The Emerald Handbook of Digital Media in Greece
Digital Activism and Society: Politics, Economy and Culture in Network Communication

The Digital Activism and Society: Politics, Economy and Culture in Network Communication series focuses on the political use of digital everyday-networked media by corporations, governments, international organizations (Digital Politics), as well as civil society actors, NGOs, activists, social movements and dissidents (Digital Activism) attempting to recruit, organise and fund their operations, through information communication technologies.

The series publishes books on theories and empirical case studies of digital politics and activism in the specific context of communication networks. Topics covered by the series include, but are not limited to:

- the different theoretical and analytical approaches of political communication in digital networks;
- studies of socio-political media movements and activism (and ‘hacktivism’);
- transformations of older topics such as inequality, gender, class, power, identity and group belonging;
- strengths and vulnerabilities of social networks.

Series Editor
Dr Athina Karatzogianni

About the Series Editor
Dr Athina Karatzogianni is an Associate Professor at the University of Leicester, UK. Her research focuses on the intersections between digital media theory and political economy, in order to study the use of digital technologies by new sociopolitical formations.

Published Books in this Series:
Digital Materialism: Origins, Philosophies, Prospects by Baruch Gottlieb
Nirbhaya, New Media and Digital Gender Activism by Adrija Dey
Digital Life on Instagram: New Social Communication of Photography by Elisa Serafinelli
Internet Oligopoly: The Corporate Takeover of Our Digital World by Nikos Smyrnaios
Digital Activism and Cyberconflicts in Nigeria: Occupy Nigeria, Boko Haram and MEND by Shola A. Olabode
Platform Economics: Rhetoric and Reality in the “Sharing Economy” by Cristiano Codagnone
Communication as Gesture: Media(tion), Meaning, & Movement by Michael Schandorf
Journalism and Austerity: Digitization and Crisis during the Greek Memoranda by Christos Kostopoulos

Forthcoming Titles:
Chinese Social Media: Face, Sociality, and Civility by Shuhan Chen and Peter Lunt
Posthumanism in Digital Culture: Cyborgs, Gods and Fandom by Callum McMillan
Protest Technologies and Media Revolutions: The Longue Durée edited by Athina Karatzogianni, Michael Schandorf and Ioanna Ferra
This page intentionally left blank
The Emerald Handbook of Digital Media in Greece: Journalism and Political Communication in Times of Crisis

EDITED BY

ANASTASIA VENETI
Bournemouth University, UK

ATHINA KARATZOGIANNI
University of Leicester, UK

emerald PUBLISHING

United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China
# Table of Contents

List of Tables xi

List of Figures xiii

About the Contributors xvii

Dedication xxv

Acknowledgements xxvii

## Chapter 1 Introduction to Digital Media in Greece: Journalism and Political Communication in Times of Crisis

1

*Athina Karatzogianni and Anastasia Veneti*

## Part 1 The Technological: Digital Journalism Transformations

### Chapter 2 Mind the ‘Lag’: The Political Economy of the Internet in Greece

15

*Korinna Patelis*

### Chapter 3 Radio, Web-Radio and Podcasting in Greece: Past, Present and Futures

33

*Evi Karathanasopoulou*

### Chapter 4 SEO and Web Analytics in Journalism: Case Studies from the Greek News Media Landscape

51

*Dimitrios Giomelakis and Andreas Veglis*
Chapter 5  Participatory Journalism in Greece: An Analysis Based on Journalist-centred and Audience-based Studies  
Theodora Saridou and Andreas Veglis

Chapter 6  Citizens as Actors in the Field of Journalism: Exploring Users’ Agency and Perceptions of Participatory Affordances  
Paschalia (Lia) Spyridou

Chapter 7  Online News Consumption Habits of University Students in Greece and Turkey  
Eylem Yanardağoğlu

Chapter 8  Foreign Correspondents: Fading Elitism or a New Professional Discourse in the Light of the Digitisation Era?  
Iliana Giannouli

Part 2 The Economic Crisis: Impact on Digital Journalism

Chapter 9  The Greek Media at the Intersection of the Financial Crisis and the Digital Disruption  
Stylianos Papathanassopoulos

Chapter 10  Alternative Digital Journalism in Greece Under Conditions of Austerity  
Dimitris Boucas and Petros Iosifidis

Chapter 11  Journalistic Professionalism in Greece: Between Chronic and Acute Crises  
Achilleas Karadimitriou

Chapter 12  Affective Labour and Perceptions of Trauma Journalism in Crisis-ridden Countries: A Qualitative Approach  
Lambrini Papadopoulou and Theodora A. Maniou

Christos Kostopoulos
**Table of Contents**

Chapter 14  Self-orientalisation and the ‘Greek Crisis’ in Liberal Mainstream News Media  
*Yiannis Mylonas*  
209

Part 3 The Political: Elections, Campaigns and Political Discourse

Chapter 15  Changes and Shifts in Political Communication and Media Democracy Landscape in Greece from 1981–2020  
*Anastasia Deligiaouri*  
229

Chapter 16  The Brand Has Left the Building: The Cases of Governing PASOK, ND and SYRIZA at a Time of Economic Crisis (2009–2019)  
*Panos Koliastasis*  
245

Chapter 17  Political Elites and Media in Greece: Publicity as an Electoral Factor for Political Personnel  
*Gerasimos Karoulas*  
259

Chapter 18  Them and Us: The Politics of Exclusion in Greece in Times of Polarisation  
*Theofanis Exadaktylos*  
275

Chapter 19  The Rise of SYRIZA in Greece 2009–2015: The Digital Battlefield  
*Nikos Smyrnaios and Athina Karatzogianni*  
289

Chapter 20  Twitter’s Agenda-Building and Agenda-setting Effects: Evidence from Political Leaders in Greece  
*Amalia Triantafillidou, Prodromos Yannas and Anastasia Kani*  
313

Chapter 21  Visual Self-presentation Strategies of Greek Political Leaders through Their YouTube Political Advertisements for the 2019 EU Elections  
*Anastasia Veneti and Petros Ioannidis*  
331
### Table of Contents

**Chapter 22** The Greek Political Leaders on Instagram: Comparing Instagram Activity during Electoral and Non-electoral Periods  
*Stamatis Poulakidakos*

351

**Part 4 The Social: Environment, Homelessness, Migration and Social Movements**

**Chapter 23** From ‘Illegals’ to ‘Unfortunates’: News Framing of Immigration and the ‘Refugee Crisis’ in Crisis-stricken Greece  
*Naya Kalfeli*

369

**Chapter 24** Media Representations of the ‘Voice’ of the Homeless in Street Network Journals During the Greek Economic Crisis: A Case Study of the Street Journal ‘Schedia’  
*Savvas Makridis, Vassiliki Papageorgiou and Dimitrios M. Papadakis*

385

**Chapter 25** Digital Media and Environmental Protests in Greece: #Skouries  
*Charis Gerosideris and Ioanna Ferra*

399

**Chapter 26** Social Media–led Protest Movements: Dangers of Mobilising Large Crowds within an Ideological Void and Heritage to Mediated Mobilisation  
*Stamatia (Matina) Zestanaki*

419

**Index**

435
## List of Tables

**Chapter 4**
- Table 4.1. Media Websites under Study. 56
- Table 4.2. SEO Factors under Study. 57
- Table 4.3. Results of SEO Factors (Dichotomous). 58
- Table 4.4. Nondichotomous SEO Factors. 58

**Chapter 6**
- Table 6.1. Rep. Measures Regression Predicting Propensity to Use Participatory Features, Regardless of Form of Participation. 90

**Chapter 7**
- Table 7.1. List of Participants. 103

**Chapter 8**
- Table 8.1. Participants' Profile. 117

**Chapter 11**
- Table 11.1. List of Interviewees and Type of Media Outlet They Work in. 166

**Chapter 13**
- Table 13.1. Table of Participants. 200

**Chapter 17**
- Table 17.1. Magnitude of Electoral District per Electoral Year for MPs Practicing Media Related Professions. 266
Table 17.2. Positions Occupied Before the First Election for the Greek Political Personnel (MPs, MEPs, Cabinet Members) for the Period 1991–2015.  
268

Chapter 18
Table 18.1. Blame-Shifting Index (BSI) and Exclusivity Index (EI) Scores for Each Newspaper’s Main Editorials Broken Down by Frames.  
284

Chapter 19
Table 19.1. Geographical Provenance of the Tweets Containing the Hashtag #TellEurope.  
300
Table 19.2. Number of Mentions of the Five Candidates on Twitter During the Debate.  
300
Table 19.3. Number of Mentions of the Five Candidates on Twitter on the Morning of May 16.  
301

Chapter 20
Table 20.1. Number of Mentions per Issue in Twitter Feeds, News Media Websites and Mean Scores of Issue Importance by respondents.  
322
Table 20.2. Significant Cross Correlations between Candidates’ Tweets and News Website Coverage by Issue.  
323
Table 20.3. Significant Cross Correlations between Candidates’ Tweets and Public Opinion by Issue.  
324
Table 20.4. Significant Cross Correlations between News Website Coverage and Public Opinion by Issue.  
325

Chapter 21
Table 21.1. Alexis Tsipras N = 15.  
339
Table 21.2. Camera Angle: A. Tsipras.  
340
Table 21.3. Kyriakos Mitsotakis N = 5.  
342

Chapter 22
Table 22.1. Division of the Professional Content of the Politicians’ Accounts (per Period).  
360
Table 22.2. Depicted Connectivity of the Politicians, per Period.  
361
List of Figures

Chapter 6
Figure 6.1. Propensity to Participate by Participatory Feature (%). 86
Figure 6.2. Evaluation of the Functions of Sharing News Content Over Social Media (%). 87
Figure 6.3. Evaluation of Very Low and Low Participation Features (%). 88
Figure 6.4. Evaluation of Medium and High Participation Features (%). 89

Chapter 11
Figure 11.1. Sales (in Thousands) of Newspapers and Magazines (2013–2018). 162
Figure 11.2. Redundancies of Journalists Every Seven Years, According to Unemployment Statements Made to Journalists’ Union of Athens Daily Newspapers. 164

Chapter 17
Figure 17.1. Journalists, Athletes and Artists in the Greek Parliament for the Period 1989–2019. 265
Figure 17.2. Level of Education. 267

Chapter 18
Figure 18.1. Breakdown of Blame-Shifting Index (BSI) Scores by Frame for Each Newspaper’s Main Editorials. 284

Chapter 19
Figure 19.1. Screenshot of Hashtag Reporting with #GRiots During the 2008 Riots. 292
Figure 19.2. Variation of Number of Tweets Containing the Hashtag #TellEurope During the Debate. 297
Figure 19.3. Comparison of Number of Tweets Containing the Hashtag #Eurovision and #TellEurope From 2 to 16 May 2014. 297
Figure 19.4. Comparison of Number of Tweets Containing the Hashtag #EUdebate and #TellEurope From 26 April to 16 May 2014. 298
Figure 19.5. Network of Mentions Around the #TellEurope Hashtag From 15 May at 21h20 to 16 May 2014 at 9h51. 299
Figure 19.6. Search Queries About the Candidates From 22 April to 22 May 2014. 301
Figure 19.7. Number of Tweets Containing SYRIZA From 22 January to 3 February 2015. 305
Figure 19.8. Network of Mentions Around SYRIZA From 17 to 24 January 2015. 306
Figure 19.9. Network of Mentions Around SYRIZA From 27 January to 3 February 2015. 307
Figure 19.10. Network of Mentions Around #GReferendum From 4 to 6 July 2015. 310

Chapter 22

Figure 22.1. Posts with Personal Aspects of the Politicians (per Period) (Fisher’s Exact $p$ Value = 0.001). 357
Figure 22.2. Posts with Private Aspects of the Politicians’ Lives (per Period) (Fisher’s Exact $p$ Value = 1.000). 358
Figure 22.3. Positive Self-image or ‘Attack’ to Political Opponents per Period (Chi-square $p$ Value = 0.766). 359
Figure 22.4. Self-depiction of the Politicians in Their Posts per Period (Fisher’s Exact $p$ Value = 0.028). 359
Figure 22.5. Depiction of Selfies per Period (Fisher’s Exact $p$ Value = 0.000). 361

Chapter 24

Figure 24.1. Content Subject-matter (Topics). 394
Figure 24.2. Voice of Speaker. 394
Figure 24.3. Reason of Homelessness. 395
Chapter 25

Figure 25.1. #Skouries, 28/03/2015, 14:55:59 to 24/03/2015, 17:48:54. 410

Figure 25.2. #Skouries, 05/03/2016, 23:15:37 to 25/02/2016, 13:07:40. 412

Figure 25.3. #Skouries, 21/09/2017, 17:19:45 to 17/09/2017, 17:00:50. 413
A comprehensive, well-organised volume, which eloquently weaves the dynamic interplay of digital media and journalism, political communication within the Greek crisis context. The Handbook offers stimulating discussion and contributes prolific research, along with diverse, engaging examples to the understanding of technological, economic, political and social drives at the crossroads.

Pantelis Vatikiotis, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences

This is an important book for understanding the impact of digital media on the transformation of Greece’s political and social landscape over the past decade. Wide-ranging, thought-provoking and lucidly argued, it provides us with valuable insights into the use of new media technologies and their implications for the political process in times of crisis.

Prof. Dimitris Papadimitriou, Professor of Political Science, University of Manchester

A very welcome and much needed collection and synthesis of the current state of digital media, journalism and politics in Greece. While it is often thought that Greek digital journalism and digital politics lags behind those of other European countries, chapters here reveal a vibrant and diverse digital landscape, constituted as a terrain of political, economic, technological and social struggle. It is a pleasure to read contributions from a new generation of media and journalism researchers alongside those of well-known scholars. This volume is a must read for anyone interested in digital media in Greece and beyond, as it establishes the state of the art in digital media research in protracted crisis and sets the agenda for the future.

Eugenia Siapera, Professor of Information and Communication Studies, School of Information and Communication Studies, University College Dublin
**About the Contributors**

**Dimitris Boucas** is Lecturer at the School of Media and Communication, the University of Westminster. His research interests include digital technology policy, critical Internet studies, media policy and alternative journalism. He recently worked on the EU-funded project netCommons, which examines community networks as complementary or alternative to the standard Internet. Dimitris has published on information society theory and media policy and has taught at various universities, including the LSE, City University of London, the University of Paris (Dauphine) and the University of Piraeus, Greece.

**Anastasia Deligiaouri** is currently a Marie Curie Experienced Research Fellow (MSCA-IF) at the Institute of Future Media and Journalism at the School of Communications in Dublin City University, Ireland, where she works on a project funded by Horizon2020 on e-rulemaking, deliberation and democracy in the EU. She holds a PhD in Political Science, and she has previously served as an Assistant Professor. She has participated in five research projects. She has published on issues of political communication, democratic theory and political discourse. In 2010, she has been a Visiting Research Fellow at the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of Westminster in London, UK, studying models of democracy. She serves as a reviewer at a number of journals, and she is an Associate Editor at the *International Journal of E-Politics*. She has published in several journals, edited volumes and conference proceedings.

**Theofanis Exadaktylos** is Reader in European Politics at the University of Surrey, UK. He holds a PhD in Politics from the University of Exeter, an MSc in European Political Economy: Integration from the LSE and a BA in Economics and International Relations from Tufts University. His research agendas include Europeanisation, public policy reforms and implementation, the politics of crisis, attitudes towards Europe in an age of austerity and the link between populism and public emotional economy, with specific focus on Greek politics. He is the co-editor of the *Journal of Common Market Studies Annual Review*. He has been a consultant with the World Bank in Greece during the financial crisis. His work has appeared in major presses (Oxford University Press, Routledge, Palgrave Macmillan) and in key international journals, such as *Journal of Common Market Studies, Journal of European Integration, Policy & Politics, Policy Studies Journal, International Journal of Communication, European Journal of Politics & Gender*, among others.
Ioanna Ferra is an Assistant Professor at the National Research University Higher School of Economics, Greece. Her interest focuses on digital media, social movements and collective actions, especially as these developed in the global recession context. She has a keen interest in working with digital research methods and exploring new data mining techniques and software for Semantic and Social Network analysis.

Charis Gerosideris is an Assistant Professor in Security Studies at the King Fahd Security College in Saudi Arabia. He holds a PhD in International Relations and Politics, Keele University, focused on Climate Change and Security in Greece. His research interest lies in the intersection of environmental security, energy security and green movements.

Iliana Giannouli is a Journalist and holds a PhD degree from the Department of Communication and Media Studies (NKUA). Her research interests include international news, international journalistic culture and EU journalism. As a journalist in the health industry herself, she is also interested in medical journalism and the challenges of health reporters.

Dimitrios Giomelakis received his PhD in journalism from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Currently, he is a post-doctoral researcher of Media Informatics Lab in the School of Journalism & Mass Communications at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece. He is a graduate of the School of Journalism & Mass Communications. In 2010, he received his Master in Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) for audio-visual production and education from the Polytechnic School of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Among his research interests are news and journalism studies, online journalism, media technology, digital media use, SEO, Web Analytics, Web 2.0 and social media. His work has been published in several scientific journals, edited volumes and conference proceedings.

Petros Ioannidis is a Political Analyst and the founder of aboutpeople, a polls company in Athens, Greece. He studied politics and communication at the University of Lancaster and City University, London. He is the author of 2009, The Last Elections of Metapolitefsis, Athens Voice Books, and co-editor of 2019, The First Elections after the Memorandum, Papazisis Publications. He has published a series of articles in various Greek media outlets.

Petros Iosiﬁdis is Professor of Media Policy at City, University of London (https://www.city.ac.uk/people/academics/petros-iosifidis). He is author of several books including Global Media and Communication Policy (2013), The Public Sphere and Mediated Social Networks (2016, with M. Wheeler) and Global Media and National Policies (2016, with T. Flew and J. Steemers). He has contributed numerous book chapters and has published extensively in peer-review journals. He has served as an ESRC Peer Review College reviewer, as Principal Editor of the Journal of Digital Media & Policy (https://www.intellectbooks.com/journal-of-digital-media-policy) and Co-Editor of the Book Series Palgrave Global Media Policy & Business (http://link.springer.com/bookseries/14699). He is Vice-Chair of IAMCR Global Media
Policy group and has been advisor to the Greek Government on media/communications issues.

**Naya Kalfeli** is a Postdoctoral Researcher at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece, currently working on an ESF (European Social Fund)-funded project on the effects of media representations of immigration and the refugee crisis on intergroup relationships between Greeks and immigrants. She holds a PhD in Journalism (School of Journalism and Mass Communications of Aristotle University), an MA in International and European Studies (Panteion University) and a BA in Journalism and Mass Communications (Aristotle University). Her research interests include media representations of diversity, with a particular interest in immigration and asylum issues, media effects, peace journalism, conflict and crisis reporting and media literacy.

**Anastasia Kani** is a Communication and Digital Media Specialist at the Municipality of Paionia, Greece. She is currently a master’s student in Public Discourse and Digital Media at the University of Western Macedonia. She has a Bachelor’s degree in Digital Media and Communications from the Technological Education Institute of Western Macedonia. Her research interests focus on political communication, e-campaigning and e-government.

**Achilleas Karadimitriou** is Adjunct Lecturer/Research Fellow, Department of Communication and Media Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece. He is a Journalist at the Centre for European Constitutional Law (Athens) and editor-in-chief on digital platform www.syntagmawatch.gr.

**Evi Karathanasopoulou** is a Senior Lecturer in Audio Production at Bournemouth University, UK. She works across theory and practice in the field of Audio Media. She studied classical music in Athens, Greece, before moving to the United Kingdom where she gained a first class (Hons) BA in Media Production: TV & Radio from the University of Sunderland and an MA in Radio from Goldsmiths College. She gained her PhD at the University of Sunderland, researching radio as an intimate medium, while also teaching across undergraduate and postgraduate media courses there. Her doctoral work sets out a typology of radiophonic intimacies. Her latest theory output is an interdisciplinary article on the concept of atmosphere in radio and architecture. Her latest practice output is *Air Free*, an audio installation artwork created as part of an international collaboration with the Goethe-Institut.

**Athina Karatzogianni** is an Associate Professor in Media and Communication at the University of Leicester, UK, and Principal Investigator for the H2020 DigiGen ‘The Impact of Technological Transformations on the Digital Generation’, leading work on ICT and the transformation of civic participation (2019–2022). Her research portfolio, on the impact of digitisation on conflict, economics and security, reflects a commitment to research that is rigorous and innovative, with applied practice that is relevant and internationally influential. She has an extensive record of publications and citations in disciplinary, field-specific and cross-disciplinary research outlets, and has demonstrated sustained success in
securing research income from Research Councils UK and the European Commission. Her most recent book is (2018) Platform Economics: Rhetoric and Reality the “Sharing Economy”. Athina can be contacted at athina.k@gmail.com and her publications can be found open access download in pre-publication form here: https://works.bepress.com/athina_karatzogianni/.

Gerasimos Karoulas is Adjunct Lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Crete in Greece. He had also taught at the Department of Sociology of the University of the Aegean, as well as at the National Centre for Public Administration and Local Government. He holds a PhD in political sociology and political analysis from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. He had participated, as a speaker in several conferences, and still participates in international networks for the research of political representation and political elites. His main research interests are focused on the areas of political representation and elites, political systems and institutions, political parties, political behaviour and political communication. He has published several articles in scientific journals, edited volumes and conference proceedings. He had worked as scientific associate in several research institutions and organisations. He is member of the administrative board of the Hellenic Political Science Association.

Panos Koliastasis holds a PhD in Politics from Queen Mary University of London (QMUL). In his thesis, under the supervision of Prof. Raymond Kuhn, he studied the political communication strategies applied by Greek prime ministers, from a permanent campaign perspective. Currently, he works as a Postdoctoral Researcher in Political Communication at the University of Athens examining the communicative mechanisms behind the promotion of innovative policies in local government. In parallel, he acts as a Teaching Fellow in Politics at Hellenic Open University. He has published in Greek and international journals as well as collective volumes. His research interests include political communication, voting behaviour, comparative politics and local politics.

Christos Kostopoulos is currently a lecturer at Curtin University, Malaysia, and holds a PhD in Media and Communication from the University of Leicester. His research in the journalistic coverage and framing of the Greek Memoranda will be published by Emerald as a monograph under the title Journalism and Austerity: Digitization and Crisis during the Greek Memoranda (2010–2015) in 2020.

Savvas Makridis is Adjunct Lecturer of Hellenic Open University. He holds a BA in ‘Philosophy-Pedagogy & Psychology’ from the University of Athens, a BA in ‘Public Administration’, an MSc in ‘Organizational Behaviour’ and a PhD in ‘Public Administration’ from Panteion University.

Theodora A. Maniou is a faculty member at the University of Cyprus (Program of Journalism, Department of Social and Political Sciences). She holds a PhD and a BA in Journalism (School of Journalism & MC, Aristotle University, Greece) and an MA in Communication’s Policy Studies (City, University of London, UK).

Yiannis Mylonas is Assistant Professor of cultural studies and media sociology at the School of Media at the National Research University Higher School of
Economics in Moscow. His latest publications include ‘Trolling as Transgression: Culture Wars and Subversive Affirmations against Neoliberal Austerity’ (*International Journal of Cultural Studies*, co-authored with Panos Kompatsiaris) and the monograph ‘The “Greek Crisis” in Europe: Race, Class and Politics’ (Brill, 2019). He is currently co-editing a volume on the sociology of creativity (Springer).

**Dimitrios M. Papadakis** holds a Bachelor’s Double Major in Classics and Fine Arts from Mt. Allison University, and a Master’s in Business Organizational Management from Crandall University. As the former Director of International Partnerships, Admissions and Recruitment at McKenzie College, his experience in instruction and administration combines research interests in organisation, communication, media, marketing and strategy, and includes city branding through a sociological lens.

**Lambrini Papadopoulou** teaches at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (School of Journalism and Mass Communications, Greece) and is also a print media journalist. She holds a PhD in Journalism and Media Business Models from the Department of Communication, Media & Culture at Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences (Greece).

**Vasiliki Papageorgiou** is Social Anthropologist and Adjunct Lecturer of Agricultural University of Athens. She holds a BA in ‘History and Ethnology’ from the Demokriteion University and an MA in ‘Social Anthropology’ from the University of Aegean. She also holds a PhD, in ‘Social Anthropology’ from the University of Aegean.

**Stylianos Papathanassopoulos** is Professor in Media Organisation and Policy at the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. He has written extensively on media developments in Europe and Greece. His research interests are on European communications and new media policies as well as political communication. His books: (with Ralph Negrine) *European Media* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011); *Media Perspectives for the 21st Century* (New York: Routledge, 2011); *European Television in the Digital Age; Issues, Dynamics and Realities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002).

**Korinna Patelis** is a 25-year Internet Veteran with a PhD on Political Economy of Internet Communications from Goldsmiths College embarked upon when the web was still in its infancy. Academic, activist and policy maker, she has worked in a wide range of industries and cultures in both sides of the Atlantic, taught and published widely in Internet Studies on undergraduate and postgraduate levels, as well as in the media. Her research is on critical political economy, technocapitalism, commercial A.I., technopia and software as a cultural text, navigating a wide range of issues in an interdisciplinary fashion including free market messianism, digital and science policy, epistemology and NLP, digital determinism, oligopoly algorithms, financialisation and self-regulation. In 2011, as an Assistant Professor of Ethics, Deontology and Policy at the Internet Studies Department at the CUT she initiated the Unlike Us Network in collaboration with Geert Lovink.
and the Institute of Network Cultures. Her consultancy curated the Syriza 2015 digital campaign strategy. She was a special advisor on digital policy at MinD-digital, where she created the Institute for Technology Politics and the Future, an institute researching the future of automation, skills work and utopia in neoliberal Greece.

Stamatis Poulakidakos is Laboratory Teaching Staff at the Department of Communication and Media Studies of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (NKUA). He holds a BA and a PhD degree from the Department of Communication and Media Studies (NKUA) and an MA degree in New Media, Information and Society (Research Track) from the London School of Economics (LSE). He has worked as Lecturer at Bournemouth University. He is specialised in media monitoring, propaganda and quantitative content analysis. He has taken part in many research projects and in various Greek and international conferences. He has authored the book Propaganda and Public Discourse. The presentation of the MoU by the Greek Media (Athens: DaVinci Books) and co-edited Media Events: A Critical Contemporary Approach (London: Palgrave Macmillan). In addition, he has published several papers on political communication, propaganda, social media and the public sphere, political advertisements, social movements and other media-related issues.

Theodora Saridou is a PhD student in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. She received her BSc in Law and her MSc in Journalism and New Media, both from the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. Her doctorate research focuses on changing conditions in online media due to audience participation in the news production process. Her academic interests include participatory journalism, user-generated content, churnalism and online news production. She has professional experience as a journalist, while part of her research results has been published in leading academic journals and presented in conferences.

Nikos Smyrnaios is an Associate Professor in digital media at the University of Toulouse. His research includes the political economy of online media, digital journalism and the political use of social media. He has published Internet Oligopoly: The Corporate Takeover of Our Digital World (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2018).

Paschalia (Lia) Spyridou is Assistant Professor at the School of Communication and Media Studies at Cyprus University of Technology. She holds an MA in Communication from the University of Westminster and received her PhD in Journalism and New Media from the Aristotle University. Her research work lies in the field of digital journalism studies. Her research interests include participatory journalism, algorithmic news and personalisation, digital news production, and alternative media. She has published in Journalism, Journalism Studies, Digital Journalism, European Journal of Communication, International Communication Gazette, and Journal of European Public Policy, among others.
Amalia Triantafillidou is an Assistant Professor of Communication and Public Relations in the Department of Communication and Digital Media at the University of Western Macedonia. She holds a PhD in Marketing from Athens University of Economics and Business. Her research interests focus on public relations, e-campaigning, e-government and crisis communication management. She has published in referred journals such as *Computers in Human Behavior, Public Relations Review, International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, Journal of Consumer Behaviour, International Journal of Retail and Distribution Management, Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management*, etc.

Andreas Veglis is Professor of media technology, and head of the Media Informatics Lab at the School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He has served as an editor, member of scientific board and reviewer in various academic journals. Prof. Veglis has more than 150 peer-reviewed papers on media technology and journalism. Specifically, he is the author or co-author of 12 books, he has published 76 papers on scientific journals and he has presented 125 papers in international and national conferences. Prof. Veglis has been involved in 30 national and international research projects. His research interests include information technology in journalism, new media, drone journalism, data journalism, big data, social media, open data and fake news verification.

Anastasia Veneti is Principal Academic in the Faculty of Media and Communication at Bournemouth University (UK) and Program Leader of the MA International Political Communication. Her research lies in the intersection of media and politics, including political communication, digital political campaigning, media framing, protests and social movements, visual communication and photojournalism. Her work has been published in various edited volumes and academic journals. She is the author of *Political Advertising and Citizens’ Perceptions* (Nisos, 2009 in Greek) and co-editor (with D. Jackson and D. Lilleker) of *Visual Political Communication* (Palgrave, 2019).

Eylem Yanardağoğlu is an associate professor and head of the New Media department at Kadir Has University in Istanbul. She received her PhD at City, University of London, Sociology department, in 2008 where she studied the relationship between Europeanisation, citizenship and media in Turkey. She taught courses on Introduction to New Media, New Media Theories, Social Media, Sociology of News, International Communication, Alternative Media at various undergraduate levels. Having published extensively on the state of Turkish media and journalism, she continues to research on issues of citizenship, digital transformation of news consumption and production. Her research interests also include production and distribution of Turkish TV series.

Prodromos Yanas is Professor of International Relations and Communication-Publicity in the Department of Business Administration at the University of West Attica. He holds a BA in Economics from the College of Wooster (1981), an MA in Political Science from Miami University (1982) and a PhD in International Relations from the American University (1989). He has taught in the United

Stamatia (Matina) Zestanaki has been a researcher, lecturer and teacher of Media Sociology at City, University of London since 2010. She holds a PhD in Media Sociology from City, University of London, an MA in Political Communication and New Technologies and a BA in Communications and Mass Media, from the National Kapodistrian University of Athens. Her research is looking at the nexus of new media ecologies, political communication and civic/protest mobilization within deep mediatization with an emphasis in qualitative and reflexive mixed methods. Before living and working as an academic in the UK she had worked as a journalist in Greece for the best part of a decade, mainly in publishing and television, covering both social, political, educational and medical issues. She has also been the editor of a specialized bimonthly publication. In 2005 she worked for an EU documentary production as an investigative journalist, interviewer and co-script writer. She is a member of the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and her work combines freelance journalistic projects, activism and academic research and teaching with a critical viewpoint.
To Petros
To Sebastian
Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge all those who assisted us in completing this project. We first wish to thank the editorial team at Emerald Publishing, in particular Jen McCall, Carys Morley, Katy Mathers and Harriet Notman for their constant guidance and help in the preparation of the manuscript. Second, we would like to extend our thanks to all of the contributing authors for their hard work and their dedication to this endeavour. Finally, we are grateful to Elias Tsaoussakis for kindly offering the copyright permission of his photo to be used for the cover of this book.
This page intentionally left blank
Chapter 1

Introduction to Digital Media in Greece: Journalism and Political Communication in Times of Crisis

Athina Karatzogianni and Anastasia Veneti

This edited volume is a handbook of 26 original chapters providing an innovative and comprehensive contribution to political communication and journalism studies in Greece. It is the first of its kind in the English-speaking world on this subject because it brings together leading and emerging scholars in these fields in a contemporary discussion around the developments brought forward by digital media and communication technologies, specifically addressing political communication and journalism, within the Greek crisis context.

The severe Greek crisis starting from 2009 created an unprecedented interest in Greek history, political culture and society because of its global and European implications. There has been intense coverage and mediatisation of Greece in the international press during a period of accelerated digitisation and disruption of both the global and Greek national news industry. Indeed, Greek political communication and journalism was hit by two major forces: First, the financial crisis, which progressed to an economic, then a political and eventually a social and cultural crisis in Greece. Second, by the transformations and disruptions accelerated due to digital everyday networked technologies impacting news media in Greece at the same period.

In order to capture this double movement, the handbook is divided in four parts. The first part addresses The Technological: Digital Journalism Transformations (the political economy of the Internet in Greece, web radio and podcasting, web analytics in journalism, participatory and citizen journalism, professional discourse and digitisation and online news consumption). The second part investigates The Economic Crisis: Impact on Digital Journalism (the financial crisis and digital disruption, alternative digital journalism and austerity, journalistic professionalism in crisis, trauma journalism and affective labour, journalistic freedom and self-censorship and self-orientalisation in mainstream media). The third part focuses on The Political: Elections, Campaigns and Political Discourse (shifts in political communication historically, branding and
major parties, publicity as an electoral factor, politics of exclusion and polarisation, the rise of SYRIZA and the digital battlefield and three chapters covering Twitter, YouTube and Instagram use by Greek political leaders, respectively. The fourth part examines The Social: Environment, Homelessness, Migration & Social Movements (the news framing of immigration and the refugee crisis, media representations of homelessness and street networks, the environmental movement on Twitter, ideology and protest heritage in social media protests).

**Part 1: The Technological: Digital Journalism Transformations** kicks off with a foundation text to situate the political economy of the Internet in Greece (Chapter 2). Korinna Patelis theorises the Internet in Greece by placing it at the centre of Greek media offering a political economy that recasts it in a culturalist fashion. To achieve this, Patelis critically addresses the country’s alleged lag in cyberspace and asks why the Internet’s hegemonic role in the advancement of neoliberal policies and technoliberalism worldwide was never performed in Greece. It places the country’s wide disdain for the technoliberal subject at the core of understanding of why the web mediations were so neatly denied over three decades across industry, policy and research. It centres around Internet remediations to argue that the Internet in Greece has been conceptualised as a nonmedia through the idea of lagging behind, essentially a construct veiling neoliberalism at work. It situates the advent of the web in Greece’s media boom to argue that media power, as articulated in Greece necessarily excluded the web, fetishising terrestrial broadcasting on the way to the neoliberal dismantling of culture, the media and everyday life, way before the Troika.

In Chapter 3, Evi Karathanasopoulou investigates web radio and podcasting in Greece, exploring their past, current status and considering possible futures. The analysis begins from broadcast radio in order to explore the, sometimes complex, relationships between traditional and new digital formats, particularly as these exist in an already financially and politically challenging terrain. Through primary and secondary research, this contributor navigates the radio landscape in a country that is now emerging from a long financial crisis. As there is very little writing on Greek podcasting, Karathanasopoulou provides a snapshot of what currently exists and suggests possible functions and creative avenues for it in Greece moving forward.

In Chapter 4, Dimitrios Giomelakis and Andreas Veglis offer major findings of two studies regarding the use and impact of SEO and web analytics on news websites and journalism profession in Greece. The journalism profession has radically changed due to the digitisation and the development of new media. As content is moving online, rapidly evolving Internet technologies has affected basic journalistic work processes. In this context, changes in technology as well as audience engagement have greatly expanded the skills required to be a professional journalist nowadays. A number of studies have shown that search engines constitute an important source of the traffic to online news outlets around the world, identifying the significance of top rankings in search results. Concurrently, in the digital age, the interest in monitoring online activities as well as the significance of studying the traffic data has intensified. Through examination of a
sample of Greek journalists and several Greek news websites, it provides new insights in the field of digital journalism.

In their chapter on participatory journalism in Greece, Theodora Saridou and Andreas Veglis produce an analysis based on journalist-centred and audience-based studies (Chapter 5). Professional journalism has recently been studied through the lens of audience participation in the production of news online. While initial enthusiasm for democratisation and community reinforcement was significant, empirical evidence points towards unwillingness for fundamental reconstruction of journalistic practices. This chapter aims to map participatory journalism in Greece through the synthesis of accumulated research on the adoption of participatory features and practices in online news media and on audience perspectives of engaging in new roles during news process. Professionals seem hesitant to support a different but the traditional relationship with the users, while even users themselves get involved in activities that require little time and effort, not challenging journalistic norms via creative content production. However, both journalists and audience are positive toward a new collaborative way of managing and exploiting user-generated content, which can support participatory environments that reshape the incorporation of users’ contributions in the daily workflows.

In Chapter 6, Paschalia (Lia) Spyridou sheds light on whether the participatory journalism can disrupt the field of journalism. The concept of participatory journalism draws attention to the shortcomings of established journalism by emphasising the role of the audience for boosting pluralism, transparency, deliberation and media accountability. Drawing on field theory, Spyridou investigates the level and preferred forms of participation and provides evidence on how users perceive of the participatory affordances offered through news media websites. Although users assign public discourse functions to participatory avenues, the study confirms the reluctant audience paradigm and the popularity of tools enabling low editorial capacity. From a field perspective, it is argued that although users’ doxa denotes democratising ideas about participation, their behaviour is ultimately driven by their weak habitus (position) in the field. To use Bourdieu’s metaphor, the power in the journalistic game still lies in the hands of professionals; users are not willing or capable of disrupting the norms and practices of mainstream journalism.

Eylem Yanardağoğlu contributes a comparative study of online news consumption habits of university students in Greece and Turkey (Chapter 7). The challenges of digitalisation on news organisations, future of newspapers and other traditional media present an ongoing struggle. Although there is a general decline in news consumption in all cohorts, youth in specific seems to be ‘tuning out’ of news globally (Mindich, 2005). The Digital News Report (2016) published by the Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism reported that news accessed via social media sites was increasing in Europe (average 46%), where Greece and Turkey were high adoption countries with 74% and 73% usage rates, respectively. These numbers dropped in the 2018 report to 66% in Turkey and 71% in Greece. This research offers a qualitative analysis of the factors that influence youth’s news consumption behaviour Greece and in Turkey. The data collection took
place in 2017 and 2018 in Athens and in Istanbul with voluntary participation of 40 college students who study in public and private universities.

An investigation as to how foreign correspondents perceive digitisation is conducted by Iliana Giannouli in Chapter 8. For many decades, foreign correspondents have been regarded as a highly prestigious press corps with the core proposition of bearing witness to events in remote places. However, the advent of the Internet and the new technologies has challenged this position. Citizens living in places where the events occur can make use of a wide range of digital technologies and inform the rest of the world, without the need for the journalist intermediaries who were essential in the past. In addition, the new economic pressures brought to legacy media by the digital technology have paved the way for the rise of a new type of foreign correspondent, the multiskilled staffer, who has to be technologically literate in order to fulfil his daily task. This study based on 51 interviews with foreign correspondents aims at investigating how the foreign correspondents perceive these trends in their daily working routines and if the digital technology has caused a deprofessionalization of the foreign correspondence or we are witnessing the emergence of a new professional discourse which embraces a new core of professional traits.

In Part 2: The Economic Crisis: Impact on Digital Journalism, Stylianos Papathanassopoulos demonstrates that although important players in the Greek Media lost power, and although media changed hands, the majority of media owners still come from other sectors of the economy, principally in shipping, energy, constructions and sports (Chapter 9). Greece provides another, although timid, example of how financial crisis and the technological advancements have affected national media systems. In the media sector, the recent financial crisis brought major losses of advertising revenues, while telecommunication companies have entered the field providing the Greeks with triple play services at lower rates. But in one way or another, the main players have remained the same. This chapter investigates the new conditions in the Greek media sector and highlights the consequences of the fiscal crisis in terms of sales, profit losses, decreased advertising spending, salaries and emerging costs.

In Chapter 10, Dimitris Boucas and Petros Iosiﬁdis examine how alternative digital journalism operates in the broader context of the austerity economy in Greece. Using as a background the historical interweaving of interests between economic power, political power and media, the chapter explores the current state of digital journalism in Greece and whether it can flourish and serve the ideals of independence, objectivity and pluralism. The Internet provides new possibilities for pluralism in journalism and gives rise to alternative media outlets that purport objectivity and independence from vested economic interests (e.g., advertising) and political pressures. However, the financial sustainability of such ventures is questionable and the regulatory framework in a heavily concentrated Greek media ecology is weak or nonexisting. In this chapter, Boucas and Iosiﬁdis analyse the origins and mission statements of selected cases of alternative digital media outlets/projects, as well as their financing sources and business models. They also discuss sustainability issues and the limits to alternative digital journalism. The chapter’s empirical data derive from desktop research, short
structured interviews with academics and longer semistructured interviews with key actors of alternative digital media.

Achilleas Karadimitriou analyses how journalists perceive, assess and manage the crisis of their profession in today’s networked media landscape, characterised by unprecedented phenomena such as the rise of churnalism, posttruth journalism and fake news in the context of new trends with regard to how the Greek audience is seeking information and consuming news (Chapter 11). Crisis in journalism is a widely discussed and controversial topic in Greece since 2009 when economic recession afflicted the Greek society. However, the last decade of financial hardships and ownership changes in the Greek media sector (2009–2019) gave rise to a widening of perception on the part of journalists of what really crisis stands for when it comes to their profession. While existing research on journalism profession has tended to emphasise the conversion of journalist into a multitasked employee towards audience members who treat journalism with suspicion, the present research, by employing 25 in-depth interviews with Greek leading news media professionals from all types of media outlets (press, television, radio and news websites), focuses on to what extent journalists by themselves are critical of their profession’s vulnerabilities. These include the lack of genuine investigative journalism, alienation from the actual reporting based on primary material and manipulation of media professionals within an unstable market. The research gives insights into journalists’ opinions and attitudes with regard to the symptoms indicating that journalism in Greece is suffering from chronic and acute crises related to the extraction and dissemination of news, the relationship of journalists with media owners and the operation of the media market.

In Chapter 12, Lambrini Papadopoulou and Theodora Maniou assess the trauma that media professionals experience as eyewitnesses of the disturbing and intense events associated with their everyday working routine. In particular, the study examines recent profession-based reports on journalistic trauma to explore affective labour in media ecosystems of crisis-ridden countries and the impact of covering traumatic events on media professionals. Based on qualitative research, this work aims to reconceptualise journalism as a primarily affective profession in the crisis-ridden countries of Southeastern Europe.

Meanwhile, in Chapter 13, Christos Kostopoulos investigates journalistic practice in Greece during the period of the memoranda (2010–2015). By focussing on press journalism the research probes journalistic practice and structuration by investigating how communicating with political sources and managing incoming information took place in the significant case of the Greek memoranda. Furthermore, the chapter investigates these practices in order to determine what they can reveal about the Greek press system as well. An innovative multilevel theoretical framework is introduced, which combines insights from political economy and framing theory, in order to shed light on journalistic practice in content production, and media system structures. Original data stemming from 12 semistructured interviews with Greek journalists that covered that memoranda are presented, in order to reveal the structuration of Greek journalism and how the structure of the newspaper constraints journalistic practice in content production and in the collection of information from political sources. The chapter
ultimately argues that Greek press journalism developed in an even further entrenched political role during and postcrisis, due to the political and economic developments of the crisis and their impact in the press system. This entrenched political role had a significant role in how incoming information regarding the memoranda was managed and what kind of options Greek journalists had when constructing news about the case.

This part concludes with Yannis Mylonas’s chapter on orientalisation and the ‘Greek crisis’ in liberal mainstream news media (Chapter 14). The Greek debt crisis (2009–2018) was an event that received unprecedented media attention worldwide. The media reproduced a highly negative image of Greece, addressing the crisis in exceptionalist terms, usually under a moralistic and culturalist explanatory framework. Drawing on earlier research, this chapter focuses on the culturalist discourses developed by popular Greek mainstream news media, of conservative and liberal political orientation, such as Kathimerini, Athens Voice and Protagon.gr. Through what is understood as a ‘self-orientalizing’ process, such media tend to reproduce the neoorientalist hegemonic crisis and austerity discursive construction, as enunciated by the EU’s political and economic establishment. Under this lens, austerity emerges as a modernising project that would presumably correct Greece’s irregularities and would make Greece European and economically competitive for global capitalism. The period studied concerns the years of the crisis between 2010 and 2015. The analysis discloses the classist underpinnings of such discursive repertoires and their antipolitical and antidemocratic character. The analysis also discusses the disciplinary effects of such media practices, which mystify austerity and the processes of expropriation it unfolds, and passivizes civic culture and counterhegemonic resistances, by promoting a collective ‘self-bashing’ strategy.

In Part 3: The Political: Elections, Campaigns and Political Discourse, Anastasia Deligiaouri tracks the changes and shifts in political communication and media democracy landscape in Greece from 1981 to 2019 (Chapter 15). The introduction of new communicative ethics in political communication has imposed new procedures and values in politics. The close interrelation of media and politics has many facets and effects on the way politics is exercised and on how it is perceived by the citizens. Deligiaouri investigates how new methods of political communication have been introduced and internalised in Greek politics. By taking into account critical political events and in particular elections and relevant studies, the ‘Greek media democracy’ is divided into six periods covering a time span from 1981 to the present. The division and analysis underline the milestones and transition paths in Greek politics towards new communicative and political ethics. The rationale of this research is commensurate with many comparative studies which emphasise the importance of the context in the adaptation of the ‘Americanized’ political communication model. The chapter also reflects on how the specific socio-political context of the country has interfered, defined and shaped the adaptation of ‘imported’ methods in political communication and how these methods have resulted in significant changes and shifts in Greek media democracy and Greek politics in general.
In Chapter 16, Panos Koliastasis examines the communication strategies of three Greek governments (PASOK, New Democracy, SYRIZA) in the period 2009–2019. From a relational political brand perspective, newly elected governments are primarily concerned with maintaining the trust of the electoral coalition that brought them in office in order to secure their re-election. Hence, as Needham (2005) has suggested, governing parties tend to employ a political communication strategy aimed at promoting an effective brand consisted of six components: simplicity, uniqueness, reassurance, aspiration, values and credibility. In this context, this study examines the communication strategies of three Greek governments against these six branding criteria. Following a qualitative methodological approach, the study analyses the key speeches of the respective prime ministers along with polling evidence and secondary data. It argues that all these three governments failed to be reelected once the implemented the memoranda, not only because of the unpopular nature of the austerity measures but also because of their failure to fully retain their political brands in office since they hardly succeed to deliver on their promises, though it is unclear whether they self-consciously employed such a branding strategy.

Gerasimos Karoulas investigates publicity as an electoral factor for political personnel though an examination of the main profiles and paths of the politicians having practised media-related professions, during the last 30 years in Greece (Chapter 17). The ‘symbiotic’ relationship between media and politics has multiple effects on the way political elites act and behave. However, only limited attention has been given on the impact of contemporary media in the emerging, recruitment and composition of the political elites. Drawing heavily on the various approaches of social, political and media capital, and taking advantage of two related databases offering quantitative data, Karoulas demonstrates that media have a considerable impact in political selection procedure, given the fact that elected candidates with a media background have increased considerably during the last years, their candidacies are mainly addressed to wide electorates, while media constitutes an important path for the elections in political elites’ positions.

Further, in Chapter 18, Theofanis Exadaktylos assesses how embedded political polarisation has become in setting up the electoral campaigns for the 2019 General Election between the two main contenders, SYRIZA and New Democracy in the way they projected their political narrative in the public sphere. Political parties frequently engage in exclusionary narratives resulting in a game of blame-shifting. While this is understandably part of political life, claiming responsibility is decreasing and blame attribution is increasing in times of crisis as political actors seek to minimise political cost and rally supporters. Crises also create fertile ground for polarisation as affected citizens look for quick solutions and are driven to the extremes of the political spectrum. That effect has been demonstrated in Greece: political parties in the first years of the Greek financial crisis (2009–2012) engaged in an endless game of blame-shifting and exclusion, which was replicated within opinion pieces within mainstream press. This resulted in the polarisation of society with new political cleavages emerging, most notably on the pro/antiausterity divide. Within the context of this divide, populist rhetoric...
assisted exclusion as the two sides tried to demarcate boundaries, identify allies and enemies and reinforce a ‘Them’ vs ‘Us’ dichotomy to consolidate their identities. Using substantive content analysis of framing, the chapter collected opinion pieces written from the day the election was announced (26 May) to the day after the result (8 July) in two newspapers: New Democracy – leaning Kathimerini – and SYRIZA – leaning Avgi. The chapter identified the blame frames of the two sides and assessed polarisation by coding for the tone of references using an exclusivity index, suggesting that both newspapers engaged in a race of blame, bringing the political debate to the forefront, and ensuring that polarisation was transferred into the public sphere, consolidating the ‘them’ versus ‘us’ divide.

Nikos Smyrnaios and Athina Karatzogianni examine the rise of SYRIZA during 2009 and 2015 and analyse the digital battlefield of that period using data analytics as well as interviews with key players (Chapter 19). SYRIZA managed to build international support up to the January 2015 election with very limited resources, and against mainstream coverage, by relying essentially on grassroots movements and social media. They show how approaching to power, SYRIZA’s political, but also communication strategy, became more institutionalised and relied less on grassroots campaigning. Methodologically, their research is based on the following research techniques: First, interviews with activists and members of the party as well as observations inside its social media team. Second, the study of online content and data from 2006 to 2015. Overall, the chapter demonstrates that SYRIZA’s campaign on the Internet relied mainly on alternative media activists, who acquired a specific savoir faire and developed international networks, during the intense anti-austerity social movement, which took place in Greece between 2010 and 2013. The campaign was also supported by young experts from the private sector that contributed on a voluntary basis. Nevertheless, SYRIZA’s success was mainly due to the European political context and the opportunities it offered to the radical Left, rather than the party’s communication strategy, which in any case suffered both from a lack of means, as well as from a somewhat chaotic (non)organisation.

To continue, in Chapter 20, Amalia Triantafillidou, Prodromos Yannas and Anastasia Kani shed light on the interrelationships that exist between politicians’ Twitter agendas, news websites agendas and public agendas at the first level, during the 2019 Greek parliamentary elections, for the two front-runners of the elections Kyriakos Mitsotakis and Alexis Tsipras. Three studies were conducted to assess the issue agendas of candidates’ tweets, news websites coverage and the issue importance of the public for an 18-day period prior to the elections. At the issue level, although Twitter and media agendas align more, they are distinct from public agenda. Overall, Twitter proved to be an ineffective tool for influencing the news websites and public agendas during the 2019 Greek Parliamentary elections with online media agendas being slightly more powerful. Moreover, the public agenda did play a role in shaping Twitter as well as media content but in a counterbalancing manner. In addition, this study confirmed that agenda building and setting dynamics at both levels vary based on the issue and candidate being analysed.