



# LUND UNIVERSITY

## MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK IN GREECE

### THE INDIGNANT CITIZENS MOVEMENT, MEDIA AND POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

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## **Acknowledgements**

I would like to thank Dr. Annette Hill for her mentorship and support throughout the process. She inspired, pushed me forward and guided me until the completion of this research.

I would like to thank my parents and brother, Haris, Vivi and Rafail for supporting me psychologically and financially, loving and setting the example for me.

Finally, I would like to thank my girlfriend, Erna, for being there for me, loving and supporting me throughout this process.

**Abstract:**

This research addresses the role that the media have in guiding public perceptions about social movements and also the importance of the media in a well functioning democracy. In order to do so, a case study of the Indignant Citizens movement of Greece is presented, using theories related to participation, including voice and deliberative democracy. Furthermore, theories regarding the Europeanization of social movements and European cosmopolitan identity are discussed, in order to include the trans-national element of the movement. Also theories regarding media power and media framing are included, in order to discuss the role of the media and more specifically the press. The issue is further explored by focusing on Dahlgren's concept of civic cultures. Finally, the paper will present a news framing analysis on Greek and English newspapers, in order to understand how they constructed the Indignant Citizens movement.

Keywords: participation, democracy, Europeanization, cosmopolitanism, Indignant Citizens, media, media power, news frame analysis

Number of words: 22,431

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## **1. Introduction**

The eruption of the sovereign debt crisis that affected a number of the European member-states, was a rude awakening for all European societies to the interdependencies and the pitfalls of the global market economy. A crisis that started out as an economic one, developed in a political and social crisis both on a national and a trans-national level. Heated debates took place throughout the continent, arguing on the different economic and political responses to the crisis and focusing both on the national level of governance and the trans-national European level as well. The governments of the member-states most affected from the crisis, in cooperation with the creditor troika formed by the European Union and the International Monetary Fund tackled the crisis with a series of measures that were made official with the signing of memorandums of agreement. The measures were mainly guided by a politics of austerity and neoliberalism, focusing on a series of privatizations and budget cutbacks. The same economic program was followed as well in Greece, however, the first set of measures failed to reach its goals, forcing the troika and the Greek government to negotiate a second memorandum during the summer of 2011, with even harsher measures. Although the first memorandum was unpopular, its failure to improve the Greek economy lead even more people to reject the policies produced by the troika and the Greek government. Furthermore, Greek citizens that due to the crisis became more engaged in political matters, found that they were unable to actually change the policies imposed on Greece, due to a democratic deficit both of the national and of the European level of governance. Under these circumstances and in similar fashion to the Spanish Indignados, the Indignant Citizens movement of Greece was created. This case is interesting, because, it points to a part of European citizenry that feels left out from the decision making process. This democratic deficit that is being noticed, needs to be addressed, in order for the European integration project to keep moving forward and meet the challenges posed to it by the intensification of globalization.

My interest in the Indignant Citizens movement first came when I attended some of the public assemblies of the movement during May and June of 2011. Although I was only another citizen that joined in the demonstrations of the movement, I realized the potential that the movement had in creating a critical public sphere both of the local government, but also of the European Union. The Indignant Citizens movement was covered extensively both by Greek Media and International Media as a part of the Greek debt crisis and the public response to the austerity measures imposed. The Indignant Citizens movement is a very interesting social movement with similarities to social movements throughout Europe. It was the first movement in Greece that achieved mass public mobilization, without any political bodies supporting it. In fact any type of

political affiliation was avoided, even with parties of the Greek Left that had similar political goals. The movement made clear that it was critical of the role of all the political parties in the post – dictatorial era of Greece and was hostile to any attempts of affiliation from political parties or unions. The movement was created through social media, in similar fashion to the Tahrir Square movement in Egypt and the Indignados movement in Spain and argued for a more direct and transparent type of democracy in Greece but also in the European Union.

The Greek media were surprised by the popularity of the movement, and did not appear to have a coherent way of addressing it. Local media responses to the movement ranged from complete denial of its potential for democratization and citizen engagement, to idealized depictions of the movement and comparisons with the Athenian agora and direct democracy. Foreign media followed similar patterns of representations of the movement. My impression of the ways the movement was covered by Greek and foreign media was not a positive one. In my opinion the Greek media interpreted the movement based on their political biases, and either failed to attach any political meaning to the movement or portrayed the movement as a panacea for the failures of Greek democracy. At the same time, the foreign media, focused more on the spectacle of the movement and the tragic stories of loss and economic downturn in Greece, thus failing to report the underlying causes of the movement, that were the political rejection of the policies imposed by the “Troika” of the IMF and the European Commission and the rejection of the local political parties that were viewed as corrupt and inadequate. Furthermore, I believe that foreign media failed to view the ICM as part of a larger European debate and as part of an emerging European critical public sphere. That is why I am interested in discussing the role of the media in terms of citizens engagement, European identity and democracy.

This thesis has the objective to use the case of the Indignant Citizens movement, as a way to understand more about the power of the media in shaping people's opinion through news framing, and the important role they can play in creating a better democracy. Furthermore, the importance of the role of the media in forging a European cosmopolitan identity, will also be explored. In order to achieve those goals, this paper will focus on the examination of the case study of the Indignant Citizens movement. Theories of Europeanization of social movements, deliberative democracy and civic cultures, will be employed in order to analyze the movement. Furthermore, concepts of media power, media framing and voice will be investigated, in order to understand the importance of traditional media in encouraging citizen engagement with the movement and democracy and in the creation of a common European identity. Finally, a news frame analysis will be conducted on Greek and English newspapers in order to understand how they framed the Indignant Citizens movement



and the importance of that framing to the way people think about the movement.

The main research questions of the research are as following:

- 1) How did the Greek newspapers frame the Indignant Citizens movement and the protests of May-September 2011?
- 2) How did the English newspapers frame the movement?
- 3) Who was given voice in the framing of the Indignant Citizens movement?
- 4) How does Peter Dahlgren's civic cultures framework enhance our understanding of the role of media concerning participation through social movements?

## **2. Theoretical Framework**

For the case of the Indignant Citizens Movement it is relevant to include relevant theories and ideas. More specifically concepts of Europeanization of social movements and European cosmopolitan identity that are important because the Indignant Citizens movement is a European social movement that addresses both levels of governance, European and national. Furthermore, a cosmopolitan identity is important for the progress of the European integration project. Media framing and power issues are relevant because they explain the importance that the media have in political engagement. Media framing is important as a concept, because it is a process that allows the media to construct meanings and guide audiences on how to think about issues. Media power is important to include in the theoretical framework, in order to understand the underlying power conflicts that take place within a media text. Participation within deliberative democracy will be included in the framework, because it is the type of democracy that can satisfy the demands of the Indignant Citizens movement for inclusion in the decision making processes. The discussion of the role of the media in political engagement will lead up to a discourse about Dahlgren's (2009) civic culture framework and the role that the media can have in the creation of a better democracy that engages and empowers citizens. Civic cultures, alongside the concept of voice and recognition will be the main analytical tools in this research.

### **2.1 Europeanization of Social Movements and Media**

In this part of the paper there will be a discussion on the changes brought about in social movements by the continuing process of European integration. Furthermore, I will also focus on the role of the media in the creation of Europeanized social movements. Della Porta (2009, p. 5) argues that social movements are increasingly involved in the debate of European integration, not dismissing the deepening of unification, but instead arguing for a different direction, thus being involved in a "Europeanization from below".

Europeanization has had an important impact on social movements, given that the E.U. has had an increasing relevance on the agendas of European social movements (della Porta, 2009, p. 6). A number of approaches in social movement studies lead to the conclusion that more E.U related protests are to be expected in the future. The political process approach suggests that social movements need to address the territorial levels where the power holders act. Therefore, contemporary social movements can be expected to target different opponents in various geographical levels if they are framed as an important part of the decision making process. If the

European level is viewed as an important decision maker by the social movement, then the targeting of that level should be expected (della Porta, 2009). The case of the Indignant Citizens movement seems to validate the political process approach, since the movement targets different opponents in different geographical levels, namely the Greek government in Athens and the European government in Brussels. Therefore, because the movement considers the European level important, it targets multiple levels of governance in different geographical levels.

Furthermore, the rise of social movements that challenge polity on a transnational level has been facilitated by new communication channels. The creation of new Information and Communication Technologies has highly reduced the costs of communication and social movements have been using them extensively (della Porta and Mosca, 2007 in della Porta, 2009). However, the assumption that the lowering of communication costs will increase participation has been challenged. Bimber (2001 in Kelly Garrett 2006) has found little evidence to suggest that the easier access to political information can lead to higher participation in political activity. Cultural traditions are also important in the creation of transnational strategies, and under that scope social movements are expected to be more inclined to develop transnational ties, than political parties or trade unions that are more entangled with nation–states (della Porta 2009, p. 9).

The process of Europeanization is ushering in a new system of multilevel governance that doesn't transcend the nation – state but includes it in a complex system of interactions among different governments (della Porta 2009, p. 11). These developments in the type of governance has led to transformations on the way protest and social movements work in Europe. Social movements are expected to build a European public sphere that will make EU institutions accountable, in a similar fashion to the traditional social movements that shaped the national public sphere (della Porta 2009, p. 13). Furthermore, social movements on a European level adapt their strategies in order to apply pressure at the different levels of governance. Della Porta (2009, p. 14) calls this “strategies of crossed influence” and defines it as “pressure at the national level to change decisions at the European level, or pressure at the European level used to change national decisions”. The Indignant Citizens movement is employing a strategy of crossed influence, since it addresses both levels of governance in an effort to change decisions. The movement is addressing the E.U to apply pressure on the Greek government for reforms, but at the same time it is addressing the Greek government asking for a tougher negotiation towards the E.U in order to secure less harsh measures in exchange for the loans.

The complex multilevel system of governance of the European Union has created different paths for

social movements who need to apply themselves to these developments. National governments continue to be the first target of social movements, given the difficulty to address the transnational level of governance by protest. The ability to challenge European decisions by applying pressure to domestic governments though, has led to paths of domestication for social movements. Social movements view the EU as an arena that can provide them with resources that will apply pressure on the domestic level. By utilizing strategies of externalization, protestors target E.U institutions, in order to mobilize them as a trans-national ally and invite them to intervene against the national government (della Porta 2009, p.15). Finally, the processes of domestication and externalization have led to the creation of social movements that directly address the EU and consist of networks of national and transnational groups that challenge different levels of governance at the same time.

The symbolic level and the framing of Europe are important factors that facilitate the rise of Europeanized social movements. Della Porta (2009, p. 21) argues that the conflict over European integration becomes more and more relevant because of “the tendency of national governments to justify unpopular decisions, such as budget cuts, as due to restrictions imposed by the process of European integration has increased public criticism of choices made by European institutions”. Mass media have played an important role in the creation of a public opinion that stands critically against the EU. Della Porta (2009, p. 22 – 23) argues that “discontent towards the European Union has grown, as issues of unemployment or environmental protection have increasingly been framed within a European dimension”. This is clear in the case of Greece where unemployment is being framed more and more as an outcome of the austerity measures imposed by the E.U.

The increasing controversies and debates surrounding the EU and giving rise to social movements is a conflict between different visions of Europe, both real and imagined. The timing of European integration, the nature of the European institutions and the values that should define European policies are in the center stage (della Porta 2009, p. 24). Therefore it is important now to include the debate concerning the construction of a European identity that is fueling the debates concerning the EU and is giving rise to Europeanized social movements.

## **2.2 The construction of a European Cosmopolitan identity**

In this part of the paper I will present the discussion concerning the construction of a Cosmopolitan European identity, as one of the options of the debate. I will begin by presenting the justification for the necessity of a European cosmopolitan identity and then I will investigate the traditions Europeans can draw upon, in order to forge that identity. This debate is important, given that Greece

is a nation in the E.U that becomes more and more attached to the process of European integration. Therefore, the forging of a European cosmopolitan identity is important for the progress of the European project that will unite the people of Europe against their common issues.

So far, the process of European integration proceeded without a need for the creation of a common European identity. However, it is becoming more and more evident that, in order for European unification to progress it is important to proceed to the deepening of a social integration. The project of European unification has been mainly based on the functionalist assumption that the construction of an economic and monetary zone spontaneously generates transnational interdependences that spread out in different aspects of social life.

Political elites are viewed as being obligated to follow a path of further integration, because of past accepted decisions that have now become deeply rooted in society. In this type of thinking, social integration is viewed as a by-product of political and economical integration, whereas a common European consciousness is understood as less important than elite engagement (Habermas 2006, p. 67 - 68). However, the recent economical crisis has made obvious that such a level of integration is no longer enough, given that in order to address these issues, it is important to secure the faith of the people in a united Europe.

Jurgen Habermas (2006) argues that the problems that the EU is currently facing, suggest that the functionalist approach to integration is not enough. More specifically, he identifies three problems of a political nature that point towards the need for a new approach towards European unification. The first challenge for the EU is the eastern enlargement which increases the complexities of european governance and calls for a more deliberative type of decision making in order to increase the trust between the majorities and the minorities within the EU (p. 69). The second challenge that the EU is facing is the conclusion of the economic integration and the adoption of active policies with distributing effects. Again, a democratic extension is important, in order to increase the legitimatization basis of the EU (p. 70). Habermas, suggests that this cannot be achieved without the formation of a pan – European democratic opinion and views the attempt to adopt a European constitution as a way of responding to those challenges (p. 71). The formation of the Indignant Citizens movement is a result of a problem of political nature. Namely, it is the result of the failure of the first memorandum of agreement, between the E.U – I.M.F troika and the Greek state to provide a solution to the problem of the Greek debt crisis. Furthermore, it is also relevant because of the hesitation of some of the member states to condone on further distributive policies towards Greece. This is why the extension of the legitimatization basis of the E.U is extremely important, if

the European level of governance is to produce policies that will have the backing of the people of Europe.

Ulrich Beck (2006, p. 166), also argues that the process of European integration has been frozen and suggests the establishment of a more cosmopolitan Europe as the way forward. Beck (2006, p. 174) suggests that European integration has been stalled because of the infatuation of the intellectual elites with the nation state. Furthermore, he argues that, indeed the nation state is not a relic of the past, at least as a fact of state and international law, but he views Europe as a step towards shifting the perception of the nation as eternal. More specifically, he views the beginning of a cosmopolitan Europe in the adoption of the common currency, the dissolution of internal borders and the fact that more than 50 per cent of all decisions that shape the daily lives of Europeans are now taken on a trans – national level.

The question of European integration and to what point it is possible has sparked a lot of debate. Proponents of Euro–skepticism argue against the possibility of a common European identity, based on a thesis that there can be no identity without a common European demos that shares language, tradition and history. Jurgen Habermas (2006, p. 76) examines this thesis by digging deeper to the transformations of civic solidarity in the transition towards a post–national form of consciousness. More specifically, Habermas argues that in the post–national era the identification with the state mutates in an orientation to the constitution. This mutation enables the creation of a “solidarity amongst strangers” (p. 78), that is mediated by law. The greater the patriotic commitment to the constitution is, the easier becomes the gradual “uncoupling of the constitution from the state” (Habermas 2006, p. 78 -79).

Post–national constitutions can arise only from different situations than nation states. Habermas (2006, p. 79) suggests that a situation like that can be the challenges posed on nation–states by the risks of economic globalization that can only be met by supra–national orders. Beck (2006, p. 176) argues that the surmounting global risks will continue to increase and that the global interdependences mean that a cosmopolitan Europe is the only realistic way of rising up to those challenges. Furthermore, Habermas (2006, p. 80) views European laws as a type of constitution, given that they surpass national laws. In order for a European, cosmopolitan identity to be created, a number of conditions have to be met. These conditions, according to Habermas (2006, p. 80 – 81), include the mutual recognition of citizens as members of a political community and the opening of the national arenas to each other to facilitate the process of shared opinion. According to Beck (2006, p. 176) it is because of the existence of many national and regional histories within Europe,

that puts forward the cosmopolitanization of the EU as the only logical option. A European cosmopolitan identity consists of the combination in a single existence of the secular and radically open features of Europeaness (Beck 2006, p. 167). A cosmopolitan Europe cooperatively fuses the nation – states, without disempowering them (Beck 2006, p. 176). The instance of the European debt crisis is one of the global risks that Beck talks about. The crisis uncovered how interdependent are the economies of the nation – states that are members in the European Union. Because of that interdependency it is important that the project of European integration moves forward towards the forging of a common European cosmopolitan identity, that will ensure public support to European policies. The ideals of the Indignant Citizens movement, also include solidarity not only to other European people, but also to people migrating to Europe from other countries, therefore, the European cosmopolitan identity, is a project that would have popular support.

### **2.3 The power of the media**

A discussion regarding the power of the Media, in connection to civic engagement and social movements is relevant in this research, in order to understand the underlying systemic power dynamics. The media are routinely assumed of having power, however the strength and direction of that power is the subject of debate. While, the media have power over public and corporate perception and can bring about changes by providing opportunities, at the same time, it is possible of getting caught up in media power flows that are harmful. Corner (2011, p. 15) comments on the power of the media:

“Even if the primary evidence of media power is present in given economic circumstances or in institutional scale and prominence, the final consequences, and then the arguments about these, may largely turn on the impact of such arrangements upon the terms of individual perception, knowledge and feeling and the conditions for behavior which these provide. In that sense, the arguments are about symbolic and cultural aspects of power”.

In that sense, the media can be used as a conduit that transforms economical and political power, into cultural power, since they have a form of “soft” power than can encourage perceptions, generate feelings and provide information about society (Corner 2011, p. 14 – 15). This trait of the media is why the news frame analysis is important, in order to understand the kind of perceptions that the media encouraged about the Indignant Citizens movement.

Media power has to be researched systemically, by taking into consideration their relationship with

other sources of power, such as elite interests. Corner argues about the relationship of media and systemic power (2011, p. 19):

“There are very good reasons, historical, political and sociological, for seeing media institutions and processes as exercising their powers *systemically*, that is to say within the terms of a broader pattern of determining relationships with other sources of power, the vested and often elite interests of which they routinely serve to maintain, whatever the localized tensions and questioning that might also occur”.

The greatest amount of anxiety is often caused in regard with the relationship of the media the political system, a relationship that is often made formal or even constitutional. However, in many countries, the emphasis has been shifted from the political system to the system of market economics. Where, the economic and political elites are in harmony, the media are expected to have a strong “power reinforcement” role. However, in countries where there is distance, or even conflict between the elites, the media are expected to develop a degree of power questioning, by opposing policies and actions of dominant power formations, either in favor of a subordinate power formation, or an emerging group. Elites generally seek to control what is broadcast through the media and the amount of space given by the various elites to non – elite members has varied considerably. However, the relationship of elites with the media is unequal compared to that of non – elites, thus creating deficits (Corner 2011, p. 19-21).

In many societies, the power of the media is viewed as a problem. However, that does not hold true for all instances. Political and economical elites are not likely to see it as a problem when their interests are served well by the media. Corner (2011, p. 23) talks about the instances when the power of the media is considered to be a problem:

“Nearly all ideas of “bad” power have their grounding in perceptions about the distortion to either knowledge or values, or both, which the media introduce into general consciousness through their part in constructing the symbolic environment. This is an environment in which people develop as gendered and ethically various citizens within the framing of economic inequalities and opportunities”.

The distortions can be a result either of passivity, which is an uncritical reflection of established realities as natural, or of more active strategies that reproduce ideas in a way that excludes others. The distortions can be either structural or discursive, meaning that the distortion can derive either from the systemic power structure, or by the distinctive uses of language and image by the media (Corner 2011, p. 23). This perception about the distortions that the power of the media can bring



about is important for this research, because understanding the power that the media have in citizen development and the dangers that this power comes with, is important in a well functioning democracy.

There are three types of structural deficit in the media. Namely, elite dominance, levels of diversity and deception. Elite dominance is a structural deficit that is produced by the direct and strong link between political elites and the media. The link can either be formal and explicit, such as in China, or informal and denied, such as in many western countries. In societies where there is a multi – party system, where political parties compete for publicity and power, it is possible to view a degree of inter – elite conflict, with certain media positioning themselves behind the government and others criticizing it. However, critics of this assessment, argue that the inter – elite tensions are beside the point which is the relationship of the whole elite system with the media. Klaehn (2002, in Corner 2011, p. 26) argues that inter - elite contest is often offered as a device for strategic deception, that can present the political system as being more open to different opinions than it actually is. Sustaining the general level of the elite dominance argument risks diminishing the importance of the inter – elite conflicts that occur and receive a diverse response from the media and have been important for the historical development of political systems. Furthermore, this approach over – estimates the level of direct control of the media by political elites (Corner 2011, p. 24 – 27). Regarding the news framing of the Indignant Citizens movement, the inter – elite contest is an important element, as the left parties had a more acceptive position towards it, while the government and the conservative parties were positioned against the movement. The framing of the different newspapers will give an insight on whether inter–elite conflict affects the media.

Diversity in media is also another mode of structural deficit. Diversity, usually means that power abuse is reduced and the relationship between media and political elites is more democratic. However, the diversity of outlets is not a guaranty of diversity of coverage or opinion, especially in an increasingly market driven landscape. In societies where the political elite consists of different groups it is likely that this variation will be depicted in some media outlets. However, it is important to remember that the dominant elite group will almost always have immediate access to the media in order to explain its views and actions. The way that the media report and relate to those views is one of the major discussion points. Furthermore, another major point of debate is the way that non – elite views make their way, or are not included, in the media. An important factor for the inclusion of non – elite ideas is the popular support to them, compared to the elite views. The media will cover, or even align with a non – elite view, if there is an emerging body of non – elite thinking, thus leading to quite radical shifts. It is possible, for non – elite views to grow to point where they

become adopted by groups within the elite, thus making their way to inter – elite debate and perhaps within dominant elite policy. However, it is possible that even majority – endorsed non – elite views will be left out by the media (Corner 2011, p. 27 – 30). In the case of the framing of the Indignant Citizens movement, some of the media were including the views of the movement whereas elite groups also started adopting the views of the movement. It is important therefore, to view whether the movement made the news or was simply assimilated to a broader inter–elite agenda.

The final mode of structural deficit in media is deception. Deception consists of a number of controlling strategies, employed by the dominant elite, especially in areas where secrecy has had official legitimacy, such as security and defense. These strategies vary from simple ideas that can be summed up as “propaganda”, consisting of calculated lies, exaggerations and highly selective information all the way to more complex theories of ideology, which can be employed as a regulator of imagination, consciousness and subjectivity of a subtler kind. A secondary level of strategy is deniability. Certain levels of deception have become accepted in the political and media system, but also from the general public. However, deception is also one of the main reasons for the development of cynicism from the public. If cynicism towards the political life becomes too widespread in the public it is likely to reduce political engagement and support (Corner 2011, p. 30-34).

## **2.4 Media, Political Frames and Ideologies**

In this part of the paper, I will focus on the interactions between news media and social movements. More specifically I will present a literature review referring to the way that social movements are being framed by the media, the importance of news framing, and the various strategies employed by social movements in order to set a news agenda. Relating to the previous discussion concerning the power of the media, news framing is one of the ways in which the media can shape the symbolic environment. Media framing is important in the case of the Indignant Citizens because it uncovers the subtle power of the media to guide how the audience thinks about the social movement.

Before examining the process of media framing it is important to investigate the relationship between media and social movements. Both media and social movements are dependent on each other, however not in a symmetrical way. Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993, p. 115) argue about the power relationship between the media and social movements that:

“Each side in the media – movement transaction is dependent on the other but not equally so.

Movements are generally much more dependent on media than the reverse, and this fundamental asymmetry implies the greater power of the media system in the transaction”.

Social movements need to engage with the media in order to pursue three goals: mobilization, validation and scope enlargement. Furthermore, public attention to a conflict can enhance the relative power of a movement against its opponents and cultivate third party sympathies and new alliances for the movement. On the other hand, media need social movements since they often make good media stories, providing drama, conflict and action. However, that means that social movements have to compete against other newsmakers in order to make the news, thus making social movements dependent on media (Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993, p. 115 – 117). Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993, p. 117) comment on the dependence of the social movements on the media:

“Unlike public officials and heads of large established organizations, movement actors do not receive automatic standing in the media. They must struggle to establish it, often at what they regard as serious costs for the message that they wish to convey. Their dependency forces them to pay a price of entry that affects the subsequent transaction in various ways”.

This is particularly important in this case, since the movement managed to have high visibility in the mainstream media, so it is important to understand how this became possible.

A key concept concerning the study of the relationship between media and social movements is the media frame and the theory of framing. Gitlin (1980, in McCurdy 2012, p. 246) provides one of the first definitions of media framing, conceptualizing it as a hegemonic process that influences what information makes the news and how it gets reported. Media frames are also conceptualized as the central idea of a news story that formulates the perspective under which the events covered are interpreted (Gamson and Modigliani 1989, in McCurdy 2012). A media frame is the news version of reality, however, what will be covered in this version is not decided only by media, since political actors struggle over how something gets depicted in the news. Researching how social movements are represented in media is important, because of the ability of such research to uncover either ideological bias from media, or differences in the representation of different protest events, or the impact that organizational resources have on representation (McCurdy 2012, p. 247). Media framing research does not have a standard type of research or methodological approach, whereas different researchers reach different conclusions, regarding the definitions of media frames based on their methodological approach (Entman 1993; Scheufele 1999, in McCurdy 2012, p. 247). However, Koopmans (2004, p. 369, in McCurdy 2012, p. 247) argues that the strength of the media

framing tradition is that it unveils why and how media cover protest events, based on factors such as geographical proximity, size of protest, its potential for conflict and the notoriety or celebrity of the participants.

The struggles over how something gets framed in the media are not only influenced by the media themselves, or by political elites. Social movements employ strategies that enable them to get their messages across media and increase their own visibility. The struggle over how something is represented in the media is a “symbolic contest” that is played out in the “media arena” where different actors compete to get their framing of the story represented (Gamson and Stuart 1992 in McCurdy 2012, p. 247). Social movements react to mainstream media in four different non – exclusive ways. These strategies include firstly an avoidance of interacting with media. Another strategy involves an “attack” against media, criticizing them or even taking action against them. Furthermore, social movements can develop their own media in order to get their message through, or adapt to the rules of the mainstream media, in order to secure visibility (Rucht 2004 in McCurdy 2012, p. 249). Remaining silent towards media is a strategy employed by social movements in itself. Social movements can choose to remain silent in instances of heated public debate in order to project themselves as a moderate force (Rohlinger 2006, 539 in McCurdy 2012, p. 250) or they can abstain from media engagement in order to secure the privacy of the activists, or react against the symbolic power of media (McCurdy 2012, p. 250). Other strategies employed by social movements in order to secure media coverage range from creating spectacles for the media, such as press releases, press conferences, protests and demonstrations (Ryan 1991 in McCurdy 2012, p. 249) to engaging strategically with journalists. Strategies concerning social movements and journalists include the creation of relationships with reporters, the development of media response teams and the expansion of media training within the movement (Ryan et al. 2005 in McCurdy 2012, p. 250). The framing process of social movements has also been influenced by the introduction of new Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs). Social movements can now bypass the role that mass media play and present their positions directly, through the facilitating role that the new ICTs play. Activist news can now be produced, creating alternative frames that avoid the distortion caused by mass–media, in a much lower cost and with the employment of less resources (Rucht 2004, p. 44 in Kelly Garrett 2006, p. 214). This enables transnational social movements, such as the global justice movement to create a consistent frame (Van Aelst & Walgrave 2004 in Kelly Garrett 2006). Activist publications can become an alternative to mainstream press (Zook 1996; Garner 1999 in Kelly Garrett 2006), since online publications are often perceived as authoritative as traditional media (Fischer 1998 in Kelly Garrett 2006). However, social movements can still be dependent on mainstream media and gatekeepers. The abundance of information on the internet can

hinder the ability of the reader to differentiate fabrications from actual information (Gurak & Logie 2003; Wright 2004, p. 85 in Kelly Garrett 2006), thus increasing the dependence of the public on the press (Bonchek 1997 in Kelly Garrett 2006). This is important for this research, because it highlights the importance and relevance of print media as a source for information for citizens.

## **2.5 Deliberative Democracy**

The main premise of this paper is that media can help enhance democracy and engage citizens. The type of democracy that I am inspired by, in particular, is deliberative democracy, so here I will present the characteristics of this type of democracy.

Deliberative democracy is the type of democracy in which citizens and their representatives feel the need to justify the decisions that they impose to one another. Leaders in deliberative democracy are expected to rationalize the decisions that they make, but also respond to the reasons provided to them by the citizens. Deliberative democracy is a type of democracy that tries to balance the representative and participatory aspects of democracy, by focusing the participatory element in communication (Elster 1998, p. 1 in Carpentier 2011, p. 35). Carpentier (2011) offers another definition of deliberative democracy arguing that:

“The model of deliberative democracy also tries to (re)balance the participatory and representative aspects of democracy, but, here, the participatory moment is located in communication, as deliberative democracy refers to “decision making by discussion among free and equal citizens”.

This definition is important in this case, since the movement held public assemblies where decision making, for the actions of the movement, by discussion took place. However, deliberative democracy, needs to be supplemented by the representative aspects of democracy, which did not happen in this particular case, since the results of the deliberations of the movement were largely ignored by the official political system.

Deliberative democracy has four distinctive characteristics that set it apart from other types of democracy. More specifically deliberative democracy differentiates mainly because of its reason – giving requirement, with reasons that can be accepted by free and equal persons who seek to get involved with the governance of their own society. Furthermore, the deliberation and the reasons offered should be open to everybody, by the open character of the deliberation itself taking place in the public sphere and by the openness of the reasons offered, judged by the ability of everybody

being able to assess them and understand them. Another characteristic of deliberative democracy is that it has eventually to come at a product that its character will be binding for a period of time. The final characteristic of deliberative democracy that sets it apart from other types of democracy is the fact that, after the decision is made, the deliberation can commence again, this time judging the product of the original deliberation and the quality of the justification, in order to create better deliberation and results in the future. This is characteristic of the dynamic character of the deliberative process and the open ended character of deliberative democracy. The ability given for citizens to revise decisions in the future is important, because further justification might be required in the future due to changing circumstances and because, given the non consensual character of decisions in deliberative democracy, citizens are more inclined to accept decisions they don't agree with, if they feel they can overturn them in the future (Gutmann and Thompson 2004, 3 – 7).

The relevance of deliberative democracy has been debated. Peter Dahlgren (2009) provides as with an insight on the different arguments put forward in the debate regarding the reach of deliberative democracy:

“In the debates, some theorists claim that deliberative democracy is only relevant within the framework of actual decision-making, by representatives of the citizens – that is, within “strong” public spheres. Others argue, in an overtly republican manner, that broader, more popular forms of deliberation are needed, and should be spread out as far as possible within the citizenry, beyond the formal decision-making centers, into the public sphere and into as many associations and networks of civic society as possible”.

For this particular research the latter argument about the reach of deliberative democracy is more relevant, given that the deliberation within the movement spread out to citizens coming from different societal groups and beyond the formal decision-making centers.

Peter Dahlgren (2009, p. 87–88) also argues about the ways in which deliberative democracy can contribute to the construction of a better democracy, and a better civic culture:

“Deliberative democracy serves to support the legitimacy of decisions that are taken, thereby enhancing the vitality of democratic institutions. Also it seeks to foster public-spirited perspectives in politics, by encouraging the development of clear justifications for one's choices and decisions, as well of a more generalized sense of the collective good. In the process, it thus further develops civic skills. Deliberation strives to generate mutual respect, not least in situations where

fundamental moral views are in conflict, thereby promoting understanding and practical rationality in politics”.

For these reasons, deliberative democracy, which is one of the ideals of the Indignant Citizens movement is viewed in this research as an important component to the structure of a better functioning democracy and to the development of a strong civic culture in Greece.

## **2.6 Political Engagement and Civic Cultures**

One of the main theoretical frameworks that I will use is Peter Dahlgren's Civic Cultures framework, so here I will first present a discussion on the subjects of political engagement and participation and then I will move on to talk about the theory. The civic cultures framework is considered important for this research, because it is a framework that includes all the various dimensions that constitute a good and functioning democracy. Therefore, in order to understand the function of democracy in Greece, it is important to include a discussion on the civic cultures.

Dahlgren provides an insight on citizen engagement and participation (2009, p. 80):

“Engagement refers to subjective states, that is, a mobilized, focused attention on some object. It is in a sense a prerequisite for participation: To “participate” in politics, presuppose some degree of engagement. For engagement to become embodied in participation and thereby give rise to civic agency there must be some connection to practical, do–able activities, where citizens can feel empowered”.

This concept of engagement and participation is especially important in the case of the Indignant Citizens movement, since citizens engaged with the movement, by allocating their focused attention to it. Furthermore the participation of citizens in public assemblies held by the movement, helped citizens feel like participating and therefore provided an opportunity for empowerment.

Dahlgren (2009, p. 81) also comments on the role of the media in citizen engagement:

“We live in highly mediated societies and much of our civic knowledge derives from the media. In a sense, the media bear some responsibility for our political involvement: good journalism must at some level engage us in the world it presents to us. Yet we as citizens also have a democratic responsibility to become engaged and to participate”.

Media, at some instances, can facilitate engagement, as well as participation, although, engagement with media output does not equal political participation. In order for engagement to be meaningful, it must, at some point, transform in participation, involving some kind of activity in various forms that often include acts of communication. Furthermore, although, engagement and participation are connected with the individual, it is important that the individual becomes a part of a collectivity, by connecting with others with civic bonds (Dahlgren 2009, p. 81).

A manifested lack of civic engagement and participation in societies, does not necessarily mean that it does not hold any political meaning. It is possible that a citizen can choose to disengage from the political system (Coleman 2006 in Dahlgren 2009, p. 82). There are different ways in which disengagement can be manifested. Citizens can express resignation, when they feel that the political system excludes them from meaningful participation. Furthermore, Bennulf and Hedberg (1999 in Dahlgren 2009, p. 82) offer three alternative modes of civic disengagement. Citizens abstaining from political participation can signal an expression of distrust, which translates in a negative evaluation of the political system as a whole. Furthermore it can signal ambivalence, which can be seen as a minimum type of involvement that does not result in participation, because of either not strong motivation to participate, or because of the amount of resources required in order to participate. Finally, it can signal indifference, which is manifested as an “alienation” from politics, or a treatment of politics and their representations on the media as irrelevant. Indifference can occur from civic feelings of remoteness, or of having a superior insight that renders politics personally insignificant (Dahlgren 2009, p. 82). This is important in the case of the Indignant Citizens movement, because it helps explain the previous disengagement of the citizens, before their engagement with the movement.

Dahlgren (2009, p. 102) comments also on the concept of civic agency:

“The concept of civic agency is premised on people being able to see themselves as participants, that they find engagement meaningful and that they experience motivation via the interplay of reason and passion. Such agency, involving the capacity to make decisions and act in accordance with a coherent sense of self, of identity, can never emerge or function in a vacuum; it must be an integrated and dynamic part of the larger cultural environment that has relevance for politics”.

The Indignant Citizens movement involved citizens through public assemblies that gave meaning to engagement and participation with the movement, as it enabled each citizen to have a say in the actions of the movement, thus contributing to the enhancement of civic agency. The larger cultural



environment out of which civic agency develops will be examined through the civic cultures framework.

Civic cultures is the framework that Peter Dahlgren offers, in order to analyze the conditions that either promote or hinder civic engagement. Civic cultures entail cultural patterns, which consist of civic identities and the foundations for civic agency and are shaped by many different factors, such as family and schools, group settings, social relations of power, economics, the legal system, organizational possibilities, social structures, gender, and ethnicity. The media, the traditional mass media and the new ICTs also impact on civic cultures. Civic cultures can be both strong and vulnerable. A strong civic culture can empower and shape citizens, but also in turn can be influenced by citizens as well. A weak or absent civic culture is disempowering. In order to have a viable democracy and a strong critical public sphere, it is important to have a thriving civic culture (Dahlgren 2009, p. 102 - 106).

Peter Dahlgren (2009) identifies six different dimensions of civic culture from which their service to civic engagement can be examined. These dimensions are knowledge, values, trust, spaces, practices and identities, and they are reciprocal, given that they impact on the others in various ways.

Peter Dahlgren (2009, p. 108) offers a definition about the dimension of knowledge: “That citizens need knowledge in order to participate politically is obvious and basic. People must have access to reliable reports, portrayals, analyses, discussions, and debates about current affairs if they are to become civically engaged”. This definition highlights the importance of the media in this dimension of the civic cultures. The ability of citizens to obtain knowledge is one of the most crucial aspects of this dimension and it entails some degree of literacy in order to make sense of the information available in public spheres (Dahlgren 2009, p. 108 – 110).

Turning to the dimension of Values, Peter Dahlgren (2009, p. 110) argues that: “Democracy will not function if such virtues as tolerance and willingness to follow democratic principles and procedures do not have grounding in everyday life”. The decision between the best democratic values and how they should be applied should be entrusted in procedural mechanisms that offer rules that can help democratic societies reach a consensus. Values can either be substantive, such as equality, liberty, justice, solidarity, and tolerance or procedural, such as openness, reciprocity, discussion, and responsibility (ibid, p. 110 - 112).

Furthermore, another dimension of civic cultures is trust. Peter Dahlgren (2009, p. 112) argues about the importance of Trust as part of the civic cultures:

“Trust has long been seen as an important component for democracy; it has been reiterated in theory and studied empirically. It has been presented as a self-evident “good thing” - the more trust, the better, and declines in trust signal trouble. The bearers of trust are usually seen as the citizens, and the objects of trust are the institutions or representatives of government”.

However, in the purpose of the civic cultures, trust concerns trust among different groups of citizens. Putnam (2000, p. 136 in Dahlgren 2009) argues that there is thick trust and thin trust, meaning trust that is based in personal relations and trust that is based in generalized honesty and expectations of reciprocity that we accord people we don't know personally. Without thin trust, political action becomes impossible. However, excessive trust is not also preferable, since it can suppress conflict and sustain oppressive relations. A trust with a hint of skepticism is the most appropriate, with the exact ratio of trust / mistrust to be worked out regarding the exact circumstance (ibid, p. 112 – 114).

Spaces are important for democracy, since they are the places where citizens encounter and talk to each other. Communicative spaces where policy and decision – making is discussed should also be accessible by citizens, in order for them to be able to contact those who represent them (ibid, p. 114 – 116). Peter Dahlgren (2009, p. 115) also talks about the importance of the media as a deliberative space: “With the media, of course, the conditions for civic encounter expand, and potential civic communicative spaces multiply... New communicative spaces are emerging in which civic cultures can develop and flourish, and in which the political can be developed, and where politics can be pursued”.

Practices are the embodiment of democracy, help generate collective and personal meaning to democratic ideals and have to have a taken – for – granted character in order to be part of civic culture. Engaging in practices empowers citizens, while some practices will spark debate. Participating in elections is seen as the paramount practice for democracies (ibid, p. 116 – 118).

Finally, identities are peoples subjective view of themselves as participants of democracy. Identities form the centerpiece of civic cultures, while the other dimensions contribute to its existence. Identity today is multiple, since we operate in different contexts and under different sets of knowledge, assumptions, rules and roles (ibid, p. 118 – 123).

## 2.7 Voice

Another tool that I plan to use in order to analyze the results of my research is Nick Couldry's perception of the voice. Nick Couldry (2010, p. 2) argues that the permeation of neoliberal economical ideas on the grounds of society and politics is one of the major threats to democracy. As an alternative to that development, which views politics as a way of enabling market functioning above all other political functions, he offers the notion of “voice” which is oriented to processes that give value to voice and views politics as “a recognition on people's capacities for social cooperation”. Voice in Couldry's work, does not stand for the economic or political voice but for more basic aspects of human life.

Voice operates both within but also beyond politics, starting from an account that is not political at all, aiming to make voice broad enough in order to challenge the neoliberal discourse by connecting with different normative frameworks. However, politics is the orientation of Couldry's (2010, p. 3) argument. More specifically, he argues against neoliberal reductive view of democratic politics as merely a tool for enhancing market functions and vows to replace it with a broader view of politics that work by promoting social cooperation.

Neoliberal politics view democracy as merely being a tool for achieving individual freedom, without having any regard for the social and political goals that democracy can have. Couldry (2010, p. 66 - 67) offers a different understanding of democracy as a social ideal by presenting Axel Honneth's theory of recognition. Honneth argues that in human life moral injuries are possible by the way we talk and treat each other. So he understands “good” not only as the absence of those moral injuries, but as the more positive ability to recognize each other as a human agent. There are multiple levels of recognition. There is basic care and love for a person, and respect for a person as a moral agent with responsibility. Finally, there is social esteem or solidarity, which is the recognition of someone as a person of capabilities that are positive for society. However, recognition is not merely a matter of citizens recognizing one another, given that recognition should be the goal of democratic politics. Recognition must also come from institutional practices and social organization (Couldry 2010, p. 67).

Couldry (2010, p. 14), gives a description of the state of politics under neo – liberalism:

“There is increasingly a gap between individuals' or groups' capacities for voice and the process whereby policy gets made. When politics is dominated by external market forces, policies become

not so much options for genuine disagreement than “facts of life”, what “modernization” or “global competitiveness” requires, in short, a matter of necessity. In neoliberal regimes the potentially authentic domain of political voice is translated back to voters as force, as the “delivery” of decisions about which no choice has been possible”.

That definition is of particular interest in the case of the Indignant Citizens movement, because of the increasing acceptance of neoliberal dogmas in the E.U and therefore in Greece. The domination of politics in Europe and Greece by the forces of the market, have turned a lot of the options of the political debate in “dead – ends”, whereas the political authority of the government of Greece has been undermined, with the E.U – I.M.F troika being in charge for nearly every political matter, which is belittled to economical terms.

Couldry (2010, p. 67) argues that purely economic principles can no longer offer accounts of politics that exclude social and political goals and puts forward John Dewey's theory of democracy. John Dewey based his democratic theory in the achieved good of acting together, which views democratic institutions as “the medium through which society attempts to process and solve its problems”.

The theoretical framework has underscored the importance of media framing research and offered insights in the ways that the media participate in the engagement of citizens with social movements and democracy. Using this theoretical framework, I will now proceed to analyze Greek and English daily newspapers, in order to understand how they construct and frame the Indignant Citizens Movement. By employing news frame analysis, facilitated by the theoretical framework, I plan to analyze the role played by the media in people's engagement with the social movement and the effects that it has in citizen empowering and democracy.

### **3. Methodology**

#### **3.1 Research strategy: Case study**

In order to better understand the Indignant Citizens Movement, it is important to rely on a solid methodology and a clear research design. Given that the movement is contemporary, I have decided to opt for a case study design. Yin (2003, p. 5) acknowledges three conditions, that are important in the choice of a research design. The first condition is the type of the research questions posed, where Yin (2003, p. 6) mentions that ““how” and “why” questions are more explanatory and likely to lead to the use of case studies, histories and experiments as the preferred research strategies. The second and third condition is the extent of control that the researcher has over behavioral events and the degree of focus on contemporary events. Yin (2003, p. 7) again explains that “the case study is preferred in examining contemporary events, but when the relevant behaviors cannot be manipulated”.

Based on these observations, the case study method is the most fitting, in order to develop a deeper understanding of the functioning of the Indignant Citizens movement and its relations to theories of citizen participation and media power. The research questions posed in the beginning of this paper have already set a goal of understanding “how” the media are framing the social movement and therefore, the case study is suitable for this purpose. Furthermore, the other two characteristics of the case study, make it the best fit in this case. First, the goal of this research is to understand how Greek and English newspapers have framed the movement and how does this framing relate to citizen engagement in Greece. Therefore there is no need for a researcher to have control over behavioral events. Furthermore, the Indignant Citizens movement developed during 2011, as a citizen response to the austerity measures imposed by the Greek government and the I.M.F – European Union troika and is still going on, even though in a reduced activity, thus making it a contemporary event.

Bruce Berg (2009, p. 317) defines the case study method as “a method involving systematically gathering enough information about a particular person, social setting, event, or group to permit the researcher to effectively understand how the subject operates or functions”. Given that the aim of the research is to understand how the Indignant Citizens social movement works, case study again appears to be the most suitable research method. More specifically, the embedded case study approach is best suited in this particular research. Berg (2009, p. 318) offers the following definition:

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.

Following this definition of the embedded case study approach, also makes this method suitable for the study of the Indignant Citizens movement, with the media and more specifically newspapers being a subunit to the overall focus of the research which is the movement itself.

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. In the case of the Indignant Citizens movement, a more broad scope has been selected, given the overarching nature of the movement that includes notions of societal, political and cultural life. Berg (2009, p. 318) 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”.

Following this definition, the case study qualifies as a method for the study of the Indignant Citizens movement, that aims to understand citizen engagement with the movement and the role of the media and their framing of the movement.

The case study method has been criticized and researchers often opt for an experiment or survey type of investigation. Yin (2003, p. 10) has identified three reasons for this, namely the lack of a solid case study structure, that has lead 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. Yin (2003, p. 10) responds to these criticisms by putting forward the argument that bias is not an exclusive characteristic of case studies, but can also be encountered in other research studies. However, he argues that “the problems are not different, but in case study research, they may have been more frequently encountered and less frequently overcome”.

Furthermore, Yin (2003, p. 11) responds to the criticisms regarding the time frame and the lengthy texts produced by case studies, claiming that although case studies have been produced in that

manner in the past, that doesn't have to be the case in the future. Finally, Yin (2003, p. 10) argues that case studies can be generalized to theoretical propositions and not to populations and universes in the same way as an experiment. He 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)”. Following this definition, this paper plans to draw conclusions that apply to the specific case of the Indignant Citizens movement, but can also generalize Dahlgren's civic cultures framework, by applying it to the specific case.

Berg (2009, p. 326 - 327) presents three appropriate design types of case studies, which can consist either of single or multiple case studies. These design types are exploratory, explanatory and descriptive. Since the Indignant Citizens movement case aims to be a descriptive one, I will focus on the descriptive design type of a case study. Berg (2009, p. 326) offers a definition of descriptive case studies:

“Descriptive case studies require that the investigator present a descriptive theory, which establishes the overall framework for the investigator to follow throughout the study. What is implied by this approach is the formation and identification of a viable theoretical orientation before enunciating research questions”.

The theoretical orientation of this paper has already been established in the theoretical framework section, with the main concepts of the paper being identified in the power of the media and the importance of media framing, european cosmopolitan identity and Couldry's theory of voice (2010) as well as Dahlgren's civic cultures theory (2009). Based on this theoretical framework this paper tries to understand the concept of civic participation within a globalized world and the importance of the media.

Given that some of the aims of this research is to understand better the role of the media and their framing of the Indignant Citizens movement, the main body of the data collection will come from five different newspapers from Greece and England, covering different parts of the political spectrum. Mylonas (2012) has also researched media framing, concerning the Greek economical crisis and its framing by the German Bild – Zeitung, analyzing among others the lack of solidarity between european people. For this research, Mylonas' analysis will be used as a reference on how to conduct news framing research.

## **3.2 News Frame Analysis**

### **3.2.1 Philosophical underpinnings**

The analysis of the data gathered from newspapers will be conducted as a qualitative news frame analysis. Framing of news is one of the types of framing available. Hallahan (1999, p. 206) argues that framing is connected to “the underlying psychological processes that people use to examine information, to make judgements, and to draw inferences about the world around them”. News framing is based on the constructivist approach to communication and the notion that words and signs have the power to create meaning and define social reality (Schroder 2012). Hallahan (1999, p. 206) offers the following explanation of constructivist thinking:

“Human behavior is thought to result from how people interact and their use of symbols to create meaning. Constructionists contend that representations of objects or problems in people's minds vary from the corresponding actual objects or conditions on which they are based. More important, constructionists contend that people act based on these perceptions”.

Furthermore, Schroder (2012, p. 107) argues that the battle for the construction of our shared reality is mainly played out on the media field, given that modern societies are “mediatized”. Academic research of news framing has taken a critical character in an effort to expose the way news media frame and investigate social groups in contrast to actors with significant power or privilege. Schroder (2012, p. 108) argues that the media should be analyzed as artifacts and practices that reproduce and contest society. Based on that premise, he explains that the aim of research in the field should be “to critically examine the discursive frames through which the media construct authoritative versions of vital aspects of contemporary human existence”.

Based on these premises, it is important to research how the media have constructed the image of the Indignant Citizens movement and how this framing interacted with civic life in Greece. Furthermore, it is important to critically examine how the social movement was framed in contrast to authoritative actors such as the Greek government, the European Union and the International Monetary Fund.

### **3.2.2 Data collection method**

Having established the philosophical aspects behind news frame analysis, I will now focus on the



method itself. Jensen (2012, p. 164) offers the following definition on the concept of a frame:

“The concept of a frame suggests that an item of information – whether arising from one's perception of the environment, from other people, or from media technologies – only makes sense once it is placed in a context of additional information”.

Frames are social and mental categories that are produced from the selection of some information and its formation in a certain way. The interpretation of this information is both a product and a process of framing. Frame analysis is focused on the world – views that guide the actions of the audience. Therefore as Jensen (2012, p. 164) argues:

“Frames are of special interest for the understanding of how media and society are coupled in communication”.

Media framing research is focused on the ways that media guide audiences on questions of how to think about specific issues. Scheufele (1999, p. 19 in Jensen p. 165) offers the following definition: “Framing is based on subtle nuances in wording and syntax and therefore [...] most likely [has] unintentional effects, or at least effects that are hard to predict and control by journalists”.

Following that description of framing, this research aims to investigate how media and society interact through the framing of the Indignant Citizens movement. More specifically how the media framed the movement by selecting and producing certain news pieces and how those news pieces guide the audience in a certain way of perceiving the movement. Furthermore, given that it has been argued that a lot of research regarding framing has ignored aspects of power and social interests (Carragee and Roefs 2004 in Jensen 2012, p. 166), this research will approach the framing of the I.C movement, taking into consideration the various social and political actors that have an interest into getting their framing of the movement through the media.

In order to examine the ways that Greek and English newspapers frame the I.C movement, I will use the three framing tasks identified by Benford and Snow (2000) in their work regarding the framing of social movements. More specifically, these framing tasks are referred to as “diagnostic framing”, which focuses on the identification of the problem, “prognostic framing”, which identifies solutions to the problem and “motivational framing”, which offers reasons for further engagement and collective action.

The analysis of diagnostic frameworks will focus on identifying both episodic and thematic

frameworks. Iyengar (1991, in De Vreese 2005, p. 56) identifies episodic frameworks in news that depict social issues as limited to events only and not placed within a broader context. The various broad interpretations of the same social issues constitute the thematic frameworks. Furthermore, Iyengar suggested that news organizations tend to prefer episodic framing, a practice that “simplifies complex issues to the level of anecdotal evidence” (Iyengar 1991, p. 136 – 137 in De Vreese 2005, p. 56) and removes the context out of the understanding of public affairs and social issues. The diagnostic element of the framing of social movements addresses issues of causality, blame and culpable agents by focusing blame or responsibility. However, Benford and Snow (2000, p. 616) argue that consensus regarding the attribution of responsibility is not always guaranteed, and in many cases there have been controversies regarding the definition of the problem within the various SMO's comprising a social movement. This lack of consensus was evident in the case of the I.C movement and the two different approaches to the source of the problem that could be found in the upper and lower square. The participants of the movement that resided on the upper part of Syntagma square were identifying the austerity measures and the Greek government as the source of the problem, whereas the lower square identified the problem in a more systematic manner, identifying the crisis not only as financial, but also as social and political (Tsaliki, 2012).

The second framing task is prognostic framing and consists of the identification of a solution to the problem and a plan of action towards that solution (Benford and Snow, 2000). In this research, I have focused on identifying whether solutions have been offered in the news pieces I analyzed, and then explored whether there were patterns on the solutions offered and on the actors seen as responsible for solving the problem. For example, whether the solutions offered are framing the movement, or the government, or the E.U as responsible for the solution of the problems.

The third core framing task, motivational framing provides a rationale behind engaging in collective action and the construction of a vocabulary of motive. In this analysis, I focused on whether collective action has been encouraged or silenced by Greek and English newspapers. Furthermore, I identified patterns on the direction of the motivation offered. An example of this type of framing is the reproduction by the news articles of the announcements of the movement that were calling Greek and European citizens to participate in the protests held by the movement.

The frame identifications on this research have been based on the list of framing mechanisms that were identified by Tankard (2001), because he offers the most comprehensive empirical approach. More specifically, Tankard offers the following eleven framing devices:

1. Headlines

2. Subheads
3. Photos
4. Photo captions
5. Leads
6. Source selection
7. Quotes selection
8. Pull quotes
9. Logos
10. Statistics and charts
11. Concluding statements and paragraphs.

### **3.3 Sampling**

My research will focus on Greek and English newspapers framing of the Indignant Citizens movement. I focused on Greek newspapers because the Indignant Citizens movement acted in Greece, as a response to the Greek debt crisis and also because Greek is my mother tongue. I also chose to include English newspapers in this research, because I wanted to include a more European and global perspective in the research and because the English government is an important political actor in Europe. Furthermore, my ability to speak the English language made English political newspapers an obvious choice within the European media landscape. I tried to include newspapers from various parts of the political spectrum, in order to cover as many angles and frames as possible. Listed below are the newspapers I have selected from each country and their ideological orientation:

#### **Greece:**

Eleftherotypia, Ελευθεροτυπία (Centre - Left)

Kathimerini, Καθημερινή (Right Wing)

To Vima, Το Βήμα (Centrist)

#### **England**

The Guardian (Left Wing)

The Telegraph (Right Wing)

The search that was deemed to be the most reliable in bringing forward the most relevant results across the English newspapers was “Greece AND protests”, whereas in the Greek newspapers I searched for “Indignant Citizens AND protests”.

The time scope of the research spans from late May 2011 to September 2011, since it was between these months that the movement was most visible and active. Ever since, engagement with the movement has decreased both in frequency and participation, because of the eruption of violence during the protests and the declaration of elections that lead to a change of government.

Searching for articles related to the protests in Eleftherotypia, I deemed 158 articles to be relevant to the case for the time frame between 2011 – 05 – 24 to 2011 – 09 – 30. A search on Kathimerini for “Indignant Citizens AND protests” returned 70 articles that were deemed relevant to the research. A search of the newspaper To Vima for “Indignant Citizens AND protests” generated 42 articles that were deemed relevant to the study. Finally, the English newspapers that are the secondary set of data of this research generated 34 articles from the Guardian and eleven articles from the Telegraph for the time scope employed in this research.

### **3.4 Limitations**

One of the main limitations of the study has been language. As I am unable to command the German language, I could not include German newspapers in the research of the framing of the Indignant Citizens movement. Germany is one of the most, if not the most, important actors in the Greek financial crisis and an analysis of German newspapers would have been very interesting and useful, as similar researches (Mylonas 2012) have already pointed out. Despite that limitation, I hope that this research will be both valuable and inspiring.

## 4. Results

Having established the theoretical framework of the research, the results of the news frame analysis conducted on Greek and English newspapers will now be presented.

### 4.1 Eleftherotypia

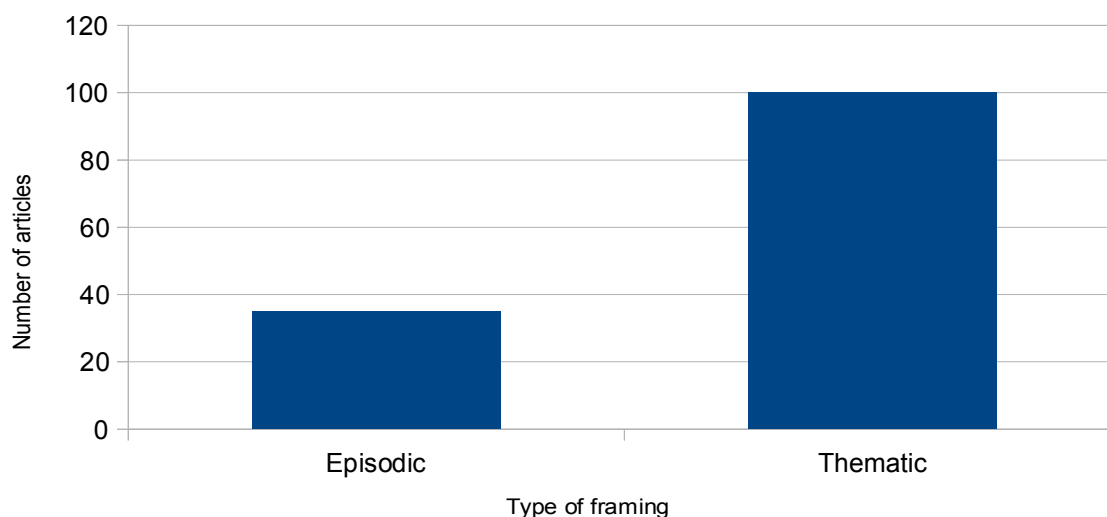
The articles used in this part of the paper can be found in the Appendix, Part 1, Section A. I will be referencing the articles only by number, instead of including the section of the Appendix that the articles come from. This will make the paper easier to go through and less clogged.

Eleftherotypia is a traditional left newspaper, however its editors often host more radical stances in their articles (huffingtonpost.com, 2012). Although the newspaper often supported the PA.SO.K party, in a number of occasions, such as in the occasion of the Indignant Citizens movement, the newspaper held a critical stance towards the party. Originally owned by its journalists, Eleftherotypia is currently owned by the Tegopoulos publications group.

Beginning with the diagnostic task of framing, I identified both thematic and episodic framing. Out of the 158 articles that were used in this research, I identified thirty six that employed episodic framing. In articles with episodic framing, the reader is presented with articles that focus more on personal protestor stories, or the different types of protesting employed by the movement. A notable article voices a nurse volunteering for the movement who goes on to state that: “I feel insecure for my daughter... I also have responsibilities. I feel bad for myself. My child accused me for voting the people I voted for” (25).

Articles focusing on the actions of the movement report: “They have set up many tents, the people's assembly will take place every day at 18.00, while they have created many civilian teams” (16), or that “they have decided in their public assembly, to escalate their actions on June 15, the day of the general strike, when they plan to circle the Parliament, during the parliamentary hearing about the law plan of the mid-term memorandum” (80). Furthermore, episodic framing is being used on the articles that cover the more violent turns of the movement. Notable articles describing violence report: “In the lower edge of Syntagma clashes between teams and riot police forces took place. The atmosphere was suffocating from the widespread use of chemicals” (92). Another article is reporting on an incident involving members of the movement and members of the Greek and European parliament: “Their withdrawal from the restaurant they were dining, was seen by part of

Indignant Citizens, who jeered and insulted them. According to some MPs some stones were thrown at them, and the authorities had to use a... fishing boat to securely remove them from the restaurant” (45). Finally, another notable article reports on the throwing of eggs towards ministers of the government: “Chants, irony, open palm gestures and eggs chaperoned the passing of the cars of the ministers” (100).



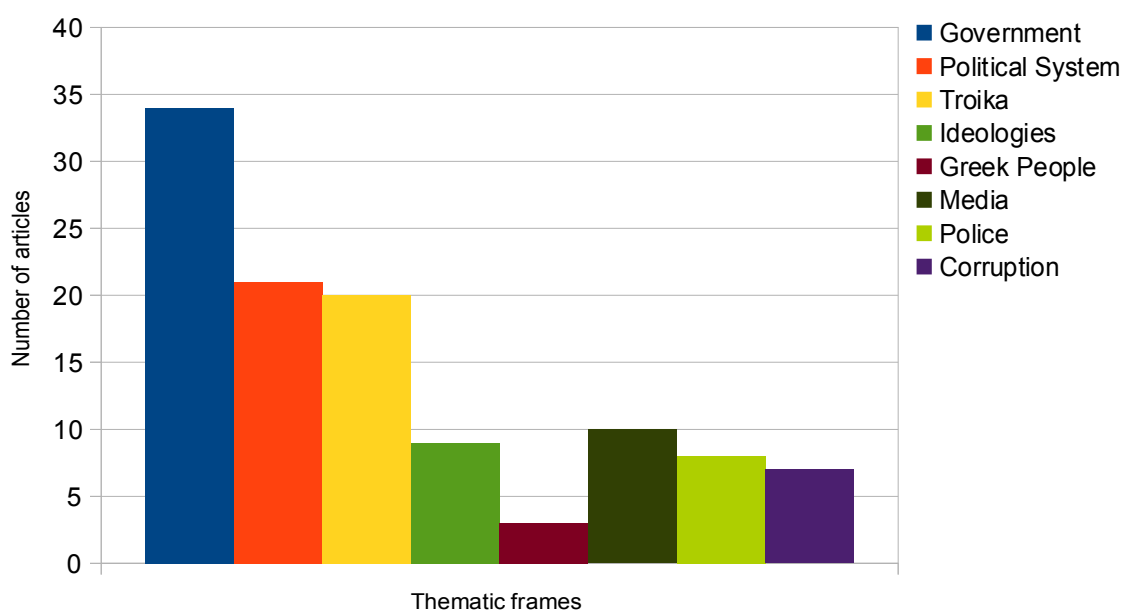
**GRAPH 1: Episodic – Thematic framing in Eleftherotypia**

Thematic diagnostic frameworks are a lot more frequent in Eleftherotypia during the specified date range. A number of different sources are identified as part of the problem that the Indignant Citizens Movement is addressing. Eleftherotypia has given a lot of voice to the movement and the protestors, thus the movement's framing of who or what is the problem has been given a lot of space in the articles. Thirty four of the articles frame the Social – Democratic government of the time and its failures as the main reason behind the protests. In these articles, the economic measures being taken are seen as an act of the government, suggesting that a different government would negotiate for better terms with the creditors of the country. However, in twenty one articles the Greek political system is framed as a whole to be the problem. In this articles, the current political system is framed as unable to give solutions to the crisis, as it is seen as one of the main reasons for its creation in the first place. Adding to this framework, is the framing of political corruption, that does not discriminate between parties and politicians, but views all of them as equally involved in it.

The creditors of the country, which is the collaborating troika of the International Monetary Fund and the European Union, are also framed as part of the problem in twenty of the articles. This framing views the troika as having a direct role in the creation of the global economic crisis that is affecting Greece (31), as addressing the problem of the economical crisis with the wrong set of measures (21), but also as imposing really harsh measures on Greece, in exchange for loans (40).

One article (116) frames Germany and France as the countries that are pushing for the measures. Part of the framing that acknowledges factors of the problem that are not directly linked with Greece focuses on the memorandum of understanding signed between the Greek government and the troika and the political ideologies that shape the memorandum. The memorandum is framed as an agreement that pushes Greek people to poverty (34) and the main political ideologies that are framed as guiding it are austerity (24) and neoliberalism (94, 112).

Other parts of the problem that are framed in Eleftherotipia are the media and more specifically television stations that are viewed as covering the protests in a sensational manner. Furthermore, systemic issues of the Greek state are also framed as part of the problem. Such issues address the clientistic character of the state (56, 67), the dependency of the private sector of the economy to the state (56), the inefficiency of the public sector (26) and the severe unemployment issues that trouble the workforce (71). Furthermore, some of the thematic framing acknowledges the shortcomings of the Greek citizens as part of the problem. For example the lack of reactions of a large part of the citizens that were benefiting from the state in the last twenty years (40, 105) and the government framing of the movement as a “threat to tourism” (138).



Graph 2: Thematic frames in Eleftherotipia

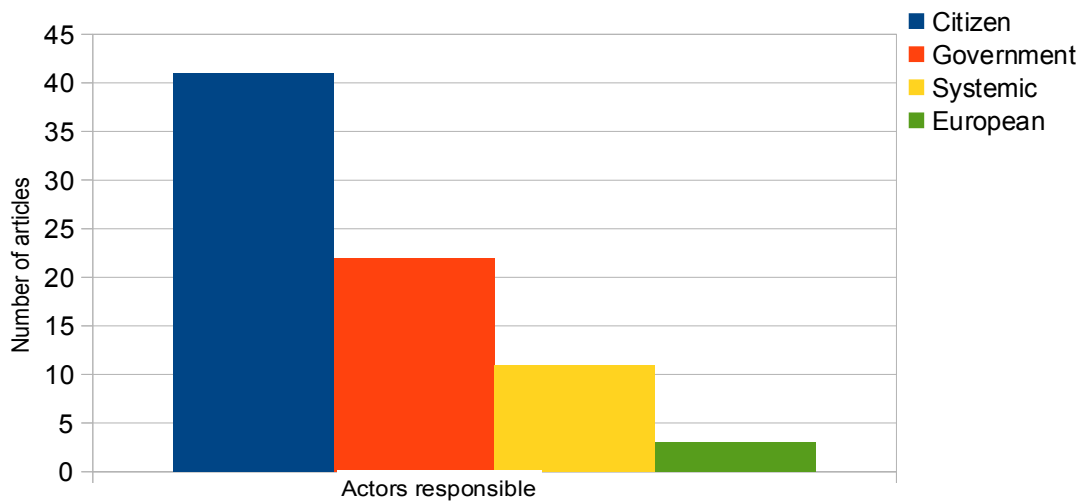
Moving on to prognostic frameworks there are three different sources of solutions identified in the articles of Eleftherotipia. These sources are either citizen and movement related, government and political system related and larger systemic changes. The movement itself is viewed as a possible actor that can bring solutions to the problems. The movement is viewed as responsible for bringing solutions in a number of ways. A notable article is proposing that the solutions will emerge though

the deliberations within the movement by noting that: “The only way out is the public debate that is already taking place in the squares and continues in the internet” (76). Another article sees the movement as a vehicle of pressure to the politicians. More specifically the article claims that: “The pressure that the government gets by its own MPs for less harsh economic measures have a direct link to the Indignant Citizens. Even the reactions – friendly or not – of the opposition parties show that the people gathering in the main squares of major cities affect everything that's happening and mostly is about to happen” (83).

The framing that views government action as a solution to the problem can be divided in the following sub – frames. The most common prognostic framing regarding government action suggests that the solution is the resignation of the government and the declaration of elections. This type of framing suggests that the government has lost popular support, as it becomes evident from the mass protests and should resign. Similar to this framing are the articles that are calling for the holding of a referendum regarding the voting of the second set of austerity measures (44, 61, 85), for a cabinet reshuffle (31, 91) or for the creation of a coalition government with every party that supports the new measures (8, 31, 77). Finally, another prognostic frame suggests that the government meets and deliberates with the Indignant Citizens movement (56).

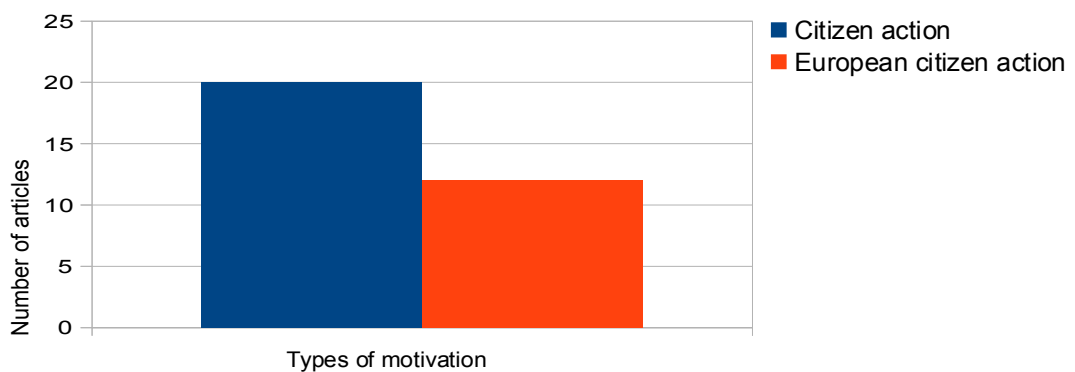
Another type of prognostic framing regards larger systemic changes that are proposed as solutions. Such solutions are the rejection of neoliberalism as a model of governance (18, 76, 157) and the need for reforms in the political and economical system of Greece. The actor responsible for these systemic changes is the Greek political system, but the need for a different government is made clear. A notable article calls for the creation of a left cooperation government, voicing the leader of the SY.RIZ.A party (86), whereas another one highlights the need for the creation of new political parties by people who were not involved in politics so far (139). Finally, three of the articles (54, 94, 116), mention the E.U as a possible actor of solutions, by changes in the policies and the ideologies it suggests.





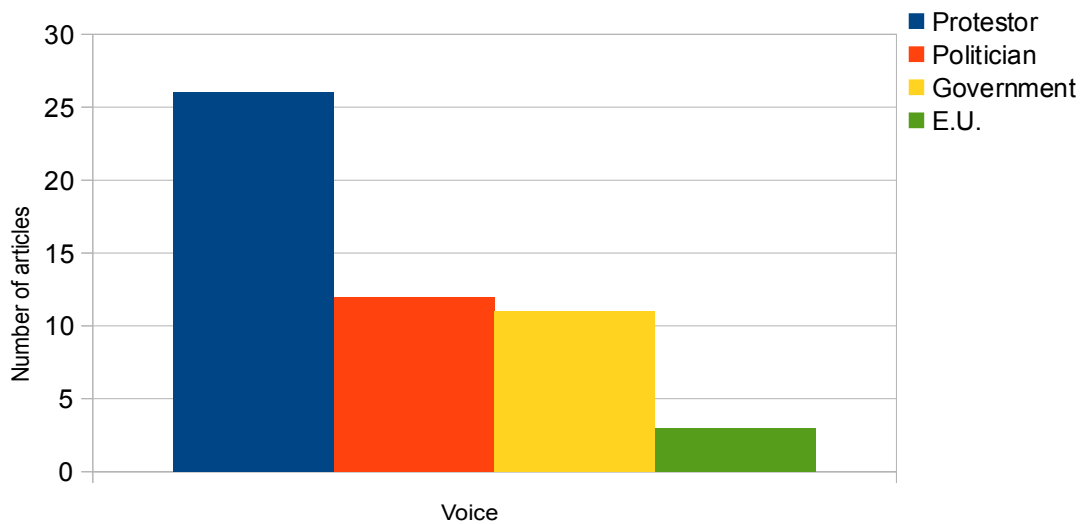
Graph 3: Prognostic frames in Eleftherotypia

Moving on to motivational framing, I have identified two different frames. One of them is calling for citizen action within Greece and another is calling for citizen action on a European and global level. A notable article including motivational framing reports that: “They unite their voices and strength, determined not to let the firestorm of the mid-term memorandum to pass and stating in every way their lack of trust to the current government” (105). Furthermore, the calls of the movement towards European citizens are also reported: “Greeks, Europeans, citizens of this planet align with us” (107).



Graph 4: Motivational framing in Eleftherotypia

Focusing in on **Research Question 3**, there are a number of different voices that are given space in the articles of Eleftherotypia. Most articles featured opinions of the protestors themselves, whereas a lot articles gave voice to politicians of the opposition or of the government. Finally, in some cases the opinion of E.U politicians was included.

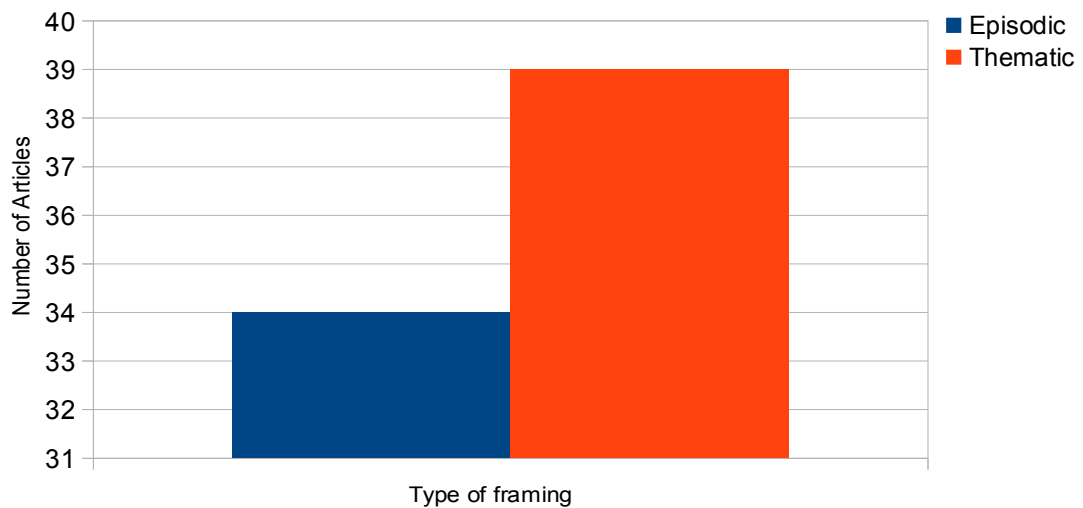


Graph 5: Voice allocation in Eleftherotypia

Notable articles that give voice to the protestors, include opinions posted online in the facebook group and the website of the movement (16, 22, 154), whereas the stories that the protestors share have already been mentioned on the thematic and episodic diagnostic frames that I mentioned before. The articles that include government opinions vary from “understanding the insecurity of the citizens” (20) and “sympathizing with the agony of the citizens that is being expressed through peaceful demonstrations” (38) to “fear about the movement turning into an undemocratic direction” (43) and “not knowing whether movements like that have any future” (116). One notable article is telling of the voice given to the different political parties with politicians from all four party members of the parliament being included (20).

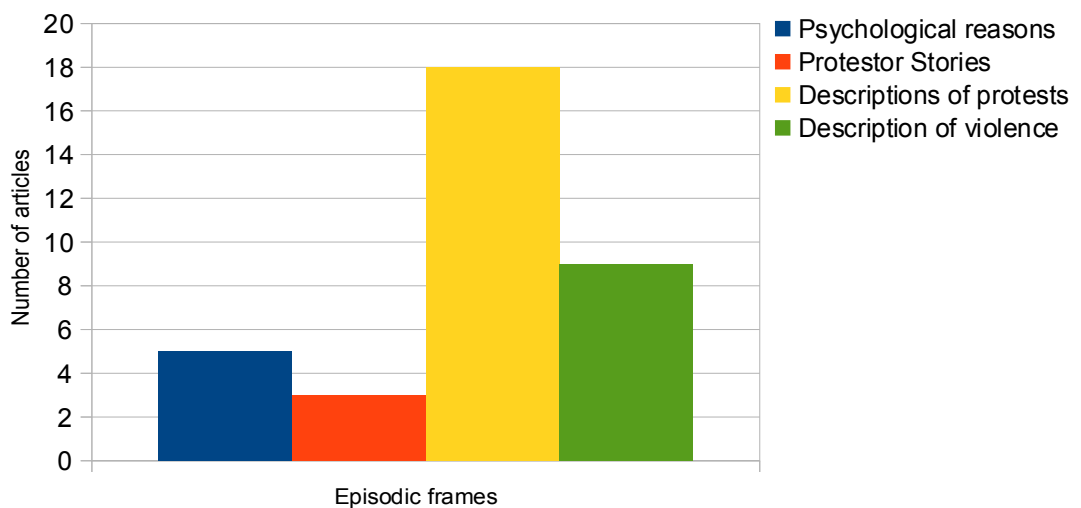
#### 4.2 Kathimerini (Καθημερινή)

Kathimerini is a conservative center-right newspaper (nytimes.com, 2012), owned by the Alafouzou Publishing group that usually supports the conservative Nea Dimokratia party. The newspaper framing focuses on the faults of the political system and the government that have led to the protests, however it does not treat the movement as something that can produce viable solutions. In fact, in a number of articles, that will be presented later, the newspaper is playing down the importance of the movement as anything else than a conduit for the expression of public outrage.



Graph 6: Episodic-Thematic framing in Kathimerini

In this part of the paper I will be referring to articles from the Section B of the Appendix. Beginning with diagnostic elements, I have identified examples of thematic and episodic frameworks in this search result as well. The majority of episodic news stories are short and focus on descriptions of the protests, the assemblies and the different types of people that are engaging with the movement. Other episodic framing is focusing on describing the occurrences of violence during protests of the movement. Furthermore, in this newspaper we also find episodic framing that focuses on specific protestor stories. One notable article is focusing on protestor views about the future of the movement that are both negative and positive. For example two protestors are voiced in that article with the one claiming that “the chants that we are hearing since yesterday are out of target and out of date” and another stating that “these people regain their dignity without hurting our city, thus winning over the city and its citizens” (7). Another article is focusing on describing the different groups of peoples that can be met in the protests, highlighting their different reasons on engaging with the movement and their ideological differences (11). Further episodic diagnostic framing is focusing on the psychological reasons behind the protests. Notable articles with this type of framing recognize the reasons for the protests as a “popular guilt for not protesting before” (2), a humorous and peaceful reaction (4) or just an emotional outbreak (32).



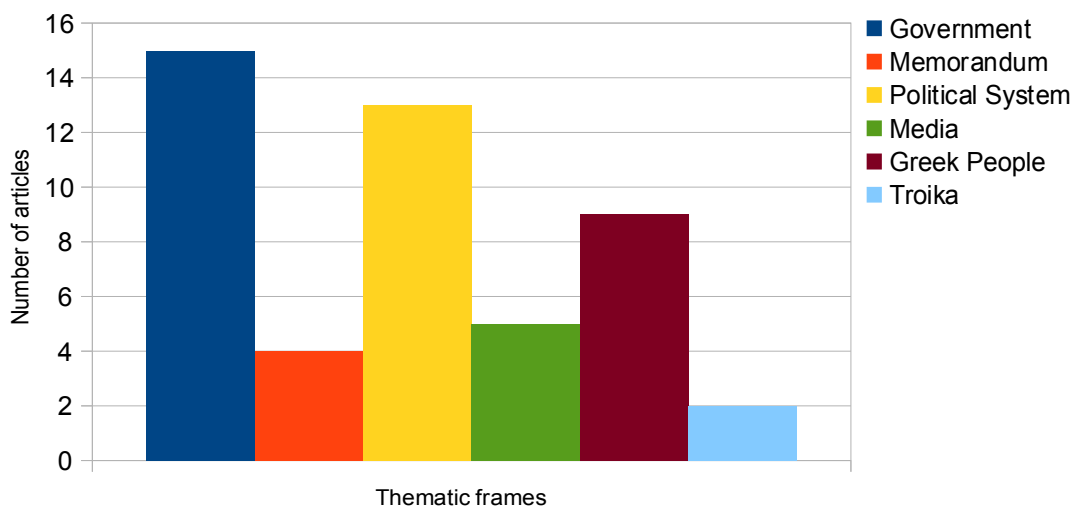
Graph 7: Episodic frames in Kathimerini

Moving on with thematic diagnostic framing. The government, the memorandum signed with the creditors and the political system as a whole are framed as the problems that are leading citizens to mobilize through the Indignant Citizens movement. However, the memorandum is usually framed alongside the government, thus putting the blame on the government for the signing of the agreement and for lying to the people before it got elected. This is notable in a couple of the articles. For example the protests of the movement are described as “a gathering of moderates hurt by the measures of the memorandum..... that voted for a government that promised that “there are money” only to expose a huge debt” (3). The government is also framed as posing blackmailing dilemmas to the people with the memorandum as a necessary evil on the one hand and bankruptcy of the country on the other (5). The political system is framed as “tired” (6), “collapsing” (12) and the political leaders of the parties are framed as caring more for their supporters than the people as a whole (14).

Another element of diagnostic thematic framing is focusing on the Greek people and certain traits and habits of them that are described as part of the problem. For example people are viewed to be participating in the movement because “they were born and raised in the world of the fake prosperity of loans, learned to see it as normal and now they don't like at all its end” (20), or because they were “clients of a system that worked with loans and not citizens. And they are having trouble, or don't want to change” (29). Furthermore, corruption is framed as the fault of the people who benefited from political clientism, and not of the politicians that provided it. A notable article mentions that the pensioners that are participating in the movement and protest the pension cuts are aged 50, meaning that they benefited from the state by getting an early retirement not available to non corrupted citizens (33). Also one of the articles mentioned that “in democracies after all, the people don't get leaders better or worse that they deserve, but leaders also have the people they

deserve” (35).

The final type of diagnostic thematic framing is focused on systemic and institutional causes to the problem as for example the media and the big and inefficient state. Notable articles that mention media and more specifically television as part of the problem focus on its tendency to focus on “cheap spectacles” (14) or to promote “the more paranoid positions and demands” (35). Finally, the source of the economic troubles of the Greek citizens is framed as the “bloated state” (30), or the “institutional labyrinth that protects the parties that consist it from the competition of new powers, while securing perfect immunity to its members” (35).

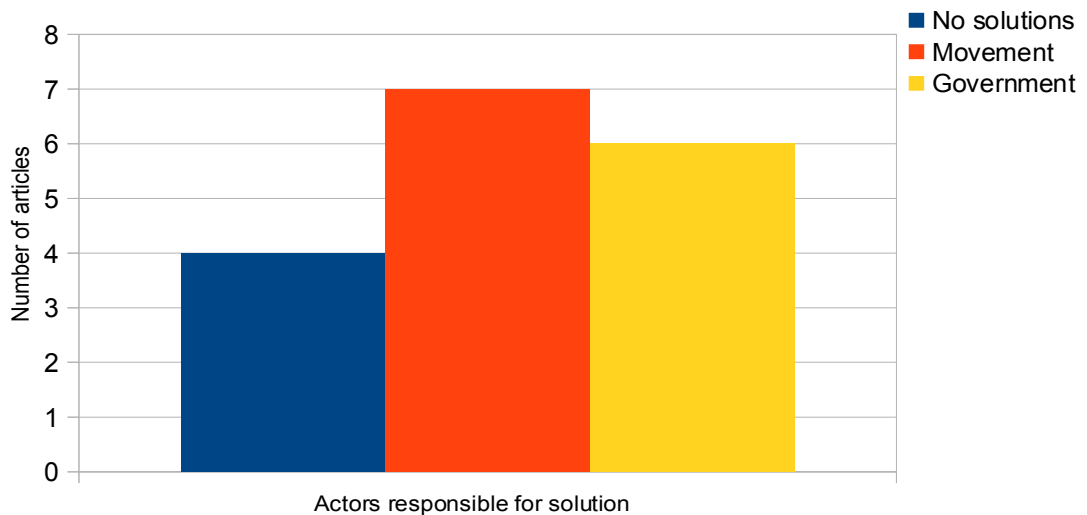


Graph 8: Thematic frames in Kathimerini

Moving on to prognostic framing I have identified two types of frames. One includes solutions that are directly related with the movement's actions and the other relates to solutions that are dependent on the actions of the government and the political system. Beginning with the framing that examines the types of solutions the movement can offer Kathimerini views the movement more as a conduit for the anger of the Greek citizens than as a vehicle of change. This becomes evident in articles that state that the movement “does not give a solution” (3) or that “when they realize that this has no results they will go back in their shells” (14) . The movement is seen as able to influence political procedures only by “sending a message to the politicians behind the closed windows of the parliament” (15) or by “turning pathos into logos, in specific suggestions” (7). The movements pursuits of deliberative and direct democracy were either covered in an episodic manner or briefly mentioned in a few articles (53, 62).

Prognostic framing in Kathimerini views the government and the official political organizations as responsible for finding and executing solutions to the problems. More specifically the government

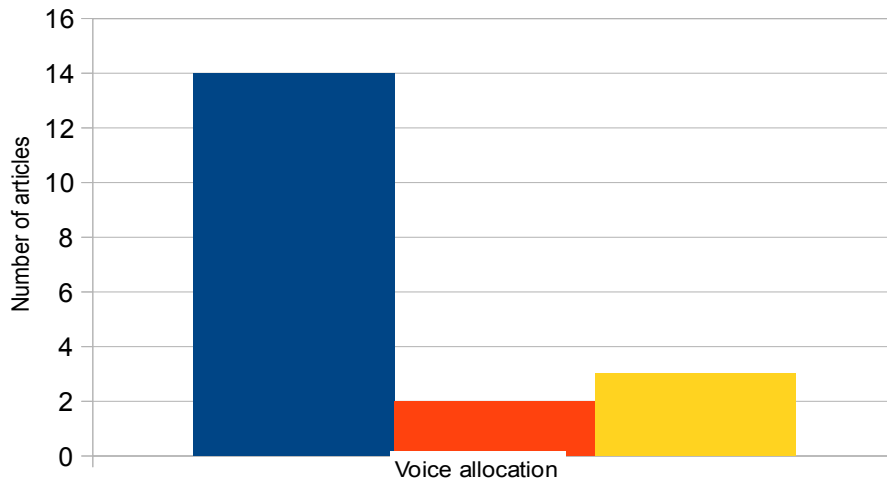
is seen as having the options to either deliberate with the movement and try and appease the citizens that are in disagreement with the measures (49) or directly proceed to more socially just measures (9), resign and lead the country to elections (5), or proceed in the creation of a cooperation government with all the parties that support the need for reforms within the Eurozone (29).



Graph 9: Prognostic frames in Kathimerini

Regarding the matter of voice the news frame analysis of Kathimerini provides some interesting insights. Voice in Kathimerini in some cases is being used to stress the difference of opinions between the people participating in the protests, giving out the look of a fractured movement without certain goals and expectations. For example protestors are commenting on the fractured geography of the movement claiming that “if the upper square is somewhat empty, is because the people that were gathering there wanted more to lash out that do something more” (63), whereas other protestors are commending on the fractured character of the movement mentioning that “there is no point in just standing in front of the parliament. This is just where the mob gathers and blows off steam. The real game is played out in the square where the assemblies are taking place” (23).

Government officials are given voice in a couple of instances (24, 31) in order to comment on attacks that they received from members of the movement, whereas commends by politicians of the opposition are also included on these episodes (24). The mayors of Athens and Thessaloniki are also given voice when describing the damages caused in Syntagma square caused by riots during a demonstration of the movement (60) and when talking about the upcoming demonstrations of the movement in Thessaloniki (70). Voice is also given to store and hotel owners from Syntagma square in order to get opinions about the movement from people that are not participating but are affected from the movement (36, 39). Both positive and negative opinions are included in those articles.

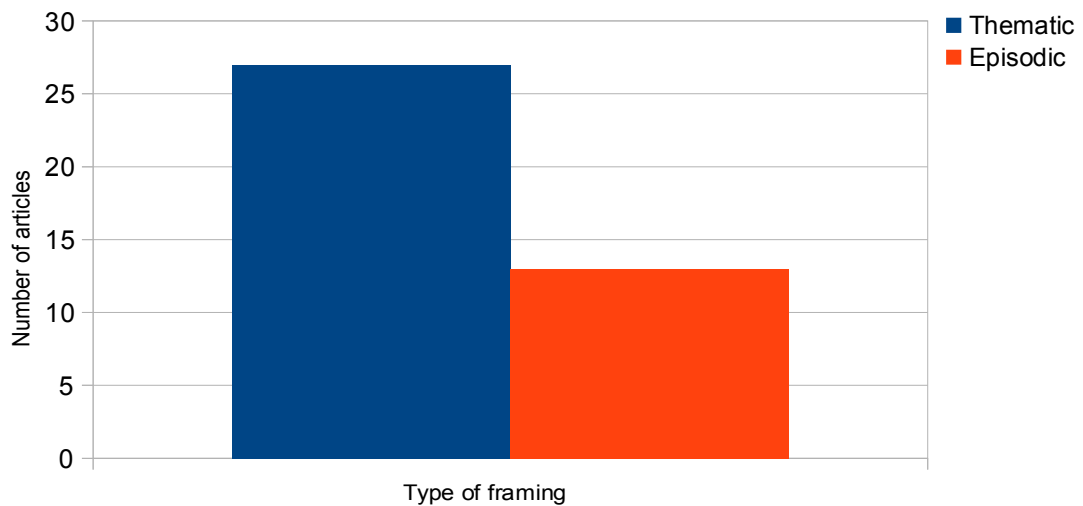


Graph 10: Voice in Kathimerini

### 4.3 To Vima (Το Βήμα)

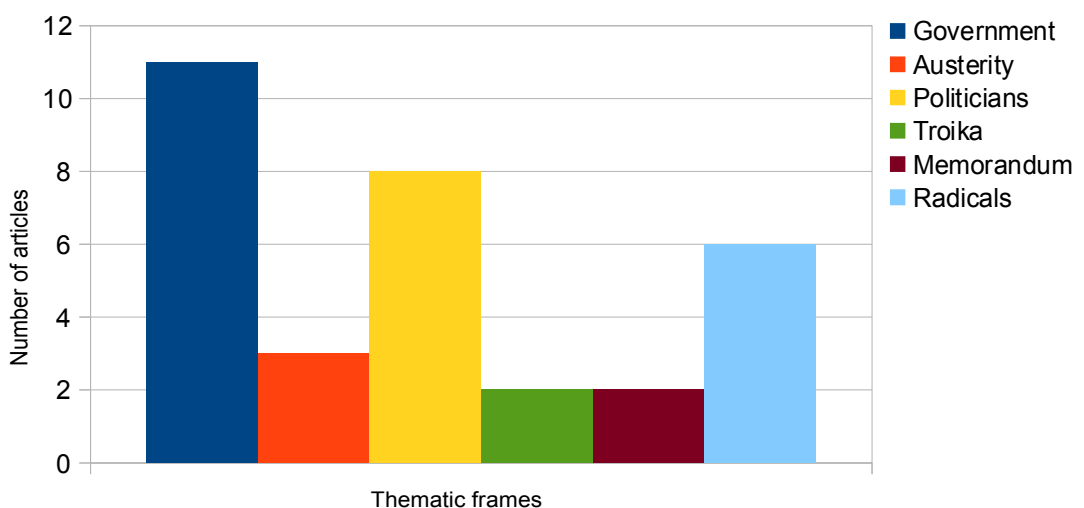
The articles listed in this section can be found in Section C of the Appendix.

To Vima is published by the Lambrakis Press Group and is aligned with the reformist wing of the PA.SO.K party, having a center-left approach (presseurop.eu, 2012). What is really striking in my analysis of this newspaper is that there appear to be two different types of framing going on with the passing of the second memorandum of agreement between the Greek government and the troika being the point where the framing changed. Most of the framing before the passing of the measures and the vote of the confidence that the PA.SO.K government secured was friendly to the movement and framed the government as the main problem mobilizing the protests. After the vote of confidence the government is seen as victorious and even as holding the solution to the problems, whereas the framing on the movement is focusing on violent incidents and on its fractured character. One reading that can explain this peculiarity is the state of the PA.SO.K party that this newspaper is affiliated with. Before the securing of the vote of confidence and the following reshuffling of the cabinet, the government was weak and fragile and the various factions within the party were contemplating a change of leadership within the party. However, after the government survived the passing of the austerity measures package and satisfied the party factions by appointing Evangelos Venizelos as the minister of Economy, PA.SO.K showed a united front and a willingness to turn things around (Reuters.com, 2011).



Graph 11: Episodic-Thematic framing in To Vima

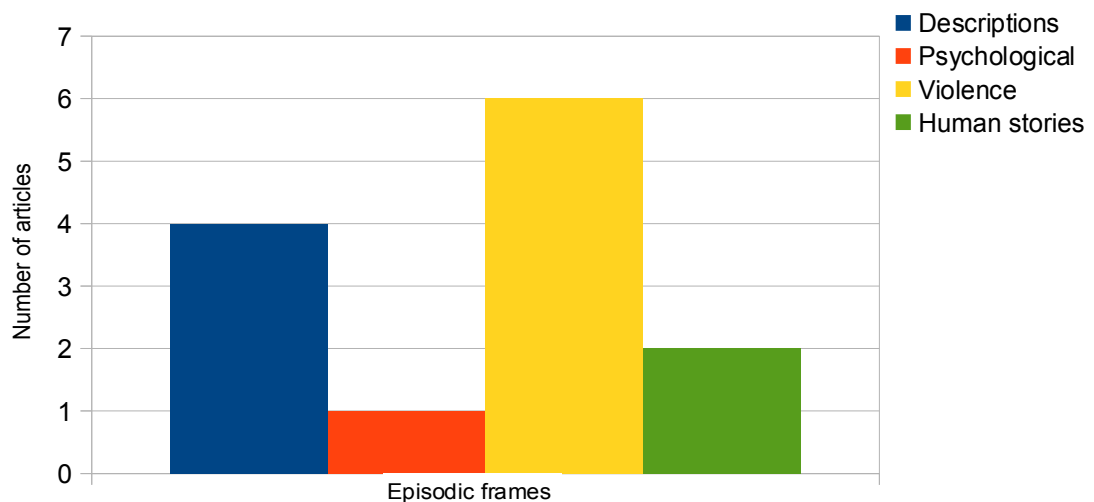
Beginning with diagnostic elements, there are both thematic and episodic frames found in the sample. Again, the differences in approach are evident in this framing as well, with the main body of thematic framing being in the timeline before the vote of confidence and the main body of episodic framing after. Regarding thematic framing there are different themes emerging. These themes frame the government as the main problem or politicians as a whole. Other themes that are not met so often as the two main ones are framing the global financial crisis, austerity as an ideology of dealing with the crisis, the troika and the memorandum. The framing of the government presents the movement as being mobilized by the dealing of the crisis by the government (2), whereas in a notable article the government is presents as “lacking any credibility” (5). Politicians are framed as corrupt (11) and “clinging to their golden chairs” (20). However, after the government secured the vote of confidence, thematic framing is focused on the movement itself. The movement is seen as infested with left and right wing extremists as a hinderance to the influx of tourists (30) and finally as a movement that seeks to bring down representative democracy (33).



Graph 12: Thematic frames in To Vima



Episodic framing of the protests before the securing of the vote of confidence by the government is not as common as after. The main episodic articles focus on descriptions of the protests and the public assemblies and the psychological reasons behind the protests. A notable article mentions that the people protesting with the movement are “indifferent to politics, but now feeling threatened feel the need to demonstrate peacefully”. After the government secured the vote of confidence in the parliament episodic framing is focused on the violent outbreaks of the movement, and the description of the various riots and clashes with the police or on descriptions of the different types of people participating in the protests. The articles focusing on the protestors are presenting an orthodox priest with debatable ideas about the movement (37) and on people conversing in a cafe about the movement and having really different opinions and admitting to having participated in corruption in the past (42). These articles, in my opinion are undermining the credibility of the movement and of the people participating in it.

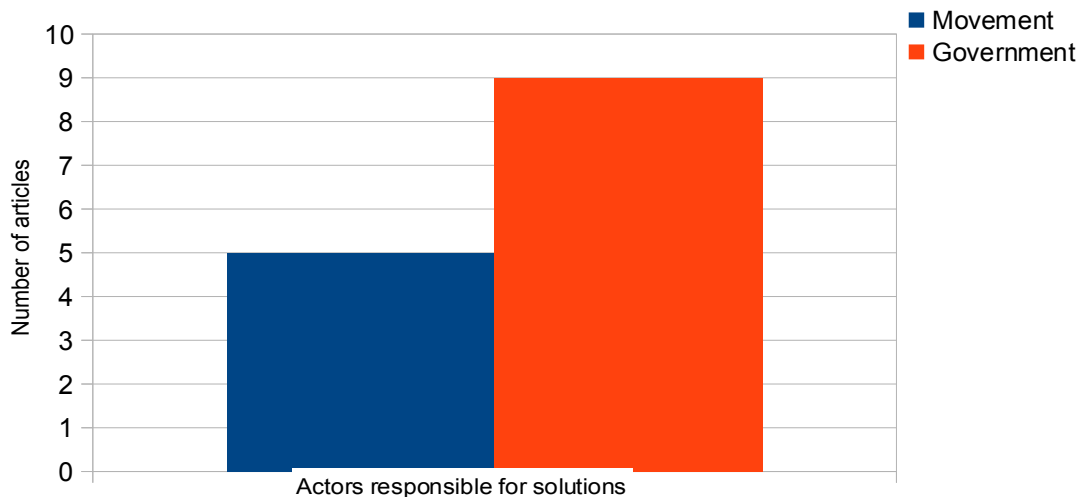


Graph 13: Episodic framing in To Vima

Moving on to prognostic framing again there is a difference in framing before and after the securing of vote of confidence by the government. There are solutions that the Indignant Citizens movement is seen as engaged in them and solutions that put the responsibility on the government. The movement is seen as a tool for applying pressure to the government (5) and as a way of proposing solutions that will lead to a complete change of the Greek economic system (10). Citizen action and engagement with the protests on a national (11) and European level (9, 10) is seen as a positive change that will bring forward ideas for the new way of structuring Greece and Europe. Direct democracy is mentioned in one of the articles and is seen as the will of the movement and the people in general (14).

Regarding the solutions that are dependent on the government and its actions the government is

urged to resign and call for elections in two articles (5, 14), whereas in another article (14) the government is called to listen to the protests and deliberate with the protestors and focus on coming up with a different set of measures (16). However, after the government managed to secure the vote of confidence from the parliament, the framing of the solutions changed. The second memorandum voted by the parliament is now framed as an opportunity to reform the state and change the course of the country (30, 33), whereas politicians are framed as responsible for cooperating in order to isolate the radical elements of society that want to overthrow democracy (32).



Graph 14: Prognostic framing in To Vima

Some motivational framing was identified in the articles of the newspaper To Vima. European and Greek citizens are motivated to support the movement of Indignant Citizens by participating in the demonstrations of the movement in Greece (13) and the other European capitals (8). However, after the eruption of violence in some of the protests of the movement the motivational framing of the newspaper calls for the participations of citizens in the demonstrations in a peaceful manner (15, 25, 26).

Focusing on the matter of voice most articles before the government secured the vote of confidence gave voice to protestors. Most of the protestors voiced in the articles give positive impressions about their engagement with the movement. However, again the vote of confidence caused a radical change in this aspect as well. Voice was only given once after the vote of confidence to people that own stores in Syntagma square, who gave both positive and negative views about the movement (36).

#### **4.4 Comparing the framing of the Greek newspapers**

In this part of the paper there will be a short comparative analysis between the findings of the Greek newspapers. Beginning with episodic diagnostic framing, it is striking that Kathimerini is the newspaper that employs this framing the most, with the number of articles with episodic frames being almost equal to the ones with thematic. It is also worth noting, that thematic framing was prevalent in all of the newspapers.

Moving on to thematic frames, again Kathimerini differs from the other two newspapers by employing a framing of the flaws of the Greek people as part of the problem. This frame is also found in To Vima, in less frequency though, whereas in Eleftherotypia it is completely absent.

Regarding prognostic framing, Eleftherotypia is the newspaper with the most framing of the movement as a possible actor in the solutions of the problems, whereas Kathimerini employs a frame that sees the movement as not being able to have any participation in the solutions. Furthermore, whenever Kathimerini is using framing that sees the movement as having a role in the solutions, the movement is usually framed merely as an instrument of political pressure. In this way, Kathimerini is reducing the importance of the movement and it frames it as a simple conduit of popular frustration.

Eleftherotypia and To Vima both contain elements of motivational framing, whereas Kathimerini does not employ this dimension of framing at all. At the same time, Eleftherotypia and Kathimerini give a lot of space to voices, whereas To Vima has the least amount of voice. Eleftherotypia is the newspaper that gives the most amount of voice to the protestors, but Kathimerini also has a majority of articles that allocate voice to actors of the movement, allowing the reader to hear the opinions of the people engaged with the Indignant Citizens movement.

#### **4.5 The English newspapers**

In this part of the paper the analysis of the two English newspapers, The Guardian and The Telegraph will be presented. It is worth noting, that the English press is secondary data in this research with the Greek newspapers being the primary data.

The first British newspaper is the Guardian, a center-left newspaper ([guardian.co.uk](http://guardian.co.uk), 2004) owned solely by the Scott Trust that seeks to “safeguard the journalistic freedom and liberal values of the

Guardian” (gmgplc.co.uk, 2013). The Guardian's framing of the Indignant Citizens movement is focusing on thematic frames, mainly identifying austerity as an ideology behind the measures as the main problem. Furthermore the framing of the Guardian puts the problems that lead to the creation of the movement in a more European perspective, thus allowing the reader to relate more with the case and not treat it as something happening in a faraway land that has no repercussions in British everyday life. The second British newspaper analyzed is the Telegraph, a conservative right wing newspaper (bbc.co.uk, 2004) and its currently owned by the Barclay brothers. The Telegraph, employs relatively more episodic framing, “drowning” the protests in economical and political analyses. However, the thematic frames are mostly targeting the E.U and the common currency, thus framing the movement in an Eurosceptic tone.

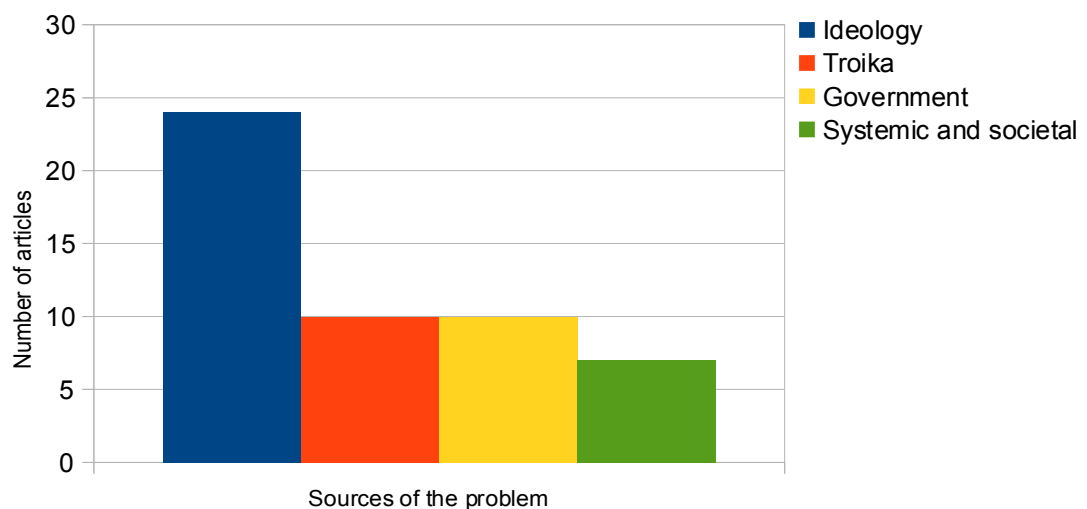
The articles of the Guardian can be found in Section D of the Appendix.

Beginning with diagnostic elements I was able to identify both episodic and thematic frames. The majority of the framing in The Guardian is thematic. Only six of the articles encountered covered the movement in an episodic way. More specifically thematic framing either “drowned out” the protests of the movement in a series of economic and political analyses (2), or focused on more specific issues such as the anger of the protestors (4), tourist descriptions of the protesting Athens (17), the riots and clashes between protestors and police (27) and describing the upcoming actions of the movement.

There is a lot of thematic framing on the Guardian, however there is a telling difference between this newspaper and the Greek newspapers. More specifically, the themes identified in the Guardian are similar to the ones identified in the Greek newspapers, however, the themes focusing on the E.U , the troika and the general ideologies behind the measures are more frequent than those focusing on the shortcomings of the Greek government.

Thematic frames identifying the problem in actors and reasons lying outside Greece focus on the ideologies of austerity or neoliberalism and the troika. A notable article mentions that “Greeks are now increasingly convinced that austerity measures are making the plight of the country worse” (35), whereas neoliberalism described as a “monster” or a “Lernaean Hydra” that “is not a myth but a reality” (30). The E.U is described as having an “absence of strategy” (29), whereas the policies of the troika are seen as having lead Greece to a “loss of sovereignty that has turned the country into a neocolonial fiefdom of bankers, and the destruction of democracy” (8).

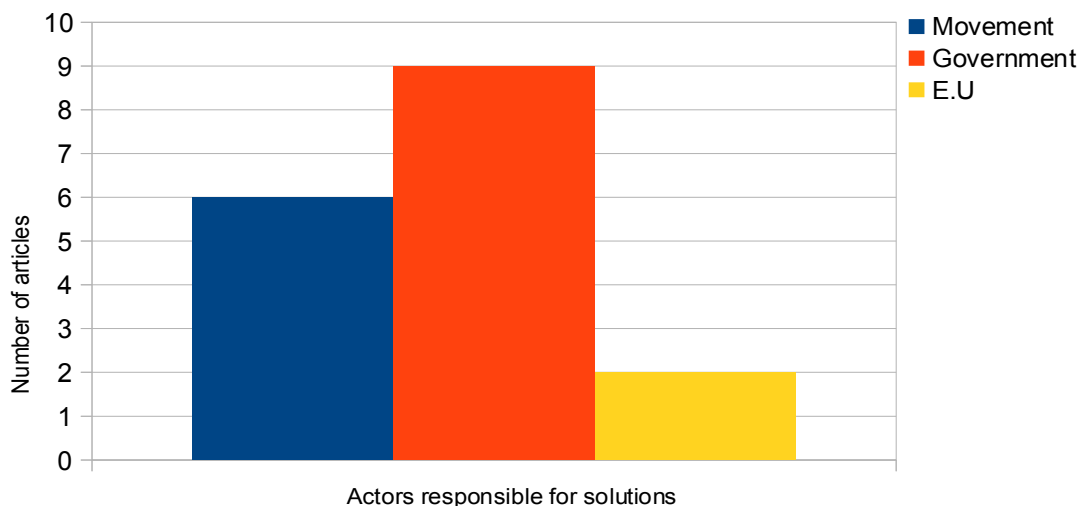
Off course, there is thematic framing identifying the source of the problem in the Greek state and society. These frames focus on the Greek government or political system, or on problems within the Greek society and economy. Finally, there are frames focusing on systemic issues regarding the Greek media and the excessive use of force by the police. Frames that focus on the government and the political system describe the government as “increasingly having characteristics of authoritarian regimes” (31), whereas the political system is blamed for lying to the people about the situation of the country (22), not including them in the decision making processes (17) or being to heavily vested with unions and interests (11). Corruption (14) and tax evasion (17) are framed as problems within Greek society, whereas the ineffective public sector is framed as one of the problems of the Greek economy (5). The media are described as “owned by a small group of entrepreneurs, presenting the government's proposals as the only solution, even after it was made clear that these measures would increase the debt rather than decrease it” (31).



Graph 15: Thematic frames in The Guardian

Moving on to prognostic frames in The Guardian I identified three frames that recognize solutions coming from the movement or the government or the European Union. The movement is seen able to produce solutions by applying pressure to the government (8), either by taking legal action against MP's who are going to vote for the measures (6) or by causing the resignation of the government (10). Deliberation between the members of the movement in order to produce solutions is also seen as a possible plan of action in some of the articles (8, 22, 30). The government is seen as responsible for solving the problems by following different plans of action. Some of the articles are asking the government to hold a referendum regarding the passing of the new unpopular measures (5, 9, 15) in order to include the people in the decision making process and overcome the democratic deficit. Other articles (7, 22) are calling for elections. However, there is a different

course of action included in some of the articles, that does not see the replacement of the government as possible or desirable. In these articles the government is seen as able to solve the problems by negotiating with the creditors in order to secure more socially just measures (12), or to unilaterally propose a different set of reforms (24, 25). Finally, there are articles that view the E.U as the one that should take action by proposing more just policies such as an inclusion of the banks in the sharing of the burden of the Greek debt (14) or by changing their policies to more growth friendly one's (28).



Graph 16: Prognostic framing in The Guardian

Finally, in the Guardian a lot of voice was given to different actors both from the movement and from the government. Protestors and union members were allocated a lot of space in the articles of The Guardian, both describing the movement and its goals and their experiences from the protests. Some of the articles included expert opinions by political analysts (26) and economists (17) that described the political and economical framework that the movement was working with.

Finally, voice was given to Greek and European politicians. Among Greek politicians members of the left parties (23, 26, 29, 33) and the government (26, 28) were given voice, but there was no voice given to members of the right conservative parties. Among European politicians voice was given only to the chancellor of Germany, Merkel (19) and to European politicians, such as Olli Rehn (1), Jose Manuel Barroso and Herman Van Rompuy (26).

Moving on to the articles of The Telegraph, that can be found in the Section E of the Appendix, I was able to identify both episodic and thematic framing regarding the movement. Beginning with episodic frames a lot of the articles seem to drown the protests within economical and political analyses (6, 7, 8) or with descriptions of clashes of members of the movement with the police (11).

Moving on with thematic diagnostic frames austerity and the E.U are the main sources of the problem identified from The Telegraph, which seems to have an obvious Eurosceptic approach. Austerity is framed as being pushed towards the Greek government and the citizens by the E.U, whereas the E.U is framed as having democratic deficits (3), a faulty common currency (3, 7) and trying to put the burden of its mistakes on the European taxpayers (5). Other thematic framing involves blaming Greece for its own problems describing it as “spectacularly unproductive, it has lived on credit for years” (4). Another notable article mentions that the measures proposed by the E.U are based on false premises: “In their imaginary world, Greece has now turned the corner. Tax evasion will stop. Public expenditure will fall. Privatization will bring in an extraordinary €50 billion. The county’s creditors will be satisfied, and Greece will return to growth. In the real world, none of these things will happen – certainly not while Greece remains caged by the euro” (5).

The articles of The Telegraph do not include a lot of prognostic framing. The main solution put forward by the newspaper are either political or economical, whereas the movement is not seen as having any say in the proceedings. The most common solution put forward involves Greece leaving the common currency, in order to be able to devalue its national currency (3, 5, 7), whereas another solution is vested in the German voters rejecting the union, thus leading to its collapse.

Regarding the issue of voice, most of the space allocated to it in the articles involved politicians and experts, whereas citizen voice was only given in one of the articles. In the articles that included opinions of the politicians, it was only politicians of the Greek government or the Prime Minister himself speaking (2, 10), whereas in other articles voice was given either to a banker who argued against the common currency (7) or to a Greek journalist who comments on the state of the Greek citizens after the voting of the second memorandum (9). The only article that includes citizen voice is focusing on the difficulties that the austerity measures caused in their daily lives and their opinions over who is to blame for this situation (9).

Comparing the framing of the two English newspapers, it is obvious that they have very different viewpoints on the Indignant Citizens movement. Whereas The Guardian is allocating a lot of space to the movement, its actions and the protestors, The Telegraph is focusing mainly on the political and economic facts, with very little reporting on the social side of the protests.

Using the results and the discussions from this part of the paper I will now proceed to incorporate my news frame analysis insights, with the theoretical framework of the paper and most importantly

with the civic cultures framework of Dahlgren (2009). The goal of the next part is to generate a relevant discussion about Greece and social justice.



## **5. Discussion**

In this section, I will be discussing the research findings, through the theoretical framework of Dahlgren's civic cultures I will be reviewing my research findings and generating a discussion about the role of media in democracy and participation.

### **5.1 Knowledge**

The aspect of knowledge focuses on the ability of the citizens to access information as well as acquire and interpret it. Information is regarded to be crucial in the process of political participation. The news frame analysis conducted points to a number of different views and perspectives of the Indignant Citizens movement both on Greek and English newspapers. However, there is a tendency for the press to focus framing the problem itself, rather than the solutions. While there is a multitude of reading available regarding the underlying reasons behind the economical, social and political crisis which lead to citizen participation in the Indignant Citizens movement, there are not so many solutions offered. Although the debate regarding the problems is important, the lack of various solutions offered, and the negative reaction of some of the newspapers regarding the ability of the movement to produce solutions, disempowers the citizens and deters them from further participation. As was already established in the theoretical framework part of this research, the media can distort knowledge and ultimately serve elite interests through that distortion. In the case of the Indignant Citizens movement the silencing of the solutions offered by the movement to the problems, serves in strengthening the role of the political elites as the ones with the power to offer solutions.

Furthermore, I found that the coverage of the movement by the press did not include both the European and the national dimension of the movement enough. The movement was treated in either / or terms, regarding the framing and the identification of the main issues of each newspaper, while the movement had a clear goal of addressing both European and national levels of government. This type of framing does not encourage the readers to empathize with the Greek crisis or with the goals of the Indignant Citizens movement, thus it does not contribute to the forging of a European cosmopolitan identity. Referring back to the theoretical framework of this research, the Indignant Citizens movement is a European social movement that argues for a different type of Europeanization than the one that is now pursued by the elites. At the same time, Habermas (2006) mentions that the conditions that need to be met, if a European cosmopolitan identity is to be formed, are the mutual recognition of citizens as members of a political community and the opening

of the national arenas to each other. Therefore, the framing of the media in this instance does not serve the purposes of the creation of a cosmopolitan identity.

However, there are positive aspects in the reporting of the Indignant Citizens movement in the Greek and English press. A lot of the social aspects of the movement and the crisis are included in the articles bringing the reader closer to the human and social aspect of the problems. The crisis becomes more than just a political or economical matter, but is seen as a matter of urgency that affects everybody unless solutions are given. Furthermore, more thematic frameworks, instead of episodic ones, were employed in all the newspapers. Thematic frameworks lead to a deeper understanding of the issues and encourage the reader to think about them within a broader context, whereas episodic framing simplifies complex issues. This type of framing is important for the aspect of knowledge, since it provides deeper information to the public and promotes civic agency. Returning to section 2.3 of the theoretical framework, the prevalence of thematic frames in the construction of the Indignant Citizens movement, can be explained by the popularity of the movement, which was demonstrated in the massive protests of 2011, that lead to the non-elite views of the movement being incorporated in the political elite debates. Some parties consisting the political elite of Greece even adopted some of the views of the Indignant Citizens movement, due to its popularity. This points to the importance of inter-elite conflicts in the democratic process, but also is telling of the elite dominance encountered in the Greek press.

## **5.2 Values**

Dahlgren (2009, p. 110) argues that in order for democracy to function it is important that tolerance and the principles and procedures of democracy are grounded in everyday life. Values are one of the most important aspects of the civic cultures framework. However, based on the results of the news frame analysis and my personal experience from the Indignant Citizens movement, I argue that “Values” are not especially well founded.

Corruption and injustice are the main aspects of the reports on the movement, whereas democratic deliberation between the different sides involved is not promoted, for the exception of a few articles. The Greek government is portrayed as ignoring the protests and the wellbeing of the citizens, whereas the Greek political system is often depicted to be extremely corrupted as a whole. Furthermore, the government is often portrayed as borderline authoritative, whereas police violence is seen as tolerated, or even condoned from the government. At the same time the members of the movement are depicted in a few of the articles to be corrupted as well, or in some cases to refuse the

ideals of democracy. Furthermore, the violent occurrences of the movement were covered as inevitable, given the fractured ideologies of the members of the movement and its inclusion of left and right wing extremists. Regarding the aspect of the European governance, it is mostly described as having a crucial democratic deficit and as ignoring the European citizens, prioritizing the global markets instead. Returning to section 2.7 of the theoretical framework, the image coming from the data in this instance, points to a lack of recognition, both within the members of the movement, but also recognition that derives from institutional practices and social organization. Furthermore, the framing of both levels of governance as exclusive towards citizen opinions is in agreement with Couldry's (2010) description of the state of politics under neo-liberalism, where political voice is viewed as the forcing of decisions from the elites to the citizens that have no say in the matter. This leads to the disengagement of the citizens and does not promote civic agency.

Furthermore, a number of news stories point towards the lack of democratic values in everyday life. A lot of the articles present an image of the movement as one that is fractured because it includes many different opinions, among them opinions of the extreme right and left. The promotion of the notion that the movement will fail because of the many different opinions does not encourage citizen deliberation, whereas the exclusion of even extreme positions from debate, will lead to the further radicalization of these people. In fact, many of the people that participated in the protests ended up voting for the neonazi party Golden Dawn, because, among other reasons, of their exclusion from the debate. While, the media seem to be promoting democratic values, it is important to include radical opinions in the deliberative debate, in the hope that the opening of each other to different opinions will lead to less people adopting extreme ideologies and ideally to a better functioning democracy. Returning to Dahlgren, he argues that: “this is precisely why the procedural values and mechanisms take on importance: To be able to thrash out such conflicts without violence, striving for some practical compromise in situations where consensus is elusive, is a key task for a democratic society”. Habermas argues that solidarity among strangers can be promoted and mediated by law and he views European law as something that can promote this solidarity. However, if European law is not the product of deliberation, but of elite debate, then citizens will not value it.

### **5.3 Trust**

Another important aspect of a well functioning democracy, according to Dahlgren is a moderate level of trust, especially between groups that do not know each other on a personal level.

Based on the results of the news frame analysis trust appears to be one of the least cultivated aspect of the civic culture of Greece and Europe. Many of the articles point towards betrayals of trust stemming either from the political system, or from other groups of people. A lot of articles from all the newspapers analyzed point to the corruption and the deceit of the political system towards the citizens. Furthermore, the citizens have little or no trust to institutions such as the police and the media, which are viewed as hostile to their causes. This low trust towards institutions can be easily ameliorated according to Dahlgren (2009, p. 114): “If they do a better job in telling the truth, keeping their promises, and acting with fairness and solidarity”. At the same time, the government seems to have a low level of trust towards the citizens as well, framing them as tax evaders or corrupt. For example in one of the articles of The Guardian, a minister of the government is talking about a number of dead pensioners still receiving benefits and a suspicious number of people being in the government payrolls<sup>1</sup>.

On a European level “Trust” doesn't appear to be more deeply founded, indeed it appears to be the opposite. The Greek newspapers tend to treat the I.M.F – E.U troika as a foreign occupation, whereas a number of articles in all three Greek newspapers frames the austerity measures as something that is being forced on the Greeks, without their consent, and that their primary goal is to satisfy the bankers and the capital markets, without regarding the social costs. This points in the lack of “thin” trust among European people. Honesty and reciprocity are not expected and therefore collective political action becomes impossible. If “Trust” is not integrated in politics then social ties cannot be created among citizens and therefore the European integration project cannot move forward.

Off course, not all news pieces point to such a grim image. Several articles point to the extended solidarity amongst citizens both in a Greek and a European context and to positive participatory experiences through the movement. Referring back to section 2.5 of the theoretical framework, the experiences of the participants in the public assemblies of the movement remind us of the principles of deliberative democracy, where mutual justifications between citizens and government are required in order to produce better decisions. The public assemblies of the Indignant Citizens movement satisfied some of the principles of deliberative democracy, more specifically the reason giving requirement and the openness of the deliberation. However, the official political system did not deliberate with the movement at any point, thus contributing to the growing of a sense of mistrust towards the government. The public assemblies of the movement were beneficial in the sense that they trained protestors to be more civically engaged, builded trust among them and

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<sup>1</sup> This article can be found in The Guardian, number 5

helped them become more informed. Furthermore, the participation of European citizens in the assemblies, and the simultaneous protests by Indignant groups throughout Europe, helped create a sense of a common goal between the protestors, thus contributing to trust among European citizens which is important if a European cosmopolitan identity is to be developed. However, the absence of official representative bodies from the debate did not contribute to the development of citizen trust towards the political system. Citizen deliberation without a response from the political entities is still beneficial for the citizens, but ultimately frustrating. The media hold an important role in this situation, as they can encourage trust between the citizens and call upon the official political entities to participate in the deliberative process and include citizens in their debates. Returning to Dahlgren (2009, p. 81) he argues that “engagement must become realized as participation if it is not dissipate”. Furthermore, returning to the notion of recognition, civic agency must be recognized, not only by other citizens, but by institutional practices. Therefore, it is important that civic experiences, such as participation with social movements, are recognized and taken into consideration by official institutions, in order to promote civic engagement and participation.

#### **5.4 Spaces**

Spaces is the part of the civic cultures that includes the spaces where citizens can meet and discuss with each other. An important dimension is that citizens must feel that these Spaces are open to them. One of the main actions of the Indignant Citizens movement, as is validated by the data, regarded the reclaiming of public space by citizens who felt cut off from one another and from the decision making process. Descriptions of the actions of the movement, regarding its self – organization in the public space of the Syntagma square, paint the image of a vibrant community, that deliberated, took care of the public space and came closer as a whole. However, the ignoring of the movement by the government and the following eviction of the protestors camped in the square by the mayor of Athens, who wanted the square of the capital to be in perfect condition for the influx of tourists, point to a different direction. Spaces seem as something to be reclaimed by the members of the movement, whereas they don't feel like their message is being heard by the officials. Furthermore, on a European level, it appears to be a total absence of common spaces where citizens can meet and deliberate. This lack of deliberating spaces on a European level is hindering any effort towards the consolidation of a European cosmopolitan identity, however, European movements such as the Indignant Citizens movement can create such spaces. The addressing of the European level of governance as a lever of pressure towards the national government can mobilize European allies, as it was manifested in the case of the Indignant Citizens movement. More specifically, many European social movements held protests in their countries in

order to demonstrate their solidarity towards the Indignant Citizens movement, whereas the various European movements were communicating with the Indignant Citizens movement and its members through the Internet, thus creating a deliberating European space online.

The absence of common European spaces, points to the role that the media can play in bringing European people closer together. While Dahlgren (2009) argues for the role of the media and the potential they have in multiplying these spaces, the interpretation of the data does not validate that. Europeans are viewed as “others” both in Greek and English newspapers. And while the Greek newspapers argue, at least, for the common fate of European citizens, English newspapers view the problems in a detached manner that does not help the reader realize the importance of European integration. This attitude of the media can be explained by Beck's (2006) argument that the elites are infatuated with the nation state. The media need to contribute to the process of integration by having a more European and global outlook, instead of a national one, in order to help create a European public sphere that is of the utmost importance if a European cosmopolitan identity is ever to be realized. Both Habermas (2006) and Beck (2006) argue that if European nation-states are to rise to the challenges posed to them, they must be fused in a supra-national entity. If that is to happen, it is important that the national arenas open up to each other, and it is here that the media can have an important role, by adopting a European outlook, that will allow European citizens to recognize each other as members of the same political community.

## **5.5 Practices**

Practices that are concrete and recurring, while at the same time combine the ideals of democracy with personal and social meaning are the ones that concern this dimension of the civic culture.

Elections are generally regarded as one of the paramount practices of democracies, the interpretation of the data points to elections as a practice that does not promote citizen empowerment. The politicians are regarded to be spreading lies in order to be elected, with the government of that time being a target for much criticism for promising changes and redistribution of wealth before the election and following neoliberal practices after the election. Furthermore, in some articles, the severity of the economical crisis, is seen as a blocking stone to the expression of popular will about the measures in elections. Many of the protestors feel cut off from the decision making process and feel that their vote does not matter. Especially after the introduction of the troika in the country, a lot of the citizens feel that the government has no control over decisions. On a European level, the ruling elites of the E.U and the administrators of the I.M.F are perceived to be

unaccountable and without any democratic credibility. The picture of European democracy is one of a considerable democratic deficit, disproportionate to their power of decision making.

However, participation in the movement is mostly viewed as a positive civic experience. People feel that the government disregards them in the decision making process and that is why they feel the need to unite through the movement. The participation of citizens in the public assemblies and the speeches by experts informing citizens about the problems and the available solutions are practices that empower citizens and develop their civic skills. Many articles of *Eleftherotypia* call the protests and the actions of the Indignant Citizens movement as a “lesson in Democracy”. Furthermore, the communication between the various protest groups and movements throughout Europe can encourage the creation of solidarity among the people's of Europe. The role of the media in this dimension of the civic cultures is to promote positive experiences through citizen movements, while at the same time address the democratic deficits at the top levels of Europe and the unwillingness of the national governments to include such movements in the decision making process.

## **5.6 Identities**

Citizen membership in various political communities and the sense of being an empowered political agent is part of Identities, including the subjective view the people have of themselves as members and participants of democracy.

Both positive and negative images of citizen identity can be identified in the data. Citizens are seen as awakened and passionate about bringing change. However, at the same time, they are depicted as possible threats to democracy as that same passion is seen as a possible gateway to violence.

Dahlgren (2009, p. 119) argues that “identities develop and evolve through experience, and experience is emotionally based”. Furthermore, he argues that “the affective dimension of political engagement should not be automatically linked with irrationality in the destructive sense”. What is important for citizens is that their affective drive is linked with positive democratic values, such as the values promoted by the Indignant Citizens movement, in order for them to be empowered.

Regarding the European level, the interpretation of the data points to the absence of a sense of European citizenship and identity. European citizens are viewed as passive receivers of the outcomes of the elite designed project of European integration, which widens the gap between the capacities of the citizens for voice and the process of policy creation. The role of the media in this dimension of the civic cultures is to encourage civic agency by placing confidence and agency on their framing of the participants of the Indignant Citizens movement.

## 6. Conclusion

The motivation behind this thesis has been to understand the role of the media in the way that people think about social movements and their part in a well functioning democracy in a nation-state and European level. The focus of the study is Greece and the particular case of the Indignant Citizens movement, that grew as a citizens reaction towards European and national policies they viewed as unjust. This case was chosen, because of my personal involvement with the movement, and because it could be an example of citizen engagement and participation in an age of global risks and trans-national constellations.

Through theories of communication and participation, particularly Dahlgren's (2009) civic cultures framework, as well as theories of European cosmopolitan identity, I have attempted to understand how Greek and English newspapers affected citizen engagement with the Indignant Citizens movement through their framing of it. Based on the results of a qualitative news frame analysis, I have also discussed the possibility of a European cosmopolitan identity and the role that the media can have in enhancing the functioning of Democracy and citizen engagement in Greece.

The research questions that guided the thesis were the following:

- 1) How did the Greek newspapers frame the “Indignant Citizens Movement” and the protests of May – June 2011?
- 2) How did the foreign newspapers frame the movement?
- 3) Who was given voice in the framing of the “Indignant Citizens Movement”?
- 4) How does Peter Dahlgren's civic cultures framework enhance our understanding of the role of media concerning participation through social movements?

The four questions address the issue of citizen participation in social movements and more particularly the Indignant Citizens movement from different perspectives. The main purpose of this research is to understand the power of the press in guiding people's perceptions around social movements and in empowering the participants. One of the main tools employed is news frame analysis, which is a method that helps identify the various frames employed by the press and the effects they have on the construction of the image of the Indignant Citizens movement.

Furthermore, another strong emphasis is on the concept of civic cultures, a theoretical framework that is employed as a way to understand more about how cultural factors influence the function of democracy.

Through this research I understood the importance of news framing analysis, which I believe was a



very well suited method to my research, as a way of uncovering the subtle ways in which the media can influence civic perceptions. Another point that became evident in my research, was the use of irony as a way of disempowering political actors. Sometimes irony was used in the framing of the movement having a “soft” power of reducing the importance of the movement as anything more than a conduit of public rage. Finally, I became more aware of the power of the media and their importance in the progress of the European integration project.

Future research on the same topic could focus on the various different reactions that other frameworks of the Indignant Citizen movement can cause, in order to reveal a broader picture of the communicative process. During this research, I believe that I have been able to better understand the importance of the media in citizen empowerment and in the overall function of democracy, and I hope that it will be a useful and interesting insight on the research around the Indignant Citizens movement.

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## 8. Appendix

### Section A Eleftherotypia articles:

12. Peaceful demonstrations, Spanish style, tomorrow, in central squares of Greek cities
13. Contagious indignation
14. City squares in Greece fill with indignation
15. Alarm clocks at 8
16. Self-organization through social media
17. Without a party, union, just rage
18. New date of “Indignants” in Syntagma
19. The I.M.F “understands” the Indignant of Greece
20. Indignant in the squares, even with the news reports of 8
21. Continuous alarm clock
22. Blackmail or rape...
23. In roads and squares, day 3
24. Open invitation to a better life
25. Merciless swirling
26. Continuous presence
27. Pan-European alarm for Sunday
28. The squares are packed for fourth day
29. “We are only in the beginning”
30. Every city and one protest
31. They “drove crazy” the political analysts
32. The “Indignants” of Europe protest tonight
33. Assemblies to create a manifesto
34. Syntagma overflowing with Indignation
35. Tens of thousands ask their Constitution back
36. “My child blamed me for the persons I voted for”
37. They should listen
38. The square is packed for sixth day
39. The great rage
40. Indignant and such
41. The squares divide...
42. Will the “Indignation” wake the parties up?
43. “They should all leave”
44. The squares cause embarrassment
45. Blockade of Indignation outside the Parliament
46. Report from the square...
47. And in the white tower
48. Eight day of Indignation in Syntagma
49. Ministers and MPs shaken up by the blockade of the Parliament
50. MPs escorted with a... fishing boat in Kerkyra
51. Late reactions
52. Tango
53. The coloring is a fine line
54. The Parliament is “confused” with the Indignants
55. “I know you from the cut” and “Thieves, thieves”
56. With a fishing boat, the European MPs
57. There is a catch
58. Politicians with one drachma policies
59. Indignant TV

60. Time they left
61. "Now we speak"
62. A new front opens
63. The indignation "goes to the square", exploitation lurks
64. The TV star, Mikis and the real Indignant
65. Indignant Citizens, Indignant MPs, Indignant partners
66. The "Indignant Citizens" want their Wi-Fi
67. The causes of Indignation
68. The most political phenomenon
69. Looking for the meaning of the packed square
70. They are panicked by the Indignation
71. Three parties, three policies
72. Deafening sea of people in Syntagma
73. The greatest Indignation
74. Germans in Athens against Germany
75. Twelve days old, the child of wrath casts its shadow in the country
76. Angry river
77. "The square is pregnant"
78. Week for solutions, they give it all
79. Syntagma: Assembly and protest together
80. Fifteen days of "Indignation" in Syntagma
81. Syntagma in flesh and bones
82. Distinguished unemployed outside the ministry of Finance
83. Aristotelous is packed for Mikis, thousands in Syntagma
84. Syntagma: New invitation for Sunday, despite the exodus
85. Chased power
86. Discovering the "tribes" of the square
87. Deliberation in the squares
88. The "Indignant" of PASOK scare G. Papandreou
89. "Calm" rage for 18<sup>th</sup> day in Syntagma
90. "Nothing can stop us – We will never pay"
91. Popular "wall" against the memorandum
92. "Squat" in Syntagma, day 20
93. "Against the political system"
94. The "Indignant" effect
95. The European Left Party salutes the Indignant
96. Indignations reaches MEGA, thoughts about circling the Parliament
97. SYN seeks a role for the "Indignant"
98. Out of court ultimatums
99. SYN: We should listen to the message from the squares
100. The protests are relegated as "spontaneous" states M. Glezos
101. For 21<sup>st</sup> day the "Indignant" are present
102. The mother of all strikes...
103. Rivers of rage, sea of people
104. "We are from a good generation"
105. In a circle of strikes the country, in a circle of Indignation the Parliament
106. SEV is for the Memorandum and the... Indignant
107. Strong rallies and a few incidents in the periphery
108. Rage strikes red from early in the morning
109. A storm of protests, strikers and Indignant together
110. They drowned people in chemicals, by they stayed in the square
111. Chants and eggs to ministers



112. Self-organization is the only solution
113. "Happy birthday Giorgaki" from the Syntagma movement
114. Walking from Sparta to Syntagma
115. Left and squares
116. The barrage of chemicals did not deter the Indignant
117. Popular rage overflows the country
118. New pan-European invitation from the "Indignant"
119. Almost a month of every day struggle
120. United – strong they took over Syntagma
121. Men in uniform indignant
122. One month in the front
123. The squares come alive
124. Fever in Syntagma because of the 48 hour workers strike
125. "Day against racism and xenophobia" in the "Indignant's" Syntagma
126. The great battle begins now
127. Syntagma is a negotiating chip
128. Syntagma: Calm before the battle of the memorandum
129. Tension between members of "Golden Dawn" and Indignant Citizens
130. "Lower Parliament" and a messed up government
131. 48 hours in the streets, against the guillotine of the memorandum
132. With trains, boats, busses and motorcycles
133. Loud "no" from roads and squares
134. Greek police attacks the night assembly!
135. Indignation against the memorandum culminates tonight
136. The "Indignant Citizens" won't back down
137. Angry, now
138. Violence could be missing
139. Thousands of Indignant "whys" fill up Syntagma
140. At a loss for words, angry, not backing down and yesterday
141. Syntagma counts its wounds
142. Syntagma: "I won't cry, I won't be afraid" as an answer to the tear gas
143. "We are not leaving until the memorandum disappears"
144. Police brutality makes the assemblies stronger
145. For sixth straight Sunday Indignant Citizens on the streets
146. The next day of the square
147. The squares plan the continuation
148. Kaminis' initiative to "restart" Syntagma square
149. The square returns
150. Resistance and disobedience
151. "Indignant" motorcyclists protest by... revving
152. They sent the riot police at break of dawn in Syntagma for a cleaning operation
153. Indignant Citizen's assembly in Syntagma
154. Operation clean up in Syntagma
155. Restarting the square
156. Rally of Indignation for the taking off of the tents in Syntagma
157. "We for the ideals, you for the bosses"
158. Indignant Citizens make it before Boutaris and the attorney
159. They pack up the tents, but they "have another thing coming" for DETH
160. Staying awake in the empty capital
161. They clean up tents and infrastructure, arrest five
162. Syntagma at September 3
163. The square goes to DETH

- 164. Preparing for the battle
- 165. Preparing a reception of Indignation in DETH
- 166. The squares are packed with Indignation
- 167. Thessaloniki floods with Indignation
- 168. Rally of Indignation outside the Bank of Greece
- 169. Where are the Indignant Citizens?

**Complete list of frames identified:**

In this part of the appendix the reader can find the complete list of frames identified in the articles of Eleftherotypia.

- Articles framing the government: 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 31, 34, 37, 44, 47, 69, 78, 79, 81, 85, 92, 98, 102, 108, 109, 111, 112, 117, 119, 124, 126, 140, 148, 149, 151.
- Framing of the Greek political system: 3, 4, 15, 17, 23, 24, 46, 47, 54, 58, 59, 65, 67, 82, 86, 97, 105, 119, 125, 152
- Corruption framing: 38, 49, 52, 53, 67, 93, 143
- Troika framing: 1, 3, 4, 9, 21, 23, 31, 40, 42, 49, 69, 79, 81, 95, 112, 119, 132, 139, 151, 154
- Articles that frame the memorandum: 1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 12, 18, 27, 34, 37, 44, 51, 61, 62, 63, 64, 69, 72, 77, 86, , 90, 91, 92, 94, 98, 105, 107, 108, 109, 112, 115, 117, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124
- Articles that frame ideologies: 11, 24, 67, 94, 104, 112, 122, 151, 157
- Articles that frame the media: 9, 11, 17, 28, 40, 46, 49, 65, 85, 143
- Articles that frame police violence: 101, 106, 115, 126, 128, 133, 134, 158
- Citizen deliberation: 10, 12, 13, 15, 18, 22, 23, 35, 58, 75, 76, 105, 111, 112, 138, 145, 151
- Direct democracy framing: 27, 32, 35, 66, 76, 105, 119, 151, 152, 155
- Cooperation with unions framing: 94, 98, 109, 115, 151
- Political pressure framing: 20, 30, 54, 62, 80, 81, 83, 87, 106, 116, 127
- Elections framing: 14, 18, 37, 52, 53, 54, 89, 90, 91, 109, 122, 131
- Meeting with the movement: 26, 42, 56, 59
- Reforms framing: 47, 56, 67, 83, 90
- Citizen action framing: 10, 61, 62, 78, 79, 93, 105, 106, 108, 113, 117, 120, 122, 124, 125, 147, 150, 152, 154
- European and global citizen action framing: 12, 16, 19, 24, 29, 44, 50, 73, 107, 108, 111, 132
- protestor voice: 9, 10, 13, 18, 24, 25, 32, 44, 62, 64, 66, 71, 75, 91, 97, 103, 105, 109, 111, 112, 117, 129, 133, 144, 147
- Opposition politicians voice: 20, 30, 33, 38, 43, 66, 86, 88, 89, 119, 122, 144
- Government voice: 20, 38, 39, 43, 45, 56, 116, 141, 143, 145, 146
- Artists, Intellectuals voice: 39, 58, 68, 72
- Union members voice: 50, 51, 98, 122

**Section B Kathimerini articles**

- Thousands “Indignant Citizens” in Syntagma and elsewhere
- The first non-partisan demonstration
- In the aftermath of the peaceful demonstrations
- “Oh stranger passing by”
- The “Indignant Citizens” signal the beginning of the end
- The shocks of Indignation

Indignant Citizens also yesterday in squares  
Internet Indignation  
Second night of Indignant rallies  
The “Indignant Citizens” go on  
One night in the square  
Let them go...  
From May to May  
We and the key holders  
“We DON'T have money”, “We DIDN'T spend it together”  
Thousands take attendance again yesterday  
“Indignant” against MPs outside the Parliament  
The TV revolution  
Brainstorming and decentralization of “Indignant”  
The road to mob rule  
Indignant and trapped  
The “constitutional” and the others  
Less “Indignant Citizens” in Syntagma square  
Attack with stones against Petalotis  
The children of the new republic  
Welcome to the Athens reality  
The pressure of the crowd  
Everything that goes on in Syntagma  
A social alliance with Indignant Citizens  
After the assemblies of the Indignant Citizens  
Continuing of “December” with other means  
Efforts by the police to protect the Parliament building  
The echo of the “Indignant Citizens”  
Indignant Citizen! You too?  
Planet Earth calling Syntagma square  
Less Indignant Citizens yesterday in Syntagma  
The “upper Syntagma square”  
Hotels with “Indignant Citizen” view  
Winners and losers of the square  
Behind the hand gestures  
Blockade of the Parliament by “Indignant Citizens”  
“I am present in a critical day for the country”  
The center of Athens turns in a battlefield  
Rallies tonight in squares  
Indignant with the presence of hooded youths  
“Provocateurs”, “undercover police” and other myths  
Hoteliers troubled by the riots in Athens  
The double blockade and the guerrilla war around the Parliament  
From punches to hand gestures  
Hand gestures in, hand gestures inside  
They remain in the square  
The “Indignant Citizens” and hope  
The next day and the “Indignant” summer  
“Indignant Citizens” give new presence  
“Indignant Citizens” present again yesterday  
Fights break out since early in the morning  
“Indignant Citizens” and ADEDY again yesterday in Syntagma  
What, after the Indignation?

The method of suffocation  
 Damage of 800.000 euros in the center  
 Covered with banners or victims of riots with chants and paint, ruin the city image  
 A little bit because of the summer, a little because of the heat, the “upper” square empties  
 Unacceptable image  
 Public of Athens, professionals and “Indignant Citizens”  
 The decline of Syntagma square  
 The condemned buildings of Syntagma square  
 “Indignant Citizens” protest outside the mayor's building  
 Against the “system”  
 Indignant Citizens and fans  
 Unionists and “Indignant Citizens” in Thessaloniki  
 Protest rallies in the Parliament

In this part of the appendix you can find the complete list of frames identified in Kathimerini:

1. Episodic frames that describe the protests: 10, 16, 17, 19, 21, 26, 28, 36, 38, 41, 53, , 54, 55, 62, 65, 66, 68, 71
2. Framing of violence: 24, 32, 43, 45, 48, 56, 60, 61, 63
3. Psychological framing: 2, 4, 32, 49, 69
4. Government diagnostic framing: 1, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 15, 20, 23, 34, 51, 58, 63, 67, 70
5. Memorandum diagnostic framing: 3, 5, 44, 51
6. Political system framing: 6, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22, 24, 49, 50, 53, 57
7. Media framed as the problem: 14, 18, 35, 37, 53
8. Articles that frame the big and inefficient state: 30, 35, 37
9. Articles with protestor voice: 7, 10, 11, 13, 19, 23, 28, 42, 51, 53, 55, 62, 63

### **Section C articles from To Vima**

1. Tens of new members gathered in the group of the Indignant Citizens
2. New “Indignant Citizen” gathering in Syntagma
3. The protestors remain in Syntagma square
4. They “became Indignant” and remain in Syntagma square
5. The referendum was made, the blackmail was unsuccessful
6. A different protest
7. New gathering of “Indignant Citizens” this Friday afternoon
8. Thousands of “Indignant Citizens” again in Syntagma, pan European mobilization this Sunday
9. “We neither go (PAME), we neither come, we stay here!”
10. Letter from Indignation square
11. The “Indignant Citizens” remain
12. Thousands of people in Syntagma – Propylaia
13. For seventh day in Syntagma, “Indignant Citizens”
14. The battle of Syntagma: Are we facing the new Iouliaia?
15. Tanks on the streets: Scenario or possibility?
16. “Indignant Citizens” and political wisdom
17. What did the Japanese man see in Syntagma
18. Square of Upper and Lower Syntagma
19. “We will remain in Syntagma for as long as we have too”
20. Aganaktismenoi
21. Tens of thousands gather in Syntagma
22. “We are not leaving unless they all go”, say the “Indignant Citizens”

23. "Black blocks" and crotches
24. "Hell" in Syntagma, eight injured, The riots between hooded youths and police forces go on
25. A "bunch" of radicals threaten the "Indignant Citizens" protest
26. Indignant Citizens and anarchists: unavoidable riots
27. The parliament is blockaded by thousands of protestors
28. Hell in the center of Athens from 500 hooded youths
29. Amnesty International condemns Greek Police for violence
30. Enough
31. Deep state and other fairytales
32. Bulwark to violence
33. We all pay for the marbles
34. Rehearsals of guerrilla warfare and conspiracy theories
35. The journalist M. Kypraios loses his hearing
36. Heels against riot police!
37. The priest of Indignation and the... revolution
38. "Indignant Citizens" rally towards the Spanish embassy
39. The new patriotism
40. Thessaloniki: the protests because of DETH begin
41. Tension and tear gas outside Vellidio
42. "Indignant Citizens" of the coffee shops

In this part of the appendix you can find the complete list of frames found in To Vima:

1. Articles that frame the government: 2, 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21
2. Articles that frame politicians: 8, 9, 10, 11, 18, 20, 21, 42
3. Financial crisis frame: 1, 4, 42
4. Austerity framing: 8, 11, 21
5. Troika and memorandum framing: 12, 18, 22, 27
6. Extremists framing: 23, 25, 31, 32, 33, 34
7. Descriptions of protests: 3, 7, 17, 40
8. Violence framing: 22, 24, 28, 35, 36, 41
9. Protestor voice: 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 19

#### **Appendix Section D Articles from The Guardian**

1. Greece awaits IMF verdict in shadow of continuing protests
2. Euro hits three-week high on report Germany to relax demands for debt restructuring
3. Greece agrees to more cuts and tax rises as price of next bailout
4. Anger mounts in Greece as eurozone ministers edge nearer to bailout deal
5. Greek government faces revolt over second wave of austerity measures
6. Greek debt crisis deepens
7. Greece general strike prompts violent clashes in Athens
8. In Greece, we see democracy in action
9. Greek PM Papandreou battles to form new government amid economic crisis
10. Greece: As petrol bombs fly
11. Greece's PM appoints his rival in attempt to win support for austerity bill
12. Greek debt crisis: protests renewed over reshuffle status quo
13. Greek debt crisis: George Papandreou in emergency talks for more EU money
14. Europe needs a new financial deal and Britain must help build it
15. Greek debt crisis: PM proposes referendum on constitution
16. Athens protests: Syntagma Square on frontline of European austerity protests
17. Greek tourist industry thriving despite debt crisis and unrest

18. The Greek protests are not just about the economic crisis
19. Papandreou survives confidence vote on handling of Greece debt crisis
20. America's role in this Greek tragedy
21. Athens protesters resolve to fight to the finish
22. Greece is standing up to EU neocolonialism
23. Greece begins 48-hour general strike
24. Greece: Teargas and anger before crucial debts vote
25. Greece crisis: Athens erupts as government flogs assets in London
26. Greece votes for five-year austerity plan
27. In Greece, the painful start of the first advanced-democracy revolution
28. Today Greece. Tomorrow Europe's Gucci-clad elite
29. Greek police face investigation after protest violence
30. The Greek authorities try to terrorise, but they are terrified
31. Greece has woken up to debtocracy
32. Greece debt crisis: The 'we won't pay' anti-austerity revolt
33. Greek protester who resisted Nazi rule turns fire on EU
34. Greece braced for mass protests as austerity cuts bite
35. Greek austerity: new measures 'catastrophic' say protesters

In this part of the Appendix you can find the complete list of frames identified in The Guardian:

1. Articles framing Austerity: 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33
2. Articles framing Neoliberalism: 8, 25, 30, 31, 33
3. Articles framing the troika: 1, 3, 8, 9, 13, 14, 20, 24, 28, 29
4. Framing the Greek government and political system: 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 22, 24, 29, 30, 31, 32
5. Framing the Greek society and economy: 1, 4, 5, 14, 15, 17, 25
6. Framing the media: 8, 18, 30, 31
7. Protestor voice: 1, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 21, 24, 26, 29
8. Union voice: 3, 4, 7, 17, 23, 34

### **Appendix Section E, articles from The Telegraph**

1. Greek debt crisis: billions more will be pumped in to rescue Greece
2. Eurozone delay over Greek rescue risks spooking markets
3. Fear is turning to anger, but the EU bureaucrats will still screw us
4. Public sector strikes: Strikers should heed the lessons of Greece
5. Enough of this Greek farce: everyone knows default is coming
6. Eurozone debt crisis: Europe's politicians will be punished for a deal dripping with moral hazard
7. Germany and Greece flirt with mutual assured destruction
8. Greek government announces new austerity measures
9. The Greek tragedy: no money, no hope
10. Greece risks 'return to drachma'
11. Anti-austerity Greek protesters barricaded by police

In this part of the Appendix you can find the complete list of frames identified in The Telegraph:

1. Experts voice: 6, 11, 12, 17, 20, 26
2. Austerity framing: 1, 2, 3, 9, 10
3. EU framing: 3, 5, 7, 9

## Appendix Section F

In this part of the appendix you can find a number of articles and the coding I performed, in order to understand the news frame analysis process. I have employed color coding, coupled with the use of code words next to the color codes.

Codes:

**Diagnostic:** Definition of the problem

**Prognostic:** Identification of the solution

**Motivational:** Inspiring action

**Voice**

Eleftherotypia:

### Νέο ραντεβού «Αγανακτισμένων» στο Σύνταγμα

Μετά τις χθεσινές ογκώδεις πορείες οργής και αγανάκτησης κόντρα στην κυβέρνηση, τα νέα μέτρα που επιβάλλει και το Μνημόνιο THEMATIC GREEK GOVERNMENT, MEMORANDUM.

Χιλιάδες πολίτες ανανεώνουν για σήμερα το ραντεβού τους στην πλατεία Συντάγματος στις 6 το απόγευμα.

Ήδη περισσότεροι από 35.000 πολίτες έχουν δηλώσει μέσω μιας από τις σελίδες των "Αγανακτισμένων" στο Facebook ότι πρόκειται να παρευρεθούν στην πλατεία Συντάγματος, τονίζοντας ότι η χθεσινή κινητοποίηση ήταν μόνο η αρχή.

Με το σύνθημα "Είμαστε εδώ. Ξυπνήσαμε", περισσότεροι από 20.000 πολίτες, κάθε ηλικίας -χωρίς κομματικές ταμπέλες- συγκεντρώθηκαν χθες έξω από τη Βουλή, όπου και παρέμειναν μέχρι αργά τη νύχτα. Μερικοί μάλιστα διανυκτέρευσαν και στην πλατεία Συντάγματος, ακολουθώντας το παράδειγμα των Ισπανών "Indignados".

Αντίστοιχες κινητοποιήσεις πραγματοποιήθηκαν χθες σε πολλές μεγάλες ελληνικές πόλεις, μεταξύ των οποίων η Θεσσαλονίκη, η Πάτρα, ο Βόλος, η Λάρισα, τα Χανιά, το Ρέθυμνο και το Ηράκλειο.

### «Βρισκόμαστε ακόμη στην αρχή»

Της ΝΤΙΝΑΣ ΚΑΡΑΤΖΙΟΥ

«Ωρα να φύγετε από 'δω». Σ' αυτό το σύνθημα συμπυκνώνεται η διάθεση των χιλιάδων ανθρώπων που γεμίζουν την πλατεία Συντάγματος από την περασμένη Τετάρτη. Πρόκειται λοιπόν για ένα απόλυτο ανάθεμα από ένα ετερόκλητο πλήθος πολιτών, που εκδηλώνει αυθόρμητα τη συσσωρευμένη οργή του, απέναντι στη σκληρή πολιτική λιτότητας MEMORANDUM; Ποιοι είναι οι αγανακτισμένοι του Συντάγματος;

Νέοι απογοητευμένοι από την κρεατομηχανή της αγοράς εργασίας. Μαθητές που ετοιμάζονται να σπουδάσουν σε χρεοκοπημένα ΑΕΙ και ΤΕΙ. Σαραντάρηδες και πενηντάρηδες που αδυνατούν να μεγαλώσουν τα παιδιά τους, και φοβούνται ότι γρήγορα θα αποτελέσουν ένα ακόμη νούμερο στη λίστα των μακροχρόνια ανέργων. Ηλικιωμένοι με κομμένες συντάξεις.

Ολοι αυτοί αποτελούν το ανθρώπινο μωσαϊκό της πλατείας. Κυριαρχεί είναι αλήθεια η ηλικιακή ομάδα των 25άρηδων και 35άρηδων, νέοι άνθρωποι που ζουν ένα δύσκολο παρόν και τους περιμένει ένα αβέβαιο επαγγελματικό μέλλον.

Μπορεί βέβαια να ενώνονται όλοι κάτω από την «ομπρέλα» των αγανακτισμένων η οποία προβάλλει την ανάδειξη οικουμενικών αξιών (ισονομία, δικαιοσύνη, οικολογική ευημερία, αλληλεγγύη, δικαίωμα στην εργασία) ωστόσο, με μια πιο προσεκτική ματιά, μπορεί κανείς να διαπιστώσει ότι υπάρχουν διαφορές στις θέσεις, στις επιδιώξεις, τους στόχους ακόμη και στην εκδήλωση της διαμαρτυρίας, απέναντι στην υπάρχουσα κατάσταση DIFFERENCES IN SOLUTIONS.

Παρ' όλο που ακούγονται πολλά συνθήματα, με το «κλέφτες-κλέφτες» να κυριαρχεί, πάρα πολλοί εκδηλώνουν τη διαμαρτυρία τους με τη σιωπή τους: «Δεν πιστεύω στη μούντζα και τη συνθηματολογία. Και βάσει αυτής της άποψης, δεν βλέπω τον κόσμο να έχει καταλάβει τι ακριβώς συμβαίνει. Πρέπει να καθίσουμε όλοι κάτω. Να κρατήσουμε τη θέση μας. Να εκφράσουμε την οργή μας με τη σιωπή. Ο καθένας να αντιληφθεί τις δυνάμεις του και να προχωρήσουμε όλοι μαζί. Το τι θα γίνει στη συνέχεια, θα το βρούμε. Μακάρι αυτή η οργή που νιώθουμε να παρακινήσει κι άλλο κόσμο. Και να γεννήσει μια άλλη κατάσταση. Κι αυτό θα γίνει ή τώρα ή ποτέ», λέει ο 27χρονος Βασίλης. Δίπλα του κάθεται η Αθανασία. Σιωπηλή κι αυτή, προτιμάει να καταλάβει μία θέση στο οδόστρωμα. «Εδώ, για να αλλάξουν όλα» PROTESTORS.

Πατριωτικά συνθήματα ακούγονται κυρίως από ομάδες που ενδύθηκαν την ελληνική σημαία. Γιατί φόρεσες την ελληνική σημαία; «Γιατί ρωτάς; Για την πατρίδα...» είναι η απάντηση.

Άλλοι πάλι, κυρίως χωρίς κανένα πολιτικό ή κομματικό σημείο αναφοράς φαίνεται να συνεγείρονται από την έκρηξη της μαζικής αντίδρασης: «Δεν έχω κατέβει ποτέ άλλοτε σε διαδήλωση. Δεν αισθάνομαι όμως σαν ξένο σώμα. Νιώθω τόσο ενωμένη με όλο αυτό το πλήθος», λέει η Λέτα.

Ο Αλέξανδρος είναι κατηγορηματικός: «Πρέπει να φύγουν. Είναι επικίνδυνοι. Εχουν υποθηκεύσει το μέλλον των παιδιών μας».

«Και μετά τι;» λέει ο Γιώργος. «Δεν φτάνει αυτό. Κι αν φύγει ο Παπανδρέου; Αυτό είναι η λύση. Εδώ δεν ήρθα για να υπερασπιστώ μία ισοπεδωτική λογική. Πρέπει να δούμε το επέκεινα. Εδώ δεν αμφισβητούμε απλώς πρόσωπα. Αλλά πρέπει να απορρίψουμε ένα συγκεκριμένο οικονομικοπολιτικό μοντέλο άκρατου νεοφιλελευθερισμού» REJECTION OF NEOLIBERALISM.

Κάπου σ' αυτό το σημείο, εμφανίζονται οι γραμμές διαφοροποίησης στις τάσεις που επικρατούν στους αγανακτισμένους του Συντάγματος, η οποία ήδη εκδηλώνεται και χωροταξικά. Μπροστά στη Βουλή, εκτονώνονται με συνθήματα κατά των πολιτικών και των επιλογών τους, οι πολίτες που αισθάνθηκαν την κρίση στο πετσί τους. Όλοι αυτοί που φωνάζουν να φύγει το μνημόνιο, χωρίς να έχουν πρόταση για το μετά MEMORANDUM.

Στο σιντριβάνι της πλατείας, το κλίμα διαφοροποιείται. Εδώ φαίνεται να δραστηριοποιείται ένα σαφώς πιο πολιτικοποιημένο κομμάτι πολιτών. Από το πρώτο κιόλας βράδυ πραγματοποιούνται ανοιχτές συνελεύσεις και γίνονται προσπάθειες το κίνημα των «Αγανακτισμένων» να αποκτήσει ποιοτικά χαρακτηριστικά και συγκεκριμένο διεκδικητικό πολιτικό πλαίσιο CITIZEN DELIBERATION.

Αισιοδοξία βέβαια προκαλεί το γεγονός ότι ενδιαφέρον για συμμετοχή παρουσιάζεται απ' όλες τις πλευρές των αγανακτισμένων: «Εδώ ζυμώνονται συνειδήσεις. Η συμμετοχή σε μια τέτοια κινητοποίηση είναι κατεξοχήν πολιτική πράξη. Άλλοι το κάνουν συνειδητά, άλλοι όχι. Θα έρθει η στιγμή που όλοι θα το αντιληφθούν», λέει ο Δημήτρης.

«Η συλλογική δράση απαιτεί οργάνωση και στόχευση. Όμως βρισκόμαστε ακόμη στην αρχή. Είναι



όλα όμως εδώ μπροστά μας για να τα ανατρέψουμε», λέει η Ευγενία PROTESTORS.

Kathimerini:

Δεύτερη νύχτα συγκεντρώσεων «Αγανακτισμένων» EPISODIC

Με ομιλητές νέους και νέες

Και χθες ήταν οι «Αγανακτισμένοι» πολίτες εκεί. Η ανοιξιάτικη μπόρα δεν στάθηκε τελικά ικανή να αποτρέψει 10.000 περίπου Αθηναίους να συγκεντρωθούν στο Σύνταγμα και περίπου 3.000 Θεσσαλονικείς στην πλατεία του Λευκού Πύργου.

Ωστόσο, χθες δεύτερη νύχτα της διαμαρτυρίας, έκδηλος ήταν ο προβληματισμός πολλών πολιτών για το επόμενο βήμα και δεν φάνηκε να υπήρχε ο προχθεσινός αυθορμητισμός. Σε αντιστάθμισμα, η συγκέντρωση λειτούργησε ως υπαίθρια Βουλή -ή αγορά της αρχαίας Αθήνας, όπως σχολιάστηκε- καθώς νέοι και νέες ξεχώριζαν μέσα από το πλήθος και απευθύνονταν στους συγκεντρωμένους.

Αγανακτισμένοι επιχειρηματίες θα κατέβουν στους δρόμους

Αγανακτισμένοι και έτοιμοι να βγουν στους δρόμους για να διαμαρτυρηθούν για την οικονομική πολιτική της κυβέρνησης δηλώνουν οι επιχειρηματίες της Βορείου Ελλάδος. GOVERNMENT Περιγράφοντας με τα μελανότερα χρώματα τη «βαρυχειμωνιά» που επικρατεί στην αγορά, οι πρόεδροι των εννέα επιμελητηρίων της Κεντρικής Μακεδονίας σε κοινή συνέντευξη Τύπου που παραχώρησαν χθες ζήτησαν την άμεση λήψη αναπτυξιακών μέτρων. GROWTH MEASURES

Για τον λόγο αυτό μάλιστα συνέταξαν κοινό υπόμνημα το οποίο απευθύνεται προς τον πρωθυπουργό, τον υπουργό Οικονομικών και την πολιτική ηγεσία του υπουργείου Περιφερειακής Ανάπτυξης και Ανταγωνιστικότητας.

Την ανάγκη να υπάρξουν βαθύτερες και μονιμότερες λύσεις προκειμένου η ρευστότητα να μη χάνεται σε «μαύρες» τρύπες υπογράμμισε ο πρόεδρος του Εμπορικού και Βιομηχανικού Επιμελητηρίου Θεσσαλονίκης (ΕΒΕΘ) κ. Δ. Μπακατσέλος, επισημαίνοντας ότι δεν υπάρχει η πολυτέλεια του χρόνου. «Όπως έχουμε αγανακτισμένους πολίτες που βγαίνουν στους δρόμους, σε λίγο θα έχουμε και αγανακτισμένους επιχειρηματίες που θα κατέβουν στους δρόμους» σημείωσε χαρακτηριστικά ο πρόεδρος του ΕΒΕΘ. TRADE UNION

Εκτός από την αγανάκτηση, η αρνητική οικονομική συγκυρία έχει προκαλέσει και διπλασιασμό των αυτοκτονιών και μάλιστα νέων ανθρώπων επισήμανε ο πρόεδρος του επιμελητηρίου Κιλκίς κ. Π. Τονικίδης, ενώ απαισιόδοξος για την τουριστική κίνηση στη Χαλκιδική εμφανίστηκε ο πρόεδρος του επιμελητηρίου του νομού κ. Γ. Γκιλής. SUICIDES, TOURISM Πρόσφατη έρευνα που εκπόνησε το επιμελητήριο έδειξε ότι ένας στους δύο επιχειρηματίες αναμένει μείωση του τζίρου του για το επόμενο εξάμηνο.

Με το κοινό υπόμνημα οι πρόεδροι των επιμελητηρίων της Κεντρικής Μακεδονίας απαιτούν μεταξύ άλλων:

- Εφαρμογή σταθερού, απλού, κατανοητού και δίκαιου 5ετούς φορολογικού συστήματος με ταυτόχρονη μείωση φορολογικού συντελεστή.
- Αύξηση του αφορολογήτου.
- Διετές «πάγωμα» των τελών και επιβαρύνσεων.
- Την εφαρμογή της απόφασης του Αρείου Πάγου που θέτει ανώτατο όριο στα επιτόκια.

- «Πάγωμα» των δημοτικών τελών και των τιμολογίων των ΔΕΚΟ.
- Εξόφληση υποχρεώσεων του κράτους προς τους επιχειρηματίες.
- Αποποινικοποίηση της μη εμπρόθεσμης καταβολής ασφαλιστικών εισφορών στον οργανισμό ασφάλισης ελευθέρων επαγγελματιών (ΟΑΕΕ).
- Παράταση εξόφλησης ληξιπρόθεσμων οφειλών προς ΤΕΜΠΕ (νυν ΕΤΕΑΝ). Αρση του πόθεν έσχες για την τόνωση της οικοδομικής δραστηριότητας.

«Λεφτά ΔΕΝ έχουμε», «Μαζί ΔΕΝ τα φάγαμε»!

Εικόνες αγανάκτησης χωρίς λόγια...  
Της Ελενης Μπιστικα

Νέα «ειρηνικά» συνθήματα απαιτούνται για τις συγκεντρώσεις - διαδηλώσεις των «Αγανακτισμένων» που «άργησαν μεν να ξυπνήσουν» αλλά τώρα ξύπνησαν! Μπήκαν πλέον στην καθημερινότητα του κέντρου της Αθήνας, και της ζωής χιλιάδων Αθηναίων και λοιπών κατοίκων του ιοστεφούς, κάποτε, άστεως! **Μόλις σουρουπώσει, απ' όλα τα σημεία της πόλης έρχονται άνθρωποι να εκφράσουν με την παρουσία τους την αποδοκιμασία τους για τα όσα συμβαίνουν, για το κολοσσιαίο Χρέος και για τον πολιτικό κόσμο «που δεν ξέρει, δεν είδε, δεν απαντά, δεν τον αφορά», όπως απαντούσαμε οι κοινοί θνητοί στις διάφορες έρευνες και δημοσκοπήσεις για σκάνδαλα και «καλύτερους» POLITICIANS, CORRUPTION.** Η γνώμη πολλών, που ρωτήθηκαν από τη στήλη, είναι πως: οτιδήποτε βγάζει τον κόσμο από το σπίτι του, μακριά από τις καταθλιπτικές, τελικά, οθόνες ενημέρωσης και «διασκέδασης», είναι καλό! Γιατί, έξω, θα δει άλλους ανθρώπους, θα μιλήσει, θα πει τη γνώμη του, χωρίς να πατά πλήκτρα, χωρίς να 'ναι καλωδιωμένος... **Το να εκφράξεις χωρίς κομματικά συνθήματα, με την ελληνική σημαία μόνον, συχνά και με χιούμορ, είναι μια πολύ καλή αντίδραση και, οπωσδήποτε, τέτοιες ογκώδεις καθημερινές συνάξεις στέλνουν το μήνυμα στους πολιτικούς πίσω πάντα από τα κλειστά ρολά της Βουλής των Ελλήνων! MESSAGE Θα χρειαστούν, βέβαια, κατάλληλα συνθήματα - απαντήσεις στο προεκλογικό εκείνο του νυν πρωθυπουργού «Λεφτά έχουμε» και στην ειρωνική εξήγηση του αντιπροέδρου «Μαζί τα φάγαμε»! GOVERNMENT Είναι σαν η θρυλική Χοντρή της μεταπολεμικής γελοιογραφίας του Γάλλια να επιτιμά τον καημένο τον Ζαχαρία «πάψε να τρως, δεν βλέπεις πώς έγινες!».** Και για να μην κουράζονται μερικά χέρια να στέλνουν με τις ανοιχτές παλάμες τα... μηνύματα, έχουν επιστρατευθεί μπρίκια, τηγάνια, τα κατσαρολικά της κουζίνας. Μία άλλη επίπτωση είναι ότι αν συνεχιστεί το κλείσιμο του κέντρου της Αθήνας, αυτοκίνητα δεν θα πατάνε, επομένως δεν θα χρειασθούν... μελέτες κι έξοδα για να γίνει, π.χ., πεζόδρομος η Πανεπιστημίου. Όσο για την τύχη των μεγάλων ξενοδοχείων της αποκλεισμένης πλατείας Συντάγματος, ισχύει περίτρανα πως οι κάθε λογής συγκεντρώσεις «λογαριάζουν χωρίς τον άμοιρο τον ξενοδόχο!».

Το Vima:

**Το δημοψήφισμα έγινε, ο εκβιασμός δεν πέρασε**

**Δεκάδες χιλιάδες πολίτες απάντησαν χθες στον πρωθυπουργό και την κυβέρνηση που στερείται πλέον νομιμοποίησης GOVERNMENT**

Ακολουθώντας κατά πόδας τον πρόεδρο του ΣΕΒ, ο πρωθυπουργός απείλησε με δημοψήφισμα. **Και χθες οι πολίτες σε όλη τη χώρα ανταποκρίθηκαν στην πρόσκλησή του: δεκάδες χιλιάδες απάντησαν στους εκβιασμούς και την αποτυχία της κυβέρνησης, η οποία, στην πραγματικότητα, στερείται πλέον νομιμοποίησης. GOVERNMENT Την ίδια στιγμή που οι πολίτες «ψήφισαν» στις πλατείες**

των μεγάλων πόλεων, η κοιμισιόν, απέρριψε εντελώς το δημοψήφισμα – όχι αυτό, εκείνο που εκβιαστικά ζητά η κυβέρνηση, της οποίας έτσι, ο εγκλωβισμός καθίσταται ασφυκτικός από το συνδιασμό διπλής, εσωτερικής και εξωτερικής πίεσης, πλήρους αποσυντονισμού και ανικανότητας να φέρει αποτέλεσμα σε οποιαδήποτε κατεύθυνση. PRESSURE

Οι πολίτες που βγήκαν χθες το βράδυ και παραμένουν ακόμα σήμερα το πρωί στις πλατείες της Αθήνας, της Θεσσαλονίκης ή της Πάτρας, δεν είναι, στην πλειοψηφία τους άνθρωποι των διαδηλώσεων – αυτό φάνηκε δια γυμνού οφθαλμού. Ούτε ανήκουν σε οργανώσεις, παρατάξεις, κόμματα, φράξιες και τάσεις. Είναι ελεύθεροι, πραγματικά αγανακτισμένοι άνθρωποι, όπως είναι κάθε άνθρωπος που βλέπει αυτόν τον τόπο να καταρρέει και την κυβέρνησή του να πρωταγωνιστεί στην κατάρρευση, είτε με αυτά που κάνει, είτε με αυτά που δεν κάνει. GOVERNMENT

Προφανώς, η κυβέρνηση, που ασφαλώς παρακολουθεί ανήσυχη και ανήμπορη αυτή την αυθόρμητη μαζική διαμαρτυρία των κοινών, καθημερινών ανθρώπων, είχε προεξοφλήσει την αποδοκιμασία της. Και η επίτροπος Μαρία Δαμανάκη, ανέλαβε να σπύσει νωρίτερα χθες να σπείρει τον πανικό. Να θέσει το εκβιαστικό δίλλημα. Που, όμως, όλοι στην κυβέρνηση, το κατάλαβαν πάρα πολύ αργά. Τους πήρε ενάμιση χρόνο, τον οποίο και έχασαν σε μια πορεία αδιέξοδη και καταστροφική... GOVERNMENT

Γράφοντας την περασμένη εβδομάδα ότι το ευρώ δεν φοβάται πια την ελληνική πτώχευση ή έξοδο και ότι αυτό ακριβώς είναι το νόημα των νέων απαιτήσεων που θέτει η τρόικα για την πέμπτη δόση, ότι κοροϊδεύουμε τον εαυτό μας αν πιστεύουμε ότι μια ελληνική κατάρρευση θα προκαλέσει κάποιου είδους σεισμό στο κοινό νόμισμα, έντονες αντιδράσεις, ιδίως από το κυβερνητικό μπλοκ, έδειξαν ένα και μόνο: ότι δεν ήμασταν έτοιμοι να κοιτάξουμε την αλήθεια κατάματα.

Όμως τώρα, μπροστά στο πλήρες αδιέξοδο, η κυβέρνηση επιστρατεύει εκβιαστικά αυτή την αλήθεια, μέσα από την τραγική εικόνα του πρωθυπουργού που εξερχόμενος από το προεδρικό μέγαρο έμοιαζε να τα χει πια χαμένα και μέσα από τη δήλωση της επιτρόπου.

Το ερώτημα, όμως, είναι με ποια κίνητρα: προφανώς, για να βάλει ανάχωμα στην κατάρρευση – τη δική της. Όμως, η κυρία Δαμανάκη, ξέχασε κάτι να πει:

-Δεν είπε λ.χ. ότι το κόμμα που υπηρετεί ήρθε στην εξουσία λέγοντας «λεφτά υπάρχουν».

-Δεν είπε επίσης ότι επί πολλούς μήνες πρωθυπουργός και υπουργός Οικονομικών διαβεβαίωναν ότι δεν θα προσφύγουμε στο διεθνή οικονομικό έλεγχο και άφηναν άπραγοι τον καιρό να περνάει εις βάρος της χώρας.

-Δεν είπε ότι όταν πλέον μας οδήγησαν στο καθεστώς του μνημονίου έλαβαν μέτρα τα οποία μια, δύο, τρεις, τέσσερις φορές, ήταν πάντα τα «τελευταία», λέγοντας ψέματα.

-Δεν είπε ούτε ότι η κυβέρνηση υπέγραψε δανειακές συμβάσεις σημαντικά δυσμενέστερες από των άλλων δύο χωρών που έκαναν χρήση του ίδιου μηχανισμού.

-Δεν είπε ότι τα έκαναν μαντάρα με τα δημόσια έσοδα και βρίσκονται, ακόμα και σήμερα, στο μηδέν στη σύλληψη της παράνομα διαφυγούσας φορολογητέας ύλης. -Δεν είπε ότι ακόμα και τώρα, αυτή τη στιγμή, οι δαπάνες του δημοσίου σημειώνουν άνοδο!

-Δεν είπε ότι τα μέτρα εξάντλησης της αγοράς και απίσχνασης των χαμηλών εισοδημάτων όχι μόνον δεν έφεραν αποτελέσματα αλλά και ισοπέδωσαν τα πάντα στο πέρασμά τους προκαλώντας πρωτοφανή ανεργία και ύφεση.

-Δεν είπε ότι έτσι φτάσαμε σήμερα ως εδώ, να απειλείται ο ελληνικός λαός από την ίδια την κυβέρνησή του με εκβιαστικές γελοιότητες για δημοψηφίσματα.

-Δεν είπε, το κυριότερο, ότι, μέχρι σήμερα, ο ελληνικός λαός στήριξε ουσιαστικά ως τώρα την προσπάθεια της κυβέρνησης όσο κι αν ήταν επώδυνη γι αυτόν, για να βρεθεί τελικά και πάλι απειλούμενος, στο χείλος του γκρεμού. GOVERNMENT

Όλα αυτά, και αρκετά άλλα, ξέχασε φυσικά να τα πει η κυρία Δαμανάκη. Και τα ξέχασε για έναν πολύ απλό λόγο: επειδή ήθελε να τα ξεχάσει.

Σε όλα αυτά απάντησαν οι γθεσινές πρωτοφανείς διαδηλώσεις. GOVERNMENT LIES

Αντί λοιπόν οι κυβερνώντες να απειλούν τους πολίτες τη μια με πτώχευση, την άλλη με τον κίνδυνο που εγκυμονούν οι εκλογές και την τρίτη με έξοδο από το ευρώ, καλύτερα θα ήταν να έπαιρναν εκείνοι την οδό της εξόδου από την εξουσία, γιατί πρωτίστως οι ίδιοι έφεραν τα πράγματα ως εδώ. GOVERNMENT RESIGNS

Οι ίδιοι, με τις αστοχίες και την ανικανότητά τους, είναι που εδώ και ενάμιση χρόνο δήθεν μας... «σώζουν», για να μας οδηγήσουν τελικά στην καταστροφή, τόσο με αυτά που έπραξαν, όσο και με αυτά που δεν έπραξαν.

Αλλωστε, πολύ δύσκολα θα μπορούσε να τους διαδεχθεί οποιοδήποτε σχήμα πιο αναποτελεσματικό ή πιο αναξιόπιστο και, κυρίως, τόσο εξοργιστικό, καθώς είναι τόσο πολύ εθισμένο στη δύναμη του εκβιασμού ως μοντέλου εξουσίας. GOVERNMENT

Βεβαίως, τώρα, επιστρατεύουν το τελευταίο και μεγαλύτερο όπλο του εκβιασμού: το χρόνο. Είναι όμως απορίας άξιο ότι δεν αντιλαμβάνονται που οδηγούν όλα αυτά και πόση ευθύνη έχουν όλοι τους, ένας προς έναν, για το κακό που απειλεί, σχεδόν νομοτελειακά πια, αυτό τον τόπο, παρά την ανοχή που τόσο καιρό τους δόθηκε.

Αλλά δεν τους βγαίνει. Ο εκβιασμός, δεν πέρασε.

## Ολοι πληρώνουμε τα μάμματα

Κεντρικός στόχος της «πλατείας» την περασμένη Τετάρτη ήταν όχι μια μαζική διαμαρτυρία για το «μεσοπρόθεσμο» έξω από τη Βουλή αλλά ο αποκλεισμός της και η παρεμπόδιση της προσέλευσης εκεί των βουλευτών και συνεπώς η παρεμπόδιση της ψηφοφορίας. Με άλλα λόγια, απλά και σταράτα: η κατάλυση του κυριότερου θεσμού της αντιπροσωπευτικής δημοκρατίας. ANTI-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Το καθήκον τουδημοκρατικού κράτους ήταν να εμποδίσει μια τέτοια κατάσταση που θα οδηγούσε ασφαλώς σε ανατροπές με σοβαρότατες εσωτερικές και διεθνείς συνέπειες. Και το κατάφερε με το μικρότερο δυνατό ανθρώπινο κόστος.

Οι πολύχρωμοι και άχρωμοι πολιτικά αγαπημένοι τόσων ΜΜΕ «αγανακτισμένοι», που θέλουν να φύγουν κυβέρνηση, Βουλή, τρόικα και ό,τι άλλο στο όνομα μιας άπιαστης «άμεσης δημοκρατίας» που είναι πρόσχημα για κάθε παρεκτροπή, βρήκαν τον λογικό τους σύμμαχο:

τους κάθε ακροδεξιού και ακροαριστερού εξτρεμισμού «μπαχαλάκηδες». RADICALS Αυτούςπου

ασέλγησανμία ακόμα φορά σε βάρος της πόλης και του λαού.

Ο πολύς κόσμος δεν πήγε στο Σύνταγμα μήτε αλλού. Απέφυγε σε μεγάλο βαθμό και τις διαδηλώσεις των συνδικάτων \_ των ΓΣΕΕ και ΑΔΕΔΥ και ΠΑΜΕ. Αποδεχόμενος με ενθουσιασμό το «μεσοπρόθεσμο»; Αμφίβολο! Από φόβο; Ίσως. Δηλαδή, τον φόβο που προκαλούν οι «μπαχαλάκηδες». Ίσως και για άλλους λόγους. **Και γιατί να αποκλείσουμε με το ζόρι την περίπτωση να είναι πλειοψηφία όσοι κατάλαβανότι κακό - στραβό - ανάποδο το «μεσοπρόθεσμο», όμως άλλη ρεαλιστική λύση παραμονής στην Ευρώπη χωρίς πτώχευση κανείς δεν προσφέρει: όλος ο κόσμος δεν είναι Αντωνάκης! REFERENDUM**

Οι αστυνομικές δυνάμεις, με λίγες παρεκτροπές, προστάτευσαν φυσικά το Σύνταγμα αλλά δεν μπορούσαν ταυτόχρονα να προστατεύσουν, παρά τις άναρθρες ραδιοφωνικές κραυγέςμερικώνρεπόρτερ, και όσους ήθελαν, άμεσα ή έμμεσα, να το καταλύσουν. Χρησιμοποίησαν κυρίως τα «χημικά». Οι αντίπαλοι της Αστυνομίας (και των θεσμών) που πήραν τις περισσότερες φορές την πρωτοβουλία των μαχών χρησιμοποίησαν εναντίον των αστυνομικών κυρίως τα μάρμαρα της πλατείας σπάζοντάς τα σε κομμάτια. Προσοχή: Ποιες θα είναι οι «ανώτερες μορφές αγώνα» στο μέλλον;

Για μία ακόμα φορά προβλήθηκε από μερικούςτο επιχείρημα «μπαχαλάκηδες = παρακράτος». Είναι πολύ πιθανό η ΑΣτυνομία να χρησιμοποιεί και αυτή τη γνωστή μέθοδο του «εισοδισμού» ακόμα και για να έχει πληροφορίες. Είναι γελοία η γενίκευση:Γιατί τότε όσοι «μπαχαλάκηδες» συλλαμβάνονται υποστηρίζονται από όσους τους χαρακτηρίζουν παρακρατικούς;

**Είναι αυτονόητο ότι οι απεργίες, οι πλατείες, οι «μπαχαλάκηδες», οι απαγορεύσεις απόπλου πλοίων, η μετατροπή της Αθήνας σε κόλαση δεν συμβάλλουν στηνανάπτυξη, στον τουρισμό και συνεπώς στον περιορισμό των θυσιών που καλούνται να προσφέρουν (υποχρεωτικά) κυρίως οι μη έχοντες. Τα μάρμαρα της πλατείας θα τα πληρώσουμε όλοι μας και συλλογικά η χώρα!**

**Πάντως η κυβέρνηση, εσωτερικά μόνη εναντίον όλων,κέρδισε στη Βουλή αλλά και έξω από τη Βουλή μια σημαντική μάχη. GOVERNMENT** Το καθήκον της τώρα είναι να πράξει το παν για να μη δικαιωθούν όσοι προβλέπουν και κυρίως προσβλέπουν σε μεγαλύτερες αδικίες, σε μεγαλύτερες εξαρτήσεις και σε χειρότερες ανατροπές.

The Guardian:

Greek debt crisis deepens

As Greece teeters on the brink of bankruptcy, protesters blockade parliament while EU ministers seek to stem panic

**The debt drama engulfing Greece deepened as Euro group finance ministers met in emergency session to discuss ways of resuscitating the country's ailing economy and protesters in Athens threatened to thwart passage of further austerity measures by blockading parliament on the eve of a mass general strike. AUSTERITY**

Tensions escalated as George Papandreou's socialist government confronted negative polls and a relentless stream of demonstrations initially inspired by Spain's peaceful indignados three weeks ago began showing signs of becoming increasingly explosive.

**"All it will take is one mistake and the joviality that has marked the protests so far will end in a second," said veteran photographer Spyros Tsakiris, sitting in the heart of the tent city that has formed in central Syntagma Square, site of the Greek parliament.**

"The mood has changed noticeably. I watch these people and honestly, I am afraid. At any moment things could go wrong and Greece could go up."

With Europe's debt crisis intensifying by the day, fear appears to be the single biggest factor motivating those in charge of policy on the common currency. But as finance ministers from the 17 euro countries debated how to bail out Greece for a second time in a year, before an EU summit on 25 June, the signs are not promising.

In Athens, a day after Standard and Poor's gave Greece the lowest rating of any country it covers – lower even than Pakistan and Ecuador – the omens appeared to be particularly poor.

Differences over involvement of private investors in the rescue package – which is seen as the key to getting Europe's paymaster, Germany, to agree to it at all – this week pushed the cost of insuring Greek government debt against default up to 1,600 basis points, a record high even by the standards set so far.

More than ever, Papandreou appears stuck between a rock and a hard place. Faced with a €340bn (£300bn) debt projected to hit 160% of GDP by 2012, Greece is teetering on the brink of bankruptcy.

Although his government last year slashed the deficit by €12bn – through wage and pension cuts, tax increases and benefit losses – the steps have only exacerbated Greece's economic plight.

In a country plagued by a shadow economy that accounts for almost 30% of GDP, the medicine prescribed by the EU, IMF and ECB in exchange for €110bn of emergency loans last May, has resulted in a deeper than expected recession with further cost-cutting measures now seen as crucial if Greece is not only to rein in its debt but make it sustainable.

For many – including Papandreou's MPs – the prospect of more austerity is the tipping point. Tax increases announced last week – on everything from property to restaurant bills – in addition to the sale of state assets and closure of public utilities, have sparked outrage at a time when seven out of 10 pensioners are forced to live on €700 a month and civil servants, the bulk of the Greek labour force, have had a 20% pay cut. AUSTERITY

With unemployment at 16%, 42% of whom are aged between 20 and 35, the measures have sent thousands of Greeks who would normally never protest converging on city squares.

"The biggest challenge facing the ruling party is to convince Greeks that these measures are necessary, because there is no guarantee. A year ago people were told the same thing and look what happened," said political commentator Manolis Kapsis, of the nightly news show Mega TV. "The bailout failed." JOURNALIST

But while Greeks say they are not prepared to bankrupt themselves to save their country from insolvency, Athens has been told that without further austerity there can be no more aid – not even a fifth instalment drawn down from the country's original bailout, which is vital to paying state pensions and wages this month.

Tomorrow's general strike by workers and civil servants will, say unionists, be the first step in a relentless wave of industrial action against the measures parliament is poised to debate. Next week, the country's biggest electric power company will begin rolling strikes.



Protesters say they will form a human chain around the parliament to prevent deputies from debating the measures and threatening legal action against those who vote in favour. LEGAL ACTION

But Greece is also attracting help from unlikely places. On Tuesday, scores of Chinese business leaders, financiers, entrepreneurs and academics piled into a hotel in Athens for a "premier conference" aimed at increasing Chinese investment in Greece, where foreign direct investment remains among the lowest in Europe. INVESTMENT

After taking over day-to-day running of Piraeus, the biggest harbour in the Med, China has signalled it wants to buy the loss-making railway company OSE, as well as other infrastructure projects.

Chinese officials admit they see Greece as the perfect gateway to markets in the Balkans and Europe beyond.

"One of the good things about this economic crisis," said Lefteris Anastassakis, a manager with the Greek cement giant Titan, who is learning Chinese, "is that it has made China's entry easier and also easier for us to accept. Ten years ago it would have seemed a science fiction that the Chinese would be the people who would help save Greece from economic collapse." MANAGER

Some of the world's wealthiest financiers, bankers and real estate tycoons of Greek descent also arrived for a "power summit" aimed at exploring business opportunities. "There are a lot of people of Greek descent out there who would love to help this country," said Nikos Gitsis, a Greek American who co-founded South East Asia Airlines in the Philippines.

"Greece is virgin territory for investment," he said. "If it could guarantee fair play, rules and the eradication of corruption and bribery, we would be here helping it get out of this drama."

The Greek protests are not just about the economic crisis  
They're a rejection of authority

A sunny Saturday afternoon in central Athens, and Christos Roubanis is sitting outside having a beer, while telling me about the death threats he's received. We're in Victoria Square, one of the most racially mixed areas in the capital. The nearby payphones have queues of Bangladeshis waiting outside, and after every few shops comes that telltale feature of immigrant-ville: a Western Union money transfer booth. Locals reckon that more than a third of residents are non-Greek subjects.

And that's made the neighbourhood the target of fascist activity, especially since Greece plunged into severe recession in 2009. A few minutes down the road is a playground, complete with seesaws, slides and climbing frames. It was where Afghans and others used to take their kids – until the Nazis marched in and declared it a no-go zone a couple of years ago. Although most of the equipment inside looks like it's working, the entire rec is still locked up.

Just outside, on the stones in front of the handsomely domed church, is daubed various graffiti. "I love my country" reads one in the national colours of blue and white. Another is more direct: "Immigrants go home." Sprayed on the shutters of nearby shops are swastikas. They look particularly incongruous in a country that tried so heroically to fend off Hitler's invasion.

Christos lives here, but can't walk me to the playground for fear of getting beaten up. Bald, with a

small greying moustache, he's previously stepped in to prevent immigrants being hassled – so the Nazis have turned their attention on him. They ring his mobile "and call me a bloody communist and say they will kill me". Once, he was trapped by a fascist gang brandishing wooden poles. "They brought them this close," he says, his hand stopping just in front of his thick glasses.

Under the awning of this bar, Christos and his friends Afrodite and Olga can debate how waves of badly-managed immigration have put pressure on this working-class neighbourhood. But one thing they agree on is that the fascists are managing to exploit the tension in the area. In elections at the end of last year, the extremist Golden Dawn party won 10% of the municipal vote.

Numbers like that flatly contradict the cosy view of the popular Greek reaction to the spending cuts as being articulate, engaged, left-wing. And it is – in parts. **But as Christos and his neighbours will tell you, the politics of austerity can boost the thuggish right as well as the post-enlightenment left. Indeed, the defining feature of the Greek protests is not ideology – it's visceral hostility to anything that smacks of the mainstream, whether in politics, or business or the media.**

You see this clearly in the demonstrations in Syntagma Square in central Athens. Writing for the Guardian's Comment is Free last week, Birkbeck professor Costas Douzinas found "striking parallels" between the protesters there, for whom "no issue is beyond proposal and disputation", and the Athenian agora, birthplace of western democracy.

It was a finely-written, humane article that sums up part of what's going on. But just up the steps from the "well-organised weekly debates" that Douzinas talks about is a much rowdier demo. Protesters here chant rather than discuss, and can be seen waving the Greek flag – an indicator of nationalist allegiances. I asked one teenager who he blamed for the crisis. **The list began conventionally enough: the prime minister George Papandreou, the IMF, and then "the immigrants, because they take money that could be spent on us."**

Down in the main throng, protesters flash green lasers into the windows of the surrounding hotels to ruin the footage of the TV cameramen stationed there. When the Greek equivalent of Huw Edwards tried to present from the rally, the protesters tried to beat him up.

The revulsion to anything that smacks of authority is about two things: the past and the present. **Many Greeks feel they were lied to during the go-go years: by the politicians, the media and the businesspeople who claimed the boom was real and sustainable. And now that voters are enduring job losses and salary cuts, rising taxes and transport fares, there isn't a single heavyweight politician raising serious objections to the severest austerity ever inflicted on a developed country.**

Economic crises usually lead to the electoral guillotine; just ask Gordon Brown. **But even if Papandreou and the Socialists are booted out, the New Democracy conservatives also look likely to take their orders from the IMF and the rest of the eurozone.** Astonishingly, in the face of what must be among the most unpopular raft of policies ever to be imposed on any European democracy, there is no credible populist opposition.

**As for leaving the European single currency, the question is barely raised in the national media. Yet in what was once the most enthusiastic country in the eurozone, polls suggest that one in four Greeks want an exit. EXIT THE EURO**

**It's a mistake to think that the nature of the Greek crisis is primarily economic or social; it's now political and systemic too. And it will deepen unless a party vehicle comes along that can articulate credible alternatives. But for now in place of a mainstream, there is a vacuum.**



And as the playground near Victoria Square reminds you, extreme policies in can lead to extremist politics out.

The Telegraph:

### **Anti-austerity Greek protesters barricaded by police EPISODIC**

Protesters gathered at Syntagma Square in Athens are frustrated in their plan to prevent deputies from attending an austerity debate in the parliament.

Thousands of Greek activists and unionists converged this morning on the capital's assembly to try to disrupt a meeting where austerity measures for the debt-stricken euro zone state were to be discussed.

But their plans were thwarted by around 1,500 police who closed off a section of the city centre, erected two-metre metal barricades in front of parliament and surrounded it with police vans.

Prime Minister George Papandreou faces tough opposition to push through a new five-year campaign of tax rises, spending cuts and sell-offs of state property, which the EU and IMF have set as conditions before they will release of another €12 billion in aid that Athens needs to pay off maturing debt.

### **Greece risks 'return to drachma'**

Greece will have to ditch the euro unless it agrees tougher austerity measures, said a senior Greek official, delivering the strongest warning yet from a European insider as to what is at stake.

Maria Damanaki, the European Commissioner for fisheries, and who was appointed by Greece's ruling socialists, said her country faces having to exit the currency unless warring parties can agree to makes the sacrifices needed to resolve its debt crisis.

The Greek government strongly denied previous rumours that Athens was considering leaving the eurozone, but Ms Damanaki said the situation's gravity had forced her to "speak openly" about the dilemma facing her country.

"The greatest achievement of post-war Greece, [joining] the euro and the European course of the country, is at risk," Ms Damanaki said. "The scenario of Greece's exit from the euro is now on the table, as are ways to do this.

"Either we agree with our creditors on a programme of tough sacrifices and results ... or we return to the drachma. Everything else is of secondary importance."

Her warning came as thousands gathered in Athens to protest against their government's plans to make further savings and politicians denied stories of a planned referendum on tougher austerity efforts, having failed to win opposition support.

Greece's international rescuers, the International Monetary Fund and its European partners, will not commit to new aid on top of Greece's €110bn (£95bn) bail-out unless it delivers fresh reforms and shows that they have broad support