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Abstract

The Global financial crisis has affected almost all European countries and members of the European Union but Greece is one of the most affected. Although Greece invested in ‘media events diplomacy’ by organizing the 2004 Athens Olympic Games in order to improve its image around the world, it failed in redefining the position of the country, since its public diplomacy was still focusing on cultural and educational links and attracting tourists. As a result, the media covering the Greek recession depicted the country in a really negative way, using expressions like ‘bad’ and ‘good’ Europeans and ‘lazy’ southerners. Additionally, media coverage of the Greek debt crisis has been dominated by dramatic pictures of situations like corruption, extensive tax evasion, the inefficient illegal system and bureaucracy in Greece, and not by an analysis of the complicated Greek economic situation. Greece’s public diplomacy has no well-coordinated and central direction. This thesis tries to examine how both foreign and Greek media depict the Greek recession using data from specific mass media around the world.
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Introduction

Focus of the study
Public diplomacy is a quite fresh research field. It was brought to light during the last century when the media and the public started examining diplomacy. It turned into a more essential field during the Cold War, designed to collect support for the sensitive balance of nuclear weapons and the ideological battle for the hearts and minds of people around the world. Public diplomacy during the Cold War became the inspiration for much research regarding the different ways the powerful nations and other countries used to achieve their global objectives. Diplomacy took a different way of development after the September 11, 2001, when terrorist attacks occurred in New York and Washington.

The current recession began in December 2007 and originates from the USA’s mortgage market. Mortgages were being offered to people who simply couldn't afford to have one. Accordingly, the property market collapsed and the economic downturn quickly spread to the rest of the world’s financial system and as a result there is a global recession that every country in Europe struggle to avoid it with their manners and resources and with the support of the International Monetary Fund. In addition to that, in Greece there was a political shift that changed all the facts in people’s life. Greece’s public diplomacy has no well-coordinated and central direction. It is significant that the professional development and elevation of Press and Communication Office members, as well as their posting abroad have no clear rules and no prior preparation (http://icp-forum.gr/wp/?p=1301). Additionally, Greece’s public diplomacy is also vaguely defined, using the old and outdated logic of promoting Greece as an attractive holiday destination (Fola, 2009).

The contribution of this research paper lies to the fact that it will attempt to analyze the way Greek and foreign mass media approach the crisis and how this situation has affected media and public diplomacy.
Objectives and research questions

The main goal of this study is to analyze the way Greek and foreign mass media represent Greek political news and whether and how public diplomacy is used on this field.

The research objectives are:
1. Did crisis affect media and public diplomacy in Greece?
2. How did media react in this situation?
3. What did media do and continue to do for maintaining their diplomacy through their strategies?

Structure of the Dissertation

There are several methodological approaches used to investigate public diplomacy, like paradigms, case studies and comparative analysis.

A case study will be used for the purposes of this research. A case study explores a research topic or phenomenon within its context, or within a number of real-life contexts. Yin (2009) also highlights the importance of context, adding that, within a case study, the boundaries between the phenomenon being studied and the context within which it is being studied are not always apparent. This is potentially an advantage of the case study strategy.

Based on research aim, there was adopted a qualitative methodology of content analysis. The choice of Mass media was based on specific criteria. For representability reasons, the newspapers that were selected are different enough from each other. The newspaper “The News” is a newspaper of great resonance with explicit political orientation, the Newspaper “Kathimerini” appeals to another political orientation, “To Ethnos” is also a political newspaper with specific orientation usually refers to more financial issues and finally, “Eleftheros Typos” is a political newspaper with a more balanced political orientation.

As for the foreign mass media there were chosen representative newspapers from 5 countries (Wall Street Journal from USA, Financial Times from the UK, Le Figaro from France, Süddeutsche Zeitung from Germany and La Stampa from Italy), in order to build a global view. There were also used the websites of the previous mentioned mass media.
The research focuses on basic terms of political communication and it places in the center of analysis both the domestic and the foreign political news, as they appeared in the previous mentioned mass media. For each means was studied sample of 10 days in time space of the period 1-10 December 2015. These periods were selected because of the repeated changes in political level in the country and the big agitation that existed, due to the general situation and the discussions on debt reformation and because of the great changes that were about to come in taxation and insurances. During the analysis is being realized an analytical research of the way Greek media present the issues related to recession, but a general assessment of the way foreign media approach the situation.

Qualitative approach relies on observation and personal experiences, so it is more theoretical and subjective. Researchers who follow a qualitative approach study the subject in their natural setting while those who use quantitative research aim is to produce generalized results, so they explore their subject in a controlled field of study. The aim of the qualitative research differs according to the disciplinary background,. Qualitative methods examine why and how a decision has been made and has a strong basis in the field of sociology to understand government and social programs, and is popular among political science, social work, and special education and education majors (Patton, 2002).

The reason why the certain mass media where chosen was that they were the ones with the greatest viewership. There were read 26 related articles and 50 newspapers’ front pages to collect the data needed.

The first chapter of this dissertation offers a presentation and analysis of media and public diplomacy in general in order to get on track with the rest of the dissertation. The second chapter refers to financial crisis both generally and specifically for the situation in Greece, so that the reader can deeply understand the political and economic frame of the study. The third chapter analyzes the methodology used to conduct this research and the fourth chapter presents the results of the analysis, while after the analysis are presented some conclusions and recommendations.
Chapter 1: Media and public diplomacy

1.1 Media

1.1.1 Media and their role in modern society.
In current period, we experience the rapid evolution of technology, instant information and the media perfection. The media, with their stunning feature, the audio and video combination with their sharpness, ensure the "technological bridge between information and understanding". This has created an open "educational environment", which according to the service knowledge positively or negatively affect the society. The media are nowadays almost exclusive sources of information about the happenings in the world. Research has shown that the way in which media define the theme of the awareness of public space orients the way people think about them.

All modern information and media addressed to the broad strata of the people concerning political, social, cultural and scientific issues. These include: the press (newspapers, magazines, books), radio, television and exercising a catalytic effect on all levels of life of a society, especially today with the rapid evolution of technology.

Effects in society: Depending on the quality of the information, how they operate and the audience which it is addressed, depends how much and how they affect them.

A. Positive: When the update is responsible and objective, and the public's quality good, then the effect is positive because:

1. Become a source of knowledge, information and new scientific and technological developments and data, which helps humans to adapt to the new reality.

2. Inform for everything that happens on a global scale and the person being aware of the objective conditions, can plan and organize his life correctly. It also has the ability to synchronize with the new socio-economic conditions, created in the global community.

3. Offer to the public cultural and intellectual goods, modern and past and thus broaden their knowledge and sharpen their judgment.

4. Through media we acquire knowledge faceted, judging and utilizing the events, recruiting new ideas, forming an integrated conception of things.
5. Contribute to the communication of the people and the interaction of their culture, creation of friendship, cooperation and solidarity.

6. Inform, sensitize and enlighten people around the large, diverse and complex global problems and promote the efforts made to solve them.

7. Are the means of circulation of ideas and ideologies contribute to the development of the crisis, of the person and freedom from dogmatism and prejudices, broaden their intellectual horizons and make active participant in political and social life. Where the information is unbiased and multifaceted, the citizen acquires view so having the opportunity to participate in social and political debate and control the political leadership.

8. They serve as controllers of the decision-makers and help to prevent scandals and abuse of power. Even in social control criticize the exploitation of human beings, racism and injustice. Citizens finally, who are informed appropriately, when the media function properly, sensitized to social problems such as racism, violence, terrorism, illiteracy, suppression of human rights and then struggle to resolve them and ensure social regularity. Well informed and aware citizens, struggling for justice and meritocracy and resist in blind partisanship and polarization, vote responsibly and strive for a healthier democracy.

B. Negative: When media lacks of objectivity or operating under specific interests, then a negative effect, called "sensationalism", take place as follow:

1. Distracts the public from the real problems, or misrepresenting the events, serving some political and economic interests and ideological considerations.

2. Cultivate passions and hatreds, or fanaticizes audiences with the political and ideological propaganda to achieve specific purposes. Strengthen the spirit of racism and nationalism.

3. "brain wash" by the propaganda, which is the best means of undermining society.


5. Put forward false life standards, or create fictitious needs of members of society, or viewing as a maximum value for money. Therefore, promote the consumption model of life and material values.
6. Restrict the dialogue because of the image and by extension the contact persons.

7. Mistreat the language, so to alienate and to degrade.

8. Are means to promote "propaganda" which can manipulate people.

9. Alleges scenes or violence that adversely affects specifically the psyche of young people and especially children.

10. Create artificial tension and scaremongering from nonexistent facts or impose their immense power unworthy persons in senior positions and undermine the social and political institutions and its very existence of democracy.

11. Violate the privacy of branded and anonymous citizens. This fundamental property, privacy, risk of delinquency of many who love to live through the lives of others. Devices Gps, web cameras, latest mobile phones with integrated digital cameras, cameras and hundreds of other high-tech applications, have been employed for the collection and crowd holding personal moments millions of unsuspecting people famous or silver. Undoubtedly, the development of these new technologies, creating an unprecedented potential invasion of privacy of the individual. It is a fact that many people have thought and expressed openly, on the fair or not, holding the privacy of each of the media. Undoubtedly, therefore, the technology enables journalists to source material, in opposite circumstances would be unthinkable to take.

1.1.2 Proper operation requirements

To work properly media should apply some ethics rules, applicable without physically possible censorship. Also in this will also contribute to stop the person opposite to, that. It depends on the spiritual level and the defense mechanisms developed. Proper operation requires:

a) Democratic function that guarantees freedom of the press, expression and support, since these ensured the participation of all social actors in the formulation of sound and objective information or criticism (shaping public positive or negative) opinion.

b) The global, all-round, high-quality and objective information to the public.

c) Quality and not just commercial considerations in the choice of subjects.

d) Raising issues, news and events that do not affect the public sentiment.

e) Accurate and timely information to the public.
f) Moral, intellectual activity, awareness of responsibilities of the leaders of the media.
g) Critical attitude of the recipient itself, which of course depends on spiritual culture and spiritual impulses.
h) Evaluation, control and logic processing of messages from the recipient.
i) The correct decoding of the messages, which is due to the education and exemption from bigotry or prejudice the recipient.

1.1.3 Media and the functions they perform

Communication is an expression of our sociability. It is human need and integral part of human relationships. The language (oral and written language), art in all its forms, the faces, the gestures, fashion, messages via mobile phones and many others show that we constantly want to communicate, to give our mark, to participate in the world around us.

The industrial revolution and the creation of capitalist society led to rapid developments in communication which became massive. The transition of messages and information now addresses unlimited (and unspecified) number of people, in general, as we say, public.

In modern post-industrial society of digital technology we have the ability to access an enormous amount of information at high speed. Digital technology is crucial for the development of modern communication.

Of course the communication is different from the update. The update is one-way flow of information from the transmitter to the receiver. In communication, however, operating and feedback mechanisms: the receiver has the ability to control, affect the action of the transmitter such as the participation of listeners in radio programs, reading letters from readers etc. This is particularly apparent in the new media which operating mostly interactively, eg internet.

Some of the most important functions of the media are:

a) Information - Update: Media inform the public about what is happening in the local or global community. This role currently done by TV, the press and increasingly by internet.

b) Entertainment - fun: The Media contribute to entertainment and fun. But what distinguishes the entertainment of fun? Entertainment helps in cultivating and
strengthening values. It differs from the fun which designed simply to create a pleasant mood, leisure, etc. So, for example, the reading of a classical literary work has presumed the reader both fun and entertainment while reading a magazine offer primarily entertainment.

c) Education - training: Media have a pedagogical character. Transmit knowledge, broaden the public horizons and help them to acquire critical ability to check for the reliability of the information that receives.

d) Political socialization: Media are currently the main mechanism through which transferred to the public information political things. Therefore, largely determine the political choices and shape public opinion. The audience is affected by the media more than in the past. For example, the TV plays a bigger role in informing citizens about political developments from participating in political meetings, rallies etc.

e) The control of political power. Media have a strong influence in shaping public opinion, therefore are a factor that could not be ignored by governments. It is no coincidence that the media called "fourth power": evaluate, judge, control the exercise of other traditional powers (functions) of the state: legislative, executive and judicial.

1.1.4 Advantages and disadvantages of the main media
Table 1 shows the major advantages and disadvantages of main media: press, tv, radio and internet. Also depicts media’s evolution starting from the simple text (newspapers, magazines), after that inserted the interaction (radio). The huge revolution began with tv which addressed a new model to cover the news: live access around the world, 24 hours 7 days and included a new factor “the power of images”. Currently we are running the internet and social media era which of course gives another dimension to the mean of communication, information, update, interaction, availability of sources, but also to danger, uncontrolled information and lack of privacy. The journalists have more assets in their disposal in order to present the happenings from every corner in the world but also increased rapidly the time pressure that they face, fact that can easily lead them in mistakes. Although the technological revolution created many challenges and new chances to journalists and to the public, both ought to be very careful for what they present and how they receive respectively.
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1.1.5 The Power of Global Media in Foreign Policy-making Process

The amazing advances in technology allowed media to reach every corner of the world more quickly with live broadcast. Therefore, the media plays a very important role in international relations, and most politicians straightly depend on live news coverage provided 24 hours a day seven days a week. This phenomenon provides a positive result, as it introduces democratic and humanitarian aspects of the policy making process. On the other hand, causes a greater burden and risk for policymakers and journalists. Under the pressure of time is the continuous flow of information and live coverage of events, journalists may experience an issue without taking into account the deeper analysis of the situation and politicians can respond quickly but without giving special attention to general situation. Despite this serious problem, the media have become one of the many basic tools that every government uses to promote public diplomacy. As the influence of the media continues to grow, policymakers tend to use the media for their own benefit and to publicize their political positions. For example, USA president Barack Obama gave an interview on television
Al-Arabiya, one of the most influential Arab broadcasters in order to attract the Arab and Islamic world. However, the media does not guarantee successful transfer of public diplomacy. Without credibility of the media, it is difficult if not impossible to achieve satisfactory results.

1.1.6 Credibility of media

The governments of all countries use media to achieve their public diplomacy objectives. As it regards the reliability of the media, the issue of the integrity of the media must be addressed. Due to the competitive nature of the media market close of the public monitoring and evaluation is vital. The difference between the "truth" current and mere reference should also specify the "events". An incident can be interpreted in many different ways, depending on the angle from which it sees or wants to see the one who presents it. Also, a question can be considered only true if all the details and in a broader context are taken into account. Therefore, media should guarantee the principal mission which is the truth reference and not the reporting of events.

1.1.7 Communication: The media and public opinion

Researchers have many times examined the relations between the media and public opinion and between the media and government, but there is not much work on examining their interconnections. Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the war against terrorism that has followed, organizations and pollsters have conducted several surveys in order to evaluate behaviors toward the United States among Muslims and Europe, and to realize why there exists so much anti-Americanism. All of these surveys showed the same thing, but there has not been a serious attempt to discover which are the real and possible offerings of public opinion surveys to the scheduling and execution of public diplomacy. It is not clear, for example, how reliable the polls are taken in non-democratic societies, what exactly they examine, how to analyze the results, and what solid guidelines they may give to public diplomacy programs.

A report (Fouts 2006) shed some light on significant lacks between officials, pollsters and academic researchers. It suggested “producing more global data, evidence about the degree and direction of opinion, utilization of data in the planning process, training of pollsters to understand public diplomacy needs and training of officials to
realize the limitations of polls”. Plenty of global researches have been conducted on public opinion toward various countries, organizations, and international issues. The data are often used to build indexes evaluating and ranking countries on significant topics like “corruption,” “freedom of the press”, “democracy”, “environmental protection”, “quality of life,” “peacefulness,” and “availability of communication and information technologies”. The indexes give essential data about the image and reputation of countries, but no research has been done on the significance of these elements and the possible use of the data in public diplomacy.

The relations between media and government may be from a mere depiction of government opinions to controlling policy-making. The “indexing hypothesis” suggested that reporters index the incline of their coverage to show the variety of opinions that exist among governors (Bennett 1990). If this hypothesis is true, then the media is used mainly as a tool in the hands of policy makers. “Information management” refers to government’s handling of information and mass media. This manipulation is usually true in wars and military operations, but when applied to public diplomacy it would mean manipulation of the media to nourish strong national resistance to external influence.

Many researches have brought to light relations between media coverage and opinions of foreign nations. One research revealed that countries getting the most attention in the U.S. media were thought by the public to be more vital to the U.S. national interest (Wanta, Golan and Lee 2004). Another study examined U.S. public diplomacy activities toward the Muslim world through analysis of news coverage on Al-Jazeera against other sources of opinions against Americans (Nisbet et al. 2004). The researchers revealed that in nine Muslim countries, TV news viewing has affected anti-American feelings more than any factor.

While researchers have used communication models and theories to issues of foreign policy and international relations, only a bunch of researchers have used them to public diplomacy. Entman’s (2004) flowing activation model provides an approach to connect policy, media and public opinion. He suggests that various actors are engaged in a struggle to create schemes that reach the public through the media and greatly affect the building of public opinion. His model explains how this “framing fighting” gets done, who is possible to win it and how. The model claims that some actors are more powerful than others in pushing frames to the public and, consequently, they could help recognize when and how the media have an impact on foreign policy.
making. The model deals with national framing of foreign policy issues but can be easily extended to public diplomacy.

1.1.8 The "public opinion" guides the media or media direct public opinion?

Media, reflect public opinion, give "voice" to the people and present the prevailing opinion of the "crowd", initially through the domination of major newspapers and then with the emergence of television, radio and now with the development of the Internet through the use of social media. And so we have a variety of audiences thanks to structural and functional differences of the media.

Moreover, the great power of media, especially television, in relation to public opinion, directly affects the sociopolitical events and changes the setting, personifying the ideology of parties and various social groups, as very well notes the communicator-journalist Diamantis Bassadis in his article "Public opinion - the media gave it substance".

The big question that raised many times is this: if the media guides public opinion or public opinion direct the media? Of course, it is doubtful that the media influence the target audience and contribute to shaping public opinion but also and the media influenced regarding their choices, the goals and their functions by the attitudes of the public or the intended audience. Therefore, there is an interaction between media and public opinion. The media seek the opinion of their audience and their cruise line and also contribute as part of a feedback process in shaping public opinion.

Politicians rely on public opinion as an expression of popular volition, depend on it, addressed it and the public opinion itself, acts as arbiter of their actions. The political leaders can use the media as intermediaries, the personification of the party ideologies, but there is a constant feedback between public opinion and the political system. And so they have to choose between two paths: either to assimilate with the public and its assessment or to disregard the real interests of all and to ignore it. The only sure thing is that governments and political parties, seeking to influence public opinion, not only to gain the favor and support of many, but also to use it as a "political weapon".
1.2 Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy is a quite fresh research field. It was brought to light during the last century when the media and the public started examining diplomacy. It turned into a more essential field during the Cold War, designed to collect support for the sensitive balance of nuclear weapons and the ideological battle for the hearts and minds of people around the world. Public diplomacy during the Cold War became the inspiration for much research regarding the different ways the powerful nations and other countries used to achieve their global objectives. Diplomacy took a different way of development after the September 11, 2001, when terrorist attacks occurred in New York and Washington.

The revolutions in mass media, politics and worldwide relations have influenced new chances and needs of public diplomacy during this period (Gilboa 2000, 2001). The increase in information technologies led to two great innovations: the Internet and global news networks, such as CNN International, BBC World etc, which broadcast, often on real time, almost every important news from every corner of the world. The Internet and the global networks have become a main source of information about world issues. The Internet provides countries, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), communities, organizations and individuals with sufficient ideas about world issues. Revolutions in politics have changed many nations and political systems, having as a result the mass involvement in political procedures. The mass changes in international relations have changed the goals and ways of conducting foreign policy. Approving image and reputation around the world, gained through attraction and enforcement, have become more essential than territory, access, and raw materials, traditionally gained through military and economic measures.

After the 9/11 attacks, Holbrooke (2001, B07) said, “Call it public diplomacy, or public affairs, or psychological warfare, or—if you really want to be blunt—propaganda.” This statement may show the confusion of American politicians, but it does not make clear the importance and uniqueness of public diplomacy. Actually, many researchers suggest that public diplomacy and propaganda as being the same thing, and about public relations (PR), international public relations (IPR), psychological warfare and public affairs as they are the same thing as well. Researchers have often associated public diplomacy with “soft power” and evaluate
results only by public opinion polls and media coverage. It is clear for almost any researcher that public diplomacy today encloses much more essence than these terms by themselves.

1.2.1 Concepts and Models

Conceptual development

There are many incomplete or confusing definitions about public diplomacy. A typical definition would describe public diplomacy as “direct communication with foreign peoples, with the aim of affecting their thinking and, ultimately, that of their governments” (Malone 1985, 199). This definition doesn’t justify who handles this communication, though. The definition also depicts a two-step affect process: first, direct communication designed to build encouraging public opinion in another country and second, pressure by the informed public on its governors to use friendly approaches toward the country via public diplomacy.

More recent definitions pointed out more elements of public diplomacy. Tuch (1990, 3) for example, suggested that public diplomacy is “a government’s process of communication with foreign publics in an attempt to bring about understanding for its nation’s ideas and ideals, its institutions and culture, as well as its national goals and policies.”

Frederick (1993, 229) added information about specific content: “activities, directed abroad in the fields of information, education, and culture, whose objective is to influence a foreign government, by influencing its citizens.” Signitzer and Coombs (1992) claimed that PR and public diplomacy are almost the same since they look for similar goals and use similar tools. They defined public diplomacy as “the way in which both government and private individuals and groups influence directly or indirectly those public attitudes and opinions which bear directly on another government’s foreign policy decisions” (p. 138). This innovative definition is important because it defines new actors and ends the differentiation between public diplomacy and public relations. It broadens the definition of international relations by adding international organizations (regional and global, military, social and economic), non-governmental actors, official and unofficial, taking into account the interdependence, complexity and diversity of global governance (issues, actors).
Second, scholars differentiate states and other actors, claiming that states perform public diplomacy, while companies and organizations aim at IPR. Signitzer and Coombs saw a different aspect and other PR researchers followed them. Wilcox, Ault, and Agee (1992, 409-10) defined IPR as “the planned and organized effort of a company, institution or government to establish mutually beneficial relations with the policies of other nations.” Note the inclusion of “government” in this definition and the emphasis on “mutually beneficial relations.” The terms “the new diplomacy,” “public diplomacy,” and “media diplomacy” became too vague and it was necessary to redefine them explicitly. Rawnsley (1995) differentiated public diplomacy and media diplomacy by audience: in public diplomacy, he claimed, policy makers use the media to address foreign publics, while in the second, they address government officials. Based on aims and tools, Gilboa (1998, 2001, 2002) differentiated public diplomacy, where “governmental and non-governmental actors use the media to influence public opinion in foreign countries”, media diplomacy, where “officials use the media to investigate and promote mutual interests, negotiations, and conflict resolution” and media-broker diplomacy, where “journalists temporarily assume the role of diplomats and act as mediators in international negotiations”.

At the dawn of the current century, researchers have begun to investigate the term “new public diplomacy” (NPD), trying to adjust public diplomacy to the conditions of the new age. Vickers (2004,151) suggested that “NPD can be characterized as a blurring of traditional distinctions between international and national information activities, between public and traditional diplomacy, and between cultural diplomacy, marketing and news management.” Potter (2002-2003), Melissen (2005), and Gilboa (2006) suggested a more effective approach by paying more attention to the impact changes in international relations and new communication technologies have on public diplomacy. Potter suggested the following alterations: the growing significance of public opinion, the development of more invasive and worldwide media, increased worldwide clarity and the appearance of a worldwide culture leading to a reflexive desire to protect cultural differences. Melissen, in particular, has focused on the central place public diplomacy now has on foreign policy, the appearance of non-governmental actors, the difficulty of determining national and foreign information needs, and the two-way communication schema of sharing information between governments. Gilboa provides a list of characteristics including the interactivity
between governmental and non-governmental actors, the utilization of “soft power”
the development of a two-way communication, strategic public diplomacy, media
framing, information management, PR, nation branding, self-presentation, and e-
image; nationalization of foreign policy; and addressing both short- and long-term
issues.

Models

Models should expand knowledge because they focus on the most essential elements
and the relations between these elements. To a limited extent, diplomacy models
include frivolous references to public diplomacy, but only a small number of
researchers have provided us with concrete public diplomacy models. Gilboa (2000,
2001) defined various models based on five elements: major actors, initiators,
objectives, types of media, means and techniques. This approach resulted in the
creation of three public diplomacy models: the Basic Cold War model, the Non-
state Transnational model, and the National PR model.

Public diplomacy was developed during the first years of the Cold War. Due to the
massive destructions nuclear weapons could make, it was pretty clear that information
and persuasion campaigns were the most powerful weapons the USA and the former
USSR would use in their worldwide ideological and strategic battle. Thus, in the first
model, nations used public diplomacy in competitive relationships to get long-term
results in foreign countries. The hypothesis was that if public opinion in the target
society is convinced to accept an approved image of the other side, it will press its
government to change existing unfriendly attitudes. The idea was to provide the
public in the target society with regular and sufficient information about one’s country
to counter the national propaganda of the target society’s government. During the
Cold War, both the USA and the former Soviet Union mostly used international
broadcasting to build approving public behaviors toward their relevant opponent
ideologies.

The appearance of new players in international politics such as NGOs and the
interdependence among all actors (states, international organizations,) involved in
global governance, required a redefinition of the Cold War model. The Non-state
Transnational model is a theoretical model designed to examine public diplomacy
activities of groups, NGOs and individuals in different countries. These actors usually
take advantage of global news networks and media events to nourish global support for their goals.

Finally, in the National PR model a country despite using its own means of communication to conduct public diplomacy, it hires Public Relations’ organizations in the country it targets to achieve its aims. A government which uses this model believes it to be much more effective than direct government-sponsored public diplomacy and that it may help to cover the true strengths and the funding sources behind the effort. Building a local support group in the target country could also enhance the legitimacy and authenticity of the campaign (Manheim 1994a).

1.2.2 A simple taxonomy of public diplomacy

Cull (2008a) suggested a simple taxonomy of public diplomacy, separating its practices into five elements: listening, advocacy, cultural diplomacy, exchange diplomacy and international broadcasting (IB).

**Listening**
Listening is an actor’s effort to gain worldwide control by gathering and collating data about publics and their opinions worldwide and using this data to change its public diplomacy approach. Information on foreign public opinion is also collected as part of the regular operation of diplomacy and intelligence work. In its most basic form, this covers an event whereby an international actor looks for a foreign audience and engages them by listening and not by speaking, an action that is widely promised but mainly not performed. It is usual to see public diplomacy responding to changes in international opinion, but it is quite difficult for listening to shape the highest levels of policy (Cull, 2008a).

**Advocacy**
Advocacy in public diplomacy is an actor’s effort to manipulate the international opinion by handling an international communication to actively promote a specific policy, idea etc. in the heads of a foreign public. Today, advocacy includes embassy press relations and informational work. Elements of advocacy exist in all areas of
public diplomacy, and its short-term value has historically driven to a prejudice toward this aspect of public diplomacy and an inclination to put it at the center of any public diplomacy schema (Cull, 2008a).

**Cultural diplomacy**
Cultural diplomacy is an actor’s effort to control international opinion through communicating its cultural resources and achievements worldwide, making possible as well cultural sharing beyond frontiers. As for its historical aspect, cultural diplomacy has been defined as a country’s way to enable the export of examples of its culture. Inconvenience with advocacy roles has led some cultural diplomacy organizations to take themselves away from that term, though, and the term *public diplomacy* as well (Cull, 2008a).

**Exchange diplomacy**
Exchange diplomacy is an actor’s effort to control international opinion by sending its habitants around the world and in return receiving habitants from around the world for a period of study. While this can be conceived as an one-way process, mutuality has driven diplomacy to the vision of an international learning experience in which both countries benefit and are changed (Cull, 2008a).

**International news broadcasting (IB)**
International news broadcasting is someone’s try to manage global attitudes using the radio, the TV and the Internet to approach foreign publics. International news broadcasting can sheathe with all the other public diplomacy elements used by states. The technological demands the international news broadcasting has, like the practice usually differs from other public diplomacy elements, but the best reason for taking international news broadcasting as a simultaneous action apart from the rest of public diplomacy is the special structural and ethical foundation of news which is its main component (Cull, 2008a).

The basic taxonomy of public diplomacy presented above is shown in Table 1.
Table 2: BASIC TAXONOMY OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Public Diplomacy</th>
<th>Sample Activities</th>
<th>State in Which This Form of Public Diplomacy Has Been Salient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>Targeted polling</td>
<td>Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>Embassy press relations</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural diplomacy</td>
<td>State-funded international art tour</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange diplomacy</td>
<td>Two-way academic exchange</td>
<td>Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International broadcasting</td>
<td>Foreign-language short-wave radio broadcasting</td>
<td>Britain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cull, 2008a

While these elements of public diplomacy share the general objective of affecting a foreign public, they get separated in four essential respects: their conceptual time frame, the direction of flow of information, the type of infrastructure required, and the source of their credibility. The relation between time, flow and infrastructure is shown in Table 2.

Table 3: TAXONOMY OF TIME/FLOW OF INFORMATION/INFRASTRUCTURE IN PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Public Diplomacy</th>
<th>Time Frame</th>
<th>Flow of Information</th>
<th>Typical Infrastructure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>Short and long term</td>
<td>Inward to analysts and policy process</td>
<td>Monitoring technology and language-trained staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocacy</td>
<td>Short term</td>
<td>Outward</td>
<td>Embassy press office, foreign ministry strategy office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural diplomacy</td>
<td>Long term</td>
<td>Outward</td>
<td>Cultural center and/or library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange diplomacy</td>
<td>Very long term</td>
<td>Inward and outward</td>
<td>Exchange administrator, educational office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International broadcasting</td>
<td>Medium term</td>
<td>Outward but from news bureaucracy</td>
<td>News bureaus, production studios, editorial offices, and transmitter facilities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cull, 2008a

1.2.3 Public Diplomacy in the Information Age

The information age has brought some changes in public diplomacy elements and a specific defeatism among others who feel blasted by the multiplication of mass media. What follows is an overview of these changes (Cull, 2008b).
Listening in the digital era
One of the most serious banalities of modern public diplomacy is to talk about the “need to listen”, but this strategy shouldn’t remain only in rhetorical level. It should become clear and while a foreign policy driven completely by the notions of its target won’t ever get encouraged, the actor would be better to evaluate the points where foreign beliefs and its own policy are not the same and significantly try to fill the gap or analyze the declination.
Apart from the basic element of listening, the systematic integration of foreign public opinion research into public diplomacy is still the most important part in the technological age being as untreated as it used to be. Progress in software and the multiplication of online source data have made it possible to control online media in real time and other sources in almost real time. Public diplomacy resources might be used to make easier the development of monitoring software in strategic languages (Cull, 2008b).

Advocacy in the digital era
One serious problem of modern advocacy is that it doesn’t take the old news limits and cycles into consideration. The main method used to measure the limits has been to move the advocates closer to their target audiences so they focus on the same news cycle.
This confusion of limits has created another problem, which is the intrusion of national priorities into advocacy. This can’t be solved easily, but a solution could be to admit that public diplomacy is counterproductive and to shape a model of advocacy based on a country’s policies and ideas. In a model like that, an idea that got divided from its root is being transferred along peer-to-peer networks and reproduced in the traditional media. The attention of the advocate should therefore be applied to creating an idea such that it will become a meme and be reproduced by others worldwide(Cull, 2008b).

Cultural diplomacy in the digital era
If cultural diplomacy is thought to make the cultural transmission beyond borders easier, there are many ways to do this apart from teaching foreign languages, organizing an exhibition etc. What’s obviously missing is focusing on the

25
interpersonal communication level and on the people who move across international borders.

Nowadays, at least the role of immigrants and migrant employees as a tool of international cultural transmission should be taken into account when talking about creating policies toward them. Relatively simple changes, like establishing lower cost on banking and currency transmission for them could improve their lives. By providing such services, they transfer more focused ideological nourishing. Reminding indigenous populations and their opinion shapers that their hospitality affects the international reputation of their country would also help (Cull, 2008b).

**Exchange in the digital era**

No discussion can be made on the effectiveness of exchanges as a tool of public diplomacy, but there are some budgetary, geographical cultural limits on their execution. One tool by which the proven advantages of the exchange and the new technology of the Internet can be combined is via developing online environments in which users are able to interact in real time, no matter how far they are. Public diplomats who dare to dive into online environment should do it with the same respect that they would do it in the “real world”(Cull, 2008b)

**International broadcasting in the digital era**

International broadcasting has faced some specific challenges in recent years. The modern commercial channels compete with the old traditional ones, while new media can provide new tools to access old services and make alternatives instantly available as well.

As already noted, public diplomacy actors should not only transfer the right messages but try to build the right environment for those messages through promoting suitable international and national authorities. Additionally, anything that the public diplomacy actor can do to enhance the connectivity of the target audience, including investment in wireless projects, creation of Internet cafes or helping with the obtainment of basic language skills, will help(Cull, 2008b).
1.2.4 Media diplomacy

Media diplomacy is different from the public diplomacy. The public diplomacy apart from the concentration of information and the cultural activities, where are involved the mass media, also includes all the public aspects of the external policy, as speeches, travels of Prime Minister, configuration of foreign common opinion etc. On the other side, media diplomacy includes all the aspects of public diplomacy where the mass media are involved, but also others that concern the use of mass media for the projection of the governmental opinion, concentration of information etc (Cohen, 1986).

Mass means is a source of information and ideas in various stages of planning and application of external policy process and are used both by the diplomats abroad and by their colleagues in the central service. The planning of external policy process starts with the collection of information where the mass media play the most important role since in this important stage for the planning of policy the policy maker should have a precise picture of the world because otherwise a twisted picture will lead to the failure of this policy. In certain cases as in periods of crises the mass media is the only source of information.

They are also the field where will be discussed the application of external policy so that the wider public will also get informed. The influence that mass media have in the configuration of external policy starts from the thematic choice of questions that will come in publicity creating thus the frame of discussion. Thus they influence the common opinion about what it will also discuss hence about what it will put pressure on external policy makers. The mass media is the field of discussions between interested teams for subjects of external policy, deputies, specialized scientists etc. With the exchange of opinions and arguments are thus crystallized the opinions of public for the matters of external policy and is created a climate that narrows the frame of policy makers’ decisions.

The technological explosion of our era has lent mass media multiplicative force and has upgraded their role regarding their influence in the international scene. The tremendous increase of information flow due to the new technologies causes greater interest of public for the international subjects and hence greater pressures of common opinion to policy makers. The satellites allow the direct transmission of information
from a region where a crisis has burst out, while simultaneously they can be used by the governments for the transmission of programs, the projection of their country abroad, and the configuration of international common opinion for subjects of their external policy.

The policy makers and the diplomats use mass media firstly as source of information. The job of diplomats is similar to that of journalist since they both gather information in regard with the international issues and shape the common opinion in regard with them. Both jobs are carried out in a altered environment where the journalist produce information and the diplomat cares about it to correspond to the changes that this information causes. Their differentiations lie to that the diplomat has access to graded governmental sources of information that the journalist does not have. The journalist can freely practice criticism in the governmental choices while the diplomat no. Similar resemblances and differences are presented between diplomacy and mass media. A lot of subjects like the news that concerns the internal (sport, entertainment, etc) don’t concern diplomacy. Similarly a lot of diplomatic subjects like international economic relations, bilateral relations and cultural bonds are not found in the frame of news that determines the mass media. Subjects however like war and peace and the situations of crisis are priority, both for diplomacy and for mass media. Thus, there are developed interactions between them (Cohen, 1986).

**Chapter 2: Recession**

**2.1 Definition of economic crisis**

The term financial crisis is used widely to an amount of situations in which some financial assets suddenly lose a large part of their nominal value. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, many financial crises were associated with banking panics, and many recessions coincided with these panics (Kindleberger and Aliber, 2005; Laeven and Valencia, 2008). Financial crises directly result in a loss of paper wealth but do not necessarily result in significant changes in the real economy.
2.2 The causes of the global crisis
The crisis in 2008 coincides with the collapse of Lehman Brothers: an investment bank that operated for 148 years, not intimidated by a civil war, two world wars, the Crash of 1929, and from other crises that hit Wall Street in total. Although the 2008 crisis did not start from Lehman, the collapse shocked the whole world, pointing to the end of the post war economic global architecture and the beginning of a new period of generalized insecurity. Leaving Lehman to collapse, the US government gave the final blow to the "heroic" era - an era characterized by an unwavering faith in the wisdom of markets and invincible force of Wall Street. Rarely humanity experienced such a big surprise. 1929 was such a time. 2008 was the next. Much has been said, even more written and will be written for 2008. What is certain is that nobody will miss those days and how everything changed: (Mankiw and Taylor, 2010).

2.3 Economic crisis in Europe
The recession that has immersed in Europe since 2008 was avoidable. The crisis has started from America, but it came in Europe, where specific problems in some countries have made the situation worse. The Financial Crisis Inquiry Commission realized that the crisis was caused by exaggeration of investments in mortgage-backed securities based on valuations of high-risk mortgages that were not efficiently managed. As a consequence, an increase in interest rates led to borrower defaults, and afterwards to bank defaults and a collision in the accommodation markets and merchandising. When 2008 came, about 9 million US housekeepers owed more than the whole amount their house costed (Andrews & Uchitelle, 2008). An increasing number of home owners failed to pay their loans, and the value of mortgage-backed securities dropped (Obstfeld&Rogoff, 2009). Since many mortgage-backed securities were sold in Europe, the commotion in the US housing market rapidly arrived to European banks. European countries like Ireland, Spain, and Italy had created “property bubbles” and were similarly supplied by technically low interest rates, were among the worst affected, as demand for housing simultaneously fell and banks collapsed as a result of it. This recession led to general economic recession around Europe. In 2009, gross domestic product fell in all countries of the European Union.
(EU) except Poland; the mean decrease was 4.3%, but losses ranged from 1.9% in Cyprus to 17.7% in Latvia. During the period 2007-2010, unemployment raised rapidly, as well (European Commission, 2012).

Tax earnings fell while spending increased in hit by crisis countries leading to increased government debts. Some countries applied austerity measures and cut a huge amount of public expenditure. Austerity measures were forced as a pre-condition by the so-called troika (ie, the International Monetary Fund, European Commission, and European Central Bank) in order to give loans to countries in need, like Greece, Ireland, and Portugal (McKee, 2012). The austerity measures pursued were thought by many specialists to be ineffective, and the International Monetary Fund’s World Economic Outlook report (International Monetary Fund, 2012) proved that austerity has negatively affected economic growth, making the countries ask for relaxation of these measures (McKee, 2012).

### 2.4 Economic crisis in Greece

In 2001, Greece was the twelfth country entering the euro area (De Grauwe, 2007). The governors and the European officials were ensured that the advantages of joining would be more than the costs. However, the truth was not that simple.

The change of national currency into euro brought many advantages on European Union members. These benefits were especially important for countries, like Greece, which were known for high inflation and inflation variability (Garganas and Tavlas, 2001). Among the advantages were:

1. The euro lowered inflation in countries known for high inflation, reducing the uncertainty caused by inflation deformation.
2. The low inflation environment and related reductions in inflation expectations and nominal interest rates, helped to create longer economic horizons, to borrow and lend at longer maturities and as a consequence to boost private investment and economic growth.
3. The euro reduced exchange-rate variances and the possibility of competitive underestimations among participating countries, reducing exchange-rate uncertainty and risk insurance costs.
4. The reductions in risk insurance costs and nominal interest rates reduced the costs of servicing the debt of public sector, making easier the financial adjustment and allowing resources to be used in other tasks.

In the case of Greece, interest-rate spreads between 10-year Greek and German government bonds reduced rapidly in the years running up to and the years following, the entry into the euro area and the low-interest-rate environment led to steady real growth rates. Average inflation was about 10% in the decade prior to euro-area entry, but it fell to 3,4% during the period 2001–2008.

Although by entering the euro area a period of extended and steady growth and low inflation was supposed to come, two serious problems remained undefined. Firstly, Greece was still running large financial imbalances and, secondly, Greece’s competitiveness continued to become even worse (Gibson and Malley, 2008).

The large and increasing financial imbalances were absolutely not sustainable. While entering euro area, Greece quitted the chance to use two significant tools to reshape its economy in the case of a country-specific shock. First, it lost the ability to have its own economic strategies. Second, it lost the ability to change the nominal exchange rate of its own currency. To pay back for the loss of these tools, Greece had to ensure relatively low financial imbalances and flexible labor and product markets so that the country could be competitive without having to rely on changes in the exchange rate of a domestic currency to achieve and maintain competitiveness. However, this objective didn’t get satisfied and competitiveness declined during the period 2001–2009. Additionally, the pro-cyclical stance of financial policy caused numerous shocks and the low levels of interest-rate spreads during 2001–2008 proved that financial markets paid little attention to the unsustainability of the financial and external imbalances (Wickens, 2010).

The worldwide recession that started in 2007, along with the collapse of the US mortgage market, initially affected at small extent Greek financial markets. The greatest shock came in the autumn of 2009. The first event, in October, was that the newly elected Greek government announced that the 2009 financial deficit would be 12,7% of GDP, while the previous government’s achievement was 6%. The reality was even worse than the prediction and the financial deficit was 15,4% of GDP. Secondly, in November 2009 Dubai World, asked creditors for a six-month debt moratorium. That news shook financial markets around the world and led to an acute rise in risk abhorrence (Ziras, 2009).
When the rapid worsening of the financial situation in Greece was “knocking the door”, financial markets and rating agencies turned their attention to the sustainability of Greece’s financial and external imbalances. The previous suggestion that membership of the euro area would ensure an inaccessible obstacle against risk proved to be wrong. It became obvious that, while such membership provides protection against exchange-rate risk, it cannot provide protection against credit risk. The two shocks was the beginning of an acute and extended increase in spreads, which continued during 2010. The rise occurred although there was an agreement in May 2010 between the Greek government and the International Monetary Fund, the European Central Bank, and the European Commission, for a three-year, 110 billion adjustment loan under which the Greek government committed to lower its financial deficit to 8.1% of GDP in 2010 and to below 3% in 2014 (Ziras, 2009).

2.4.1 The risk of Grexit.
The Greece approached more than ever at the exit from the euro. The Syriza government conducted a referendum concerning the acceptance or not third rescue program after it had left the negotiations with creditors in late June followed by intense political turmoil by imposing capital controls and the resignation of Finance Minister Giani Varoufaki. Finally, a few weeks later there was agreement on the third rescue, but meanwhile the return on Greek two-year bonds had risen to 60%, with the turmoil to expand in global markets.

Greece is suffering the effects of the greatest economic crisis in recent history. The WSJ presents statistics showing the magnitude of the crisis today rests the whole spectrum of life in Greece.

2.4.2 The Greek financial crisis in numbers
Although the numbers do not always tell the truth, either because most people do not realize their deeper messages or because they do not mind them, in the case of the Greek financial crisis are very typical and deserve reference:
-25% The contraction of the Greek economy since mid-2008.

-25.8% Unemployment in Greece according to ELSTAT. This translates into 1.2 million unemployed in accordance with the October data.
3rd position among European partners in terms of population facing the risk of poverty and communion exclusion according to Eurostat.
23.1% of Greeks living at risk of poverty in 2015.
77 billion euro the amount of NPLs.
70 bn. euro the approximate value of the outputs from the Greek banks in the last five years.
83.9% the percentage drop in the Greek stock exchange since 2008.
1 in 4 small and medium-sized businesses closed in Greece since 2008 according to GSEBEE, ie 230,000 businesses in total.
9 times more taxes for self-employed according to the Parliamentary Budget Office.
7 times more taxes had to pay employees and pensioners in 2015 compared with 2009.
23% VAT paid by Greeks for most goods while VAT in the Eurozone average is 21.5%, and in EU 20.5% respectively.
100,000 the number of Greek scientists currently working abroad.
The country's GDP fell by 57 bn. euros, while the total assets of the Greeks fell by 587 bn. euros.
Specifically, Greek households lost an average of 67.703 euro, as the median value of their assets from 165.410 euros in 2007, fell by 41% in 2016 to 97.706 euros, based on data for 2015 from the studies institute of the Swiss bank CreditSuisse, examining the evolution of wealth in over 200 countries.

2.5 Mass media in crisis
Public opinion can be altered and problems can be solved by using media frames (Knight, 1999). Many researchers examining framing have paid attention on media frames in relation to public policy issues, like a country’s financial situation (Hallahan, 1999). In recession communication, framing analysis can give useful hints about how to handle this situation to minimize the damage to an organization’s reputation (Boyd, 2000; Coombs, 2006a; Hearit, 1994). Typologies of crisis response strategies have been developed and tested through framing research (Benoit, 1995; Coombs, 1999; Coombs & Holladay, 1996).
However, that approach does not take into account how the media framed the crisis at the outset. A crisis is “an event for which people seek causes and make attributions”
(Coombs & Holladay, 2004, p. 97). People look for information about the crisis and examine the cause of the situation and the responsibility for the crisis based on what media broadcast. Therefore, it is essential to investigate how the media frame a crisis event, the cause of the crisis, and the people responsible for it, because these frames affect the public’s belief of the firm (Coombs, 2006b).

2.5.1 Framing analysis in crisis communication

People’s beliefs of and attitudes towards the situations depend on what information they receive from the environment (Heider, 1958). Framing theory suggests that the mass media do much more than build prominence. By choosing what to add or not in a story, the mass media frame a story (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). This way media shape or define the story’s meaning and, accordingly, shape people’s perception of that story (Hallahan, 1999).

Literature has recognized a bunch of frames that usually appear in the news. Neuman, Just & Crigler (1992) suggested several different types of frames mainly used in news: conflict, economic consequences, human impact, and morality. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) some years later identified five news frames in predominance order: attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic, human interest and morality.

2.5.1.1 Human interest frame

This frame “brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). During recessions, this frame boosts the psychological pulse of people, which ultimately makes them have a more negative perception of the crisis (Padin, 2005). Cho and Gower (2006) proved that the human interest frame affected participants’ emotional response and that it significantly predicted blame and responsibility in a recession.

2.5.1.2 Conflict frame

The conflict frame depicts conflict and disagreement among individuals, groups or firms. Neuman et al. (1992) claimed that conflict frame was a common practice in U.S. and Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) revealed that the conflict frame was the second most usual frame.
2.5.1.3 Morality frame
This frame puts the situation in the context of morals, social formulas and religious beliefs. Neuman et al. (1992) realized that the morality frame was commonly used by journalists indirectly by using quotations because of the norm of objectivity they should follow.

2.5.1.4 Economic frame
This frame reports a situation in terms of the effects it will have economically on people, groups, firms or countries. Neuman et al. (1992) identified it as a common frame in the news (Graber, 1993).

2.5.1.5 Attribution of responsibility frame
This frame is defined as “a way of attributing responsibility for [a] cause or solution to either the government or to an individual or group” (Semetko&Valkenburg, 2000, p. 96). Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) proved that the attribution of responsibility frame was most commonly used in serious newspapers.

2.5.2 Level of responsibility frame: individual vs. organizational
Iyengar (1991) described two news frames: the episodic news frame (focusing on specific people or events) and the thematic news frame (putting events in general context). Meanwhile, media can show problems and their solutions considered them to be a responsibility of a person or the society (Mastin, Choi, Barboza, & Post, 2007). News media, critically reform public opinion about who is in charge of creating or solving important social problems (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Methodological approaches
There are several methodological approaches used to investigate public diplomacy that is being described below.
3.1.1 Paradigms

There have been some attempts to create a public diplomacy paradigm, but none of them was serious. Some researchers have suggested paradigms for related areas including world politics, world order and foreign policy, but even these have many weaknesses. Ammon (2001) suggested that paradigmatic changes both in communication and diplomacy produced a new paradigm of world politics, which he called “tele-diplomacy”. He analyzed that the appearance and extension of real-time global news coverage brought a change in communication, while the “new diplomacy” brought a change in foreign policy making. The convergence of the two changes, tele-diplomacy, has replaced the existing diplomatic methods. Ammon proved his paradigm through several cases of military intervention in severe humanitarian crises. However, this paradigm had many conditions that should be fulfilled and this could happen only in rare situations.

A paradigm builds the puzzle researchers fill with data and findings. In principle, a paradigm of public diplomacy could be useful for promoting accumulative research. The small number of existing paradigmatic efforts have many lacks, however, and show that in this specific multidisciplinary case, the paradigmatic approach may not be the most effective way to organize the field.

3.1.2 Case studies and comparative analysis

Case studies and comparative analysis are widely used in social sciences’ researches and are very useful for gaining knowledge. Case studies in public diplomacy could be ranked into several categories, including actors, public diplomacy instruments, target states or regions and individual leaders. The following case studies reveal a multitude of approaches and methodologies.

Leonard et al. (2005) conducted a research about British public diplomacy in terms of cultural divides in political, religious and economic affairs happening particularly after the war in Iraq. Potter (2002-2003) examined Canada’s public diplomacy through media relations, cultural and educational relations, international broadcasting, and branding. Ociepka and Ryniejska (2005) used case study as a method of investigating public diplomacy policy-making processes related to the campaign Poland launched when trying to become EU member.
On the other hand, very few researchers have conducted comparative analysis to investigate specific public diplomacy areas. They are used to focus on the cultural relations management. Mitchell (1986) suggested government control as a determining variable and differentiated among three models: full government control, autonomous agencies and a mixed system.

“Government control. The government, through a ministry or an official agency (...) exercises direct control. Examples are France, Italy, the United States, (...) smaller countries for which it would be uneconomic to practice any other system.

Non-governmental, autonomous agencies. The government provides money through a ministry, normally the foreign ministry, but delegates policy control and execution to an independent agency such as the British Council (...). The concept is familiar in Britain: it embodies ‘the arm’s length principle’ (...).

Mixed system. The government retains overall control but funds and contracts non-official agencies to operate independently within their competences. The Federal Republic of Germany is the prime example (...).”

3.2 Methodological choice: Qualitative research

For the targets of this dissertation, qualitative method is used as research strategy. Qualitative research is a research method employed in many different and social scholar principles, but also in non-academic contexts.

Qualitative approach relies on observation and personal experiences, so it is more theoretical and subjective. Researchers who follow a qualitative approach study the subject in their natural setting while those who use quantitative research aim is to produce generalized results, so they explore their subject in a controlled field of study. The aim of the qualitative research differs according to the disciplinary background., Qualitative methods examine why and how a decision has been made and has a strong basis in the field of sociology to understand government and social programs, and is popular among political science, social work, and special education and education majors (Patton, 2002).
3.3 Research Strategy: Case Study
A case study will be used for the purposes of this research. A case study explores a research topic or phenomenon within its context, or within a number of real-life contexts. Yin (2009) also stresses out how significant the context is, additionally claiming that, within a case study, the limits between the phenomenon being studied and the context within which it is being studied are not always obvious. This is possibly an advantage of the case study strategy.
A case study is completely the opposite of the experimental strategy, where conceptual variables are highly controlled as they are seen as a potential threat to the validity of the results. It also different from the survey strategy where, although the research is undertaken in context, the ability to explore and understand this context is limited by the number of variables for which data can be collected (Saunders et al., 2012). A case study would be the most appropriate because the others want to understand the processes and the context of the topic being investigated.

3.4 Time Horizon: Cross-sectional
One of the most common and popular study designs is the cross-sectional study design. In this kind of study, either the whole population or a part of it is selected, in order to collect the data, which will be used to answer the research questions. It is called cross-sectional because the information that is gathered represents the attitudes at a single point in time (Levin, 2006). This kind of study is used on this research, as well, since the information gathered through the questionnaires is true only for that time.

3.5 The sample
There were chosen four Greek political newspapers. Regarding the depiction of Greek crisis on foreign media, there were chosen two types of newspapers, two financial newspapers from USA and UK and three political newspapers from France, Italy and Germany. The researcher read 26 articles and 50 front pages of the newspapers and followed the websites of the mass media.
Chapter 4: Case study- Media and public diplomacy in Greek financial crisis

4.1 The background

Greece has been trying to define its role in the modern world since the mid-1990s. At the dawn of the 1990s was the end of the Cold War, and Greece was well prepared, having an established democracy and stable memberships in major international and regional organizations, but it didn’t succeed to use the chances that existed. Greece got trapped in situations like the name dispute with the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) and agreement with nationalist and authoritarian Balkan leaders. This led Greece both to the postponement of serious foreign policy decisions and to external antagonisms with neighbors and members of the EU (Tsagarousianou, 1999). Greece became part of the ‘Balkan problem’ and this led to ‘credibility deficit’, the so-called ‘Greek Paradox’, which was the term describing the gap between Greece’s promises as a member of the EU and NATO and its actual performance (Allison & Nikolaidis, 1997).

This is when the Greek government started developing a different approach foreign policy. The goal was to redefine the role and position of Greece according to the concerns, needs and obligations of regional and global governance. Specifically, Greece started following the policy of development and humanitarian help, becoming a member of the Development Assistance Committee (of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD) and establishing Hellenic Aid. Bilateral and multilateral help ensured by Greece in 2009 reached US$ 607.27 million (Ministry of foreign affairs, 2009). Greece also started having a more active role in military, peace and civil events by the EU and NATO while it also paid 800,000 for programmes on rural development, water resource management, education and healthcare in Afghanistan. Furthermore, Greece took part in the anti-piracy naval operation off the coast of Somalia, the EU Training Mission based in Uganda, the EU Mission on the Rule of Law in Kosovo and the EU Monitoring Mission in Georgia and starting having a more significant role in the Balkans (Ministry of foreign affairs, 2009). What is more, Greece invested in ‘media events diplomacy’ by organizing the 2004 Athens Olympic Games in order to improve its image.

These actions, however, didn’t help in redefining the position of Greece, since its public diplomacy was still focusing on cultural and educational links and attracting
tourists. As a result, the media covering Greek recession depicted the country in a really negative way, using expressions like ‘bad’ and ‘good’ Europeans and ‘lazy’ southerners. ‘Boom, kick them out of the eurozone. Our citizens no longer want to pay for these wasteful Greeks’, wrote the Dutch newspaper De Telegraaf on 19 May 2010 when presenting the results of an opinion survey among 11,000 Dutch citizens. The title of an article in Le Monde on 6 February 2010 is also indicative, ‘Bad Greece Puts the Euro Under Pressure’. Additionally, media coverage of the Greek debt crisis has been conquered by dramatic pictures of situations like corruption, extensive tax evasion, the inefficient illegal system and bureaucracy in Greece, and not by an analysis of the complicated Greek economic situation (Antoniadis, 2010; Tzogopoulos, 2011; International Communication Policy Forum, 2011).

Greece’s public diplomacy has no well-coordinated and central direction. It is significant that the professional development and elevation of Press and Communication Office members, as well as their posting abroad have no clear rules and no prior preparation (http://icp-forum.gr/wp/?p=1301).

Additionally, Greece’s public diplomacy is also vaguely defined, using the old and outdated logic of promoting Greece as an attractive holiday destination (Fola, 2009). This priority proves that Greece’s public diplomacy is based on selling a culture and a way of life, and not on trying to build mutual and long-lasting relationships. This is the reason why public opinion and Greece’s political elite thus do not sufficiently appreciate Greece’s current position in the global arena, and see Greece through the prism of ‘Greek exceptionalism’ (Ioakimidis, 2007). This wrong perception convinces Greeks that although they are ‘superior’, history has been playing ‘tricks’ with them, as they are permanently betrayed by ‘foreign allies’ and the powerful ‘West’ (Diamandouros, 1994; Stefanidis, 2007). Greeks has been suspecting involvement by the United States and the EU on the Cyprus issue, the Aegean and Greece’s debt crisis.

As a result, Greek foreign policy is dominated by ethnocentric stereotypes and is also influenced by a political conversation full of ethno-populist content, putting country against the Western standards of NATO and EU. An example of this situation is Greece’s refusal to set itself against the establishment of the military regime in Poland in 1981 or the former Soviet Union’s destruction of Korean Airlines flight 007 in 1983. Furthermore, domestic public opinion becomes a significant source of decisions and priorities in order to enhance electoral impact and popularity. This approach
depicts the perception of ‘a country under siege’ from external pressure and makes it easier to follow inflexible and usually irrational political policies.

This situation in many examples puts limits on the government and policy-making tools from prioritizing appropriately. Greece’s politicians have already had a prime and catalytic role on the decision-making process. Diplomats and Press and Communication Officers mostly work as administrative organs that agree with the choices of their superiors and they do not suggest alternative policies and strategies.

The foreign policy and international communication is a competence of the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister, without any other opinion taken into consideration (Ioakimidis, 1999).

4.2 The Public Diplomacy of the Greek Olympics: A Lost Opportunity

As it was reported, there is no public debate and this creates huge obstacles in the understanding, communication and coordination of Greece’s public diplomacy (Fola, 2010). During the preparation and hostage of the Athens Olympic Games Athens looked like a major construction site, trying and succeeding to make the city reminds of a European capital (Fola, 2008). The hosting of the Games was successful as well. For the first time ever, a record 201 national Olympic committees participated in the Olympic Games. More than 21,000 media representatives from around the world attended the Games and 3.9 billion people accessed their TV coverage (Fola, 2007).

However, the Games was only a projection of Greece’s glorious past (Panagiotopoulou, 2004) and the Organizing Committee of the Athens Olympic Games didn’t manage to give Greece sustaining messages, visions and priorities for the twenty-first century. As a consequence, there was no public discussion on the environmental or economic impacts of the Games (Panagiotopoulou, 2007).

The truth was quite different, however. The preparation for the Games was not an easy task and the delays, the increased costs and the tight deadlines made international media talking about Greece in a fully negative way (Demertzis, Papathanasopoulos and Armenakis, 2004). In a survey carried out among opinion leaders of six countries in 2003, the Greeks were thought to be kind of ‘indolent’, pleasant and passionate, ‘essentially harmless’, but also ‘relatively unimportant’, ‘a nation that must not necessarily be taken all that seriously’. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that few respondents were able to comment on Greece’s economic or political situation. The
finally successful hosting of the Games made Europeans feel more positive towards Greece and awareness of Greece as the host country of the 2004 Olympic Games also significantly improved (Fola, 2010). However, the redefinition of Greece’s position after the Games was lost. The Greek government failed to utilize and keep the sporting infrastructure and also to develop a steady strategy of goals for communicating Greek modernity and social-economical development. Rather, Greece’s public diplomacy still relies on its natural beauty, history and culture as a means to attract the world’s attention, proving Europeans opinion of Greeks to be true (Frangonikolopoulos, 2012).

4.3 The research

The choice of Mass media was based on specific criteria. For represent ability reasons, the newspapers that were selected are different enough from each other. The newspaper “The News” is a newspaper of great resonance with explicit political orientation, the Newspaper “Kathimerini” appeals to another political orientation, “To Ethnos” is also a political newspaper with specific orientation usually refers to more financial issues and finally, “Eleftheros Typos” is a political newspaper with a more balanced political orientation.

4.3.1 Greek media

The News

On 1st of December, the main subject of the front page is the council of political parties’ leaders of country that had taken place the previous day, aiming at shaping of governmental majority. According to the newspaper, the council led to shipwreck and it brought to light the differences between the parties, intensifying the gap between them. On 2nd December, the front page has with big letters a report to the Prime Minister and his strategy to accuse everyone for everything. “The dogs are barking, but the ship moves on” referred the Prime Minister, showing to those who blame him also put obstacles to him that he won’t step back. On 4th December on the front page is report to the return of lenders in order to resolve the insurance issue mainly and then to examine the offer of cheap money. On 5th of December 2015, the front page of the newspaper referred to the relations of the government with the other parties. “Crush on the wall. The government searches for enemies while dwindle friends.”.
Concretely, it reports that the government has to face an amount of impasses, as the return of Troika, the refugees and the rival parties. Additionally, it hosts statements of other parties’ leaders, like Fofi Gennimata that says “Everything has to be brought to light, we fear nothing”, Stavros Theodorakis: “We are not a small and feared party” and Dora Bakoyianni “the leaders are not dogs that bark”. On 7\(^{th}\) of December the front page of the News has with big letters a report to the befalling negotiation of government for the insurance issue, the intolerance of the lenders and the tenacious government, while it also hosts a statement that Prime Minister made in the Parliament who declares that “we will bleed but we will accomplish to come out from the crisis, with the society standing”, trying to encourage and give a feeling of safety to the Greek citizens. On 8\(^{th}\) of December the newspaper hosts an interview of Prime Minister and on the front page there is his statement about feeling sure and not asking for support. This statement of Alexis Tsipras is obviously an element of public diplomacy, while he wants to inspire certainty to the citizens and worry to the political enemies. On 9\(^{th}\) of December 2015 the newspaper on its front page referred to a war of words of Prime Minister, Alexis Tsipras, with the Monetary Fund and it points out that the government reacts intensely to the statement of Soimple that is not beneficial for Athens a possible withdrawal of Monetary Fund from the program and he suggests Grexit. On the same front page there, also, exists a report to the differences between government and Troika for the insurance issue.

The newspaper mainly deals with matters of governing and secondly with matters like the insurance and taxes, so it pays more attention to meetings and relations of the Prime Minister with the Europeans but also with the Greeks of the parliament.

**Kathimerini**

The Front page of the newspaper on 1\(^{st}\) of December 2015, referred to agitations and reactions between deputies and ministers in the government due to the red loans and the insurance issue, after the shipwreck of leaders’ council. On 2\(^{nd}\) of December, the newspaper has a report to the possibility Greece has to exit Sengken, due to the non-promotion of agreed measures regarding refugees. The next front page of the newspaper, on 4\(^{th}\) December, also referred to a likely exit of Sengken and in the race the government made in order to accomplish to materialize the measures in required time. Apart from this, the newspaper also hosts another hot subject, which is the
evaluation and the discussion on the debt that would have been realized since February, while it points out the difficult subjects the government has to deal with, like the insurance issue, the farmers’ taxation and moreover budgetary measures. On 5\textsuperscript{th} of December the main subject on the front page of the newspaper is Yannis Stournaras’ statement, who is governor of The Bank of Greece, “the stability is necessary” and his advice to the government to not resort to increase taxes and insurance fees, while this would negatively influence the competitiveness of Greek economy and the creation of job positions. Also, he points out that the third memorandum could not give more accent to the reforms if with the two precedents had not limited the deficits. With this comment, he stresses the positive results of the previous government in which he was member and in particular financial minister. On 8\textsuperscript{th} of December, main subject on the front page the newspaper is the insistence of government to increase the taxes and the insurance fees. Specifically, it referred to the imminent retrospective increase of taxation for the incomes of 2015 and the change of tax imposition factors for the high incomes. One more subject that is related to the crisis they are the privatizations and the newspaper on its front page on 9\textsuperscript{th} of December 2015 referred to this matter. Concretely it referred to 8 upcoming privatizations that aim to have an income of 2-3€ billion. Finally, on 10\textsuperscript{th} of December, the main subject relative with the crisis is that Commission and Berlin demand the eve of Monetary Fund in the Greek program and in particular that something like this is legally binding by the agreement that Greece has signed.

This newspaper is equally dedicated both to matters that straightly concern the Greek people and to matters that concern the future of our country.

\textit{Eleftheros Typos}

In the front page of the newspaper on 1\textsuperscript{st} of December 2015 are referred in with big fonts the four concealed inversions in insurance issue in which the government was expected to be led, that included reductions and changes in pensions. Also the newspaper referred to the fact that the Prime Minister asked for consent, as it says, from the deputies of its party, while there are objections on the measures that the government want to apply. On 4\textsuperscript{th} of December the front page has a small report to the delay of Troika’s evaluation that would possibly occur in February 2016, however with the comment “until February… and we will see” it appears to promote some
doubt. On 5th and on 6th of December, the greatest interest is given once again in insurance issue and in the pensions’ curtailments that are prepared. Also, there is a report to. Additionally, on 8th of December the main subject on the front page of the newspaper is also, income tax increase, while is also hosted a statement of Daisenbloom who said “Vote the pre-requisite until 15th of December in order to take the dose of 1billion €”, intensifying thus the distress of the readers. The front page on 9th of December is dedicated to 2 big subjects that concern the crisis. The one is the “haircut” in complementary pensions and dividends that is suggested by the proposal of the government to Troika and the other is the conflict between Tsipras and Soimple, with the first asking for the removal of the Monetary Fund from the program and the second talking about for Grexit sinking the economy once again. Still, the front page also the upcoming privatizations of airports, trains and Piraeus harbor. The next day, the front page referred to the sequel of the conflict between Tsipras and Soimple and the effort of the government to take back what they said for the removal of the Monetary Fund in order to avoid the conflict with Berlin.

This newspaper is, also, equally dedicated both to matters that straightly concern the Greek people and to matters that concern the future of our country.

Ethnos

The front page of the newspaper on 1st of December 2015 has as its main subject the changes in insurances that were about to come. Specifically, it reports that the retirement age limits are getting increased from 5-month until 17 years and that those who leave prematurely will be punished. There is also a report to controls on banking accounts of Greeks with deposits in Switzerland that would become with the help of Germans. On 2nd of December the greatest subject of the front page is refugees, while there, also, exists a report in returns of subsidies from farmers, as well as in new regulations in regard with real estates. On 4th of December the main subject is taxation. Concretely, the newspaper referred to 8 inversions in the taxes of real estates, due to the changes in the objective values. Also, with smaller fonts it is reported that the voting of the insurance issue was cancelled until January. On 6th of December there existed wider analysis in real estate issue, that had been reported 4 days age, and it was pointed out that the statement will be electronic and might no one withhold nothing, while if something is not declared it will be taken by the state. Also,
the newspaper referred to the message of Stoynaras that asked for consent and stability in order to come out from the crisis. As a sequel of the previous front page, the newspaper on 7th of December has as its first subject the taxation in the cars. Specifically, it reports that there was planned an increase of special consumption tax in fuels, a reduction of circulation dues and readjustments in living presumptions and in registration fee. One more time, on 8th of December, the front page dedicates its bigger part in taxation and in the changes that come for farmers, rents but also for incomes of 2015, while it is reported that duty-free for the free professionals is coming back. Another subject is the interview that the Prime Minister had given the previous day on TV and referred that he feels safe with the majority of 153 deputies. On 9th of December the main subject is the conflict between government and Soimple and that is drawn the eviction of Monetary Fund from the program. Concretely, the newspaper talks about the episodes that led to the rupture with the Monetary Fund, about secret contacts of the government with European social democrats, aiming at the alliance and about the role the Europarliment attempts to take in the Greek program. The newspaper on 10th December brings to light once again the issue of insurance, presenting an analytic guide with the changes that were about to follow. The changes, as it says, will be 5 and they will concern the main and complementary pensions in the private and public sector, the dividends, the lump sums and the insurance fees. Also, it points out who will be those that are in great danger due to recalculation of substitution rate.

We observe that this newspaper also refers mostly to financial matters that concern the citizens and no in matters of governing and meetings of the Prime Minister or his relations with the remainder parties or the deputies of his own party.

4.3.2 Foreign media

For the foreign mass media there were chosen representative newspapers from 5 countries (Wall Street Journal from USA, Financial Times from the UK, Le Figaro from France, Süddeutsche Zeitung from Germany and La Stampa from Italy), in order to build a global view. There were also used the websites of the previous mentioned mass media.
Most of the foreign newspapers’ articles devoted on Greece refer to the financial, political and social aspect of crisis and only a small amount refers to tourism, migration, sports and to some other issues of general interest. The different categories covered by the articles are the problems of Greek financial situation, the help to Greece and the way it could be offered, the Greek unreliability, the corruption and the troubles occurred.

All the foreign newspapers that were analyzed focused on Greek economy. Their articles were observing the progress, covering with details statements of political and financial institutions from Greece and abroad, international researches and essays from rating agencies. In this frame, emphasis was given mainly on Greek economy’s problems, containing the very high debt, the lack of competitiveness, the huge public sector and generally the recession. Furthermore, the difficulties in Greek peoples’ everyday life due to the measures and the unemployment explosion. Greece was also presented as a country that consumes more than it spends, while there were also texts that named it as a bankrupt country.

The newspapers believed that important preconditions in order to make the situation better were the emphasis to development, the utilization of the reforms, the effective fight of tax evasion and the acceleration of the privatization.

At the same time there was given the view that Greece should sell its islands in order to survive. Generally the foreign newspapers considered crisis as a chance to make Greece enter the way of consolidation, although it would be hard and long. In order to characterize this “journey” many Greek words like marathon and odyssey were used, while La Stampa said that there would be “a recipe with blood and tears”.

The most important conclusion is that the picture of Greece and especially of its economy was presented as especially problematic on foreign mass media. This is

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3 Greek Reforms Can yet Stave off Default’, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/a39c6a50-ace8-11df-8e45-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1EOIF63dE, 23 August 2010.
assured by the fact that there were many stereotypes in foreign articles and was present in articles irrelevant to Greek crisis as well. For example, Wall Street Journal referred that Greece is on the brink of disaster in an article about the author and poet Jose Saramango, because he happened to come from Portugal which also has serious financial problems.\(^7\)

All the newspapers agreed on the problematic character of Greek economy and on the migration of the Greek crisis to other countries both in Europe and around the world. Wall Street Journal interviewed Simon Johnson of MIT and Perter Boone of LSE who claimed that the debt crisis is not manageable and everyone is negatively affected.\(^8\)

Simultaneously, in all the European newspapers examined there was an intense interest on their banks’ future, since they were exposed to the Greek debt. For instance Le Figaro published a wide analysis trying to depict the degree on which the French banks had got connected to Greece.\(^9\) La Stampa did also examined the impact of Greek debt on Italian banks, although the situation was better than in France.\(^10\)

Understanding the great danger coming from Greek crisis, the newspapers developed different theories on whether and how our country’s economy could be saved. The Italian, French and German newspapers under examination suggested that there should be given a kind of help to Greece. At the same direction was the view of Financial Times which claimed that if Eurozone failed to help Greece, Greece would lead to bankruptcy and Eurozone would face a great problem.\(^11,12\) As for Le Figaro, it claimed that the Greek crisis is also a French one and it considered Greece’s case as a challenge.\(^13\) Süddeutsche Zeitung was also explicit claiming that the Europe should

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\(^8\) Simon Johnson and Peter Boone, ‘The Greek Tragedy that Changed Europe’, The Wall Street Journal, 13 February 2010


\(^12\) TommasoPadoa-Schioppa, ‘Europe Cannot Leave Athens on its Own’, Financial Times, 18 February 2010.

\(^13\) Nicolas Bouzou, ‘La CriseGrecque Est AussiFrançaise’, Le Figaro, Opinions, 30 April 2010
help Greece, in order to save Euro and Europe.\textsuperscript{14,15} Finally, the Italian newspaper La Stampa suggested that European Union should definitely help Greece.\textsuperscript{16}

Another issue covered by the foreign newspapers was whether International Monetary Fund should participate in the help given to Greece. Wall Street Journal and Süddeutsche Zeitung suggested that it would be a good idea, while Financial Times’ opinion was more balanced. Specifically, Wall Street Journal wrote that Greece deserves IMF, believing that it would help to save the Euro.\textsuperscript{17,18} Süddeutsche Zeitung’s article claimed that the most prudent way would be to immediately activate the institutions that could find a solution and IMF might be one of them.\textsuperscript{19} As for the balanced approach of Financial Times, it wrote that it would be better for Greece to call IMF.\textsuperscript{20} However, the same newspaper had two interviews from Greek bank presidents who claimed that there is no need for Greece to call IMF.\textsuperscript{21,22}

On the other hand, Le Figaro and La Stampa didn’t agree on the participation of IMF. Specifically, Le Figaro claimed that Germany wants to believe that anything can be done without it in Europe\textsuperscript{23} and La Stampa opposed to this by saying that Greece should remain European\textsuperscript{24}.

\textsuperscript{14} SchäferUrlich, ‘Das Griechische Experiment’, SüddeutscheZeitung, Kommentare, 1 February 2010.


\textsuperscript{17} Grecia, Rush Finale per the IMF”, http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748703775504575135793701057172.html, Opinion Europe, 22 March 2010.


\textsuperscript{19} Claus Hulverscheidt, ‘Der Richtige Muss Helfen’, SüddeutscheZeitung, Meinungsseite, 2 March 2010.


As it was referred, the international financial newspapers opposed to helping Greece. Wall Street Journal on an article wrote the loans would only give a little time to Greece until leading to reform due to its big and increasing debt.\textsuperscript{25,26}

In Financial Times, Wolfgang Münchau claimed that Greece will bankrupt and that the help only delays the inevitable\textsuperscript{27}. The same opinion had also another journalist of this newspaper, John Dizard, who suggested debt reform\textsuperscript{28}.

Apart from the option of debt reform, there was also the suggestion of moving Greece out of Eurozone. Wall Street Journal was one of the newspapers suggesting that only Euro disruption could save Greece\textsuperscript{29}. The same opinion was discovered in Financial Times 1,5 month later\textsuperscript{30}. However, Financial Times had also articles claiming that Greece should remain in EU\textsuperscript{31}. On the other hand Süddeutsche Zeitung adopted the opinion that Greece should give up on Euro, but the serious effects for our country are crucial for its survival.\textsuperscript{32}

Generally speaking, the analysis of the foreign media showed that the position that they took was negative but not so much as initially supposed. Of course there were many different approaches regarding Greek crisis but also there were and some similar aspects. Firstly Germany confirmed its power in EU as she was and of course remain the main actor and has the power to affect directly other countries. Also signing agreement on the financial help to Greece was an act helping to make the euro stable again. Furthermore the economic help of Greece should definitely be followed


\textsuperscript{27}Wolfgang Münchau, ‘Greece Will Default but not this Year’, http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/372886de-400d-11df-8d23-00144feabdc0.html#axzz1EOLF63dE, 4 April 2010.


\textsuperscript{31}George Provopoulos ‘Greece Will Revive itself from Inside the Eurozone’, Financial Times, 22 January 2010.

by strict austerity measures and finally the agreed economic help was given to Greece as the last solution.

**Conclusions**

The coverage of Greek political events, as it was expected, was monopolized both by the socio-economic repercussions of crisis (measures, taxation, unemployment) and by the impact of memoranda and consecutive politics in the political world and in the political life in general (government and operation of political system). Although a great part of journalistic production often concerns the coverage of handlings the protagonists of political life have, the analysis of the political decisions substance is not absent from the Greek mass media, with the remarkable observation that there are seldom reported expressly the social teams that are offended by political decisions and regulations. In other words, while the journalistic coverage is interested in the political cost of the planned measures and policies, it is indifferent for the social cost, which is the most essential. Undeniably, the fluidity of political plans in periods of crisis is so much obvious, that it might work as a suspensive factor in the search of an acute journalistic coverage.

The Greek case does not seem to follow the generalized tendency of mass media for the episodic framing of facts. The news appears to be placed in a wider frame that aims at the deeper comprehension of political decisions and developments, following substantially the principles of the issue framing. This orientation of news is also strengthened by the projection of political protagonists – mainly as representatives of specific policies and not as individual personalities. However, a remarkable part of the news under analysis is the political developments under the explanatory frame of “strategy”, having as a result the picture the public shapes for the political world to be dictated by the strategies the political parties or people adopt.

In general, the way of presenting the political news reveals the commercial character of mass media, since many times the news are negatively charged, electing the element of conflict, either this concerns the content of political positions or personal disputes and conflicts between political life protagonists. Nevertheless, the political news are not characterized by intense dramatization, since there is limited report to
the common opinion for how people evaluate the political world, as well as retained projection of the results of political initiatives and action. The journalists, although they often criticize the work of politicians, defending their role as “fourth power”, they seem to have missed their will for annotating of political events.

Public Diplomacy has to do with the projection of a positive image, as well as the provision of credible information on Greece’s “national issues”, but in reality, however, the public diplomacy lacks in resources and organizational capabilities, as it is not provided with a unit of strategic planning, offices abroad, and specialized staff in political and international communication.

In order to change this situation, Greece’s public diplomacy, therefore, cannot only be about selling national image and culture, but it should become an integral and substantive part of foreign policy. Firstly, Greece should re-focus the orientation of its public diplomacy and focus on changing Greece’s geographical and global presence and point on country’s role as a significant source of economic investments, trade and new flows of tourism, as well as to communicate with NATO on global issues. This can facilitate Greece’s relevance in versatile organizations gaining opportunities to affect world affairs despite its small economic capabilities.

Greece, should rethink of being the “bridge” between the West and the underdeveloped world and of being a force of mediation, peacekeeping and resolution of globally important conflicts.

Answering the first research question of this study, it is obvious that crisis affected media and public diplomacy in Greece. On the one hand, the examined media tried to depict the situation but in a way that served their political expediencies and on the other hand the people involved in crisis management, like the prime minister, used public diplomacy to make people feel secured.

As for the second research question, the media tried to depict the situation in order to inform the Greek people, but sometimes they ended making people feel worried and insecure.

Finally, media have been used to present the reality in the ways they want to achieve their objectives. For instance, they tend to publicize the fact they want, by hiding sometimes the whole truth, or they might present only some of the words politicians say in order to make people dislike them.
Can Greece change the way foreign mass media see it?

Greece’s picture is impossible to change in the short term. On the contrary, it will be worsened even more. The problem is not communicative, but financial and political. The German member of Parliament, Giorgos Chatzimarkakis, may have stressed that the country should change its name to “Hellas”, but, something like that is not able to give solution to the problem.

International mass media they do not have empathy towards Greece. They do not hate the country neither criticize it without a reason. Afterwards the signature of first Memorandum, for example, in May 2010, when the government of George Papandreou showed that it was – theoretically – willing to materialize the essential reforms, the first positive comments had begun to make their appearance. Le Figaro wrote that Greece was the “good student of European Union” and “Financial Times” that the reforming effort had begun in an impressive way. Few months later, of course, the international criticism not only restarted but became still harsher. And this was because it was indisputably proved that the Greek government gave accent only in curtailments of wage and pensions with simultaneous increase of taxes, trying to cover the financing gap from the cancellation of structural changes and the promotion of privatizations.

Since, therefore, the coverage of Greek crisis from the international mass media keeps in pace, in general terms, with the hard reality, two are the basic parameters that show that there is not expected an improvement but a deterioration of its presentation. First is the reasonable admission that politicians that led the country to the precipice, are impossible to save it. And second is the certainty that Greece will be found once again out of budgetary objectives due to the continuing recession, despite the achieved completion of debentures’ exchange with her creditors. Thus, the new measures that it will need will cause a new wave of rage, with uncertain impact for the social cohesion. The exit from the Euro still hangs in spinner, which may break. The worldwide common opinion, in any case, is prepared for such potential.

The Greek crisis is, mainly, a crisis of confidence. After multiple sacrifices, and while it has already been exhausted, the Greek society realizes not only that it is found in a worse point concerning the previous situation, but also that the real people in charge of crisis remain unpunished and continue dealing with their political survival at the expense of the national interest. The feeling of unfairness that was drowned the Greek
citizens was expressed in a negative way, through strikes, demonstrations and courses. Without a democratic revolution coordinated from the newer generation of capable young persons in collaboration with experienced and imperishable technocrats, the term “bankruptcy” will continue stigmatizing Greece in the international mass media. Whether the Greek drama will lead to tragedy or whether the end of unknown adventure is similar to that of Odyssey still remains a question, although new political regime have come to government.
References


