

DIGITAL MEDIA AND THE GREEK CRISIS

DIGITAL ACTIVISM AND SOCIETY: POLITICS, ECONOMY AND CULTURE IN NETWORK COMMUNICATION

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

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

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

Series Editor

Dr Athina Karatzogianni

About the Series Editor

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

Published Books in this Series:

Digital Materialism: Origins, Philosophies, Prospects by Baruch Gottlieb

Nirbhaya, New Media and Digital Gender Activism by Adrija Dey

Digital Life on Instagram: New Social Communication of Photography by Elisa Serafinelli

Internet Oligopoly: The Corporate Takeover of Our Digital World by Nikos Smyrniaos

Digital Activism and Cyberconflicts in Nigeria: Occupy Nigeria, Boko Haram and MEND by Shola A. Olabode

Platform Economics: Rhetoric and Reality in the “Sharing Economy” by Cristiano Codagnone

Communication as Gesture: Media(tion), Meaning, & Movement by Michael Schandorf

Forthcoming Titles:

Journalism and Austerity: Digitization and Crisis During the Greek Memoranda by Christos Kostopoulos

Chinese Social Media: Face, Sociality, and Civility by Shuhan Chen and Peter Lunt

DIGITAL MEDIA AND THE GREEK CRISIS: CYBERCONFLICTS, DISCOURSES AND NETWORKS

BY

IOANNA FERRA

University of Leeds, UK



United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India – Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2020

Copyright © 2020 Ioanna Ferra. Published under an exclusive license.

Reprints and permissions service

Contact: permissions@emeraldinsight.com

No part of this book may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without either the prior written permission of the publisher or a licence permitting restricted copying issued in the UK by The Copyright Licensing Agency and in the USA by The Copyright Clearance Center. Any opinions expressed in the chapters are those of the authors. Whilst Emerald makes every effort to ensure the quality and accuracy of its content, Emerald makes no representation implied or otherwise, as to the chapters' suitability and application and disclaims any warranties, express or implied, to their use.

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-78769-328-9 (Print)

ISBN: 978-1-78769-327-2 (Online)

ISBN: 978-1-78769-329-6 (EPub)



ISOQAR certified
Management System,
awarded to Emerald
for adherence to
Environmental
standard
ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985
ISO 14001



INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

Contents

| | |
|---|-------------|
| List of Figures | <i>ix</i> |
| List of Tables | <i>xi</i> |
| List of Abbreviations | <i>xiii</i> |
| Introduction | <i>xv</i> |
| | |
| Chapter 1 Digital Media in Greece: A Cyberconflict Approach | 1 |
| From the Internet Evolution to the Global Recession and Greek Digital Media | 1 |
| Overview of the Project | 5 |
| | |
| Chapter 2 Theoretical Approaches on Cyberconflict and Digital Media | 9 |
| The Rationale for Employing Cyberconflict Theory and Extending to Connective Action | 9 |
| Social Movement Theories | 12 |
| New Social Movement | 17 |
| Resource Mobilisation Theory | 20 |
| Collective Versus Connective Actions: Networks | 23 |
| Digital Media Theory and Globalisation | 27 |
| | |
| Chapter 3 The Historical and Sociopolitical Background of Greece | 33 |
| Mainstream Politics and Political Parties | 33 |
| Political Parties: From Metapolitefsi to the Greek Crisis, 1974–2012 | 33 |
| Social Movements, Far Right and the Left | 39 |
| The Evolution of the Student and Labour Movement in Greece | 39 |
| The Extra-parliamentary Left and Revolutionary Groups | 41 |
| The Evolution of the Far-right in Greece: From Metaxas Dictatorship to Golden Dawn | 45 |
| The Greek Mediascape | 47 |
| Traditional Media: From the Early Days of Radio and Television to the Traditional Media in the Crisis Era | 47 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Development of New and Online Media: 2002–2015 | 53 |
| Digital Communications, Digital Activism and Greek Political Environment: The 2007 Mobilisations | 60 |
| Chapter 4 Digital Research Methods, Techniques and Sampling | 63 |
| Digital Research Methods | 65 |
| General Sampling of Timeline and Platforms: Evolution of Digital Media Platforms and the Crisis – How the Project Developed | 68 |
| Analytical Tools | 70 |
| Thematic Analysis (Indymedia and YouTube) | 70 |
| Social Network Analysis (Facebook and Twitter) | 72 |
| Semantic Analysis (Twitter) | 75 |
| Explanation of Software Tools: Netvizz, NodeXL, Gephi and NVivo | 76 |
| Chapter 5 The First Period: December Riots – Indymedia and YouTube | 79 |
| December Riots 2008: Sociopolitical and Historical Characteristics | 79 |
| Methods, Sampling, and Analysis | 82 |
| The Examined Platforms: Indymedia and YouTube | 85 |
| Indymedia in the December Riots | 85 |
| December Riots and YouTube: Video and Comments | 88 |
| Discussion and Concluding Remarks | 93 |
| Chapter 6 The Second Period: The Anti-austerity Movement – Facebook and Networks | 97 |
| Sociopolitical and Historical Context: The Greek Indignados/Aganaktismenoi and SYRIZA Online Diaspora | 97 |
| The Greek Indignados/Aganaktismenoi: Sociopolitical and Historical Characteristics | 97 |
| SYRIZA Online Diaspora: Sociopolitical and Historical Characteristics | 104 |
| Methods, Sampling and Analysis | 108 |
| Aganaktismenoi Network and SYRIZA Online Diaspora: Overall Graphs Statistics: | 110 |
| Greek Indignados/Aganaktismenoi Network Analysis (Page-like Network) | 114 |
| Concluding Remarks and Discussion | 122 |

| | |
|---|---------|
| SYRIZA Online Diaspora (National – Transnational): | |
| A Page-like Network | 123 |
| Discussion and Concluding Remarks | 128 |
| Chapter 7 The Third Period: The GReferendum – Twitter, | |
| Networks and Discourse | 131 |
| Methods, Sampling and Analysis | 131 |
| Greferendum: #Menoumeevropi Versus #Oxi | 134 |
| Social Network and Semantic Analysis of #syntagma | |
| and #17junegr | 137 |
| #austerity VS #antiausterity | 142 |
| The Social Network Analysis and Semantic Analysis #nai | |
| VS #oxi Campaign | 145 |
| Evolution of Campaigns Discourse: #menoumeevropi | |
| and #oxi | 150 |
| #greferendum | 167 |
| Discussion and Concluding Remarks | 175 |
| Chapter 8 Discussion and Concluding Remarks | 179 |
| Findings: Three Periods and Four Online Media Platforms | 179 |
| Digital Media Evolutions and Political Transformations | 186 |
| Future, Limitations and Contribution | 188 |
| Bibliography | 193 |
| Index | 219 |

List of Figures

Chapter 6

| | | |
|-------------|--|-----|
| Figure 6.1. | The Greek Indignados – Aganaktismenoi Network. | 113 |
| Figure 6.2. | Aganaktismenoi Network – Group 3; 4; 6; 1; 8. | 116 |
| Figure 6.3. | Aganaktismenoi Network – Group 2; 5; 9; 7. | 117 |
| Figure 6.4. | Structure of the Network and Sub-networks. | 121 |
| Figure 6.5. | SYRIZA Diaspora. | 123 |
| Figure 6.6. | SYRIZA Network – Groups, 1; 2; 3; 4; 10. | 125 |
| Figure 6.7. | Structure of the Network and Sub-networks – SYRIZA Network. | 127 |

Chapter 7

| | | |
|--------------|--|-----|
| Figure 7.1. | #Syntagma and #17junegr Social Networks. | 138 |
| Figure 7.2. | #Syntagma Semantic Network. | 141 |
| Figure 7.3. | #17junegr Semantic Network. | 142 |
| Figure 7.4. | Anti-austerity vs Austerity. | 143 |
| Figure 7.5. | #antiausterity Semantic Network. | 145 |
| Figure 7.6. | #austerity Semantic Network. | 146 |
| Figure 7.7. | #nai ² VS #oxi ³ Social Networks. | 147 |
| Figure 7.8. | #Nai, Semantic Network. | 150 |
| Figure 7.9. | #Oxi Semantic Network. | 151 |
| Figure 7.10. | #Menoumeevropi Social Network (30 June 2015; 4 July 2015; 6 July 2015). | 153 |
| Figure 7.11. | #Oxi Social Network (30 June 2015; 4 July 2015; 6 July 2015). | 154 |
| Figure 7.12. | #Menoumeevropi – Bailout Expiration Semantic Network (30 June 2015). | 159 |
| Figure 7.13. | #Oxi Bailout Expiration Semantic Network (30 June 2015). . | 160 |
| Figure 7.14. | #Menoumeevropi Referendum Eve Semantic Network (4 July 2015). | 162 |
| Figure 7.15. | #Oxi Referendum Eve Semantic Network (4 July 2015). . . . | 163 |
| Figure 7.16. | #Menoumeevropi Post-referendum Semantic Network (6 July 2015). | 165 |

Figure 7.17. #Oxi Post-referendum Semantic Network (6 July 2015). . . . 166

Figure 7.18. Referendum Announcement, Bailout Expiration and
Referendum Network. 167

Figure 7.19. Greferendum – Referendum Announcement Semantic
Network (27 June 2015). 172

Figure 7.20. Greferendum – Bailout Expiration Semantic Network
(30 June 2015).. 173

Figure 7.21. Greferendum – Referendum Semantic Network
(5 July 2015).. 174

List of Tables

Chapter 3

| | |
|--|----|
| Table 3.1. Results of the Greek Parliamentary Elections 2000–2012. . . . | 39 |
| Table 3.2. Internet Access and Computer Usage in Greece 2002–2015. . . | 54 |
| Table 3.3. Household/Internet Access and Broadband Connections in Greece 2004–2012.. | 54 |
| Table 3.4. Percentage of Households with Internet Access at Home: EU – Greece. | 55 |
| Table 3.5. Social Media Platforms Use (2012–2013). | 57 |
| Table 3.6. Users Profiles – Usage of at Least One Social Media Platforms in the Last Six Months (6–12/2013).. | 58 |
| Table 3.7. YouTube, Facebook and Twitter – 2013 Greek Users’ Profiles. | 59 |
| Table 3.8. Blogs and LinkedIn – 2013, Greek Users’ profiles.. | 60 |

Chapter 5

| | |
|---|----|
| Table 5.1. Nodes and References in the Three Threads/Posts. | 86 |
|---|----|

List of Abbreviations

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| ACTA | Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement |
| AN.EL. | Independent Greeks |
| ANT1 | Antenna Television Network |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| CCF | Conspiracy of Cells of Fire |
| CEO | Chief Executive Officer |
| CH.AY. | Golden Dawn |
| CLP | Coalition of the Left and Progress |
| DIKKI | Democratic Social Movement |
| DIMAR | Democratic Left |
| EAM | National Liberation Front |
| E.AR | E.AR-Greek Left |
| EC | European Commission |
| ECB | European Central Bank |
| EIR | Hellenic Radio Foundation |
| EIRT | Hellenic Radio-Television Foundation |
| ELA | Revolutionary Popular Struggle |
| EL. STAT | National Statistical Service of Greece |
| ERT | Hellenic Radio Television |
| ET-1 | Hellenic Television, Channel 1 |
| ET-2 | Hellenic Television, Channel 2 |
| ET-3 | Hellenic Television, Channel 3 |
| EU | European Union |
| EYP | National Intelligence Service |
| FB | Facebook |
| FLOSS | Free/Libre and Open Source Software |
| GSEE | General Confederation of Greek Workers |
| ICT | Information Communication Technology |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| ISIS | Islamic State in Iraq and Syria |
| KKE | Communist Party |
| LAOS | Popular Orthodox Rally |

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| MEGA | Mega Channel |
| M15 | May 15, Spanish Movement of Indignados |
| ND | New Democracy |
| NERIT | New Hellenic Radio, Internet and Television |
| NSM | New Social Movement |
| NWO | New World Order |
| ODG | Observatory for Digital Greece |
| OTE | Hellenic Telecommunications Organizations |
| OWS | Occupy Wall Street |
| PAK | PanHellenic Liberation Movements |
| PASOK | Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement |
| PIGS | Portugal, Iceland, Greece, Spain |
| RMT | Resource Movement Theory |
| RS | Revolutionary Struggle |
| RT | Russia Today |
| rt | retweet |
| SE | Solidarity Economy |
| SMI | Social Movement Industry |
| SMO | Social Movement Organization |
| SMT | Social Movement Theory |
| SMS | Social Movement Sector |
| SNA | Social Network Analysis |
| SYNASPISMOS (SYN) | Coalition of Left, Ecology and Movements |
| SYRIZA | Coalition of Radical Left |
| TA | Thematic Analysis |
| Troika | IMF, European Commission and European Central Bank |
| US | Unites States |
| WSJ | The <i>Wall Street Journal</i> |
| WWII | World War II |
| WWW | World Wide Web |
| YENED | Armed forces Information Centre |
| 17 November (17N) | Revolutionary Organization, 17 November |

Introduction

This project examines the influence of digital media on the contentious politics in Greece, as well as the political-economic sphere's impact on the formation of the digital mediascape. The research concentrated on the parallel evolution of the (debt) crisis and the digital communications in Greece, by examining four different online media platforms and covering a seven-year period (2008; 2011–2012; 2015). The research employed cyberconflict theory to situate online mediated conflict (sociopolitical and ethnoreligious cyberconflict) in a geosocio-political and historical context, indicating the dynamic relation between the online media and the offline world. This research suggests the use of online data for the examination of cyberconflict and updates the framework so as to efficiently support the study of social media platforms.

The research reflected the evolution of the sociopolitical debates and the political transformations that emerged in the Greek crisis context (anti-/pro- austerity debate to the euro-vs-drachma/or grexit discussion, the anti-/pro-governmental debate, and the anti-/pro-European discourse). The pre-crisis era and discourse online had already indicated the debates, which later, shaped the crisis discourse online and offline. Then, the SYRIZA network rides the mobilisation wave of *Aganaktismenoi*, offering a platform and promising representation of all the included actors. During the referendum, polarisation helped in the formation of less fluid identities online and offline, which further developed focusing on the division between the political Us and Them. In the crisis context, the Internet used a magnifying glass, pointing out conflict, opposition and supporting polarisation.