

Master Thesis

Negativity and Press-Party Parallelism

Levels and Patterns of Negativity in the Newspaper Coverage of Greek Parliamentary Elections



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Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Literature Review.....	4
2.1. Negativity.....	4
2.2. Negativity and Press-party Parallelism.....	8
2.3. Negativity and Incumbency Status.....	16
2.4. Negativity and Issue Content.....	18
3. Methods.....	20
3.1. Case and Medium Selection.....	20
3.2. Sample.....	23
3.2.1. Newspapers.....	23
3.2.2. Content and Availability.....	24
3.2.3. Time Frame of the Analysis.....	26
3.2.4. Relevance of the Sample.....	28
3.3. Unit of Analysis.....	29
3.4. Coding Scheme.....	30
4. Results.....	36
4.1. Overall Tone.....	36
4.2. Tone by Newspaper.....	37
4.3. Differences in Tone between Elections.....	41
4.4. Direct and Indirect Use of Negativity.....	43
4.5. Visibility of Negativity.....	46
4.6. Negativity and Press-party Parallelism.....	47
4.7. Negativity and Incumbency Status.....	52
4.8. Negativity and Issue Content.....	55
5. Conclusions and Discussion.....	57
6. References.....	64
7. Appendix.....	68

1. Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the connection between negative coverage and press-party parallelism in Greece. Parallelism exists when newspapers engage in political life by supporting a specific party. Such support can be offered by means of praise of a party or criticism of its opponents. Therefore, several questions occur as to the extent and nature of such behaviour by the Press. To what extent do newspapers go negative in order to offer their support during the coverage of national election campaigns in Greece? What is the influence of a party's incumbent or challenger status on the extent of newspaper negativity? Does newspaper negativity offer relevant policy information to the voters, or does it focus more on information that is unlikely to improve the voter's knowledge on substantial matters?

The starting point for this study, is the conventional wisdom that Greek newspapers are closely tied with political parties, leading to what Hallin and Mancini (2004) call political parallelism, in order to describe the tendency of newspapers in certain countries, mostly the Mediterranean ones, to align with party views. The described tendency is attributed to the close and longtime ties between editors and politicians. Greek newspapers for the most part align with specific parties, especially the two biggest ones, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and New Democracy (ND). These parties quickly turned to catch-all parties and established a monopoly in Greek politics since the regime change of 1974, when the seven-year military junta, commonly referred to as the "Junta of the Colonels" was overthrown and democracy reestablished.

Given that PASOK and ND have been the only parties in power for more than three and a half decades, both the people and media have built their discourse around this divide. The result is that pro-PASOK or pro-ND have substituted or rather absorbed the traditional pro-left and pro-right divide in peoples minds. This divide was also helpful to leaders, in order to consolidate their voter base, by taking advantage of this polarization and seeming tautology between PASOK and the Left or New Democracy and the Right. A very popular political motto of PASOK during the 80's, used against ND, was "The people don't forget what the Right means" (Ο λαός δεν ξεχνά τι σημαίνει Δεξιά). It was then imitated by ND, who turned it into "The people don't forget what the Left means" (Ο λαός δεν ξεχνά τι σημαίνει Αριστερά). In both cases these negative mottos were referring to the past conflicts between the two ideologies, and the wrongdoings of the other side, which often involved violence. This conflict had started already during WWII and did not become somewhat softer until well after the end of the Cold War. The parties themselves nurtured the equation between them and the Left or Right ideology respectively, so that they could attract as many voters as possible, successfully turning themselves to catch-all parties. If one were to put it bluntly, it could be argued that parties established a monopoly on these ideological labels and as a result, dominated the political field. Newspapers were necessary assistants during this process, when private television was inexistent and public television was not highly popular. In this context, the two parties managed to systematically gain between 80% and 90% of the votes in every single election in 30 years.¹

¹ Election results available at <http://ekloges.yves.gr/>

In the June 2012 parliamentary election, the two-party establishment of Greek politics was severely questioned by the results. The votes of PASOK and ND were significantly lower than previously, and a third party, SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left) managed to finish second, breaking the dominance of the two traditional forces. However, this party did not participate in the coalition government, thus leaving governance in the hands of ND and PASOK, who achieved collaboration with a small new

Treating newspapers as political actors, rather than merely as news media, a sample of the front pages of four newspapers, two newspapers per party affiliation, were analyzed over two election periods. The findings offer insight to the relevant research questions, and hypotheses, regarding the tone, targets and focus of positive and negative coverage, as derived from the literature. The aim is to take a step towards the enrichment of the available knowledge on campaign coverage in Greece, under the influence of press-party parallelism. As far as newspapers are concerned this is a neglected topic both internationally and much more so in Greece. This creates the necessary grounds for fresh research, because negativity has multiple sources and, in order to understand the phenomenon, it is necessary to investigate more than the usual ones.

The paper includes four parts: In the first part, negativity is introduced and the literature on its characteristics and potential consequences is presented. In the following part, negativity is connected with press-party parallelism as a means for newspapers to express their support towards a specific party, by criticizing its opponents. In the third part, negativity is seen through the double lens of parallelism and incumbency status, in an attempt to test whether the latter influences the levels of newspaper negativity. In the fourth part, negativity in newspapers is evaluated through the scope of its contribution to the information environment, based on how much it focuses on policy issues. By offering insight into the above, and testing the

party named DIMAR (Democratic Left). Therefore, from the point of view of vote share, the dominance of the two “titans” has been weakened. From the point of view of governance, the change was smaller, because the two parties are still in power. The only difference is they now share power, while in the past, single-party cabinets were a certainty. It remains to be seen whether the 2012 election will mark the end of the Greek two-party system as we know it, or will simply constitute an instant deviation from the usual patterns in Greek politics.

relevant hypotheses based on a content analysis design, this paper makes a first attempt to assess negativity in Greek newspapers during election campaigns and set a small foundation for future research.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Negativity

“Having shown your own truthfulness and the untruthfulness of your opponent, the natural thing is to commend yourself, censure him, and hammer in your points. You must aim at one of two objects – you must make yourself out a good man and him a bad one either in yourselves or in relation to your hearers.

- Aristotle, 350 BC.²

Aristotle’s words show how negativity was in use long before it attracted the interest of modern scholars. As Samaras (2008) notes, “Negativity and attack are phenomena that have always coexisted with political communication”. It is reasonable to go one step beyond his point and suggest that negativity, in its broad sense, has been around for as long as people speak and argue. In more recent examples, Geer (2006) spotted strong presence of negativity in the Declaration of Independence, while Riker (1996) highlighted the nasty tone between Federalists and Anti-Federalists, during the debate of the new American Constitution in 1787-88. Although conceptualizations may vary, negativity in its simplest form can be seen as *any criticism leveled against one’s opponent* (Geer 2006). An aspect of the contemporary use of negativity, that attracts

² Excerpt from Aristotle's Rhetoric: Or, The True Grounds and Principles of Oratory; Showing the Right Art of Pleading and Speaking in Full Assemblies and Courts of Judicature.

much attention from students of political science, is negativity during election campaigns. This is due to its potential effects on voter perceptions and attitudes and therefore, on the outcome of the race. In other words negativity has become a central topic due to its political relevance.

Most often, studies about negativity tend to focus on the messages directly generated by the parties in the form of advertisements, or somewhat less direct messages, as in the case of televised debates (e.g. Jamieson 1992; Ansolabehere and Iyengar 1995; Riker 1996; Benoit 1999; Benoit 2001; Kaid and Johnston 2002; Geer 2006). The logic behind this choice is that, given how complex it has become for citizens to directly draw information from the parties and politicians, the next best option is to rely on messages issued by the parties and distributed or hosted by the media.

The influential work of Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1995) caused increased attention to the debate about negativity and its effects. They were not the first to talk about the phenomenon in modern literature (e.g. Jamieson 1992; West 1993) but their central claim, that negative advertising is detrimental to election turnout rates by alienating voters, prompted a torrent of research on the topic and has been challenged numerous times since the book's publication (e.g. Finkel and Geer 1998; Freedman and Goldstein 1999; Geer 2006). John Geer took the debate further by claiming that negativity might even have positive consequences for the electorate and the outcome of the election, by means of highlighting relevant issues as well as the record of the opponent. It can, therefore, serve as a way to inform voters of the potential risks of a "wrong" vote. In Geer's point of view, negative appeals in party advertisements are

more informative than positive appeals, because they former tend to be more issue-oriented.

However, negativity does not necessarily need to stem from official party ads and broadcasts or televised debates. It can also be found in other sources, as in the tone of media coverage. Different types of media can be scanned for positive or negative coverage, in an effort to offer a better view of how much negativity the public gets during a campaign, regardless of the origin of the message. Several studies have already taken place in this direction, including newspaper analysis, as part of the overall assessment of negativity during elections (e.g. Kahn & Kenney 1999; Lau and Pomper 2004; Ridout and Franz 2008; Walter and Vliegenthart 2010). In the United States, Kahn and Kenney (1999) measured the tone of senatorial campaigns, relying, among others, on a content analysis of each state's biggest newspaper, over ten months prior to the election. What they found was that the effects of negative coverage may vary depending on the content and tone of the coverage. This finding shows that the Press does matter and highlight the need to look at negativity in a more comprehensive way, whether it comes from the parties and candidates themselves, or the news media, since from the voter's point of view both constitute sources of information, and help form the final decision.

Similarly, others (Ridout and Franz 2008; Walter and Vliegenthart 2010), also opt for more comprehensive designs, including more communication channels. Although some suggest that assessing campaign tone based on the way it is covered by the media, might distort the actual degree of negativity, it would be hard to deny that the campaign, as covered by the media is closest to what people actually get about the

campaign (Lau and Pomper 2004: 136). Ridout and Franz (2008) found strong connections between negativity levels in advertisements, newspaper coverage and public perceptions of negativity. The findings showed that negativity levels do not vary much between different communication channels. On the other hand, Walter and Vliegenthart (2010) spotted differences in the tone between party election broadcasts, televised debates and newspaper articles, and attempted to explain them, arguing that what causes the differences, may be the control parties and candidates can have over the message. According to them, the comparison is between the party's own messages (greater control), versus messages that the party cannot easily control, such as newspaper articles. Negativity was found to be higher when the party had less control over the message, at least in the 2006 Dutch Election.

Greece is different in this respect. Strictly speaking, parties may not be able to control the content of newspapers, but, according to the literature on press-party parallelism it is the newspapers themselves who are willing to move along the party lines, for political and financial reasons. This results in more than just campaign coverage by the newspapers, as will be explained in more detail in the following paragraphs.

It is clear that, even though studies on newspaper negativity exist, literature seems to focus much less on this topic. A likely explanation may be the decreasing importance of newspapers among the public, since circulation figures are declining worldwide. In the United States, for instance, where most of the research on negativity originates from, newspaper circulation has been following a downward trend since the 1950's (McChesney R.W. & Nichols, J. 2010). Therefore, due to the fact that newspapers can influence an decreasing proportion of the population, research tends to focus mostly

on television. Another explanation may be that newspapers in most western countries, where the literature comes from, are not heavily, or at least not overtly, politicized, and would probably not constitute ideal sources of negativity. This, in turn, happens partly because journalistic ideals and professionalism are more developed there, than in other parts of the world (Hallin and Mancini 2004:28).

In Greece, despite the fact that political life and discourse have always been intense, and therefore might attract students of negativity, there is only partial research on it and practically non-existent research on newspaper negativity. Samaras (2008) studied official party ads aired during the election periods from 1993 to 2007 and although negativity was not his main focus, he found that during the studied period its levels fluctuated considerably, and sometimes negative ads even surpassed positive ads. Another study on Greek election campaigns (Tsirbas 2007) was more comprehensive, studying party ads as well as television coverage in two election periods. Again, negativity was not the main focus of the study (merely one chapter) and was only examined in party ads and television news coverage, thus excluding newspapers. This study will grab the opportunity and take a step towards what researchers have been omitting so far in Greece: analyzing the content of newspapers during election campaigns, detecting negativity and connecting it with and parallelism.

2.2 Negativity and Press-party Parallelism

In their landmark work “Comparing Media Systems”, Daniel Hallin and Paolo Mancini (2004), based on a variety of indicators, argue that a distinction could be made between three models of media and politics. Those were the Mediterranean (or polarized pluralist) Model, the North/Central European (or Democratic Corporatist)

Model, and the North Atlantic (or Liberal) Model. Their indicators include: the development of media markets and mass circulation press in particular; political parallelism; the development of journalistic professionalism; the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system (p.21). Political parallelism is a possibly the most central indicator of their study. It is seen as “the degree and nature of the links between the media and political parties or, more broadly, the extent to which the media system reflects the major political divisions in society”. According to Hallin and Mancini, the countries forming the Mediterranean Model (Greece, Spain, Portugal, Italy and to a lesser extent, France) have media that “were intimately involved in the political conflicts that mark the history of this region”, while, at the same time, serving ideological expression and mobilization purposes (p.89). In a sense, Greek newspapers are rooted in these very ideological divisions, which is reflected in the strong partisan slant of newspaper content (Dimitras, 1997). There are four manifestations of media-party parallelism: it can be detected in the media contents, the ownership of the news media, the affiliations of journalists, owners, and managers, and in readership patterns (Hallin & Mancini, 2004; Seymour-Ure, 1974). However, the safest way to measure it, is the newspaper content itself.

Hallin and Mancini’s concept of political parallelism was partly based on Colin Seymour-Ure’s work (1974), who was the first to talk about *party-press parallelism*, but owes more to the conceptualization by Blumler and Gurevitch (1995), where party-press parallelism was described in a more general framework, as the ties between media and political parties. According to the latter, parallelism may exist even without organizational ties between parties and press as long as “a news organization backs in a more or less stable condition a political party, either because

of a historical tradition or because of contingent decisions” (Blumler and Gurevitch 1995, p.65). Parallelism exists in its strongest form when each newspaper supports a particular party, whose views it represents in the public sphere (Hallin and Mancini 2004). This is highly visible in the leader columns and in the editorial parts of newspapers – but sometimes also in the news items themselves (van Kempen 2007). In the Greek case, one could add “more than sometimes” to van Kempen’s words. Due to this study focusing on Greek newspapers, the concept of press-party parallelism, as described by Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) was deemed more suitable than political parallelism, which puts less emphasis on parties, and more on political orientations in terms of the left-right, or liberal-conservative divisions.

Greek newspapers have long been considered politically engaged, offering support to their respective affiliated parties. This comes as no surprise, once the inherent polarization of Greek politics is taken into account (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 98) Politics in Greece tends toward conflict instead of cooperation, and this is a possible explanation why the country has no tradition of coalition governments. In reality, there is currently a coalition government, formed in June 2012, which can be seen as a breach in the well-rooted two-party system. A previous coalition government was formed in November 2011 between PASOK and ND, but was an exceptional effort that took place under severe politico-economic circumstances and did not seem to reflect sincere intentions for cooperation – rather a “necessary evil”. This may have been the reason for its failure within only a few months and the subsequent resort to elections in May 2012. Before the current efforts, the previous coalition government dated from 1989 and was also short-lived.³ Even Greek electoral laws have been

³ It was an unusual coalition of New Democracy (right), Synaspismos (left) and the Communist Party of Greece (far left). The government lasted from 2 July 1989 until new election was held in November,

designed so that the first party past the post in the election is rewarded with additional seats in Parliament, in order for the winner to be able to form a stable single-party government.⁴ This brings Greece closer to the “winner takes all” mentality of American politics in this respect, and the media, particularly newspapers, seem to have embraced this polarization, while also profiting from the governments through subsidies (Papathanassopoulos 2001: 114). The framework for these types of help is unclear and usually takes the form of “soft” loans, overt and covert subsidies, as well as state jobs offered to many journalists (Dimitras 1997: 102-103). This relationship, in return, typically reinforces the tendency of newspapers to emphasize opinion, as a means to support a specific party and “return the favour” (Papathanassopoulos 2008; Constantinidou 2003). Such practices, in other words, equal to buying the paper’s opinion, which comes as an additional influence on top of ideological identification between parties and newspapers.

Everything points to newspapers being heavily politicized. But how do newspapers express their preferences? Do they praise the “friend” or criticize the “opponent”? It is meaningful to look deeper into the question in relation with negativity and find specific characteristics of its levels, direction and focus, as manifested in newspaper coverage. Such empirical research on Greek newspapers has been absent, possibly due to the fact that newspaper stance is taken for granted. For example, Tsirbas, while investigating the balance and tone of media coverage during Greek election campaigns, excluded newspapers from his research because “daily political press in Greece has clear party preference. For every newspaper it is well-known (and acknowledged by the newspaper itself) which party it endorses” (2007: 249).

with New Democracy finishing first, but not achieving majority in the Parliament, thus forming a single-party minority government.

⁴ The current electoral law is N.3231/2004, as amended by N.3636/2008.

However he does not provide a source either, which would offer empirical support to his rather reasonable claim. As much as this may depict the reality of Greek media, it does point even more to the lack of data supporting this “conventional wisdom”. In addition, the lack of data does not allow any deeper look in the particular characteristics of the coverage, in other words the way newspapers choose to show their support. Without a deeper focus, it is not possible to advance the study of negativity in the press coverage during election periods and take the next step to assess its effects. This study aims to take a step toward this direction, despite the numerous limitations presented by the lack of data. This prevents the study from attempting to investigate the effects of press coverage, but does not prevent it from offering a quantitative and qualitative analysis of election coverage by Greek newspapers. Thus, until Greek opinion polls become more frequent, consistent and start incorporating items that could be used in the evaluation of the effects of negative coverage (such as learning, mobilization, trust or cynicism) it is useful to start building an understanding of the various characteristics of negativity in the Press, as an expression of parallelism.

Papathanassopoulos (2001) argues that the stance of Greek newspapers has been evolving from a more partisan to a more objective coverage, putting aside their clear party identification and adopting a more general left, right, or centrist stance, in order to increase their readership, amid dropping circulation figures. Yet, he notes, during election periods, newspapers normally become more engaged. This is also supported by Komninou (1996), who studied the evolution of the Greek media landscape since the end of the dictatorship in 1974 until 1994. It makes sense: even if a newspaper does not completely identify with a party, it does not have many options. It will either support the party that is closest to its views, or simply let the other party win. This is

the “dilemma” posed by the two-party system. Therefore, instead of being passive, newspapers engage. As Kaid and Stromback (2008) point out: “[A]lmost every election cycle in almost every country inevitably brings some accusations of partisan media bias [but] very few countries have sufficient empirical evidence on this question to come to any overarching conclusions” (p. 426). Partisan information may strengthen existing party-political preferences, and consequently elevate the probability to vote for that party (Brynin & Newton, 2003; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944). Combined with Kahn and Kenney’s claim about the effects of press negativity, the above lead to the question: How do newspapers cover the race in a context of press-party parallelism? Do they go more positive, negative or do they remain neutral?

Research Question 1: What is the tone of election campaign coverage by Greek newspapers?

Answering this question will offer a general overview of negativity in the coverage, and may prove useful in future assessments of its impact on the readers. Empirical research has shown, yet inconclusively, that negativity can have detrimental effects on the electorate. An illustrative example of the inconclusiveness of the research is the observation by Lau et al. (1999) that for every finding that supports the undesirable effects of negativity there is another that contradicts it, while some studies have not been able to isolate significant effects. However, as Sigelman and Kugler (2003) point out, inconclusiveness in research does not necessarily mean that the whole idea of undesired effects is wrong, but maybe that the conditions under which such effects may occur have not yet been well identified. Thus, there is still need to enrich the available data, as is attempted here, and provide as much material for those who

research the said effects, especially in a country with poor data availability, like Greece.

In addition it will be investigated whether negativity comes from journalists/editors or from other sources, such as statements by politicians. Newspapers may slant the coverage and criticize candidates explicitly. One simple way to do so is by using quotations in order to support their point of view. According to the professional norms of newswriting (Cappon 1991), journalists are expected to identify their sources when criticizing politicians, because they should abstain from doing so on their own.

However, they sometimes stray from this ideal, criticizing a candidate in a news story without citing a source. When criticisms are linked to sources, readers can employ political cues (e.g., the party identification or ideological view of the source) to place the criticisms in political context. On the other hand, when journalists make critical comments about parties or politicians without identifying a source, readers cannot depend on common heuristics to help “counterargue” the information. (p.384). Of course, in the Greek case, such heuristic might be the affiliation of the newspaper, which is detected by most readers. But not all journalists have the same party identification, even within partisan newspapers, and consequently it remains relatively open whether (and to what extent) readers rely on the newspaper affiliation to counterargue information that is not attributed to a “known” source.

Research Question 1a: Do newspapers tend to use more direct or indirect negativity?

A last general question that may shed some light on the likelihood of negativity being received by the readers is the prominence of negative statements within the front page.

Kahn and Kenney (2002) suggested that many newspaper readers are attracted to stories because of the content of the headlines or the placement of stories. Newspapers hoping to hurt or help candidates may slant the tone of headlines and the tone of front page stories. It is meaningful to investigate whether negative statements enjoy greater visibility according to the measures adopted in this study.

Research Question 1b: Do negative statements enjoy greater visibility than positive statements?

However, answering these initial questions is only one step. It has to be completed by additional information, so as to become more meaningful. The second step is to test Hallin and Mancini's claims and conventional wisdom about the behaviour of the Press in Greece. As stated, newspapers are expected to show their support for a given party in their pages. This poses a twofold question: First, do newspapers indeed support the parties they are believed to support? The answer could hardly be negative, but would then lead to the second leg of the question: do newspapers choose to show their support by praising the aligned party or by attacking the opponent party? And to what extent does each of the two practices occur? This introduces the relationship between *newspaper*, *tone* and *target* into the question, and the aim is to find whether, and to what extent, newspapers move in the expected direction. Hence, the following hypothesis:

Hypothesis 1: Newspapers will be positive toward their party of preference and negative toward the opponent.

This hypothesis differs from the research question offered earlier, because it does not look for negativity in general, but for negativity that is aimed towards specific opponents. If this hypothesis is not supported, then conventional wisdom and part of the literature about the Greek Press would lose some of their appeal. If the hypothesis is supported, the underlying question is: *to what extent?* Do newspapers prefer to go negative, by focusing on criticizing the opponent party, or do they go positive, by focusing on praising the aligned party? Furthermore do individual newspapers behave similarly, or is it possible that one of them is more positive, while another is more negative?

2.3 Negativity and Incumbency Status

A pattern that seems to be accepted generally, and supported by empirical findings, is the difference between the tendency of incumbents and challengers to go negative. Geer (2006), found that challengers are more likely to go negative than incumbents. He is not the only one to talk about such a pattern. Challengers are thought to be more willing to risk a backlash effect making use of negative campaigning than incumbents, as they have to overcome their opponent's natural advantage of incumbency (Druckman et al., 2009: 352; Lau and Pomper, 2004: 32). All else aside, incumbents have the advantage of being in office, and therefore enjoy greater visibility, as well as the possibility to provide services to the constituents. Consequently, challengers are "pushed" to go negative and criticize the incumbents, as their available campaigning strategies are more limited. Furthermore, Trent and Friedenber (2004) note that incumbents usually focus their campaign on their achievements and such a tendency results in more positive than negative campaigning, compared to the challenger who

has no recent achievements to base his campaign on (p.92-93). Incumbency implies a more defensive position with a goal to keep the party in power. Conversely, challengers are more willing to take risks, in order to achieve their goal and replace the incumbent in power. In addition, incumbents are expected to offer many reasons for attack, because being in power brings exposure and unavoidable decisions all of which provide the challenger with sufficient grounds for criticism. The weight falls on the party that is out of power, to criticize the incumbent and make its case to the public. The pattern described above has been detected in Greece as well. Samaras (2008) found that in all election periods since 1993, the party ads of the challengers were consistently more negative than those of the incumbents. However, there is a gap in the literature when it comes to newspaper coverage.

Hypothesis 2: Pro-challenger newspapers will be more negative towards the incumbent, than pro-incumbent newspapers towards the challenger

It remains to be seen whether newspapers behave in a similar way. The hypothesis from the literature was adapted, substituting parties (or candidates) with newspapers. Having the influence of parallelism in mind, it could be expected for newspapers to show a similar pattern in their coverage. When its affiliated party is in challenger status, the newspaper may also turn more negative, in an effort to help the party overcome its disadvantage. If this hypothesis is not supported, it will mean that, despite their party identification, newspapers do not move along the same lines in their coverage as parties in their campaign, and therefore, research should look for different patterns and determinants of newspaper negativity levels.

2.4 Negativity and Issue Content

Newspapers are an effective way to acquire issue knowledge, during a campaign (Culbertson & Stempel 1986; McLeod & McDonald 1985). Not all studies are unanimous about the impact of newspapers on political learning, suggesting that party ads (Holbert, Benoit, Hansen & Wen2002) or debates may be a better source of information (Benoit, McKinney, & Holbert, 2001). Regardless from which medium has greater contribution to learning, the contribution of newspapers cannot be overlooked. Does negativity provide voters with the kind of information that is deemed necessary for their decision at the ballot box?

As mentioned in the previous section, an important finding by Geer (2006), in his study of party ads, was that negative statements were more likely to be issue-based than positive statements. By showing that more issues are covered when one decides to go negative, he tried to show that negativity is in fact advancing the debate, by focusing on relevant issues, instead of character traits and vague attacks. By admitting that newspaper use can be beneficial for learning, the question is whether negativity is a better provider of the information necessary to the voters. Also, since the newspapers under study are far from being only read by partisans (see section 3.2.4), it would be reasonable to expect they are careful with their criticism and therefore prefer to include attacks on relevant issues. Otherwise, if they attack indiscriminately, or “below the belt” they could risk alienating an important part of their readers, who may be supporters of another party. Such risks should not appear very appealing, since newspaper sales are under pressure. This relates to the potential danger of a backlash effect that can occur when someone attacks indiscriminately.

While professional standards for modern journalists stand against the use of evaluative adjectives (Cappon 1991), the latter are highly common in news coverage (Page 1996). For example, reporters typically characterize candidates as inexperienced, erratic, out of touch, or ineffective. For the following hypothesis, statements made by journalists and politicians alike will be classified based on the focus category being about issues, traits, values, or the race itself. The answers will offer valuable information about whether negativity found in newspapers is indeed likely to advance the debate by focusing on issues, rather than focus more on traits, values or race performance and strategies. The latter three categories are considered to be less useful to the communication environment available to voters. According to research discussed earlier, they are susceptible to have negative effects on the electorate and, possibly, the political outcome. This is especially believed for the attacks focusing on character traits. (Geer 2006; Kahn and Kenney 1999)

Hypothesis 3: Overall, negative statements will be focused on issues more often than positive statements, and therefore contribute more to the information environment available to voters.

To further illustrate the importance of issue statements, according to the 2009 Barometer by the Greek survey company Public Issue, the relevance of issue statements is crucial, because for the 2009 election 56% of the voters responded that policy issues would be the most important criterion for their vote. Conversely, only 12% responded their decision would be mostly shaped by the party leader, while 9%

answered that the primary criterion would be the party itself.⁵ In other words, if negative appeals are indeed more issue-oriented than positive appeals, then it could be argued that negativity contributes to the information environment available to Greek voters, similarly to what Geer found to be true for the party ads in the United States.

3. Methods

3.1. Case and Medium Selection

This paper adopts a design aiming to offer information that many researchers either do not look for, or simply calculate in other ways. For instance, van Kempen (2007) measured press-party parallelism, from the perspective of the citizen. She combined party preference with the use of specific newspapers and concluded that Greece scored the highest among the EU-15. According to her measure, Press-Party Parallelism in Greece reaches 16,6%, which equals to twice or more the parallelism of the next two countries in the list (Denmark: 8,3%; Spain 8%). This finding supports the claims of high parallelism in Greece. However, it shows that parallelism in Greece is not an absolute rule. It is merely, though clearly, more common than in other countries. This makes Greece the most suitable case in Europe for the study of campaign coverage under press-party parallelism. As is discussed below, under 3.2.2, the fact that there may be some pattern connecting party preference with newspaper preference in Greece is not an absolute rule. Newspapers are read by more than just partisans. It should be made clear that the purpose is not to draw any conclusions

⁵ Parliamentary Election, 4 October 2009 Barometer: 1st and 2nd Wave. Available at http://www.publicissue.gr/wp-content/uploads/2009/09/pre-elect-varometro-_1st2nd-wave.pdf

about political parallelism in Greece in general. However, the measures will allow to capture the affiliation of the newspapers in the sample, and enrich the claims of newspaper affiliations with empirical data based on the content, instead of proxy measures. Then, the focus will turn to how political parallelism is expressed in the election campaign coverage and through negative coverage in particular.

Kahn and Kenney (1999) note that research indicates voters rely more heavily on the news media than political ads for information about campaigns. People also view news sources as more credible than the messages disseminated by candidates (Alger 1996; Graber 1993; Joslyn 1984). The above arguments provide good reason to focus the investigation of negativity on the news media, instead of communication channels that are thoroughly controlled by the parties, such as party broadcasts and advertisements. The latter may be more appropriate to capture the levels of negativity produced by the parties but not necessarily the levels of negativity perceived by the people (Walter & Vliegenthart 2010; Popkin 1991).

How is the selection of newspapers justified? Television is more popular in Greece and, therefore, might constitute a more relevant choice at first sight. Newspaper readership has seen a significant drop since the nineties, while television viewership has been high since the deregulation of the market took place, in 1989 (Papathanassopoulos 2001).⁶ The difference between the two media is that television has become more attentive to the public's consumption needs, than to politics, and parallelism is harder to spot, or simply low. Paraschos, in his assessment of the deregulation of the television market makes the following observation: "Despite the

⁶ Newspaper circulation per year can be found in http://www.eihea.gr/default_en.htm. For the relation between the rise of television's popularity and the decline of the Greek press see Papathanassopoulos (2001).

fact that many of the people who own or run these new media [private TV channels] are the same as those running the print media, a fundamental change seems to be taking place: the attention is shifting away from the parties and their leaders and towards the media consumer” (1995: p.262).

A potential example of this deregulation’s consequences can be well depicted in the case of one of the top three television channels in Greece, STAR Channel. This channel has the lowest percentage of news content (33,4% of its whole content), followed by MEGA Channel, the most widely watched television channel (37,3% of news content)⁷. But even within these percentages of news content there is a big question as to the quality of the provided information, when the hard/soft news distinction is taken into account. STAR Channel in particular, tends to focus primarily on soft news, with lifestyle and celebrity content, which comes at the expense of hard news. That is to say, even the above percentages do not accurately reflect the amount of relevant news within television news content.

This discussion suggests that if one were to study negativity in the news coverage of election campaigns, then newspapers would seem to provide more relevant material for analysis, something which is also supported by Kahn and Kenney (1999: 880). A possible drawback of newspapers is that they are thought to emphasize negativity, by allocating more space to the reproduction of negative statements by politicians (Ridout & Franz, 2008), let alone producing it themselves. A simple explanation is

⁷ Addition to the Nielsen TV Yearbook 2007-2008. Available at http://www.agbnielsen.com/Uploads/Greece/YB2008_Katanomi_Programmatos.pdf Such first hand data is only available upon subscription with Nielsen. This section was publicly available online, as an addition to the actual yearbook which remains pay-only. Mega Channel and Star Channel are considered to be the biggest channels in Greece, but no data on it is publicly available, since Nielsen is the only owner and seller. The only publicly available data on viewership is on a daily or weekly basis, but those would not be enough to provide a better understanding of the actual viewership.

that negativity sells, and in a highly commercialized media environment, whatever increases the sales is usually welcome. However, this is not a problem for this study, because the purpose is not to draw conclusions about the overall negativity levels in a campaign, but rather about negativity in the coverage of the campaign and compare it across newspapers and election periods. Under this condition, the choice of a newspaper to allocate a given amount of space to negative statements, wherever those come from, is seen as a deliberate choice offering insight to the question, rather than shading the findings.

3.2 Sample

3.2.1 Newspapers

The content analysis was performed exclusively by hand-coding, because the data was only available in paper format or portable document format (PDF). Due to practical reasons (content exclusively in Greek; distance from potential second coders) there could not be a second coder for this study. The analysis included the front pages of the most popular Greek newspapers, which are also known to have strong ties with the dominant political parties. The first two are known as pro-PASOK and the other two are known as pro-ND. Furthermore, the same newspapers happen to be dominating the market in a similar way the two major parties dominate the political scene. In detail, the sample consists of the following four newspapers of nationwide circulation:

1. *Eleftherotypia*, considered pro-PASOK.
2. *Eleftheros Typos*, considered pro-ND.
3. *Kathimerini*, considered pro-ND
4. *Ta Nea*, considered pro-PASOK.

Eleftherotypia, Kathimerini and Ta Nea usually top the circulation figures table, ranking first or second in most years⁸. Eleftheros Typos, referred to as El. Typos henceforth, ranks lower (6th in both 2004 and 2007), but is still a renown newspaper and was included in order to have a balanced sample of two newspapers supporting each of the big parties. For this purpose El. Typos was an ideal choice, because it is the second largest newspaper aligned with ND, after Kathimerini. For the years under study, the 4th and 5th positions in circulation were also occupied by pro-PASOK newspapers “To Vima” and “Ethnos”. It should be also made clear that none of the newspapers in the sample belongs to a party. The only Greek newspaper belonging to a party is Rizospastis, the newspaper of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), which is not part of this design.

3.2.2 Content and availability

Although the sample consists of newspapers, it is not the whole body of a newspaper that was analyzed. In fact, Greece is characterized by a steady decline of press circulation, which started in the nineties.⁹ However, Greece is also characterized by great accessibility to newspaper *front pages*, which enjoy remarkable visibility on the street kiosks, daily morning television and radio news, and virtually every news site’s

⁸ Circulation data available at http://www.eihea.gr/default_en.htm

⁹ Data available at http://www.eihea.gr/default_en.htm

webpage, including the newspapers' websites. The reason why the analysis will be restricted to newspaper front pages is that they represent the most accessible part of the content, which most people will read or see or hear of, or all of the above. Such visibility implies a greater target group than circulation figures might suggest, although it would be hard to calculate the exact difference between official figures and actual reception. Front page stories, are much more likely to be read than articles buried near the back of the newspaper. Newspapers hoping to hurt or help candidates may slant the tone of headlines and the tone of front page stories. (Kahn & Kenney 2002, p. 383)

Of course, such a choice comes at a cost. It is clear that references included in other parts of the newspaper might offer a more concrete and complete view of the newspaper's tone. But keeping in mind that the priority of this study is what *most* people would get, opting for the front pages seems to be the right choice. Furthermore, there is no reason to expect that newspapers would change their stance significantly in the rest of the pages. Due to the fact that opinion sections are usually not part of the front page, it might as well be expected that newspapers would "feel" more comfortable to go negative there, than on the front page. Since the later pages are more likely to be read by those who bought the newspaper, and newspapers in Greece tend to sell more to people who identify with their political views, this is a reasonable expectation. All in all, it is likely that, the levels of negativity found on front pages in this study may were the result of understatement. Negativity might be higher, if the whole paper were included in the sample.

As to the availability of the sample, Kathimerini has a full archive of its front pages from 2000 until the present day on its official website. This facilitated the gathering of the necessary data for Kathimerini. The front pages of the remaining three newspapers (Ta Nea, Eleftherotypia and Eleftheros Typos) were scanned and made available online by the major news website in Greece, www.in.gr. For 2007, the quality of the scans was good and therefore the data from this source were perfectly appropriate for the purpose of the study. Conversely, for 2004, most front pages from the same website were scanned in lower quality and often the smaller text is hardly readable. Therefore another source had to be sought. The Greek Parliament keeps an extensive archive of newspapers, and the necessary front pages for Ta Nea, Eleftherotypia and Eleftheros Typos were ordered and obtained in paper form, during a personal visit to the archive in Athens, Greece.

3.2.3 Time frame of the Analysis

The sample was taken from two election periods, from 2004 and 2007 respectively. The reason for selecting these two periods is that they featured different incumbents. This is a necessary prerequisite in order to answer the third hypothesis, by comparing the tone of pro-Incumbent versus pro-Challenger newspapers, while controlling for the newspapers, since their roles as pro-incumbent or pro-challenger were switched between 2004 and 2007.

The content analysis was performed for the last month prior to the election period, as this is the typical duration of election periods in Greece. More specifically, the sample includes all available daily issues for the newspapers under study, excluding

weekends. The reason for the exclusion of weekends is that newspapers have different topical focus on weekends, more feature-style coverage and therefore the newsworthiness of the content did not warrant their inclusion. In addition not all newspapers circulate both on Saturday and Sunday, which could have caused an imbalance in the sample.

Therefore, the sample equals to four weeks of newspaper coverage, or twenty front pages per newspaper, for each of the two election periods. The only deviation from this principle is that Kathimerini does not circulate on Mondays, and as a result, one less front page per week is available for Kathimerini. However, Kathimerini is the only broadsheet in the sample, which, due to its size and format, allows significantly more space for content on the front page, when compared to the rest of the newspapers of this study. In the end, the number of references found in Kathimerini was greater than in the other three newspapers, which appears to compensate for the fact it does not circulate on Mondays.

3.2.4 Relevance of the Sample

By selecting the specific newspapers for the analysis, two important criteria were fulfilled regarding the sample: First, political relevance, since the selected newspapers represent the two major Greek parties, which have been steadily averaging between 80% and 90% in national elections and winning an overwhelming majority of seats.¹⁰ This was also the case for the two years under study: In 2004 the two parties received in combination 86% of the votes and 282 out of 300 seats in the Parliament, while in

¹⁰ Data available at <http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/voul2004/el/index.htm> (for 2004) and <http://ekloges-prev.singularlogic.eu/v2007/pages/index.html> (for 2007)

2007 they received 80% of the votes and 254 out of 300 seats. Second, social relevance, since the selected newspapers are also the top sellers (only *El. Typos* being somewhat lower in circulation, as already mentioned). As stated earlier, the information people get about the race becomes their perception of the race (Ridout & Franz, 2008). Despite the fact that these newspapers admittedly have party preferences, their readers are far from being only pro-PASOK or pro-ND respectively. Such tendency among the readers was spotted upon investigation of 2004 CNEP study¹¹. The combination of two items about vote intention and newspaper readership returned results which clearly illustrate that it would be wrong to assume that the selected newspapers are only read by supporters of the affiliated party. More specifically, the question used as criterion for party preference was question 13: “Assuming there is a parliamentary election tomorrow, which party would you vote?”. The items used to assess reader preferences were questions 3a.1 (“During the most recent electoral campaign, which newspaper did you read most often?”) and 3a.2, which is the same as 3a.1 but allows respondents to mention a second newspaper. *Eleftherotypia* (pro-PASOK) was mentioned by 63 PASOK voters and 77 voters of other parties; *Kathimerini* (pro-ND) was mentioned by 22 ND voters and 23 voters of other parties; *Eleftheros Typos* (pro-ND) by 58 ND voters and 12 voters of other parties; *Ta Nea* (pro-PASOK) by 60 PASOK voters and 46 voters of other parties). This observation adds to the relevance of the study, by showing that the selected newspapers, due to their importance and market share, are widely read by, and potentially have effects on the whole population of readers and not just the supporters of a specific party.

¹¹ CNEP Grid III data available at http://www.cnep.ics.ul.pt/content/02-data/docs_cnep_iii/grid_cnep_iii.asp

3.3 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is the individual *statement* or *reference*. The two terms will be used interchangeably in the rest of the paper. A reference can be a comment or opinion that is directed at any party or politician involved in the campaign. Every reference could be translated as a reason to vote for or against a party or leader, by means of endorsing or criticizing them on the grounds of an issue, trait, value, or campaign-related topic (see *Focus* section). Each reference towards a party or politician was evaluated as positive, negative or neutral depending on the tone of the coverage (see *Tone* section). The only condition was that the reference had to mention the target by name, by position (if it was a politician), or even by context, but in a clearly identifiable way. In other words, assumptions and guesses have been avoided, and the contextual “help” provided by the neighboring sentences, the topic and title of the story have only been used moderately and as long as they provide very clear information as to the target or focus of the reference. A far-fetched example is, for instance, a reference from Ta Nea that read: “They will ruin it”. The preceding sentence was mentioning how the social security system would deteriorate if ND won the election. This is the most extreme example of help that was allowed to be taken from the context.

The references were not only sought in campaign-related stories, but anywhere on the front page, because important information about the parties and candidates can be acquired from any story, whether it is related to the campaign or not. Very often, evaluations appeared in news stories about current issues, and there was no reason to restrict the scope, given that regardless from the story’s topic, these evaluations are

equally likely to be read by the readers of the front page. This approach was also adopted by Kahn and Kenney (1999).

The premise throughout this study was that newspapers, due to their high motivation to see their affiliated party win the election, are highly selective in both what opinions they reproduce as well as what opinions they express. Therefore, the tone of their stance was evaluated based on the total of references present within the front page, regardless from whether they came from a journalist or a politician. All of those statements contribute to the total tone of the coverage and will, therefore, be treated in the same way.

A total of 1588 statements were coded. This number consisted of 444 statements from Eleftherotypia, 281 from El. Typos, 556 from Kathimerini, and 307 from Ta Nea, from a total of 151 front pages. Kathimerini clearly has the lion's share of coded references, due to its broadsheet format, which allows more content per page.

Kathimerini is one of the very few remaining broadsheets in Greece, since most newspapers, including the other three newspapers in the sample, gradually adopted the tabloid format.

3.4 Coding Scheme

Visibility

After having gathered the basic information about the reference, such as the Newspaper name, and date of the issue, the next step is to assess its visibility. Visibility will be measured by asking two questions: a) is the reference part of a title, or subtitle; and b) is the reference located in the upper or the lower half of the front page? For each positive answer the reference scored one point. Then, the overall visibility of negative references was calculated in order to offer a comparison between the visibility of positive and negative references. This was done by adding the scores of each statement across the two visibility categories. As a result, all statements were classified in one of three groups: low, medium and high visibility, based on whether they scored 0, 1 or 2 in the overall visibility measure.

Source

For every reference, the source has been coded. This variable answers to the question: “Who speaks?”. The source can be the newspaper itself, a politician, a party, or another actor expressing an opinion about a party or candidate. When a statement came from politician, it could have the form of a quotation, or a paraphrase of the quotation, with the use of indirect discourse. In both cases the politician was coded as the source of the statement. When a statement came from the author of the news story, then the newspaper was coded as the source. Any other evaluation, that did not come

from a person or was not an official party statement, was coded as originating from the newspaper.

Target

Coding for the target consisted in finding the addressee of the statement. Every statement could be referring to a party, a politician (leader or member of a party), or a group of parties. Since Greece has typically one-party governments, which always consist of members of the same party, who are also usually Members of Parliament at the same time, whenever a statement was targeted at the government, it was coded as targeting the party, be it positively or negatively.

A further distinction was made as to the status of the target during the particular election period between *incumbents* and *challengers*, so that the third hypothesis can be tested. Any positive or negative reference was coded according to whether it was addressed to the incumbent or the challenger. The terms incumbent and challenger in this case, included the party, its members and its leader.

Tone

Regarding the coding of the tone of news statements, they were primarily classified as *positive* or *negative*. The statement had to be explicit and was usually manifested by means of a *charged* verb or adjective. When the statement expressed endorsement or support towards a party or politician, it was coded as positive. When a politician spoke of his or his party's achievements or future plans, this was also coded as

positive. In the opposite case, when it expressed criticism or disapproval, it was coded as negative.

Neutral statements were also coded in order to offer a better overview of the tone of newspaper front pages, and more specifically, of the tendency of newspapers to include positive and negative statements, as opposed to neutral ones. However, these statements were only coded for specific variables, due to their limited usefulness for the rest of the study, as well as due to the shortness of time available for the coding. For each neutral statement only the tone, date, and newspaper name were coded. Their source, target, focus and visibility were subsequently not coded. Neutral statements were only coded in order to provide a fuller picture of tone levels both in the whole campaign and by newspaper. In the rest of the study, where the focus is mostly put on negativity and its characteristics, they will not be used as they are not necessary for the comparisons made.

Finally, a *negativity level* percentage was calculated. This percentage represents the overall negativity per selected unit. The unit can be a newspaper, an election period, newspaper affiliation or a combination of the above. Therefore, it is often argued that “newspaper X was 60% negative”, or “election period Z was 57% negative”. This percentage is commonly used in the result section in order to perform the comparisons required for the research question and hypotheses.

Focus

The focus of the statements will also be classified as *issue-based*, *trait-based*, *value-based* or *campaign-related*, in order to help answer the second hypothesis. The first three categories are typical within the literature about negativity, while the fourth was added because newspapers often allocate significant space to covering the race itself, where criticism can also occur, and should be included in the study. *Issues* were identified as any topic around categories such as economy, social policy, and foreign policy among others. This included both policy evaluations as well as current news related to issues. *Traits* covered both person and party characteristics, and were identified as any topic about a politician's competence, personality or behaviour, as well as a party's attributes. The trait category was not reserved exclusively for politicians, because political parties or the government can also bear traits such as trustworthiness, or the tendency to have unstable policy positions. *Campaign-related* appeals were the references relating more strictly to the race, than the previous two categories. These can be references to, for instance, how well a public gathering went, how well a leader performed during a debate or criticism about a party's campaign practices, among others. Although, strictly speaking the campaign-related category is closer to the issue category, it was also necessary in order to distinguish between policy-related issues, and race-specific issues. Finally, *values* were the references to broad terms such as "change", "hope", "justice", "family" and "equality". What differentiates values from issues is that value references are general and do not reflect a specific issue or policy. Offering a hypothetical example, a politician saying "Our party will fight for justice" (value) is different from saying "Our party will reform the

justice system” (issue). More specific examples per focus category are provided below.

Examples of coding

[Papathemelis]: Karamanlis is an honest politician (Eleftherotypia 11/2/2004) In this case, Papathemelis is the *source*, because he is the one making the statement. The *target* is Kostas Karamanlis, who is also a *challenger*, in the 2004 election. The *tone* is positive and the *focus* is on a trait.

[Newspaper]: New Democracy will bring scandalous tax cuts for the few (Ta Nea, 10/9/2007)

In this case, the newspaper (Ta Nea) is coded as the *source*, because the statement is produced by the author of the story. ND is coded as the *target* of the statement and also as *incumbent* for the 2007 election period. The *tone* is negative and the *focus* is put on an issue (scandalous tax cut).

[Newspaper]: PASOK’s much-advertised campaign is pure failure (Eleftheros Typos, 11/2/2004)

The *source* for this statement is the newspaper (El. Typos), the *target* is PASOK, the *tone* is negative and the *focus* category is campaign-related.

[Papandreou]: On the 16th we will make the big change (Eleftherotypia, 24/8/2007)

The *source* of this statement is Papandreou, the *target* (we) refers to his party, PASOK, the *tone* is positive, and the *focus* is put on a value (big change).

4 Results

4.1 Overall Tone

The first research question addresses the overall tone of the coverage and aims to offer insight to two aspects of newspaper coverage during election periods. This regards the campaign tone as manifested on newspaper front pages. It should be noted again that, this is not necessarily the actual tone of the whole campaign. As research has shown, levels of tone may vary considerably across different communication channels (Walter & Vliegenthart 2010). Although many authors choose to make generalizations from one medium or communication channel (e.g. televised party ads) to the tone of the whole campaign, this will not be attempted here.

In order to calculate the tone, all positive, negative and neutral references included in all newspapers in both years (a total of 1588 statements) were taken into account. Then the share of the references each category represented was measured. Based on the information from the last column of Table 1, it is noticed that there is a strong tendency for newspapers to include positive and negative references towards political actors at a high percentage, as opposed to opting for neutral ones. By grouping the percentage of positive and negative references versus neutral ones, the overall tendency of newspapers to use “charged” references, either positive or negative, reaches 66%. This may be interpreted as an indication of high involvement of the newspapers in the campaign, because they do not only report the developments in political life but also include many evaluations. Furthermore, another tendency is detected: newspapers include more negative evaluations, instead of positive ones. As

a result, the negativity on the front pages reaches 42% on average for the two years under study, while neutral statements represent 34%, and positive statements 24%. These percentages are striking if one considers Tsirbas's findings of television coverage for the 2000 and 2004 Greek elections. Neutral statements accounted for 86% of all references, while negative ones stood only for 5% (2007: 254-257). Therefore, Tsirbas found 5% negativity in television news, while newspaper statements are, according to the present study, 42% negative. Bearing in mind the differences in the coding procedure and time frame between the two studies, this comparison cannot help draw any conclusions as to the relative levels of negativity between newspapers and television. However, because of the magnitude of the difference (5% versus 42% negativity), a question occurs that has yet to be asked in Greece: what are the potential differences in the levels of negativity between different media or communication channels? Such a question could constitute the aim of future research.

4.2 Tone by Newspaper

The overall tone of the front pages during campaigns provided a general overview. Yet, to further look into the research question regarding the tone of coverage, it is useful to separately measure the tendency of each newspaper to include positive, negative or neutral statements. This allows comparisons between the extent to which they differ from each other in this respect.

Table 1. Frequencies and percentages by tone for each newspaper

Tone	Newspaper Name				Total					
	Eleftherotypia	El. Typos	Kathimerini	Ta Nea						
	Refs.	%	Refs.	%	Refs.	%				
Positive	103	(23)	87	(31)	104	(19)	87	(28)	381	(24)
Negative	210	(47)	115	(41)	221	(40)	124	(40)	670	(42)
Neutral	131	(30)	79	(28)	231	(42)	96	(31)	537	(34)
<i>N</i>	444		281		556		307		1588	

Notes: Number of references by tone for each newspaper in both election periods. Column percentages are within the parenthesis. There was a significant association between the newspapers and the tone employed $\chi^2(6, n=1588) = 34.13, p < .001$. Cramer's $V = .10$ (s)

According to Table 1, Kathimerini seems less likely to use “charged” references, whether positive or negative, than the rest of the newspapers. That is, the combination of positive and negative references reaches 59% of all relevant statements found in Kathimerini, while for the other three newspapers the same tendency reaches 68% or more. This might be explained by the fact that Kathimerini is a quality newspaper, the only one in broadsheet format, as well as the oldest of the four, and these factors may be contributing to its lower likelihood to include evaluations. Broadsheet format is often associated with higher quality journalism and perceived to be more intellectual in content than its tabloid counterparts. The remaining newspapers of the sample do not vary considerably, in their tendency to produce, or reproduce, charged or evaluative statements. Again, after combining positive and negative references by newspaper, it is noticed that 70% of Eleftherotypia’s references fall into either category. The same percentages are 72% for El. Typos and 68% for Ta Nea. It could be argued that there are two clusters when it comes to neutrality versus positivity/negativity. The first cluster consists of Kathimerini alone, and is relatively more prone to remain neutral. The second cluster consists of Eleftherotypia, El. Typos

and Ta Nea, all of which have similar probability to remain neutral, yet lower than that of Kathimerini.

At this point, the role of the three-way distinction into positive, negative and neutral statements has served its purpose. It helped discover the overall tone of the coverage and the overall tone by newspaper. Most importantly, it clarified the tendency of newspapers towards neutrality versus non-neutrality. For the remaining sections neutral references are put aside, in order to look more into the relative negativity levels once neutrality is excluded. This measure represents the percentage of negative references as part of the total number of *evaluative* references. Such dichotomy is the most usual measure in the literature of negativity and therefore was adopted here. In this study, it helps show the relative preferences of newspapers, when they decide to include opinion or evaluations, and therefore differs from the measure used in the previous paragraphs, which treated the tone variable as a trichotomy. In this way, comparisons become easier. The relevant information is presented in Table 2. According to it, evaluative references are mostly negative for all newspapers, that is 64% of the time. None of the newspapers was found to be clearly more negative than the others. If a distinction had to be made, it would suggest two clusters, one with higher negativity (Eleftherotypia and Kathimerini) and one with somewhat lower negativity (El. Typos and Ta Nea). Kathimerini and Eleftherotypia are the most likely to include negative than positive references, with negativity levels of 68% and 67% respectively. It seems, thus, that Kathimerini, although the least likely to include evaluative references (due to its higher share of neutral references – Table 1), is also the most likely go negative, although marginally (Table 2). By the same token, the second cluster includes El. Typos and Ta Nea, both of which have lower negativity

levels than the newspapers of the first cluster. In particular, Ta Nea has 59% negativity and El. Typos concludes the list with 57% negativity, the lowest of all newspapers.

Despite the differences between the two clusters, the main finding is that for each newspaper individually, the tendency to go negative is clearly greater than the tendency to go positive. Also, the fact that each cluster above includes one newspaper per (perceived) party affiliation, and with very similar negativity levels, minimizes the possibility that affiliation might be a determinant of tone in general. In the first cluster, Eleftherotypia is considered pro-PASOK and Kathimerini pro-ND, but both have almost identical negativity levels. In the second cluster, despite the fact that Ta Nea is considered pro-PASOK and El. Typos pro-ND, they have negativity levels of 59% and 57% respectively.

Table 2. Positive and negative references share by newspaper

Tone	Newspaper Name				Total
	Eleftherotypia	El. Typos	Kathimerini	Ta Nea	
Positive	33	43	32	41	36
Negative	67	57	68	59	64
<i>N</i>	313	202	325	211	1051

Note: Cell values represent column percentages. The “Negative” row represents the negativity level measure. There was a significant association between newspapers and the tone employed $\chi^2(3, n=1051) = 10.39, p = .02$, Cramer’s $V = .10$.

Indeed, if newspapers are regarded using the affiliation as a criterion, no differences in their tendency to go negative are noticed. After the probability is rounded up, the outcome is strikingly similar. Pro-PASOK and pro-ND newspapers tend to go negative at about 64% based on the negativity level measure. However, in order to have a more definite answer to the question whether affiliation is indeed not

connected to negativity, a future study would need to include more election periods, . The initial impression, through the present study is one of balance in tone between the two affiliations.

4.3 Differences in Tone Between Elections

Was the level of negativity similar between the two election periods? If the negative percent was similar in both years, then it might be an indication of a pattern. In either case, no definite conclusions can be reached, as this would necessitate a sample including more election periods. According to Table 3, the campaign tone differs, when the two election years are examined separately. In 2007, the campaign, as manifested on newspaper front pages, was more negative than in 2004. In total, in 2004 negativity represented 58% of the charged statements, while in 2007 it reached 71%. Where could this difference be attributed? Is it the result of all newspapers increasing their levels of negativity in the second period, or is it the result of specific newspapers doing so?

An examination of the data presented in Table 3, helped determine which newspapers displayed increased negativity levels in the second period. The rise of negativity in the 2007 election is due to Eleftherotypia and Ta Nea, both of which are considered pro-PASOK newspapers. While in 2004 they were 49% and 34% negative respectively, in 2007 their levels of negativity became 83% and 86%. This may be due to the fact that PASOK was the challenger party in 2007 and, as literature suggests, this is likely to cause more negativity from the challenger's side (see theory section). Yet, even under these circumstances, the difference in the ratio is clear. Two more reasons could be

mentioned as possible explanations of this rise. The first reason is that PASOK, and the aligned newspapers did not feel comfortable as challengers, because they were not used to being in that position. Therefore, pro-PASOK newspapers may have become harsher, trying to “help” the party return to power after a three-year break. It has to be kept in mind that PASOK, with the exception of the period 1989-1993, had been in power the whole time from 1981 to 2004. In 2007 it had the chance to return to power and this may have resulted in such harshness towards the opponents. The influence of incumbent or challenger status on the levels of newspaper negativity will be further investigated in the section about incumbency status and negativity. The second reason, for this rise in negativity, is that in the summer of 2007, just three weeks before the election, catastrophic fires swept Peloponnese, resulting in the burning of vast regions and many casualties. More than 70 people were dead, numerous villages were devastated, and vast areas of natural wealth had been burned. Only three weeks before the election, Greece had experienced its greatest catastrophe for decades (Dimas 2008).

Table 3. Positive and negative references by newspaper for 2004 and 2007 election periods

Tone	Year							
	2004 (%)				2007 (%)			
	Elefth	E. Typ	Kathim	Ta Nea	Elefth	E. Typ	Kathim	Ta Nea
Positive	51	34	28	66	17	60	38	14
Negative	49	66	72	34	83	40	62	86
N (1051)	149	128	199	111	164	74	126	100

Note: Cell values represent column percentages. The “Negative” row represents the negativity level measure. There was a significant association between newspapers and the tone employed for both election periods 2004: $\chi^2(3, n=1051) = 50.01, p < .001$, Cramer’s V = .29 || 2007: $\chi^2(3, n=1051) = 62.26, p < .001$, Cramer’s V = .37.

Pro-PASOK newspapers, as well as politicians seem to have “seized the opportunity”, however cynical this may seem, and allocated much time and space to attacking ND for its inability to deal with the fires and cater for the affected people. The attention to this issue, though in decreasing levels, lasted until the election day, therefore occupying three quarters of the election period. It goes without saying that pro-ND newspapers were less inclined to attack ND on these grounds and focused their coverage more on the human aspect of the catastrophe. These two reasons combined seem to offer an adequate explanation of this large discrepancy in the negative ratio between 2004 and 2007. In the following sections, the patterns of the use of negativity by newspapers will be investigated further, by means of testing the hypotheses offered in the literature section.

4.4 Direct and Indirect Use of Negativity

It has been shown that negativity is very common in Greek newspapers. But where does originate from? Do newspapers use it “on their own”, or do they prefer to use the words of others in order to communicate the criticism to the readers?

The aim here is to seek how often journalists and editors offer their own negative statements, as opposed to reproducing negative statements by others sources, notably politicians. In the following table the tone of statements by source is presented.

Thanks to Table 4, it can be noticed that 68% of the times a newspaper decides to criticize a target, it does it directly, without quoting others. This is an interesting finding, which shows the extent of the involvement of newspapers in politics, and shows a tendency of “active”, if not activist, coverage.

When a newspaper decides to support a target, the situation is more balanced. “Only” 56% of the times does a newspaper directly support a target through positive coverage. This reflects the tendency of newspapers to include statements from the politicians of their affiliated party, in which they describe their future plans or simply attempt to motivate the public and gain votes.

Table 4. Positive and negative statements by specific source

Source	Tone	
	Journalist/Editor	Other Source
Positive	32	44
Negative	68	56
<i>N</i> (=1051)	671	380

Note: There was a significant association between the source of the statement and the tone employed $\chi^2(1, n=1051) = 15.79, p < .001, \phi = -.13$. Based on the odds ratio, the odds of newspapers using negativity directly was 1.83 times higher than reporting negative evaluations by other sources.

Do all newspapers share the tendency to go negative on their own, rather than using negativity from other sources, such as politicians? If so, is this tendency similarly strong across the four newspapers? The following table focuses on negative statements exclusively. It shows what proportion of negative statements comes from the newspapers (journalists) and what proportion comes from other sources (by citing a politician for instance).

According to Table 6, three out of four newspapers indeed go negative “on their own”, instead of citing negative statements made by others. This concerns all newspapers except Eleftherotypia. In fact, this tendency is very clear for the three, because Ta Nea comes last with 67% direct negativity, while Kathimerini comes first with 85%.

Table 5 Negativity levels per specific source by newspaper

Source	Newspapers			
	Eleftherotypia	Eleftheros Typos	Kathimerini	Ta Nea
Journalist/Editor	48	76	85	67
Other Source	52	24	15	33
<i>N</i> (=670)	210	115	221	124

Note: Cell values represent column percentages. For each newspaper the first row is the percentage of negative statements made by the newspaper/journalist and the second row is the percentage of negative statements by other sources. The final row shows the total of negative statements found within each newspaper.

According to Table 5, three out of four newspapers indeed go negative “on their own”, instead of citing negative statements made by others. This concerns all newspapers except Eleftherotypia. In fact, this tendency is very clear for the three, because Ta Nea comes last with 67% direct negativity, while Kathimerini comes first with 85%. Of course, the differences are not small between them either, but at the very least they do follow the same pattern. Eleftherotypia is the only newspaper to deviate by using direct negativity 48% of the time, while the remaining 52% of negative references come from other sources, notably politicians. It could, thus, be suggested that Eleftherotypia is more “covert” in its usage of negativity, by being less likely to express its criticism directly. Given that Eleftherotypia only marginally fails to follow the pattern of using more direct than indirect negativity (48% versus 52%) the possibility remains that the inclusion of more election periods might tilt the balance.

Therefore, the majority of newspapers do not seem to hesitate to directly express their criticism or disapproval of parties and politicians. The findings become more striking if one takes into account that, in an era when journalistic norms are of the essence, it could have been expected that newspapers would be less inclined to go negative “on their own”. This is yet another confirmation of the strength of press-party parallelism

in Greece, and undoubtedly raises questions about the quality of journalistic norms in the Greek press.

4.5 Visibility of Negativity

A question that may shed some light on the likelihood of negativity being received by the readers is the prominence of negative statements within the front page.

Kahn and Kenney (2002) suggested that many newspaper readers are attracted to stories because of the content of the headlines or the placement of stories. Newspapers hoping to hurt or help candidates may slant the tone of headlines and the tone of front page stories. It is meaningful to investigate whether negative statements enjoy greater visibility according to the measures adopted in this study. Every positive or negative reference was coded based on whether it was placed in a title or in the accompanying text of a story, as well as whether it was placed in the upper or lower half of the front page. This resulted in a measure that ranged from 0 (low visibility) to 2 (high visibility). We turned to the crosstabulation in order to see if negative statements are more likely to be prominently than positive statements.

The finding was that 20% of negative and 19% of positive statements enjoyed high visibility. Consequently, there does not seem to be a substantial difference within the high visibility category. Similarly, positive statements are more likely to enjoy medium visibility than negative statements. Finally, negative statements are more likely to enjoy low visibility, compared to positive statements. This means that negativity is not so prominent according to this measure, and therefore, not more likely to be received by the readers. The chi-square test that was run for the

association between tone and visibility did not return significant results ($p = .107$). Therefore, it should not be expected that there is a connection between visibility and tone in Greek newspaper front pages.

4.6 Negativity and Press-party Parallelism

In the theory section, it was made clear that Greece is considered a part of Hallin and Mancini's Mediterranean media model. It is even seen as the most representative country of the model, especially when it comes to political parallelism, or more specifically, press-party parallelism. The purpose of this section is two-fold. On the one hand, it tests the claims of press-party parallelism in Greece during election campaigns. According to these claims, newspapers are expected to support a given party, notably due to political affiliation and relations of "exchange". (Hallin & Mancini 2004; Dimitras 1997). It is essential to empirically verify whether the support stance of each newspaper is indeed in line with the predictions derived from conventional wisdom and other proxy measures of parallelism, such as the tendency of party supporters to read specific newspapers, which favour the party in question. In other words, do newspapers support the parties everyone expects them to? On the other hand, a more meaningful purpose is to assess the extent to which this support makes newspapers go negative towards the opponent. It is reasonable to expect that newspapers, which have traditionally been connected with parties, will not only support them, but also criticize the opponents. The question is *how much* each of these kinds of support occurs? For instance, a newspaper may offer positive (or negative) evaluations of a party 70% of the time, or even 90% of the time. In both cases one could claim the newspaper supports (or opposes) the party.

For this hypothesis, two measures of negativity were calculated per newspaper, one for the references to each of the big parties, PASOK and ND. Other parties and leaders were not part of the measurement, because, during the coding it was noticed that they play a marginal in newspaper coverage, with only 42 out of 1051 total references (see table “combined targets” in the Appendix). After all, politics in Greece revolves around the two major parties and these monopolize the front pages as well, therefore making the above choice meaningful. The de facto competitors for power are PASOK and ND, which makes it is reasonable to focus on them.

In Table 6 the stance of each of the four newspapers can be seen. The findings are clearer than one would expect. All newspapers are both highly positive towards one party and highly negative towards the other, according to the negativity level measure. This table confirms conventional wisdom and other measures of parallelism. These newspapers indeed support the parties they are believed to support.

Table 6. Negativity levels per target for each newspaper

Newspaper	Negativity by Target	
	PASOK	ND
	All Refs (neg%)	All Refs. (neg%)
Eleftherotypia	99 (15)	171 (93)
El. Typos	99 (98)	96 (13)
Kathimerini	176 (92)	103 (27)
Ta Nea	79 (1)	113 (98)
<i>N</i> (=936)	453 (52)	483 (58)

Note: In the columns the number of *all* references per target (both positive and negative) is given. The percentage of negative references per target is given in the parenthesis next to each number. Example: For Eleftherotypia, there were 99 references to PASOK, 15% of which were negative, and 171 references to ND, 93% of which were negative.

In order to test the relationship between newspapers and tone toward specific targets, a three-way loglinear analysis was performed. It produced a final model that retained all effects. The likelihood ratio for this model was $\chi^2(0) = 0, p = 1$. This indicated that the highest order interaction (newspaper * target * tone) was significant, $\chi^2(3) = 707.19, p < .001$. Separate chi-square tests were performed for each newspaper and the association remained significant for all of them.¹² Individual data tables per newspaper can be found in the Appendix.

Based on the table above, whenever Eleftherotypia evaluated PASOK (or its leader, or a member) this was done in a largely positive way, while the opposite was true for ND references. More specifically, when PASOK (or its leader, or one of its members) was mentioned, this happened in a negative manner only 15% of the times.

Conversely, when New Democracy is mentioned, this happens in a negative manner 93% of the times. These findings show that the first hypothesis is supported for Eleftherotypia, and rather emphatically. They also show that the amount of evaluative references dedicated to each party is greatly different as well. The ND-related attacks for both years were 159, while PASOK-related positive coverage occurred in 84 statements. Thus, the newspaper pays more attention to criticizing the opponent, than praising the affiliated party. It follows, Eleftherotypia is more likely to express its support to PASOK by attacking ND, rather than by praising PASOK.

The next newspaper, Eleftheros Typos is known as a pro-ND newspaper. When it included Eleftheros Typos references to ND (or its leader, or a member) this was done in a very positive way - that is 87% of the times. Conversely, when the same

¹² Eleftherotypia: $\chi^2(1, n=270) = 162.38, p < .001, \Phi = .78$ || El. Typos: $\chi^2(1, n=195) = 137.91, p < .001, \Phi = -.85$ || Kathimerini: $\chi^2(1, n=279) = 119.98, p < .001, \Phi = -.66$ || Ta Nea: $\chi^2(1, n=192) = 175.89, p < .001, \Phi = .97$

newspaper mentioned PASOK, the tone was almost exclusively negative – that is 98% of the time.

This makes El. Typos more partisan than Eleftherotypia, according to these measures. It is both more likely to positively support its affiliated party and attack the opponent, than Eleftherotypia. Finally, El. Typos is more balanced in its tendency to attack the opponent party and praise the affiliated party. PASOK-related negativity occurred 97 times, while ND-related positivity occurred 83 times in its front pages. It does follow the same pattern of increased attention to criticizing the opponent, but in a clearly more balanced way.

Kathimerini, the only broadsheet in the sample, and a respected newspaper could be expected to display more moderate tendencies than its tabloid counterparts. We remember from the previous paragraphs of the results section, that Kathimerini was more likely to remain neutral than the others, but when it decided to show its support or criticism, it leaned toward the second. How likely is it to go negative when mentioning the perceived opponent party, PASOK?

According to the table, Kathimerini goes negative 92% of the times it mentions PASOK, its leader, or one of its members. Its negativity level, in other words, is very high when it comes to PASOK. It is both lower than Eleftherotypia's and Ta Nea's negativity against ND, and also lower than that of El. Typos against PASOK.

Kathimerini includes the highest rate of negativity towards the affiliated party, ND. By mentioning it negatively at 27%, in a way it leaves a margin for "self-criticism". Finally, Kathimerini, also displays a similar preference to attack the opponent party

more than it praises the affiliated party. On its front pages, 161 negative references towards PASOK were found. At the same time, the positive references towards ND were only 75.

Finally, Ta Nea, considered pro-PASOK, moves along the same lines, as predicted, and even more so than the other newspapers. Whenever it offered evaluations about PASOK, it did so positively at a rate of 99% percent of the time. Whenever it offered evaluations about ND it did so in a negative way 98% of the time. Therefore, this newspaper has the two highest scores in both positive coverage of the affiliated party and negative coverage of the opponent party. In terms of support preferences, Ta Nea does not deviate from the pattern detected in the previous three newspapers. Positive references to PASOK were found 78 times, while 113 negative references to ND were spotted in its front pages.

To sum up, the first hypothesis, that newspapers are expected to be positive towards their affiliated party and negative towards the opponent party, is strongly supported. This comes as no surprise, but was necessary for two reasons. First, it had not been previously researched, however obvious the phenomenon was. The affiliation of these newspapers derived from conventional wisdom and other measures that did not evaluate the actual content of the newspapers. Second, the extent to which such behaviour occurred was also unknown. After performing the relevant tests, and verifying the affiliations, two observations can be made: On the one hand, newspapers are not inclined to offer criticisms towards their party of preference. This tendency is strongest for Ta Nea (1%), followed by El. Typos (13%), Eleftherotypia (15%) comes and finally Kathimerini (27%).

Finally, it has to be highlighted that, based on the number of evaluations newspapers include for or against PASOK and ND, all four of them dedicate significantly more space to criticisms of the opponent party than endorsements of the affiliated party. The bottom line is that not only do newspapers go negative when they mention the opponent but they also do so most often than going positive for the affiliated party. Therefore, for Greek newspapers, supporting the affiliated party means attacking the opponent party.

4.7 Negativity and Incumbency Status

The next question to be investigated is the impact of the incumbency status on the tone and focus of the statements produced by pro-incumbent and pro-challenger newspapers respectively. In the theory section, the reasons why incumbents and challengers are expected to have differences in tone were described. In this context, how likely are pro-challenger newspapers to go negative towards the incumbent? Are they more likely to do so than pro-incumbent newspapers attacking the challenger?

According to the hypothesis, pro-challenger newspapers should be more negative toward the incumbent, than pro-incumbent newspapers toward the challengers. In order to test the hypothesis newspapers were labeled as pro-incumbent or pro-challenger, based on the party affiliation that has been empirically confirmed in Hypothesis 1. Then, their probability to go negative towards the opponent was calculated. The answers can be sought in the following table. The first column describes the stance of pro-incumbent newspapers towards the challenger for each of

election years. The coverage of challengers by pro-incumbent newspapers was 89% negative in 2004 and 87% negative in 2007. This is an important similarity, because pro-incumbent newspapers in 2004 were Eleftherotypia and Ta Nea (with PASOK in incumbent status), while in 2007 it was El. Typos and Kathimerini who supported the incumbent (ND).

What follows, in order to test the hypothesis, is to look at the extent to which pro-challenger newspapers attack the incumbent. In order for this to happen, pro-challenger newspapers must be extensively negative, certainly more than the percentage of pro-incumbent newspapers' negativity in both years. If the percentage is higher in both years, then the hypothesis will be supported and point to a pattern of increased challenger negativity.

Table 7. Levels of negativity by newspaper affiliation per year

Year	Negativity level by Affiliation	
	Pro-Incumbent Neg. %	Pro-Challenger Neg. %
2004	89	95
2007	87	97
Mean	86	96

Note: Two three-way loglinear analyses were performed, one for each election period. For 2004, the analysis produced a final model that retained all effects. The likelihood ratio for this model was $\chi^2(0) = 0, p = 1$. This indicated that the highest order interaction (newspaper affiliation * target * tone) was significant, $\chi^2(1)=422.68, p < .001$. To further break down the effect, separate chi-square tests were performed for each affiliation and the association remained significant for both of them. Pro-incumbent chi-sq: $\chi^2(1)=147.13, p < .001$, Cramer's V=.81 || Pro-challenger chi-sq: $\chi^2(1)=244.21, p < .001$, Cramer's V= .89.

For 2007, the final model also retained all effects. The likelihood ratio for this model was $\chi^2(0) = 0, p = 1$. This indicated that the highest order interaction (newspaper affiliation * target * tone) was significant, $\chi^2(1)=170.67, p < .001$. Separate chi-square tests were performed per affiliation, in order to further break down the effect for 2007. They were both significant: Pro-incumbent chi-sq: $\chi^2(1)=38.24, p < .001$, Cramer's V=.49 || Pro-challenger chi-sq: $\chi^2(1)=172.73, p < .001$, Cramer's V= .86.

Indeed, the second column reveals that pro-challenger newspapers are more likely to go negative than pro-incumbent newspapers in both election periods. Their negativity

levels towards the incumbent were as high as 95% in 2004 and 97% in 2007. In other words, it could be argued that pro-challenger newspapers have “nothing good to say” about the opponent, and the very few times this happens, it is through other sources (e.g. statements by politicians) than the journalists themselves.

Also, the data present another important asymmetry. It relates to the attention paid to the incumbent by the challenger. In both years pro-challenger newspapers dedicated significantly more space to the negative coverage of the incumbents. Again, this is an important finding, because it shows that the pattern cannot be attributed to the specific newspapers, as pro-challenger newspapers in 2004 and 2007 were different. In 2004, pro-challenger newspapers, *El. Typos* and *Kathimerini*, included 218 negative references towards PASOK. In 2007, as pro-incumbents, they only included 40 negative references towards PASOK. Similarly, in 2007 pro-challenger newspapers *Eleftherotipia* and *Ta Nea* included 193 negative statements about ND in their front pages. In 2004, when these two newspapers were pro-incumbent, they had only attacked ND 77 times. Therefore, the challenger status of the affiliated party does not only result in greater likelihood to go negative towards the opponent, but also in greater likelihood to mention the opponent.

All in all, the hypothesis is supported. Pro-challenger newspapers tend to be more negative towards the incumbent than pro-incumbent newspapers towards the challenger. This happened in both election years, and did not change despite the fact that the roles of the newspapers were switched from the first period to the second. Furthermore, another pattern was detected, showing that pro-challenger newspapers allocate much more space to the criticism of the opponent, than pro-incumbent

newspapers. Whether these patterns constitute a more generalized phenomenon in the Greek case, or even beyond it, remains to be further investigated by future research.

4.8 Negativity and Issue Content

The focus of negativity is important to the information environment available to voters (Geer 2006). Negativity focusing on issues is considered more useful, because it provides relevant information on the parties' and politicians' performance and intentions while in power. This kind of information is considered more beneficial for democracy, because, ideally, this is what voters should base their choice upon. In this section the focus of positive and negative statements are examined, in order to determine whether positive or negative statements are better providers of relevant information. Geer found that negative statements were more likely to focus on issues. In the following table, the information from the content analysis of Greek newspapers is provided.

In order to test the hypothesis, it was necessary to look into the tone categories and find what proportion of statements within each category (positive or negative) focused on each of the focus categories in the rows of Table 8. According to Table 8, the third hypothesis, that negative statements will focus on issues more than positive statements will, is not supported. The argument was that negative references are more likely to be about issues, than positive references. Geer made this argument, and found it to be true in the case of party ads for the United States election periods from 1960-2004. However, Greek newspaper coverage does not move along the same lines.

Table 8. The focus of positive and negative statements for all newspapers in 2004 and 2007 election periods.

Focus	Tone of the Appeal		
	Positive (%)	Negative (%)	Total (Negative %)
Issue	156 (41)	268 (40)	424 (63)
Trait	69 (18)	185 (28)	254 (73)
Value	45 (12)	21 (3)	66 (32)
Camp. Related	111 (29)	196 (29)	307 (64)
<i>N</i>	381	670	1051

Note: Cell values represent column frequencies and percentages. There was a significant association between the source of the statement and the tone employed $\chi^2(3, n=1051) = 38.25, p < .001, \phi = .19$.

The findings show that, in the newspapers of this study, positive and negative statements were about as likely to focus on issues, with a likelihood of 40% and 41% respectively. This means that 41% of positive statements and 40% of negative statements were about issues. In addition, negative statements are more likely to focus on traits, compared to positive statements. Here the difference was much clearer with 18% of positive statements and 28% of negative statements focusing on traits. Moreover, positive references are more than twice as likely to be about values (12%), compared with negative references, which are very rarely about values (only 3%). Finally no difference was found in the likelihood of positive and negative statements to be campaign-related, as both showed 29% probability to do so.

If the “causal” direction adopted for this hypothesis is not taken into account and the mere co-occurrence is considered, some additional insight is offered. The last column of the table represents the levels of negativity per focus category. According to it, 63% of issue-based statements are negative. Campaign-related statements are also negative 64% of the time, and trait statements even more so, 73% of the time. The

only category that escapes this tendency is the value category; only 32% of such statements were negative.

Therefore negativity, as manifested in the front pages of the four newspapers under study, does not contribute more than positivity to the enrichment of the information environment, by Geer's standards. These findings, in fact, come in sharp contrast with Geer's findings. Not only is negativity in Greek newspapers not more likely to be about issues, and therefore does not offer the expected amount of relevant information, but also it is more likely to focus on traits. Traits are not as helpful pieces of information, according to the same argument, and may, in fact, constitute mudslinging in certain cases. Although the coding scheme does not capture the harshness of negativity, and is, thus, unable to identify mudslinging, the impression after the end of the coding is that mudslinging does occur in Greek newspapers during election periods. As a result, it would be useful to include such measures in future research. This has been done so far in Greece only in the case of political advertisements and the findings showed that mudslinging does occur there as well (Samaras 2008). Although mudslinging is hard to capture, according to his coding scheme, it represented up to 16% of negative appeals (p. 197-204).

5. Conclusions and Discussion

This study attempted to offer insight to the question of negativity in Greek newspapers during the election campaigns. By designing a content analysis of the front pages of the most important newspapers, it managed to trace the tone of the coverage and particularly the levels and specific patterns of negativity that is likely to be received by the public.

First, it was found that newspapers, contrary to the expectations set by the modern journalistic standards, do not abstain from offering evaluations, both on their own as well as evaluations by politicians. In fact, they are more likely to offer evaluations than remain neutral. In this respect, it has been shown that Greek newspapers are actively involved in the campaign and do not adopt a passive stance. Furthermore, these evaluations clearly tend to be more negative than positive, which results in high levels of negativity during the election periods. The exact levels still have to be further investigated, because in the two periods that were studied in this paper, the pattern was not stable. An interesting finding is that newspapers are more likely to use negativity directly, through the pen of the journalist, instead of conveniently reproducing negative statements by politicians. In general, the low rate of neutrality has to be put into perspective and points to questions about the type of Press that is desirable in modern societies: a press that tries to communicate its opinion to the public, or a Press that abstains from doing so? The obvious choice would be to vote for neutral Press, but in the marketplace of ideas a “militant” Press might also contribute to the democratic debate. As far as negativity in newspapers is concerned, its high levels make the future investigation of its effects more pressing. The much-

discussed demobilizing effects and the rise of political cynicism should be put in the epicenter. Another interesting finding that might be useful for students of effects is that negative statements were not found to enjoy greater visibility than positive statements. Therefore, negativity is not being visually “promoted”.

Second, newspapers do not go negative to all directions. Due to the two-party system context, they almost exclusively “reserve” their negativity for the two major parties, PASOK and ND. Then, depending on their own affiliation, under conditions of press-party parallelism, they mention the affiliated party in a positive way and attack the opponent party. This comes as a confirmation for the claims of press-party parallelism, by means of studying the actual content of the newspapers. This is an important contribution because in the literature parallelism is often measured by combining newspaper use patterns with party identification of the readers. Although the latter is a convenient measure for parallelism it focuses exclusively on the reader. Only by studying the content is it possible to accurately detect the parallelism of newspapers.

Third, the tendency of newspapers to go negative toward the opponent is higher when their affiliated party is a challenger during that election period. This pattern was confirmed in both election periods, despite that each featured different challengers and therefore the roles of newspapers were switched. In 2004, pro-PASOK newspapers (challenger status) were more negative towards ND than pro-ND newspapers were towards PASOK. In 2007, it was the pro-ND newspapers (challenger status) who took the lead of negativity.

Fourth, the content focus of negative statements in newspapers does not follow the same path that negativity in party ads is thought to follow. Negative party ads are expected to be rich in issue-related content. This is the type of content that is considered beneficial to the voters and, as a consequence, to the political outcome. If voters are aware of the policy issues that differentiate the candidates, they are thought to have the necessary criteria to make an informed decision at the ballot box.

However, negativity in Greek newspapers was not found to be richer than positivity in terms of issue-related content. There was similar probability for positive and negative references to focus on issues. In addition, negative references are more likely to focus on party or character traits, a tendency that is considered anything but beneficial for the democratic process.

However, this study also has limitations. The data are drawn from the front pages, but it is certain that a lot of relevant content appeared in the later pages of the selected newspapers. The fact that those pages could not be part of the study demands careful interpretation of the results. In spite of that, the front page is the most representative part of a newspaper, and the findings might not be influenced if the whole newspaper were to be studied.

Also, while the sample includes the dominant newspapers, it inevitably excludes others. This choice was made in order to have a balanced sample between the two major party preferences, but there are other high-selling newspapers such as *To Vima* and *Ethnos*, both considered pro-PASOK which should be studied in the future. In addition, the sample does not include newspapers of different affiliations other than pro-PASOK and pro-ND. Although these parties dominate Greek politics as much as

the selected newspapers dominate the Greek Press, they are not the only parties in Greece. This point is becoming more important now that the dominance of the two titans of Greek politics is questioned. If the apparent rise of the importance of smaller parties persists, then newspapers supporting those parties may also gain in importance and increase their market share to the detriment of big newspapers. Such a development could make the inclusion of those newspapers necessary in future studies, because they would be read by more people. For instance, the Coalition of the Radical Left (SYRIZA) received 27% of the votes in the June 2012 election. There is a leftist newspaper (Avgi) considered to be pro-SYRIZA. If SYRIZA keeps its popularity, then the sales of Avgi might rise and its inclusion could become necessary in similar studies. Finally, if the two major parties keep decomposing, it is also probable that the existing newspapers will actually change their stance towards their traditional affiliated parties, in order to survive in the market. Two possibilities would be presented in that case: first, newspapers could either moderate their party parallelism by adopting a more neutral or more pro-Left or pro-Right stance. Second, they could change their affiliation. A very striking example for the latter possibility, which has left many readers wondering, is the newspaper Avriani: a well-known conservative newspaper that has always praised ND, has devoted several frontpages praising SYRIZA since June 2012¹³. It appears to be “riding the wave” and remains to be seen whether such behaviour will find imitators, thus changing the Greek press environment.

¹³ The most astonishing front page was from 13/06/2012 with the main title reading: “The only hope for Greece is the leadership of Alexis Tsipras”. Avriani suggested that Tsipras would mark the dawn of a new era and likened him to leaders as Tayip Erdogan and Vladimir Putin and how they changed their countries. The newspaper’s stance took the readers by surprise, given that on 05/05/2012 its front page read: “Samaras is the only guarantee of stability”. The newspaper added that Samaras would be the one to protect Greece from bankruptcy. This is a far-fetched case of “schizophrenic behaviour” by a newspaper and should not be seen as a rule, but is a very good hint to the changes taking place in the Greek Press.

In addition, the time frame of this study presents limitations. The use of two election periods was enough to answer the questions asked throughout, but the findings cannot be easily generalized. When a pattern is similar between the two election periods then it provides some confidence that it may be stable. But when a pattern breaks between the two periods, then it becomes hard to say which of the two findings is closer to the truth. Therefore, a longitudinal analysis is deemed necessary if the findings of this study are to be further investigated and clarified.

As far as the coding procedure is concerned, this study does not address the harshness of the tone. It classifies statements as positive negative or neutral, but does not answer to the question *how positive* or *how negative* a statement is. This is not uncommon, as most studies do not address it either, but given that the literature on negativity keeps expanding, and questions are being answered, going into more detail is necessary in order to gain a better understanding of the characteristics and potential effects of negativity. All the more so, since extreme negativity, commonly known as mudslinging, is suspected to have stronger negative effects on the public. Still, given that this is the first study of negativity in Greek newspapers and does not address effects, the absence of such a measure is not a big problem. However, future studies could consider adding it, especially in case they study the effects of negativity.

This study has accomplished a first step towards connecting negativity and press-party parallelism in newspapers in Greece. The step is modest, due to the focus being put on only two election periods. With a larger-scale study, the patterns identified in this study might be put to perspective and tested further. For reasons that remain unclear, the actual content of newspapers in Greece has not been studied so far in the

context of election campaigns. Although some research has been conducted on party advertisements (Samaras 2008) and television news coverage (Tsirbas 2007), newspapers had been so far largely neglected. Hopefully, this study will constitute a stimulus, a starting point for further research on newspapers, because, regardless from the decline in circulation, they remain prominent actors in the political process and enjoy greater visibility than sales figures suggest.

Last but not least, this study could be replicated in other countries that are considered to have high levels of parallelism, in order to compare the findings and see whether newspapers have similar tendencies towards expressing evaluations and whether these evaluations are mostly positive or negative. Moreover, the conditions under which these evaluations become more negative, such as the challenger status, as well as the issue-based focus of negative evaluations should be investigated. Countries that are classified under the “Mediterranean Model” of Hallin and Mancini (2004) - Spain, Italy, Portugal and to a lesser extent France - can be seen as the most relevant cases to study. However, this does not exclude comparative studies of newspaper negativity between countries with high and low parallelism. Parallelism is not limited in the Mediterranean. Hallin and Mancini suggest that Northern European countries (“Democratic-Corporatist Media Model”) also have parallelism, but in a more moderate form.

Finally, the perspective offered in this study, by treating newspapers as conscious political actors rather than simple news media, and the adoption of hypotheses that have been used to study candidate behaviour could be a useful way to find out whether, and to what extent, newspapers follow the same principles as parties and

candidates when they go negative. If they do not, then it might as well constitute a means to identify other patterns of negativity use, exclusive to newspapers. Such knowledge could be gained by cross country comparative studies and comparisons between parties/candidates on the one hand and newspapers on the other.

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Appendix 1: Newspaper formats and visibility

These are the two types of newspaper formats included in the study. Ta Nea (first picture), Eleftherotypia and Eleftheros Typos are in tabloid format, while Kathimerini (second picture) is a broadsheet. Kathimerini retained its format and is considered a high-quality newspaper, while the others gradually switched to the tabloid format. Such a difference justifies the greater number of references found in Kathimerini's front pages.





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ΣΗΜΕΡΑ

ΓΙΑ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΟΧΗ ΣΤΟ ΠΣΙ

Συμριωνία Βενιζέλου, ελληνικών τραπεζών

Με βόλευτο «κοιμήτρι» οπείκει η Ελλάδα τους βουλευτές - και κυρίως τους εξωτερικούς - που δεν θα συμμετάσχουν εθελοντικά στην αναδιοργάνωση του ΠΣΙ. Οι Έλληνες τραπεζίτες ενήμεροι χθες τον υπουργό Οικονομικών Ευάγγελο Βενιζέλο ότι όλες οι τράπεζες θα πάρουν μέρος με το συνολικό των ομολόγων που κατέχουν στο ΠΣΙ. Αντιθέτως, αρκετά ασφαλιστικά ταμεία αποφοίτησαν να μη συμμετάσχουν στο κοινόμνημο. **Σελ. 18**

ΕΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΗ ΤΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ

Προβλήματα στο πύλεν έκοξες δέκα βουλευτών

Επιπλέον πρόβλημα εντοπίστηκε με βουλευτές πύλεν έκοξες για δέκα βουλευτές του ΠΑΣΟΚ και της Ν.Δ. στο πλαίσιο της έρευνας που διεκνηνεί η αρμόδια επιτροπή της βουλής. Συμμετείχε με πληροφορίες της «Κ», και για τους δέκα βουλευτές η επιτροπή θα παραρμήσει τις υποθέσεις στην εισηγητική έκθεση. Ταυτόχρονα, πρόβλημα έχουν εντοπιστεί και στο πύλεν έκοξες γνωστού δημοσιογράφου. Έπειτα από οριστικούς ελέγχους των αρχών αρχών. **Σελ. 18**

ΕΠΙΘΕΤΟ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΗΣ ΣΤΟ ΠΑΣΟΚ

Πολιτική πλατφόρμα από Διαμαντοπούλου

Τις πολιτικές απόψεις της ενόψει της διαδοχής στο ΠΑΣΟΚ και των εθνικών εκλογών δημοσιοποιεί χθες η κ. Αννα Διαμαντοπούλου, υποψήφια γραμματέας στην επόμενη εκλογική περίοδο για την Ελλάδα του 2020. Η επιλογή της υπουργού να μιλήσει εν κινήσει πολεμώντων δεν ανέκδοτος σε κίνημα ερμηνεύθηκε ως δηλωτική της πρόθεσης να εμφορηθεί ως άτυπη επικεφαλής του κείμενου μεταρρυθμιστικού ίδιου. **Σελ. 4**

ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΗ ΥΠ. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ

Λογαριασμοί ΔΕΗ και τέλος ακινήτων

Σαν κοινοτικό πιστεύουν ότι εξοφλήσαν, εν μέρει τον λογαριασμό τους (ζωφόν) το κόστος ηλεκτρικής ενέργειας και οι το ίδιο κόλπο ακινήτων έχουν ασφαλίσει εντόπιση. Εξοφλήστε χθες ανακοίνωση του υπουργού Ξηνοκλή. **Σελ. 19**

Με τιμές κουφάριες

Με τιμές κουφάριες μερίδιο από 1 μοναχία αγορά και την αποπρόκληση να κουφάρι στην «άνηξη» της πιστοτικής θετικής εκκλίσεως οι κουφάρι της Κεντρικής Μακεδονίας Αθηνών (Κέντρο) τουλάχιστον στην τελετή κουφάρι της κουφάρις. Από την άλλη, δύσκολη θεωρούν οι κτηνοτρόφοι την απεικονίση ιδόθη από τον παραγωγή στην κατανομή της εκπαίδευσης κουφάρις των παρομένων του Πάσκα. **Σελ. 5**

Επενδύσεις: Τη υπαγωγή ξέ μερών επενδύσεων σε διαδοχικές fast track αποφάσεις χθες η Διαπουργική επιτροπή, οι επενδύσεις, οικονομική προσιολογία 5,6 διαδοχικών μηνών, σφαιρώνει την εξάρτη χρεού και την παραγωγή ηλεκτρισμού. **Σελ. 21**

Κούβελος: Στον επαγγελματί Εφετών για παραρμήτες επί δηλώσει περιουσιακής κατάστασης, παραρμήτες οι κ. αξιωματικοί κούβελος για την υπόθεση του νέου εκκατομυρίου δοκίμων. **Σελ. 4**

Ε.Ε. και Ιράν: Επενδύσει την διαπραγματεύσεων με το Ιράν ανακοίνωσε η εκπροσώπος η εξωτερικής πολιτικής της Ε.Ε., Βέρνιη Άπτον, μία ημέρα μετά τη συνάντηση Ουάσινγκτον - Νεκονόου στην Ουάσινγκτον. **Σελ. 7**

Κατόθεση Γεωργίου: Με την κατόθεση του προέδρου της ΕΣΥΤΑ, Αντρίη Γεωργίου, ξεκίνησε η εργασία της 11 ελεγκτικής επιτροπής της βουλής που διεκνηνεί την υπόθεση του ελεμπίστος του 2009. **Σελ. 4**

Αιθίο: Σχέδιο αρραβώνων κρατών να διεκνηνεί την αιθίο παγγίηες ο προσηνός πρόεδρος ΑμντεγιόζΑβλά ιστρου από τη διακήρυνση αναστολής της πύλενης σε πενήντα αναστολής περιφέρειες της Κυπριακής. **Σελ. 7**

LINKS

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Τα αγάλματα περιμένουν στη Στοά του Αττάλου



Μια συντηρήτρια παραρμήσει κεραμικά αγάλματα, η οποία θα εκθέσει στον πρώτο όροφο της Στοάς του Αττάλου, οι οποίες πρόκειται να ανιέξουν τις πύλες του στο κοινό έπειτα από 30 χρόνια, τον Μάιο. Πενήντα δύο σημαντικές αρραβώνες από την ιστορική περίοδο του 1956, οι οποίες πρόκειται από επίσημης ανακοίνωσης, θα απορμήουν τον Μάιο. Το μνημείο, που ανακοινώθηκε από τον 1956, οδήγησε πρόσημο, κάρη στην ανιέξηση της δραστηριότητας Αμερικανικής Σχολής Κλασικών Σπουδών, του ΥΠΠΟΤ και της Α' Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων. **Σελ. 16**

Αλλαγή ηγεσίας σε τρία υπουργεία

Χρυσοχοϊδης - Προστασίας Πολιτών - Διαμαντοπούλου: Ανάπτυξης - Μηπαμνιωτης: Παιδείας

Σε αριήα ανακοινώσεως της κυβέρνησης προκήρυξε χθες ο πρωθυπουργός Λουκάς Παπαδόπουλος, με τον κ. Μιχάλη Χρυσοχοϊδη να μετακνηνεί στο υπουργείο Προστασίας του Πολίτη, την κ. Αννα Διαμαντοπούλου να τον διαδοχίσει στο υπουργείο Ανάπτυξης

και τον κ. Γεώργιο Μηπαμνιωτή να αναλαμβάνει το υπουργείο Παιδείας. Παρότι εξετάσθηκαν και άλλες λύσεις, ο κ. Παπαδόπουλος προέκνησε τη λύση τους. Χρυσοχοϊδης, καθώς είναι βολής γνώστης των θέματων δημόσιας τάξης, ενώ ο κ. Διαμαντοπούλου εκτιμάται ότι μπορεί να συμβάλει στην άμση «απελευκέρω» ευρωπαϊκών κονδυλίων για την ανάπτυξη, καθώς ο πρωθυπουργός έχει ήδη δημοσιολογήσει σε σημαντικό βαθμό τις σχετικά διαδοχίσεις των θέματων δημόσιας τάξης, ενώ ο κ. Διαμαντοπούλου εκτιμάται

ΚΥΡΙΟ ΑΡΘΡΟ

Κατάρτος στη βία

Το φαινόμενο των δόδεν αυθόρμητων αποδοκιμασιών και επισημικών εναντίων των φαινομένων προσηνός απειλή τόνου τη δημοκρατία στη χώρα μας. Στις δημοκρατίες επιρροήνται οι διαδοχίσεις και οι διαμαρτυρίες. Οι διάφορες, όμως, συμφορές οι οποίες οργανώνουν επιθέσεις εναντίων πολιτικών, καλλιτεχνικών και κάθε άλλου με τον οποίον διαφωτίζουν αναστολήν φαινομένων συμπεριφορά και δεν μπορούν να δικαιολογηθούν από κανένα τύπο αναντιόσημο. Αν η κοινωνία δεν αναρρώσει σύντομα σε αυτά τα κρούσματα, ο κατάρτος στη βία και στο χος δεν θα έχει τέλος. Ούτε η Αριστερά ούτε καμία άλλη πολιτική δύναμη μπορεί να καλύψει και να ποικίσει αυτόν τον φαύλο κύκλο. Η Ελλάδα πέσασε πολλές περιπέτειες στο παρελθόν και οι πολιτισμικοί γνωρίζουν καλά τι θα της εμφορήσει και ανεξέλεγκτη βία. Δεν πρέπει να επιτραπεί στους οποίους της τυφλής βίας και της αλαζονείας να μας σφαιρώσει σε μια τέτοια νέα περπέτσια.

Τέσσερις άξονες για τον πολιτισμό

Παρουσίαση ο κ. Γεωργιάδης

Απαιτήσεις δομών σχεδιασμού και υλοποίησης μιας συνολικής και συνεκτικής πολιτιστικής πολιτικής, ενίσχυση δημοσίων και καλλιτεχνικών οργανισμών, περιφερειακή ανάπτυξη αλλά και προώθηση της ελληνικής δραστηριότητας στο εξωτερικό, είναι οι τέσσερις βασικοί άξονες της νέας πρότασης για τον πολιτισμό. Ο υπουργός Πολιτισμού Γεωργιάδης εξέτασε χθες, ότι θα τελεστεί σε διαδοχίσεις, ένα σχετικό πρόγραμμα για τη διακνηνεί, την αξιοκρατία, τη δικαιοσύνη, τις ίσες ευκαιρίες, τον αντισταμό στους θύλους, την καλύτερη συνεργασία μεταξύ των φορέων. **Σελ. 13**



Και κόμμα Μ. Μόντι;

Με σενάριο στο πολιτικό σκηνικό της χώρας θα ενδοκνηνεί κούβελος σε ελεγχόμενες κούβελος τενοκροτών υπό τον ήτολό ηγεμόνα Μάριο Μόντι, το οποίο θα αποσηνίσει ποσοστό 22%, ισχυρίζονται, στην πρώτη βία, με το κεντροαριστερό δημοκρατικό κόμμα, σύμφωνα με δημοσιοποίηση που διεκνηνεί για την εφημερίδα La Repubblica. Το κεντροαριστερό κόμμα ηγεμόνης Ελευθέριος (ΡΔ), του Σίλβιο Μπερλουσκόνι, προκότου του Μόντι, θα ελεγχίσει δεύτερο, με 17%. **Σελ. 9**

Ένα εκατομμύριο αθλητικά ακίνητα στην Ιταλία



Τελεσιονό επίσημα των παλαιών φορολογικών υπηρέτησών στα μαζικά κατά τα φορολογηθέντα είναι η ανακάλυψη ενός εκατομμυρίου και πλέον ακινήτων, τα οποία δεν είχαν δηλώσει ποτέ οι ιδιοκτήτες τους. Η επέκταση φορολογησών τους εκτιμάται πως θα σφαιρώσει στα ταμεία του Ιταλικού κράτους περίπου 472 εκατομμύρια ευρώ. Στάθμενα με ανακοίνωση του υπουργού Οικονομικών, πρόκειται συγκεκριμένα για 1.081.608 ακίνητα «φρακτοματά» τα οποία εντοπίσθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια του 2011, χωρίς στην σύγκληση εκάθεν από δημοφιλούς. Στην πλειονότητά τους τα μη δηλωθέντα ακίνητα βρίσκονται σε περιοχές της νότιας Ιταλίας. **Σελ. 22**

ΣΧΟΛΙΟ | ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΗ ΠΑΠΑΚΑΛΑ

Τα δύο αστικά κόμματα και η Αριστερά

Η νέα ρόδα είναι οι επιθέσεις κατά της Αριστεράς από τα μεγάλα αστικά κόμματα. Καλε-δοκνηνεί, αλλά άρνηση Μπα... Η άρνηση, με ή χωρίς εισαγωγή, ιδεολογία έχει κυριαρχήσει παντού τα τελευταία 35 χρόνια, από το πύλεν γράφημα η κεραμική ιστορία έως τον τρόπο που σκέπτεται για πολλά ζητήματα ο μέσος Έλληνας πολίτης, δεν είναι τυχαίο αυτό. Το ΠΑΣΟΚ μνηστής τη πρόσημο, τις συνδικαλιστικές τακτικές και τα σφάλματα της Αριστεράς στην προσπάθειά του να τον υπερεκρέσει την εποχή της μεταπολεμικής ριζοσποτιστικής ανόητης. Ακόμη και εκείνο το κούβελος και αντισταμόσες ήταν μια απεργνωμένη πρόσημο μαμπαμπα...

Το ΠΑΣΟΚ κουφάρισε το στερέωτο της Αριστεράς στην εξεταστική πολιτική, στην αντίληψη η επεκαθρημνίση, στο πως θεωρείται ο πρηνής ρόλος των συνδικαλιστών στη διακνηνεί δημοσίων υπηρεσιών. Ακόμη και σε θέματα νόμου και τάξης το ΠΑΣΟΚ θεω-

ρούσε ότι έπρεπε να ζητήσει συγγνώμη κάθε φορά που μια παράσημη ενέργεια, η οποία ήταν καθορισμένη στο όνομα κάποιου αριστερού φράσημο, έπρεπε να αντιμετωπιστεί με αστυνομικό τρόπο. Από την άλλη πλευρά, η ελληνική δεξιά δεν μπορούσε ποτέ να περμήσει τα κόμματα και τις ανόητες της στην αντιμετώπιση της Αριστεράς. Πάντα φοβόταν μην την πύλεν «αδέρδη». Άς και πρέπει να περμήσει μια περμήτη για αμνήτες άλλων εποχών επί άσπερον, όπως συρριανόταν κάλυ από την προσπάθεια κάποιου απροσδόκητου αριστερή η πρόσημο επίσης αμνήτες άσπερον άσπερον, ακόμη και αν παρβίσει βήνασιν κάποιο νόμο ή αν χρησιμοποιήσει απροκάλυπτα βία, όπως σκάνω αμνήτες να ελληνική παρεμπόληση.

Το κούβελος από όλα. Η «αριστερή» ιδεολογία μόνιμα το δύο μεγάλο αστικά κόμματα στην τρόπο που εκραβίζονται και ταποθετούνται οι διάφοροι συνδικαλιστές τους. Αν διαβό-

ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ
Μόνο ο Γαστρονόμος μπορεί να κάνει τέτοια νηστήσιμα!
Γαστρονόμος
Η ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ
ΚΥΚΛΟΦΟΡΕΙ ΑΥΤΗ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ «ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ»

Visibility

This is how a typical street kiosk looks like in Greece. People stop by and read the front pages to get the news, but not everyone buys the actual paper. In fact, it could be argued that most of them do not. Such practice justifies the selection of front pages for the analysis, because their “target group” is undoubtedly bigger than the number of people who buy the newspapers.



Appendix 2: Individual contingency tables per newspaper from Hypothesis 1

(Tone – Target)

Tone by target for Eleftherotypia

Tone	Target		Total
	PASOK (%)	ND (%)	
Positive	84 (85)	12 (7)	96 (36)
Negative	15 (15)	159 (93)	174 (64)
Total	99 (100)	171 (100)	270 (100)

Note: There was a significant association between Eleftherotypia and the tone employed towards different targets $\chi^2 (1, n=270) = 162.38, p < .001, \text{Phi} = .78$

Tone by target for Eleftheros Typos

Tone	Target		Total
	PASOK (%)	ND (%)	
Positive	2 (2)	83 (87)	99 (49)
Negative	97 (98)	13 (13)	96 (51)
Total	99 (100)	96 (100)	195 (100)

Note: There was a significant association between Eleftheros Typos and the tone employed toward different targets $\chi^2 (1, n=195) = 137.91, p < .001, \text{Phi} = -.85$

Tone by target for Kathimerini

Tone	Target		Total
	PASOK (%)	ND (%)	
Positive	15 (9)	75 (73)	90 (37)
Negative	61 (92)	28 (27)	189 (63)
Total	176 (100)	103 (100)	279 (100)

Note: There was a significant association between Kathimerini and the tone employed toward different targets $\chi^2 (1, n=279) = 119.98, p < .001, \text{Phi} = -.66$

Tone by target for Ta Nea

Tone	Target		Total
	PASOK (%)	ND (%)	
Positive	78 (99)	2 (2)	80 (42)
Negative	1 (1)	111 (98)	112 (58)
Total	79 (100)	113 (100)	192 (100)

Note: There was a significant association between Ta Nea and the tone employed toward PASOK and ND $\chi^2 (1, n=192) = 175.89, p < .001$. Phi = .97.

Appendix 3: Codebook

The unit of analysis is the individual *reference* or *statement*. A reference can be contained in a sentence and provides a reason to vote either for or against someone. References containing praise or criticism towards a political actor will be included in the coding, while statements containing no evaluation will not. In most cases, appeals target a party or person based on what it is (or is not) e.g. responsible, honest, competent, has done (or has not done) e.g. fight corruption, improve the economy, will do (or will not do) e.g. lower taxation, promote social state. For each appeal qualified for coding, the procedure should include the elements described below.

1. Appeal Number

Every reference will be given a unique number, in the form of n.n.n. The first digit represents the election period (1 for 2004 and 2 for 2009); the second digit represents the newspaper (numbers 1-4 – see “Newspaper Name”); the third digit(s) represents the counting number. Thus, for the **20th** coded appeal of **Kathimerini**, in the **second** election period under study, the unique number will be: **2.3.20**

2. Newspaper Name

For every coded reference, include the name of the newspaper where it was taken from. Newspaper names have been attributed numbers as seen in the list below. Enter the corresponding number:

- 1 = Eleftherotypia
- 2 = Kathimerini
- 3 = Ta Nea
- 4 = Eleftheros Typos

3. Date

For every reference, code the date of the issue where it was found. The form should be dd.mm.yy

4. Visibility – title or text

Is the reference situated in a title or in the accompanying text? In case a statement is in itself a news story (often encountered in tabloids), code as 1.

Code 1 if statement is situated in a title or subtitle

Code 0 if statement is situated in the accompanying text.

5. Visibility – top or bottom

Is the reference situated in the top half or the bottom half of the front page?

Code 1, if statement is in the top half.

Code 0, if statement is in the bottom half.

So long as the reference starts in the upper half of the page, it should be coded as 1. This applies mostly in the case of main titles with big characters, often occupying a space in both halves simultaneously.

6. Source

Who appears to speak in the statement or reference? If it is a quotation or paraphrase of an actor's words, then the actor (person or party) should be considered the source of the statement. If the statement is not attributed to a source, the newspaper will be coded as the source.

- Code 1 if the source is the newspaper
- Code 2 if the source is PASOK Leader
- Code 3 if the source is PASOK member
- Code 4 if source is PASOK party
- Code 5 if source is ND party
- Code 6 if source is ND Leader
- Code 7 if source is ND member
- Code 8 for Other leader
- Code 9 for Other party
- Code 10 for "Other"

7. Target

Who is the reference being directed at? In other words, who does it criticize or praise? The name or position of the target must be present in the appeal, or result from the context in an undisputable way. In case the cabinet is the target, enter the corresponding party code. In case of doubt, code as "other".

- Code 1 if the target is PASOK Leader
- Code 2 if the target is PASOK member
- Code 3 if target is PASOK party
- Code 4 if target is ND party
- Code 5 if target is ND Leader
- Code 6 if target is ND member
- Code 7 for established parties (general)
- Code 8 for Opposition (general)
- Code 9 for Other leader
- Code 10 for Other party
- Code 11 for "Other"

8. Tone

What is the tone of the statement? Does it endorse or criticize its target? Positive appeals are those who contain praise toward the target, while negative appeals contain a criticism. The criticism must be explicit or at least obviously implied. Coders should not speculate about the tone. It is also important not to let a newspaper's perceived affiliation influence the coder's judgment. If there is no criticism or endorsement, or in case of uncertainty, then code as 3.

Code 1 if statement is positive

Code 2 if statement is negative

Code 3 if statement is neutral

9. Focus

What is the focus of the statement? A statement can focus on *issues* (e.g. the economy, welfare state, foreign policy, crime, corruption), *party or person traits* (e.g. ideologies, integrity, experience, affiliations), *values* (broad themes like prosperity, hard work, hope, freedom, society, future, family, justice) or *campaign-related events and performance* (e.g. opinion polls, public speeches, strategies, speculation, the "game")

Code 1 if statement is about an issue

Code 2 if statement is about a trait of a person or party.

Code 3 if statement is about values

Code 4 if statement is about a campaign-related topic

In order to respect earlier established coding schemes, mostly relying on a three-way categorization into issues, traits and values, these categories will be prioritized. This means the coder must first verify whether the appeal can be classified in one of the three categories. For appeals making reference to campaign-related issues, but do not contain any of the elements that would make it issue-based, trait-based or value-based, a separate category has been created.

The category of **campaign-related** appeals serves to separate these appeals from the real-life political issues that are addressed in the election campaign coverage. An example of such an appeal: "Karamanlis [gave a] 'shipwrecked' interview on MEGA channel" (Ta Nea, 11/09/07) ex2: "Karamanlis plays hide and seek with his candidate MPs" (Ta Nea 09/09/07) This is not a policy issue, relevant to the public, but an appeal obviously limited within the election campaign context.