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Terrorism, Media Framing, and Political Ideologies: a triangular relationship

By Panayiota Kyriakou

s1794272



Supervised by: Dr. Joris Voorhoeve

Second Reader: Dr. Alastair Reed

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Terrorism, Media Framing, and Political Ideologies: a triangular relationship

The Framing of Terrorism by the Greek Media

Keywords: media framing, terrorist attacks, crisis management, politics, far right wing, far left wing, centrism

Master thesis

Supervised by:

Dr. Joris Voorhoeve

Second Reader:

Dr. Alastair Reed

Author:

Panayiota Kyriakou

Leiden University
Campus the Hague
Turfmarkt 99
2511 Den Haag

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Abstract

The media has a great influence on citizens and their political views and actions. Bearing in mind that the reporting of newspapers is influenced by political ideology, how can the reporting of terrorism be unbiased? To address this question, this thesis examines the reporting of three ideologically contrasting newspapers (far-right, far-left, and centrist). *Golden Dawn*, *Rizospastis* and *Kathimerini*, three popular Greek newspapers, are investigated in order to determine how the media portrays the threat of terrorism, where the blame for terrorist acts is placed, and the causes attributed to it. Through the use of media framing theory, grounded theory, and political discourse analysis, this study analyzes the newspapers' reporting of the Charlie Hebdo, Bataclan theater, and Brussels Airport attacks. This thesis has embarked upon a theory building approach, in the context of which it explores how the political ideology of media outlets influences the portrayal of terrorist events of the media. The conclusion is that the portrayal of terrorist events in the media is strongly influenced by political objectives, which leads to the "framing" of news. The three newspapers analyzed here utilize terrorism as a means to promote their political objectives, based on their far right-wing, far left-wing, and centrist ideologies.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Terrorist attacks. Terrorists. Terrorism. Newspapers have been saturated with these words over recent years. The increase in global threats and security issues such as terrorist attacks attracts mass attention from the media. The European media is shocked by the terrorist attacks that are believed to seriously threaten European states. It is crucial to understand the main factors that contribute to the meaning-making of the media when they report on a terrorist attack, because as Hoffman states, “the media has transitioned from an opinion shaper to a policy driver” (Hoffman 2006: 191). Moreover, the media and terrorism have informally established a mutually profitable relationship, as is often mentioned by scholars. Some even call the media “a terrorist’s best friends” (Peresin 2007). Through an examination of the media’s response to this threat, this thesis argues that in fact, there is a third factor, the political ideologies of particular newspapers, that plays a role in the media’s power to shape the public’s perception of terrorism.

The main purpose of this research is to delve into how terrorism is reported by newspapers representing different political orientations by analyzing the articles of three well-known Greek newspapers. The three different political ideologies represented by the newspapers analyzed on here can be categorized as follows: far right-wing, far left-wing and centrist. One of the main aims of this thesis is to demonstrate that the media’s framing of terrorism is not simply a two-way relationship, but rather, it is a three-factor dependency. The articles analyzed from these newspapers covered three particular terrorist attacks: the Charlie Hebdo shooting, (January 7th2015), the Bataclan theatre massacre (November 13th 2015), and the Brussels Airport bombing (March 22nd2016). The central question being investigated is how these newspapers reflect on and interpret the events through the lens of their political “colors”. In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels, media outlets around the world released an unprecedented number of articles about terrorism, generating perceptions, constructing meaning about the attacks, and making us more aware of the terrorist threat. We do not rule out that portrayals of terrorism and terrorists in Greek newspapers may be driven not only by the political angles of the particular newspaper in question, but also by the economic, geographic, and social situation in the country.

The research question this thesis aims to answer is the following:

How did the political perspectives of the Greek newspapers Golden Dawn, Rizospastis and Kathimerini influence the way they covered the two terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and the attack in Brussels (2016)?

Although it is no surprise that political ideology influences the portrayal of events, this study explores how this causal mechanism between ideology and framing unfolds. This connection is examined by dissecting the ways politically-oriented newspapers articulate their own interpretation of events. A methodology composed of grounded theory (a methodological approach that begins with the collection of key statements and continues with the progressive identification of categories), political discourse analysis, and framing theory is used here. The aim is to identify the links between ideology and framing, and compare the framing styles of *Golden Dawn*, *Rizospastis*, and *Kathimerini*, whose views represent far right-wing, far left-wing and centrist ideologies respectively.

The way terrorism is reported on in the media depends on a variety of factors. Geographical and historical background, as well as political situations and previous experiences with terrorism are all determining factors in the words and phrases that are used to guide an audience's focus on a particular issue. The principal underlying assumption of this analysis is that the media is biased in its coverage of terrorist attacks due to media outlets' associations with particular political ideologies and beliefs. If the framework for reporting on terrorism in Greece was objective, then the general impression of a terrorist act presented to an audience would be similar across news outlets. Based on this assumption, this research aims to investigate the following series of sub-questions:

- 1:** What particular words and phrases do the newspapers use to frame terrorism, and can the same pattern be observed in all three newspapers?
- 2:** Is the approach of *Rizospastis* more extreme, with an emphasis on blaming Western countries for terrorist acts and supporting an anti-imperialistic attitude? It is expected that the main discourse of *Rizospastis*, a left-wing newspaper, seeks to cultivate negative sentiment against the policies of the European Union.

3: Does the far right-wing newspaper *Golden Dawn* blame Islam for terrorist acts and/or make the generalization that all Muslims are terrorists? Does *Golden Dawn* “utilize” the terrorists’ acts to forward its policy objectives?

4: Does *Kathimerini*, a centrist newspaper, have a less biased and more detached approach in covering these terrorist acts, refraining from using strong language, and showing a support towards the countries in which the attacks were carried out?

1.1 Reading Guide

Following this introduction, which, in the following sub-chapters, provides some background to the events as reported by Reuters and analyzed in this study, hereby we lay out the structure of this paper. Chapter 2 discusses terrorism in the media, explains why the attacks in Paris and Brussels were chosen as case studies, and introduces the particular newspapers that form the basis of the analysis. Chapter 2 also delves into the international media’s framing of terrorism and the concept of Orientalism. Chapter 3 offers a review of the literature, outlining the main ideas of media framing theory and defining associated concepts such as frames, framing, and framing effects. Chapter 4 describes the methodology employed in this study, and Chapter 5 presents the findings of the analysis with reference to the examined concepts. Chapter 5 analyzes the rationale behind our theory building approach by establishing links (or even causal mechanisms) between terrorism, media framing, and political ideologies in Greece. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes this thesis with some final remarks and evaluates the outcomes of the study.

1.2 The events according to Reuters:

1.2.1 Charlie Hebdo

The first terrorist attack to shake France and the entire European community took place at the beginning of 2015, at the offices of the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo, during a weekly editorial meeting. On the 15th of January 2015, terror struck the heart of the French State, with more than twelve people dead (ten journalists and two policemen) in less than five minutes¹. The attack occurred in central Paris around 11:30am, when two men holding Kalashnikovs entered the building housing the offices of Charlie Hebdo.² According to the testimony of a receptionist, the terrorists threatened her and forced her to reveal the password that opened the internal doors leading to the offices. The terrorists, as was later discovered, were holding photos of the particular cartoonists they wanted to kill. The Islamic State had previously threatened the satirical magazine due to the editorial team's persistence in publishing sketches illustrating the Prophet Muhammad. The police managed to arrest the terrorists and found their getaway car, but the attack was one of the deadliest attacks in France since 1835 and was the first in a string of Islamist terrorist attacks in the country that continue to rock the nation. The attack sparked a massive wave of reactions on social media, with the slogan "*Je suis Charlie*", meaning "I am Charlie", being used as a sign of solidarity³. The magazine became a victim of Islamist State fanaticism because it repeatedly published satirical sketches and cartoons portraying the Prophet Muhammad. Based on the reporting of Reuters, witnesses mentioned that the attackers were screaming "*Allahu Akbar*", meaning "God is Great" in Arabic, as they gunned down the workers.

¹ Regan, J. (2015). *French government 'almost certain' Hebdo suspects circled*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-shooting-ministry-idUSKBN0KI0TV20150109>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

² John, M. (2015). *At least 10 dead in Paris shooting - French*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/france-shooting-idUSP6N0T301020150107>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

³ McCool, G. (2016). *Drone strike kills militant linked to Charlie Hebdo attack: U.S.* Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-mideast-crisis-usa-france-idUSKBN13Y2PY>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

1.2.2 The Bataclan Theater

One of the bloodiest attacks of 2015 occurred at the Bataclan theatre on November 13th. Five terrorists attacked the crowded theatre during a concert by an American rock band, Eagles of Death Metal, killing 89 people. One hour after the band began performing, the terrorists used automatic machine guns to shoot into the audience of about 1,500 people. Witnesses repeatedly heard gunshots inside the theatre, followed by a series of explosions. The terrorists held parts of the theatre hostage for almost two hours, and were eventually killed during the intervention by the French police. Survivors mentioned that they heard the terrorists shouting “*Allahu Akbar*” during the attack, and yelling that they would take revenge for their brothers killed by the French Army in Syria and Libya in past years. Inside the theatre, panic reigned as the terrorists gunned down their victims. Some of the most shocking testimony comes from survivors who pretended to be dead or hidden in order to remain undetected by the terrorists⁴. Concert-goers attempted to escape from the attackers by jumping out of windows, running towards the exits, and hiding in the band’s dressing room. Many of them were seriously injured or wounded, lying next to the dead bodies of their friends and relatives. Five of the terrorists were identified and killed, and the authorities of many European countries collaborated effectively in order to locate and interrogate the others. The attack at the Bataclan was the deadliest of several coordinated attacks that took place in Paris on the 13th of November, 2015. Another attack took place outside the Stade de France stadium, during which suicide bombers blew themselves up, killing innocent people who were at the stadium to watch a soccer match between France and Germany⁵. At the same time, terrorists also attacked restaurants and bars, carrying out mass shootings of people enjoying an evening out in Paris⁶.

⁴ Lewis, M. (2015). *Several killed in Paris attacks hid in U.S. band's dressing room: singer*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-shooting-band-idUSKCN0TB02420151122>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

⁵ Lewis, M. (2015). *Timeline of Paris attacks according to public prosecutor*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-shooting-timeline-idUSKCN0T31BS20151114>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

⁶ Boulton, R. (2015). *About 140 people killed in Paris attacks: city hall official*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-shooting-cityhall-idUSKCN0T302F20151114>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

1.2.3 Brussels Airport

The first terrorist attack to occur in Brussels was carried out on the 22nd of March 2016, at Zaventem Airport, in Brussels. At 07:58am, suicide bombers spread fear by detonating two bombs inside the airport, near the American Airlines check-in counters. A second coordinated attack occurred at Maalbeek metro station⁷. Responsibility for the attacks was claimed by the Islamic State.⁸ The three explosions shook Belgium's capital, causing the death of 14 people and injuring more than 230. Witnesses mentioned that they heard men shouting “*Allahu Akbar*” before activating their explosive devices. The crowd panicked and ran outside of the airport. Back inside, airport authorities activated evacuation procedures. The two explosions at the airport occurred almost simultaneously and were immensely powerful, causing a large part of the roof to collapse. According to the police officers who investigated the scene, the terrorists' luggage contained a large quantity of nails, with the goal of killing and seriously injuring as many people as possible. The suicide bombers aimed to put fear into the hearts of Europeans⁹. Both attacks occurred close to the European Parliament. Representatives of the Belgian government announced that the country would be placed under a state of emergency. These attacks occurred just a few days after the arrest of Salah Abdeslam, a man accused of being involved in the Paris terrorist attacks in 2015.

⁷ Knecht, E. (2016). *Islamic State claims Brussels blasts: Amaq agency*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-belgium-blast-claim-idUSKCN0WO283>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

⁸ Heritage, Graff & Perry. (2016). *Airport security in spotlight after Brussels attacks*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-belgium-blast-airport-security-idUSKCN0WO26R> Last accessed 2nd April 2017 .

⁹ Melander,I. (2016). *Fear and defiance in Brussels a day after attacks*. Available: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-belgium-blast-brussels-idUSKCN0WP20E>. Last accessed 2nd April 2017

1.3 The criteria for the selection of the three Greek newspapers

The following lines will lay out the grounds upon which the Greek case has been selected as a single case study. The geopolitical position along with the multiple crises that this country has faced influenced the author's decision to focus on how the three terrorist attacks were interpreted over there. Greece lies near one of the most turbulent regions in the world. It is located on the Balkan Peninsula and in the Eastern Mediterranean region. Since Raqqa of Syria –another country located in the turbulent Eastern Mediterranean region- is one of the bases of ISIS, it would be illuminating to see how the media of a neighboring country views these developments.

Some of the international media have often associated –in one way or another- the terrorist attacks with the unfolding refugee crisis. This “association” explains also the societal relevance of Greece in our case study. The country has been subject to large-scale migration movements since the early 1990s. Being for centuries a crossroad between East and West, Greece has diachronically faced migration challenges by attracting people from Eastern and central Europe, as well as other countries spanning across the Asian and African continents. In 2015 and 2016, Greece had to address additional waves of migrants/refugees. Given the refugee crisis and the fact that some of international media have attributed the terrorist attacks to the recent refugee “inflows”, it is illuminating to figure out whether and how the domestic media of the country have established any links between these two phenomena.

As explained above, the challenges emanate from the unstable situation in Syria. Greek islands located close to the shores of Turkish territories, like Mytilene and Chios, see daily arrivals of immigrants through Turkey (Yagzan *et al.* 2015: 182). Over one million people travelled through Greece on their way to other European countries in 2015 (Espirova & Laczko 2015). Due to both its status as an EU state and its geographical location, Greece is considered a magnet for both refugees and economic migrants. Although this development has raised the awareness of many people, NGOs and international organizations on the severity of the problem, it has come at a price for the economic performance of the island. Many tourists that do not want to encounter the human tragedy unfolding across the shores of the Aegean, change their destination. This has a serious impact on the tourist industry, on which the economy of the country heavily relies.

The refugee crisis is not the only one that Greece is dealing with. The ongoing financial crisis that the country has been suffering through since 2010 is another factor that makes Greece an interesting context to focus on. The austerity measures introduced by the successive Greek governments have dramatically affected the economy of Greece. Major spending cuts, and tax hikes have led to a rapid shrinking of investment, a reduction in development, and an increase in unemployment and rise of poverty. The measures inflicted upon the citizens in order to pay the loans provided by the EU, as well as the attribution of these measures to demands by European officials, have sparked an increase in Euroscepticism across different segments of the society in the country.

Euroscepticism resonates well with anti-immigration standpoints. This is indicated through the rise of an extreme-right wing party, which has gained foothold in the Greek parliament since 2012: the Golden Dawn. This is a relatively recent development, as Golden Dawn was not even present in the parliamentary elections of 2009. Many people argue attribute its rise and the consolidation of its power in the Greek political establishment to the “twin crises” the country has been facing during the last years: the –refugee and the economic one.- Furthermore, its rise reflects the volatility of the current political situation in the country (Election Results 2016). As we will see in our data, Golden Dawn has been emphasizing the negative aspects of migration by portraying it as direct threat to the State’s sovereignty (Baboulias 2015) and furthers its anti-immigration agenda by explicitly connecting the migration issue with terrorism (Ellinas 2013). It has been reported that Golden Dawn mounts vigilant patrols and carries out savage attacks on immigrants. Thus, it comes as no surprise that Golden Dawn is classified as one of the nine most threatening right-wing political parties in Europe, with an ability to influence public opinion and shape perceptions, and the potential to drastically change the political scene in the country (Elgot 2014). These aspects must also be taken into consideration in order to fully understand the rationale behind choosing Greek media’s portrayal of international terrorist attacks.

Examining the framing of terrorism in the Greek media can expand our understanding of the dynamics between the media, politics, and terrorism in a country with the historical and geographical particularities illustrated above. The primary goal of this thesis is to investigate how the political ideologies driving the writing of Greek newspapers influence the way they report and reflect on terrorist attacks and how their historical background influences the way they communicate these pieces of information. In order to carefully observe how they are clearly demonstrated, we need to examine how they approached the terrorist attacks. It is illuminating to figure out what kind of “political nuances” they have injected into the

analysis and portrayal of the very same events. We argue that the perceptions of terrorism manifested in these three newspapers are shaped by political beliefs, and their dogmas are expressed through a variety of political terms.

Terms like “extreme right-wing”, “extreme left-wing” or “center” are used in our everyday vocabulary when we want to define the political/ideological dispositions of the political parties towards the economy or societal problems. Same applies to newspapers. Nowadays, people have many choices when it comes to information sharing, which allows them to be selectively exposed to particular types of sources and content. Individuals tend to seek information sources that resonate with their pre-existing beliefs and opinions. Thus, readers generally gravitate towards newspapers that support their political ideology (Stroud 2008:341). Many individuals are highly influenced by their political beliefs, and this is why many people are in favor of politically oriented newspapers. The use of symbols, images, phrases, keywords, and stories reveals the ideological context in a news report. The political ideology behind the coverage of an issue is revealed through certain patterns that suggest an intention to guide the reader’s assessment of a political issue. This results in the selective exposure mentioned before. Consequently, the political orientation of the newspapers becomes increasingly apparent.

This research analyzes the digital versions of the three newspapers: *Golden Dawn* is an extreme right-wing paper, while *Rizospastis* is fundamentally a left-wing paper, namely the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). *Kathimerini* has traditionally been a right-wing paper but it considered to have recently moved to the center of the political spectrum. These newspapers publish articles, wherein the ideological preferences they represent are demonstrated. All the research of this investigation is being assembled based on the content and its findings of these newspaper’s online forms. Through an examination of the content of the newspapers, we assume that framing styles are distinguishable based on the political leanings of each media outlet. Key statements in the articles published by the three newspapers show that there is a deliberate use of certain words, aimed to elicit feelings and generate impressions within groups of people sharing common ideological beliefs. Strong language is used by all of the newspapers to emphasize a political message with the power to shape perceptions of their targeted audience. The particular mechanisms used to put forward a political message through the reporting of terrorist acts, and the extent to which these are used, are the focus of the current work.

Newspapers inform their readers about events occurring in both the international and local community. There are endless ways of getting informed nowadays, but the most traditional mass media infrastructure is the newspaper (Blumler & Kavanagh 1999: 233). Modern technological developments can change and deconstruct the traditional notions of information-sharing and politics. Information-sharing is changing drastically, and the traditional printed forms of newspapers have been replaced to a large degree with their online forms. The three newspapers of interest in this study have been the mouthpieces of three different Greek political parties, are deemed servants of a wider political ideology and they possess web versions with a digital chronicle of their weekly and daily publishing.

Nowadays, people have many choices when it comes to information sharing, which allows them to be selectively exposed to particular types of sources and content. Individuals tend to seek information sources that reflect their pre-existing beliefs and opinions. Thus, readers generally gravitate towards newspapers that support their political ideology (Stroud 2008:341). Many individuals are highly influenced by their political beliefs, and this is why many people are in favor of politically oriented newspapers.

The three main political orientations that are represented by the mainstream media in Greece are “right-wing”, “left-wing”, and “centrist”. Broadly, “right-wing” can be defined as “conservative (...) traditionalist, conventional, unprogressive” (Right-Wing 2012). Another definition of the right wing is: “Right wing is the conservative (...) section” in a political system. (Right-Wing, 2001). The political term widely used to describe a more reformist ideology is “left-wing”. Left-wing can be defined as “socialist, communist, leftist, anti-capitalist, Labour, Marxist–Leninist, Bolshevik, Trotskyite, Maoist; *informal* commie, lefty, red, pink” (Left-Wing 2012). “Centrism” describes a political ideology characterized by the tendency to remain politically neutral, without supporting either of the two right- or left-wing extremes. Centrism is defined as the “promotion of moderate policies by finding a middle ground between right and left wing” (Centrism 2008).

It is important to demonstrate how the political color of the newspapers is reflected in their articles. The great influence on the public that the press can offer political parties motivates media authorities to become politicized (Stroud 2008:341). This section aims to illustrate what is considered conservative, leftist, or centrist when describing a newspaper. The political orientation of newspapers (and other types of media) is evident in their content. There are certain guidelines for the categorization of the political identity of different media outlets. For example, a newspaper is considered to be conservative and right-wing when it devotes more column inches to scandals associated with the leftists than to right-wingers

(Puglisi2011: 3). Puglisi defines a newspaper as leftist if throughout a presidential campaign, it dedicates more interest to topics that promote the leftist party, with minimal reporting of leftist problems (Puglisi 2011: 12). What is important for a left-wing newspaper might be neglected by a right-wing publication, and similarly, what is crucial for the right-wing may be ignored by a left-wing source. Depending on the political colour of a particular newspaper, the extent and ways of covering both local and international news varies.

The way newspapers report issues and events is grounded in politics and the drive for profit through the directed information of the public (Mullainathan & Shleifer 2008: 1). This results in the selective exposure mentioned before. In-depth knowledge of the current political spectrum in the region and of the political ideologies of the right wing, left wing, and centre of this political spectrum is important in fully understanding the dynamics between political parties and views, as well as the ways these groups advance their opinions and agendas through the media. There is a clear division between the three fundamental political ideologies, far-right, far-left and centrist in the content of newspapers. The three newspapers analyzed here represent each of these three ideologies. There is a continuous battle between the supporters of each ideology, and the press plays a determinative role in shaping the beliefs of the readers who are influenced by the articles they read. It can be said that the framing styles of the right, the left, and the center are clearly visible in the content of these three newspapers.

Greek newspapers driven by the political ideologies were extremely interesting as a topic for research. Greece seemed the right choice for my case since I am a native speaker of the Greek language and that gives me the ability to understand fully the interpretations of each word used by the newspapers. The information that I compared in data collection is mainly in Greek and that gave me the ability to recognize the significance of even the minor words that have a deep understanding in the relevant documents about the attacks. It was an easy task to access the online newspapers since they were available and open for public use. Additionally, I could analyze the data that are accessible online without having the need to interview journalists or political actors.

Furthermore, my bachelor in political science has provided me with these tools that enabled to identify how political ideologies manifest themselves through the coverage of societal events. The contrasting ideologies represented by these newspapers constitute the crux of this thesis, since the aim is to determine how political beliefs influence the framing of terrorism. The portrayal of events does not happen in a vacuum. The narratives, causal stories, and the symbols used to describe a situation are unfolded within a specific ideological

and historical context. Establishing causal inferences between these narratives, symbols and the ideas and historical experiences attached to them is the main enterprise that this work intends to embark upon. This research aims to demonstrate that modern newspapers, in a country with a high level of respect for freedom of speech, have the unchecked power to drive public opinion in a way that serves particular interests. Perceptions of terrorism depend on the particular definition of what constitutes a terrorist attacks and who is to blame for it, and these notions play an essential role in how newspapers report terrorist attacks.

CHAPTER 2: The societal relevance of media framing

This chapter provides some background on the media's framing of terrorism and its relevance to the attacks in Paris and Brussels in 2015 and 2016, as well as the links between media framing and terrorism in the Greek context. This chapter, after stressing the importance of media framing in the event of terrorist attacks, introduces the three different newspapers which form the basis of this study and which represent three different ideologies. These newspapers are all assumed to be driven by the political beliefs of their authors and editors. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the ideological differences between them, as these determine the “political color” with which they paint terrorism. This chapter is about media framing and the newspapers that are analyzed in the thesis.

2.1 The media's framing of terrorism

The framing of terrorism in the media is an important field of inquiry, as the reporting of these acts influences the way people react to the threat. There are many frameworks assessing the effectiveness of the media in influencing the public. One such framework emphasizes that the relationship among political actors, the public, and the media is one of interdependence. Policy makers “use” the media to promote certain goals, the public “uses” the media to get informed, and the media “uses” the latter by drawing its attention to certain things in order to gain profit (Bilgen2012). Thus, both the media and terrorist acts share a common goal: publicity.

To gain a better understanding of this interaction, we must first consider the influence that newspapers exert on the public. Media all over the world report on terrorist acts and contribute to its prominent position on the political agenda. Terrorism and the images it produces attract public attention, and the media is aware of this. Importantly, gaining the public's attention is one the main objectives of terrorism as well. It is no secret that terrorists aim to gain as much publicity as possible in order to further their objectives (Wilkinson 1997 :53). If we assume that the objective of a terrorist attack is to send a message of fear, then in order to get its message across, it has to fulfil two criteria: it has to be violent and well communicated (Seib and Janbek 2011). The intensity of the attacks is intentionally used not only to hurt people, but also as a mechanism to attract publicity and ensure that the voices of the perpetrators are heard (Wilkinson 1997: 56).

It comes as no surprise then, that ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) chose targets such as a concert at a famous theatre, the head offices of a widely-known magazine, and the busiest airport of a capital city. The attacks were guaranteed to make the headlines of every social newsfeed, appear in all forms of digital and printed media, and establish a feeling of terror in our consciousness. The choice of targets demonstrates that the perpetrators seek out publicity in the media. They are clearly aware of the enormous impact these attacks can have worldwide. When the media evoke images of fear in order to cover these events, this helps the terrorists accomplish their ultimate goal, which is the spread of fear throughout their target area.

Having established the interplay between the media and terrorism, we need to delve a bit deeper and examine how terrorism is actually framed by the media. It is unquestionable that media audiences seem curious to learn more about terrorist acts. The media understands

the public's need to remain informed, and digs deep into the details of the attacks in order to give the audience what it wants (Bilgen 2012). However, the unbiased reporting of facts is quite a rare phenomenon. Given the ambiguity and uncertainty attached to these terrorist attacks, the audience has to use its own "interpretive lenses" to inflict a meaning on them. These lenses are, somehow, offered by the media.

When reporting on terrorism, the media uses phrases, logos, symbols, and certain keywords in order to capture the imagination of the public. More importantly, mass media can direct the public's attention in certain directions by constantly creating images, feelings, and perceptions (McCombs & Shaw 1972: 177). As previously mentioned, these images and phrases are not neutral. They are not detached from the ideological leanings of the public that particular media outlets are appealing to. By reporting on terrorist attacks and evoking these images, they also convey a message that "speaks" to their audience. In order to illustrate how the "operationalization" of the ideological beliefs" unfold in the political-ideology driven articles we embark upon framing theory. Framing theory is used as the skeleton that enables studying the effectiveness of media framing more thoroughly. The Greek newspapers do not form a unique case, since framing and bias in reporting can be found everywhere in the world. The concept of framing theory will be analysed in the following chapter.

2.2 The attacks in Paris and Brussels in the international media

The year 2015 can be considered as the year in which ISIS began its "war" on Europe. The media has been reporting on the attacks it perpetrated by using the aphorism of "Islamic extremism becoming a wistful familiar sight"(Robson 2016). The cases examined in this analysis, the Charlie Hebdo shooting (Paris, January 7th 2015), the Bataclan theatre massacre (Paris, November 13th2015), and the Zaventem Airport attack (Brussels, March 22nd 2016) are all indications of this focus on spreading terror in the Western world. Moreover, these events share many similarities in regards to crisis communication strategies, as well as the amount of publicity they gained. In addition, the Islamic State claimed responsibility for all three of these attacks that greatly shocked the world and resulted in a wave of anger against ISIS and terrorism among the European community (*Times of Israel Staff*2015). The media, the main source of information for the public, stressed the need for the people to remain united against the terrorism of the Islamic State, and generated support and compassion for the people who were wounded or killed in the attacks. The message that the media wanted to

convey with respect to the attacks was one of unity in standing by the French and the Belgian citizens.

In order to demonstrate how ideological beliefs shape their reflections on terrorist attacks, we have to resort to the empirical evidence as manifested through the framing of the international media. Detailed research conducted by Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008) compared the framing of terrorism by newspapers by examining articles in four well-known newspapers in the U.S. and Britain. The content analysis demonstrated that differences in culture and political objectives resulted in the identification of diverse policy directions and practices in different fields (Papacharissi&Oliveira 2008: 69).

The framing used by the newspapers in the U.S. and Britain show some similarities and common patterns however. Two striking notions which appears in the majority of the press in both countries were the emphasis on terrorism as a barbarian form of opposition against freedom and democracy, and the equating of Muslims with terrorists. Through these two images, the media of both superpowers seem to enhance racism against Muslims and Islam, strengthening divisions and negative feelings between the East and the West. Reporting on terrorism emphasizes opposition the East by using powerful language that has the capacity to drive public perception.

Powell explains the pattern in the reporting of terrorist attacks by the American media (Powell 2011:106). This following flowchart clearly shows that terrorist attacks can take on different dimensions depending on how they are presented by the media (Figure 1). Based on this chart, when a terrorist event occurs, it is labeled as terrorism. Following that, Powell explains that the victims are honored as heroes. However, there are two potential scenarios that depend on the religion of the terrorist. If the terrorist is identified as Muslim then his act is immediately being connected to the Islamic-American war and strengthens the fear of Americans against Islam. On the other hand, when the terrorist is not a Muslim then the terrorist attack does not get any specific political substance and it is announced as an unidentified act that needs to be examined.



Figure 1. Flowchart of blame-placing after a terrorist attack according to media

Religion also plays a vital role in this aspect of policy making and plays a crucial role in shaping how we see “others” in relation to our own national identity, traditions, and values. The framing of terrorism by the Western media not only demonstrates a feeling of superiority in relation the East, but it also intensifies feelings of racism and xenophobia and increases opposition to the unfamiliar. When there is a lack of balance in the distribution of power between countries, then it is typical to assume that there is a connection between culture and power. As long as two powers have clear differences in economic, military, and ideological domains, they cannot establish a balanced relationship between them (Hafez 2000: 69). As a result, the equating of the Muslim world with terrorists can further the interests of European and international partners by unifying the public against the people of the East in order to achieve their own political objectives.

2.3 The concept of Orientalism

The meanings stemming out from these articles leads to the identification of a notion that will be used in our analysis: “Orientalism”. The concept of Orientalism was introduced by Edward Said as “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and most of the time ‘the Occident’ (1987: 2). Today, it is used by a large number of scholars to describe the representation of Islam as a threatening power. Orientalism refers to the portrayal of Islam and Muslims as “others” with different views and morals, with a different religion and a different set of beliefs (Rane, Ewart&Martinkus 2014: 8). In the Orientalist view, Western civilizations are considered to be more developed and are seen as having a greater respect for human rights, providing justification for Western governance and control over others.

The impressions put forward by the Western media when reporting on terrorist acts are tinged with Orientalism and generate a negative climate against Islamists and Muslims. The Western media has promoted the belief that if someone is Muslim, he or she is also a terrorist, and constantly reinforcing this stereotype strengthens the distinction between “us” and “the other”. The fact that someone has a darker skin color, a “weird name” that sounds eastern, or speaks with an eastern accent, automatically confers upon him or her, the title of Muslim (Powell2011:97), and thus the label of terrorist. The fear of the unfamiliar and the classification of the foreign as “other” are the hallmarks of Orientalism.

Due to the spread of misinformation about Muslims in the media, Orientalism has gained strength. The Western media does not pay a lot of attention to the viewpoint of the “other” side, and presents their violent actions as isolated from the complex situation leading to those actions. Westerners are not familiar with the problems faced by people in the Muslim world, and there is a minimal representation of Muslim issues in the news. As argued by Morey and Yaqin, omitting any discussion of the hardships faced by people in certain Muslim countries due to the actions of the West, demonstrates this pattern. The two communities are dissociated, establishing feelings of fear against Muslims (2011:21). The reporting of terrorist events shows that there is no true representation of Muslim issues in the news.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the media's framing of terrorism, and in particular the international media reactions to the Brussels and Paris attacks in terms of framing. Chapter 2 also explored how the framing of terrorism in Greece is linked to geographical, economic, and historical factors, and introduced to the reader the concept of Orientalism. The following chapter provides an overview of the academic work that has been undertaken with regard to both media framing and terrorism.

CHAPTER 3: Literature Review

The primary objective of this chapter is to provide an overview of the existing literature about media framing in order to construct definitions of the concepts involved. In order to understand the relationship between media framing and terrorism, the general concept of framing (and that of media framing in particular) must be defined. This second chapter begins by exploring the concept of biases, and in particular optimistic and pessimistic bias. The various definitions and interpretations of framing, frames, and framing effects are then presented, as well as a summary of framing theory. Having explored these concepts and theory, the connection between terrorism, politics, and media framing is then discussed.

3.1 Biases in reporting

Bias can be defined as an “inclination or prejudice for or against one person or group, especially in a way considered to be unfair” (Oxford dictionary 2017). Biases have the power to influence our perceptions of a variety of things, and they can be found everywhere in daily life. The word *bias* has connotations of prejudice, discrimination, and unfairness. Unfairness in the media is reinforced by consumers’ preferences for confirmatory information. They therefore choose to take in information that matches their pre-existing views and confirms their expectations. Bias does not only appear in the words we use or in the words we prefer to hear however. Bias also exists in the selection of facts to be presented. Some events attract widespread attention, while others remain in obscurity, and certain aspects of any event are emphasized, while others are ignored. The selection of facts is as important as the words that are used to describe a particular event. Biased behavior aims to show only one side of a coin as a way of promoting a particular point of view.

3.2 Optimistic and pessimistic bias

Two major types of bias are pessimistic and optimistic bias. A biased belief about something that happens or may happen in someone’s life is related to the prediction of those events as likely or unlikely to occur. Optimistic and pessimistic biases play a crucial role when it comes to the “foresight of critical events in our life, whether they are positive or negative” (Chang, Asakawa, & Sanna2001: 476), and both are linked to the way a receiver perceives an event. Research has demonstrated that Westerners are less likely to express depressive-pessimistic moods, and thus tend to demonstrate an optimistic bias, in contrast to Easterners who, due to cultural differences, tend to focus more on pessimistic beliefs (Chang, Asakawa, & Sanna2001: 479).

Optimistic bias can be explained as the belief that an individual is less likely to get a disease or experience some forms of catastrophe than others (Weinstein1989: 1232). Westerners tend to have an optimistic bias when it comes to their perception of personal risk. They believe that they are less likely to be harmed in the event of a natural or manmade disaster (Chang, Asakawa, & Sanna2001: 479). Optimistic biases are closely linked to

feelings of success, as cultivated by positivity, however they mask risks and can give an individual a false sense of security. “Optimistic biases are linked to well-being and they are related to self-esteem and control” (Cummins&Nistico 2002: 37). Pessimistic bias, as defined by Chang, Asakawa, and Sanna (2001: 476), is the belief that “positive events are more likely to occur to others than to oneself.” Caplan has provided another definition of pessimistic bias as it applies to economics: “pessimistic bias can be defined as a tendency to overestimate the severity of economic problems and underestimate the recent past, present, and future performance of the economy” (Hobbs 2014: 16).

Media reporting may carry positive or negative biases when portraying an event, and our beliefs about the nature of events and the world itself are molded by these biases. Bias is one of the most common and subtle tools that can be found in media reporting, and is a mechanism that unconsciously shapes our beliefs. Politicians also make use of these biases in order to influence their supporters and polarize their audience. However, different political groups deal with different biases, creating different frames (Butler 2014: 120). Consequently, media framing of terrorism can be analyzed within the concept of bias.

3.3 Establishing framing theory

Attempts to define the concept of “frames” have evoked too much disagreement among scholars, leading to various definitions being used. For instance, the School of Journalism and Communication offers the following definition: “frames are abstract notions that serve to organize or structure social meanings” (Value Based Management, 2016). In contrast, for Sweetser and Fauconnier (1996), frames are designed understandings of how the world works. Thus, frames can also be considered as mechanisms that help the public identify a topic and understand it in more detail (Goffman 1974: 21). Gamson and Modigliani characterize frames as “a central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events” (1987: 143). What is essential in a frame, particularly in the context of the media, is the meaning given to an issue, rather than the issue itself, since this meaning can establish the social connotations of a public matter.

In order to understand what framing is, we also have to grasp the utility of a frame. Frames are set up in the news in order to arrange what issues have to be taken into consideration, which topics demand the most attention, and which arguments need to be

promoted extensively in order to spread a particular message. When portraying an event, media operators utilize frames as a way of spreading a message or to intensify the public's focus on a certain issue. "A mixture of different dimensions about an event can influence a person's view of that event by establishing "frames in the thought" of the individual" (Chong& Druckman2007:104). If framing is occurring, particular linguistic patterns can be observed. The repetition of the same words or phrases indicates that a topic has been framed in a particular way in order to spread a specific message. Nevertheless, framing does not always simply involve the repetition of a word or concept. Framing can also be the exclusion of important details or facts. (Chong& Druckman2007: 106). Describing, selecting, and emphasizing certain aspects of an issue, while at the same time ignoring others, is also considered framing. Framing mechanisms therefore also include over-promoting a topic, selecting words that contain hidden messages, and placing emphasis on certain features of an event or issue, while ignoring others.

According to Paul D'Angelo (2012), three crucial factors determine how frames function. The first involves the frames put in place in news reports when they are produced. The second involves the particular beliefs the person creating the frames aims to establish, and the third factor is the mindset of, and interpretation by, the recipient (D'Angelo 2012: 356). Whether extensive series of acts are presented to substantiate the claims that are made is of lesser importance. Thus, framing refers to the way an issue is shaped by the means of communication, rather than how deeply the topic is explored (Davie2010). Druckman (2001: 1043) highlights the importance of framing by pointing out that frames are able to influence both the general public's opinion about an issue (resulting in a framing effect, discussed below), and the significance of having guided perceptions and considerations generated.

Framing is a word that can have multiple meanings, and it has been analyzed and explained by many scholars. Quoting Entman, framing is choosing "some aspects of a perceived reality [...] in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation" (1993: 53). Similarly, Capella and Jamieson offer a definition which states "that framing constitutes the way a story is displayed"(1997: 39).An alternative definition of framing is provided by Cacciatore, Scheufele, and Iyengar (2016), who developed a psychological definition of framing. According to these scholars, framing concerns the variety of combinations a given piece of information can be presented to audiences, rather than differences in what is being communicated (Cacciatore, Scheufele& Iyengar 2016: 10). Nelson and Oxley characterize

framing as an extraordinary, unique concept because of a “differentiation between the content of the opinion and the significance of the opinion”(1999: 1041).The definitions of framing are thus diverse. Framing has been a highly disputed topic among scholars, and no consensus has been reached on its exact definition. Scholars do agree on several characteristics of the framing process however. It is generally accepted that framing emphasizes a particular event and superimposes it on another topic with a profound meaning, with the aim of achieving a certain goal. In framing, the recipient does not usually immediately know whether the person who does the framing is acting in good faith and/or is aware of the impact that he has on the recipient’s subconscious.

The concept of “frames” and “framing” are considered together in a particular theory: framing theory. Framing theory argues that the way a particular topic is presented to an audience (i.e., viewers, readers, or listeners) has an impact on the choices that these people will make. Their actions will change, based on how they perceive the topic and how they have processed the information given to them. Framing theory is therefore important in the fields of politics and agenda setting. Framing theory, as first introduced by Tversky and Kahneman (1973), proposes that framing can affect judgments, priorities, and choices. Moreover, it presupposes that one topic can be viewed from a large number of angles and perspectives while generating opinions about a variety of principles and public values (Chong&Druckman2007 :104). People make different choices depending on the particular frame they are exposed to (Goffman1974). Consequently, framing can be considered an approach, aiming to affect the judgment of the receiver.

As stated in a book by Fairhurst and Saar (1996:1), which scholars consider a handbook of framing, there are a few important things to consider for the successful framing of a message. The first of these is the need to use “correct language”, or words that serve a specific purpose, when trying to spread a message. This technique is relatively obvious, since certain words can reveal a hidden goal. Language is a tool we use to process the multitude of information that we receive. Moreover, it has the power to alter the way we perceive situations. The second technique is the creation of purposeful thoughts and reflections on reality, which is an essential element of framing. People should think critically when they are confronted with interpretive frameworks. The second technique is not as obvious as the first, since it involves reflecting on an inner configuration at a conscious level. This seems counter-intuitive, as a successful framing should manipulate the recipient, meaning they have not reflected consciously on the frame they are presented with. Finally, yet importantly, the use

of forethought, or actions taken in order to transmit to the audience that you are in an open communication with them, is another crucial aspect of successful framing. Although, this three-pronged framework is used mainly by politicians, the mass media also employs it as a way of influencing the public and having an impact on the world.

3.4 Media framing

Media framing has the power to shape people's perceptions of events across the globe (Norris& Just 2003: 1). It can be explained as "an emphasis on the relationship among public policies as covered in the news and public perceptions about these issues" (Semetko&Valkenburg2000:1). There are many different but similar definitions of what constitutes media framing, as it has been explored by many scholars throughout the years, creating a wave of conceptualizations about the topic. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000:1), scholars generally agree on a set of characteristics for media framing, despite many approaching the concept from different angles. One commonality is the belief that the use of media framing can have a colossal influence on public perceptions. Another point on which scholars agree is that the attempts to define framing by the media are marked by theoretical and empirical ambiguity (Scheufele1999:103). The definitions of framing overlap, and the vagueness of the term leaves room for doubt. For the purposes of this research, media framing is defined as a process through which a form of communication such as the news shapes people's perceptions of a political issue or a public debate.

The media has the power to form opinions and beliefs by portraying a certain version of reality as fact. Therefore, media framing can be viewed as the process by which those in decision-making positions in the media shape the public's perception of events and issues by organizing and presenting them in particular ways. Media framing is important because it has the unique ability to enhance the effectiveness of a message simply by altering the "image" of the information. Frames are all over the news, and we may not realize that they exist or the level at which their force is exerted on us, but nonetheless, they shape our beliefs and opinions. Consequently, the media's framing of events is a crucial aspect of information-sharing, and the selection of the events that are framed depends on the hierarchy of preferences of the particular media outlet in question. Political, economic, ethical, and social factors all play a role in the taxonomy of media reporting.

3.5 Shaping political ideas through media framing

Framing in politics can be defined as the wider process connecting the governmental authorities, politicians, and other influential leaders to the citizens through the use of mass media (Chong&Druckman 2007: 104). Frames are extremely important in influencing public opinion and pushing political agendas, and it has been demonstrated that the framing of political events can configure the public's perceptions of policy issues and institutions. It is therefore important to understand whether there is a hidden political agenda behind media reports on certain issues. A frame has the power to build a clear coding pattern that, with repetition, has the power to guide our thoughts in a certain direction. Media frames can therefore enhance the perception of strength, a political meaning, or the civic importance of an issue or event (Eagly&Chaiken 1993: 330).

Political actors and government officials create frames around certain issues based on their personal interests, which can be radically different from the public's interests (Coombs&Holladay 2011: 2). Politicians tend to frame facts in a highly biased way, aiming to attract more supporters by strongly appealing to their values, opinions, and/or emotions. The coverage of political issues by the media is a powerful tool for policy making because it enables the creation of cognitive patterns that the audience uses to assess other aspects of the political scene (Domke, Shah, &Wackman1998: 52). Furthermore, public values, national priorities, and policies change according to the news and the framing that they are subject to. Politicians need publicity to reach their objectives, and without the effectiveness of media communication, they are incapable of influencing the people on a large scale (Ryan2004:364). They therefore utilize the power afforded to them by the press to ensure it furthers their cause. Successful leaders have the skill to spot opportunities to use framing. Leaders should plan their actions in such a way as to be able to take advantage of opportunities that arise, and to plan carefully in order to act resolutely when they appear. This creates the feeling that a leader has his or her finger on the pulse of the world, and is able to respond to the people's needs. Although this practice is mainly performed by politicians, the mass media also uses it as a way to influence the public and have an impact in the world.

3.6 Media framing, terrorism, and politics

Terrorism is intensely reported by the media. Because of the public's unwavering interest in this topic, the framing of terrorism has the ability to greatly influence audiences. Moreover, this interest serves terrorists' objectives by further increasing the publicity surrounding their actions, which at the same time boosts media popularity (Archetti 2012: 2). Creating, reshaping, or altering terrorism through the way it is reported in the news can become a very useful tool for policymakers, because thousands of people can be influenced at the same time.

The messages that terrorists wish to spread present no inherent benefit to media outlets and therefore, disseminating these will not serve any purpose (Louw 2005: 248). Violence is therefore used by both the terrorists and the media to push very different political messages. It can be said that generally, the media's framing of terrorism touches upon more aspects of our daily lives than terrorism itself, and it can have a huge impact on the consciousness of the public by increasing feelings of fear.

The communication of terrorism involves a lot of symbolism, and the language used to describe terrorist acts by the media are the highlight of the acts themselves. Terrorists select targets that guarantee a maximum of press coverage - targets that symbolically represent the values of a society, and the destruction of which has a significant impact. By targeting places where violence is most likely to shock the public, their mission of publicity has a higher chance of being accomplished (Weimann & Winn 1994). Symbolism is the focal point of every terrorist attack, and these can be considered successful only when the terrorists' goal of political communication has been advanced (Louw 2005: 242). The media's framing of terrorist attacks is carefully sculpted to sympathize with those who suffer (Robinson 2000: 6). Terrorists aim to spread messages to the public by communicating their actions, and the media, in pursuing its own goals, does exactly what the terrorists want.

In modern times, media framing and terrorism are intimately intertwined. The impressions that consumers form of terrorists and their motivations depends on the symbolism used by the media, and this framing is determined by the perspective of the particular media outlet. However, there is a dearth of scholarly attention to the penetration of political ideologies in the media's framing of terrorism. The media is not one homogeneous entity, so the internal battles over the political connotations of an act regularly play out on the pages of various news media. The symbiosis between the free press and liberal democracy stems from the fight against feudal despotism back in the sixteenth century (Held, 2006: 153).

At that time, the media's role was to ensure that there was a massive flow of information, in order to create an educated citizenry. The evolution of the media led politicians to discover new practices in order to keep in step with the times and be able to more efficiently conduct their political affairs.

It is important to note that the media's framing of terrorism has implications in the policy-making process as well. Due to the images and the language used, it can become a very useful tool in policy making, and can help set particular agendas (McCombs 1978). Politicians seek to frame terrorism in a particular way in order to push their political agenda. Notions such as human safety and security are a primary concern for politicians who wish to mobilize popular support. As Louw (2005: 50) states: "terrorism is a way of putting counter-hegemonic meanings onto the political agenda." Governments utilize media in such a way as to inform and educate people about the threat of terrorism in ways that serve their own purposes. The framing of terrorism is used as a political strategy to introduce new policies and strengthen certain existing ones. Terrorism is a consequence of political conflicts in which victims are the civilians of a particular country. Therefore, it should be dealt with as a threat to the nation. Media framing can be used with a strategic goal, as a way for political parties or governments to align their messages with public opinion. A common tactic used by leaders and political communicators is to come up with a storyline in order to explain what happened, why it happened, who is to blame, who is in charge, and what should be done (Boin et al, 2017). Thus, through media framing the facts are not presented in an objective way, but rather, they convey a political message.

There is no doubt that media outlets determine the daily distribution of attention to various topics. Journalists, producers, and editors choose topics based on their personal profit (or that of their organization). Politicians constitute a major source of information, which has led to the establishment of an institutionalized journalist-politician relationship (Louw 2005:85). This leads to the use of the media for agenda setting. According to Robert Entman (1993), it is likely that although journalists will follow the regulations and objectives of ethical journalism, they can still create a dominant frame that prevents the audience from being able to comprehensively assess important issues and events. This explains why some events captivate the attention of the media, while others, which may be more important or equally crucial, generate less publicity.

The media's framing of terrorism is a highly dubious practice. It is unclear whether it works as a deterrent, driving people away from terrorist practices, or whether it actually aids terrorist efforts by stimulating and spreading terrorist thoughts and methods. This raises

questions such as: Should the media be prevented from being used by terrorists to publicize their messages? The press can at the same time be considered a friend and a fighter of terrorism, because although it should decrease the power of terrorists by showing the public their most violent acts, the terrorists gain power from this exposure as it spreads their motivations to a wider audience.

Media framing theory, as proposed by a variety of scholars, argues that there is a symbiotic relationship between media framing and terrorism (see Figure 2). The media benefits from terrorism by the audience boost it provides. Terrorists benefit from the coverage provided by the media, as it publicizes their acts and spreads their messages (Wieviorka 1993; Wilkinson 1997; Louw 2005; Peresin 2007; Bilgen 2012; Camphuijsen&Vissers 2012).

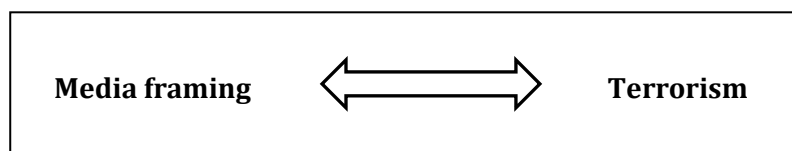


Figure 2. Graphical representation of the symbiotic relationship between media framing and terrorism

I propose, however, that another major factor is at play in this relationship, a factor whose contribution has been neglected by scholars, but which in fact has the power to control the relationship between media framing and terrorism. This third factor is the political ideology of particular media outlets, which shapes the way terrorism is framed. The current research therefore emphasizes that the nature of the relationship between terrorism and media framing is in fact a triangular one (see Figure 3).

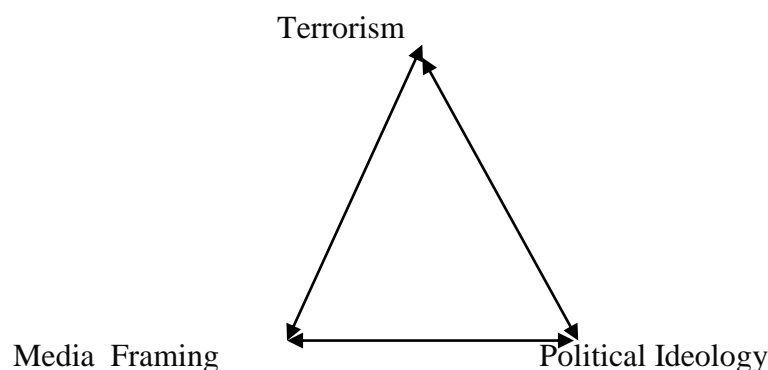


Figure 3. Graphical representation of the triangular relationship between media framing, terrorism, and political ideology

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to provide some background on the concepts of frames, framing, , and media framing in particular, as well as its links to politics and terrorism. Media framing theory, which underpins the current work, was also introduced. It was argued that different frames are put in to play depending on the particular political agenda being promoted. Both politicians and terrorists benefit from media exposure and the media itself benefits from providing this exposure by potentially boosting their audience. Particular political ideologies are promoted through various media outlets, and the massive interest in terrorism results in a triangular relationship between political ideology, media framing, and terrorism. The following chapter describes the methodology used to investigate the dynamics between political ideology, media framing, and terrorism.

CHAPTER 4: Methodology

This work aims to shed light on how the media frames terrorism by answering the specific question: How did the political perspectives of *Golden Dawn*, *Rizospastis* and *Kathimerini* influence the way these Greek newspapers covered the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016). Having provided an overview of the literature in the area of framing theory and how it applies to the media's reporting on terrorism (see Chapter 3), this chapter outlines the conceptual framework and the methodology used here to analyze these three Greek newspapers' reporting of recent terrorist attacks. The fourth chapter contains the conceptual framework and provides in detail the context in which the thesis aims to operate..

4.1 Research Method

The research method used here was a combination of grounded theory and political discourse analysis. Articles referring to the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016) (see section 1.2) were collected from the digital forms of three Greek newspapers, *Golden Dawn*, *Rizospastis*, and *Kathimerini*. The frequency, usage, and meaning of the words employed in the coverage of these events were analysed with regard to the particular political orientation of each newspaper (*Rizospastis* is a left-wing source, *Golden Dawn* is classified as far-right-wing, and *Kathimerini* is considered to have a centrist approach). The collection of articles to be analysed was restricted to those published during a particular time period: from the day each attack occurred (January 7th 2015, November 13th 2015, March 22nd 2016) until March 2017.

In this research, I intend to examine the usage of words and the particular vocabulary which is used by the writers. The vocabulary used to describe the chronicle of the attacks could provide a useful instrument in the development of the research. The articles published about the terrorist attacks were carefully searched for strong language used to convey and spread a particular message and which clearly indicate the political positions of the newspapers. Accordingly, focus will be placed on the articles of the three newspapers which illustrate the terrorist attacks, the nature of the tragedies, the terrorists, the wounded people, as well as the “blame game” played between the relevant actors. To this effect, an analysis of the keywords found in each article was undertaken in order to reveal the mechanisms used to frame terrorism. In the aftermath of the terrorist attacks in Belgium and France, the media coverage in Greece was enormous. Extra emphasis is laid on the articles that clearly demonstrate the political positions of the newspapers. The empirical analysis is based on the keywords and the phrases that can make a strong statement. The uses of words such as capitalism, imperialism etc., which are deeply connected to a political oriented ideology, were examined to identify patterns in terms of consistency in the coverage of the events, as well as the repetition of certain discourses. Broadly speaking, all of the statements that demonstrate the use of strong language to further a political viewpoint were collected and categorized according to their purpose, in order to show how they relate to the newspapers’ political objectives.

4.2 Explanation of the process

More specifically, the methodology used here involved several steps. The initial step was to identify relevant articles in the online forms of each newspaper. Articles were selected based on their relevance to the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels. The newspapers were searched for articles containing keywords such as: terrorist attack, Bataclan, Charlie Hebdo, and Brussels airport. Measuring the frequency of keywords like Imperialism, Europe, West, Muslims, Islam, refugees as well as other keywords that are associated with the right and left wing ideology constitute the basis of the comparison. The process followed here involves a form of grounded theory where the researcher from the preliminary stage of his research forms primary categories that are built up from the data. The categories point towards rudimentary working ideas that the author has in mind while trying to explore the political nuances behind media framing (right-wing, left-wing, centre). Grounded theory entails the clarification, examination, and comparison of statements, leading to a conceptualization of framing in reporting. It is an empirical approach with the aim of understanding empirical data by qualitative study. This involves the selection of articles that clearly demonstrate the framing of terrorism. All articles selected in the first step were examined for words and phrases that demonstrate the infusion of the writer's opinion into the reporting, while these statements are gradually collated into a final dataset. The stake here is to identify patterns in the words and phrases used in these articles in order to form the categories that are closely related to our theoretical background. Tables containing these statements can be found in the analysis as well as in the appendix.

To specify, concepts linked to apolitical ideology guided the selection procedure and dictated how the statements were categorized. More precisely, and based on the methodology of grounded theory, the categorization of statements was based on the connotations of each keyword and/or phrase. Data analysis began immediately after the collection of the articles (Denzin & Lincoln 2000). The classification is based on the different policy objectives evident in the framing employed in the statements. Media framing theory was applied in conjunction with grounded theory to distinguish instances in which the use of particular words matched the objectives of the author, and to identify the reasons behind these uses. The final step was the building of a theory "media framing of terrorism based on political ideologies theory", which highlights the way frames are exploited. In order to safeguard the quintessentially political aspect of the statements the paper embarks upon an additional

methodological mechanism that has been proved instrumental in properly building our framing theory..

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) was used in order to explore how framing theory works in the three Greek newspapers. Political Discourse Analysis was developed by Van Dijk (1997), and is a useful tool in political science research. PDA can be defined as the analysis of political communication from a critical perspective (Fairclough&Fairclough 2013).The core goal of this method is to give answers to political queries, topics of debate, and issues that are discussed on the political scene or occupy the public's interest (Van Dijk1997: 12). This method is used here to compare articles from three newspapers, *Rizopastis*, *Golden Dawn* and *Kathimerini*, which show clear alignment with different points on the Greek political spectrum, in order to shed light on the framing of terrorism by the Greek press by placing their ideological lenses at the forefront..

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the research method used here to examine the framing of terrorism in three Greek newspapers representing different political ideologies. The core goal of this chapter is to provide a conceptual framework. This method includes the explanation for the selection of relevant articles and the classification of statements that demonstrate the framing strategies used by the newspapers. The following chapter will present the results of the analysis for each newspaper and will compare these in order to determine the ways in which the political leanings of these media outlets have coloured their reports of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels.

CHAPTER 5: Data Analysis & Findings

This chapter presents the results of the analysis and identifies patterns and trends that come to light through a comparison of the three newspapers. The data can be found in the appendix which contains tables listing all statements that are analyzed in this study. Through the careful examination of statements that express certain beliefs, the following chapter discusses how the newspapers use language to put forward a particular opinion regarding the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels and evaluates the significance of this for the reader's perception of terrorism.

5.1 Introductory Remarks

As mentioned previously, there is a political spectrum going from left to center to right that is commonly used to classify political ideologies (see Figure 2). On the extreme left end of the spectrum is what is referred to as the “far left”. The views held by those on this end of the spectrum are the least conservative and often the most “progressive.” On the right end of the spectrum is what is referred to as the “far right”. The views at this end are the most conservative, traditional, and are often also the most nationalist. Other political views lie in between, with views at the very center being referred to as “centrist,” a combination of both left and right views.(see Figure 4). Far left-wing ideology is associated with the concept of socialism, a central position is linked to liberalism, and far right ideology is connected to conservatism (Centrism,2008)

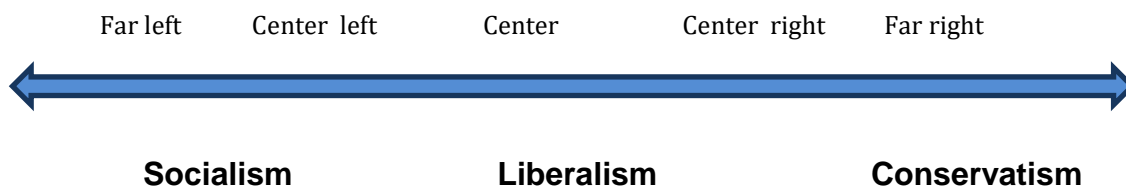


Figure 4.Overview of the political spectrum

This chapter begins the analysis with the far right-wing newspaper, *Golden Dawn*, continues with the far left-wing paper, *Rizospastis*, and concludes with the centrist outlet, *Kathimerini*. The differences in the framing styles between the first two case studies are greater than between these and the centrist paper. These three newspapers are popular sources of information in Greece, and are three of the main representatives of the far-right, far-left, and centrist media outlets in the region. *Golden Dawn* and *Rizospastis* have a reputation for being closely linked to a political ideology, and are more strongly linked to political parties than other newspapers in Greece. As *Golden Dawn* and *Rizospastis* are party newspapers that follow the objectives of the party in their reporting, it is expected that that any biases would be more explicit and obvious in these newspapers.

Kathimerini is politically a more independent newspaper, as it is not financially supported by and not officially affiliated with any party while the journalists of the newspaper hold different ideological backgrounds.

Statements that demonstrate the use of strong language to further a political viewpoint were collected from articles about the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016) published by each newspaper. These were then categorized according to their purpose, in order to show how they relate to the newspapers' political objectives. The following table illustrates numerically the quantity of articles and statements that were used for the purposes of this thesis (Table 1). In total fifty one (51) articles were used. Twenty one (21) articles were selected from Golden Dawn, (12) twelve articles were selected from Rizospastis and eighteen (18) from Kathimerini. More specifically, forty (40) statements were used from Golden Dawn, twenty-four (24) statements were used from Rizospastis and thirty (30) statements were selected from Kathimerini. These articles were restricted to those published from the day each attack occurred (January 7th 2015, November 13th 2015, March 22nd 2016) until March 2017.

Newspaper			
	Golden Dawn	Rizospastis	Kathimerini
Articles Used	21	12	18
Total Number of Articles	51		
Statements Used	40	24	30
Total Number of Statements	94		

Table 1. Number of articles and statements used by the three newspapers (2015-2017)

The period during which the articles were released is not as important as the ‘‘meaning of each word’’. The time period under study begins is from the date of the attack until March 2017, when my analysis of the articles began. After reviewing these articles, the choice of statements followed, in which we picked only the ones that were disclosing an ideologically driven interpretation of the phenomenon or a hidden message. More specifically, the statements that included words that expressed the existence of an ideology in the reporting,

like the word Capitalism or Imperialism, formed the basis of the analysis. I selected a variety of statements that can be found in the tables in the appendix A, B, C. It goes without saying that, many articles that had been examined for the sake of the investigation are not being listed in the appendix because they did not add any findings to the outcome.

5.2 Data analysis

5.2.1 The framing of terrorism in *Golden Dawn*

Golden Dawn is the voice of its namesake, the far right-wing political party in Greece. The results of this analysis show that *Golden Dawn* attempted to frame the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels through the lens of the ideological viewpoint of the party: fierce opposition against communism and globalization and strong engagement of nationalism. As we stated above, of the basic tenets of the party is its strong opposition against illegal immigration, as it changes the ethnic composition of the citizenry. This ideological approach can be unquestionably inserted into the far-right side of the political spectrum.

Unsurprisingly, the newspaper use the terrorist attacks to display their far-right discourses. *Golden Dawn*'s reporting on all three attacks shows similar patterns in framing, and emphasizes the superiority of the Golden Dawn party over others. A list of typical phrases found in *Golden Dawn*'s reporting that show the political interpretation of the events can be found in the Table 2.

In order to highlight the anti-leftist tone that *Golden Dawn* adopted in order to sketch (frame the terrorist attacks) the research presents a table which illustrates the frequency of the words drawn from the anti-leftist, anti-globalization, anti-EU and anti-Islamic vocabulary.

Word	Frequency	Purpose of the bias
Open borders	13	Criticizing the open borders policy (for being responsible for terrorist attacks)
Immigrants- Refugees	19	Blaming the immigrants for the attacks

Golden Dawn	6	Emphasizing the name of the party
Nationalism – Far right wing ideology	9	Superiority of Nationalism/ far-right ideology
Leftists	11	Ironically used to mock the left-wingers
Hypocrisy	4	Dynamic characterization of European leaders and their policies
Europe , West	14	Against the European Union & it's policies. The term is used to express antipathy for the situation.
Muslims	5	Condemns an entire religion as being at the core of terrorism
Globalization	2	Criticizing the mixing of nations for diluting national unity
Islam	15	Anti-Islamic tone
Islamophobia	1	Used ironically

Table 2. Frequency of biased words in *Golden Dawn*'s reporting on the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016)

The party disagrees politically with European leaders about the effectiveness of the Union's policies regarding safety mechanisms (against terrorism and illegal immigration). These contestations against terrorism are spread throughout the reporting of all three cases. The word "hypocrisy" can be found four times in the reporting, and it is used to characterize the European leaders. *Golden Dawn* also names European leaders as the real perpetrators of the carnage, as these leaders proved incapable of protecting their populations. For instance, there is a pattern in characterizing the European leaders as hypocrites who are responsible for the attacks because their actions led to the wave of anger that resulted in the attacks: "Parisian people and politicians from across Europe were involved in this protest. And here, at the end of the preceding sentence, the hypocrisy ruins the entire message that French people want to spread in all directions" (The democracy of exclusions, 2015); "The responsibility for the terrorist attacks belongs to the European socio-liberal and neo-Marxist politicians..." (2016-The year of Islamic terrorism, 2017). Similarly, the following statement clearly shows this belief held by the far right: "Those in France who whine today have their hands stained with the blood of innocent children in Syria, Iraq, Libya, etc. ..." (Socialist Hollande, 2015). One of the strongest statements that confirms this belief is the following: "The socialist Hollande has already stained his hands with the blood of innocent citizens from Eastern regions. Now his hands are also stained with the blood of his countrymen. Now that these same terrorists kill French citizens, he should stop the hypocritical lamentations and protests" (Socialist Hollande, 2015).

Golden Dawn mentions the word "globalization" as the root cause of the terrorist attacks: "Europe is once again paying for the globalization policy they have been following for the past decades, and which is now trying to change Greece into something else." (Islamic Terrorism, 2016). Another example of *Golden Dawn's* anti-globalization stance, can be found in its reporting on the attacks in Brussels, in which globalization is seen as nothing more than strident propaganda of the West: "Nationalism will lead to security, and despite the strong propaganda of Western globalization, our people will eventually realize this" (Apocalyptic research, 2016). As can be seen in this statement published in an article about the Brussels Airport bombing, tragedies are utilised as effective tools in the promotion of its anti-EU stance: "The alarm level is very low in countries that in the beginning of the so-called "refugee crisis" chose to ignore the EU and close their borders, electing patriotic prime ministers to defend their national interests" (Apocalyptic research, 2016). By discussing European policies in such a manner when covering these fatal attacks, *Golden Dawn* clearly

shows that it is politically against the idea of implementing standard European policies on the national scale.

The newspaper of Golden Dawn stresses its “visionary” over the other political parties, and the need for nationalism to. *Golden Dawn* asserts that it has continuously warned the public about the potential for attacks, presenting itself as a prophet who can predict the future. As mentioned in the reporting for the Charlie Hebdo attack: “Only the so-called “extreme right-wing” parties had warned of this risk that all of Europe is facing” (The democracy exclusions, 2015). The same discourse is adopted by the newspaper in its reports of the bombing in Brussels: “The truth spoken by Golden Dawn, our warnings that the Islamist terrorists passing undisturbed through the perforated Greek borders are also responsible for deadly new attacks in Brussels, have been solemnly confirmed!” (Another tragic confirmation, 2016). As evidenced in the coverage of the Charlie Hebdo massacre, the assertion of the dominance of the far right over other ideologies is apparent: “...Watching the updates on the Paris events, I think that it is logical and expected for the Nationalists to ultimately be vindicated” (Charlie and the Charlatans, 2015); “Golden Dawn is beyond the Left and the Right, and calls upon all Greeks to join the struggle for a free and powerful Greece, with national dignity and social justice” (Charlie and the Charlatans, 2015). In *Golden Dawn*’s reporting on the Brussels attacks, there is a more thoughtful statement which focuses on the reign of nationalism: “...again nationalism will lead to security” (Apocalyptic research, 2016). *Golden Dawn* framed the terrorist attacks in a way that benefits the party’s objectives by persuading the readers of the dominance of far-right ideology.

Golden Dawn aims to advocate the idea that the only solution to the problem of terrorism is the closing of the borders. The word “borders” (or in most cases “open borders”) is used very frequently in the reporting (13 times), which lays emphasis on the links between the migration policies followed and the terrorist attacks. Their position is that by reinstating the borders between Greece and the rest of Europe, the terrorists, “disguised as refugees”, will not be able to enter the country or travel through Greece to other European destinations in order to carry out further attacks. The newspaper’s approach opposes presence of refugees in Greece because they believe they are encompassed in the core of terrorism. An example of the promotion of this policy can be found in this statement published during the coverage of the Charlie Hebdo attack: “There is much in common between the events in Greece and the citizenship policy espoused by the government. The performance of illegal migrants clearly shows that the policy of leftists –rightists gave residence permits to everyone” (Few weeks after, 2015). Additionally, *Golden Dawn*’s reporting of the Bataclan attack includes a similar

statement: “Recall the first time *Golden Dawn* highlighted the danger of uncontrolled illegal immigration and emphasized that within the flows of illegal immigration there are certainly terrorists and criminals hiding” (Dutch counterterrorism agency, 2016). It goes on to state: “The essentially non-existent border surveillance, a result of the obsessions that multiculturalism imposes on official governmental policy, contributes greatly to our country becoming a magnet for countless illegal immigrants, among which jihadists are certainly included” (New arrest, 2016).

Through these statements, *Golden Dawn* frames terrorism while generously providing the solution to this problem which seems to plague Europe. Likewise is the framing of airport bombing: “...open borders for all, with countless Muslim intruders and Islamic terrorists, Europe will continue to count casualties and lament...” (Jihadists threaten Europe, 2016). “War escalates with the uncontrollable illegal immigration and the anti-racist obsession. The only solution is the return of all illegal immigrants to their countries of origin, and the guarding of the borders of our country” (New jihadist waves, 2016). *Golden Dawn* thus utilized the three terrorist attacks to criticize the government for inadequate border control resulting in illegal immigration, which according to the paper’s political stance, is the cause of terrorism. The promotion of an anti-migration policy is apparent with the characterization of the “open borders” policy as unsuccessful and with fatal consequences.

In what appears to be an attempt to spread the idea that the attacks were committed by Muslims and Islamists, *Golden Dawn* makes use of the Orientalism concept, frequently using the words “Muslims,” “Islam,” and “Islamophobia,” and characteristically describing Islam either as a wolf or a spider: “The monster of Islamic terrorism is behind the deadly terrorist attacks” (Islamic terrorism, 2016). “A once-great European nation - reckless, liberal France - is entangled in the nets of the black Islamist spider, daily counting victims of maniac jihadists funded and equipped by Americans” (They are here!, 2015). *Golden Dawn* aims to persuade its readers that there is a clear discrepancy between the East and the West, and that the divergence of cultures has devastating effects, such as terrorist attacks. In this manner, *Golden Dawn*’s criminalization of all Muslims appears to be steady and targeted: “The terrorist attack in the heart of Paris shows that European citizens live in a daily state of fear of being murdered in the most brutal way by Islamists who have their bases in Muslim ghettos in the neighborhoods of European megacities” (Socialist Hollande, 2015). In its reporting on the Bataclan theater attack, Islam is even compared with communism: “Just remove the word “Islam” and replace it with the word “communism”. It is an ideology” (An interview, 2016). By equating Islam with communism and combining these two in a sensitive topic such as

this, they seek to evoke and mobilize the anti-communist sentiments of their target-audience, the far-right wing supporters and ultra-nationalists. .

The anti-Islamic discourses of Golden Dawn are displayed in a different way as well. Islamophobia as a concept is barely mentioned by *Golden Dawn* but is instead characterized as a dishonest rallying cry. “Islam is a wolf that cries out “Islamophobia” in order to make us unconscious and become easier prey”(An interview, 2016). Moreover, there is a continuation of similar patterns in the reporting such as: “Islamic terrorism is here and unfortunately Greece will face similar incidents with many victims soon”(Islamic terrorism, 2016); “Islamist terrorists...” (Jihadists threaten Europe, 2016); “...Islamists screaming “Allahu Akbar”...” (New arrest, 2016); “...intruders, countless Muslims and Islamic terrorists...” (Jihadists threaten Europe, 2016). The portrayal of Islamophobia as a dishonest rallying cry is spread throughout the reporting in all three cases.

Golden Dawn’s reporting drifts from the traditional coverage of events and incorporates the views of the political party it is associated within these articles. This far-right newspaper uses the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels to popularize a large number of political objectives such as the closing of the borders and opposition against French leaders, European authorities, and the Greek government. This is achieved through intense use of “Orientalism”, which seeks to spread Islamophobia, and to unite the readers against a clear, common enemy which is Islam, based on their portrayal. Furthermore, the dominance and ideological superiority of nationalism in tackling the terrorist attacks is constantly emphasized. The policy recommendation stemming out from these frames is closing the borders and not let migrants/refugees in. Based on their portrayal these people, disguised as refugees, are among the perpetrators, despite the opposing evidence. These framing strategies are used in the reporting on all three of the attacks focused on here, and are thus a consistent mechanism by which *Golden Dawn* spreads its far-right beliefs, ideas, and political viewpoints to a large number of readers.

5.2.2 The framing of terrorism in *Rizospastis*

Rizospastis is a far-left-leaning newspaper. This newspaper describes itself as the “newspaper of the people” and portrays itself as the instrument of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). The Communist Party of Greece wishes to overthrow capitalism, opposes imperialism, and advocates for a communist society. *Rizospastis*, as a

mouthpiece of KKE, aims to inform its readers about the developments in the political scene of the country, as well as economic, social, and international issues through a far left-wing lens. In covering the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016), the newspaper appears to take a rather critical stance in regards to those it sees as the perpetrators of the tragedies, as well as the causes and the consequences. *Rizospastis* uses words such as “imperialism”, “capitalism”, “bourgeoisie”, and “anti-popular” to frame terrorism. However, one essential difference from the right-wing paper is that *Rizospastis* does not suggest any potential solutions to the “problem” of terrorism. The main arguments made by *Rizospastis* in its coverage of the three terrorist attacks are presented below.

As can be seen in the vocabulary listed in Table 3, *Rizospastis* adopts an anti-imperialistic tone in its coverage of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels.

Word	Frequency	Purpose of the bias
Imperialism	17	Keyword linked to far-left ideology
Capitalism	4	Keyword linked to far-left ideology
Anti-grassroots	8	Criticizes measures against the people (shows opposition to the government)
Islamophobia	1	Fear of Islam (presupposes antipathy)
Bourgeois – urban staff (Rightists)	8	Characterizes Greek leaders as rightist authorities in favour of the West
Intervention	6	Refers to Western intervention in the

		Middle East
Europe-West	10	Opposition to Europeanization
Islam	4	Downplays the role of religion
Refugees	2	Refutes the idea that refugees/immigrants are the main problem
Muslim	0	Not mentioned at all

Table 3. Frequency of biased words in the *Rizospastis*' reporting on the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016)

In almost every article, the far left-wing newspaper shows staunch opposition to the “anti-grassroots” measures taken by the Greek and European leaders in Syria. The main argument of *Rizospastis* is that the implementation of measures against the civilians in the name of safety after the attacks, is a procedure that is followed by the leaders without the approval of the people. Characteristic statements espousing this view can be found in *Rizospastis*' reporting on the Charlie Hebdo attack: “France plays a leading role in the bombing of the “Islamic State” that acts in Iraq and Syria, promoting the anti-grassroots plans of imperialist bloodshed in the Middle East once again” (Carnage by gunmen, 2015); “Measures to help in the battle against “violent extremism” worldwide (...) “Of course, experience has shown that in such conditions, urban staff mainly target the organized workers and grassroots movements” (In the foreground, 2015). Similar views are clearly asserted in the coverage of the Bataclan attack as well: “The imperialistic urban headquarters abused the new and fatal terrorist carnage to promote a series of anti-grassroots plans within each country” (Rapid developments, 2015). The same phenomenon can also be found in the coverage of the Brussels Airport bombing: “Meanwhile, the ongoing investigations into those who are responsible for the attack are multiplying (...) This fact has become more and more convenient for a number of anti-grassroots approaches” (Questions about the bombings, 2016). According to *Rizospastis*, each terrorist attack is seen by leaders as a perfect occasion to promote their anti-grassroots purposes.

Opposition to Islamophobia is obvious throughout *Rizospastis*' reporting on the terrorist attacks in France. *Rizospastis* does not adopt an approach which categorizes all Muslims as terrorists, as is prevalent in *Golden Dawn*'s reporting. *Rizospastis* seems to show solidarity with Muslims, and has a more tolerant view of the facts. *Rizospastis* does espouse a racist, xenophobic view, but blames Western Europeans for being segregationists towards Muslims. This argument can be found in articles about the Charlie Hebdo massacre: "The attacks are utilized to strengthen the already existing "anti-terrorist measures" and to consolidate a climate of Islamic terror, aimed at enhancing national security" (Carnage by gunmen, 2015). Likewise, another article from the same period states: "In a flared climate of Islamophobia and terrorism in Europe..." and "Islamophobia as an element in the inter-city conflict"(Terror-Hysteria in Britain, 2015). These statements exemplify *Rizospastis*' frequent and intense use of the term "Islamophobia". According to *Rizospastis*' reporting, the promotion of the war against terrorism, the restriction of immigration, and Islamophobia all play a key role in the bourgeois framing of every immigrant as an enemy. Therefore, the far leftist approach stands by Muslims, since it does not blame the majority for attacks committed by a minority.

"Imperialism" and "capitalism" are the key words that the writers frequently recall in their articles for *Rizospastis* in order to attribute some meaning to these attacks. As stated by *Rizospastis*, the responsibility for the situation that Europe is facing now lies within "European imperialism": "What is certain is that the imperialist powers who supported and strengthened criminal jihadist organizations like the "Islamic State" in their various geostrategic plans, will use these events to enhance the so-called "anti-terror campaign"" (Deadly terrorist attacks, 2015). Another example of this view can be seen in the following sentence: "Capitalism, which increases the wealth of a handful of exploiters, generates crises, social problems, war, and refugees, resulting in painful consequences for millions of people" (The so-called terrorist threat, 2016). "Only in this war, the various capitalist states do not hold common interests. In fact, this is a war between capitalist states, with imperialist forces seeking the best location for the hard "hunting". The so-called "terrorist threat" and the imperialistic war is the same thing" (The so-called terrorist threat, 2016). Last but not least, *Rizospastis* again mentions the word "imperialism" in order to link the actions of European leaders to the attacks: "How hypocritical must the government be to speak about "war interests" when they participate in imperialistic interventions?" (The so-called terrorist threat, 2016) "Imperialism" and "capitalism" are words deeply connected to the ideology of the far left. The frequent use of both of these concepts can guide a reader's attention from the overt-

violent aspect of terrorism to its economic aspect, potentially influencing the reader's perception of these types of events. Thus, the terrorist attacks should be attributed to the Western intervention (either indirectly or directly) in Syria, Libya and other countries of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A similar argument that comes to light in the analysis of *Rizospastis'* articles on terrorism is that European leaders have caused the attacks by fighting the populations of the Eastern Mediterranean. In a clear attempt to frame Europe as the actuating lever for the anger of jihadists that resulted in these massacres, *Rizospastis* states: "Notably, the massive outrage at the deaths of 17 innocent people at the hands of jihadists in Paris demonstrates the hypocrisy of the bourgeois leaders" (In the foreground, 2015). According to the newspaper, European leaders are hypocrites because they pretend to be sorry for the attacks, when in fact they caused them: "The sensitive (...) leaders whose interventions escalated the murderous jihadists" (In the foreground, 2015); "...the hypocritical imperialistic representatives who walked in Paris, supposedly against terrorism and in favor of freedom" (In the foreground, 2015). Moreover, *Rizospastis* blames European policy-makers and officials for the attacks in the territory of Eastern Mediterranean countries, while reporting the Brussels airport bombing: "For five years, Syria has raged a war that has claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and has uprooted millions from their homes. This is the result of imperialistic aggression and inter-imperialist antagonisms" (The so-called terrorist threat, 2016). *Rizospastis* aims to convince its readers that Europe has caused the attacks and is responsible for the situation of insecurity that is being felt in Europe. According to this newspaper, the terrorist attacks are a result of the imperialistic policies of Western countries and a consequence of capitalism.

Another interesting argument made by *Rizospastis* is that the French authorities, European leaders, and the Greek government, , will take advantage of these attacks in order to promote their interests in the "form of revenge". In an article about the Charlie Hebdo attack, the writer asserts that: "Developments exploited in the context of growing inter-bourgeois controversy in France are paving the way for the conservatizing of the working classes" (Outrage for brutal killings, 2015). "...measures to help in the battle against "violent extremism" worldwide"(In the foreground, 2015); "Of course, experience has shown that in such conditions, governmental staff mainly target the organized workers and grassroots movements" (In the foreground, 2015). *Rizospastis* states that in the past, the same techniques were activated in response to various crises, and we should expect something similar now as well: "History has proven that these kinds of terrorist attacks intensify the flames and are

exploited by those who plan military imperialistic interventions and new measures of repression against the people. For this reason, citizens should be prepared for more dangerous developments” (Announcement by the Press office, 2015). This belief can be found also in the coverage of the Brussels bombing: “After the attacks on the 13th of November, France has, in the name of counterterrorism, gradually planned the escalation of its imperialistic interventions in Syria, strengthening its own presence in the Middle East, where the competition becomes stronger” (Deadly bombings, 2016).

Rizospastis is the only newspaper out of three that actually accuses the media directly of being used by political parties: “Bourgeois parties and the media have exploited the bloody attack, nurturing scenes of terror-hysteria” (Outrage for brutal killings, 2015). It accuses the media of taking advantage of the public’s interest in the attacks to promote political beliefs, but in reality, this “framing of terrorism” also occurs in *Rizospastis*.

Thus, the framing of terrorism by the left-wing newspaper *Rizospastis* serves to establish certain beliefs among its audience that are in accordance with the ideological background of the far-left political party in Greece.. By discussing the terrorist attacks in Europe in relation to such words as “imperialism”, “anti-grassroots”, and “capitalism”, *Rizospastis* aims to generate an image of European leaders as culprits who are responsible for the fates of their nations. These ideologically loaded words are used to promote far left objectives. The newspaper intends to reveal what it believes to be the causes of terrorism, framing the attacks in a way that spreads their anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist message. The far-left framing shows opposition to European leaders, institutions, and practises since their imperialistic, capitalistic ways are not compatible with the beliefs of the newspaper, and more precisely the political party with which the newspaper is associated.

5.2.3 The framing of terrorism in *Kathimerini*

Kathimerini is one of the most popular centrist newspapers in Greece. *Kathimerini* is considered a centrist newspaper since it does not directly promote right-or left-wing ideas, but customarily has a neutral approach. The articles published by *Kathimerini* about the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels reflect this approach, as there are many different interpretations of the facts and different opinions about terrorism that are voiced in this paper. Nevertheless, certain patterns can be observed, and *Kathimerini* appears to attempt to create specific impressions through its coverage of terrorist attacks.

While it would be expected for a so-called centrist newspaper to adopt a relatively equalized political position and objectively report the facts, this does not in fact occur since bias where found in the reporting.

Therefore, the answer to the research sub-question asking: "Does *Kathimerini*, a centrist newspaper, have a less biased and more detached approach in covering these terrorist acts, refraining from using strong language, and showing a support towards the countries in which the attacks were carried out?" is negative. *Kathimerini* has a tendentious approach which leads to the conclusion that the reporting of this newspaper in covering the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016) is driven by the author's personal beliefs.

Table 4 shows the frequency of certain biased words used by *Kathimerini* in its coverage of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels.

Word	Frequency	Purpose of the bias
Europe, West	31	Used ironically to criticize the usefulness of the E.U.
Islam- Religion (referring to Islam)	19	Condemns religion
Muslims	6	Against Muslims
Islamophobia	0	Fear of Islam (Presupposes prejudice)
Ideals – Values (freedom, equality, tolerance , democracy)	23	Emphasis on these values creates a stronger impression for readers
Refugees- Immigrants	9	Claiming that uncontrolled migration

		is responsible for the attacks
Imperialism	4	Word linked to far-left ideology
Far- left Ideology	2	Mentions the ideology
Far-right Ideology	4	Refers to the ideology
Politics	5	Links politics with terrorism

Table 4. Frequency of biased words in the *Kathimerini*'s reporting on the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016)

Keywords such as “freedom” and “ideals” are often used by *Kathimerini* in its reporting on terrorism. This shows that *Kathimerini* aims to stress what are the stakes in these attacks.. The repeated mentioning of these values aims to sensitize the readers. These keywords are used in two different ways. The first is to emphasize the major cultural differences that exist between the East and the West, blaming these differences for the current state of affairs, and the second is to exalt the values that supposedly demonstrate the superiority of Western civilization. The specific way these values are used varies depending on the journalist and how the image he/she is trying to convey.

The newspaper claims that these attacks should be attributed to the non-integration of Muslim people in the Western societies. According to *Kathimerini*, there are major cultural differences that do not allow for Muslims to integrate within the core of European society, and create a fundamentally marginalized Islamic population within the EU. *Kathimerini*'s framing implies a distinction between the sophisticated style of living adopted by Europeans and Islamic objectives: “French identity has incorporated a cosmopolitan lifestyle to such an extent that the country fails to honor its ideals, since it has mutated into a versatile society in which Islam occupies a leading position” (Erlanger, 2015). Moreover, *Kathimerini* points out the divergence of lifestyles, blaming the cultural contrast for the existence of an unbridgeable gap: “However, French ideals and French democracy might seem excessively distant and blank to Muslims, who traditionally do not distinguish between religious and public

life”(Erlanger, 2015). This statement demonstrates *Kathimerini*’s view that there is a controversy between the French cosmopolitan lifestyle and the values of Islam.

The framing of the Bataclan attack by *Kathimerini* is similar to its framing of the Charlie Hebdo massacre, as the idea that on the one hand there is Europe, and on the other there is a flow of Muslims arriving in Europe is evident throughout the reporting: “And this finding not only concerns the abysmal gap that divides the Western world from the beliefs of the terrorist killers, but we have to conquer them among us...”(Sella, 2015). *Kathimerini* clearly demonstrates its view that there is a profound division between Western and Eastern civilizations. Emphasis is placed on the differences between Europeans and Muslims. The words “Europe” and “West” are mentioned more than 30 times in total throughout the reporting in all the articles concerning the attacks while the words “Muslims” and “Islam” occur more than 25 times. *Kathimerini*’s coverage of the Brussels airport attack is not significantly different from the other two attacks. It presents Muslims as the absolute and sole perpetrator of the terrorist acts, and paints their war as being inevitable and unstoppable until the ultimate demise of the West: “I.S. and its jihadists do not wish to expand their territory, but want to destroy Western civilization. This war is not imperialistic. This is a war to the very end, until the extermination of one of the opponents” (Theodoropoulos, 2016). This emphasis on a conflict between Europeans and the Eastern world creates for the reader an image of two conflicting camps.

Interestingly, *Kathimerini*’s reporting displays the opposite point of view as well. The opposite belief is that the integration of Muslims in the Western societies can be achieved, and *Kathimerini* at times maintains that the accomplishment of this balance could become reality with the elimination of xenophobia and racism. Rather than espousing the view that there is an unbridgeable gap between the two civilizations, this view spreads a hopeful message. “Hundreds of protesters in France defended the freedom of the press, freedom of expression and the freedom of protest, in opposition to Islamo-fascism” (Vernet, 2015). Furthermore, *Kathimerini* mentions the word “stereotype” multiple times, linking it to Islam. It mocks the image of Islam portrayed by Christianity and points out differences in framing: “We are victims of stereotypes that are spread throughout the West, which portray Christianity as always loving, mild, and altruistic, while Islam is portrayed as war-like and indifferent to reflection” (Boukalas, 2015).

In addition, *Kathimerini* makes use of social and intellectual means to combat jihadism: “Only with social inclusion and by providing equal opportunities, free of paternalistic rhetoric, will Europe will be able to bring back to her bosom the lost sheep of the

modern jihad” (The cause of modern Western Jihad, 2015). Similarly, the framing of the attacks on Charlie Hebdo includes ironic comments about the Orientalism through which the West is detached from Eastern civilizations: “Westerners have always believed in Western innocence, the excellence of their religions and the superiority of their civilization. Let’s realize it even now, we, the “others”, that we are different” (Boukalas, 2015); “Terrorist acts by European citizens revealed a guided a fifth column which is not assembled only by the descendants Muslims, but also by converts. The problem is therefore greater than the inadequate integration of immigrants, it is about the weakness of Western society to inspire ideals to youth” (Prevalakis, 2016). *Kathimerini* places the blame for the attacks on the West because Europe cannot effectively incorporate Muslims into the heart of Western communities.

Kathimerini also provides another explanation for why Western society is responsible for the terrorist attacks that are committed by Muslims nowadays. Some of the articles of the centrist newspaper expresses the belief that terrorist attacks are a rational attempt at vindication by Eastern populations, as a response to the imperialistic tactics the West has adopted in the past. “If the Western countries were not imperialistic in the past then they wouldn’t be in danger nowadays: Terrorism is a consequence of imperialism and other crusades” (Theodoropoulos, 2016). *Kathimerini* presents Westerners who declared war against Islam as responsible for the attacks: “When Western powers clumsily began their interventions in the Islamic world as geopolitical or economic strategies, they did not understand that their naïve wish to correct the Islamic world and to make it more democratic was wrong” (Theodoropoulos, 2016). According to *Kathimerini*, the West’s interference in the East under the guise of “democratizing” the Islamic population backfired and caused the anger of Islamists, who then became the terrorists who are now threatening all of Europe. This idea is linked to the previously-mentioned belief that Europe is not able to effectively incorporate Muslims at the core of Western societies, and together these are the cause of the attacks” (Prevalakis, 2016). Additionally, *Kathimerini*’s articles about the Bataclan attack contain statements mocking the Western world for its naïve and the prevailing climate of unconcern about what was happening around them before the attacks occurred: “On the 13th of November, jihadists, in addition to the human lives, destroyed French and European carefreeness” (Prevalakis, 2016).

The linking of terrorist attacks to politics is one of the critical arguments made by *Kathimerini* when reporting on the three terrorist acts. Words such as “right” (referring to the political ideology), “left” (referring to the left-wing ideology), and “politics” create the

triangular relationship between right left and politics. In total, politics is mentioned in *Kathimerini*'s reporting of terrorism. This frequency clearly demonstrates that *Kathimerini* sees a direct link between the terrorist attacks and politics.

More specifically, *Kathimerini* connects Islam to the rise of the far right in France, and further links this relationship to the socioeconomic situation of the country: "Charlie Hebdo is linked to all the ghosts of contemporary France: fears of creeping Islamization and the rise of anti-Semitism, the growing power of the extreme right and an anti-Islamic reaction - all integrated in the broader context of a feeling of economic instability, a feeling that the French have been betrayed by the European elite"(Douthat, 2015). In the case of the Bataclan as well, there a link is made between the terrorist attack and the far-right: "A number of events in memory of the victims are planned today in France, with the phantom of the extreme-right hovering over, more menacing than ever before" (A year since, 2016). Far-right wing doctrine is allegorized as a "phantom" that threatens to haunt Europe. Additionally, *Kathimerini* points out that the adoption of extreme ideas is more likely to occur in times of political instability, providing further justification for the terrorists' acts: "Of course, in times of tension, the sharpening of political passions and maximum insecurity benefit demagogues and extremists, and this is what terrorists wish to achieve: to divide our society, to place on one side the Muslim community, more than 6 million people, and on the other, the French population" (Aliagas&Kefala, 2016). The newspaper's coverage of the Bataclan attack includes the idea that radicals and extremists took advantage of the arduous moment that Europe is going through in order to increase their popularity. Terrorist acts have an impact on the status quo of a country, as they disturb the equilibrium and a country's integrity: "Under these conditions, the edges of the right and left disclose their positions. In general, French society is a moderate society (...). We see that what is going on in Europe in terms of the radicalization of political life is a fact of life today, and extreme-right streams are gaining ground everywhere" (Aliagas&Kefala, 2016). *Kathimerini* maintains that the attacks must be treated as a political issue and not as isolated actions: "The political dimension of war is more about the techniques and less about the substance" (Theodoropoulos, 2016).

The analysis of *Kathimerini*'s articles about the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels revealed that *Kathimerini* showed a politically driven but balanced style of reporting. In its discussion of terrorist attacks in France and Belgium, the centrist paper framed the attacks in a way that accuses the West of being incapable of integrating immigrants and its own citizens of differing faiths, and of pursuing misguided foreign policies. *Kathimerini* both blames the West for its imperialistic tendencies, which caused the anger of Muslims, and legitimizes it as

well, by emphasizing the enormous cultural differences between the two cultures. *Kathimerini* therefore encourages the reader to use critical thinking, since many different views on terrorism are presented.

5.3 Comparison of framing types

The three newspapers analyzed in this study have demonstrated significant framing differences in their reporting of the three terrorist attacks. The three online newspapers dedicated an enormous number of pages to describing and explaining the attacks, but each paper presents the causes, consequences, and goals of terrorism differently. This section compares the framing types of the far-right, far-left, and centrist newspapers through the application of Framing Theory, in order to demonstrate how the political meanings that each newspaper attaches to events mirrors its wider political orientation. The different framings of the attacks resemble each other in the sense that these newspapers all use the attacks to further their long-term political goals.

Table 5 summarizes the frequency of occurrence of words that are used by the three newspapers in their coverage of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels. The results show that despite reporting on the same event, the frequency with which they use the same potentially biased words changes. Of course, the ways in which they use these words varies as well, and arguments for which they are used vary based on the aims of the particular newspaper. The different main arguments for each newspaper have already been highlighted above. The goal here is to illustrate a series of remarkable commonalities with respect to their approaches.

Keyword	Frequency		
	<i>Golden Dawn</i>	<i>Rizospastis</i>	<i>Kathimerini</i>
Imperialism	0	17	4
Europe-West	14	10	31
Muslims	5	0	6

Islam	15	6	19
Refugees/Immigrants	19	2	9
Words associated with Right-wing ideology	9	8	4
Words associated with Left-wing ideology	11	0	2

Table 5. Comparison of the frequency of biased words in the reporting of the three newspapers

As illustrated, all three newspapers used vocabulary that has the power to spread dynamic messages to the audience to whom it is addressed. For example, *Rizospastis*, when describing the terrorist attack on Charlie Hebdo revealingly used words such as “imperialism”, “Western societies”, “capitalism”, etc., showing a left-wing trend. On the other side of the coin, *Golden Dawn*, the ultimate right-wing mouthpiece in Greece, uses the same words more often but they are used in sentences that create the opposite meaning. For instance the word Islamophobia, is not used to express fear for Islam as something that needs to stop, but it is used “ironically” to express that this feeling is justified because of the growing number of terrorist attacks held by Muslims. *Golden Dawn* is the official newspaper of the political party of the same name, and expresses views distinctly opposed to the leftist party, promoting right-wing objectives. The vocabulary that this newspaper uses sketches a very specific view on the origin of terrorists, using words such as “nationalism”, “refugees”, “immigrants”, “fanatic Muslims”, etc. to generate strong images that work to promote extreme right-wing ideology. *Kathimerini* portrays a more balanced approach since it does not show a one-sided political position.

Golden Dawn handles the terrorist threat in a way that points the finger at governmental actors’ incapacity to implement adequate protection and safety measures (the centre-left party was in power at the time). The importance of nationalist policies is one of the essential arguments put forward by *Golden Dawn*, but does not occur in the framing of the attacks by *Kathimerini* and *Rizospastis*. *Rizospastis* maintains that terrorist acts are used by leaders as an opportunity to implement anti-popular/anti-grassroots measures.

Backgrounds of the journalists of *Kathimerini* who write for this newspaper, as unlike those writing for *Rizospastis* and *Golden Dawn*, they do not all adhere to the same ideology, and instead comprise an interesting combination of different political views. A significant difference between the far-left wing newspaper and the other two is that *Rizospastis* is the only newspaper out of the three that accuses the media of using the attacks for their own profit. *Rizospastis* infuses its reporting on the terrorist attacks with the belief that the media is used by the political parties and exploits sensitive issues for their benefit. *Rizospastis* also accuses the French authorities (and European authorities more generally) of taking advantage of the attacks to pursue their own interests, which go against those their own people. The right-wing paper, *Golden Dawn*, on the other hand, emphasizes the incapability of the government to provide safety for its citizens. The goals of the terrorists, their objectives, their future targets, and the risks that Greece faces are discussed in depth throughout this newspaper's articles, and aims to connect each aspect of terrorism with the supremacy of nationalism. *Rizospastis* does not highlight the supremacy of any political ideologies such as communism, for example, but it does blame capitalism and imperialism for the situation faced by Greece nowadays. At this point, there is therefore a clear difference in the framing of terrorist attacks by these media outlets, in that one newspaper argues against a political doctrine while the other advocates the sovereignty of another. Therefore, the two newspapers both utilize framing but in a different way. *Kathimerini* however, does not mention the dominance of any political ideology at all.

The two concepts of Islamophobia and Orientalism are both used by the three newspapers. However, it is interesting to note that although all three use these concepts, they serve different purposes for each. The far right-wing newspaper presents Islamophobia as a dangerous concept that it is created to disorientate us so that we become easier prey for the terrorists. On the other hand, *Kathimerini* and *Rizospastis* use the word "Islamophobia" in order to denounce it, believing that the hate and the prejudice against Muslims should stop. Orientalism is a concept that can be found in all three newspapers to roughly the same extent. The framing of terrorism sets the conditions for the expansion of Orientalism. The newspapers create the notion that the West is very different from the East, creating two conflicting camps, us versus them.

One of the solutions put forward by *Golden Dawn* that can also be seen in the political objectives of the party, is the closing of the Greek borders. *Golden Dawn* seeks to establish links between the refugee crisis and the recent terrorist attacks by putting the religion of

Islam at the forefront. This is reinforced through accusations against the French government about security issues. According to *Golden Dawn*, if the European governments had followed their anti-migration policy suggestions, the attacks would have been avoided. This policy is not even mentioned in the coverage of the terrorist attacks by *Rizospastis* or *Kathimerini*. This is a clear example of pursuing a policy by using a window of opportunity, which in this case it is the terrorist attacks. *Rizospastis*, throughout its reporting, did not provide any solutions or policy recommendations to minimize the problem, and *Kathimerini* suggests that the only way to eliminate the risk of further attacks is by trying to integrate the Muslim communities more effectively into the European core. *Kathimerini* sees reshaping the opinions of Europeans about the cultural differences between the East and west as a way to stop the hatred and cultivate an atmosphere of understanding and acceptance.

Kathimerini and *Rizospastis* share the same belief concerning the deeper causes of modern terrorism, which, according to them, is a result of the imperialistic character of Western countries in the past. Both of the newspapers spread the notion that if the Western countries did not wage wars in countries such as Syria, Iraq, and Libya in previous years, then they would not be facing the hatred of Muslims and Islamists who now threaten Europe in revenge for the conquering ways of the West. The negative climate against the ideology of Islamic terrorists creates a feeling of insecurity to the readers in their own country. This belief cannot be found in the reporting of *Golden Dawn*, who places responsibility for the attacks on recent European leaders who proved unable to protect their populations. *Golden Dawn* does assert that European leaders are hypocrites because their previous actions established terrorism in Europe, but they do not mention the word “imperialism” like the other two newspapers.

Another important thing to note is that the far right-wing newspaper tends to use a more scholarly tone in its reporting, as it is addressed to readers with lower level of education. This may be because the far-right aims to impress readers with certain types of words. *Golden Dawn* appeals to less educated readers, as it calls for a strengthening of nationalist sentiment. For instance, the far-right wing newspaper frequently makes use of the word Wahhabism, which is not widely known to the average public, but is a word that is used by the elites to describe a particular Islamic ideological doctrine. The use of “sophisticated” words that thrill readers is a tactic used by far right-wing parties worldwide. On the other hand, the far-left wing newspaper in general cultivates a more straightforward and popularized profile, which is in accordance with its audience’s preferences and in line with the expected education of the readers. *Rizospastis*, rationalises the Islamic threat as a cause of

the politically motivated capitalist elite, and avoids elite vocabulary in order to appeal to its base. As for the centrist newspaper *Kathimerini*, the language used can be understood without difficulty by a wider range of readers.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the results of the analysis of this study, and has outlined the similarities and differences in the framing of terrorism between far-right wing, far left wing, and centrist newspapers in Greece. The different vocabulary used by each of the three newspapers shows that every paper adapts the themes discussed depending upon their intended audience, even when they are reporting on the same event. The way the newspapers chose to frame the terrorist attacks differed according to their political color, and each used words that can generate political impressions in their readers. The next chapter offers a general conclusion based on the results of this research and in the context of other work in this area.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion

The main research question that this research sought to address was “How did the political perspectives of *Golden Dawn*, *Rizospastis* and *Kathimerini* influence the way these Greek newspapers covered the terrorist attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016)?” Through the use of Political Discourse Analysis, Framing Theory and Grounded Theory, the results have shown that the media coverage of the terrorist attacks on Charlie Hebdo (January 7th2015), the Bataclan theatre (November 13th2015) and Brussels Airport (March 22nd2016) by the three Greek newspapers was highly biased and influenced by the political ideology of each media outlet.

The three Greek newspapers examined in this study represent three different ideological doctrines. The differences between the far-right, far-left, and centrist approaches come through in the content of each newspaper’s reporting. The use of specific words and the creation of frames has the power to generate politically-driven perceptions in readers, and in this way the press can dramatically influence the beliefs of the public. This power makes the framing of terrorism by the press an important topic for research. While the reader might believe that the use of a word does not change the meaning or does not mean something particular, this chapter aims to prove that there is a special meaning behind everything and there is framing everywhere.

Through the examination of the three newspapers’ use of certain words in their coverage of terrorist acts, we realize that a writer’s point of view about the perpetrators, the causes, and potential solutions to terrorism is evident in their manner of framing the events. The intense public interest in terrorism and the newsworthiness of the shocking acts carried out by terrorists lead to these attacks being highly publicized by the media. This provides an opportunity for newspapers to promote their views, and they often steer away from objective reporting, utilizing their column inches to display their own political beliefs. Generally, all of the sources analyzed here, worked to instil in the reader feelings of political insecurity, of prejudice, for terrorism. Terrorism is a powerful topic that has the power to draw in an audience, and referring to the causes of terrorism as well as pointing the finger of blame for terrorism establishes particular connotations in line with the political agendas of particular media outlets and the part of the political spectrum they represent.

In the framing of the attacks in *Golden Dawn*, the Golden Dawn party's political lines are pushed quite fiercely. The long-term policies promoted by this far right-wing party can be found in the coverage of all three terrorist attacks investigated here. Political objectives such as the eviction of all illegal immigrants from Greece –identified in their imagination as potential terrorists- and the promotion of nationalism as the superior, dominant doctrine is implied in the majority of the articles, with less emphasis placed on the nature of the terrorist attacks. *Golden Dawn* promotes the generalization that all Muslims are terrorists, and through the use of strong language and careful framing, uses the terrorist attacks to promote its anti-Islamic agenda.

The framing employed by the far left-wing newspaper, *Rizospastis*, in its coverage of the attacks, was also greatly influenced by the political ideology of the newspaper. The framing in *Rizospastis* was similar to the framing in *Golden Dawn* in the sense that both newspapers aimed to influence the readers' perceptions by incorporating the policies of the parties they represent into their reporting. *Rizospastis* used words linked to the far-left's philosophy, such as “imperialism”, “capitalism”, and “anti-popular” to describe the terrorist attacks. Furthermore, *Rizospastis* demonstrates opposition to Western policies and shows antipathy towards “imperialistic” European leaders, who are blamed for the attacks in its articles. The discourse of the far left-wing newspaper can be considered extremist, opposed to Western-European policies, and espousing an anti-imperialistic point of view.

Finally, *Kathimerini*, a centrist newspaper, also demonstrates a biased approach, although not to the same extent as *Golden Dawn* and *Rizospastis*. The analysis of *Kathimerini*'s coverage of the terrorist attacks in Paris and Brussels shows that a newspaper that is believed to be in the centre of the political spectrum can still be politically placed in its framing of terrorism. *Kathimerini* also makes use of charged, purposeful language to spread messages against Islamophobia.

These findings demonstrate that the Greek media's framing of terrorism is biased and full of prejudices. Through the content analysis of different politically-oriented newspapers, this research has shown that terrorism is portrayed to the public in accordance with certain political objectives. Thus, as a result of media framing, terrorism is more of a political issue than a social one. The three newspapers analyzed here shaped the terrorist attacks in order to guide their readers' beliefs towards a politically-driven impression based on the newspapers' particular ideology. The framing of terrorism by these three newspapers is related to the political ideologies of the editors and writers -reliance on facts is not the driving force behind their reporting of these events. The media's framing of terrorism influences the way we, the

readers, perceive terrorism, and a variety of different approaches work together to contribute to the framing of terrorism, including the promotion of certain interests, the unification of readers against particular people, policies, or institutions, and the elicitation of indignation about terrorism. The way terrorism is brandished by the media as a tool with which to advance political agendas creates a triangular relationship between media framing, terrorism, and political ideologies (see Figure 5). This research has demonstrated that there are three factors at play: the facts about terrorism, political ideologies and media framing by editors and journalists. Far-right, far-left, and centrist media outlets frame terrorism based on their political ideologies.

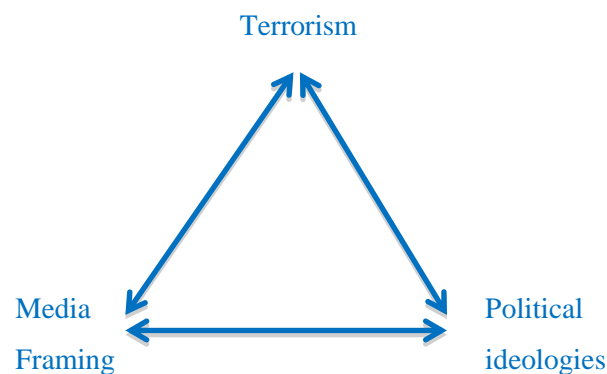


Figure 5. Graphical representation of the triangular relationship between media framing, terrorism, and political ideologies

6. 1 Difficulties

This study faced certain difficulties and limitations such as the prejudiced, biased vocabulary. It should be noted that the review of the articles was not an easy task. The articles used strong language, and in many cases, racist vocabulary. The limitations are related to the selection of statements and the analysis of the newspapers' vocabulary in terms of the negative feelings the language can bring about. The reader should also be aware that the objective of this thesis was not to explain why, how, or who should be blamed for the

terrorist attacks, but was rather to guide the reader towards a more critical approach towards the newspapers' propaganda machines. Examining the articles while knowing to which political party the newspapers belonged ideologically was an endeavor to show how ideologically driven discourses are displayed in the face of terrorist attacks. Due to space and time restraints, it was only possible to analyse the coverage of the attacks by three newspapers. Similarly, the coverage related to only three attacks could be examined, all of which occurred in Europe. Terrorist acts in other countries, particularly those that occur in the Middle East are reported on differently. It would be interesting to compare the media's framing of attacks carried out across different countries. Although media framing certainly has the potential to shape the beliefs of readers, this is not to say that every right-wing, left-wing or centrist person who reads these newspapers adopts the beliefs they put forward. We cannot assume that every person who reads the articles does so without adopting a critical attitude, and has (or will develop) the same opinions as the newspaper he or she reads. The ways framing influences readers and can alter their opinions and beliefs is another interesting area for future work.

6.2 Suggestions for future research

Considering the modern rise of the media and the relevance of terrorism in today's society, investigations into the mechanisms shaping the public's perceptions of terrorism, its perpetrators, causes, and potential solutions, is as critical as ever. Future research would benefit from exploring why some terrorist attacks attract mass publicity while others remain in relative obscurity. Furthermore, what gives the media the power to publicize or downplay (or even ignore) a particular terrorist attack? The media's reporting of terrorism is unequal and biased, and another avenue for future research may include the investigation of how selecting news that is relevant for a particular region is not a discriminating bias. Based on Article 14 of the European Convention of Human Rights, protection from discrimination should be ensured for everyone. The act presupposes that discrimination based on differences in "sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, associated with a national minority property, birth or other status" is illegal (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2017). Using an ideological basis to only promote news that is relevant for a particular group might be considered as discrimination.

The media in Greece consciously chooses to ignore or provide less coverage of terrorist attacks that occur in non-European countries such as Iraq and Afghanistan. This is not only the case in Greece however. Media all over the world carefully select which terrorist attacks they report or ignore. The results from a future research could possibly enhance the critical thinking of readers in its reporting of man-made disasters. The geographical proximity of the country in which an attack occurs plays a major role in the way that attack is reported. The media tends to pay more attention to events that are geographically closer, since this seems to interest the audience more. It is generally believed that acts of terrorism that occur far away, or terrorism against people of a non-European origin receive minor importance from the readers.

For the first time since 9/11, the attacks in Paris (2015) and Brussels (2016) elicited an intense feeling of unity and solidarity in the international community. These three terrorist attacks attracted unprecedented interest and worldwide coverage. Nevertheless, only nine days before the attacks in Brussels, Turkey had faced the violence of terrorism in its worst form. A suicide bomber killed thirty-seven civilians in the nation's capital. One month before, another suicide bomber killed thirty people in Ankara, and four months before, 109 people were killed in the same city in another brutal terrorist attack. This issue became apparent to the public and many people spoke out against the fact that the majority of terrorist attacks held in Syria, Iraq, or Turkey remain in obscurity from the press (Aytton, 2016). Various articles worldwide showed support for the victims, the wounded people and their families, but the incidents that occurred in non-European countries did not attract as much attention as those that occurred in the West. Turkey is Greece's neighbor, but the inequality between the coverage of terrorist attacks in European countries such as France and Belgium is still glaring. Thus, geographical proximity is clearly not the only factor at work in the selective coverage of terrorism observed in the media but is influential. Terrorist attacks happen daily worldwide but they do not gain the Western's media attention due to both cultural differences and geographical distance.

This distinction might be justified to some extent, as newspapers do not focus on sharing the publicity objectively, but based their level of coverage on their preferences and beliefs and their views of what their readers would expect and want to know. Many consumers showed outrage at this difference in coverage however. Many people expressed their thoughts and indignation through social media (Vidilni, 2016). The public's response, when they become aware of bias in the media, presents another interesting area for future

research. How does the awareness of a reporting bias spread, and what effect does the public's reaction have on the way the media covers terrorism around the world? Similarly, in today's world, newspapers no longer dominate as the main source of information. There are surely both similarities and differences in how terrorism is framed in other types of media such as television, radio, and social media. This is another fertile area for future research.

The relative indifference that the press shows towards attacks in non-Western countries is due to a complex mix of factors. Cultural proximity and racism may also be some of the main reasons behind this inequality. It may be that the xenophobic nature of European reporting, which shows a pro-European mindset, is reasoned away as fear rather than prejudice (Gore,2016). Thus, crucial questions for future research are: *What factors are responsible for the media's bias in its reporting on terrorism? How might this bias be tempered, or how might the audience be instilled with a better understanding of the framing strategies used by media outlets, thereby enabling a more critical consumption of media products?*

Appendix A.1

Golden Dawn's framing of the Charlie Hebdo attack

January 7th2015

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
09.01.2015	Socialist Hollande reaps the fruits of his activities in the Middle East	The murderous attack of Islamic terrorists against journalists of the satirical magazine <i>Charlie Hebdo</i> resulted in dozens of deaths. The terrorist attack in the heart of Paris shows that European citizens live in a daily state of fear of being murdered in the most brutal way by Islamists who have their bases in Muslim ghettos in the neighborhoods of European megacities.	<i>Muslims, ghetto, Islamists, brutal, murdered</i> The combination of these words generates negative impressions against Muslims.
09.01.2015	Socialist Hollande reaps the fruits of his activities in the Middle East	The Wahhabist terrorists who murdered police officers and reporters in Paris were funded and trained by French taxpayers through the orders of the socialist president Hollande. These are the same Islamic terrorists who shed blood in Libya, Syria, and Iraq. They are cannibals and rapists who brutally killed 130,000 civilians in Syria in the last four years. Those in France who whine today have their hands stained with the blood of innocent children in Syria, Iraq, Libya, etc.	Blames French policies for indirectly funding the terrorists. cannibals', brutally, shed blood, stained with blood

09.01.2015	Socialist Hollande reaps the fruits of his activities in the Middle East	The socialist Hollande has already stained his hands with the blood of innocent citizens from Eastern regions. Now his hands are also stained with the blood of his countrymen. Now that these same terrorists kill French citizens, he should stop the hypocritical lamentation and protests.	Socialist President Hollande is responsible for the suffering of his country.
11.01.2015	Charlie and the Charlatans	Watching the updates on the Paris events, I think that it is logical and expected for the Nationalists to ultimately be vindicated.	Nationalism wins because it predicted the attacks.
11.01.2015	Charlie and the Charlatans	It is highly derogatory to our intelligence and hypocritical that the fake governmental “Charlie”, the one responsible for memorandums, who opened the borders to the terrorists and their Kalashnikovs, the one who persecuted and imprisoned Greek Nationalists, becomes a “Charlie” in order to be more fashionable.	Accuses those who opened the Greek borders of hypocrisy, implying that they indirectly caused the attacks.
11.01.2015	Charlie and the Charlatans	Golden Dawn is beyond the Left and the Right, and calls upon all Greeks to join the struggle for a free and powerful Greece, with national dignity and social justice.	Only Golden Dawn is superior above other parties, and can ensure the nation’s safety.

12.01.2015	The "democracy" exclusions and the path of hypocrisy	A large number of Parisian people and politicians from across Europe were involved in this protest. And here, at the end of the preceding sentence, the hypocrisy ruins the entire message that French people want to send in all directions.	Leaders are hypocrites and are responsible for the attacks.
12.01.2015	The "democracy" exclusions and the path of hypocrisy	The attack on the French magazine was made by fanatic Islamists. Only the so-called "extreme right-wing" parties had warned of this risk that all of Europe is facing. The political leaders are responsible for this tragedy, since with their policies, both France and Greece have become areas of recruitment and action for extreme Islamist groups.	Dominance and supremacy of far right
09.02.2015	A few weeks after the jihadist attack in Paris: Concentration of Islamists in London	The initial stage was one jihadist attack on the leftist magazine "Charlie Hebdo" which killed over 17 magazine employees.	Emphasizes the political ideology of the opposite leftist newspaper
09.02.2015	A few weeks after the jihadist attack in Paris: Conference of Islamists in London	Yesterday in London, a conference held that caused a thrill throughout the world, and particularly in Greece, where urban centers are occupied by Islamist elements of unknown origin.	Asserts that Greece has masses of Islamists threatening and interfering in the country.
09.02.2015	A few weeks after the jihadist attack in Paris: Conference of	There is much in common between the events in Greece and the citizenship policy espoused by the	Criticizes the Greek policy for opening of borders

	Islamists in London	government. The existence of illegal migrants, clearly shows that the policy of leftists and rightists gave residence permits to everyone.	
14.01. 2016	Charlie Hebdo: If the little Ailan lived, he was also going to rape German women	When the leftist anti-racists mock the dead refugee children.	Leftist, antiracists mock children
14.01. 2016	Charlie Hebdo: If the little Ailan lived he was also going to rape German women	The provocative and inhumane publications by declared antiracists, atheists and internationalists at Charlie Hebdo, who mock the dead refugee children were treated with outrage, but at the same time it was ignored. This defines the political incorrectness. What if someone from the "far-right" dares to think - not even to publish-something similar? He would be directed to the firing squad immediately.	The far-right is not allowed freedom of speech, while far-left is and abuses it.

Appendix A.2

Golden Dawn's framing of the attack on the Bataclan

March 13th 2015

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
14.11.2015	Shock in Paris! Over 150 dead, dozens taken hostages and wounded in Islamist attacks	This proves that Greece and all of Europe is in a terribly dangerous situation, which worsens due to the treacherous policies of European governments who desire the incorporation of illegal immigrants, amongwhom the jihadists - terrorists are hiding.	European migration policies are unreliable.
27.11.2015	They are here! Open jihadist threats in eastern Attica	A once-great European nation, reckless, liberal France, is entangled in the nets of the black Islamist spider, daily counting victims of maniac jihadists funded and equipped by Americans.	Characterizes Islamists as spiders supported by Americans.
27.11.2015	They are here! Open jihadist threats in eastern Attica	The treacherous New Democracy delivers a leftist country that worships Islam, creating an even worse situation regarding the invaders who arrive from land and sea.	Opposes the government for worshipping Islam.
12.07.2016	Dutch counterterrorism agency: Along with the illegal immigrants, jihadist terrorists arrive!	Recall the first time Golden Dawn highlighted the danger of uncontrolled illegal immigration and emphasized that within the flows of illegal immigration there are certainly terrorists and	Links the migration crisis in Greece with the outbreak of terrorism.

		criminals hiding.	
12.07.2016	Dutch counterterrorism agency: Along with the illegal immigrants, jihadist terrorists arrive!	From the very beginning, before Bataclan and the other attacks, we emphasized the danger of the blood of innocent people staining the hands of politicians, who no matter what criticize nationalism and its "risks".	EU leaders criticize nationalism instead of effectively combating terrorism.
17.08.2016	Unbelievable atrocities by the jihadists at the Bataclan theater in France. They were raping and taking out the eyes of their victims	Unprecedented atrocities by Islamic State killers! the French government should be blamed that concealed the incredible cruelties.	The French State is unable to protect its citizens.
07.08.2016	An interview that has not been discussed by a victim of Islamic Terrorism	Just remove the word "Islam" and replace it with the word "communism". It is an ideology.	Parallelism between Islam and communism
07.08.2016	An interview that has not been discussed by a victim of Islamic Terrorism	The French are so preoccupied with racism that they allow the Muslim perpetrators to escape	The French try to fight racism against Muslims instead of Muslim terrorism.
07.08.2016	An interview that has not been discussed by a victim of Islamic Terrorism	Islam is a wolf crying "Islamophobia" in order to make us unconscious and become easier prey.	Downgrading of the attacks and Islamophobia.

07.08.2016	An interview that has not been discussed by a victim of Islamic Terrorism	We are not given the slightest right to make connotations about Muslims. "Racism," "intolerance," "inhumanity," "fanaticism," "Islamophobia," and other similar adjectives are used in the verbal arsenal of "political correctness" to impose a one-sided view. One view, which always has specific "perpetrators" and "victims".	Implies that people are restricted in characterizing Muslims, but Muslims are not restricted from attacking.
03.10.2016	New arrest of a dangerous jihadist in Greece. They have been looking for him since the carnage at the Bataclan - How many have invaded our country?	Given that Greece has become an unfenced vineyard for the illegal entry of foreigners with the assistance of either 'useful idiots' or those consciously working on an anti-nationalistic mission and screaming "open borders for all", anyone can understand that the situation is more than a serious safety issue.	The Greek government is foolish because it allows illegal immigrants in the country.
03.10.2016	New arrest of a dangerous jihadist in Greece, they were looking after him since the carnage in Bataclan - How many have invaded our country?	The essentially non-existent border surveillance, a result of obsessions that multiculturalism imposes on official governmental policy, contributes greatly to our country becoming a magnet for countless illegal immigrants, among which jihadists are certainly included.	Inadequate governmental border control results in illegal immigration, and therefore.
13.11.2016	SHAME!!! "Entrance was forbidden" to the	Europe has realized the consequences of the "open borders" policy.	The policy of open borders is

	victims of Islamic terrorism at the Bataclan because their statements "strengthen the extreme right"!	The horror of the terrorist attack at the Bataclan theater and other areas, carried out by armed Islamist terrorists, proved that they are determined to spread death and horror.	unsuccessful and fatal.
01.01.2017	2016-The year of Islamic terrorism 2017-The year of Nationalists	As long as Europe has a thriving Muslim Islamist minority that keeps increasing because of the flow of illegal immigrants, there is always the danger of an attack.	Illegal immigration leads to an increase in terrorism.
01.01.2017	2016- The year of Islamic terrorism 2017 – The year of Nationalists	The responsibility for the terrorist attacks belongs to the European socio-liberal and new-Marxist politicians who apply the “open borders” policy and push for the integration of illegal immigrants.	Blames the attacks on European leftist leaders for opening the borders.

Appendix A.3

Golden Dawn's framing of the Brussels Airport attack

22nd March 2016

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
22.03.2016	Islamic Terrorism: successive explosions in Brussels - Dozens dead, hundreds injured!	The monster of Islamic terrorism is behind the deadly terrorist attacks.	Islamic Terrorism is a monster - sign of Islamophobia.
22.03.2016	Islamic Terrorism: successive explosions in Brussels - Dozens dead, hundreds injured!	Europe is once again paying for the globalization policy they have been following for the past decades, and which is now trying to change Greece into something else. Islamic terrorism is here and unfortunately, Greece will face similar incidents with many victims soon.	Warning for potential attacks in Greece if the country follows the globalization policy of the EU.
22.03.2016	Another tragic confirmation of Golden Dawn's warnings: The Islamic terrorist State has claimed responsibility for the deadly attacks in Brussels	The truth spoken by Golden Dawn, our warnings that the Islamist terrorists passing undisturbed through the perforated Greek borders are also responsible for deadly new attacks in Brussels, have been solemnly confirmed!	Golden Dawn is presented as a prophet.
26.03.2016	Our dangerous government is responsible for the	Once again, the constant warnings by Golden Dawn are confirmed. With the risky	The government is responsible for the country's lack of security because of

	carnage in Belgium: The Brussels bomber went through the perforated Greek borders	government's anti-Greek policy of open borders, the prime minister has turned our country a storehouse of illegal immigrants and passageway for jihadists.	policies in favor of immigrants.
16.10.2016	Greece is a station for jihadists: found in Athens, the plans for the attacks in Brussels and Paris	So it is clear that the jihadists are already in Greece and have formed a complete network that is waiting to be activated. Of course, we should not forget the cooperation that exists between the jihadists in Greece and so-called "anti-authoritarians". There are many times that they have paraded together in the center of Athens, along with the Islamists screaming "Allahu Akbar", and protected by leftist backers .	Leftists uphold terrorism in Greece.
26.10.2016	New data on the uncontrollable actions of jihadists in Greece - They have established a core in Athens	The trick of the "refugee" is very popular. Anyone can enter our country. Indeed, we would not be surprised at all if we found out that the jihadists used domestic "useful idiots" who shout the familiar, repetitive" antiracist slogans" and act as butter on the bread of jihadists, in their work to achieve their dirty plans.	Refugees uncontrollably enter the country.
26.10.2016	New data on the uncontrollable actions of jihadists in Greece - They have	The fact that this core of Islamist terrorists was quenched should not lead us to complacency, as it is almost certain that there is another	Condemns governmental asylum policies and warns of a potential attack in Greece because of

	established a "core in Athens"	core. While the known "useful idiots" shout "welcome refugees" and "legalize all migrants".	these policies.
23.12.2016	Jihadists threaten Europe with new terrorist attacks during Christmas	As the "confrontation with terrorism" continues as a result of the suicidal style of "welcome refugees," and "open borders for all", with countless Muslim intruders and Islamic terrorists, Europe will continue to count casualties and lament terrible acts with slogans such as "We are all Charlie Hebdo", "We are all Bataclan", "We are all Berlin" and so on...	Refugees are Muslims and Islamists, and therefore terrorists. They should be kicked out of Europe.
25.12.2016	Apocalyptic research: only countries with open borders are facing a high risk of Islamic terrorism	The alarm level is very low in countries that in the beginning of the so-called "refugee crisis" chose to ignore the EU and close their borders, electing patriotic prime ministers to defend their national interests.	EU guidelines should not be followed by Greece. Nationalists should rule Greece.
25.12.2016	Apocalyptic research only countries with open borders are facing a high risk of Islamic terrorism	Nationalism will lead to security, and despite the strong propaganda of Western globalization, our people will eventually realize this.	Nationalism is the solution that guarantees security.
18.03.2017	New jihadist waves blow into Europe: Islamic terrorists tried to shed blood in Paris again	The EU seems helpless in the war they have declared against the jihadists. War escalates with the uncontrollable illegal immigration and the anti-racist obsession. The only solution is the return of all illegal	The solution to terrorism is the expulsion of refugees from Europe.

		immigrants to their countries of origin, and the guarding of the borders of our country.	
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Appendix B.1

***Rizospastis'* framing of the Charlie Hebdo attack**

January 7th2015

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
08.01.2015	Carnage by gunmen in the offices of a satirical magazine, with 12 dead	France plays a leading role in the bombing of the "Islamic State" that acts in Iraq and Syria, promoting anti-grassroots plans of imperialist bloodshed in the Middle East once again.	Opposes antipopular measures by France in Middle East.
08.01.2015	Carnage by gunmen in the offices of a satirical magazine with 12 dead	The attacks are utilized to strengthen the already existing "anti-terrorist measures" and to consolidate a climate of Islamic terror, aimed at enhancing national security.	National unity – Islamophobia
09.01.2015	Outrage for brutal killings. Investigations continue.	Bourgeois parties and the media have exploited the bloody attack, nurturing scenes of terror-hysteria.	The media takes advantage of the newsworthiness of the attacks.
09.01.2015	Outrage for brutal killings. Investigations continue	Developments exploited in the context of growing inter-bourgeois controversy in France, paving the way for conservatization of the working classes.	Mentions working class and bourgeois in the coverage of the attacks.
10.01.2015	Terror-hysteria in	In a flared climate of Islamophobia and	Islamophobia in

	Britain	terrorism in Europe, the jihadists of the "Islamic State" in Syria are planning terrorist attacks in Western countries in order to cause massive loss of life, possibly on public transport.	Europe
10.01.2015	Anti-grassroot attack on the profitability of capitalism	Before the cowardly attack on the satirical magazine Charlie Hebdo, which attracted more spotlight than the subsequent anti-grassroots measures put in place by the government.	Anti-grassroots measures of the government
13.01.2015	In the foreground: the "prevention of radicalization"	In a climate of terror-hysteria, urban staff designed the expansion of their objectives throughout Europe.	Imperialistic expansion
13.01.2015	In the foreground the "prevention of radicalization"	The sensitive (...) leaders whose interventions escalated the murderous jihadists.	Ironical characterization of the European leaders
13.01.2015	In the foreground the "prevention of radicalization"	Notably, the massive outrage at the deaths of 17 innocent people at the hands of jihadist in Paris demonstrates the hypocrisy of the bourgeois leaders.	Hypocrisy of the bourgeois leaders
13.01.2015	In the foreground the "prevention of radicalization"	The hypocritical imperialistic representatives who walked in Paris,	Leaders are imposters, and pretend to be proponents of freedom, while doing

		supposedly against terrorism and in favor of freedom.	the opposite.
13.01.2015	In the foreground the "prevention of radicalization"	Of course, experience has shown that in such conditions, governmental forces mainly target the organized workers and grassroots movements.	Terrorism is used as an opportunity to impose unpopular measures.

Appendix B.2

Rizospastis' Framing of the Bataclan attack

March 13th2015

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
13.11.2015	Announcement by the press office of the KKE about the deadly attacks in Paris	History has proven that these kinds of terrorist attacks intensify the flames and are exploited by those who plan military imperialistic interventions and new measures of repression against the people. For this reason, citizens should be prepared for more dangerous developments.	The West uses Human pain as an opportunity for military intervention.
15.11.2015	Deadly terrorist attacks in the center of Paris	What is certain is that the imperialist powers who supported and strengthened criminal jihadist organizations like "Islamic State" in their various geostrategic plans, will use these events to enhance the so-called "anti-terror campaign", which is going to be the new starting point for more interventions, with the only victims being the people.	The jihadist movements are a result of Western imperialism
17.11.2015	Rapid developments on all levels	From the very first moment, the imperialistic urban headquarters used the	Attacks are exploited by European allies to implement anti-

		new fatal terrorist carnage to promote a series of anti-grassroots plans within each country and internationally, while the deep inter-imperialist contradictions are sharpened in the guise of combating terrorism. The Middle East remains a key factor in the escalation of the competition.	grassroots measures
17.11.2015	Rapid developments on all levels	The blood of the French and other nationals will be exploited by the bourgeoisie to promote new antipopular plans.	Opposition to the bourgeoisie and the political status quo
25.11.2015	The manhunt continues with "extraordinary" measures	The way both the authorities and the media operate ultimately reinforces climate of scaremongering, paving the way for new reactionary measures in the name of safety, as already put in place by the French government.	Cooperation between the media and European governments

Appendix B.3

***Rizospastis'* framing of the Brussels Airport attack**

March 22nd 2016

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
23.03.2016	Deadly bombings in the center of Brussels	The new carnage, regardless of what will be revealed generally about the circumstances of the events, is butter on the bread of the anti-grassroots plans of the international imperialist headquarters. There is an acceleration in the competition for imperialist intervention in Syria and Libya, in the name of combating terrorism.	Political intervention in the activities of Syria and Libya is done in the name of safety.
23.03.2016	Deadly bombings in the center of Brussels	From the first moment news of the attacks emerged, they were exploited for various anti-grassroots manipulations (...) All urban analysts have linked the events to developments on several fronts and refugee crisis.	Linkage of terrorism with the refugee crisis
23.03.2016	Deadly bombings in the center of Brussels	After the attacks on the 13 th of November, France has, in the name of counterterrorism, gradually planned the escalation of their imperialistic interventions in Syria,	France is pursuing its personal interests under the guide of counterterrorism.

		strengthening its own presence in the Middle East, where the competition becomes stronger.	
25.03.2016	Questions about the bombings are multiplying	Meanwhile, the ongoing investigations into those who are responsible for the attack are multiplying the questions about the circumstances under which these "terrorist attacks" were organized. This fact has become more and more convenient for a number of anti-grassroots approaches.	Using the attacks for the imposition of anti-grassroots measures
03.04.2016	The so-called "terrorist threat" and the imperialist war	For five years, Syria has waged a war that has claimed the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and has uprooted millions from their homes. This is the result of imperialistic aggression and inter-imperialist antagonisms. Capitalism, which increases the wealth of a handful of exploiters, generates crises, social problems, war, and refugees, resulting in painful consequences for millions of people.	Imperialist aggression, inter-imperialist antagonism, and capitalism have led to the crisis.
03.04.2016	The so-called "terrorist threat" and the imperialist war	This war guarantees access to energy sources and new deposits in the Eastern Mediterranean, for US	Capitalism and Imperialism caused the terrorist attacks

		and European monopolies, allowing them to monitor a large area, a corridor of trade and transport. Only in this war, the various capitalist states do not hold common interests. In fact, this is a war between capitalist states, with imperialist forces seeking the best location to "operate". The so-called "terrorist threat" and the imperialistic war is the same thing.	
03.04.2016	The so-called "terrorist threat" and the imperialist war	Jihadists\ are creations of the imperialistic organizations, the US, NATO and the EU.	Blaming of the US, NATO, and the EU for Islamic fanaticism.
03.04.2016	The so-called "terrorist threat" and the imperialist war	But how hypocritical must a government be to promote "progressiveness"? When supported by NATO action, this imperialist mechanism has been actively involved in guarding the maritime borders in the Aegean (...). How hypocritical must the government be to speak about "war interests" when they participate in imperialistic interventions?	Leaders are "beguilers" because they took part in imperialistic interventions that led to the attacks.

Appendix C.1

Kathimerini's framing of the Charlie Hebdo attack

January 7th 2015

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
08.02.2015	A French person can also be Muslim	French identity has incorporated a cosmopolitan lifestyle to such an extent that the country fails to honor its ideals, since it has mutated into a versatile society in which Islam occupies a leading position.	Distinction between the French cosmopolitan lifestyle and the values of Islam
08.02.2015	A French person can also be Muslim	However, the French ideals and French democracy might seem excessively distant and blank to Muslims, who traditionally do not distinguish between religious and public life.	Divergence of lifestyles, unbridgeable gap
08.02.2015	A French person can also be Muslim	There is currently a new record increase in crime and extreme Islamism. This is justified on the grounds of socio-economic factors. Young people laugh at the ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity.	Popularity of Islam is based on socioeconomic factors.
18.01.2015	People of the Gods, Gods of the people	We are victims of stereotypes that are spread throughout the West, which portray Christianity as always	Stereotypes and Islam. Emphasizes differences in the framing of religions.

		loving, mild, and altruistic, while Islam is portrayed as war-like and indifferent to reflection.	
18.01.2015	People of the Gods, Gods of the people	Westerners have always believed in Western innocence, the excellence of their religions and the superiority of their civilization. Let's realize it even now, we, the "others", that we are different.	Ironic distinction between us and the "others". Accusation of Orientalism.
18.01.2015	Europe and the feeling of belonging	Hundreds of protesters in France defended the freedom of the press, freedom of expression and the freedom of protest, in opposition to Islamo-fascism.	Islamofascism denies fundamental freedoms.
20.01.2015	France, the merger of Europe	Charlie Hebdo is linked to all the ghosts of contemporary France: fears of creeping Islamization and the rise of anti-Semitism, the growing power of the extreme right and an anti-Islamic reaction - all integrated in the broader context of a feeling of economic instability, a feeling that the French have been betrayed by the European elite.	The rise of the far-right in France is linked to Islam. France vs. the rest of Europe

24.01.2015	The cause of modern Western Jihad	Only with social inclusion and by providing equal opportunities, free of paternalistic rhetoric, will Europe will be able to bring back to her bosom the lost sheep of the modern jihad.	Social and intellectual means as a means to combat jihadism
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Appendix C.2

Kathimerini's framing of the Bataclan attack

November 13th2015

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
15.01.2015	Deadly terrorist attacks in the center of Paris	What is certain is that the imperialistic powers who supported and strengthened criminal jihadist organizations like the "Islamic State" for their various geostrategic plans, will use the events to enhance the so-called "anti-terror campaign", which is going to be the new starting point for further interventions, with the only victims being the people.	Imperialists hypocritically plan anti-terrorism campaigns
17.11.2015	Boulevard Voltaire	And this finding not only concerns the abysmal gap that divides the Western world from the beliefs of the terrorist killers, but we have to conquer them among us (...).here in Greece, more particularly(referring to religious tolerance, freedom of speech, segregation of church and state and the spirit of Enlightenment).	Gap between Greeks and Muslims

28.02.2016	Oh Kemal, what have you done to us?	The populations that pass through Europe today want to save themselves from the savagery of civil or economic misery, but it remains to be seen whether they want to and can assimilate into European societies. What is certain is that the former eastern bloc countries do not want them. They are doing what they have done in their recent history: building walls.	Distinction between Europe and all the rest of the world Sign of Orientals
14.06.2016	The lesson that did not become a precept	It is interesting to note that a large percentage of the Greek public, supporters of the center or left, who find it difficult to condemn religious fanaticism. I'm sure this is not an exclusively Greek phenomenon. If the offender was white, Christian and (even better) a fan of Donald Trump, the Greek social media (...) would shrink from cursing and analyzing America, They would not analyse an unacceptable anachronism representing the late Midwest.	Supporters of the center and left do not show interest in religious extremism

		Now that the Islamic State has claimed responsibility, silence prevails'..	
14.06.2016	The lesson that did not become a precept	In many cases, "self-restraint" in reporting lead us to see the tree and not the forest and, eventually, to the denial of reality based on the good-sense European tradition of tolerance (and guilt), which has a political angle.	Any event can be taken out of context and utilized for political purposes.
25.07.2016	Response from the country of fear	Of course, in times of tension, the sharpening of political passions and maximum insecurity benefit demagogues and extremists, and this is what terrorists wish to attain: to divide our society, to place on one side the Muslim community, more than 6 million people, and on the other, the French population.	Framing of the implications of such attacks
25.07.2016	Response from the country of fear	Under these conditions, the edges of the right and left disclose their positions. In general, French society is a moderate society (...). We see that what is	Terrorist acts affect the status quo in politics, causing the growth of the far-right and the far-left.

		going on in Europe in terms of the radicalization of political life, is a fact of life today, and extreme-right streams are gaining ground everywhere.	
20.10.2016	Research by the University of Piraeus: “How the refugee crisis is portrayed after the terrorist attacks in Paris”	A survey has shown that since the Paris terrorist attacks, there is a narrow triangular relationship between Islam, the phenomenon of terrorism, and refugees. The Islamist terrorism of ISIS is a major cause of refugee flows, while in turn the refugee flows are presented as a means to convert Western European cities, in a theatre of operations by Islamic terrorists.	Links the terrorist attacks to the refugee crisis.
20.10.2016	Research by the University of Piraeus: “How the refugee crisis is portrayed after the terrorist attacks in Paris”	The terrorist attack in Paris directly affects the reporting on the refugee crisis.	Connection between the terrorist attacks and the refugee crisis
13.11.2016	A year since the bloody attacks in Paris	A number of events in memory of the victims are planned today in France, with the phantom of the	The extreme-right haunts Europe.

		extreme-right hovering over, more menacing than ever before.	
22.11.2016	13 th of November 2015	On the 13 th of November, jihadists, in addition to the human lives, destroyed French and European carelessness.	Identifies another “victim” of the Bataclan attacks
22.11.2016	13 th of November 2015	Terrorist acts by European citizens revealed a guided a fifth column which is not assembled only by the descendants of Muslims, but also by converts. The problem is therefore greater than the inadequate integration of immigrants, it is about the weakness of Western society to inspire ideals to youth.	The West cannot effectively incorporate Muslims.

Appendix C.3

***Kathimerini's* framing of the Brussels Airport attack**

March 22nd 2016

Date	Title of the article	Key statements	Framing
23.03.2016	The violent maturity of Europe	Europe has been very spoiled for decades. The Cold War provided Europe the security umbrella of the US. European governments have never been involved, with few exceptions, in their own safety. They believed that they could continue living the "good life" that they became used to after the war, without spending energy, time and money on safety. Now they realize that the American umbrella is no longer opened over the continent and, at the same time, the world has suddenly become more dangerous and unpredictable.	Europe lacks of preparedness when it comes to safety
23.03.2016	Are we all together? Really?	The winners are again the terrorists of the fascist Caliphate. It is not religion that is the main target of their fanaticism, but democracy. They want to kill	Refers to the violation of democracy by Islam.

		democracy with their bombs. Europe must remain standing and intact, despite all of its wounds, and maintain its fundamental values. Only then will the refugees not become double victim of terror in their homeland and xenophobia in Europe.	
23.03.2016	Illusions of Europe	There are political factors that can explain this phenomenon. I.S. wants to carry its war to the heart of Europe. It assesses the Muslims who live there and takes advantage of the conditions of freedom that are enjoyed by the member states of the Union. The political dimension of war is more about the techniques and less about the substance.	Terrorist attacks have to be treated as a political issue and not as isolated acts.
23.03.2016	Illusions of Europe	I.S. and its jihadists do not wish to expand their territory, but want to destroy Western civilization. This war is not imperialistic. This is a war to the very end, until the extermination of one of the opponents.	IS and Jihadists react to the Western imperialistic mania by carrying out terrorist acts.

23.03.2016	Illusions of Europe	When Western powers clumsily began their interventions in the Islamic world as geopolitical or economic strategies, they did not understand that their naïve wish to correct the Islamic world and to make it more democratic was wrong. But Europe must understand, if they do not want to get destroyed by terrorism, that terrorism is fed by the cells of the multicultural society and of cultural relativism.	Western powers who declared war against Islam are responsible for the attacks.
23.03.2016	Illusions of Europe	Sometimes we need to skip the prayers and use rationalization to understand what releases the death instinct within the culture of Islam.	Mocks the way the West deals with terrorist acts.
24.03.2016	Ten Ten in Eidomeni	Greece is not in danger because it has never been an imperialistic or colonialist county.	Greece has never been colonialist, so is not in danger.
24.03.2016	Ten Ten in Eidomeni	The connection of refugee-immigration and terrorism is not linear (...) the Islamic State does not need to introduce terrorists into Europe. IS finds and recruits them	Potential terrorists are all over Europe.

		inside Islamic enclaves that already exist in Europe's megacities.	
24.03.2016	Ten Ten in Eidomeni	Terrorism is a consequence of imperialism and other crusades.	Imperialism as the cause of the terrorist attacks
24.03.2016	Ten Ten in Eidomeni	Muslim populations may become flammable raw-material. A desire to reside in the West may turn into hatred for the West, which may then suffer the jihadist rhetoric released by the Koran. Muslims show hatred for the West, or hatred for the country which for them represents Europe.	Enhances the feeling of insecurity for a future attack by Muslims.

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