). Yin argues that 'these interviews can offer richer and more extensive material than data from surveys or even the open-ended portions of survey instruments' (ibid, p. 12). These interviews are less structured and they can reveal how participants construct reality and think about situations, therefore providing important insights into the case, especially if they are key person in their organizations (ibid).

Hallin and Mancini (2012a, p. 216) argue that in a content analysis there will be problems of interpretation including the subjectivity and context-dependent nature of assessments of partisanship in media content. In order to deal with this Hallin and Mancini argue that looking also at the interaction of journalists with other social actors in the production of that content is a way of putting content data in context. Furthermore, Stephen Reese (2010) argues that in the critical constructionist framing paradigm it is important to view journalists as more than passive conduits of elite information and give them a say over their choices and their understanding of an issue. The theoretical framework conceptualizes agency by employing Mosco's (1996) structuration theory that views agency within the limits posed by structural power. Additionally Cook (1998) argues that crystalized practices can indicate what those limits are. Therefore, the goal of the interviews conducted is to shed light on the role that journalists play in the frame building process, but also to make sense of how structures shape their practices and what their practices can indicate about the structures themselves. As the research questions require the investigation of the generalized patterns of behaviour of the journalists, semi-structured qualitative

interviews were chosen as the method to bring these patterns to light (King and Horrocks 2010).

Twelve interviews with journalists from the newspapers under investigation were conducted. The journalists were selected because they wrote articles concerning the memoranda in the newspapers under investigation throughout the three time segments. King and Horrocks (2010) argue that in contrast to quantitative research, qualitative research does not seek to make statistic generalizations or achieve statistic representativeness. Qualitative research is very often concerned with achieving different forms of generalizability, however, as Mason (1996) and May (2002) point out, the sample needs to relate in a systematic manner to the social world and the phenomena that the research aims to shed light upon (in King and Horrocks 2010, p. 29). Therefore, the sample of interviewees needs to consist of a diversity of participants that represent a variety of positions in relation to the research topic (ibid). To address this the journalists selected have different positions in the news production process either working as opinion article writers, directors of their newspaper, reporters from the economic or political departments of their medium etc. Furthermore, the journalistic field is structured hierarchically and different journalists occupy different positions therefore the interviews aimed to cover a variety of positions in the internal hierarchy of newspapers. The interviewee sample contains participants that hold junior and senior editor and journalist roles, as well as one former director giving a multitude of perspectives on the case under investigation. The interviews were all conducted between April and May 2017 and the exact dates and information of each interview can be found in the Appendix section of this thesis.

The format of the interviews was a semi-structured face-to-face interview. Deacon et al. (1999) argue that with a semi-structured interview format you can avoid standardization and complete control, and instead promote open-ended dialogue giving the researcher the opportunity to follow interesting leads whenever they might occur. As King and Horrocks argue: 'Flexibility is a key requirement of qualitative interviewing. The interviewer must be able to respond to issues that emerge in the course of the interview in order to explore the perspective of the participant on the topics under investigation' (2010, p. 35). Furthermore, in order to ensure this flexibility, it is important to develop an 'interview guide' that covers the main topics

that concern the researcher, but allows for flexibility regarding the phrasing of the questions and the order in which they are asked (ibid). In order to identify topics that the guide will be based upon King and Horrocks (2010) argue that there are three main sources from which the researcher can draw upon. These sources are the personal experiences of the research area, the research literature and previous research suggestions, and finally some informal preliminary work to focus the researcher's thinking of the area. From these sources six types of questions can come up (Patton 1990): background/demographic questions, experience/behaviour questions, opinion/values questions, feeling questions, knowledge questions, and sensory questions. For the specific research conducted here the questions developed mainly fall under the categories of experience/behaviour questions, opinion/values questions, and knowledge questions.

Experience/behaviour questions focus on specific and overt actions that the researcher could have observed had he been present at the time (King and Horrocks 2010), and they mainly concerned journalistic practices in the process of collecting information and constructing an article. Opinion/values questions are questions that ask about the opinion of the participant about the topic at hand and how their thoughts relate to their actions (ibid). These types of questions were mainly targeted on the values that the journalists hold and take into account when constructing an article and/or reporting on a political issue. Finally Knowledge questions refer to questions about factual information that the participant holds (ibid) and these types of questions mainly related to the impact of the crisis on the workplace of the participant as well as the changes in journalistic practices that have occurred in the last few years and the factors that brought them about. Background/Demographic questions were not required as this information was provided through a form of acquiring written consent before the interviews, but they were also publically available through the profiles of the interviewees on the online pages of their newspapers. The main questions that I used to guide the interviews can be found in the Appendix section of this dissertation, however a number of spontaneous questions were brought up in every interview to probe deeper in issues that the interviewees brought up and were interesting to this research.

6.2.4 Ethical Considerations

The structure of this part of the research was designed keeping in mind the ethical implications for those involved in the process. Berg (2001) argues that participants must give their 'knowing consent' and make choices free from duress. Knowing consent means that participants are fully aware of what they are consenting to, as well as they are aware of giving the researcher the right to use the data no matter what is said (King and Horrocks 2010). Prior to the interview a process of negotiation takes place during which the interviewer should provide as much information as possible, giving the participants the opportunity to negotiate and consider the terms of their involvement (ibid). The best format to present this information is through a letter with the information sheet enclosed (ibid). In order to recruit participants for the interviews I directly contacted them through their publically available emails and other information, whereas some of the early participants were used as gatekeepers providing with the information of other journalists. All participants were notified to how their information was acquired and provided with extensive information about the research through an email with a letter, and an information sheet including the types of questions to be asked and the use of the data that they would provide prior to the interviews.

Regarding the use of the data provided by the participants King and Horrocks argue that:

> Rather than assuring confidentiality, as researchers we can seek to offer anonymity when using the data generated in qualitative interviews. Anonymity refers to concealing the identity of the participants in all documents resulting from the research, therefore actively protecting the identity of research participants (2010, p. 117).

Based on that anonymity was offered to all the participants, however they chose to go on the record, willfully and without any coercion from the part of the researcher. The interviews were recorded through a Dictaphone and all the journalists that took part in the process signed a participation agreement and declined the offer of anonymity agreeing to be fully named in the dissertation.

6.3 Data Analysis Methodologies

The third step of the case study entails the incorporation of theory in developing research questions, selecting the case, refining the case study design and defining the relevant data to be collected (Yin 2012). This study has incorporated theory in every step of the way, by developing a theoretical framework derived from the relevant literatures and research questions stemming from the theory and the case. Furthermore, the case of Greece was selected from the outset and relevant context to the case has been provided, whereas its importance and relevance for knowledge has been argued for.

The final step is introducing the relevant data collected, and the methodologies that were employed for their analysis. Rosenberg and Yates argue that 'to understand the nature of case study research, it is useful to conceptualize it as an approach to research rather than a methodology in its own right' (2007, p. 448), pointing to the flexibility that a case study design allows to the researcher to select the methods used to collect and analyze data most suited to the research questions of the project. Yin argues that 'good case studies benefit from having multiple sources of evidence' (2012, p. 10). Furthermore, the examination of the literature and the theoretical framework derived has demonstrated that in order to shed light to the process of frame building and all the multiple levels of influence that impact it, it is important to conduct a frame analysis on news messages and political announcements, and also interviews with the journalists that produced them. In that way the three sets of data 'feed' into each other and inform the researcher on the process of frame building in the press, as well as on what the frames themselves reveal about the power struggles and journalistic practices that have applied them in news messages. The following subsections explain how the different methodologies were applied to analyze the data.

6.3.1 Frame Analysis

This section explains the choices made in this thesis regarding the type of analysis and frames to be reconstructed, based on framing theories. A framing analysis was performed on the political announcements, as well as on the newspaper articles. The

same methodology and type of frames were employed in both sets of data, in order to allow for comparisons between the two sets. Research so far has focused on different types of frames, such as equivalency frames and issue frames. Issue frames emphasize a subset of potentially relevant considerations and frame an issue by focusing on qualitatively different yet potentially relevant considerations, whereas equivalency frames focus on making the same statement with different logically equivalent ways (Druckman, 2004). In this research, issue frames are relevant, given that complex policies that include a lot of different ideological and political reasons in their framing are investigated. Sniderman and Theriault (2004, in De Vreese, 2005) argue that political, economic and social issues cannot be reduced to two equivalent scenarios, but through different framing they can be presented as alternative characterizations of a course of action.

De Vreese (2002, in De Vreese 2005, p. 54) offers a typology of news frames by labeling two different types of frames; issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue-specific frames are relevant only to specific topics, whereas generic frames can be identified in different topics, cultures or timelines. De Vreese argues that: 'An issue-specific approach to the study of news frames allows for a profound level of specificity and details relevant to the event or issue under investigation' (2005, p. 55). In this research issue-specific frames were reconstructed to allow for the level of specificity and details that De Vreese (ibid) describes, as these details are important in order to indicate links with the influence of each level of power to the process of frame building in the news media.

There are two approaches through which frames can be identified in the news. One approach is inductive and aims to tackle news stories without a particular set of pre-defined news frames. In that manner, frames emerge from meticulous analysis. This approach has been criticized for relying on small samples and for being difficult to reproduce, however, it can offer deep insights and a more focused level of analysis (De Vreese 2005). On the other hand, there is the deductive approach, which investigates news stories with predefined frames that are subsequently identified within the news stories. Whereas the deductive approach allows for greater objectivity, the inductive approach was preferred in this research, as it can shed light in the finer details of the debate around austerity policies and help uncover the

similarities between the cultural repertoire of frames and the frames applied in news messages. This is also important because it assists the analysis of the influences that led to these frames being applied in the media and enables the pinpointing of how each level of influence impacts the process of frame building. Finally, the inductive approach seems to complement the choice to look for issue-specific frames, whereas a deductive approach would generally work better with generic frames.

Reese argues in favour of 'the interpretive, qualitative approach, which tends to give greater emphasis to the cultural and political content of news frames and how they draw upon a shared store of social meanings' (2010, p. 18). The theoretical standpoint adopted by this research merits for a qualitative approach, since this thesis conceptualizes frames situated in culture, as its emphasis on the cultural and political content of the frames, allows for a detailed investigation of how cultural frames are applied in news messages, and the equivalence between advocate and news frames.

In order to qualitatively reconstruct the frames in political announcements and newspaper articles Van Gorp's suggestion of 'reconstructing frame packages on the basis of the framing devices in texts with a cultural phenomenon as a central idea and, as the case may be, reasoning devices that are demonstrably part of media content and discourse' (2007, p. 71) was adopted. Van Gorp's approach was preferred from other relevant approaches, as it suggests a methodology that allows studying the relationship of frames with journalistic practices (ibid). Furthermore, his constructionist approach allows to better dissect the process of the production of news and the many structural factors that are influencing media content, therefore making it the most suitable to shed light on the process of frame building (ibid). Van Gorp argues that frames are easy to reconstruct from the news media if they are represented as a frame package: 'a cluster of logical organized devices that function as an identity kit for a frame' (ibid, p. 64). To reconstruct a frame package it is important to identify the three parts that compose it, that Van Gorp notes as 'the manifest framing devices, the manifest or latent reasoning devices, and an implicit cultural phenomenon that displays the package as a whole' (ibid, p. 64). Starting with the framing devices Van Gorp (ibid) explains that these can be word choices; metaphors, exemplars, descriptions, arguments and visual devices, and they are the devices through which the frame is manifested in news messages. All these framing devices point towards

the same core idea, a central organizing principle that is the actual frame, which provides the structure to the frame package (ibid). The central theme of a frame package is usually a cultural phenomenon, such as an archetype, a value, or a narrative (ibid).

The reasoning devices then complement the frame package, as the cultural phenomena cannot define and understand events, issues, and persons (Fisher 1997, in Van Gorp 2007). Van Gorp (ibid) argues that the reasoning devices are related to the framing functions identified by Entman (1993). Therefore, to identify the manifest or latent reasoning devices of the frame Entman's (1993) definition of the functions of the frame was employed as a template, but the categories were also slightly amended based on an inductive analysis of the material in the same manner as Touri & Rogers' (2013) piece of research. The reasoning devices located were the 'causal attribution', which looks for the root of the problem, the 'treatment recommendation' which looks for solutions offered to the problem, and the 'problem definition' which identifies the central topic of the frame. The analysis of the material did not yield enough quotes that would fit under the 'moral evaluation' category so the frames were reconstructed omitting this category, hence the amendment of the frame packages. The political and technical nature of the issue could be perhaps the reason behind the lack of moral reasoning in the framing of the announcements and the newspapers. Furthermore, following Van Gorp (2007, p. 64) various framing devices were also uncovered, such as metaphors, exemplars, arguments and so on that point at the same core idea. Finally, each frame was bound together under the heading of a central organizing theme, such as a narrative, an archetype, a value etc.

The reconstruction of the frames was made by the representation of each framing package in a matrix with the row entries representing the frames and the column entries the framing and reasoning devices. To get to the point of reconstruction an analysis of the corpus of each newspaper's articles was performed, with the assistance of the nVivo software and logical chains of framing and reasoning devices across the texts were identified. Van Gorp described the process of reconstructing a frame package inductively:

One can start with the analysis of a strategically chosen set of media texts and determine for each text which elements and propositions can probably function as framing or reasoning devices. Then, the frame analyst can identify logical chains of framing and reasoning devices across the separate texts, In accordance with the principle of constant comparison, the most representative devices can be identified, and finally, integrated in frame packages that are presented in a frame matrix (2007, p. 72).

Following this process twenty to thirty articles from each newspaper and ten announcements from each party were initially analyzed. These numbers were selected after a preliminary analysis, which revealed that the articles and the announcements had repetitive elements and new devices were rare. Logical connections were formed among devices that were pointing to the same phenomenon. Of course the analysis was performed to the entire corpus of articles and announcements, and any new devices that came up were noted and ascribed to the relevant frame package accordingly. The central idea of the frame package was then used as a heading for each frame, as Van Gorp (2007) argues that the association of the frame with a cultural phenomenon achieves a certain degree of generalization to other cases in similar situations.

6.3.2 Thematic Analysis of Interview Transcripts

This section explains the process of analyzing the interview transcripts. The produced amount of material consists of twelve interviews of approximately forty-five minutes each, thus allowing for the verbatim transcription of the interviews, as the process involved a manageable amount of time. The interviews were transcribed and thematically analyzed with the assistance of the software nVivo. King and Horrocks (2010) argue that there are different styles of thematic analysis and suggest their own basic system. Discussing what a 'theme' is and how it can be recognized they argue:

Firstly, identifying themes is never simply a matter of finding something lying within the data like a fossil in a rock. It always involves the researcher in making choices about what to include, what to discard and how to interpret participants' words. Second, the term "theme" implies some degree of

repetition – an issue raised just once (however powerful) should not be called a theme, although it may still play a part in the analysis… Third, themes must be distinct from each other (ibid, p. 149).

By drawing upon the guidelines offered by Langdridge (2004), King and Horrocks (2010) suggest a basic three-stage system for thematic analysis, although they note that the process does not move in a purely sequential manner, as there is often a need to revisit a previous stage. During the first stage of thematic analysis it is important to identify which parts of the transcript data are likely to be helpful in answering the research question (ibid). The researcher reads the transcript as a whole in order to familiarize oneself with the material, without making any effort to code at this stage (ibid). The second step involves the researcher highlighting any text that helps them understand the participant's views, experiences and perceptions and accompany them with comments that describe what's interesting in that highlighted text (ibid). The final step of the first stage is the generation of descriptive codes, based on the preliminary comments of the researchers. These codes need to stay relatively close to the data and avoid interpreting what the participant has said (ibid). Finally, these descriptive codes need to be merged together, when there are overlaps among them.

The second stage of thematic analysis is the stage of interpretative coding (King and Horrocks 2010). At this stage the researcher should focus more on their interpretations of the material and go beyond description. This is done by grouping together descriptive codes that seem to share common meanings under a shared code that captures that meaning (ibid). Langdridge argues that at this stage specific theoretical concepts should not be applied, in order to avoid picking up aspects that only fit with the theoretical framework (2007 in King and Horrocks 2010). Codes are generated and revisited as the researcher proceeds from the one transcript to the other until all the meanings offered by the text are captured (ibid).

The final stage of thematic analysis consists of defining the overarching themes among the codes generated (King and Horrocks 2010). King and Horrocks describe the procedure as such:

At the third stage of coding, you identify a number of overarching themes that characterize key concepts in your analysis. These should be built upon the interpretative themes, but are at a higher level of abstraction than them. At this stage you can draw directly on any theoretical ideas or applied concerns that might underlie your study, so long as these are supported by the analysis so far (ibid, p. 157-158).

Following these guidelines a three-stage thematic analysis was performed on the data yielded by the semi-structured interviews. The interviews were firstly transcribed verbatim, and read thoroughly without any note taking. Then material relevant to the research questions were highlighted and offered preliminary codes through descriptive notes. The second stage of the process involved the merging of these preliminary codes into larger themes, when the codes were found to be overlapping. For example in cases where the journalists were describing the impact of the economic crisis these codes were merged under the theme of 'economic crisis'. The final stage involved the merging of these codes with the theoretical framework of the research. So for example the codes of the economic crisis were merged under the theme of 'elimination practices' when the journalists were describing the loss of staff experienced as an outcome of the crisis. All the data produced by the interviews were incorporated in larger themes that are introduced in the empirical chapters and were also combined with the findings from the frame analyses in order to describe the frame building process and the impact of the various levels of power to this process.

6.4 Data Analysis and Triangulation

Yin (2012) argues that it's always better to use multiple rather than single sources of evidence, in order to make findings as robust as possible, through the triangulation of data. Triangulation occurs when three or more independent sources all point to the same set of events, facts, or interpretations (ibid, p. 13). Gillham explains the outcome of triangulation when data sources corroborate each other and when they produce contradictory results:

If every kind of evidence agrees then you have simple, confirmatory triangulation… Often you don't get that… It doesn't mean that one set of data

is "untrue" rather that the presumed relationship with the triangulation point either doesn't exist or has to be understood differently (2010, p 29-30).

Therefore, the analysis and interpretation of the findings has been organized by triangulating the data coming from the same source, but also the data coming from different sources, such as interviews and frame analysis of the archival records. Theory is carefully employed in order to explain the agreements and discrepancies among the different data sources.

This section establishes how the findings from the different methodologies were analyzed collectively and triangulated in order to address the research questions of the study. The first research question concerns the contribution of political economic structures to explanations of frame building. As the theoretical framework of this research establishes there are various levels of influence, consisting of structures and processes that impact frame building. To connect these structures with frame building the following process of data analysis was employed. Firstly, the results from the thematic analysis of the interview data were utilized in order to complement the connections among the various levels of influence, established in the theoretical framework of the thesis. The findings from the interviews were then triangulated with the findings from the frame analyses, in order to pinpoint how each level impacts the process of frame building.

The frames reconstructed from the news articles were then analyzed in two ways, in order to address the research questions of the thesis. Firstly, there was a microanalysis of the frames that investigated their constituting elements, comparing them with the advocate frames in order to shed light on which elements were applied in news messages and which were muted. The triangulation of these data with the data yielded from the interviews, allows for the demonstration of the links between political economic structures and processes with the frame building process through examples of frames applied in news messages.

The second level of analysis is a macro analysis, which looks at different time periods and maps the development of frames and frame shifts. Here the focus shifts from the internal structure of the frames, to the complete list of frames applied in news

messages. The shifts or patterns noted on how those frames are applied indicate valuable insights about the power struggles that brought them about, and about the relationships between the structures. It is important to mention that in order to understand what the frames and shifts reflect, when it comes to the interests that are served in the process, the repertoire of advocate frames is again needed to compare the media frames to. By comparing the frames promoted by the political parties to the frames found in the media light is shed on which party is favoured by a newspaper, which parties are winning the framing struggle and so on. Furthermore, understanding how the newspapers are treating the political frames that are reproduced is a crucial element of the analysis. Whether, an advocate frame is reproduced exactly as a framing sponsor promoted it, or its altered or contested by the newspaper can indicate the relationship that the newspaper has with the political sponsor, thus answering both the first research question concerning the impact of the various influences in frame building, but also the second one concerning what the frames indicate about the framing contests that led to their application in news content.

Finally, the macro analysis of the frames answers the third research question, which concerns how the specific case of the memoranda was framed by the press. By looking at the complete picture of the list of frames throughout the time periods the limits that these frames pose on democratic debate are exposed. Both levels of analysis employ a process of data triangulation as the results of the frame analysis are used to demonstrate with examples the processes described by the findings of the interviews, while at the same time the findings from the interviews are utilized to explain the process through which frames came to be applied in news messages.

6.4.1 Generalization of Findings

The final question to be addressed in a case study design is the generalization of findings and whether any generalizations can be made. There are two types of generalizing, namely statistical generalizations and analytic generalizations (Yin 2009), with the latter being the most appropriate for case studies (Yin 2012). Analytical generalizations revolve around the theoretical framework of a study and the logic that it establishes that can be applicable to other cases as well (ibid). Yin argues about the analytic generalization of case study findings:

The first step involves a conceptual claim whereby investigators show how their study's findings have informed the relationships among a particular set of concepts, theoretical constructs, or sequence of events. The second step involves applying the same theoretical propositions to implicate other situations, outside the completed case study, where similar concepts, constructs, or sequences might be relevant (ibid, p. 18).

Therefore, given that the case study in this research is employed as an example the research is establishing a set of connections among the concepts of frame building with political economic processes and structures that are either universal or context related. The data gathering methodologies employed shed light on the contextual elements of each situation, but the relationships established through the theoretical framework and the findings of the research can be repeated in order to shed light on the same processes in other contexts.

7. When Politicians Lead the Tango: The Impact of the Crisis and New Technologies on Journalistic Practices and Frame Building

This chapter discusses the interaction between the macro level structures with micro level journalistic practices, and the manifestation of this interaction through meso level processes. The chapter investigates the structures of market and media ownership and how they have been impacted by the capitalist economic crisis. This impact is manifested through two meso level processes, which are the strategies adopted by the owners of the media in order to adapt to diminishing revenues. These strategies consist of labour elimination practices, as well as labour intensification practices that are achieved by the digitalization of the newsroom. Finally, these processes are linked with journalistic practices and their impact on frame building, illustrated with specific examples from the frame analysis.

7.1 The Impact of the Economic Crisis

One of the focal points from the interviews conducted with Greek journalists was the impact of the economic crisis on the press and the changes brought to their profession during these years. Starting with the staggering fall of newspaper sales in the country and the various explanations provided by the journalists, this section presents the testimonies of media labourers on how the crisis impacts their practices and resources.

7.1.1 Drop in Sales

The increasing pressure on the press market and the precipitous fall of newspaper circulation rates was reported by almost half of the journalists interviewed (five out of twelve), who detected a number of reasons for this decline. For example, Voula Kehagia who is now employed by Ethnos but worked for Ta Nea as a senior political journalists during the period under examination discusses how the crisis and new media at the same time increase the pressure on the newspaper business:

> The first newspaper Ta Nea was affected very much by the crisis. Firstly that has to do with people not wanting to buy a newspaper because they find

information from the Internet, something that developed in the last ten years. Therefore, people that want quick information and perhaps not in depth information would rather visit the Internet.

Dimitris Mitropoulos, who was the director of Ta Nea during the years under investigation on the other hand points to the pressure applied on the traditional readership of Greece because of the crisis: 'To give you an example: to be the reader of a daily newspaper every day you have to spend 800 euros a year. Who has 800 euros per year to spend on buying a newspaper today'? Eirini Chrisolora, employed by Ta Nea as a senior economic journalist during the years of the memoranda before moving on to Kathimerini, expands the crisis of the printed press to the years before the economic crisis, that only exacerbated the phenomenon:

> The drop in sales is dramatic… Ta Nea was a newspaper that in the old days rocked, meaning that it sold much, and it is still first in sales but if you are first with 15.000 newspapers sold that's not a big achievement. So definitely the sales dropped dramatically but it happened in parallel with the crisis that existed one way or the other in the Greek press and lately exists in the international press as well. Therefore it is a complex phenomenon. You could say that the press received a three-fold blow.

Indeed the crisis of the press is something that preceded the economic crisis that hit the country, something corroborated by Papathanassopoulos (2001) who talks about a press crisis in the country from the 1990s. The economic crisis was a devastating blow in an already pressured environment.

Kaki Mpali a senior journalist from Avgi adds another dimension, by claiming that the reputation of journalists in Greece has been discredited and this increases the drop in sales: 'Avgi has been effected by the crisis as all the other newspapers in the sense that sales have dropped because our readers have less money. Sales have also dropped because our occupation has been discredited'. This is also a continuing trend from the 1990s as Papatheodorou and Machin (2003) posit that the polarization of the media as a result of major political and economic scandals in the 1990s, led to a crisis of credibility for the Greek media.

Despite attributing declining sales to different factors the majority of the journalists interviewed concurs that the drop has been significant. The impact of this phenomenon that preceded the crisis was two fold. On the one hand many journalists became unemployed, due to labour elimination practices adopted by media owners as the preferred strategy to deal with dropping revenues. On the other hand the journalists that remained employed during the crisis had to intensify their labour in order to make up for the staff laid off and not replaced, as well as deal with deteriorating material conditions.

7.1.2 Labour Elimination Practices

The media ownership responded to the crisis through strategies of labour elimination as a majority of interviewees reveal. Many journalists were laid off and labour intensification was the outcome for those that remained. Dimitris Mitropoulos, the former director of Ta Nea explains the reductions in numbers:

> There have been cutbacks; there have been staff reductions. In the last three years before I stopped being a journalist I was also the director of Ta Nea. I cannot tell you that the environment of the financial crisis that was very pressing stopped us… Obviously it would be better. When I was running Ta Nea, let's say I got them with 120 journalists, historically the newspaper had more than 200, half of them left to give you precise numbers.

However, other journalists report a much more dire situation. Elena Laskari, from Ta Nea describes the situation in no uncertain terms: 'Less people to do the same job, with less money and with more working hours. These are the conditions of journalism in Greece today'. She goes on describing labour elimination as it was experienced by the workers in Ta Nea, one of the most impacted newspapers:

> Have there been staff reductions? Huge... Because as I said even salaries were not paid regularly, let alone fees of voluntary leave… We have many examples like that in Greece with newspapers that closed down leaving their workers literally on the streets without paying not even one euro on

compensations, that are being claimed now for years in courtrooms by former employees who are now unemployed or underpaid in other media or in other jobs. Many colleagues were forced to change occupations.

Ta Nea is one of the most affected newspapers, and it is no coincidence that out of the five journalists interviewed only one remains at the time of the interviews with the newspaper. However, this phenomenon was identified in all the newspapers under investigation. Kathimerini, which according to its journalists did rather well compared to other newspapers during the crisis, is not an exception. Paschos Mandravelis, a senior article writer for Kathimerini and an organic intellectual of his class, describes the situation:

> It has impacted us a lot, despite the fact that Kathimerini was a business that was always very "tidy". I don't know how it happened, whether it was conscious or not, but it was ready to deal with the crisis and the crisis did not affect it as much as other newspapers... Nonetheless our salaries have been reduced, our work has increased, it (the crisis) has impacted us a lot.

Kostas Karkagiannis and Vasilis Nedos who also work in Kathimerini note the decrease in staff numbers and the impact on the volume of work that they need to do: 'There are half of us left. And the volume of work has increased' (Kostas Karkagiannis). Vasilis Nedos adds that the increased pressure takes a toll on the everyday life of the journalist: 'In the department I work in, the political, there used to be 6 people, now there are 4 but the workload is the same. So 4 people are doing the work of 6. The shifts of six. The extraordinary commitments that can come up'.

Kaki Mpali of Avgi describs that although there were no lay offs in the leftist newspaper, there has been a reduction of staff by not replacing journalists that leave:

> The crisis brought cutbacks for everybody; we are relatively lucky because the cutbacks were not that big. Of course before the crisis our salaries were not that high to begin with. Meaning that it was a business that had exactly the contracts of collective bargaining. I can't say that there have been firings in Avgi but whoever leaves does not get replaced. Either leaves because they are

retiring or going to work elsewhere. We, as everybody else, also have delays in payments. Which worsens our environment especially after so many years of crisis.

Furthermore, Kaki Mpali connects the pressure applied to journalists by the crisis with sources managing to pass their stories on to the media:

That happens everywhere. Not only with political sources, but also for example with a police story. When someone has maximum one hour to deal with that and they have the time to make three phone calls but they no longer go there. A big problem is that there isn't the time and the budget anymore to get there; yes stories that shouldn't go through, do get through.

These are important insights as they paint a picture of the conditions of post-crisis journalism in Greece. To summarize, journalists from all three newspapers under investigation report the staff tasked with creating content has diminished and those left behind have to intensify their labour. This situation reflects to a large degree the worries expressed by McChesney (2008) regarding the commercialization of the media that undermines the professionalization of journalism. McChesney (2008) argues that the cutbacks on the provision of journalism mean that it is easier for PR executives to get their messages through, unadulterated by journalism. Although a case for political sources having the upper hand in the negotiations with journalists can be made on the grounds of the pressures that journalists are facing due to labour eliminations, it is crucial to also look at the impact of the crisis on the material conditions of journalism, as McChesney (2008) also argues that the impact of corporate cutbacks on the resources allocated to journalists has a connection with a relaxation of professional news standards. The agency of Greek journalists was in any case mainly driven by partisanship rather than professionalization (Hallin and Mancini 2004) meaning that the further deterioration of the resources at their disposal is bound to have significant effects on the construction of news content that need to be further investigated. What is missing from the journalistic testimonies here is the character of the lay offs and whether these were also motivated by ideological and punitive reasons beyond their economic rationalization. This could be due to fact that the journalists under investigation in this research were still employed at the time.

However, it is important to note the internal hierarchy and class divisions within the journalistic core itself and the one-sided perspective that these testimonies generate given that there were no interviews with journalists that were fired during the years under investigation.

7.1.3 Deteriorating Material Conditions, Deteriorating Content Quality

The journalists link the pressures on their job caused by deteriorating material conditions with the quality of the content produced. Eirini Chrisolora describes the situation:

> Firstly it has an impact on the quality of the end product. If you are under a lot of pressure and badly paid your product will definitely be in a lower level that what it used to be, although I think that most journalists despite suffering that blow, are trying to give their best.

Elena Laskari describes how the awful material conditions, that the news workers of the newspaper have to work under, ultimately affect their work:

> When a worker does not know if they will get paid and when, this impacts his work, the outcome of his labour. Therefore I would say that this crisis has led to a degradation of the journalistic product in Greece. During last Christmas in DOL (Lamprakis Journalistic Organization) we approached the holidays having received a 15-day salary one and a half month before. There were colleagues that couldn't afford to go shopping to the grocery store, there was a colleague who came with a six euro food voucher from Vasilopoulos (super market) and told me that's the last I have, I will shop for my child with that. This journalist cannot perform his job well. As much as this is their passion, as much as they care about their job, as much as they love their job, when they have six euros on a food voucher to buy milk for their children they cannot perform their job adequately.

Although the situation was not that extreme for journalists working in the other newspapers similar trends were noticed everywhere, as Vasilis Nedos describes for Kathimerini:

> There is more tension, less time to analyse the information, in particular in Greece frozen and in many cases very low salaries, which as a matter of fact are bad for content. Meaning that the bad circumstances of journalism do not only lead to better financial results for the employer, but worse results on the content that gets out. Kathimerini is not the worst case; to be precise I would say that it's probably the best because we held on during the crisis.

Kaki Mpali confirms that time pressure due to lack of staff also exists in Avgi and connects this with the quality of the news:

> A job that in an English, French, German newspaper would be done by five people, in Greece it is a one man job whatever that means. It doesn't mean that the end product was good, but the efforts were heroic and we had some good outcomes.

The staff reductions did not only impact the quality of the end product, but also the working practices of Greek journalists. Eirini Chrisolora explains how journalists are now less specialized in one area, and need to learn to work in areas that might not be in their expertise:

> There have been a lot of firings, not just firings, a dramatic shrinking of staff. Also very big wage reductions. The result of that was that the few of us left had to take on more workloads. In the old days all the newspapers had a reporter that covered the macroeconomic issues like I did, the negotiation, the financial policy and so on. And one covering tax issues, because they always had an interest for newspapers, and it is a technical report that one must be very knowledgeable at to do it. Now we don't have that, the same person covers both of them.

Aristotelia Peloni, another journalist that used to work for Ta Nea and then moved on to Kathimerini concurs:

> I think the biggest impact was that staff was reduced. And where you could have for example a very specialized journalist that knew about theater or the cinema, you can now see one man doing two or three things and obviously its not the same as having a man doing a job for years. There is a discount there and obviously it's not the same. At this point this reflects to the product.

Another way in which the crisis has affected journalistic practice in Greece, is that in a time when admittedly there was a need for information from abroad due to the nature of the crisis and the fact that the memoranda took many of the crucial decisions for the future of the country abroad, the Greek media had less money to fund foreign correspondents as Eirini Chrisolora explains:

> The newspapers are going through a big crisis in Greece, all the media and the channels from a point that it was a given that you would have a correspondent in every major European capital and the US, now that's not a given. There are very few left, those that are left cover many media and therefore they cannot give too much to each and every medium.

Finally, the already low funding of the Greek press to journalists that would conduct more extensive research on issues that escape the narrow confines of the news cycle has been further limited because of the crisis as Kostas Karkagiannis said:

> I don't really remember the Greek media ever giving money to a journalist to let's say go for a week in Thessaloniki and research. But definitely whatever existed they will have limited it. One way or the other the Greek media was stingy towards work that required more time, more money.

These observations are important in the analysis of frame building, because they paint a picture of the working conditions of journalists and also the impact of the labour elimination strategies adopted by the media owners. The fact of the matter is that under-paid journalists, who had to overwork to cover for the staff that was laid off,

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covered one of the most important political issues in the history of Greece. In addition, journalists had to cover stories outside their field of expertise, due to the lay-offs and did not have the support of foreign correspondents during a time when the need for information from the centers of power in Europe and the United States grew exponentially. Finally, in a similar finding to Carson (2014) in the Australian context, the already rare cases of funding for investigative journalism in Greece have all but disappeared in the crisis era, further making the case that newspapers have been captured by their sources.

Furthermore, the findings are congruent with McChesney's (2008) argument that corporate cutbacks challenge the successful provision of journalism. The combination of fewer resources for journalists, with labour elimination and intensification practices outlined here paints a very different picture from Cook's (1998) negotiation of newsworthiness theory. The journalists in this context work under very different material and cultural conditions in comparison to their counterparts discussed in the American context of the nineties in Cook's (ibid) research although it should be noted that Cook was investigating journalism in a very different media system and at a different time frame. McChesney (2008) argues that the diminishing number of reporters enhances the ability of PR executives and political sources to get their messages through, unadulterated by journalism. Therefore, it can be argued that the crisis has given political sources an opportunity to gain the upper hand in the negotiation, due to the impact it had on journalism. In this context it makes sense that the sources have more power over the journalists to not only affect what the media cover, but also how they cover it since the journalists are under significant pressures that diminish the resources that they can put forward in the negotiation. These factors appear to have created a production environment within which political parties have enhanced capacities to set, shape and build the framing of the crisis in newspapers' coverage, and this thesis argues that this is evident in the patterns of newspaper framing which closely reflect the frames being transmitted by political parties. This will be illustrated through a discussion of frames later in the chapter, but before doing so, it is important to address the second major transformation that influenced journalistic practices in Greece in recent years, namely the introduction of new technologies and the increasing digitalization of journalism.

7.2 Labour Intensification Through Digitalization

The second meso level manifestation of the impact of diminishing revenues on journalistic practices is the intensification of labour achieved through the introduction of new technologies. A majority of the journalists interviewed point to the impact of new technologies on their working practices. Mainly they focus on the increasing digitization of the newsroom and the rise of online competitors. Understanding the impact of these developments on journalistic labour is crucial in order to pinpoint how the interaction between the macro level structures and the micro level practices, manifested through meso level processes impacts the structure of frames.

7.2.1 Space-Time Compression

At least one third of the interviewees mentioned the introduction of the Internet in the workplace as an important change that took place during their careers. In accordance to what Örnebring (2010) posits, Greek journalists describe changes on their practices in a deterministic relationship with new technologies by identifying the Internet as the causal factor for these changes. For example Aristotelia Peloni mentions that information collection is much faster now:

> The only change that I would see is that the Internet helps a lot. To find some things more on the background or to locate old articles. Because I started many years ago when the Internet was only in the beginning so that wasn't a practice. Meaning that in order to find something you needed to look for days.

Vasilis Nedos concurs that: 'it has changed a lot because now there is the Internet so it has changed firstly speed wise. Information, which requires more time in locating, analysing, verifying all that a journalist knows, now this time has reached zero'. Other journalists also underline the importance of the Internet but demarcate the area that the agency of the journalist begins. Dimitris Mitropoulos mentions for example:

> Now you sit on your desk and you do computer assisted reporting... but that doesn't change the fact that these are background information and that you will have to look for original live information that you wouldn't otherwise

find. So I don't think that on the level of collecting information the Internet makes a substantial difference. Ok there is more information, easier to access, but it is not a qualitative difference.

What Mitropoulos means here is, that although the digitization of the newsroom has an impact on journalistic practices, the essence of journalism remains in the cultivation of relationships with sources. Vasilis Nedos concurs that although there is an increase in the workload, the Internet has not made a qualitative difference:

> Now when it comes to the process I don't think that there has been a drastic change, meaning that the flow of information and finding information is quicker, that there is greater competition because of the technical element of speed, but still the professional job of a journalist is to build relationships of trust with their sources which are not tested within a week, two weeks, a month, but through the years and this is what differentiates the professional journalist from those that work for a site and upload news, simply following the flow of official information which usually is filtered.

These reports point towards the well-documented compression of space and time in journalism that the digitalization of the newsroom brought about. However, it is important to note that although the journalists try to point out that they still have their agency in reporting and that this abundance of information is merely another tool they can employ, they also describe the intensification of labour introduced alongside these new opportunities. Some of the participants also describe important downsides that the introduction of the Internet in the newsroom brought about. For example, Paschos Mandravelis a veteran article writer points out the issue of information saturation:

> Today the guys know better, of course when they are not lost in information, because… they don't have the experience of managing information… we knew that if we read something in Eleftheri Ora (Extreme right wing conspiracy newspaper) before the Internet we would double-check it, rather than something we read in Ta Nea. We carry that experience from the smaller scale. The youngsters do not have it.

The issue of speed features prominently as a factor that contributes to the intensification of labour. Elena Laskari's description is very characteristic:

> So you write an article that deals with the technical procedure, but suddenly Wolfgang Schauble makes a statement in Berlin that is broadcasted live by Deutsche Welle and overturns the political part of what you were constructing so far. You might have finished your piece but then you need to change it. Therefore, again technologies and the speed of information spreading have overturned your work. Obviously for the better, because you have better information but it still overturns your work.

Kaki Mpali reports on how the Internet intensifies journalistic practices: 'First of all, the Internet, and the technology…. Everything now is online and on top of that any piece of information is very quickly, whether it has been checked or not, uploaded and this puts pressure on everybody to work quicker'. Elena Laskari also conveys this sense of running against the clock:

> They have just increased the competition a lot. Who gets to know a story faster has a major importance these days. Who makes the first tweet; who uploads his piece first in the digital edition of the newspaper. In the old days you waited to see if a journalist from another newspaper has created a blunder for you as we used to say, and you would see that the next day when the newspaper came out. If you had a news story that I didn't have, and I had missed out on a big story, you had created a big blunder for me. Now this happens much faster so you are running against the clock more and more.

What those segments reveal is that journalists attribute different levels of importance to technologies in their working practices. Some view them as a tool that can only assist them so much, before their individual labour makes the difference. Others view them as a necessary evil that complicates their work. No matter what the individual experience of technology in the workplace is, the objective reality reported by these journalists is that time is becoming more constrained, because information is now spreading much faster and the events are unfolding in real-time. Regardless of the way that journalists perceive the impact of new technologies on their practices it

needs to be noted that these technologies themselves are not to blame for the resulting intensification of labour. As Henrik Örnebring (2010) posits it is common for journalists to explain their working practices as the outcome of the introduction of new technologies in the workplace, however, they need to be perceived as tools in the service of capitalist necessity rather than forces in themselves. The capitalist necessity for commodification and commercialization is the driving force and the new technologies are the tools through which the managers of the newspaper achieve their goals (ibid). Therefore, the alterations discussed here are dictated by the interaction of the structure of the market with the structure of the ownership, which is mediated through the employment of new technologies. The declining income of newspapers noted in the previous sections of this chapter, precipitated by the economic crisis, has shrunk the market. Furthermore, the simultaneous rise of digital media that are direct market competitors to the press increases the need to cut down on costs for media organizations. Other than the labour elimination processes described earlier, another way of achieving this is through the digitalization of the newsroom and the intensification of labour demanded by the management of the media organization through these new technologies. These insights confirm Sparks (2004) who posits that one of the impacts of new technologies on the media is the erosion of the former boundaries of time and space, which ultimately impacts elements of news production. Exactly how this labour intensification impacts frame building will be explored in the coming sections.

Another constraint posed on journalistic work by new technologies is because of the effort from most newspapers in Greece to create and maintain online versions. However, in the financial circumstances of the press business in Greece these online versions relied on the staff of the printed versions to operate, adding more tasks for press journalists. Voula Kehagia describes the effort made by the owners of the press to create online versions:

> Usually the practice of most newspapers was that they also created websites. But that was not enough because they couldn't hire people to work on the websites. And the journalists that we have on the newspapers cannot be alert and have a shift at the website because they have other things to do… So without having extra staff the newspapers tried to operate websites that did not

have the material of the newspaper. Because if they had the material of the newspaper, then they wouldn't sell at all.

Kehagia herself did not have to write material for the website of Ta Nea, however other interviewees shared their experiences of how the websites became a part of their job. Vasilis Nedos from Kathimerini mentions: 'I also write on the Internet, not only on the newspapers, as all of us, meaning that this is the new situation…When something breaking happens you need to write from where you are'. Kostas Papagiannis describes a similar reality in Avgi: 'Definitely it has increased in total. It's just that the pieces are different, they are bigger; contain more sides, whereas on the site you have speed. You must write something, somewhat quickly to upload'. So ultimately this points towards the impact that new digital technologies as instruments of the management of a newspaper have on the practices of journalists, leading to further intensification of the labour process. This intensification caused by the erosion of the time/space barriers and the increase of journalistic workloads is a finding that adds to the reports regarding the impact of the crisis on journalistic practices. It also adds weight to the argument that the developments on the structural level described in this chapter and their impact on journalistic practices work in favour of political sources and lead to the application of advocate frames by the newspapers without much journalistic intervention.

7.2.2 Competition from News Sites

The rise of online news sites as direct competitors to the press also had an impact on the role of newspapers in Greece, and therefore on journalistic practices. More specifically journalists note that more commentary is expected of them as a response to that development. Eirini Chrisolora describes how journalists adapt to the new market:

When you know that at the same time the reader will access the Internet and will see that a few things have been agreed upon with the institutions… what is the point in writing the same things the next day? Only if you comment or present the fact in a way, I don't mean biased but to give a different

interpretation, an extension, only then there is a point in someone reading you to understand something.

Elena Laskari describes a similar situation, however she also notes a sort of division of labour between online and press journalists, with increased commentary expected of press journalists:

News as news now you will find them in the digital media. You will see that an explosion happened. You will see the fact seconds after it has taken place. The analysis and the extension though, are hard to be found in a digital medium in such speed. The journalist needs time to be able to look deeper in an issue, to analyse, extend it, look at what is hidden behind it and give you a more complete picture. Therefore, you will find the news very fast in the digital media, but the job of the newspapers cannot be replaced at this moment.

Aristotelia Peloni concurs when discussing her experience from working at Ta Nea:

If you are asking about Ta Nea that I worked for the most years yes they made this change at some point. Meaning that in the last three years they were looking to make more concept issues, to move away from the news and look behind, the details, many times if you will the background or the extra-political fact, to look at the issue more like a research meaning that they remind the reader what had happened before; they tried to find another side exactly so you can read this thing and that the reader has a reason to buy you.

This finding points to an increase in commentary in Greek news confirming Sparks' (2004) theory that posits that the introduction of the Internet as a direct market competitor to offline media will impact the role of newspapers. Furthermore, this finding contradicts Murdock and Golding's (1974) expectation that, in order to survive economically, newspapers will be forced to evacuate politics and reduce commentary. To be sure political commentary was already more common in the Greek media system compared to other countries, such as the United Kingdom, which is the media system that Murdock and Golding (1974) talked about. The application

of advocate frames unadulterated by journalism in news messages is more likely due to the increase in commentary requirements for journalists. In order to provide with commentary, interpretative packages provided by political sources are required to retain a sense of objectivity and give weight to said commentary. Therefore, this tendency is another factor that favours the application of advocate frames in newspaper content. Furthermore, the need for more commentary in the press as an outcome of the competition with online news sites is a development that in combination with the aforementioned lack of funding for investigative journalism and general decline in journalistic resources provides a competitive edge to the communicators of political parties. This is because the practice of press journalism requires more time and resources in order to investigate and analyse competing claims, however the trends indicate that there is less time and resources instead, thus enhancing the position of political sources in the negotiation of newsworthiness (Cook 1998). Aristotelia Peloni's account of the increasing competition between journalists from different media corroborates that:

> If the politicians want to get their job done quickly they will leak a couple of information to two large sites and they won't even bother with the press journalists, they won't pass on the information or they will do so later. I wouldn't say so, the opposite. Exactly because of the Internet, I think that we have less power today than what we had 5-10 years ago.

This finding is significant for the relationship between journalists and political sources in the Greek case. Political sources have enhanced their resources in the negotiation with journalists since they can take advantage of the increased competition that has occurred from the proliferation of online-based outlets. The fact that political sources can now choose from a variety of journalists working in different media means that although they still need publicity they now have much more negotiating power over the journalists in order to get their preferred interpretations of events through the media. A journalist that does not satisfy the demands of his sources can be cast aside. The politician now has even more choices and the increased competition among journalists can lead to more cooperation towards their sources. At the same time journalists are under increasing pressures and diminishing resources that undermine their power when negotiating with political

sources. Therefore, what has been created is a systemic bias towards catering to the needs of the political sources, in order to secure information. This tendency favours the application of advocate frames in news media with minimal journalistic intervention, depending of course on the power of the frame sponsor as well.

7.2.3 Fake News

Another development caused by the proliferation of blogs and online media was the spread of fake news, which also have a negative impact on the intensity of journalistic labour. Journalists feel that the time pressures they are facing do not give them the chance to filter all the information they find online. Furthermore, they mention that the anonymity of many online sites and blogs can be used to spread lies for political purposes, making their jobs harder. Paschos Mandravelis talks about the added difficulty that the information saturation of the Internet has brought about: 'Now with Google the search might be quicker but you need to do it 2 or 3 times because there are a lot of fake news going around and I have fallen victim to this a couple of times'. Giorgos Poulakidas of Avgi concurs by claiming that the proliferation of sources and information has made the filtering of fake information out of mainstream newspapers more difficult:

> Now with new technologies it's more difficult to understand (when something is fake news). The journalistic 'field' in Greece, not only in numbers of journalists but also in numbers of people with whom journalists speak with were few and specific. Now it has spread and it's more difficult in the mess that has taken over to make sense of it. More and more often you see stuff getting in and as long as they stay in they appear as the truth, when they are not.

This is a worrying trend that further contributes to the shifting of the balance in the negotiation of newsworthiness (Cook 1998) in favour of the sources. This is because of the increased intensification of journalistic labour caused by the parallel developments of corporate cuts and digitalization of the newsroom. A diminished workforce has to deal with increased workloads, as fact checking Internet-based stories takes up a lot of time. Therefore, this increased pressure for journalists creates

opportunities for political sources to pass their preferred frames on an issue unadulterated by journalism. Voula Kehagia describes how the anonymity and speed of online information constrains journalistic labour in the mainstream media:

> Countless times I have personally felt the need to hit my computer because I read news that have nothing to do with reality in the field that I work in, but their spread is such and with such speed that they create facts; what has recently been called fake news. Fake news dominated Greece during the last years.

Aristotelia Peloni's account is a similar one: 'It has also made it more difficult at the same time because with that plethora of sites, blogs, unsigned articles, hooded journalism as I like to call it, you suddenly try to prove that you are not an elephant'. And then she goes on to outline how online information impacts her working practices:

> I am not talking about news sites with regular reports and signatures, but for the various others that are on the gray zones let's say of blackmail, of the game... In my case there have been many times when they told me "this site is writing this check it out and "this" was nothing, a non-existent issue". This can happen five times within the day and at some point you can't run around and cross check issues that don't exist.

The increasing digitization of journalism in Greece is another trend that poses constraints on journalistic practices and ultimately works in favour of political sources. New technologies increase the workload of journalists, who must now go through, and verify an abundance of information before even beginning their traditional task of contacting sources for information. Furthermore, the digitization of the newsroom poses new demands on journalists, as it is common nowadays to contribute to online versions of their newspaper. This information overload, combined with the post-crisis material conditions of journalism as they have been described in the previous section are two trends that mediate the constraints from the structural level onto the daily practice of journalism. The examination of journalistic production and the changes that the journalists report reveals how the ideological function of the

media has been embedded in the process, and how the owners of the media manage to control the output of journalistic labour through processes of labour commodification and modernization. What remains now is to make sense of how these processes contribute to frame building, and more specifically to the structure of a frame applied in news messages. As the previous sections establish, these trends affect the relationships between journalists and their sources through their impact on the resources that they wield during the negotiation of newsworthiness. I contend that amidst the contributory consequences of these trends are to reduce the resources of journalists impacting on their power dynamic with political sources, giving political sources greater capacity to shape the framing of the crisis.

On the one hand the economic crisis brought about developments on the structure of the market, namely the declining funds of news organizations. This macro level development was mainly dealt in the meso level of the news organization through labour elimination processes that had a double impact on the micro level relationships of journalists with political sources. Firstly the material conditions of journalists in Greece deteriorated, alongside the resources that journalists can bring forward in the negotiation of newsworthiness, due to corporate cutbacks. Secondly, the diminishing of staff in the majority of the news organizations meant the intensification of labour for the remaining staff, who in most cases had increased workloads because they needed to cover for the journalists that were laid off, or not replaced.

On the other hand the digitalization of the newsroom was another meso level process that was brought about by necessities dictated by the macro level and more specifically the structure of the market. The diminishing funds of news organizations create the need to further the commodification of labour, through the modernization of the newsroom and the introduction of new technologies. These new technologies intensify the labour of journalists, exactly because they are instruments in the hands of the management of the newspaper in the same manner that Marjoribanks (2000) and Ursell's (2004) research suggests. This intensification of labour provides political sources with more opportunities to get their preferred framing of an issue through the media. Furthermore, the rise of online media as direct competitors to the press is another development on the structure of the market that impacts the micro level transactions between sources and journalists, as political sources now have more

outlets to voice their opinions and journalists have increased competition among them, thus they are inclined to appease their sources in order to secure information.

These developments impact the frame building process in the media, since political sponsors develop and promote strategic frames, which are then selected or modified by journalists. As D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010) suggest journalists cannot avoid framing a topic because they need frames provided by their sources to make news. Furthermore as both Shoemaker and Reese (1996) and Vliegenthart and van Zoonen's (2011) studies on frame building argue, the routines of journalists are an important part of the process. The trends noted in this chapter point towards journalistic practices that do not allow journalists the required time and autonomy to act as processors that either modify sources' frames or superimpose their own frames. Therefore, the interaction between the micro level journalistic practices with the macro level structure of the market and the ownership of the media provides with a specific contribution to the frame building process. More specifically, I content that this interaction is evidenced by the degree of adoption of political party frames in news coverage. In order to illustrate that, examples of political frames and how they have been reproduced in newspaper articles will now be presented.

7.3 Shaping the Structure of Frames: The Influence of Political Sources

This chapter examines the interaction between the structures on the macro level and the micro level transactions between journalists and sources, as they are manifested through meso level processes of labour commodification and intensification. The conclusion is that sources have gained the upper hand in the negotiation of newsworthiness and therefore have an enhanced capacity to shape framing. Examples of frames from the case under investigation that arguably illustrate the impact of the processes at work on frame building are now presented.

7.3.1 Setting the Terms of the Debate in 2010

The frame analysis of the 2010 corpus corroborates the interview findings regarding the enhanced capacities of political sources to set the terms and frames of the debate. Fifteen out of the nineteen frames reconstructed from the newspapers are applications

of advocate frames, indicating the enhanced capacity of sources to get their frames through the media. The most interesting examples are frames that are repeated in more than one newspaper, as they exhibit the enhanced capacity of politicians to access the media better than frames that are picked up only by one newspaper. Therefore, the examples presented consist of two frames promoted by PASOK, two frames sponsored both by ND and SYRIZA, and finally one frame promoted solely by SYRIZA.

Starting with PASOK's advocate frames, promoted through its announcements as seen in Table one, all newspapers apply the 'Harsh but Necessary' frame, whereas the 'Crisis as an opportunity' frame is applied in Kathimerini and Ta Nea.

Table 1: PASOK's Advocate Frames in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh But Necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, salvation, sacrifice, painful metaphors	Previous ND government, International Markets Speculation	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Voting for the memorandum, Implementing the memorandum, Achieve growth
'Crisis as an opportunity' frame	Crisis as an opportunity narrative	Past mistakes are haunting Greece, Mistakes of the previous ND government	Structural issues of Greece such as corruption, clientilism, state-dependent economy	Move forward with the structural reforms, be more transparent

However, the three newspapers apply the frame with slight variations. More specifically Kathimerini's version of the frames alters the Causal Attribution dimension of both frames and also the Problem Definition dimension of the 'Crisis as an opportunity' frame as demonstrated in Table two. Despite Kathimerini contesting

the frames in some cases the claims of the government are reproduced and adopted up to a point. For example the frame promoted by PASOK is using the 'salvation' metaphor throughout the period, being firstly mentioned by the Prime Minister on March 12, 2010. This quote is an example from May 2010: 'I want to remind you that our choice was between the collapse of Greece and it's *salvation*. And we chose *salvation'*. Kathimerini also reproduces this metaphor and not in the form of a direct quote but as commentary by its article writers: 'It is obvious that the situation, after the *Salvation*, remains critical'. This quote is from an article written on May 12, 2010 indicating that the government's framing strategy has succeeded through the adoption of its metaphors. Another example of how a frame promoted by a political party can be reproduced by a newspaper is found in the 'Crisis as an opportunity' frame, where Kathimerini reproduces a direct quote: 'Furthermore, the prime-minister stressed 'the country is going through a historical turn, *which we are trying to make into an opportunity*, and we would expect from the opposition to help more, instead of playing partisan games'. What these examples demonstrate is that although the newspaper can superimpose its own framing, the political party manages to set the terms of the debate and impact the structure of the frame. The reasons for this have to do with the importance of the frame sponsor, which in this case is the party in the government, but this could also indicate the increased power that political sources have to get their preferred framings through the media due to the changes in journalistic practices noted in the previous sections. Despite PASOK being ideologically distant to Kathimerini, its frames still managed to get picked up.

Table 2: Application of PASOK's Advocate Frames in Kathimerini in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, sacrifice, painful metaphors	The government is to blame	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum
'Crisis as an opportunity'	Crisis as an opportunity	Public Sector, Politicians	Corruption, Systemic Greek	Structural Reforms

| frame | narrative | issues, Delaying reforms | | |

In contrast Ta Nea is a much more straightforward case, as the newspaper traditionally supported PASOK up to that point. Therefore, the frames are picked up and almost mirrored by the centrist newspaper as seen in Table three.

Table 3: Application of PASOK's Advocate Frames in Ta Nea in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful metaphor	Previous governments, public sector	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum
'Crisis as an opportunity' frame	Crisis is an opportunity narrative	Systemic Greek issues, previous governments	Corruption, Clientilism	Proceed with the reforms

Finally Avgi reproduces only one PASOK frame in 2010, however the news frame is almost identical to the advocate frame as demonstrated in Table four.

Table 4: Application of PASOK's Advocate Frame in Avgi in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, Painful, sacrifice metaphors	Previous governments	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum

The examination of Avgi's news frame reveals that although it is reproduced in its constituting elements this is mainly done through the employment of direct or indirect

quotes of government and international politicians. For example: 'In the same climate he mentions repeatedly that the memorandum with the troika does not only include the painful but needed measures, but also the big reforms such as Kallikratis'. This indirect quote of the prime minister demonstrates how political frames make their way in newspaper articles, even through the repetition of quotes by their sponsors. Important sponsors such as governing party members have enough power to make sure that the media will pick up their frames.

However the examination of the opposition's frames indicates that advocate frames that are both counter to the ideology of the newspaper and also not promoted by a significant sponsor have been applied in news messages. The developments noted in the previous sections are a plausible explanation for this phenomenon. For example, the pressures that journalists are under due to labour elimination practices, and the subsequent intensification of labour to make up for the staff that has been laid off can lead to the reproduction of quotes from many politicians, even from parties that are not significant sponsors. This is because journalists have to produce a lot of material in a constrained time and the easiest way to achieve this is by reporting on the actions of the politicians. Furthermore, as it was explained in the previous section many newspapers changed their role in light of the rise of competitor online media, providing more commentary on their articles. The combination of the need for more commentary with the aforementioned pressures applied to journalists creates a fertile ground for the application of advocate frames, as journalists report and comment on the actions of the politicians and by doing that they indirectly apply the politician's preferred frames on a issue.

In 2010 the opposition parties promote two frames, which are applied in all the newspapers under investigation. The examination of the announcements of Nea Dimokratia and SYRIZA led to the reconstruction of the 'Antimemorandum' and 'PASOK as a villain' frames. Whereas the 'PASOK as a villain' frame is quite similar in both versions, the 'Antimemorandum' frames have significant differences. The ND version of the frame employs framing mechanisms that are mostly associated with medical metaphors. Furthermore, the reasoning devices of the frame focus on the economic logic of the memorandum and do not go as far as the complete rejection of the programs as demonstrated in Table five. On the other hand, the SYRIZA versions

of the frames have a number of similarities and differences with ND's advocate frames. The 'Antimemorandum' frame as reconstructed from the SYRIZA material employs more exacerbated language in its framing mechanisms, whereas the reasoning devices of the frame are mostly focused on the social impact of the program. Finally, the SYRIZA version of the frame proposes the complete cancelation of the memorandum as seen in Table six.

Table 5: ND's Advocate Frames in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, vicious circle, mixture, dosage, medicine metaphors	Papandreou government	The measures are recessionary, more debt, social upheaval	Growth measures, early exit from the memorandum, voting against the memorandum, disengage from the memorandum
'PASOK as a villain' frame	PASOK in the archetype of the villain	PASOK	PASOK lied before the election, PASOK's made mistakes	ND will offer different solutions

Table 6: SYRIZA's Advocate Frames in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, slaughterhouse, recipe metaphors	Troika, Government, Dominant Elites in the EU	Ineffective and unjust, recession and social crisis	Social coalition against the memorandum, Cancel/Overturn the memorandum, debt adjustment, growth measures
'PASOK as a	PASOK in the	PASOK	PASOK	A progressive

			lied, they	
villain' frame	villain archetype	leadership	are not negotiating	alliance

How these frames are applied and how the press treats the two framing sponsors indicates the impact of journalistic practices on frame building. Starting with Kathimerini, as seen in Table seven, it is noted that the newspaper applies the frame in a similar manner to ND's version, although SYRIZA quotes manage to get picked up. However, the treatment of those quotes is quite different. For example this quote demonstrates the reproduction of a frame in a positive tone: 'ND now has a *realistic alternative plan to exit the crisis* by a shakeout of the economy through recovery and cohesion'. On the other hand, when SYRIZA's version of the frame is reproduced and not muted the tone is more ironic: 'They claim that we should have slammed the door to the EU and the IMF and proudly throw to their faces 110 billion euros'. What these quotes indicate is that indeed more advocate frames make their way in newspaper articles, however other factors decide their ultimate application in the newspapers. For example in this case SYRIZA manages to get its frame picked up partially by a right wing newspaper, however the journalists of the newspaper retain the power to use quotes and evaluative positions based on the editorial stance of their outlet. However, the fact that SYRIZA, which at this period was not an important frame sponsor as it was a fringe party and in addition is ideologically distant to Kathimerini, manages to get its frame picked up points towards the impact of the commodification processes noted in this chapter. More specifically, I content that SYRIZA's frame gets picked up due to the increased pressures on journalists noted in the previous sections. Furthermore, the enhanced power of sources to get their frames through the media due to corporate cutbacks is illustrated by the application of this frame in Kathimerini.

Table 7: Application of the Opposition's Advocate Frames in Kathimerini in 2010

Frames	**Framing Devices**	**Causal Attribution**	**Problem Definition**	**Treatment Recommendation**
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	The government is to blame	Does not support business, causes	Alter the memorandum, faster exit from the memorandum

			recession	
'PASOK as a villain' frame	The PASOK government in the villain archetype	PASOK government	The government is failing	Elections, National Unity government

Moving on to Ta Nea the 'Antimemorandum' frame is reproduced in a more balanced manner as seen in Table eight.

Table 8: Application of the Opposition's Advocate Frames in Ta Nea in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' Frame	Anti-memorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	Government, Troika	Not properly negotiated, recessionary	Adjust/Cancel the memorandum,
'PASOK Government as a villain' frame	Government in the villain archetype, 'fiefdom' metaphor	Government	The government is failing	N/A

The centrist newspaper applies both versions of the frame, however it mainly employs direct and indirect quotes from the leaders or members of the two parties. For example statements like this one are reproduced: 'Antonis Samaras stated it: The goal of ND is to *get rid of the memorandum'*. But at the same time the positions of SYRIZA are also reproduced: 'For our comrades there are two ways forward**: "***they will either join our position of rejection of the memorandum*, and sooner or later meet us in common struggles, or they will follow the opinion that the measures are hard but necessary and will struggle to make them milder", added the president of SYN'. Once again the tendency to apply political frames simply through the reproduction of statements by their framing sponsors is noted. And whereas journalistic news values dictate that important political figures, such as ND the major opposition party at the time need to be featured, it is interesting that SYRIZA, which was a marginal party at the time manages to feature as well in all the newspapers. One of the reasons behind

this inclusion of the SYRIZA frames is the aforementioned impact of the crisis and digitization on journalism, and the enhanced power of political parties to get their frames through the media described in the previous sections of the chapter. The inclusion of the SYRIZA frame confirms McChesney (2008) who argues that corporate cutbacks on the provision of journalism enhances the power of PR professionals to get their preferred frames through the media. Furthermore, given that both Peloni (2017) and Laskari (2017), who worked for Ta Nea at the time, mentioned the impact that the competition from online media has had on their practices the inclusion of the SYRIZA frame here illustrates what they describe. They both discuss the increased pressure they face to compete with journalists working in online media in securing information from political sources and the enhanced power that this competition gives to sources, which now have more outlets to choose from. Therefore, I posit that the inclusion of SYRIZA quotes and by extension the application of the SYRIZA frame is a result of trying to respond to this competition securing as many quotes as possible and to an extend of pandering to the sources through the inclusion of their quotes in the articles.

Finally, the examination of Avgi reveals that the leftist newspaper reproduces the SYRIZA version of the 'Antimemorandum' frame, while ignoring ND's frame as depicted in Table nine.

Table 9: Application of the Opposition's Advocate Frames in Avgi in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, Armageddon, death metaphors	Government, troika	Causes recession, against worker's rights.	Reject/cancel the memorandum
'PASOK government as a villain' frame	PASOK government in the villain archetype	PASOK government	The government lied, The government capitulated	The government must resign

Given that Avgi is a more explicitly politicized newspaper the frame is reproduced both by direct and indirect quotes, but also by the articles of the journalists of the newspaper which stylistically appear more militant as demonstrated by this quote: 'The policies of the parties of the *Armageddon* are not a one way street'.

The last advocate frame reproduced in 2010 is the 'Colony' frame promoted by SYRIZA and reconstructed in the articles of all the newspapers. Table ten depicts the frame as promoted by the left wing party.

Table 10: SYRIZA's 'Colony' Frame in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Troika, Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Negotiate the debt, Cancel the memorandum, Popular uprising

The most interesting application of the frame is perhaps in Kathimerini, given that the conservative newspaper's editorial stance is in stark contrast with SYRIZA and the specific frame. However as Table eleven reveals the frame was mirrored in the articles of the newspaper.

Table 11: Application of SYRIZA's 'Colony' Frame in Kathimerini in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Different government, change the memorandum, cancel the memorandum

It needs to be mentioned that the frame is not applied extensively in Kathimerini and it is mostly reproduced through direct quotes of SYRIZA members such as this statement by Alexis Tsipras: '…as a *government of limited responsibility* that does not make its own decisions, has no margin to negotiate, but *is executing orders given from Brussels and Washington*'.

Ta Nea applies the frame in a similar manner as seen in Table twelve. However, the newspaper reproduces framing mechanisms employed by SYRIZA members, not only through their quotes but also in opinions voiced by the article writers of the newspaper. For example in the material of SYRIZA the frame is activated through World War II metaphors as seen in an announcement on April 30, 2010: 'Say NO to the modern day Quislings of the IMF, the Commission, and of financial capital'. A similar World War II metaphor is found on the articles of Ta Nea on June 29, 2010 indicating that SYRIZA's framing strategy has been successful: 'I wonder if the memorandum is only foreseeing the solution to our fiscal problem or the *Final Solution*'. Furthermore, it is interesting that it is not only SYRIZA members that are quoted in the frame as it was reconstructed by Ta Nea, but also dissident PASOK MP's, who later moved on from PASOK to SYRIZA, such as Panos Kouroumplis: 'At the same time Panos Kouroumplis asked Mr. Papakonstantinou to send the message to the troika that "we are not under *colonial rule* nor are they giving us charity" since "we will pay our debts with extortion terms"'.

Table 12: Application of SYRIZA's 'Colony' Frame in Ta Nea in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor, WW2 similes	Troika, government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Reject the memorandum

Similar to the 'Antimemorandum' frame, Avgi also applies the 'Colony' frame exhibited in Table thirteen. The newspaper applies the frame from the beginning of the period demonstrating its close links with SYRIZA, as seen in this quote from February 8, 2010 where another World War II metaphor is employed: 'The Franco-

German *axis* is sending a surrogate in Athens, in essence a regime of *European economic and political control* is being installed'.

Table 13: Application of SYRIZA's 'Colony' Frame in Avgi in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony, occupation metaphors	Germany, Troika, Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Popular struggle

The application of this frame by all newspapers is particularly interesting because it indicates the enhanced power of political parties to frame the debate, as SYRIZA at the time was not a powerful sponsor that secured easy access to the media. However, the impact of the crisis and digitalization processes on journalistic practices has created an environment were journalists are more dependent on sources to construct their articles. More specifically, the inclusion of the 'Colony' frame by all the newspapers is the best example of McChesney's (2008) argument that corporate cutbacks on journalism give an enhanced power to the sources to pass their frames through the media, unadulterated by journalism. This is demonstrated by the application of the 'Colony' frame in both Kathimerini and Ta Nea, without alterations in its structure, despite the frame and its sponsor being ideologically distant to the outlets.

7.3.2 Reproduction of political frames in 2011/12

The frame analysis of the newspaper articles of 2011/12 confirms the trends noted in 2010. More specifically out of the twenty frames reconstructed by all the newspapers in 2011/12, sixteen are reproductions of frames promoted by political parties. The political upheavals of the period have created a mixed image when it comes to the framing sponsors of each frame. Two of the frames applied in more than one newspaper in this period are solely sponsored by PASOK, whereas the government partner parties PASOK and ND were both sponsors of another frame. SYRIZA and ND both promote the 'Antimemorandum' frame up to a point, until ND abandoned it.

Finally one more frame from SYRIZA is also applied in more than one of the newspapers.

Kathimerini and Ta Nea apply two frames promoted by PASOK, with Avgi ignoring these frames during the same period. In table fourteen the 'European Climate is Changing' and 'The Memorandum was not implemented' frames are demonstrated as they were reconstructed from the announcements of PASOK.

Table 14: PASOK's Advocate Frames in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Changing European Climate' frame	The EU is changing narrative	Conservatives, Neoliberals	The survival of the EU is threatened	Greece remains in the EU, The EU adopts progressive policies
'The Memorandum was not implemented' frame	Crisis brought the memoranda narrative	Greek politics	Mistakes of the past, corruption	Vote for the memorandum, proceed with reforms

The comparison of PASOK's version of the frames with their application in Kathimerini, exhibited in Table fifteen, demonstrates once again that although political parties have enhanced capacities to set the frames and terms in the debate they have no control over how these frames are ultimately applied. The application of the 'memorandum was not implemented' frame is a perfect example, as the terminologies and mechanisms of the frame are employed by the newspaper in the same manner as PASOK, however the frame is ultimately countered. PASOK frames the failure of the first memorandum as a failure of the political system of Greece as demonstrated by this quote on February 12, 2012: 'the troika did not create the problem now. *We* have created the problem through the years because of our lack of care, our lack of foresight and our lack of honesty'. On the other hand Kathimerini superimposes its own framing by attributing blame on PASOK, as for example on December 24, 2011: '*The weakness of the former government to implement the*

Memorandum gives rise to scenarios of irregular bankruptcy, ejecting the spreads to new record heights, while the Eurozone is mailing to avoid the consequences of a possible Greek bankruptcy'. However, on February 1, 2012 the frame is applied blaming the totality of the Greek political system as PASOK does indicating the power of the party to impact frame building: 'why did we miss the goal? Because *the political establishment* either failed to grasp the problem and therefore its solution, or it understood it on some level and it reacted in order not to hurt its clients'. The factors that shape this level of frame building will be discussed in the following chapters. However, what these examples indicate is that the political parties of Greece have capitalized on the structural constrains posed on journalistic practices described earlier in this chapter, and have enjoyed a near-total domination in setting the frames of the debate. To be sure, PASOK as the majority partner in the government is an important frame sponsor that will get quotes picked up by the media more often than not. However, in this period PASOK suffered a significant reduction in influence, illustrated by its dismal results in the double elections of May and June 2012. This reduction in significance is not noted in the frames reconstructed in the media pointing to the persistence of the relationships build between journalists and their sources in combination with the processes noted in the previous sections. More specifically, journalists that are under pressure due to the corporate cuts and the subsequent intensification of their labour to make up for the staff laid off simply cannot afford the time to build new relationships with other sources and have to rely on the relationships they already have. This is indicated by the continuing significance of PASOK in setting the frames of the debate.

Ta Nea applies PASOK's advocate frames in a similar manner to Kathimerini as exhibited in Table sixteen. Examining once more the 'Memorandum was not implemented' frame, Ta Nea is applying the frame as promoted on February 4, 2012: 'One answer that is often given – and with good reason – is that the Memorandum itself is not to blame but the (incurably clientilist) *Greek political system* and the public administration, *that stood incapable of implementing* it'. However, the frame is countered as time progresses and PASOK wanes in popularity as demonstrated by this quote from April 24, 2012: 'Mr Provopoulos criticized *the past government* as he pointed that there was a delay *in implementing* some measures, such as privatizations, but also the shutting down of public sector companies, which results in more and

more painful effort now'. This frame demonstrates the enhanced capacities of political sources to set the terms and frames of the debate. However, at the same time the progression of the application of the frame points to the importance of other levels of influence in determining the ultimate structure of the frame, to be explored in the coming chapters.

Table 15: Application of PASOK's Advocate Frames in Kathimerini in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Changing European climate' frame	The EU is changing narrative	Germany	Austerity, Exiting the Eurozone	Election of Holande in France, relax austerity, stay in Europe
'The memorandum was not implemented' frame	Greece is a special case narrative, Crisis brought the memoranda narrative	Government, The state	The memorandum's implementation is slow	Proceed with structural reforms

Table 16: Application of PASOK's Advocate Frames in Ta Nea in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'The memorandum was not implemented' frame	Memorandum was not implemented narrative	PASOK government, Greek political system	Structural issues of Greece	Implement structural reforms
'European climate is changing' frame	The EU is changing narrative	Germany, Merkel, Sarkozy, Government	Austerity, Greece could destabilize the Eurozone	Holande is elected in France, growth policies are put forward

The 2011/12 period is particularly interesting for framing as Greece experienced it's first coalition government since the 1990s. The coalition government was formed between ND and PASOK, which during the previous periods were often framing against each other as exhibited in the previous section. During this period PASOK and ND were both promoting the 'Harsh but Necessary' frame, albeit in slightly altered versions. For example PASOK's version of the frame attributes blame to populist politics for the looming threat of bankruptcy as seen on Table seventeen. On the other hand, ND's version of the frame attributes blame to its governing partner instead as seen on Table eighteen.

Table 17: PASOK's 'Harsh but Necessary' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but Necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, sacrifices metaphor	Populism led Greece in this position	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Approve the agreement, move forward with reforms

Table 18: ND's 'Harsh but Necessary' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative	PASOK government, Past mistakes	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Negotiate the memorandum, vote for the memorandum, adopt growth measures

The promotion of the frame by two powerful political actors ensures that all the newspapers apply the frame. However the application of the frame differs according to the newspaper reproducing it. For example Kathimerini alters the frame a lot as exhibited in Table nineteen. Kathimerini quotes both frame sponsors and applies both versions of the frame, but at the same time it is superimposing its own version of the frame. For example quotes by the president of PASOK are reproduced underlining the

threat of bankruptcy: 'Mr. Venizelos underlined many times the need for inter-partisan cooperation, marking that *the issues are so big, so critical, and so dangerous* for the country that cannot be dealt by a government with a conventional way and a conventional majority'. But at the same time the frame is applied by Kathimerini shifting the blame to its original frame sponsors: 'The polls are demonstrating that the majority of the Greek people supports the Papademos government and they do not trust *the political system* that led the country to bankruptcy'.

Table 19: Application of the Government's Frames in Kathimerini in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, pain, sacrifice metaphors, Irish success story narrative	The Greek political system, the structure of the EU	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum, technocrat government

In a similar manner Ta Nea are reproducing and altering the frame at the same time, as demonstrated in table twenty.

Table 20: Application of the Government's Frames in Ta Nea in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful metaphor	Politicians, Troika	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum, move forward with reforms

Ta Nea applies the frame employing quotes from both its sponsors. For example with a quote from PASOK's president: '"We have to rescue the few shreds of international credibility we have left. If we do not approve the measures, we will be lead to *irregular bankruptcy*, which means a total dismantling of the economic, social, and

institutional fabric of the country" said Ev. Venizelos, finance minister'. And a quote from the speaker of ND: 'The speaker of ND Thodoros Karaoglou, spoke of *harsh and painful decisions* that his party had to make, in order to avoid the *danger of bankruptcy*'. But at the same time the newspaper shifts the blame to the politicians or even counters the frame, demonstrating that the political parties have no control over how advocate frames are ultimately applied, as exhibited here: 'The problem is that *they* didn't have the criteria to judge the Memorandum (the *politicians*)'.

Similar trends are noted in the examination of Avgi's reproduction of the frame. Whereas at first glance the frame matrix, seen on table twenty-one looks as a reproduction of the advocate frame a closer examination reveals that the leftist newspaper applies the frame mainly through quotes of the prime minister, leaders of the opposition, and European politicians: 'According to information during the emergency government meeting that was held yesterday in Megaro Maximou, L. Papademos put forward again the threat of *irregular bankruptcy* towards the ministers'. The use of the word 'threat' however implies that the newspaper is not actually endorsing the frame, whereas in other instances Avgi counters the frame: 'With a crescendo to the blackmail dilemma "measures and a new memorandum or irregular bankruptcy and drachma" the government is attempting to bend the social reaction to what they are planning'.

Table 21: Application of the Government's Frames in Avgi in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful, sacrifice metaphors	Unions, Greek society	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Implement the memorandum, proceed with reforms

What this frame and its application in the press reveal is that although the developments on journalistic practices are important for frame building they do not determine the ultimate framing. Although journalists are now more susceptible to

applying a multitude of political frames as demonstrated by the findings of this chapter, the newspapers retain the final say over the structure of those frames. Nevertheless, the increased power of political parties to frame the debate is noted as most frame sponsors manage to get their quotes through the media, further demonstrating the connection between corporate cuts and the ability of sources to get their frames picked up, as McChesney (2008) argues.

The political developments of this period led to the curious case of the 'Antimemorandum' frame. The frame originally had two sponsors as in 2010, but with ND becoming a part of the coalition government and ultimately voting for the second memorandum SYRIZA became the sole sponsor. The two versions of the frame have a number of differences. For example ND's version of the frame, seen in table twenty-two focuses on the first memorandum. On the other hand SYRIZA's version of the frame, exhibited in table twenty-three is targeted towards both memoranda, focuses on the social impact of the crisis and proposes the cancelation of the memoranda laws.

All three newspapers apply the frame, however ND's version of the frame is missing from the newspaper articles, perhaps due to its short period of sponsoring. Surprisingly, Kathimerini applies the frame in a similar manner to SYRIZA, as demonstrated in table twenty-four. A close examination of the frame reveals that the frame mainly consists of direct quotes by the president of SYRIZA as demonstrated by this quote: 'Tsipras: The dilemma is memorandum or the Left'. Nevertheless, the application of a purely SYRIZA version of the frame even through the reproduction of quotes, indicates the rising influence of the left wing party in politics, later confirmed in the double elections of the same year. Furthermore, the application of the SYRIZA frame by Kathimerini is another example of the influence of the labour elimination practices and of new technologies on the frame building process. The enhanced power of the sources to pass their preferred frames through the media due to the increased competition between journalists from online and print media, as well as the time pressures that journalists have to work under means that more quotes from politicians are included in news messages. Therefore, it is noted that political parties set to a large degree the terms and the frames of the debate, mainly because the central organizing theme of the frame is reproduced. However, the newspapers retain

their autonomy by altering the reasoning devices that a frame package contains. The factors contributing to this dimension of frame building will be further explored in the coming chapter.

Table 22: ND's 'Antimemorandum' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	Papandreou government, PASOK, EU	Leading Greece to bankruptcy, recession, increases the debt	Voting against the first memorandum, exit earlier from the memoranda, renegotiate the agreement

Table 23: SYRIZA's 'Antimemorandum' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, draconian simile	Government, Troika	Created a recession and social crisis	Elections, kick out the troika, disengage from the memorandum, cancel the memorandum

Table 24: Kathimerini's Application of the 'Antimemorandum' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Troika, Merkel	The agreement is causing a recession	Government of the Left

On the other hand Ta Nea mainly reproduces SYRIZA's version of the frame, however some elements from the framing of ND are also reconstructed, as exhibited

in table twenty-five. The rising influence of SYRIZA as a frame sponsor is noted in Ta Nea as well. Many of the quotes through which this frame is applied are quotes of the president of SYRIZA: 'Tsipras: We ask the popular vote to *cancel the memorandum'*. However, in other cases the frame is reproduced through quotes that focus on the first memorandum as ND's version of the frame: 'Antonis Samaras is welcoming again today afternoon the representatives of the troika with the message that *the memorandum failed almost at the entirety of its goals'*.

Finally Avgi also applies the 'Antimemorandum' frame. Its constituting elements are much closer to the version sponsored by SYRIZA as seen in table twenty-six. A closer examination of the quotes that constitute the frame in Avgi sheds light on the difference between actively endorsing a frame and simply reproducing it. The articles of Avgi are not simply providing quotes from a frame sponsor, but they are reproducing the elements of the frame as the opinion of the journalist as demonstrated by quotes such as this one: '*The memorandum of shame*, cosigned yesterday by the government's partners with the troika, enters the country in a long night of despair'.

Table 25: Ta Nea's Application of the 'Antimemorandum' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe simile	PASOK, Troika	The first agreement caused a recession	Growth, SYRIZA is elected, Cancel the memorandum

Table 26: Avgi's Application of the 'Antimemorandum' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	PASOK, ND, Troika	First agreement failed, Second is causing Grexit	Elections, Cancel the memorandum, growth policies, Adjust the memorandum

The final frame applied in more than one newspaper the 'Colony' frame, which is a SYRIZA advocate frame and was also picked up by all newspapers in 2010. SYRIZA's 2012 advocate frame is exhibited in table twenty-seven. Kathimerini is applying the frame, however, not extensively. Therefore, from the quotes recovered Kathimerini's version is a 'slimmed down' version of SYRIZA's frame as can be seen in Table twenty-eight. In a similar fashion to the 'Antimemorandum' frame the newspaper is reproducing the frame mainly through direct quotes of SYRIZA members as demonstrated here: 'While Mr. Tsipras called on the political leaders to not sell out to Mr. Schauble the already injured democracy'.

Table 27: SYRIZA's 'Colony' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony, loan-sharks, protectorate metaphors	Merkel-Sarkozy, troika, government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Government of the left, kick out the troika, referendum

Table 28: Kathimerini's Application of 'Colony' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Troika, PASOK	Lack of democracy, Loss of sovereignty	Popular uprising, cancel memorandum

Ta Nea is applying the frame in a similar manner to Kathimerini as exhibited in table twenty-nine. The frame is not applied extensively in the articles of the centrist newspaper and it consists of a few quotes, however, Ta Nea are not only reproducing SYRIZA quotes in this frame but also the only quote from the extreme right-wing LAOS as for example here: 'A *colonialist agreement* based on English law said Mr Hrysanthakopoulos (LAOS), who added that with the unacceptable terms signed by *the Greek government* the creditor is totally secured'.

Finally, Avgi applies the frame almost mirroring SYRIZA's advocate frame as exhibited in table thirty. The frame is featured extensively by the leftist newspaper through a number of quotes both by SYRIZA members and the journalists of the newspaper as for example here: 'According to all the information the measures will cause a *demolition to incomes, to citizen rights and the welfare state, will take the country decades back and give away a big part of its national sovereignty'*. 'Colony' is one of the most applied frames in Avgi.

Table 29: Ta Nea's Application of 'Colony' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Merkel	Lack of democracy, Loss of sovereignty	SYRIZA is elected

Table 30: Avgi's Application of 'Colony' Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony, protectorate, servitude metaphors	Troika, Government, Ruling EU circles	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	Cancel the Memorandum, Government of the Left

The reproduction of the 'Colony' frame by all the newspapers once again corroborates McChesney's (2008) argument that links corporate cutbacks with the inclusion of unadulterated by journalism messages of PR professionals in media articles. The time pressures applied to journalists due to reductions in staff have led to a frame from a party that was not among the most influential in the country during that period and was ideologically distant from two out of the three newspapers, to be applied in their news articles simply through the reproduction of quotes.

7.3.3 Reproduction of political frames in 2015

The trends identified in the previous periods continue in 2015, as from the nineteen frames reconstructed from the articles of the three newspapers, sixteen are applications of advocate frames. There are two blocks of advocate frames repeated in more than one of the newspapers in 2015, consisting of three SYRIZA advocate frames (Antimemorandum, Colony, Blackmail), and three advocate frames promoted by the opposition (Deal or Disaster, SYRIZA negotiation cost, Tsipras' Memorandum). The 'Antimemorandum' and 'Colony' frames are applied in all three newspapers analyzed, whereas the 'Blackmail' frame was only reconstructed in the articles of Ta Nea and Avgi. On the other hand the three frames promoted by the opposition parties were only applied in Kathimerini and Ta Nea, whereas Avgi focuses more on the internal strife in SYRIZA and applies no opposition advocate frames.

ND and PASOK's advocate frames are very similar in 2015. Beginning with ND's frames, exhibited in table thirty-one, it is noted that although the right wing party is framing the government as the culprit causing the problem definitions, the treatment recommendation dimensions of the frames are not calling for the resignation of the government but the change of policies adopted. In a similar tone the advocate frames of PASOK, seen on table thirty-two, also attack the government, but do not call for its resignation.

The examination of the frames applied in Kathimerini, exhibited in table thirty-three reveals that the conservative newspaper has diverging approaches towards the frames. The 'Deal or Disaster' frame, which can be seen as the evolution of the 'Harsh but Necessary' frame with the difference that the frame sponsors are now in the opposition is especially interesting. The newspaper applies the frame in a similar manner to the advocate frames of ND and PASOK, however, the quotes that the frame consists of reveal that the newspaper is endorsing the frame. This is exhibited by the fact that the framing and reasoning devices are featured in the opinion articles of the newspaper, and therefore the frame is not only applied through the reproduction of statements by political sources. This quote exemplifies Kathimerini's evaluative stance: 'Now they will have to *say yes to a worse deal*, which however will stop *our ejection from Europe, the balkanization and impoverishment of the country*'. The remaining two advocate frames are applied in a similar manner, albeit with some

structural differences in the dimensions that consist the frame. The processes described in this chapter cannot adequately explain these differences. The reasons that produce these structural differences in the application of the frames will be explored in the coming chapters that will investigate the interactions between other levels of influence on frame building. However, Kathimerini reproduces these frames because of the importance of their sponsors and their ideological proximity with the newspaper.

Table 31: ND's Advocate Frames in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Armageddon, disaster, painful metaphors, harsh but necessary narrative	SYRIZA-ANEL government, Tsipras	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Government changes course, comes to a national unity understanding with the other parties
'Tsipras' memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum, worst memorandum so far narratives	SYRIZA-ANEL government, Tsipras	SYRIZA did not negotiate, the memorandum is recessionary and increases taxes	ND will negotiate
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	Invoice metaphor, SYRIZA dismantles ND's achievements narrative	SYRIZA, Tsipras	SYRIZA is ideologically obsessed, statist, returns the economy to a deficit	SYRIZA changes course, signs an agreement with the creditors

On the other hand Ta Nea is also applying the three frames, as demonstrated in table thirty-four, and exhibit qualitative variations in comparison to Kathimerini that shed

light on frame building. More specifically, Ta Nea applies the 'Deal or Disaster' frame mostly through the reproduction of quotes by members of the sponsoring parties as exemplified in this quote: '"*The agreement with the creditors is the only possible solution*. Tsipras does not have an order to lead the country outside the euro. If he did there would be a serious problem of democratic legitimacy", mentions Mr Venizelos'. On the other hand, although the government is the target of the causal attribution dimension of the frame, the decision to sign the agreement by the government is praised in the treatment recommendation dimension: 'At the last hour Alexis Tsipras seems to have made a *difficult but necessary* decision which makes me happy: *to keep Greece in its European trajectory* avoiding to lead it to an uncontrollable *bankruptcy or towards Grexit'*. The fact that Ta Nea is not only changing dimensions of the frame but also that some dimensions of the frame consist of quotes by the sponsors and other by journalistic quotes indicates that the newspaper has a different editorial stance than Kathimerini. It also points to the enhanced significance of SYRIZA as a frame sponsor, as the governing party now not only manages to get its preferred frames picked up by the media but also has enough power to impact the frames promoted by the opposition parties. However, Ta Nea is applying this frame because of the importance of the framing sponsors, as well as the ideological proximity between the parties of the opposition with the centrist newspaper.

This is also indicated by the application of the 'Tsipras Memorandum' frame. More specifically, in contrast to Kathimerini, the centrist newspaper is picking up the frames of the opposition parties but at the same time dimensions of the frame are altered through the inclusion of quotes by members of the government: 'Mr Tsipras added that it is the will of the government to balance those policies with *equivalent measures* that will help in the fair distribution of tax burdens, especially for farmers'. The enhanced political importance of SYRIZA in combination with the structural bias of the media towards powerful sources described in the previous sections has led to the alteration of the frames. Once more, the treatment of these frames demonstrates that although political sources have enhanced their capacity to set the frames and terms of the debate, they do not control the structure of the framing package. Other factors to be explored in the coming chapters have an equally important role in the application of each frame in news messages.

Table 32: PASOK's Advocate Frames in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Disaster, painful metaphors, harsh but necessary narrative	Tsipras, government	The country is humiliated and threatened with Grexit and bankruptcy	Implement the reforms agreed
'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame	Train of terror metaphor, most odious memorandum narrative	SYRIZA-ANEL government, Tsipras	Memorandum was unnecessary, it's socially unjust and recessionary	Negotiate seriously
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	The government is wasting time narrative	Government, Tsipras, Varoufakis	SYRIZA is negotiating with itself and not Europe	Complete and implement the deal

Table 33: Application of the Opposition's Advocate Frames in Kathimerini in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful, disaster metaphors	SYRIZA, Tsipras	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Sign and implement an agreement with the institutions
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	Cost of SYRIZA narrative	Government, Tsipras	The government is wasting time, returns the economy to a recession	National negotiating team
'Tsipras' memorandum'	Tsipras' memorandum	Tsipras, Government	The deal signed is harsh	Technocrat government

| **frame** | narrative | | | |

Table 34: Application of the Opposition's Advocate Frames in Ta Nea in 2015

Frames	**Framing Devices**	**Causal Attribution**	**Problem Definition**	**Treatment Recommendation**
'Deal or disaster' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative	Tsipras, Government	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Sign and implement an agreement, opposition supports
'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum narrative	SYRIZA, Tsipras	The memorandum is striking the weakest in society	Growth policies, cooperation government, equivalent measures
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	SYRIZA negotiation cost narrative	SYRIZA	The sacrifices of the previous years have been lost	Implement structural reforms

However, the enhanced importance of SYRIZA as a frame sponsor is partially validated by the results of the frame analysis in 2015. The analysis of SYRIZA's advocate frames reveals that there are two types of frames applied, because of the rift in SYRIZA caused by the choices of the government that led to an actual break in the party before the second election in September 2015. Frames promoted by those still supporting the government and those criticizing it, ultimately leaving SYRIZA to form LAE in August 2015, characterize the period before the break. Therefore, there are advocate frames from SYRIZA's announcements, which at the same time work against SYRIZA. So while SYRIZA MPs are enjoying the media spotlight and have more power to get their frames picked up, at the same time the media are highlighting the split in the party.

Starting with the advocate frames of the pro-government factions of SYRIZA it is noted that only one is picked up by a newspaper other than Avgi. More specifically Ta Nea and Avgi apply the 'Blackmail' frame. This frame was promoted by SYRIZA

during the negotiation with the creditors and its constituting elements can be seen in table thirty-five.

Table 35: SYRIZA's 'Blackmail' Frame in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Blackmail' frame	Blackmail, Taliban, suffocation, coup metaphors	Creditors	The negotiation is uneven and undemocratic	Resist the creditors, Continue negotiating, honest compromise

Ta Nea are applying the 'Blackmail' frame, however not extensively, with fewer mechanisms of the frame making their way in the newspaper's articles, as exhibited in table thirty-six. Although the frame is not featured extensively, the quotes are reproduced in the form of information provided by the government, as this quote exhibits: 'The government does not understand why the decision is delayed for a deal that would release the country from the daily *torture* of liquidity and puts again the responsibility for the delay with the creditors as a response to the *carrot and whip tactic* that *Europe* is following'. This frame once again confirms the enhanced power of a governing party to impact the frame building process, as the information that the government is giving to the media is deemed as highly important. Furthermore, the structural difficulties of the media to examine the information provided by the political parties leads to the reproduction of many political frames without the media countering them. That once again corroborates the connection that McChesney (2008) made between corporate cutbacks and the enhanced power of sources to get their messages through, without journalistic intervention. Especially in the case of Ta Nea in 2015, that according to the statements provided by its journalists operated under dire material circumstances, which hindered their efforts significantly.

Table 36: Application of 'Blackmail' Frame in Ta Nea in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Blackmail' frame	Blackmail metaphor	Troika	The creditors are delaying	Honest compromise

The 'Blackmail' frame is also applied in Avgi, as demonstrated in table thirty-seven. However, Avgi is reflecting the internal fracas of SYRIZA with the frames consisting of the evaluative positions of both sides in the party. This is indicated in the treatment recommendation dimension of the 'Blackmail'frame. However, the analysis of the frame reveals that the newspaper endorses the positions of the government as exhibited in this quote: 'It is *critical* that there is a package deal that will include the adjustment of the debt'. On the other hand the dimensions of the frame that the internal opposition is promoting are mostly reproduced as direct or indirect quotes, for example: '*Distributing a parallel currency (IOU)* as a possibility-answer to the *blackmail* of the *creditors* insisted the MP Kostas Lapavitsas'. Therefore, once again it is noted that the importance of the framing sponsors as political actors is influential for the setting of the frames and terms that the debate revolves around, but the ultimate application of these frames and the mechanisms employed to legitimatize or undermine a frame reside on a different level of influence.

Table 37: Application of 'Blackmail' Frame in Avgi in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Blackmail' frame	Red lines, blackmail metaphors	Germany, ECB	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Return to the drachma, achieve a compromise

The last advocate frames applied in more than one newspaper in 2015 are the 'Antimemorandum' and 'Colony', which were reconstructed also in the two previous periods and are promoted by SYRIZA. The difference in this period lies in the fact that the frames in 2015 reflect the divisions inside the party, as indicated by the mechanisms that constitute the frame exhibited in table thirty-eight.

Table 38: SYRIZA's Advocate Frames in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	ND and PASOK	A social crisis has been created	Disengage from the memoranda, vote against the memorandum, growth policies
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Juncker, Schauble, fanatics of austerity	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	A political solution, vote NO in the referendum

The application of these frames in the newspapers, given their peculiarities, can provide with important insights in the process of frame building and the impact of journalistic practices. For example, the application of the frames in Kathimerini is similar to the frames promoted by the dissidents of SYRIZA, as it can be noted from the mechanisms of the frame exhibited in table thirty-nine. A closer look at the application of the two frames, and more specifically at the 'Antimemorandum' frame proves that they consist mainly of quotes by prominent members of SYRIZA, that are against the actions of the government. Panagiotis Lafazanis, a minister of SYRIZA that later became the leader of LAE is often quoted: 'With the *national currency* we will have difficulties. With the memoranda we will have *destruction, a dead end, and pitch black* ahead of us, repeated Mr Pan. Lafazanis'.

The frame analysis of the articles of Ta Nea reveals a more balanced image, as the mechanisms of the frame seen on table forty indicate. The centrist newspaper is applying the frames with quotes from both sides of SYRIZA as demonstrated by these quotes from the 'Antimemorandum' frame. Dissident members of SYRIZA, such as Panagiotis Lafazanis are quoted frequently, as in Kathimerini: 'Lafazanis on CNBC: "We will not hesitate to *Grexit and return to the drachma"'*. However, at the same time members of SYRIZA that support the government are also featured, albeit less frequently than the LAE members: 'We need a *deal*, we need a solution that will

allow Greece to breathe and grow *so we can have growth*, reduction of unemployment and a gradual correction of the injustices and healing of *the wounds caused for five years by the Memorandum*'.

Table 39: Application of SYRIZA's Advocate Frames in Kathimerini in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Government	Social misery	Return to the drachma, cancel the memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Troika	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	BRICS, Reject the memorandum, rupture with the EU

Table 40: Application of SYRIZA's Advocate Frames in Ta Nea in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Government	Austerity, suffocating the country	Vote against the memorandum, return to the drachma
'Colony'	Colony metaphor	Creditors	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	BRICS

Finally Avgi is applying these frames in a similar manner to the 'Blackmail' frame by including the evaluative positions of both sides of SYRIZA, as demonstrated by the mechanisms of the frame exhibited in table forty-one. Those supportive of the government call for a gradual disengagement from the memorandum: 'We need to set a course of unity and *disengagement from the memorandum'* is the tile of a text by the 53+ submitted to the central committee'. But at the same time the newspaper is reproducing those calling for an immediate disengagement from the negotiations and the adoption of an alternative plan involving a return to the national currency: 'He

noted that there is an *alternative plan* mentioning economists like Mr Lapavitsas, Mariolis, and Vatikiotis'.

Table 41: Application of SYRIZA's Advocate Frames in Avgi in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Creditors, Government	Causing social degradation	Reject/Abolish the memorandum, adopt an alternative plan
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Government, Germany, Creditors	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	Reject the memorandum, cancel the memorandum

These two frames are very interesting because they exhibit once more the enhanced power that members of SYRIZA as a governing party have to frame the debate. However, the differences in the treatment of the frames and the choices made by the newspapers in which quotes and frame sponsors will be featured and at what length also point to other levels of influence as equally important in determining the application of frames in the press.

7.4 Summary

This chapter set out to understand the interactions between macro level structures and micro level practices, as they are manifested through meso level processes, such as the commodification and intensification of labour. Furthermore, to map the changes in journalistic practices and resources as journalists described them and the impact of these developments on the process of frame building. Interview findings were presented focusing on questions regarding changes in journalistic practices of searching for information, contacting sources, and constructing articles in the last few years. Two main trends were noted, namely the impact that the economic crisis has had on journalism, alongside the effect of the process of digitalization. Both trends had an impact on the practice of negotiating with political sources, as well as on the

resources and the material conditions of journalism. Therefore, both developments had an impact on frame building by creating the conditions for the inclusion of advocate frames in the articles of the newspapers.

In order to confirm the findings of the interviews, examples from the frame analysis of three newspapers were also presented. The frame analysis in three separate periods confirmed partially the enhanced capacity of political sources to set the frames and terms of the debate as news articles reproduce them. The majority of frames reconstructed in all time periods are reproductions in one form or another of advocate frames promoted by three political parties in Greece (ND, PASOK, SYRIZA). It is important to note that from the material of the four parties investigated, only the KKE did not manage to get its frames through the mainstream media. The mechanisms noted in the reproduction of political frames were various and included the reproduction of direct and indirect quotes from the frame sponsors, or the complete adoption of framing mechanisms promoted by political parties. However, the analysis of these frames also reveals differences in how each newspaper applies an advocate frame. Analysis of journalistic practices, and trends in their labour conditions, reveal a great deal about framing of the crisis over time, and allow the understanding of the processes behind broad patterns of reproduction of party political frames. Understanding evident differences in frame application, and differential treatment of political parties, notably the muting of KKE frames, requires thinking about other levels of structural power influences and how they impact frame building, beginning with the organizational structure and the editorial stance of the newspaper.

8. Issues of Journalistic Freedom: The Impact of the Organizational Structure and Editorial Stance on Frame Building

The previous chapter discussed current changes on the structure of the market and the media ownership, and the impact of the process of labour commodification and intensification on frame building. However, the differences in how each frame is applied by a newspaper, and the existence of journalistic frames cannot be explained by the interactions between these levels. Therefore, in order to understand how the various levels of structure influence the process of frame building in the media, this chapter will explore the interactions between the meso level of influence, consisting of the editorial stance and the organizational structure of the media, and how it impacts journalistic practices. Furthermore, this chapter explores the structuration of the press, and how the ownership of the newspaper imposes constrains on the agency and practices of journalists. Finally, the influence of the media organizational structure on journalistic practices is demonstrated through examples from the frame analysis that illustrate how this meso structure impacts the process of frame building.

To achieve the goals set out in this chapter, findings from the interviews conducted with journalists are presented, focusing on questions about the process of information gathering and article construction in a newspaper and the professional norms that they have to adhere to. Finally, examples from the frame analysis of news articles are analyzed in terms of the impact of the organizational structure on the frame building process addressing the first research question of the thesis, while at the same time decoding what the treatment of the frames by each newspaper reveals about the goals of the media ownership, addressing the second research question.

8.1 The Impact of the Organizational Structure on Journalistic Practices

The interviews conducted with journalists reveal the structuration (Mosco 1996) of Greek newspapers and how the ownership of the press shapes and confines journalistic agency and media/source relationships through the organizational structure. Nikos Lionakis discusses how the hierarchy of the newspaper structures his communication with sources:

The interesting thing in the case of communicating with political sources has to do with how you manage the information, because in this case it is true that the journalist always knows more than what he is writing or saying but in cooperation with the newspaper and the chief editor they decide if they will publicize everything, and if they don't publicize why they won't and how they will manage it. There are many parameters there; one of them is politics.

Aristotelia Peloni also mentions how the organizational structure of newspapers impacts the process of information gathering by political journalistis from sources:

For someone who does clear-cut political reporting and has started out covering a party, he has learned the reel, the party line, what are the party executives saying and beyond that there is no life and information. This is how they managed the government reporting and others. They learned that when the information does not match what the government is saying they throw it away. Because it's not convenient towards the official narrative.

Vasilis Nedos confirmed this excessive reliance on traditional political sources, especially during the coverage of the early onset of the crisis up to the first memorandum:

If you look at what was being written during this six-month period you will laugh. Because the newspapers worked with their traditional sources, which was the Greek political system, or in any case the Greek state mechanism… had a very distorted opinion on where things were heading to. And they dealt with the whole conversation in pre-memorandum terms, that it's the government's fault, the government should go, or the government is all-powerful and they will figure out a way to move forwards. It was a management of the situation by people who had no idea what they were entering. Nobody knew exactly what was going to happen but in the mainstream media in that period there was a substantial failure to cover the events and to transmit to the readers a realistic picture.

Dimitris Mitropoulos eloquently describes the relationship between the political sources and the journalists by comparing the journalists to passengers in a plane flown by the sources:

> The unusual difficulties have to do with dramatic events, which could occur from one night to the other day, came from the fact that in many cases the protagonists were in denial and were in situations that went above them. They could not interpret them correctly, nor predict their development… If the source has a faulty understanding of reality then things are very difficult. Meaning that if the pilot does not know where he is heading at, it is tough for the passenger to decide that they are headed for the mountain. In many cases we had teams that had a faulty understanding of reality and that created a cross-eye that could have been disastrous.

What the journalists are describing is an overt dependence of the Greek media on domestic political sources. However a number of the professionals interviewed stressed that the introduction of foreign sources in the post-memoranda era has been a differentiating factor. Eirini Chrisolora describes how the memoranda brought about changes to Greek journalism by creating the necessity for Greek media professionals to contact foreign sources:

> Because I was covering Greek economic issues I rarely needed to go to a foreign source. Now this has changed for two reasons. The first reason is because our top story is the negotiation with the creditors; therefore we need sources from there as well… there is such a need for information that you are obligated to look for sources abroad. So the sources have changed. To get information for the course of the negotiation you need to talk possibly with a source from Brussels, a source from the IMF… or a source from ESM or anywhere.

Vasilis Nedos also concurred that journalists need to have foreign sources in order to avoid getting one-sided information:

For a press journalist that covered finance in the past it was enough to have good information in the finance ministry and some institutions, within Greece, to have an image of what's going on in the economy of the country to put it bluntly. From 2010 on when essentially the financial policy of the country is not decided, or if you will is co-decided and implemented, it is impossible for the economic editor to make a decent report without having connections with the troika. It is impossible; it can't be done. You have one-sided information if you do that.

Although journalists describe the increasing importance of foreign sources, as the previous chapter established the frame analysis of the news articles does not reflect this, with most frames being applications of frames promoted by domestic political parties. A possible explanation for this discrepancy between what the journalists are reporting and the findings of the frame analysis might be the meso level structural differences, which decide how information is managed. For example Kaki Mpali links the increased need for sources with the structural issues plaguing the Greek media that were noted in the previous chapter:

Nobody had all the sources in this entire multifactor environment that exists. Nobody. Because it is not enough to have sources in three of the creditors and the Greek government. You need to have sources in all the lobbies that are involved, whether they are Greek or foreign. Who has all of them; who has the whole picture? And given that we live in a crisis country, that in any way Greek journalism did not have this outward look. It's not that in every newspaper there were five people splitting this work. There was a poor guy that had to do everything. You always miss out on something and maybe what you miss out on is the important one, you never know which is the important one.

In many cases the information coming from the foreign sources was conflicting with the information provided by domestic sources, something that made the job of journalists very hard. Especially considering the limitations described in the previous chapter. As Voula Kehagia describes balancing the incoming information became tougher during the memoranda era:

It becomes more complex because a foreign anonymous source comes over, a source from the Commission, a European institution etc. and they say something that possibly overturns your whole report and it is there that you try to balance. That's why I say that many times the cooperation of many colleagues is needed to find what's true and what's a lie. Also to balance on who has the interest to tell the truth, who has the interest to block things, to block procedures on a tough negotiation or to delay and cause obstructions. There is a tough game of balance, because many times it has been proven that foreign sources have blurred the image but also many times it has been proven that Greek sources were presenting a prettier picture in a way of things, by not giving their true dimension, something that was proven in a few days by information coming from foreign sources. It is a game of balance that requires a lot of caution.

According to Dimitris Mitropoulos this cacophony of sources was the reason the Greek media failed to convey a coherent picture in the coverage of the memoranda:

This collision of two different categories with different goals caused the chaos that were the memorandum years in Greece and of course this chaos was reflected in journalistic coverage. I can also say for colleagues though that everybody had from the start the understanding that there are Greek politicians and foreign, there are technocrats and information has to be sought from everybody and composed when possible. That wasn't necessary always because during different times and different phases there was another group of players leading the events, but this was something understood by all colleagues at all levels.

However, the rest of the journalistic accounts describe a different process, where the incoming information is managed based on the editorial and political stance of the newspaper and enforced by the organizational structure and hierarchy. Aristotelia Peloni describes a telling example of how the organizational structure can counteract information provided by foreign sources when it is not convenient to the editorial stance of the newspaper, an incident that led to her demotion in the newspaper:

You might have an image from the government that the negotiation is going amazing, and you have an image from the foreigners that we are very far from an agreement, that nothing has happened. There you have two realities in collision, there is the thin line of what you say and what you don't say. And there were my own issues if you will in 2015 when I was demoted. Because the government was saying one thing and my report was saying another. Which was verified of course with what happened in 2015 but what's the point? Because I was saying, I was screaming then "guys we are not going into an agreement, something bad will happen". Ten days after that we had the referendum. "What are you talking about the agreement has been made". "We are not heading into an agreement something bad will go down". And it did happen.

This is a significant finding as it describes how incoming information from sources is managed, but also how inconvenient information can be brushed-off. Even in cases where Greek journalists try to contradict the editorial line, their careers can be side tracked, which is another way of controlling the labour force of a media organization. Additionally, this testimony is also important for the labour elimination practices that were noted in the previous chapters. Although the interviewees did not explicitly mention this, based on the punitive effect that contradicting the editorial stance of the newspaper had for journalists it is safe to deduct that the lay offs mentioned in the previous chapter could also have been motivated by punitive reasons. However, the journalists interviewed were still employed and that could explain why the punitive character of the lay offs never came up. Although some journalists talk about 'old practices' and changes that have been brought about, in reality not many things have changed when a journalist is trying to contradict the narrative that the newspaper is trying to build. Therefore, incoming information is processed and reproduced in accordance to the editorial narrative of a newspaper. This explains why some frames are altered and countered, while others are not, addressing the gap identified in the previous chapter. However, the overall application of frames, which is largely determined by the editorial stance of the newspaper and the process through which the editorial stance is set will be explored in the coming chapter, accounting for the

muting of frames coming from the KKE and the reproduction of frames from the other parties.

The journalistic accounts reveal that the political value of information is more important than its commercial value, something that is congruent with Hallin and Mancini (2004) who viewed the media in Polarized Pluralist systems as involved in a vertical communication between elites. Therefore, these findings, in combination with the findings of the previous chapter regarding journalistic practices in Greece reveal that not a lot has changed since the development of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) model of media systems. The trends that Hallin and Mancini (2004) observed are persistent, despite the introduction of new technologies that was supposed to bring a revolution in journalism. The advocates of theories of the 'information society' (Castells 2009) argued that the advance of new technologies comprised a revolutionary shift for the media, as well as media research. However, the findings of this research are more congruent with Garnham (1998) who viewed new technologies as nothing more than a cumulative shift in methods of production and the role of the information workers, instead of a revolution. Furthermore, the continuities of the Greek system despite the advancement of new technologies confirm Webster (2006) who argued that 'what is most striking are the continuities of the present age with previous social and economic arrangements, informational developments being heavily influenced by familiar constrains and priorities'.

To return to Cook's (1998) negotiation of newsworthiness a more nuanced picture is formed about how it takes place in the Greek context and how it impacts frame building. Journalists come to this negotiation with very limited resources and the ultimate choice over how something will get framed lies with the organization, as journalists in Greece are aware that they must further the goals of their newspaper and its ownership. On the one hand journalists have deteriorating material conditions and face pressures, which enhance the ability of political sources to get their messages through the media as the previous chapter established. On the other hand journalists retain the final say over how something gets covered, so ultimately the framing of the information. However the editorial line, which is enforced through the organizational structure of the newspaper, limits the options of journalists severely. Therefore, although D'Angelo and Kuypers (2010) argue that journalists need sources' frames to

make news, adding and superimposing their own frames during the process what is revealed here is that the frames that are added and superimposed in this case are those of the newspaper, instead of the individual journalist. The analysis of these frames can pinpoint the contribution of the organizational structure of the newspaper to frame building and what these frames reflect about the framing struggles among the structures that led to their application.

The organizational structure and hierarchy of the newspaper are the means that mediate the goals of the ownership to the practices of journalists. Eirini Chrisolora explains how the hierarchy works at the two newspapers that she has been employed at:

> You have a supervising officer; I have one both at Ta Nea and at Kathimerini, and also a director. You talk with the supervising officer, you tell him I have this information and you discuss how you should approach the issue. From then on he goes to the newspaper meeting, the body that decides in newspapers is the so-called afternoon meeting and during that meeting they decide that they want to approach this issue in one way and put it in that position, so when they come out of the meeting they give you your direction and you write your article accordingly.

This procedure has become a crystalized journalistic practice and journalists know what is expected of them from the medium they are working for, as Nikos Lionakis of Avgi points:

> Mostly this procedure is automated, meaning that you don't always need this procedure of the meeting, each and everyone depending on where they work knows what the direction of the newspaper or the medium is and, always having in mind the current news and what are the issues that need to be brought forward, writes his piece.

Aristotelia Peloni on the other hand provided examples of the organizational structure as a way of enforcing the ownership's will constrains a journalist:

They control it through the director they choose. The owner does not bother. Of course I don't think that owners even read their newspapers, they don't care. Through their managers and their officers that they know what can bother or not. Or they know obviously that there are some things that we don't know about and they can be 'red lines'. Some of them have personal relationships or friendships, up to a point I find that normal. Not only that, there are some balances as well that they don't want to upset. Not relationships in the meaning of corruption. Balances in the meaning that I have a balance with the government and I don't want to ruin that. That does not mean that I will be positive, but I might underplay something that could cause damage for example.

What is described here is congruent with Hallin and Mancini's (2004) classification of Greece as a Polarized Pluralist media system and the instrumentalization of the media at the hands of their owners. The journalists employed in Greek media are aware of that and have up to a point internalized it as common practice. Journalistic professional standards come second, as the furthering of the political and economic goals of the ownership is the primary concern of the media organization. The wishes of the ownership are mediated to the media labourers through the managerial class, which ensures that the newspaper will serve the goals of the ownership through crystalized journalistic practices. Aristotelia Peloni describes the kind of editorial decisions that can take place when something written is inconvenient:

Many times you have a doubt. Should I include this or not? If I have a doubt, most of the times I include it, because there are always chief editors that look at the pieces so therefore the responsibility is also someone else's to see it and if they want to tell you to better leave something out or to write it more discretely. I have rarely encountered this; during the first years when I was younger and everybody had a direction because we didn't have the experience, someone to tell me forget about this, it won't go in. It can't go in with the way you are saying it. Or put it down a bit. Or it could be smaller to demote it. This has happened. In Ta Nea. But to bury it completely, no. To partially bury it yes. Let's be honest. Not to include it at all but maybe something that in other times could be even on the front page to see it somewhere (in the back)… It is

written but because in the given time it might not work with the newspaper line or the editor you have to….

This account paints a rather grim image of the options available to journalists when constructing articles. Journalists have either to self-censor or risk seeing their articles downplayed by the directors of the newspaper if they decide to write something that goes against the goals of the ownership. This ensures that in most cases the journalists produce uniform content that promotes the editorial and ideological direction that their newspaper serves at the time. This is also congruent with Cook (1998) who argued that the patterns of behaviour of journalists have crystalized into acceptable practices of journalistic work and that those patterns place limits on journalistic agency. Of course, in a media system such as the Greek one where partisanship is overt and stated the promotion of the editorial stance of the newspaper is to be expected. However, this thesis argues that the trends noted during the years of the crisis in Greece, such as increased financial pressures, punitive lay-offs and elevated political tensions, have increased pressures towards journalists to comply, in order to produce the content that furthers the goals of the ownership of the newspaper.

8.2 Issues of Journalistic Freedom and Self-Censorship

The crystallization of journalistic practices and the process of instrumentalization of the media, which trumps professional standards, described in the previous section are leading many journalists to self-censorship. Almost half of the people (five out of twelve) interviewed, admitted that self-censorship was a major issue in their work. Most journalists mentioned that the political stance that their newspaper adhered to that they felt they had to align with, as Aristotelia Peloni explains:

> Obviously the line of the medium and how it's placed in the broader system. This you know is not something they always tell you, or they tell you in the beginning of a job but at some point it becomes part of your routine to have a feeling of where you are and how you need to play an issue. Meaning that no one comes to tell you don't put this in your report leave it out. You self-censor many times.

Kostas Papagiannis of Avgi concurs:

> They have never dictated to me what to write. Freedom is there but it's not exercised because people are writing based on the newspaper line, they know what the stance is and they know what to write. In general people, and quite right so, don't write personal opinions. It's not article writing, it's the news... I mean that I don't write what I believe; I write what's going on based on the point of view of the medium I work for. If I worked for Kathimerini I would write the issues differently. I wouldn't agree then, I don't agree with it now.

Another example was Kostas Karkagiannis, who admitted that his personal stance towards the memoranda during these years changed, however, he did not feel like he had the freedom to reflect this on his writing:

> Nobody forbade it to me explicitly but I also never asked for it. Anyways I don't write opinion pieces but the way I could have done it is that when you have for example someone saying that 'yeah you are paying your pensions with our money' you can comment under that and say that of course what Mr Schauble is saying is not the case because of this and that. Whether you write this or not, I can't say that there was somebody who told me not to write something. But the general approach was that we do not contradict very intensely as we could have what the Europeans are saying.

One of the reasons that this happens according to Karkagiannis is self-censorship to adhere to the editorial stance of the newspaper:

> If for example the newspaper is a right wing paper, it's not something bad. You can deal with an economic issue with classic right wing thinking and say for example that the deficit went up because they didn't implement reforms. I might personally disagree with that but since I don't write opinion articles and the newspaper is a right wing one as I said I would write it like that. Also self-censorship plays a part. This is a very sneaky thing that happens almost unconsciously and without you understanding it.

Another reason for self-censorship as Kostas Poulakidas mentions is the fact that people don't want to stand out in a newsroom, so they end up adopting the values of their workplace: 'Self-censorship exists in everybody. And steadily when you are at a workspace you become same with your workspace, you assimilate to the views that are dominant in your workspace'.

Finally a couple of journalists mentioned cases of direct intervention to journalistic texts from the management or ownership of the newspaper. Very few of the interviewees had something to report and the reason for this could be because they went on the record, however, it is feasible that indeed there are fewer cases to report on comparing to what was going on in Greece in the past. And this is because there are crystalized practices and constraints now in place, making the need to intervene redundant. In any case, some of these practices still remain as Vasilis Nedos described about his experience working in the past for DOL:

> I would say that there are certain basic elements of a newspaper, which you either accept or you don't when you go to work. But for someone to come and tell you what to write that does not happen in Kathimerini. I told you about DOL that I have an inside opinion that it happened because he (Psycharis) thought that there was unlimited power; in any case the owner does not do that job, it's the chief editor.

All these accounts of self-censorship demonstrate how labour is controlled indirectly to enforce the wishes of the ownership. Furthermore, they are congruent with Ben Bagdikian's (1986) argument that media owners promote their values and interests though the outlets they control in two ways: either through the self-censorship of editors, or through the direct changing and spiking of texts. This control is ensured through labour elimination and intensification processes that create an easier to control labour force, and the crystalized practices mentioned in this chapter. Additionally, the findings regarding the organizational structure of the newspaper and its impact on journalistic agency and practices explain the differences noted in the previous chapter regarding how each newspaper applies advocate frames. Therefore, the following analysis of the frames provides with examples of how the interaction between the micro level agency of journalists and the constraints placed to it by the

macro level ownership of the media, that is enforced through the meso level organizational structure of the press impacts the structure of frames applied in news messages, thus addressing the first research question of the thesis. On a second level, the analysis of these frames reveals what they indicate about framing struggles and the relationships among the macro level structures addressing the second research question, as Entman (1993) argues that frames in news texts are really the imprints of power, registering the interests that competed to dominate the text.

Some of the journalists actually gave concrete examples of how the case at hand can be covered differently by highlighting alternative points of view. These quotes demonstrate how the organizational structure of the newspaper can lead to different treatments of the same issue and ultimately of advocate frames. For example Nikos Lionakis explained:

> Therefore we all understand that for a matter, even for the memorandum and especially the measures that it contains, one can focus on the extremely negatives that it has and someone else depending on the medium he works at can focus on some issues that are not so negative, that is to say some of the so called reforms, because everything that's included in the memoranda does not only have restraining measures but also some reforms.

Vasilis Nedos concurred by describing how the current to the interviews second evaluation of the third memorandum and the frames promoted by the government can be countered:

> There are objective facts such as the fact that the memorandum has to do with the goals set by the government each year, fiscal mainly, macroeconomic, etc. You have a standard tool that allows you to see in time if they are bull-shitting you or not. Meaning that when the primary surplus is announced you can say that ok there is a 4% primary surplus but you have not given to the market anything from what you owe which results in keeping money so you can declare a primary surplus. Nobody has to tell you that. Someone who keeps track of events can see that, all you have to do is write it. Many issues are a

matter of point of view in some cases. The issue is whether you choose to say it, how you choose to say it, and the gravity that you choose to give to it.

Therefore, it is important to not only see which frames each newspaper featured but also how these frames were applied, and what this application indicates about the influence of the structure of the newspaper and its impact on frame building.

8.3 The Influence of the Newspaper's Structure on Frame Building

Having established that the structure of the newspaper impacts journalistic practices and through that frame building, specific examples from the frame analysis will now be exhibited that arguably demonstrate this impact. These examples are either news frames, which are not reproductions of advocate frames and indicate the editorial stance of the newspaper, as well as advocate frames that have been altered and countered by the newspapers. These examples can indicate the influence of the newspaper's organizational structure on frame building, but they can also reflect the alignment of the structure of each newspaper to the other structures at each period.

8.3.1 Building News Frames and Altering Advocate Frames in 2010

News frames that are not applications of advocate frames are the most obvious examples of the influence of the newspaper's organizational structure on frame building, and they also reflect its editorial stance. Such a frame for example is found in Kathimerini in the 2010 period. The 'Unions as Villains' frame is applied exclusively in this newspaper and reflects its conservative editorial stance. Its constituting mechanisms can be seen in table forty-two.

Table 42: Kathimerini's News Frame in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Unions as villains' frame	Unions in the villain archetype, Soviet	Trade unions, PASOK government	The unions are enjoying unjust privileges	Liberalize trade

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metaphor

The 'Soviet' metaphor is characteristically employed as a framing device to point to the unions and their influence in Greek political and economic life: 'The *implementation of these changes* will contribute significantly in the canceling of the unionist – partisan bureaucracy of *soviet style* which plays today a decisive part in the collective negotiations'. This frame is indicative of the newspaper's editorial stance, because its mechanisms are not found in the frame analysis of the announcements of any of the political parties. Furthermore, the framing of trade unions as the causal factor for the problems plaguing the Greek economy, and the framing of the memorandum as a useful and necessary instrument for social, political, and economic change in Greece are consistent with a right wing conservative point of view.

Similar frames are also identified in the frame analysis of Ta Nea. More specifically, the 'War' and 'Social Memorandum' frames are exclusively news frames and reflect the editorial stance of the centrist newspaper. Ta Nea were supportive of the PASOK government at the time and the mechanisms of these two frames, exhibited in table forty-three demonstrate this.

Table 43: Ta Nea's News Frames in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'War' frame	Battlefield metaphors	Troika	The troika is pressuring the government	N/A
'Social Memorandum' frame	Memorandum of growth narrative	Memorandum	The memorandum has no social care	Government passes a number of social relief measures, government boosts growth

In the case of the 'Social Memorandum' frame the government is framed as the actor that can solve the social problems caused by the memorandum: 'With a package of

societal impact measures *the government* is thinking to accompany the final adjustments for the pension bill and working relations, in order to *soften the side effects on weaker groups of people* and take in the tremors on the inside of PASOK'. Therefore, this frame indicates the editorial stance of Ta Nea at the time, which was positive towards the PASOK government, and its impact on frame building. The journalists of the centrist newspaper are framing issues with a positive light towards the government, by describing it as a government with the agency to solve the problems that the memoranda are causing.

The 'War' frame is also positive for the government because it shifts the blame from the PASOK government to the troika, while also creating the sense of a state of emergency, which calls for extreme measures. It also dramatizes political events revealing a tendency of the Greek media to frame in terms of conflict. In this frame PASOK ministers are framed as fighting a battle against the troika in favour of the Greek society: 'At the same time, he repeated that he gave *a harsh battle with the troika during the negotiations'*. However, it must be noted that at the time there was a lot of infighting in PASOK with many MPs standing against the memorandum, at least verbally due to its unpopularity with the voters of the party. Therefore, the 'War' frame also includes quotes that are applying the frame with a different evaluative position as for example here: 'In parts of the government they have the sense that is a remake of the *fourth crusade* undergoing and that they are *under siege* within the last bastion of socialism. This is a convenient version of things. The other version is that *posturing with Don Quixotesque heroics conceals weaknesses'*.

A news frame reflecting the editorial stance of the newspaper and the impact of the newspaper's organizational structure on frame building is also found in the articles of Avgi in 2010. The 'Bipartisan System as a Villain' frame, exhibited in table forty-four is consistent with the editorial stance of the leftist newspaper. In the post-Junta (metapolitefsi) era only PASOK and ND, which were the two parties that received the majority of the votes as well, have governed Greece. This has been called a 'bipartisan system' in Greek politics and culture so this frame is one that stems from the editorial stance of the newspaper and the general political culture of the country. The essence of the frame is demonstrated in this quote, which employs several mechanisms that blame the bipartisan system for the country's problems: 'It's about a

fundamental democratic demand, for which we need to remind that SYN fought systematically in the parliament from the beginning of the 1990's. If they had managed to breach the *bipartisan wall* which fought back in order for the majority to have absolute control, if their suggestions were implemented on time, *maybe the country would not have been bankrupt'*. As it has been established Avgi is a newspaper that is closely linked with SYRIZA and this frame reflects the newspaper's political parallelism, framing it as a party that is not to blame for the problems plaguing the country and that can offer the solution.

Table 44: Avgi's News Frame in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Bipartisan system as a villain' frame	ND and PASOK in the villain archetype	ND and PASOK	The ruling parties created a clientilist state and bankrupted the country	Remove them from power

However, it is not only news frames that demonstrate the impact of the newspaper's organizational structure and editorial stance on frame building. The differentiated treatment during the application of advocate frames identified in the previous chapter is arguably the outcome of the editorial stance of each newspaper. Therefore examples of advocate frames and how they have been altered, or countered by the newspapers and what they indicate about their editorial stance will now be exhibited. For brevity reasons, since many of the frames analyzed here were introduced in the previous chapter the frame matrixes that have already been introduced will not be included. However, the complete tables can also be found in the Appendix section.

Kathimerini's application of PASOK's advocate frames is a telling example of how the editorial stance of a newspaper impacts the reproduction of political frames, as the constituent elements of the frame are altered. The major difference in how these frames are applied in Kathimerini lies in their causal attribution dimension. Whereas both frames as they are promoted by PASOK frame the previous majority government of ND as the culprit, Kathimerini silences this framing. In the 'Harsh but necessary'

frame Kathimerini actually counters the frame by attributing blame to the government for blackmailing the people with the threat of bankruptcy: 'Papandreou is moving forward under the banner of his only political weapon, *the blackmail* "Memorandum or bankruptcy"'. In the same sense the 'Crisis as an opportunity' frame is altered with the newspaper again muting the framing of the previous government as the cause of corruption and clientilism in the Greek state and economy and instead turning the blame towards the public sector, or the totality of the political system. For example Kathimerini writes: 'This is why we are here now, *because politicians* postponed for tomorrow whatever cost them politically today'. The newspaper generalizes blame to all the politicians with postponing reforms instead of identifying a political party therefore, shifting the blame from ND to the totality of the political system in Greece.

The impact of the editorial stance of the conservative newspaper is also demonstrated by the application of SYRIZA's two advocate frames, namely the 'Antimemorandum' and 'Colony' frames. Regarding the 'Antimemorandum' frame it has already been established in the previous chapter that Kathimerini mainly applies the version of the frame promoted by ND. However, it is worth mentioning that the newspaper actually counters SYRIZA's evaluative positions, therefore indicating how the editorial stance of a newspaper impacts frame building. For example although the frame is applied the evaluation differs through the use of irony as demonstrated here: 'They claim that we should have slammed the door to the EU and the IMF and proudly throw in their faces the 110 billion euros'.

Furthermore, the reproduction of the 'Colony' frame by Kathimerini reveals some differentiations in the reasoning devices of the frame that are dictated by the editorial stance of the newspaper. Whereas SYRIZA's advocate frame attributes blame to the Troika and the government, Kathimerini applies the frame with the government responsible for the country's loss of sovereignty. For example Kathimerini writes: '…*as a government* of limited responsibility that does not make its own decisions, has no margin to negotiate, but is *executing orders* given from Brussels and Washington'. When framed like this the implication is that a different government will be able to make a harder negotiation with the creditors. Indeed this quote demonstrates this: 'The reason is that they are politically suited with the IMF's and the Eurozone's recipe. By acting as the troika's foot soldier, they are hiding their incompetence to

deal drastically with the crisis. *The Greek problem is mainly political and secondly economic'.* Therefore it is noted that even in cases where advocate frames that go against the general editorial stance of the newspaper are applied, there is always the chance that they will be altered to serve the agenda of the ownership.

Some examples of the impact of the newspaper's editorial stance on the process of frame building are also located in the frame analysis of the articles of Ta Nea in 2010. More specifically, given that Ta Nea was supportive of the PASOK government at the time frames are altered or countered in order to defend the government. Such an example is the 'Antimemorandum' frame with quotes from the journalists of Ta Nea undermining the reasoning devices promoted by the parties of the opposition: 'Which exactly, mister president of the opposition, public services or functions do you suggest they be privatized, so we can see what kind of state you want'. The use of irony by the newspaper is suggesting that the parties against the memorandum do not have an alternative plan and works in favour of the government.

A similar application is noted in the reproduction of the 'PASOK as a Villain' frame by Ta Nea. The newspaper includes the 'fiefdom' metaphor, which was used by the Prime Minister himself when addressing the behaviour of some of his ministers. For example Ta Nea write: 'They shouldn't act as *small prime ministers* – a variation of the warning given a month ago by G. Papandreou that he will not tolerate his ministers using the ministries as *fiefdoms'*. This projects in some degree the failings that the government is accused of to individual behaviours of ministers. Furthermore the lack of a treatment recommendation works in favour of the government as the frame is presented with no solution for the problems. Therefore, it is again noted that in cases where a frame is not convenient to the editorial stance of a newspaper, its application is affected. The frame can be altered in some of its constituent dimensions in order to give it a different meaning, or elements of the frame can be muted to dampen its impact.

Finally, the investigation of the articles of Avgi in 2010 reveals a similar application by the leftist newspaper to the sole frame reconstructed that was not a SYRIZA advocate frame, namely the 'Harsh but Necessary' frame. In many instances the journalists of Avgi counter the frame employed by the government as a 'fake

dilemma' or as a 'ghost' to force the Greek voters into accepting the memorandum: 'This terrible, but very convenient *ghost*, we have to admit is also very successful. It is doing the job for which it was summoned very well and there are many in this country that are convinced that the measures are *unfair, harsh*, maybe also ineffective, but *necessary* at the state we were'.

8.3.2 Building News Frames and Altering Advocate Frames in 2011/12

The investigation of the newspaper articles from the second period unveils a number of frames that are arguably exemplifying the impact of the organizational structure of a newspaper on frame building. Furthermore, changes that have occurred to the editorial stance of the newspapers are also noted.

The two news frames reconstructed from Kathimerini's articles in 2011/12 are thematically linked to the rising influence of SYRIZA in Greek politics, and their frame matrixes are exhibited in table forty-five. The 'Drachma Nightmare' frame focuses on the outcome of a possible exit of Greece from the Eurozone and frames the left in the causal attribution dimension: 'The nostalgia of the *traditional left* for immediate bankruptcy and a *return to drachma* cannot be hidden any more'. It should be noted that SYRIZA never officially supported a return to the drachma and it was only smaller groups within SYRIZA that were discussing the possibility. Therefore, this frame is indicating an effort to conflate the leftist party with a highly unpopular, as demonstrated by opinion polls at the time, return to the national currency.

The 'Populism' frame is also mainly targeted against SYRIZA and the other parties that took a stance against the memorandum. For example Kathimerini writes: 'The new national narrative says that everything is the fault of the troika and its recipe, also known as the Memorandum. To *those that since day one reacted with no cost*, without of course offering a realistic alternative suggestion, no further than a wonderful vision that could be implemented in zero time to turn the country into the garden of Eden, in the last few days some new critics of various specialties were added'. Here the use of irony is employed by the article writers to undermine the positions of those against the memoranda. With the last two frames Kathimerini takes an active stance in favour of the memorandum and against the rise of SYRIZA, which is the main anti-

memorandum party. This editorial stance is also congruent with the accounts provided by the journalists working for Kathimerini, and especially Kostas Karkagiannis, who spoke of the pro-European stance of the newspaper.

Table 45: Kathimerini's News Frames in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Drachma Nightmare' frame	Blackmail, nightmare metaphors	The left	The possibility of a Grexit and return to the drachma	Remain in the Eurozone
'Populism' frame	Populism keyword	Opposition Parties	The opposition is offering easy solutions	Vote for parties that are not populist

The frame analysis of Ta Nea in 2011/12 also yields two exclusive news frames that demonstrate the impact of the editorial stance of the press on frame building, but at the same time are hinting to possible changes in that editorial stance for the centrist newspaper. The frame matrixes of the frames are exhibited in table forty-six. The 'Hard Bargain' frame is an exclusive news frame, however it consists of quotes that are coming from members of the two government partners, PASOK and ND. The frame supports the government's efforts in the negotiation with the troika and promotes the parties that took part in the negotiation, in light of accusations from the opposition that they were not negotiating hard enough. The change in the editorial stance of the newspaper is hinted by the support of both government partners in this frame, in a newspaper that traditionally supported PASOK. However, the changes in the political scenery of Greece are impacting that editorial stance. For example PASOK quotes that frame the negotiation as very hard are reproduced: 'In the same line, the finance minister Ev. Venizelos, mentioned, in his speech to the parliamentary group of PASOK, of a very hard negotiation with the troika'. On the other hand ND quotes that are also framing the negotiation by claiming that the hard negotiation is the outcome of ND's participation in the government are also features in the articles of Ta Nea: 'They mentioned however, that perhaps for the first time there was a *substantial and painful negotiation* between the government and the troika after the

great effort mainly of *the prime minister and the finance minister* and some issues were enhanced'.

The 'Drachma Nightmare' news frame is applied in Ta Nea as well as Kathimerini and it is dealing with the possibility of a Grexit. In contrast with Kathimerini's version of the frame Ta Nea are changing the causal attribution of the frame and do not directly blame the left. Instead there are quotes that speak more vaguely about 'those that speak about the drachma' and the business interests that would benefit from such a development: 'No iron, unavoidable economic law is pushing Greece out of the euro. It is being pushed (not only from black market interests that dream of the drachma party) by *the weaknesses of our political system'.* This suggests that the editorial stance of the newspaper is adopting a 'wait and see' attitude towards the new power of Greek politics, instead of an openly hostile stance as in the case of Kathimerini. This is corroborated also from the interview findings, where journalists that have worked for the organization that Ta Nea is a part of, described an opportunistic and volatile stance of the ownership towards political power.

Table 46: Ta Nea's News Frames in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Hard Bargain' frame	Tug of war, poker game, hard bargain metaphors	Troika	The memorandum needs to be enhanced	Equivalent measures to help weakest in society, growth
'Drachma nightmare' frame	Nightmare, Ghost, Armageddon metaphors	Business interests, those that talk about the drachma	Drachma would be a disaster for the Greek economy and society	Remain in the EU

The impact of the editorial stance of the newspaper on frame building is also demonstrated by examples of how each medium applies advocate frames at the time. For example the 'Harsh but Necessary' frame, which was one of the most dominant frames in 2010 is also used in 2011/12, promoted both by PASOK and ND.

Kathimerini applies the frame with some alterations. The newspaper blames the Greek political system in general without focusing on inter-partisan conflicts as the PASOK-ND versions of the frame do: 'The causes of the fall *are to be found in the past stages of governance of the country, enhanced by the European pathogens and the international circumstance'*. Furthermore, Kathimerini also alters the treatment recommendation dimension by suggesting the coalition technocrat government remains beyond its planned resignation after the signing of the second memorandum: '*Such a choice (technocrat government)* offers the advantage of as much as possible implementation of the governmental program, since the technocrats do not succumb to the logics of political cost'. Therefore the newspaper is taking a stance that is not aligning with ND, which is calling for elections, but a pro-memorandum and pro-European stance that supersedes the political conflicts between the parties.

On the other hand, the 'Antimemorandum' frame, which in the 2011/12 period is sponsored by SYRIZA is countered by Kathimerini: '*It is time to go past the bipolar memorandum-antimemorandum*. No one has found a decisive way to go against the logic of the economic policies described in the two memoranda'. What this indicates is that although advocate frames impact the debate around a political issue, it is the editorial stance of each newspaper that shapes the application of these frames and the evaluative positions that each newspaper adopts. The news frames and the application of political frames by Kathimerini in 2011/12 do not reveal any significant changes in the editorial stance of the newspaper. The conservative newspaper is still supportive of frames that are in favour of the memorandum and critical towards frames that are against it.

On the other hand the advocate frames reconstructed from the articles of Ta Nea in 2011/12 and the application of those frames mark some significant shifts in the editorial stance of the newspaper. For example the treatment of the 'Harsh but Necessary' frame is particularly interesting, because the causal attribution of the frame also attributes blame to the troika for imposing harsh measures in exchange for the bailout: 'However, the *troika* links the PSI with harsh measures, such as reducing the lowest wage, cut backs on the 13th and 14th salary, but also a series of measures aimed at deregulating the labour market'. This alteration is in favour of the government as it shifts the blame for the harsh measures to the foreign politicians. It

is however interesting that the newspaper also sometimes counters the frame: 'The continuous invoking of dilemmas, on the face of bankruptcy, is trying to mask that the *policies implemented – the substance but also the way they are implemented – reproduce the debt management crisis'*. The inclusion of many evaluative positions within the frame is indicating an ambivalent and volatile editorial line, affected by the wider changes ongoing in the field of politics of Greece. It is also consistent with the interview findings aforementioned that describe Ta Nea as a newspaper that often changed it's stance.

Another example that demonstrates the impact of the organizational structure on frame building, but also the shifting editorial stance that Ta Nea have at the time is the 'The Memorandum did not Fail' frame, which is a reproduction of a PASOK frame. The frame is indeed turned around as the newspaper's version of the frame attributes blame to the PASOK government for failing to implement the memorandum: 'The policies, as I said, were correct but the *Papandreou governments* were *hesitant to implement them'*. The application of this frame is marking a significant shift from the 2010 framing. During the first memorandum there were very few, if any, criticisms towards the Papandreou government, whereas in 2011/12 this changes. This is concurrent with Lawrence's (2010) framing shifts theory that posits that changes in power could cause framing shifts. This time segment has many changes in power, internal and external to PASOK, that must be taken in account to explain what this shift means. There is the change of leadership within PASOK, as well as the collapsing power of the once dominant party. However, the wider impact of politics and the economy on the editorial stance of a newspaper will be further explored in the following chapter.

The shifting support of Ta Nea towards PASOK is also confirmed by the application of the 'European Climate is Changing' frame. The differences in the mechanisms of the two frames are caused by the reproduction of alternative evaluative positions within the frame promoted by other political sources. For example ND's opinion is reproduced: 'Now the former prime minister Mr Simitis is saying what we have been saying all along, stated Mr Samaras and added that the opinion he had stated from the beginning now *is gaining ground throughout Europe'*. On the other hand there are some SYRIZA quotes within the frame that act as counter-frames: 'The conflict in

Europe is general. Unfortunately the *Greek government is a sad follower of Mrs Merkel'*. This quote is reframing the issue as a conflict between ideologies in Europe and attributes blame to the Greek government for not breaking with the ruling German policies. Once again it is noted that the editorial stance of the newspaper remains ambivalent and volatile in this period of political turmoil.

One of the most interesting frames reconstructed from the articles of Ta Nea in 2011/12 is the 'False Dichotomy' frame, exhibited in table forty-seven. The reason that this frame is interesting is that it is applied, as an answer to the rise of SYRIZA and it is a partial frame applied mainly through quotes by members of the KKE. The 'False Dichotomy' frame appears after the first elections in May, when SYRIZA rose to the position of major opposition in the Greek parliament and came close to being the largest party. Furthermore, it is a partial application of a KKE frame, which so far has been ignored, focusing on attacking the memorandum/antimemorandum dilemma, SYRIZA's main political slogan, as false. Ta Nea have completely reframed the quotes of the members of KKE, when compared with the frames reconstructed from the official material of the party. The frame is only partially applied and focuses on a much smaller part of the party's agenda, one that's interesting for the newspaper at the time. The original KKE frame was the 'A New Bipolar System' frame, which was attacking the memorandum/antimemorandum as false, but also framed the ND/SYRIZA as a new political bipolar, as can be seen in table forty-eight.

Table 47: Application of the 'False Dichotomy' Frame in Ta Nea in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'False dichotomy' frame	N/A	Industrialists, capitalists, bourgeois parties	Antimemorandum is a false dilemma	Support the KKE

KKE's frame attacks both SYRIZA and ND as demonstrated by this quote for example: 'The political system is masquerading. In front of the people they pose *fake dilemmas*. They claim that the contradiction is between the center-right and the center-left, between the supporters of the euro and those that want the drachma. These

are big lies'. Furthermore, KKE's advocate frame is promoted throughout the period, and not only during the time that the newspaper applies it. Although Ta Nea are applying this frame, at the same time the quotes are partial and do not convey the full breadth of the frame as promoted by KKE. For example Ta Nea are writing in June 14, 2012 right before the elections: 'Papariga: Focusing the battle on the *memorandum is a big trap*'. Therefore, the frame is promoted with a specific agenda to sway leftist voters away from SYRIZA, especially given that the newspaper mostly ignores the frames of the Communist Party and that the frame is applied only after the first elections of May 2012.

Table 48: KKE's Advocate Frame in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'A new bipolar system' frame	Bipolar metaphor	The bourgeois class	A new fake dilemma between SYRIZA-ND is being set up, SYRIZA-ND align strategically	The true bipolar is KKE vs the rest

The final newspaper analyzed from the 2011/12 period is Avgi. The treatment of the 'Harsh but Necessary' frame by the leftist newspaper is indicative of how its editorial stance impacts frame building. The newspaper applies the frame but at the same time contests and counters the essence of the frame calling the dilemma posed by the government fake: 'The *blackmailing dilemma* memorandum or bankruptcy is *fake and misleading*'. Furthermore the newspaper is also contesting whether the memorandum of the troika is saving the country calling it a myth: 'The *myth* of the troika about saving Greece'.

Furthermore, the reproduction of SYRIZA's 'Antimemorandum' frame demonstrates how the editorial stance of a newspaper can enhance a frame through the inclusion of supportive quotes from members of other parties or organizations. The frame does not

only consist from SYRIZA members' quotes but there are also plenty of quotes provided from ND, ANEL, DIMAR and also from members of PASOK who stand against the memorandum, which constitute the frame. For example Avgi writes: 'D. Sakelaris, a member of the political cabinet of PASOK, wished that 2012 would be the year defined by the progressive forces of this country and spoke of the need *to rupture with the memorandum and neoliberalism*'. Another quote from ND, during March 2012 is employed as a problem definition for the frame: 'The president of ND during yesterday's meeting of the party admitted that the similarity of the first memorandum with the second is that "the same recipe is conserved. *The third and most important pillar of growth is still missing"*, and underlined the need to prioritize the recovery of the economy'. Although ND at this point has joined the government and supports the memorandum, the newspaper is highlighting quotes that criticize the agreement. It is also important to note that the newspaper also reports on actions and speeches of the KKE that take a different evaluative stance but still reproduce the 'Antimemorandum' frame: '"*Whatever government is formed, for example an anti-memorandum government, the only thing that they will achieve will be to sow disappointment and anger to the people*" and predicted that "the dancing from their victory will not last longer than one month. Their cover will be blown". Al. Papariga underlined that "the KKE will be opposed to such a government"'.

The examples from the 2011/12 period indicate the impact of the editorial stance of a newspaper, imposed through its organizational structure, on frame building. More specifically, the editorial stance of a newspaper contributes to frame building by leading to the application of news frames that reflect the aims of the ownership of the medium, but also to the diverging application of advocate frames. The examples demonstrated here reveal that newspapers can apply a frame with different evaluative positions; change frames to better suit their agenda, silence mechanisms that are inconvenient, or even partially reproduce frames. However, another element noted in this period is that the editorial stance is not set in stone and this is illustrated by changes in how similar frames are applied in different periods. These changes are attributed to the interaction of the meso level newspaper's organizational structure with the macro level structures of politics and the economy and will therefore be further explored in the next chapter.

8.3.3 Building News Frames and Altering Advocate Frames in 2015

A number of frames exemplifying the impact of the organizational structure on frame building, while reflecting the editorial stance of the newspaper are reconstructed from the articles of the 2015 period. The frame analysis of Kathimerini in 2015 yields one exclusive news frame, the 'Greece is a special case' news frame bound together by a narrative that also existed in 2011-12, exhibited in table forty-nine. The frame is indicative of the editorial stance of the newspaper towards the issues of the Greek economy and politics. For example the newspaper compares Greece with other EU countries that had to implement memoranda: 'I am saddened as a Greek citizen when I read that Eurozone countries, such as *Portugal, Ireland, Latvia, Cyprus, that experience memoranda show elements of economic recovery*, return to the markets and finance their needs without memoranda and commitments'. As demonstrated by this frame the editorial stance of Kathimerini remains stable, without significant shifts, throughout the three periods.

Table 49: Kathimerini's News Frame in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Greece is a special case' frame	Greece is a special case narrative, disease metaphor, success stories	Greek past governments	Greece did not make reforms in time, clientilism	Structural reforms, Implement the memorandum

The analysis of Ta Nea in 2015 also yields one news frame, which is the 'Greece is a special case' frame as in Kathimerini, exhibited in table fifty. The frame as reconstructed from Ta Nea is similar to the frame applied in Kathimerini, as demonstrated for example in this quote employing the examples of other European nations: 'At the same time that *Ireland and Portugal* pay back their loans from the IMF before time. Saving millions of euros on taxes. And *Cyprus* is in an exit trajectory from the memorandum sooner than the predicted time schedule of 2016'. The fact that the frames are news frames, and not applications of advocate frames, but

found in both newspapers indicates that they must originate from the wider political culture of Greece. It also points to a possible reaction of the commercial newspapers to the developments on the political level at the time, something that will be further explored in the coming chapter.

Table 50: Ta Nea's News Frame in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Greece is a special case' frame	Success stories narrative	Governments in Greece	The memoranda have not been implemented	Structural reforms

Finally, the frame analysis of Avgi in 2015 led to the reconstruction of the 'Worst Memorandum' frame, which can be seen in table fifty-one. It is an exclusive news frame and indicates an editorial confusion at the time for the leftist newspaper. The frame deals with the third memorandum signed by the SYRIZA-ANEL government and reflects the ongoing internal struggles of SYRIZA that led to the break up of the party. It consists of quotes from many different political parties and criticizes the new memorandum. The criticisms that are found in the problem definition dimension of the frame are coming mainly from SYRIZA MPs that are against the memorandum, ND members, and surprisingly also from members of the government and the prime minister himself as demonstrated in this quote from July 16, 2015: 'Alexis Tsipras admitted that he is bringing an agreement with which he does not agree as it *contains austerity and harsh structural reforms'*. This disharmony in frame sponsors is also demonstrated in the treatment recommendation of the frame with solutions ranging from the rejection of the memorandum and an alternative plan outside the Eurozone (Left Platform MPs), to a continuous negotiation of the agreement (Pro-government MPs). It is important to note that Avgi also includes counter-frames, which present this agreement as better than the previous two: 'We have to stress that it's different compared to the first and second one. It does not have the character of the violent budget adjustment neither of the extreme neoliberal onslaught'. This frame is indicative both of the impact that the organizational structure of the newspaper has on frame building, but also of the impact of the structure of politics on the editorial stance of the medium, as the developments in the political arena and the realignment

of political actors after the third memorandum have arguably impacted frame building in this period.

Table 51: Avgi's News Frame in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'The worst Memorandum' frame	The worst Memorandum narrative	SYRIZA government	The memorandum is harsh and leading to Grexit	Negotiate the agreement, equivalent measures, alternative plan

As the analysis of the examples from the previous periods demonstrates, the impact of the organizational structure of the newspaper is also indicated by the application of advocate frames in the media, that at the same time reflect the editorial stance of the newspaper at the time. For example the application of the 'SYRIZA negotiation cost' and 'Tsipras' Memorandum' frames, promoted by the opposition parties ND and PASOK is indicative of the editorial stance of Kathimerini. The first frame concerns the negotiation of SYRIZA with the creditors and it is an amalgamation of PASOK and ND's advocate frames. The negotiation is already an important topic and one of the main arguments for SYRIZA in 2011/12, so it makes sense that the opposition takes aim at the results of the negotiation of SYRIZA. The version of the frame applied in Kathimerini incorporates criticisms from both advocate frames, which frame the problem of the negotiation as a 'waste of time' and also as a negotiation which returns Greece to the recession, undoing the progress achieved by the ND-PASOK government. The difference in Kathimerini's frame lies in the treatment recommendation dimension, which argues that a national negotiating team is the solution. Whereas ND and PASOK's version of the frame call for SYRIZA to sign a deal with the creditors, Kathimerini argues that 'this disaster has its good side. As long as the parties *agree to join forces* in the negotiation for the new restructuring of the unified Greek debt'. This is concurrent with the stance adopted by the newspaper in the 'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame. This frame is also an application of PASOK and ND's advocate frames taking aim at the third memorandum and attributing blame to SYRIZA and Prime Minister Tsipras personally for signing a harsh memorandum.

Again Kathimerini's application of the frame differs from the advocate frames by suggesting the formation of a national unity technocrat government that will implement the deal: 'Tsipras is turning from leader of the band of misfits of SYRIZA to a prime minister of national responsibility and a unifying and experienced Meimarakis *have the historical responsibility to cooperate on the framework of a historic compromise* to get the country out of the crisis and signal the restart of our national course'. It must also be noted that although Kathimerini attributes blame to Tsipras for stalling the agreement, the signing of the memorandum is seen as an act of responsibility. Therefore, the frames of the newspaper do not call for elections or his resignation. The application of these frames reflects the editorial stance of the newspaper, which is the defense of the political logic of the memoranda regardless of which party is implementing them. To be sure, Kathimerini is not positive towards SYRIZA, however the choice made by the government to adopt the logic of the programs is viewed upon favourably.

The application of the advocate frames in Ta Nea in 2015 reveals that the centrist newspaper is having an ambivalent and volatile editorial stance in this period as well. The 'Deal or Disaster' frame is reproduced in a similar manner to Kathimerini. Although the other dimensions of the frame criticize the government for 'toying' with bankruptcy, the treatment recommendation dimension also praises the government and Alexis Tsipras for signing the agreement. For example Ta Nea write: 'At the last hour Alexis Tsipras seems to have made a *difficult but necessary decision* which makes me happy: to *keep Greece in its European trajectory* avoiding to lead it to an uncontrollable bankruptcy or towards Grexit'. However, the application of the other opposition advocate frames reveals that Ta Nea adopts an overall more positive and receptive stance towards SYRIZA, compared to Kathimerini. For example, although the newspaper applies the 'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame, it also reproduces the evaluative position of SYRIZA for equivalent measures that will make the agreement milder within the frame, a position that is not reproduced in Kathimerini. Ta Nea write: 'Mr Tsipras added that it is the will of the government to balance those policies with *equivalent measures* that will help in the *fair distribution of tax burdens*, especially for farmers'. Furthermore, a number of quotes by government members are featured that counter the frame: 'Mr Kammenos said that the new agreement *should not be called a memorandum* because it includes the solution of the debt and it

consists a Greek prerequisite that if we are to make any deal it will first have to be final'. The inclusion of governmental evaluative positions indicates that Ta Nea is taking into consideration the rising influence of SYRIZA in Greek politics.

Ta Nea applies in a similar manner the 'SYRIZA Negotiation Cost' frame. The frame is not applied so often in Ta Nea as in Kathimerini and in contrast with the right wing newspaper the frame is countered: 'The claim that everything was going well in the Greek economy until the SYRIZA government messed it up is the worst kind of 'history of the victors' blaming the victim for its fate'. As with the 'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame, so with this frame, the inclusion of evaluative positions that are countering the frames indicates that the centrist newspaper's editorial stance is not completely hostile towards the new government, without their framing becoming too positive towards it either.

Finally, the application of advocate frames by Avgi in 2015 is perhaps the most interesting for the leftist newspaper, because of the infighting inside SYRIZA reflected in the frames, that indicates the impact of the organizational structure of the newspaper. As in the previous time periods Avgi mostly applies SYRIZA's advocate frames, however, the fractures in the party have lead to different evaluative stances within the same frame being reconstructed. An example of this is the 'Antimemorandum' frame, which is applied in Avgi as seen in table fifty-two. The analysis of the articles reveals that many prominent members of the government sponsor the frame during the first months. However, after an agreement for a new memorandum was reached with the creditors, SYRIZA's internal opposition sponsors the same frame. This is evident in the causal attribution dimension of the frame, where one evaluative position within the frame assigns blame to the troika during the negotiation and the other one assigns blame to the government after the agreement is signed. Before the signing of the agreement the frame consists of quotes such as this one: 'Mr Varoufakis underlines that the approach of *the creditors is stopping the recovery and the growth of the Greek economy'.* However, after the signing of the agreement the frame is continued by those SYRIZA MPs against the decision of the government: 'We do not support *the government* to agree with memoranda and much more to implement memoranda'. The same is also valid for the 'Colony' frame. The frame is applied both as a government frame and a frame against the government at

the same time, as indicated by its mechanisms exhibited in table fifty-three. For example, the government frames the troika as a colonialist that imposes harsh terms on Greece, even after the memorandum has been signed by SYRIZA: 'Mr. Mujica also said that the measures that Greece was forced to accept *were imposed by their European creditors, especially from Germany'*. On the other hand, those that are against the signing of the memorandum mainly employ this frame to attribute blame to the government for signing the agreement. For example Avgi writes: 'And yet, from the day after July 5, we experienced and we are experiencing *a continuous coup*, the overturn of the result and the shameless turning of the No to a Yes, with pioneers the *prime minister himself and the president of the democracy and accomplices the ministers and the MPs of the other parties'*.

Table 52: Application of the 'Antimemorandum' frame in Avgi in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Creditors, Government	Social degradation	Reject/Abolish the memorandum, adopt an alternative plan

Table 53: Application of the 'Colony' Frame in Avgi in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Government, Germany, Creditors	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	Reject the memorandum, cancel the memorandum

On the other hand Avgi also applies a number of SYRIZA advocate frames that defend the government and it's actions. One example is the 'Harsh but necessary' frame, which has been used by every party in the government that signed or implemented a memorandum. At first glance the comparison of the frame applied in Avgi (table fifty-four) is similar to SYRIZA's advocate frame (table fifty-five). However, Avgi reproduces quotes that adopt different evaluative stances within the

frame or even counter it: 'The claims of a necessary and harsh compromise are not true. It is about an ideological, political, strategic bankruptcy of the course of SYRIZA, as it had been predestined from the ruling group from 2012 and onwards'. The inclusion of counter-frames and frames from both groups within SYRIZA reflects the internal strife taking place in Avgi at the time as well, something noted by the journalists of the newspaper interviewed as well, but also point to Avgi doing a good job in reproducing the debates taking place within the party without silencing any of the opposing opinions.

Table 54: Application of the 'Harsh but Necessary' Frame in Avgi in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, salvation metaphor	Creditors, Greek oligarchy	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Implement reforms, keep on negotiating

Table 55: SYRIZA's 'Harsh but Necessary' Frame in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful, death metaphors	Past mistakes of Greece	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Change Europe, negotiate the reforms, manage the implementation of the agreement

8.4 Summary

This chapter set out to understand how the process of frame building is impacted by the editorial stance of the newspaper. In order to understand the process through which the organizational structure of the newspaper and the editorial stance constrain journalistic practices and impact frame building, interview findings were presented. Furthermore, findings were presented that demonstrated how the organizational

structure is imposed to the journalists through the crystallization of practices that forces them to self-censor. These processes are connected with frame building through the presentation of examples from the frame analysis of the newspaper that demonstrate the impact of editorial stances on the creation of news frames and the application of political frames. These examples reveal that newspapers can alter or silence dimensions of frames that are inconvenient to the narrative they are trying to build, or present different evaluative positions within a frame. Furthermore, they reveal that editorial stances are not stable but dynamic. Consistent patterns of framing are revealed, alongside significant framing shifts. However, in order to fully grasp how these patterns and shifts come to be, and what they reflect it is necessary to understand the interactions between the structure of the newspaper and the structures of politics and the economy. Therefore, the next chapter will focus on these relationships, their impact on journalistic practices and how they ultimately shape frame building.

9. Setting limits to the debate: The interaction between the structures of politics, the economy and the press.

The two previous chapters established links between the impact of the structure of the market on journalistic practices, the effect of the newspaper's organizational structure on journalistic structuration, and frame building. Constraints caused by the logics of the capitalist market, manifested through meso level processes of labour elimination and intensification have enhanced the ability of political sources to set the frames of a political issue. Furthermore, the significance of the newspaper's editorial stance that is enforced through the organizational structure of the medium was exhibited through examples of frames and by pinpointing how each level contributes to the structure of the frames. What the previous chapters demonstrated is that political sources have the power to set the frames of the debate, but how these frames will be ultimately applied resides with the newspaper, a finding concurrent with Cook (1998) who argued that political sources have the power to enter the debate but their opinions don't come across unfiltered.

However, the examination of the application of frames through the different time periods also reveals that the editorial stance is not fixed but contingent on developments on the structures of politics and the economy. Therefore, this chapter explores how these structures could impact the editorial stance of a newspaper, through examples from the frame analysis of all the time periods. These examples indicate how these structures shape which frames are reproduced and the subsequent journalistic processes that take place, answering the first research question of the dissertation. Additionally, in order to answer the second research question, framing choices, shifts, and/or patterns that reflect insights regarding framing struggles and relationships of power among the macro level structures are noted. Finally, the findings from the framing analysis contribute towards understanding how the interaction between the three structures leads to the construction of the debate around the memoranda, and the diversity of content and opinion promoted through the media, answering the third research question of the thesis.

9.1 Political Parallelism in the Greek Media

The interview findings confirm the importance of the relationship of the media with the structure of politics as almost half of the journalists describe the editorial stance of the newspaper as an outcome of this interaction. Dimitris Mitropoulos offers an eloquent statement describing the relationship of the Greek media with political power:

> Here we have if you will a law of gravity that says that the media in Greece go with the current of power. Some with the current of every power, others with the current of power that's closer to their understanding….but we do not have papers that promote their independent relationship towards power or the establishment. Each and everyone understands some times the establishment not as that which he identifies with but the one next to that, but in reality the relationship, the phenotype is the same.

What is described here is that there are different editorial and political stances in the Greek media, but there is always a close relationship of political parallelism. Therefore, there are media with a clear and solid editorial stance that supports a political ideology without fluctuation based on changes in the political power of the party supporting that ideology, or media that unwaveringly support a specific party. But at the same time there are other newspapers that shift their editorial stance in congruence with shifts in political power. The case of Avgi for example is a newspaper that clearly supports the party of SYRIZA, as Nikos Lionakis a senior journalist of the newspaper explains:

> Avgi is a newspaper that supports SYRIZA. After the rise of SYRIZA there were also other newspapers that either support the government or they are not blindly aggressive towards the government. Those newspapers managed to have a larger popularity exactly because they were a bit more balanced towards the government, meaning that they could exercise a more total critique, whereas in the case of Avgi sometimes that's hard, although there are examples of criticisms towards the government from Avgi.

The political parallelism of Avgi is direct, given the financial support that it receives from SYRIZA and the fact that it is mainly addressed to the voters of the party and

fits with the traditional understanding of press-party parallelism proposed in early comparative research of media systems (Seymour-Ure 1974; Blumler and Gurevitch 1975 in Hallin and Mancini 2004). However, other commercial newspapers although they do not have as clear allegiances to political parties, seek to cultivate close relationships with parties that are part of the wider circuit of power. A telling example of this practice was given by Vasilis Nedos, a journalist for Kathimerini, who has worked in the past for To Vima, which is part of the same journalistic group as Ta Nea. Nedos describes how the newspaper's stance changed during the memorandum years:

> It is let's say characteristic and sad for no other reason but because they are historic newspapers, that the DOL newsapapers "To Vima" and "Ta Nea", which are quality newspapers, lost a lot of their readership because they went over from the anti-memorandum stance to the pro-memorandum stance four times.

This volatility in opinion and support reported here is congruent with Hallin and Mancini's (2004) description of countries with low levels of journalistic professionalization and phenomena of media instrumentalization. The media are turned into instruments in the hands of their owners and the journalists pursue the goal of furthering the interests of the ownership.

These findings describe the relationship and interaction between the structures of the media and politics. Three types of relationships are indicated; the first one is guided by political parallelism, with newspapers that adopt a steady editorial stance and a discernable ideology, which is used to interpret issues. The second one is guided by traditional press-party parallelism, with newspapers that adopt an unwavering editorial stance that supports a specific political party, even when that party is changing its stance on core issues. For these two types of relationship between the press and the structure of politics the editorial stance of the newspaper can either be parallel to a political party or to an ideology and a framing analysis between different periods will not reveal significant framing shifts but patterns instead. The third type of relationship between the press and politics is guided by the instrumentalization of the media, with newspapers that pursue to relate to any political power and try to cultivate

relationships with parties based on how they are performing electorally. The editorial stance of these newspapers will be volatile and a framing analysis between different periods will reveal significant framing shifts, concurrent with shifts in power.

9.2 The new political landscape

The periods under investigation in this research provide many opportunities to understand how the editorial stance of a newspaper is impacted by changes in politics. This is because of the seismic changes brought about in the last few years in the Greek political world. More specifically, the traditional governing parties ND and PASOK lost significant amounts of their electoral strength. Especially the social-democratic PASOK went within a few years from being a majoritarian government to having only a handful of MP's in the Greek parliament. On the other hand SYRIZA emerged from a small left wing coalition of parties to a unitary party that became the majority partner in the government elected in 2015. Other changes were the creation of many smaller parties that assumed an enhanced role due to the inability of the larger parties to form majority governments. Within a few years a rather stagnant and predictable political landscape that lasted for almost forty years was decimated and gave its place to a very volatile environment, before reaching a new equilibrium. Therefore it is necessary to assess how the journalists describe their profession in light of the changing political circumstances, in order to understand how the structure of politics impacts the structure of the media and ultimately frame building.

Two journalists interviewed posit that the changes in the political environment in Greece has led to an increase of political parallelism in the media, with high levels of partisanship and polarization demonstrated by the newspapers and their journalists. Kostas Papagiannis a journalist from Avgi described that 'the situation was very intense; the media defended the political camp that they belong to, because all the other media belong to some political camp with fanaticism'. Voula Kehagia used similar terms to describe how some of her colleagues acted during the crisis:

> I dare say that I witnessed during the period of the crisis and in fact during the last few years journalists so polarized that in my opinion this isn't journalism anymore. Meaning that it is not journalism to fanatically express your opinion;

of course as a citizen and as a journalist you have a right to judge, criticize, have an opinion, or differentiate yourself, but acting as a political opponent is not a part of your role.

One of the indicators employed by Hallin and Mancini (2004) to assess how strong political parallelism is within a system has to do with the journalistic role orientation. The account provided by Kehagia indicates that journalists in Greece adopted even more of a publicist role in the years of the crisis, instead of a neutral role of providing information, thus suggesting an increase in political parallelism. This increase contradicts Hallin and Mancini's (2004) theory that European media will converge towards the liberal model and suggests that further investigation is required to other media systems as well, to establish how they have developed under the influence of forces such as the economic crisis and digitalization. However, it needs to be noted that this increase in political parallelism and polarization is not necessary a negative development, as it can lead to more public engagement with politics and contribute to a more vibrant democracy. The reality of the role of media in democracies is very complex and any normative judgments about them are equally complex.

Kehagia also describes how the media reacted to the rise of SYRIZA as a governing party in Greece:

Probably some saw behind the threatened rise of SYRIZA an imbalance and a disturbance in situations to which they were not accustomed because SYRIZA was an unknown factor. During this year it has been proven that there were media that although they fought SYRIZA they became friendly to the governing SYRIZA or tried to be friendly; or if you will although they were in the beginning treating SYRIZA with animosity they became enemies with the governing SYRIZA as well or the other way around.

Dimitris Mitropoulos confirms this conflict between SYRIZA and the established media and links it to the financing of the media in Greece. One of SYRIZA's electoral promises was the shakeup of the media landscape in Greece, which they viewed as corrupt. The media in Greece secured very beneficial loans, with alleged political

interference in favour of the media owners, something that was then outlawed with the country's economy under guardianship:

> None of them even contemplated recapitalizing the media that they owned when this was in cases completely necessary. They did not inject money and the banks did not have the capacity any more, because the policies of the government forbade it. We had a last round of loans in 2013-14 with the previous government. Since there was no loan money, money stopped flowing… Despite the fact that this is also a result of the conflict, confessed or not, which existed between SYRIZA and ANEL and some media, probably all of them I would say.

This is an important finding as it sheds light on the relationship between the state and the media in Greece in the new political situation. As Hallin and Mancini (2004) posit, in countries that are classified in the Polarized Pluralist model, the state is an important source of funding alongside political actors and parties. Indeed, the low circulation rates of newspapers in those countries means that the media are more susceptible to becoming instruments at the hands of their owners. Therefore, the lack of state funding is another factor that could explain the increase of partisanship described earlier, as well as the increase of instrumentalization of the media in the Greek context in combination with the political and journalistic culture of Greece. The crisis provided a distinctive context in which partisanship and instrumentalism combined as factors shaping press activity.

The shifting realities of the Greek political system have also had an impact on the relationships between journalists and political sources. Elena Laskari describes the process of building relationships of trust with the new important political sources:

> For journalists that were in the occupation for many years this was a big overturn. Because, the governments in Greece were interchanging we didn't have a lot of options. It was either PASOK in the government or Nea Dimokratia. Maybe sometimes in the last years there would be a supporting smaller party. Therefore, for a journalist that had a career for some years it wasn't hard at all. The same people were interchanging, we knew them, they

knew us and therefore it was easier for us to do our job. In the last few years however indeed new political personnel entered in the governing spotlight, but again the journalist will find a way to do his job in the end, he will get to know new sources.

However, the account of Vasilis Nedos about the relationship of Kathimerini with SYRIZA indicates the importance of the interaction between the structure of politics and the structure of the media in determining what the relationship between the journalist and the source will be. More specifically he described that 'we have good access to SYRIZA but they won't spill their guts to us'.

The relationship between the politician and the journalist is a two way street, so in this new political environment in Greece it wasn't only the journalists who controlled this relationship but also the politicians. Eirini Chrisolora describes the reluctance exhibited by the new politicians in the forefront to confide in journalists from establishment media:

> We had an issue here, in the last few years. A government that was not used to communicate with journalists, they did not know, and they had reservations, or even animosity towards the journalists, so there was an issue there. But usually that's the procedure and the politician finds out in a way, they have their own information about what kind of journalist you are, if they can trust you. And I imagine that it plays a role if they think that you serve their purposes, meaning if they want publicity from the medium that you work for.

What these quotes indicate is that the changing political landscape in Greece impacted the way the memoranda were covered in various ways. Media that traditionally were aligning themselves towards the establishment parties went through a period of changing their stance often while trying to figure out what their relationship with the new power will be. This trend points to the instrumentalization of the Greek media, because as Hallin and Mancini (2004) point out, media that operate in countries with high political parallelism and low journalistic professionalism often take part in political disputes and it is possible that they will shift their support to reflect the goals of their ownership. On the other hand other media were suspicious, or even hostile

from the beginning with the new political powers as they submitted to different ideological views, something consistent with Hallin and Mancini's (2004) classification of Greece as a Polarized Pluralist media system with high levels of political parallelism. Framing is the optimal tool in order to make sense of how the structure of each newspaper aligned its editorial stance regarding the changes in the structure of politics. By employing Lawrence's (2010) theory, which posits that frames are not static but evolve and shift in conjunction with shifts in power. Therefore, the shifts in power noted in each period will have to be accompanied by significant framing shifts, which are also congruent with the aforementioned editorial stance guided by instrumentalization. The lack of a framing shift, on the other hand indicates that the editorial stance of the newspaper is guided by political parallelism.

9.3 The Media as Vehicles of Political Leverage

The interviews also shed light on the impact of the structure of the economy on journalism. Manning (2001) argues that market structures have an impact on the range and nature of political discourse disseminated through the media. Therefore in order to understand what frames can indicate about the interests that led to their application, it is important to investigate how the structure of the market impacts the work of journalists. Newspapers in Greece are made with a target audience in mind, namely the audience that supports a certain party or ideology. Kostas Papagiannis from Avgi explains: 'Avgi might have had a more traditional readership that did not buy it to be informed in the narrow sense but bought it to be informed from a specific point of view'. Nikos Lionakis concurs that the political message of the newspaper is the most important aspect when constructing an article and points to the source of financing of the newspaper as the main reason:

> In general Avgi is a very specific case when it comes to the issue of commercialism, because it always had the goal of the political message instead of the commercial goal. In this aspect of course it matters, precisely because it's not like the newspapers of the free market in having a businessman owning it, but in essence it is supported by subsidies that it always received by the party that supports it, because it is not exactly a party mouthpiece.

However, it is not only people that work for Avgi that understand that their readership is already politically aligned and expects a certain message and certain issues to be covered. Aristotelia Peloni, who has worked for both center-left Ta Nea, and now is employed in conservative Kathimerini notes how the structure of the economy impacts the agenda of newspapers in Greece:

> I have worked with two very different systems, although they didn't have very different readers, it's just that Ta Nea was always more center-left. Issues that in Ta Nea would be huge, let's say the crisis in PASOK, in Kathimerini they are more understated and vice versa. Kathimerini let's say wants a bigger coverage of ND, something that for Ta Nea would not happen daily. That makes sense because the readers are different and they are interested in other things.

The journalists once again confirm the country's classification as a Polarized Pluralist (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) system here. The partisan nature of Greek newspapers is enhanced due to the small and segregated market that they need to operate in because the target readership of the newspapers is already politicized and expects a political message. Furthermore, in Polarized Pluralist systems the media have a high degree of political parallelism because their main financing comes from the world of politics either through direct subsidies from parties, such as in the case of Avgi, or from indirect sources as Paschos Mandravelis, from Kathimerini explains:

> Because the media had a privileged relationship with the political system, they were not in the market of news. They were in the market of political influence… They were all over the place, meaning the Greek press did not care if they sold, that's why we had the following phenomenon: circulation was shrinking and the newspapers were becoming more. It makes sense that in a market that's shrinking the businesses are becoming less. In Greece we had this paradox: circulation was shrinking and newspaper labels increased. We got to the point of having 26 daily newspapers in Athens alone. Why? Because the press got paid off, legally, from elsewhere, and they did not care.

This quote sheds light to the political economy of the press in Greece, which is corroborated by Hallin and Mancini's (2004) account as well. The small size of the market means that the people who choose to control media are looking to turn a profit by engaging with the world of politics and the state. That creates a number of complexities and interdependencies that play an important role in how information is spread and managed in Greece. As Schiller (2014) argues for the American example the inherent identity of interests of property holders, and the monopolistic character of the communications industry constrains variety of opinion. Furthermore, Murdock and Golding (1974) posit that the frameworks offered by the media are necessarily articulated within the nexus of interests producing them and the limits of production need to be explored through a description of these interests. By looking at the results of the frame analysis, and triangulating them with the insights from the interviews those interests can be mapped, as well as the alignment of the press in Greece during this particular case study. The case of Avgi is rather straightforward as the financing of the newspaper comes directly from the party, however frame shifts that were noted in the other newspapers can indicate the strategy of their ownership towards the shifting political landscape in Greece.

9.4 Framing the debate around the Memoranda

The frame analysis presented in this section addresses the aims of this thesis. Firstly, examples of frames that indicate the existence of patterns and shifts and therefore the impact of the structures of politics and the economy on the editorial stance of the newspaper are exhibited. Secondly, these patterns and shifts are analyzed to determine what they reflect about framing struggles and the relationships between the structures of power. Finally, the range of legitimate debate positions that the frames foster are evaluated to assess the diversity of opinion promoted through the framing of the memoranda.

9.4.1 Setting limits to the debate in 2010

The frame analysis of the articles of Kathimerini in 2010 yields six frames as seen in table fifty-six. Given that this is the first period under investigation no shifts and patterns can be established yet. However, the treatment of the advocate frames and the

news frames analyzed in the previous chapter reveals the editorial stance of the newspaper and how it has been affected by the structures of politics and the economy. Kathimerini's framing in 2010 is an example of political parallelism and how it impacts the process of frame building. Kathimerini is a right-wing conservative newspaper with close links to ND. The reproduction of two ND frames (Antimemorandum, PASOK as a villain) exhibits this political parallelism. Although both frames are also sponsored by SYRIZA, Kathimerini mainly reproduces the versions of ND. Furthermore, the newspaper counters the SYRIZA version of the frame demonstrating how political parallelism impacts the application of frames.

The application of the two PASOK frames (Harsh but Necessary, Crisis as an Opportunity) also indicates the political parallelism of the newspaper. Kathimerini silences PASOK's framing of the previous ND government as the main culprit that led to the problems discussed by the frame. Therefore, the newspaper endorses the legitimacy of the problems and the defense of the memoranda, but at the same time it defends the previous ND government. This is an example of how political parallelism impacts the process of frame building, as there are plenty of reasons that would support why the newspaper applies these frames in this manner. The newspaper has traditionally supported the right wing party, its core readership consists of ND supporters, and because of the good relationship between the newspaper and the party it can be assumed that the journalists of Kathimerini have good access to ND politicians. Therefore, for these reasons dictated by the macro structures of the economy and politics the editorial stance of Kathimerini is positive towards the right wing party in this period.

This stance also makes sense from a market perspective, as the voters of ND belong mostly to the middle and upper classes and are therefore lucrative readerships for the advertisers of the newspaper. The alignment of the newspaper towards the structures of politics and the economy shapes journalistic practices accordingly, as it was described in the previous chapters through the meso level. The organizational structure enforces the editorial stance through crystalized practices and hierarchies that determine how information is managed to fit the narrative promoted by the newspaper. It is useful to remember the description offered by Karkagiannis (2017), who argues that although his stance towards the memoranda changed during the years

he did not feel that he could reflect this in his articles, as the editorial stance of the newspaper was different than his opinion, pointing to the diminished agency of journalists in the Greek context and to the importance of the editorial stance for the process of frame building. Furthermore, processes of labour commodification and intensification further remove agency and power from the individual journalist, to ensure that they will comply with the editorial stance of the newspaper, but at the same time endow political sources with enhanced capacities of setting the terms and limits of the debate.

Table 56: Kathimerini's Frames in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Crisis as an opportunity' frame	Crisis as an opportunity narrative	Public Sector, Politicians	Corruption, Systemic Greek issues, Delaying reforms	Structural Reforms
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	The government is to blame	The memorandum does not support business, causes recession	Alter the memorandum, faster exit from the memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Different government, change the memorandum, cancel the memorandum
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, sacrifice, painful	The government is to blame	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum

		metaphors		
'PASOK as a villain' frame	The PASOK government in the villain archetype	PASOK government	The government is failing	Elections, National Unity government
'Unions as villains' frame	Unions in the villain archetype, Soviet metaphor	Trade unions, PASOK government	The unions are enjoying unjust privileges	Liberalize trade

Ta Nea is a centrist newspaper that has mostly been associated with the social democratic PASOK. The frames reconstructed in 2010, exhibited in table fifty-seven, confirm this political parallelism. The newspaper reproduces two PASOK frames (Crisis as an Opportunity, Harsh but Necessary) and the analysis of the two news frames (Social Memorandum, War) in the previous chapter revealed that they work in favour of the government. These four frames indicate the impact of political parallelism on frame building, as frames promoted by PASOK are applied unadulterated by journalism, and the unique frames of Ta Nea grant support to the government.

The analysis of the application of the opposition's frames presented in the previous chapter further illustrates the impact of political parallelism in frame building. More specifically, the 'PASOK as a villain frame' is altered by Ta Nea in its dimensions and ultimately in its meaning. By superimposing its own framing devices the newspaper shifts the blame to individual members of the government, whereas by omitting the treatment recommendation dimension of the frame Ta Nea are actually supporting the government by not reproducing the advocate frame's claim for elections. Furthermore, the 'Antimemorandum' frame is also applied in the newspaper, but at the same time countered indicating the impact of political parallelism and the editorial stance of the newspaper in the application of frames. The macro level structure of politics and the position of the ownership of the newspaper towards it shape the editorial stance, which was guided by political parallelism towards PASOK during this period. This stance is then enforced to the journalists through the organizational structure, as it was demonstrated in the previous chapter through crystalized practices that determine that the most important journalistic aspect

in the Greek system is the political role of the newspaper. Journalists have to comply with the editorial stance or risk demotions of their articles by the middle level managers of the newspaper. Therefore, information is collected and constructed in such a way that keeps in line with the editorial stance, producing this outcome in the application of frames in news messages. The various processes described in previous chapters account for the structure of news frames, but the interactions described in this chapter are responsible for guiding how journalistic practices will be shaped in order to produce the information that suits the goals of the owners of the press.

Table 57: Ta Nea's Frames in 2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Crisis as an opportunity' frame	Crisis is an opportunity narrative	Systemic Greek issues, previous governments	Corruption, Clientilism	Proceed with the reforms
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful metaphor	Previous governments, public sector	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum
'Antimemorandum' Frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	Government, Troika	The memorandum was not properly negotiated, it is recessionary	Adjust the memorandum, cancel the memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor, WW2 similes	Troika, government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Reject the memorandum
'War' frame	Battlefield metaphors	Troika	The troika is pressuring the	N/A

				government	
'PASOK Government as a villain' frame	Government in the villain archetype, "fiefdom" metaphor	Government	The government is failing	N/A
'Social Memorandum' frame	Memorandum of growth narrative	Memorandum	The memorandum has no social care	Government passes a number of social relief measures, growth

Table 58: Avgi's Frames in 2010

Frames	**Framing Devices**	**Causal Attribution**	**Problem Definition**	**Treatment Recommendation**
'Colony' frame	Colony, occupation metaphors	Germany, Troika, Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Popular struggle
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, Armageddon, death metaphors	Government, troika	The memorandum is recessionary and against worker's rights.	Reject/cancel the memorandum
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, Painful, sacrifice metaphors	Previous governments	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum
'Another EU is possible' frame	Domino effect, weak link metaphors	EU, speculators	Speculative attacks, Neoliberalism	EU shows solidarity with Greece, EU's unification is deepened

'PASOK government as a villain' frame	PASOK government in the villain archetype	PASOK government	The government lied before the election, The government capitulated to the troika	The government must resign
'Bipartisan system as a villain' frame	ND and PASOK villain archetype	ND and PASOK	Clientilism	Remove them from power

Avgi's framing is also a clear-cut example of political parallelism, in the more traditional sense of press-party parallelism, as the frames reconstructed in 2010, exhibited in Table fifty-eight, indicate the close relationship of the newspaper with the leftist SYRIZA. The fact that four frames are reproductions of SYRIZA frames (Antimemorandum, Colony, Another EU is Possible, PASOK Government as a Villain) points to the importance of political parallelism for frame building in Avgi. Furthermore, the news frame reconstructed in this period (Bipartisan System as a Villain) also supports SYRIZA as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Finally, the last frame of Avgi (Harsh but Necessary), which is the only frame not related with SYRIZA is countered on many occasions by the newspaper pointing at the influence of political parallelism on the editorial stance of the newspaper.

The examination of the frames from all three newspapers reveals the range of the debate fostered through mainstream media. The memorandum is discussed mainly in terms of the division between those who are for it and against it. The parties arguing in favour of the memorandum employ mainly the 'Harsh but necessary' and 'Crisis as an opportunity' frames, whereas the main frames against the memorandum are the 'Antimemorandum' and 'Colony' frames. Therefore the media frame the debate around the memorandum itself and its good and bad qualities. The framing of the newspapers follows the advocate frames of the two larger parties PASOK and ND, whereas SYRIZA also manages to be included, because it's frames fit on the range of legitimate opinions. All the newspapers apply advocate frames by three out of the four political parties, whereas none of them includes the frame of the KKE. The two

previous chapters illustrated that the political parties set to a large degree the frames of the debate, whereas newspapers remain in control of how these frames are ultimately applied. The muting of KKE's frame from the debate is a significant finding that needs to be analyzed, as it indicates the impact of the structures of politics and the economy on the editorial stance of the newspaper. As Curran (1978) posits socialist and left positions have been associated with lower income readers by advertisers. Therefore the positions of KKE are not interesting from a market perspective as it's main electoral base is formed by lower income workers. In addition, the examination of the exclusion of the frame from a political and ideological standpoint reveals the limits of the liberal consensus. As Murdock and Golding (1974) posit a description of the interests producing the range of interpretative frameworks provided by the media maps the limits of the process. Therefore, the analysis of the frames in 2010 reveals that positions that promote a wider criticism of the capitalist mode of production fall outside the acceptable limits of debate, addressing the gap noted in previous chapters regarding the muting of KKE's frames.

The decisions of the two main parties appear to be shaping the debate, indicating a structural bias towards established and powerful sources, similar to Cook's (1998) description of bias in the very different US context. The four main frames construct the debate around the issues of efficiency and necessity of the measures, their economic and societal impact, and issues of sovereignty and democracy. The causal attribution dimension revolves around the political game with the parties accusing each other for the crisis, while there is also some blame attributed to the troika and a discussion around domestic structural issues. Finally, the solutions discussed concern the future of the memorandum with positions ranging from the necessity of the successful implementation of the program, to its adjustment or complete cancelation.

The previous chapter established that the application of frames is not identical by all newspapers, reflecting a multitude of evaluative positions. Nonetheless, the debate is set around the memorandum without addressing wider reaching topics and alternatives that would question the economic system, which was under a crisis globally. This framing of the debate cuts off the Greek crisis from the global developments and treats it as an issue of management of the system, to be solved by

the system itself. This finding indicates the impact of the structure of politics and the economy on frame building, as political parallelism and market imperatives shape the debate and create the prerequisites for the exclusion of frames that fall outside the limits of acceptable political discourse such as the frames of KKE. In any case, it would be difficult to imagine that media owned by powerful capitalists with multiple ventures outside the media business would promote criticisms of capitalism. As Manning (2001) argues the dependence of the media on advertising revenue provides a link between the structure of the market and the range and nature of political discourse disseminated through the media, something that is reflected by the muting of the frames of the KKE, which concern lower income workers that do not constitute interesting readerships for advertisers. Furthermore, Mosco (1996) argues that those with control over markets, in this case the powerful owners of the Greek media, have the ability to fill channels with material embodying their interests and limit the range of possibilities of interpreting media content. Therefore, the framing of the debate by the media reflects the interests of the owners of the Greek media and their internal struggles.

9.4.2 Setting limits to the Debate in 2011/12

The examination of the frames from the 2011/12 period provides with examples, shifts, and patterns that arguably demonstrate the impact of politics and the economy in shaping the editorial stance of a newspaper and frame building. Starting with Kathimerini the frame analysis yields seven frames, exhibited on table fifty-nine, that indicate a slight shift in the political parallelism of Kathimerini as the newspaper is more supportive of the policies of the memoranda, instead of a particular political party. For example this is demonstrated in the 'Harsh but necessary' frame and the reframing of its treatment recommendation dimension. Whereas ND, leading the polls at the time, calls for immediate elections, Kathimerini takes a stance in favour of extending the mandate of the technocrat three-party government. Additionally, the 'The memorandum was not implemented' and 'Changing European climate' frames are consistent with the pro-EU and pro-Memorandum stance of the newspaper, in congruence with the accounts of Kathimerini's journalists.

The 'Drachma Nightmare' and 'Populism' frames are quite interesting, because no political party has promoted them and they appear to be the newspaper's response to the electoral rise of SYRIZA. Therefore, these frames manifest the impact of political parallelism on the Greek media and on frame building, as they indicate that newspapers take active positions in political issues by supporting or rejecting ideologies, parties, or individuals. These frames are applied because Kathimerini demonstrates political parallelism with ideas stemming from the right wing conservative and liberal ideologies, because its main readership consists of right wing voters. Furthermore, as the journalists pointed out in their interviews, the fact that SYRIZA was a new power and ideologically counter to Kathimerini, created suspicion and mistrust from both sides of the negotiation, which is reflected in the application of these frames in the news messages of the newspaper. Therefore, Kathimerini in 2011/12 exhibits a parallelism towards class and ideology, rather than a political party.

Table 59: Kathimerini's Frames in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, pain, sacrifice metaphors, comparison with Ireland	The Greek political system, the structure of the EU	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum, technocrat government
'The memorandum was not implemented' frame	Greece is a special case narrative, Crisis brought the memorandum narrative	Government, The state	Slow Process with Measures	Proceed with structural reforms
'Drachma Nightmare' frame	Blackmail, nightmare metaphors	The left	The possibility of a Grexit	Remain in the Eurozone

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
				and return to the drachma
'Changing European climate' frame	European climate is changing narrative	Germany	Austerity, Exiting the Eurozone	Election of Holande in France, relax austerity, stay in Europe
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Troika, Merkel	Causing a recession	Government of the Left
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Troika, PASOK	Lack of democracy, Loss of sovereignty	Popular uprising, cancel memorandum
'Populism' frame	Populism keyword	Opposition Parties	The opposition is populist	Vote for parties that are not populist

Table 60: Ta Nea's Frames in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful metaphor	Politicians, Troika	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum, move forward with reforms
'The memorandum was not implemented' frame	Memorandum was not implemented narrative	PASOK government, Greek political system	Structural issues of Greece	Implement structural reforms
'European climate is changing' frame	The EU is changing narrative	Germany, Merkel, Sarkozy, Government	Austerity, Greece could destabilize the Eurozone	Holande is elected in France, growth policies are put

				forward
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Merkel	Lack of democracy, Loss of sovereignty	SYRIZA is elected
'Hard Bargain' frame	Tug of war, poker game, hard bargain metaphors	Troika	The memorandum needs to be enhanced	Equivalent measures to help weakest in society, growth
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	PASOK government, Troika	The first agreement caused recession	Growth, SYRIZA is elected, Cancel the memorandum
'False dichotomy' frame	N/A	Industrialists, capitalists, bourgeois parties	Antimemorandum is a false dilemma	Support the KKE
'Drachma nightmare' frame	Nightmare, Ghost, Armageddon metaphors	Business interests, those that talk about the drachma	Drachma would be a disaster for the Greek economy and society	Remain in the EU

The examination of Ta Nea on the other hand reveals significant framing shifts. The frame analysis of the articles of the 2011/12 period yields eight frames, exhibited above on table sixty. The editorial stance of the newspaper in this period is volatile and features a number of framing shifts. These shifts indicate the impact of changing political circumstances on the editorial stance of the newspaper, and the instrumentalization of the newspaper, also noted in the interviews with journalists of Ta Nea. The frames applied in 2011/12 reflect an editorial stance that embarks from the previous period, but still has not settled. More specifically the newspaper reproduces two advocate frames by the government parties (Harsh but necessary, European climate is changing), as well as another frame that is positive towards the government (Hard Bargain frame). The 'Memorandum was not implemented' frame

found in this period signals a framing shift by Ta Nea as it blames the Papandreou government for the failure of the first memorandum. Two advocate frames by SYRIZA (Antimemorandum, Colony) are also applied, alongside two frames that address SYRIZA's electoral rise (Drachma Nightmare, False Dichotomy).

An example of an advocate frame promoted by the governing parties applied in Ta Nea is the 'Hard Bargain' frame, which consists of quotes coming from both parties (PASOK, ND). However, the 'Harsh but necessary' frame indicates a change in the editorial stance of the newspaper towards PASOK, which is reflected by a framing shift. The newspaper counters the frame, by claiming that the threat of bankruptcy is a false dilemma, a criticism lacking in the 2010 period. The changing relationship between Ta Nea and PASOK is also suggested by the 'Memorandum did not fail' frame, which attributes blame to the Papandreou government for the failure of the policies of the first memorandum. To explain this framing shift it is important to link it with developments on the structures of politics and the economy. The changing power levels in Greek politics guide this framing shift at the time and more specifically the rise of SYRIZA in the polls and the consequent slide of PASOK. Therefore, this shift reflects the instrumentalization of the newspaper, which is adopting an editorial stance that is not dismissive of SYRIZA, as a new vessel of political power in the country. As Dimitris Mitropoulos mentions in his interview, it is quite common for Greek newspapers to maintain close relationships with power and this framing shift indicates this tendency. From a market standpoint, the fact that the traditional voters of PASOK, which were the main readers of the newspaper as well, started moving towards SYRIZA means that the changing editorial stance makes market sense in order to retain its readership. Therefore, the role of the public as part of the newspaper's marketing strategy plays an important role in this framing shift. The complex relationships between the structure of the media, with the structures of politics and the market shape the editorial stance of the newspaper. The outcome of those complex relationships between the macro level structures and the meso level editorial stance impacts journalistic practices and frame building, as described in the previous chapters. More specifically, the meso level organizational structure 'enforces' this editorial stance to the journalists of the newspaper through crystalized practices that diminish their agency and shape information collection and article construction practices. Furthermore, the meso level processes of labour

commodification and intensification described in Chapter 7 ensure the compliance of the journalists and give political sources an edge in setting the terms of the debate by reducing the resources that journalists wield in their information negotiation practices.

During this period the support of Ta Nea towards a political position is uncertain, as some frames are positive for SYRIZA and the antimemorandum position, while others support ND. What is certain is that there are major shifts ongoing, due to the precipitous decline of PASOK and the instrumentalization of the newspaper reflected in its framing. Another frame that illustrates this volatile editorial stance is the 'European climate is changing', which is applied in similar fashion to the PASOK and ND versions, but at the same time quotes from SYRIZA MPs that are countering the frame are reproduced. Furthermore, two SYRIZA frames (Antimemorandum, Colony) are also applied without being countered by Ta Nea.

However, the coverage of Ta Nea cannot be described as positive towards SYRIZA. Two of the frames applied address the rise of the left wing party. More specifically, the 'Drachma nightmare' frame, also found in Kathimerini, links the leftist party with the possibility of returning to the national currency. The most interesting frame applied in 2011/12 however is the 'False Dichotomy' frame, as it mostly consists of quotes from the KKE, whose frames are mostly ignored by the media in the periods examined. The frame is partially applied and reframed from the original KKE frame, and it is only found after the elections in May and SYRIZA's rise on the second position. A possible explanation for the application of this frame is that leftist voters were split between KKE and SYRIZA and the polls were suggesting that potentially more KKE voters would vote for SYRIZA in the second election. Therefore, Ta Nea takes a stance against SYRIZA winning the elections by promoting a partial frame of a party that could potentially cost voters for the left wing party. Furthermore, the frame is partial and reframes KKE quotes so that they attack the main electoral slogan of SYRIZA, namely the Antimemorandum stance, instead of focusing on the wider critique of the Greek political system promoted by the advocate frame. It can be posited that the editorial meeting of the newspaper decided to 'play up' information promoted by the KKE, as a response to the political developments, and journalists were instructed to collect information and construct articles in that angle. This crystalized process and hierarchy were discussed in the previous chapter, but this is a

concrete example of how the interaction between the structure of politics and the economy, with the structure of the media sets the editorial stance and shapes frame building. The outcome was on the one hand the application of a KKE frame, which was missing in other periods, and on the other hand the reframing of the advocate frame by the journalists. What this indicates is that the ambivalent stance of the newspaper towards SYRIZA ended after the elections when the left wing party rose as a potential government of the country, and it also points to the impact of the instrumentalization of the media and the structure of politics to the editorial stance of a newspaper and frame building.

On the other hand the frames applied in Avgi seen in table sixty-one do not reveal any significant shifts. Out of the five frames applied in Avgi, the four are reproductions of SYRIZA frames (Antimemorandum, Colony, Papademos Government as a villain, Another EU is possible), whereas only one is a reproduction of a frame of the government (Harsh but necessary). The frames applied in Avgi in 2011/12 indicate that framing choices are guided by political parallelism with SYRIZA and reflect a steady editorial stance.

Table 61: Avgi's Frames in 2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	PASOK, ND, Troika	First Memorandum failed, Memorandum is bringing Grexit	Elections, Cancel the memorandum, growth policies, Adjust the memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony, protectorate, servitude metaphors	Troika, Government, Ruling EU circles	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	Cancel the Memorandum, Government of the Left
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary	Unions, Greek	The country is threatened	Implement the memorandum,

	narrative, painful, sacrifice metaphors	society	with bankruptcy, Grexit	proceed with reforms
'Another EU is possible' frame	EU is changing narrative	Ruling EU circles, Germany	The EU is neoliberal and conservative	Europe changes policies, SYRIZA wins the election
'Papademos government as a villain' frame	Papademos government in the villain archetype	Papademos Government	The government has no democratic legitimacy and it is not negotiating	Elections, Government resigns

The main point of division in the 2011/12 period is the stance towards the memoranda, as in the previous period. Kathimerini mostly applies frames that support or defend the memorandum, whereas Avgi is on the opposite side of the spectrum applying frames that work against the memorandum. Ta Nea is not so easy to classify, because although it is applying frames that are defending the memorandum at the same time the frames that are against the memorandum are not contested. The major parties set the terms and frames of the debate in this period also, with the main difference being that SYRIZA is now rising in prominence and PASOK and ND are together in a coalition government. The frames of KKE are once again excluded in their majority from the debate, with the exception of Ta Nea that apply a partial KKE frame for a brief period.

The three newspapers focus on the same issues and frames producing a vibrant and polarized debate. The political developments at the time in Greece give rise to various frames that address them. So in addition to the debate that was already taking place about the memorandum, using the 'Harsh but necessary', 'Antimemorandum', and 'Colony' frames there are now new debates springing up. The rise of SYRIZA is addressed by Kathimerini and Ta Nea, which apply the 'Populism', 'False Dichotomy' and 'Drachma Nightmare' frames. The failure of the first memorandum to achieve its targets gives rise to the 'Memorandum didn't fail' frame, applied in

both Kathimerini and Ta Nea. A lot of attention is paid in this period also to the negotiation process, with the 'Hard Bargain' frame arguing that the government is a tough negotiator, and the 'Papademos Government as a villain' framing the government as soft and unable to negotiate. Finally, the discussion about Greece exiting the Eurozone intensifies during this period and the 'European Climate is changing' and 'Another EU is possible' frames contain arguments in favour of Greece's EU membership that are promoted from both sides of the new political bipolar.

The debate around the memoranda in 2011-12 is constructed around four pillars. The first one concerns the memoranda, discussing their efficiency and implementation, their economic and social impact, and issues of democracy and sovereignty. The causal attribution dimension is constructed around Greek political parties and the government, or the troika, shifting the blame for the outcomes of the memoranda. The solutions provided range from the implementation of the memorandum as it is, to its adjustment or complete cancelation. The second pillar concerns the negotiation between the Greek government and the troika and whether it is a hard or soft negotiation. Depending on the frame, blame is shifted between the Greek government and the troika and solutions stem either from the government itself or from its replacement by SYRIZA. Furthermore, a discussion is formed around the European aspect of the crisis that was absent in the previous period. While all the frames strategically converge on the acceptance of Greece's participation in the EU, different visions about the future of Europe are put forward. The final pillar concerns the rise of SYRIZA and that debate is structured around the possibility of Greece exiting the euro as an outcome of electing an antimemorandum party and the rise of populism in the country. The solutions suggest supporting parties that do not engage in populism and believe in Greece's participation in the EU. Therefore, the newspaper's framing of the debate in 2011/12 fosters a very polarized debate within very constrained limits and options. The discussion focuses on the memorandum itself, without criticizing or questioning the fundamentals of the economic system. The developments are not contextualized and are mainly discussed as part of the political game of the country. The European aspect of the crisis is introduced in this period, however, a very polarized but strategically converging debate is constructed. The positions taken do not question participation in the EU, but only diverge on visions regarding its future,

as well as the issue of Greece's national currency albeit while remaining in the wider European framework. Frames questioning Greece's participation in the EU, such as KKE's, are muted, indicating where the limits of acceptable political discourse lie in this period and the disinterest of the press's marketing strategy in attracting KKE voters in their readership.

9.4.3 Setting limits to the debate in 2015

The frame analysis of the 2015 period provides with a number of examples indicating the influence of the structures of politics and the economy on the editorial stance of the newspaper and frame building. Beginning with Kathimerini the frame analysis yields six frames that are exhibited in table sixty-two. Three of these frames are applications of advocate frames promoted by the former government parties PASOK and ND (Deal or disaster, Tsipras' Memorandum, SYRIZA negotiation cost). The 'Greece is a special case' frame defends the memoranda, similar to the 'Memorandum was not implemented' frame found in previous periods. Finally two frames are applications of advocate frames promoted by SYRIZA (Antimemorandum, Colony), however, the members that eventually left SYRIZA to form LAE mostly sponsor them. In general the editorial stance of the newspaper remains unchanged compared to 2011/12, in the defense of the economic and political logic of the memoranda as indicated by the framing pattern revealed in the three periods under investigation.

Table 62: Kathimerini's Frames in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful, disaster metaphors	SYRIZA, Tsipras	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Sign and implement an agreement with the institutions
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Government	The memorandum is bringing	Return to the drachma, cancel the memorandum

			social misery	
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Troika	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	BRICS, Reject the memorandum, rupture with the EU
'Greece is a special case' frame	Greece is a special case narrative, disease metaphor, success stories	Greek past governments	Greece did not make reforms in time, clientilism	Structural reforms, Implement the memorandum
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	Cost of SYRIZA narrative	Government, Tsipras	The government is wasting time, returns the economy to a recession	National negotiating team
'Tsipras' memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum narrative	Tsipras, Government	The deal signed is harsh	Technocrat government

The 'Greece is a special case' frame is the most characteristic of the period as it reflects the editorial stance of the newspaper. Kathimerini also applies the 'Tsipras' Memorandum' and 'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frames, which are promoted by ND and PASOK. However the newspaper applies its own version of the frames that alters the treatment recommendation dimension by welcoming the change of SYRIZA's politics and the signing of the memorandum. The application of these frames indicates that the editorial stance of the newspaper is guided by political parallelism with the ideologies of the memoranda over specific political parties.

On the other hand the newspaper is not sympathetic towards the SYRIZA government, given their ideological differences. Therefore, there is no framing shift taking place in Kathimerini's articles after SYRIZA becomes the major partner of the government in the beginning of 2015. Kathimerini has not applied more SYRIZA frames, other than the two frames that were reconstructed in the previous time periods. The lack of a framing shift concurrent with the shift in power after the

election of 2015 indicates that the editorial stance of the newspaper is contingent on political parallelism. The framing of Kathimerini is consistent throughout all time periods, in the defense of right wing conservative and liberal positions, its pro-European character and the memoranda. However, the power shift in 2015 provides with an opportunity to understand whether the party in power also determines Kathimerini's framing. The findings do not support this. Therefore, the ownership of the newspaper is not situated towards the structure of politics in an opportunistic manner, but instead has a consistent editorial stance, that its journalists are aware of and serve at all times. Therefore, the thesis contents that this type of parallelism is characteristic and reflects the interests and ideology of the class of Kathimerini's ownership, more specifically the Greek bourgeois class. During the years of the memoranda Kathimerini seems to have overcome the more narrow limits of party-press parallelism, and has evolved into a newspaper that is propagating and advancing the interests of Greek capital that are intimately linked with the country's position within the EU and the Eurozone. Subsequently, this type of political parallelism can be termed as 'class parallelism' as it is a rather unique form of political parallelism that overcomes the classic understanding of a newspaper's editorial stance reflecting support for a specific party or ideology.

On the other hand, the framing of Ta Nea exhibits a number of framing shifts and an ambivalent editorial stance similar to the 2011/12 period. The frame analysis yields seven frames, exhibited in table sixty-three. Three of these frames are applications of advocate frames promoted by the opposition parties PASOK and ND (Tsipras' Memorandum, SYRIZA negotiation cost, Deal or disaster). The 'Greece is a special case' frame defends the logic of the memoranda. Finally three frames promoted by SYRIZA are applied (Antimemorandum, Colony, Blackmail), pointing to the ambivalent stance of the newspaper towards the new government.

Table 63: Ta Nea's Frames in 2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster'	Harsh but	Tsipras,	The country	Sign and

frame	necessary narrative	Government	is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	implement an agreement, opposition supports
'Greece is a special case' frame	Success stories narrative	Governments in Greece	The memoranda have not been implemented	Structural reforms
'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum narrative	SYRIZA, Tsipras	The memorandum is striking the weakest in society	Growth policies, cooperation government, equivalent measures
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	SYRIZA negotiation cost narrative	SYRIZA	The sacrifices of the previous years have been lost	Implement structural reforms
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Government	Austerity, The memorandum is suffocating the country	Vote against the memorandum, return to the drachma
'Colony'	Colony metaphor	Creditors	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	BRICS
'Blackmail'	Blackmail metaphor	Troika	The creditors are delaying	Honest compromise

The three frames promoted by the opposition parties that are applied in Ta Nea indicate the ambivalent stance of the newspaper towards the new government. Especially in comparison with the application of the same frames in Kathimerini. The treatment recommendation dimension of the 'Deal or disaster' frame differs from

Kathimerini's, as it frames the government as an actor that can provide solutions to the problems especially after the signing of the agreement. Furthermore, in the 'Tsipras' Memorandum' and 'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frames the analysis reveals that Ta Nea include SYRIZA's evaluative positions in some cases. This indicates an ambivalent stance because the newspaper applies the frames promoted by the opposition parties, and attributes blame to the government. However, counter frames reflecting the position of the government on the issues are included, indicating an opening of the newspaper to the new power in politics. The application of the frames suggests that instrumentalisation guides the editorial stance of the newspaper and frame building. The ascendance of SYRIZA in power causes a framing shift in Ta Nea, which indicates that the newspaper's ownership positions itself more favourably towards the new political power, something corroborated by Dimitris Mitropoulos' account describing the propensity of the Greek media to situate themselves in collaboration with the establishment. The position of the ownership is communicated to the journalists of the newspaper through the organizational structure, which constraints and dictates their agency and practices as the previous chapter described. The opening of Ta Nea to the new SYRIZA government is also confirmed by the existence of the 'Blackmail' frame, which is promoted by the left wing party and is not applied in Kathimerini, pointing to the differences in editorial decisions among the two newspapers.

Finally, the frame analysis on Avgi's articles in 2015 yields six frames that are exhibited in table sixty-four. Four of these frames are applications of frames promoted by SYRIZA, however a closer analysis reveals that they contain both evaluative positions of those that support the government after the signing of the memorandum and those that don't (Antimemorandum, Colony, Harsh but necessary, Blackmail). Avgi also applies the 'Left Parenthesis' frame that deals with the possibility of a break up of the party. The most interesting frame that is reconstructed in this period is the 'Worst Memorandum' frame, which is attacking the SYRIZA government and marks a framing shift.

Table 64: Avgi's Frames in 2016

Frames	Framing	Causal	Problem	Treatment

	Devices	Attribution	Definition	Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Creditors, Government	The memorandum is causing unemployment and social degradation	Reject/Abolish the memorandum, adopt an alternative plan
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Government, Germany, Creditors	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	Reject the memorandum, cancel the memorandum
'The worst Memorandum' frame	The worst Memorandum narrative	SYRIZA government	The memorandum is harsh and leading to Grexit	Negotiate the agreement, equivalent measures, alternative plan
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, salvation metaphor	Creditors, Greek oligarchy	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Implement reforms, keep on negotiating
'Left Parenthesis' frame	Left parenthesis metaphor	Germany, Oligarchy	They want SYRIZA to break up	SYRIZA stays together
'Blackmail' frame	Red lines, blackmail metaphors	Germany, ECB	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Return to the drachma, achieve a compromise

The developments on the structure of politics are reflected in the frames as the infighting of SYRIZA impacts the 'Antimemorandum', 'Colony', and 'Worst Memorandum' frames. All three frames from the point of the agreement of the government with the troika and onwards, attack and blame the government indicating the impact of the interaction of the macro level structure of politics with the meso level editorial stance of the newspaper. The infighting in SYRIZA is reflected on the

frames applied in Avgi, pointing to political parallelism as the driving force that shapes frame building in the leftist newspaper. A major shift in Avgi is noted due to the application of the 'Harsh but necessary' frame, which is now employed by SYRIZA. This shift corroborates the argument that the party/press parallelism with SYRIZA shapes frame building in Avgi. The fact that there are counter frames applied is because of the split in SYRIZA. However after the eventual split frames become more uniform once again and LAE evaluative positions are muted.

A significant break in the construction of the debate around the memoranda takes place in 2015, due to SYRIZA's ascent to power. The debate about the memoranda has moved on from the division between positions for or against the memoranda. The frames promoted by the parties against the memorandum are still applied, however since SYRIZA, the largest party sponsoring those frames, signs a new memorandum the situation changes. These frames are now less commonly applied, mainly sponsored by LAE MPs and associated with a return to the national currency. Therefore these frames are moving towards the sidelines without an important political sponsor and because of their association with a widely unpopular exit from the Eurozone. Therefore, the signing of a memorandum by SYRIZA brings about a shift in framing. The main framing topics in this period are the stance towards the government, the framing of the new memorandum and of the negotiation that brought it about.

In this period there are three main pillars that the debate is being constructed around. The first pillar concerns the negotiation, as it is the first time that the government is formed by parties that are against the memoranda. The 'Harsh but necessary' frame evolves to the 'Deal or disaster' frame and it is sponsored by ND and PASOK. The reason behind this is that they are no longer in the government so the frame is no longer justifying their actions but urging SYRIZA to sign an agreement, however the structure of the frame remains similar with the past. On the other hand the 'Blackmail' frame, promoted by SYRIZA, also concerns the negotiation and frames the negotiation as a resistance of the Greek government to the blackmail by the creditors. The 'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame on the other hand links the negotiation with the new memorandum, and argues that the new memorandum would have been avoided without the lengthy process of the negotiation. Therefore the

debate promoted by mainstream media about the negotiation is framed around the necessity of signing a deal or resisting the creditors, whereas blame is assigned for stalling on the agreement either to the government or to the creditors. Both frames strategically converge on the necessity of signing an agreement. The only advocate frame promoted explicitly against the agreement and arguing for alternatives outside the EU is the 'Colony' frame, which was not as commonly applied during this period as in the previous ones.

The second pillar concerns the outcome of the negotiation, namely the third memorandum. The frames applied in the press are the 'Tsipras' Memorandum' and the 'Worst memorandum' frames, which set the limits of the debate about the new memorandum. The first frame assigns the ownership of the new memorandum to the Prime Minister, whereas the second is a similar variation that frames the third memorandum as the worst one yet. Both frames attribute blame to the government for signing a harsh agreement and the solutions proposed verge from the introduction of equivalent measures from the government and the further negotiation of the agreement, to the appointment of a technocrat government to implement the deal. Finally, the 'Left parenthesis' frame found in Avgi argues that the government needs to stay together and SYRIZA must not break up as a result of the agreement.

The final pillar concerns the general implementation of memoranda in Greece and it consists of the 'Greece is a special case' and 'Antimemorandum' frames. The debate is constructed around the efficiency of the memoranda, with the first frame arguing that they have failed in Greece due to domestic factors, and the second frame arguing against the logic behind the memoranda policies. The two frames are offering different interpretations and assign blame either to the current government for signing the agreement, or past governments for failing to reform the country in time. The solutions discussed verge from the implementation of structural reforms predicted by the memorandum, to the disengagement of Greece from the Eurozone and a return to the national currency, which is the first time that is openly advocated within a frame.

The evaluation of the debate in 2015 reveals some changes in comparison to the previous periods. The debate remains very polarized and one could argue that the animosity of some outlets towards the new government has increased the seeming

intensity of the confrontation. However, the political developments have further shrunk the limits of this confrontation, as after SYRIZA signs the third memorandum, the frames that are criticizing the lending agreements are left without a significant political sponsor and are therefore exiting the forefront of political confrontation. With the new focus of the debate being on the government the crisis itself is leaving the media spotlight, despite the persistence of economic and social problems plaguing Greece. The wider and European implications of the Greek case are not discussed in this period, but even the management of the problems, namely the memoranda, is being normalized and naturalized. This is an outcome of the process of presenting a debate that is focused on the political managers of the memoranda, which is an even more simplistic view of the case of the Greek crisis and reflects the even more constrained limits of acceptable debate in 2015.

9.5 Summary

This chapter set out to explore how the process of frame building is impacted by the structures of politics and the economy, alongside what the frames themselves reflect regarding the framing struggles and relationships among the macro level structures. Interview findings were presented in order to understand the process through which developments on the structures of politics and the economy are affecting the structure of the media and ultimately the practices of journalists. What was revealed was that the world of politics, and the political developments of the last few years have an impact on journalism as they shape the editorial stance of a newspaper that subsequently shapes journalistic practices and resources. These findings were then linked with the results of the frame analysis of the three newspapers in order to demonstrate through examples how the political and market developments contribute to frame building. It was revealed that there are three driving forces in frame building, namely party and political parallelism, class and ideological parallelism and instrumentalization of the media. Patterns and shifts were presented that indicate the impact of these processes on frames, but also reflect the power constellations among the macro level structures. Finally, this chapter evaluated how frames and the frame building process set the limits of debate on the case of the Greek memoranda.

10. Discussion and Conclusion

This thesis has argued for the importance of bringing together theories and processes from the framing and political economy literatures, in order to contribute to knowledge about the frame building process and the political economic structures that impact it. This chapter presents an overview of the most important findings of this thesis, and discusses their wider contributions and implications for knowledge. The chapter is organized in four sections. The first section presents a discussion on how political economy can contribute to explanations of the frame building process. The second focuses on how framing theories can contribute to knowledge about framing contests and the structures that impact these contests. The third discusses the contribution of combining framing and political economic theories and processes in understanding how the media construct the debate around political issues. Finally the fourth section of this chapter discusses the limitations of the thesis and future directions for research on frame building and political economy.

10.1 The Contribution of Political Economy to Explanations of the Frame Building Process

One of the major contributions of this thesis stems from an identified gap in framing theory. Shoemaker and Reese (1996) as well as Vliegenthart and van Zoonen identify a lack of a multi-level conceptualization of power in frame building research, which pinpoints exactly how each level contributes to the process. A gap in knowledge was also identified in political economy literature. Although political economic processes have been linked with agenda setting and how political economic structures impact the process of issue selection in the media, there has been less research on how they impact the frame building process. This thesis addresses these gaps both theoretically and empirically, by developing an innovative theoretical framework, which combines the concept of frame building with political economic structures and processes, as well as the concept of media-source relationships from sociology. The bridging quality of framing (Reese 2007) allows for concepts stemming from different strands of research to be combined in order to further understanding of the frame building process. This quality of framing has been employed before in order to bring together various areas of the framing process, however it is the first time that a research brings

together insights from these diverse fields in order to address the process of frame building. This framework was developed to theorize the interactions between the various political economic structures, how they shape journalistic practices and through this process impact the process of frame building. Although the political economic approach has been used in a multitude of ways, the originality of this theoretical framework stems from its multi-level conceptualization that establishes a theoretical hierarchy between structures and processes, in order to pinpoint their specific contribution to frame building.

The second step to address this research gap was to demonstrate how these relationships manifest in real-world contexts, and how the interactions between the various levels impact the process of frame building. This section discusses the empirical findings that can be analytically generalized, in order to contribute to knowledge about frame building beyond the specific case of Greece. Starting with the interaction between the macro level structures and the micro level practices, the findings from the interviews with journalists demonstrate that the process of labour commodification impacts journalistic practices and resources and ultimately frame building. This process is manifested in the meso level, through the adoption of commercialization and labour commodification practices. These meso level processes are dictated from macro level structural necessities and impact the practice and resources of journalism. These processes impact frame building through their effect on the working practices and the resources that journalists wield in the negotiation of newsworthiness. This is a significant finding, beyond the Greek case because it demonstrates the connections that exist between the macro level structures of the market and the media ownership with the micro level journalistic practices when contacting political sources, allowing for the theoretical generalization of these relationships to investigate the process of frame building in diverse contexts. This interaction takes place through meso level processes of commercialization and commodification and impacts the resources and practices of journalists when negotiating with political sources, therefore increasing the possibility of advocate frames being reproduced in the media either in their totality, or through some of their constituting elements. The pinpointing of how the frame building process is impacted by the complex interactions of these levels is where the main contribution of this thesis lies, and how the first research question, regarding the contribution of political

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economic structures to explaining the frame building process is answered. The specific power constellations and their outcome on journalistic practice might be context related, but their interaction and impact on the frame building process can be generalized from this case to others.

However, the interactions between the micro and macro levels through meso level processes do not account for the totality of the structure of frames applied in media messages. The interaction between the meso level organizational structure of the newspaper and the micro level of journalistic practices and agency is also important. Although the specific impact of the meso organizational structure noted on journalistic practices in this case cannot be generalized to other media systems, there are analytical generalizations that can be made. More specifically, the interaction of the meso level organizational structure with micro level practices constrains journalistic agency in one way or the other in every system. To be sure, in some media systems journalists enjoy more agency than in others, but structuration theory (Mosco 1996) establishes that the macro level structures will pose constraints on agency. The empirical data of this thesis demonstrate this process in a real-world context. What changes based on the media system and the macro level structures is the process through which this constraining takes place and the values journalists are expected to follow. In the case of Greece the meso level organizational structure is in place to ensure that the political goals of the media organization are attained. By the same process it could be posited that in a country where journalists are more professionalized the organizational level enforces the norms of objectivity, which masks the class interests of the media owners. In any case, what this thesis demonstrates is the meso organizational structure as the mediator through which the macro level structures shape journalistic practices, and the impact of these processes on the structure of the frames applied in news messages. These processes lead to the application of news frames that are not retransmissions of political frames, but reflect the editorial stance of the newspaper. Furthermore, these processes contribute to frame building by impacting how advocate frames are applied in news messages, through altering or silencing mechanisms in order to change the meanings and connections encapsulated in the frame to fit the agenda of the newspaper. Therefore, the interactions of the macro level structures with micro level practices, and of the meso level organizational structure of the media with micro level practices and

agency contribute to the application of frames in news messages and their ultimate structure. As the theoretical framework of this thesis established, frames lie in culture. What the thesis demonstrates is the process of how the macro level structures shape journalistic practices and agency and guide the process that shapes how journalists, acting as processors of information apply frames from culture in news messages. The interactions between the various levels determine how the processing is performed.

The last significant interaction that impacts journalistic practices and frame building is the interaction between the macro level structures with the meso level structure of the media. The interview findings demonstrate the process of how the structures of politics and of the market determine what the editorial stance of the newspaper will be, ultimately affecting the process of frame building. As with the other levels of the theoretical model the specific outcomes of the Greek case cannot be generalized to other cases, but there can be analytical generalizations. What this research demonstrates is that the interactions between the macro level structures and the meso level organizational structure of the media play a determining role in how all the other interactions shape up, as these interactions determine how the structure of the media will align itself towards the macro level structures. The positioning of the structure of the media towards the other structures determines their editorial stance and whether it is informed by political parallelism or the logics of the market and has a defining impact on journalistic practices that are then shaped by the interactions described in the previous sections.

10.1.1 Explaining the Frame Building Process in the Case of the Greek Memoranda

The previous section addresses the first research question regarding how political economic structures can contribute to explanations of the frame building process. This section presents and discusses the findings from the specific case of Greece. The empirical research reveals that the processes of commercialization and labour commodification are expressed through two current trends. These are the labour elimination practices adopted by the ownership of the media in the wake of the crisis, as well as the push for the digitization of the newsroom through the introduction of new technologies. Both trends have an impact on the practices and resources of

journalism. Journalistic labour is intensified by corporate cutbacks and reductions of staff, as well as through the introduction of new technologies in the newsroom, which under the capitalist production paradigm lead to more tasks alongside the enhanced reporting capabilities they provide. Furthermore, both trends also impact the material conditions of journalists and the resources they wield in the negotiation of newsworthiness (Cook 1998). Corporate cutbacks on journalism enhance the ability of PR professionals to pass their messages through unadulterated by journalism, corroborating McChesney (2008) who warned about the problematic nature of commercialization. Furthermore, the rise of online-based competitor media and the increased competition between journalists has lead to more options and resources for politicians. Summarizing, what the interview data reveal is the creation of a systemic bias in the press that favours political sources who now seem to have the upper hand in the negotiation of newsworthiness (Cook 1998). The findings from the frame analysis corroborate this and assist in pinpointing exactly how the structure of the frame is influenced. Both sets of data support the claim that political sources have gained the upper hand when negotiating with journalists, as the majority of the frames reconstructed in all time periods are applications of advocate frames, indicating the contribution of this level to frame building in the media.

The findings from the second empirical chapter also allow for a more nuanced understanding of how the negotiation of newsworthiness takes place in the specific Greek context and its contribution to frame building. Although the media retain the final say of how something gets reported, the editorial stance of the newspaper guides this process instead of the agency of the individual journalist, which is severely limited. Furthermore, the editorial stance is enforced through crystalized journalistic practices and well-established hierarchies in Greek newspapers. These crystalized practices ensure that the journalists comply and produce the information that furthers the goals of the ownership of the media. At the same time, those journalists that defy the editorial stance risk backtracking their careers or seeing their articles published in the back pages of the newspaper. Therefore, a high tendency to self-censor and produce articles mirroring the stance of the newspaper is also noted. The interview data reveal that the organizational structure and internal structure of the newspaper play a definitive role in how incoming information from sources is managed and

ultimately how articles are constructed, in order to fit the agenda of the media ownership.

Finally, the investigation of the interaction between macro level structures and the meso level editorial stance reveals that there are three driving forces guiding the process of frame building in the Greek context. The first driving force is traditional party-press parallelism as is demonstrated in the case of Avgi. The second driving force is political parallelism that transcends support towards a political party but is aligned instead towards an ideology and reflects the interests of a specific class such as Kathimerini. The interview findings revealed that this form of class parallelism is on the rise in the case of Greece. The final is the instrumentalization of the media from their owners, as a result of the small and politicized market of Greece. Newspapers that are financed to act as political vehicles and apply political pressures, demonstrate a volatile and opportunistic relationship towards the structure of politics. The interview findings also provide connections between these interactions at the structural level and journalistic practices when collecting information and constructing articles, therefore allowing for a connection with the process of frame building. What is revealed is that these processes determine the editorial stance of a newspaper and its alignment towards the structure of politics, therefore shaping the application of frames in news messages. In newspapers where party, or class parallelism is the driving force behind its editorial stance, very few if any framing shifts are noticed and frames are applied in a manner that creates consistent patterns that reflect the political position of the newspaper. On the other hand newspapers that are instrumentalized by their ownership have a volatile editorial stance that produces ambivalent framing and frequent framing shifts. Therefore, all three empirical chapters provide with insights on the complex relationships between structures and processes at the three levels of power and pinpoint exactly how each level contributes to the process of frame building in the press, thus addressing the first research question set in the beginning of the thesis.

10.2 Contributions of Framing Theory to Political Economic Structures and Processes

A second contribution of this research comes from the employment of framing theory as a tool that can inform knowledge about the political economic structures that impact content production and their power relationships in a dynamic media system. Framing theory makes a twofold contribution to political economy. The first stems from the analysis of framing contests as a way of understanding the relationships among the political economy structures that impact them and it is discussed in this section. The second lies in the employment of framing theory in order to assess the diversity of media content, through the examination of how the media framed the debate and this will be discussed in the next section.

Although this thesis examines a specific case study, meaning that a lot of its findings inform the specific case, the analytical tools employed can be analytically generalized, in order to contribute to general scholarship about political economy and how it can be informed by framing. More specifically, one of the major contributions stems from the application of framing patterns (Entman 2007) and framing shifts (Lawrence 2010) as analytical tools that can be employed in order to shed light on the framing struggles that impact the frame building process. Framing struggles can be analyzed by employing Lawrence's (2010) framing shifts concept, Entman's (2007) persistent, politically relevant framing patterns and, Van Gorp's (2007) dialogical interaction between frame sponsors and key events. Employing these theoretical concepts and triangulating them with interview data the frames reconstructed from a frame analysis of news articles can be analyzed in order to present an accurate image of what the shifts and patterns reflect regarding the framing contests and power struggles among the structures within a media system. In that way the frames can assist in the analysis of the power struggles that led to their application, as they are the imprints of power and can shed light on the political economic structures and their power relationships. In this manner this theoretical approach addresses the second research question of the thesis concerning what the frames reconstructed from media messages can indicate about the framing contests and power struggles that led to their application.

10.2.1 Contribution of Frame Building to Knowledge About the Greek Media System

Of course the findings of this thesis also contribute to knowledge about the framing struggles in the specific case of the memoranda and what they reflect regarding the Greek media system. The frame analysis of the news articles reveals patterns and shifts, which are discussed in this section to understand what they indicate regarding the media system itself. Starting with Kathimerini, a slight frame shift and a solid framing pattern are noticed in the three periods under investigation. In 2010 Kathimerini's framing is supportive of the memorandum, but also supportive of ND, however, in the two other periods a shift is noticed. The application of the frames by Kathimerini in 2011/12 indicates that the newspaper is steady in its pro-European and pro-memorandum stance, but supersedes party parallelism being more aligned with a political stance instead of a party. This is also indicated by the findings from the frame analysis of the articles from 2015 that confirm that above all political differences the newspaper supports the political logic of the memoranda and the country's steady course within the Eurozone. I content that this is a new form of political parallelism that supersedes allegiance towards a particular political party and instead aligns towards an ideology that reflects the overall class interests of the owners of the media; a media-class parallelism. On the other hand the frame analysis of Ta Nea reveals a number of framing shifts and an absence of patterns, that provide with insights about the power struggles that led to their application. The frames reconstructed from the centrist newspaper's articles in 2010 reveal that the newspaper is supportive of the PASOK government. However, the examination of the articles from the two other periods reveals a rather opportunistic and ambivalent stance by the newspaper towards the ongoing major political restructuring. Ta Nea exhibit major framing shifts that are concurrent with Lawrence's (2010) theory that shifts in electoral power could cause framing shifts. Finally, the examination of Avgi reveals a rather predictable pattern, given the significant links between the newspaper and the political party of SYRIZA. Both in the 2010 and in the 2011/12 periods the leftist newspaper mainly applies SYRIZA's advocate frames. The most interesting period for Avgi's framing is 2015; the frames applied by the leftist newspaper are reflecting the internal strife within SYRIZA reconfirming Avgi's political parallelism with the leftist party.

The shifts and patterns noted in the framing of the memoranda by the Greek press provide with interesting insights that reflect the relationships among the structures in

the Greek media system. The triangulation of data indicates that the political value of information is more important that its commercial value, pointing to little changes in Greek journalism since Hallin and Mancini's (2004) media systems theory was developed. Content creation in the three newspapers is guided by political parallelism either towards class interests or a specific party as exhibited in the cases of Kathimerini and Avgi, and instrumentalization in the case of Ta Nea. Kathimerini's political parallelism is evolving towards parallelism with an ideological space and the interests of a specific class, whereas Avgi demonstrates a more old-fashioned party parallelism with SYRIZA. On the other hand the opportunistic editorial stance of Ta Nea points to a persistence of low levels of journalistic professionalization, despite the addition of better educated and equipped journalists in the last few years. The explanation for this persistence could lie in the processes of labour commodification and intensification described in this thesis, that have removed the bargaining strength of the journalists. In general, the findings of the research reconfirm the political parallelism of the Greek media, which as a matter of fact seems to have intensified during the years of the crisis. Furthermore, despite Hallin and Mancini's (2004) position that media systems will converge towards the liberal system, the data generated by this research do not confirm that. Instead, the advent of the crisis seems to push the media into a more entrenched political role, instead of a commercial one, at least in the Greek case. However, it needs to be noted that this is not a normative assessment of the Greek case suggesting that a development towards a more commercial model would be a positive change, as there is democratic value in the information circulated by politically entrenched media. The continuities noted with the practices of the past, despite the introduction of many new technologies in the newsroom, point to Garnham (1998) being correct, when he argued that the introduction of new technologies is nothing more than a cumulative shift in methods of production, rather than a revolution.

10.3 Framing the Debate around the Greek Memoranda

The third research question set in this thesis concerns the specific case of the Greek memoranda and how the Greek media framed the debate about them. Following Entman's (1993) argument that frames reflect the play of power and boundaries of discourse over an issue, the frames reconstructed were analyzed to present how they

constrained democratic debate and assess their overall impact on legitimatizing and deligitimatizing political opinions and stances. This is important because it is addressing another gap in political economy literature, by introducing framing as the most suitable method for approaching this gap. Garnham (1995) and McChesney (2004) connect political economy of the media with structures of domination and the constriction of legitimate debate and task scholars with research that identifies why the range of debate is so constrained and how political economic structures contribute to this. Furthermore, political economy research has also focused on the diversity in content and opinion, instead of market concentration (Wasko 1994) and this research proposes framing as the analytical tool that is used to evaluate this diversity. Therefore, although this research question is focused on the specific case the contribution of the thesis has wider reaching implications. It is not so much the findings about the specific case that are of value here, although important in their own merit, but the connection provided between the frame building process and the political economic structures that impact it with the constraint of the debate. It is the demonstration of the actual process through which crystalized journalistic practices, and their structuration, impact the representation of debate through the media with framing providing the theoretical link that assists this demonstration.

Of course, the findings regarding the specific case are also important and contribute to knowledge regarding an important political issue. Starting with 2010 and the first memorandum the examination of the frames reconstructed from all the newspapers revealed that the main point of discussion promoted was the debate between those that were in favour of the memorandum and those against it. Kathimerini and Avgi are on opposite sides of the spectrum, with the conservative newspaper applying frames that are in favour of the memorandum and the leftist newspaper being staunchly anti-memorandum. Ta Nea are also applying frames that are defending the memorandum, especially since they were positive towards the PASOK government at the time. Although the advent of the economic crisis warranted for a wider reaching critique of the capitalist system, this did not occur in the mainstream media. The framing of the debate in Greek newspapers cuts off the Greek crisis from the global developments and treats it as a local symptom and an issue of managing the system to be solved by the system itself. This is of course not a surprising finding, given that Mosco (1996) argued that the owners of the media have the ability to fill channels with material

embodying their interests and therefore limit the range of possibilities of interpreting media content.

The debate in the 2011/12 period was framed in similar terms to the 2010 period, focusing on the question of being for or against the first and second memorandum. Kathimerini is once again applying frames that are defending the political logic of the memorandum, whereas Avgi is applying frames that are clearly against the lending agreement. Ta Nea's framing on the other hand is more ambivalent, in accordance to the political developments of the period and cannot be easily classified as either for or against the memorandum. The two positions are now more connected to specific political parties, with PASOK and ND framing in favour of the lending agreement that they signed and SYRIZA framing against it. The framing in this period reflects a lively and polarized debate, however as in the previous period once again the debate is within constrained limits as wider reaching systemic criticisms and contextualization of the crisis are absent.

The political changes in the 2015 period were reflected by significant changes in the framing of the debate as well. The election of SYRIZA as a major government partner, the process of negotiating with the troika, and finally the decision of the government to sign a third memorandum slowly moved the question of a pro/against the memorandum stance to the sidelines, bringing questions about the government and the management of the program to the fore. The frames that were criticizing the memoranda were also present in this period, however the decision of SYRIZA to sign a memorandum and the subsequent break up of the party meant that these frames were now sponsored by the offshoot party of LAE, which did not make it in the parliament in the elections of September 2015. Therefore, due to a weaker framing sponsor these frames had less impact in the construction of the debate. The framing of the debate about the memoranda in 2015 is even more constrained compared to the framing of the previous periods. Although the debate remains very polarized the limits of that debate are narrower given that the discussion about rejecting the memoranda is pushed in the sidelines without a strong political sponsor. Once again the wider reaching criticisms of the capitalist system, or the contextualization of the Greek crisis within the wider nexus of developments are absent. Furthermore, the frames of the KKE are once again muted pointing to where the limits of the debate lie,

with a whole range of opinions that go beyond the spectrum of liberal democracy being excluded.

In conclusion, the examination of the framing of the debate around the memoranda during 2010-2015 reveals a very lively and polarized debate within constrained limits of opinion. This debate is mostly reflective of the political developments in Greece and it is being led by the most powerful political sponsors of each period, however, at the same time the exclusion of other political sponsors points to the other factors that are affecting the construction of the debate. These factors have been analyzed in the examination of the frame building process and can account for the exclusion of political points of view that fall outside the spectrum of what's commercially and politically relevant for the media. Therefore, for example the frames of the KKE are excluded because their voters are not a commercially interesting readership for the newspapers, on top of expressing views that do not align with the interests of the class that owns the media in Greece. Of course there are other viewpoints that are not reproduced, due to lacking a political sponsor, however this thesis has mainly probed the reproduction of political opinion as the main parties of Greece represent it. It can be argued, therefore, that the media not only reflect political power but also at the same time enhance it by making it appear more relevant and legitimate, while at the same time making the opinions that fall outside this scope seem out of place and therefore not legitimate. The demonstration of how this process of framing the debate takes place through the lens of the combination of frame building and political economic theories is where the contribution of this thesis lies.

10.4 Limitations, and Future Directions

It is important that this research recognizes its limits. Although the processes and the institutions that are under investigation are global, the media system and the local culture are important factors. So the conclusions drawn from the research cannot apply universally as the constellation of power in different media systems can produce different outcomes in different contexts. For example, in media systems that are closer to the Liberal Model as Hallin and Mancini (2004) describe it journalists can have different considerations, pressures, and constraints that impact their practices in different ways than those uncovered by this research. Furthermore, the

agency and autonomy of journalists can differ from context to context. Therefore, it is important to note that this research cannot achieve statistical generalization as the results in other media systems may vary. However, it is possible to achieve analytical generalization, as although the weight of the various levels of influence might differ in other cases these levels are present in all media systems of liberal democracies and they all contribute to the process of frame building. Furthermore, the conclusions drawn from this research can apply in mature liberal democracies that are currently experiencing a financial crisis and responding to it in similar fashion, as well as to media systems similar to the one under investigation. In other words, there are both objective and subjective factors that need to be taken in consideration in such a research. The processes and institutions are similar and objective but the intensity of the development can vary from context to context. Therefore, the examination of the Greek case cannot only provide us with information about the case itself, but it can also serve as an example of how to investigate the process in frame building in different contexts as well.

Furthermore, another limitation of this research stems from its scope and the type of journalism under investigation. This research aimed to investigate a very particular part of the total circuit of Greek journalism, namely elite journalism. The fact of the matter is that newspapers in Greece are involved in a horizontal process of communication among elite factions, and addressed to a small elite that's already politically active (Hallin and Mancini 2004). Therefore, this research does not account for other forms of journalism, such as broadcast and digital journalism, and the information that they circulated during the five years under investigation. Although the thesis contents that elite journalism is a significant part of the overall communication process with important implications for democracy, at the same time alternative, broadcast, and digital media also played an important role during the case of the memoranda. Future research could shed light on how important elite journalism was for the formation of public opinion in Greece in comparison to alternative sources of journalistic information.

A final limitation of the research and the model is that the frames were mainly examined in terms of their proximity and distance from various political parties and from their relationship with various structural elements in the political sphere and the

media organizational environment. However, there is a lack of a consideration regarding the substance of the frames and whether the changes noted can also be attributed in some part to the progression or evolution of debates as time passes. This is mainly done because of the difficulty to do that, and because the main goal of the thesis was to shed light in the aforementioned structural relationships. However, this limitation is acknowledged and means that there is a necessity to take into account the substance of the debates in order to fully explain the changes in frames noted in the previous chapters.

The limitations of the thesis themselves point to the future directions that research on frame building can take. More specifically, it would be interesting to pursue frame building research in countries that are representative of the liberal and democratic corporatist models, in order to understand how the process functions when impacted by alternative power constellations, histories, and journalistic practices. A comparative research between countries that have been classified in different media systems would also be very important as it would provide with a more comprehensive model of frame building in the press and would attest to the analytical generalization of the theoretical connections developed in this project. Such a research would contribute in two ways. More specifically, the first contribution would be that a more comprehensive theoretical model of the process of frame building would be developed, allowing for a deeper look into the process of content building and the impact that various power constellations have on it. Furthermore, such a research would also contribute to the Hallin and Mancini (2004) classifications themselves, through a comparative analysis of media content that would reveal whether the classifications are valid, and how the European models have developed after the uneven impact of the economic crisis, and the maturing of digitalization processes in Western media. Therefore, framing could also contribute in the debate regarding whether European media systems are converging or diverging, and what forces are impacting this process. Of course, other paths for research could delve into the examination of frame building in non-Western contexts, offering even more insights on the process of framing and how it is impacted by systemic constellations that vary in many ways than the western liberal democracies.

Appendix

1.List of Interviewees and Interview Dates

Kathimerini:

19/04/2017 Vasilis Nedos

20/04/2017 Kostas Karkagiannis

26/04/2017 Paschos Mandravelis

Ta Nea:

18/04/2017 Dimitris Mitropoulos

24/04/2017 Voula Kechagia

27/04/2017 Aristotelia Peloni

02/05/2017 Eirini Chrisolora

04/05/2017 Elena Laskari

Avgi:

25/04/2017 Kostas Poulakidas

28/04/2017 Kaki Mpali

05/05/2017 Nikos Lionakis

2. Basic Interview Questions

1. I want you to describe the procedure you follow when you are looking for information for an article.

2. Has the procedure of looking for information changed with the years?

3. Let's move on to the procedure that you follow as a journalist when you are writing an article.

4. Would you say that the newspaper that you are working in has been affected by the crisis and if so how?

5. Have there been cutbacks? How has the job of a journalist been impacted by this situation?

6. Let's stay on the matter of sources. I want you to describe to me the procedure that takes place when communicating with political sources to secure information. How do you approach them and so on.

7. How do you make decisions on what to include on the final form of an article?

8. You have spoken with your sources, you have information or quotes, what do you take into consideration when it comes to how you will use these quotes, how you will comment on them and so on?

9. Do your sources ask for the final edition of the article before it is published?

10. Let's move on to the memoranda. Did you have to change your journalistic procedure when writing about the memoranda? Did you change how you collect information, write an article and so on?

11. What kind of sources did you use mainly to cover the memoranda?

12. Did you encounter any unusual difficulties in the coverage of the memoranda?

3. Complete Frame Lists

3.1 PASOK Advocate Frames

2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh But Necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, salvation, sacrifice, painful metaphors	Previous ND government, International Markets Speculation	The country will go bankrupt, social collapse will ensue	Voting for the memorandum, Implementing the memorandum, Achieve growth
'Greece is a European Problem' Frame	Infection, avalanche, fire metaphors for Greece, Domino Effect narrative	Speculation	Europe is interlinked, a Greek collapse would destroy Europe	Deepen the unification of the EU, Eurobonds, European Monetary Fund
'Crisis as an opportunity' frame	Crisis as an opportunity narrative	Past mistakes are haunting Greece, Mistakes of the previous ND government	Structural issues of the Greek state and economy such as corruption, clientilism, state-dependent economy	Move forward with the structural reforms, be more transparent

2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but Necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, sacrifices metaphor	Populism led Greece in this position	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Approve the agreement, move forward with reforms
'Changing European Climate' frame	The EU is changing narrative	Conservatives, Neoliberals	The survival of the EU is threatened	Greece remains in the EU, The EU adopts progressive policies
'The Crisis Brought the Memoranda' frame	Crisis brought the memoranda narrative	Greek politics, Greece	Mistakes of the past, corruption, development model of Greece	Vote for the memorandum, proceed with reforms

2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Disaster, painful metaphors, harsh but necessary narrative	Tsipras, government	The country is humiliated and threatened with Grexit and bankruptcy	Implement the reforms agreed
'Tsipras' Memorandum'	Train of terror	SYRIZA-ANEL	Memorandum was	Negotiate seriously

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
frame	metaphor, most odious memorandum narrative	government, Tsipras	unnecessary, it's socially unjust and recessionary	
'SYRIZA wastes time' frame	The government is wasting time narrative	Government, Tsipras, Varoufakis	SYRIZA is negotiating with itself and not Europe	Complete and implement the deal

3.2 ND Advocate Frames

2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, vicious circle, mixture, dosage, medicine metaphors	Papandreou government is to blame	The measures are recessionary, more debt will be created, social upheaval will be caused	Growth measures are needed, early exit from the memorandum, voting against the memorandum, disengage from the memorandum
'PASOK as a villain' frame	PASOK in the archetype of the villain	PASOK	PASOK lied before the election, PASOK's mistakes lead to the memorandu	ND will offer different solutions

m

2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	Papandreou government, PASOK, EU	The memorandum is leading Greece to bankruptcy, recession, increases the debt and taxes	Voting against the first memorandum, exit earlier from the memoranda, renegotiate the agreement
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative	PASOK government, Past mistakes	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Negotiate the memorandum, vote for the memorandum, adopt growth measures

2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Armageddon, disaster, painful metaphors, harsh but necessary	SYRIZA-ANEL government, Tsipras	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Government changes course, comes to a national unity understanding with the other

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
	narrative			parties
'Tsipras' memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum, worst memorandum so far narratives	SYRIZA-ANEL government, Tsipras	SYRIZA did not negotiate, the memorandum is recessionary and increases taxes	ND will negotiate
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	Bill metaphor, SYRIZA dismantles ND's achievements narrative	SYRIZA, Tsipras	SYRIZA is ideologically obsessed, statist, returns the economy to a deficit	SYRIZA changes course, signs an agreement with the creditors

3.3 SYRIZA Advocate Frames

2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, slaughterhouse, recipe metaphors	Troika, Government, Dominant Elites in the EU	The measures are ineffective and unjust, they lead to a recession and a social crisis	Social coalition against the memorandum, Cancel/Overturn the memorandum, debt adjustment, growth measures

'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Troika, Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Negotiate the debt, Cancel the memorandum, Popular uprising
'PASOK as a villain' frame	PASOK in the villain archetype	PASOK leadership	PASOK lied before the election, they are not negotiating	A progressive alliance must be formed, PASOK MPs must feel the cost of their choices
'Another EU is possible' frame	The crisis concerns all of the EU narrative, comparisons with other crisis-striken countries	Germany, Neoliberals	Structural Issues of the EU, the dominance of the neoliberal dogma	Overturn neoliberalism in order to create a progressive EU

2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, draconian simile	Government, Troika	The Memorandum has created a recession, a humanitarian crisis	Elections, kick out the troika, disengage from the memorandum, cancel the memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony, loan-sharks,	Merkel-Sarkozy,	Loss of sovereignty,	Government of the left, kick out

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
	protectorate metaphors	troika, government	lack of democracy	the troika, referendum
'Another EU is possible' frame	Re-foundation of the EU narrative	Germany, EU leadership	Europe is under threat	Deeper union, overturn the memorandum
'Papademos government as a villain' frame	Papademos and his government in the villain archetype	Papademos	The government is lying, it's autocratic, not negotiating	Elections, government of the left

2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Anti-austerity' frame	Anti-austerity narrative	Extremes in the EU	Austerity has caused a humanitarian crisis, unemployment, and has dismantled the welfare state	Common progressive struggle in the EU
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	ND and PASOK	The memoranda have created a humanitarian crisis, unemployme	Disengage from the memoranda, vote against the memorandum, growth policies

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
			nt	
'Blackmail' frame	Blackmail, Taliban, suffocation, coup metaphors	Creditors	The negotiation is uneven and undemocratic	Resist the creditors, Continue negotiating, honest compromise
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Juncker, Schauble, fanatics of austerity	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	A political solution, vote NO in the referendum
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful, death metaphors	Past mistakes of Greece	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Change Europe, negotiate the reforms, manage the implementation of the agreement
'Left Parenthesis' frame	Leftist parenthesis narrative	Creditors, political opponents of SYRIZA	They want SYRIZA to break up and the government to collapse	SYRIZA MPs support the deal, elections

3.4 KKE Advocate Frames

2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Capitalist Crisis' frame	Global capitalist	Capitalists and monopolies	Workers are made to pay	Change of class in power, join

	crisis narrative	are to blame, politicians are instruments of the bourgeois class	for the crisis that they didn't create	strikes, join a united workers movement

2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Global Capitalist Crisis' frame	Global capitalist crisis narrative	Monopolies, capitalists, bourgeois parties	Workers are paying for the crisis that they did not create, Salaries are diminishing	Change the class that's in power, overthrow capitalism
'A new bipolar system' frame	Bipolar metaphor	The bourgeois class	A new fake dilemma between SYRIZA-ND is being set up, SYRIZA-ND align strategically	The true bipolar is KKE vs the rest
'Wolfpack' frame	Wolfpack metaphor	The EU	The EU is capitalist and against the people	Disengage from the EU, Popular power

2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Anti-Capitalism' frame	Capitalism lead us to this point narrative	Monopolies, Bourgeois parties	Capitalism breeds corruption and exploitation, workers are paying for a crisis that they did not create	Change of class in power, side with the KKE
'Wolfpack' frame	Wolfpack metaphor	EU	The EU is imperialist, against the people and cannot change	Disengage from the EU with the people in power
'SYRIZA as a villain' frame	SYRIZA in the villain archetype	SYRIZA-ANEL government	SYRIZA deceived the people, serves capital	Join the KKE
'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum narrative	SYRIZA-ANEL, Tsipras	The new memorandum has harsh measures, increases poverty	Class struggle, vote for KKE

3.5 Kathimerini Frames

2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Crisis as an opportunity' frame	Crisis as an opportunity narrative	Public Sector, Politicians	Corruption, Systemic Greek	Structural Reforms

			issues, Delaying reforms	
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	The government is to blame	The memorandum does not support business, causes recession	Alter the memorandum, faster exit from the memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Different government, change the memorandum, cancel the memorandum
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, sacrifice, painful metaphors	The government is to blame	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum
'PASOK as a villain' frame	The PASOK government in the villain archetype	PASOK government	The government is failing	Elections, National Unity government
'Unions as villains' frame	Unions in the villain archetype, Soviet metaphor	Trade unions, PASOK government	The unions are enjoying unjust privileges	Liberalize trade

2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, pain, sacrifice metaphors, comparison with Ireland	The Greek political system, the structure of the EU	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum, technocrat government
'The memorandum was not implemented' frame	Greece is a special case narrative, Crisis brought the memorandum narrative	Government, The state	The memorandum's implementation is slow	Proceed with structural reforms
'Drachma Nightmare' frame	Blackmail, nightmare metaphors	The left	The possibility of a Grexit and return to the drachma	Remain in the Eurozone
'Changing European climate' frame	European climate is changing narrative	Germany	Austerity, Exiting the Eurozone	Election of Holande in France, relax austerity, stay in Europe
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Troika, Merkel	The memorandum is causing a recession	Government of the Left
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Troika, PASOK	Lack of democracy, Loss of	Popular uprising, cancel memorandum

		sovereignty		
'Populism' frame	Populism keyword	Opposition Parties	The opposition is offering easy solutions	Vote for parties that are not populist

2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful, disaster metaphors	SYRIZA, Tsipras	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Sign and implement an agreement with the institutions
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Government	The memorandum is bringing social misery	Return to the drachma, cancel the memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony, lab rat metaphors	Troika	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	BRICS, Reject the memorandum, rupture with the EU
'Greece is a special case' frame	Greece is a special case narrative, disease metaphor,	Greek past governments	Greece did not make reforms in time, clientilism	Structural reforms, Implement the memorandum

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
			success stories	
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	Cost of SYRIZA narrative	Government, Tsipras	The government is wasting time, returns the economy to a recession	National negotiating team
'Tsipras' memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum narrative	Tsipras, Government	The deal signed is harsh	Technocrat government

3.6 Ta Nea Frames

2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Crisis as an opportunity' frame	Crisis is an opportunity narrative	Systemic Greek issues, previous governments	Corruption, Clientilism	Proceed with the reforms
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful metaphor	Previous governments, public sector	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Implement the memorandum
'Antimemorandum' Frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	Government, Troika	The memorandum was not	Adjust the memorandum, cancel the

Frame	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
			properly negotiated, it is recessionary	memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor, WW2 similes	Troika, government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Reject the memorandum
'War' frame	Battlefield metaphors	Troika	The troika is pressuring the government	N/A
'PASOK Government as a villain' frame	Government in the villain archetype, "fiefdom" metaphor	Government	The government is failing	N/A
'Social Memorandum' frame	Memorandum of growth narrative	Memorandum	The memorandum has no social care	Government passes a number of social relief measures, government boosts growth

2011/12

Frame	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary	Politicians, Troika	The country is threatened with	Implement the memorandum,

	narrative, painful metaphor		bankruptcy	move forward with reforms
'The memorandum was not implemented' frame	Memorandum was not implemented narrative	PASOK government, Greek political system	Structural issues of Greece	Implement structural reforms
'European climate is changing' frame	The EU is changing narrative	Germany, Merkel, Sarkozy, Government	Austerity, Greece could destabilize the Eurozone	Holande is elected in France, growth policies are put forward
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Merkel	Lack of democracy, Loss of sovereignty	SYRIZA is elected
'Hard Bargain' frame	Tug of war, poker game, hard bargain metaphors	Troika	The memorandum needs to be enhanced	Equivalent measures to help weakest in society, growth
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	PASOK government, Troika	The first memorandum failed, caused unemployment and recession	Growth, SYRIZA is elected, Cancel the memorandum
'False dichotomy' frame	N/A	Industrialists, capitalists, bourgeois parties	Antimemorandum is a false dilemma	Support the KKE
'Drachma nightmare'	Nightmare, Ghost,	Business interests,	Drachma would be a	Remain in the EU

| frame | Armageddon metaphors | those that talk about the drachma | disaster for the Greek economy and society | |

2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Deal or disaster' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative	Tsipras, Government	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Sign and implement an agreement, opposition supports
'Greece is a special case' frame	Success stories narrative	Governments in Greece	The memoranda have not been implemented	Structural reforms
'Tsipras' Memorandum' frame	Tsipras' memorandum narrative	SYRIZA, Tsipras	The memorandum is striking the weakest in society	Growth policies, cooperation government, equivalent measures
'SYRIZA negotiation cost' frame	SYRIZA negotiation cost narrative	SYRIZA	The sacrifices of the previous years have been lost	Implement structural reforms
'Antimemorandu	Antimemorandu	Governmen	Austerity,	Vote against the

m' frame	m narrative	t	The memorandum is suffocating the country	memorandum, return to the drachma
'Colony'	Colony metaphor	Creditors	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	BRICS
'Blackmail'	Blackmail metaphor	Troika	The creditors are delaying	Honest compromise

3.7 Avgi Frames

2010

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Colony' frame	Colony, occupation metaphors	Germany, Troika, Government	Loss of sovereignty, lack of democracy	Popular struggle
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, Armageddon, death metaphors	Government, troika	The memorandum is recessionary and against worker's rights.	Reject/cancel the memorandum
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary	Previous governmen	The country is threatened	Implement the memorandum

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Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
	narrative, Painful, sacrifice metaphors	ts	with bankruptcy	
'Another EU is possible' frame	Domino effect, weak link metaphors	EU, speculators	Speculative attacks, Neoliberalism	EU shows solidarity with Greece, EU's unification is deepened
'PASOK government as a villain' frame	PASOK government in the villain archetype	PASOK government	The government lied before the election, The government capitulated to the troika	The government must resign
'Bipartisan system as a villain' frame	ND and PASOK in the villain archetype	ND and PASOK	The ruling parties created a clientilist state	Remove them from power

2011/12

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative, recipe metaphor	PASOK, ND, Troika	First Memorandum failed, Memorandum is	Elections, Cancel the memorandum, growth policies, Adjust the

			bringing Grexit	memorandum
'Colony' frame	Colony, protectorate, servitude metaphors	Troika, Government, Ruling EU circles	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	Cancel the Memorandum, Government of the Left
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, painful, sacrifice metaphors	Unions, Greek society	The country is threatened with bankruptcy, Grexit	Implement the memorandum, proceed with reforms
'Another EU is possible' frame	EU is changing narrative	Ruling EU circles, Germany	The EU is neoliberal and conservative	Europe changes policies, SYRIZA wins the election
'Papademos government as a villain' frame	Papademos government in the villain archetype	Papademos Government	The government has no democratic legitimacy and it is not negotiating	Elections, Government resigns

2015

Frames	Framing Devices	Causal Attribution	Problem Definition	Treatment Recommendation
'Antimemorandum' frame	Antimemorandum narrative	Creditors, Government	The memorandum is causing unemployme	Reject/Abolish the memorandum, adopt an

			nt and social degradation	alternative plan
'Colony' frame	Colony metaphor	Governme nt, Germany, Creditors	Lack of democracy, loss of sovereignty	Reject the memorandum, cancel the memorandum
'The worst Memorandum' frame	The worst Memorandum narrative	SYRIZA governmen t	The memorandu m is harsh and leading to Grexit	Negotiate the agreement, equivalent measures, alternative plan
'Harsh but necessary' frame	Harsh but necessary narrative, salvation metaphor	Creditors, Greek oligarchy	The country is threatened with bankruptcy and Grexit	Implement reforms, keep on negotiating
'Left Parenthesis' frame	Left parenthesis metaphor	Germany, Oligarchy	They want SYRIZA to break up	SYRIZA stays together
'Blackmail' frame	Red lines, blackmail metaphors	Germany, ECB	The country is threatened with bankruptcy	Return to the drachma, achieve a compromise

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