The battle of stereotypes

North vs. South- Stereotypes vs. Reality

How Britain and Spain frame Greece and its people during the Greek Crisis

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Abstract: This study aims to identify how the Greek financial crisis has been framed by the British and Spanish press. More specifically the purpose of this research is to see which stereotypes have been used for the framing of this crisis and which are the differences between the two countries. The sample consisted of the newspapers the Guardian, Financial Times, El Mundo and El Pais. In order to answer the research questions, (inductive) qualitative content analysis has been performed on the sample. The theoretical framework chosen to support this research comes from framing theory, the use of stereotypes and global crisis. This research revealed that mainly the financial aspect of this crisis has been stereotyped by these newspapers. The social aspect, which has to do with general characterizations of Greek people, was not heavily stereotyped.
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Introduction: A national crisis with global aspects

The focus of this thesis is the Greek financial crisis and how foreign press, more specifically the Spanish and British press, covered this crisis. The Greek crisis is a national crisis, which consequences could possibly have global reach. The focus of this research is to find the national element in press coverage of a supposed ‘global’ crisis. This is the reason why I chose to proceed to a cross-country comparison. I believe there will be some differences in the framing performed by the Spanish and British press, since they both want to localize a foreign event in order to make sense to their national audiences. At this point it is necessary to give more depth in the characteristics of this crisis. A deeper understanding of the specificities of this crisis will help to get a clearer sight of the media coverage of it.

It could be said that the Greek crisis is a national crisis with global aspects. According to Berglez a global outlook on a crisis occurs when the media not only focus on the developments within this specific country but try to give context as to how these developments affect or concern the international scene.

“The national outlook puts the nation-state at the centre of things when framing social reality, while the global outlook instead seeks to understand and explain how economic, political, social and ecological practices, processes and problems in different parts of the world affect each other, are interlocked, or shared commonalities” (Berglez, P.,2008: 847). In this sense whatever happens to the financial situation of Greece can be of interest for Spain, since it is one of the countries that face also serious problems with its debt, or for Great Britain that has a certain amount of Greek bonds in its possession. Already this reveals that the national interests or the involvement of a nation to a crisis may affect the way its press will frame the event, which asserts that even a global event will be eventually framed through a national lens.
As Berglez argues, in the era of globalization the same holds true not only for the countries but for journalism as well. “While traditional foreign news journalism covers global powers such as G8, IMF, EU, Google, the World Bank, NATO, Microsoft, or the Hollywood film industry in more general terms, global journalism focuses in particular on how such powers affect people’s lives at the domestic (local/national) level, and in reverse: how people’s micro-actions and domestic governments transform or challenge the power of global actors” (2009:851). It could be said that this argument fits well with the situation in Greece. Global institutions like the International Monetary Fund and European Union play a role in the Greek crisis. Subsequently media report on how these institutions’ involvement affects Greek reality but also how the handling of this crisis from the Greek administration can possibly reversely affect other European countries.

In the age of globalization the national issues and the national identities thus seem to pass on to another level. As Marco Antonisch describes it, the nation-state has reached an end or a point of crisis. “The internationalization of markets, the rise of global capital, the devolution of powers to sub- (regions and cities) and supra-national (e.g. EU) actors, and the emergence of a ‘risk society’, associated with global environmental and population threats have been listed as some of the main reasons of this crisis” (2009:282). However, even if the nation state according to Antonisch seems to be in crisis, we still find national ideas at play when covering foreign or global issues. I argue that maybe the events themselves have global reach or global consequences (e.g. global warming) but each country has a national focus when localizing such news events.

What is important in the above described transitory process is not to define it as a problematic period, but to understand what is so special under these circumstances. By saying this I mean that from a journalistic view it is important to understand what changes in the coverage of a crisis like the Greek. How for example the Spanish press is going to cover the Greek sovereign
debt issue, which tools the press will use in order to explain that issue in the Spanish audience and why the media will choose to package the event this way or another.

“To begin with, foreign affairs are generally unobtrusive, i.e., the public is unlikely to have any direct experience with them. In the absence of direct personal contact, individuals’ images of the actors and events on the international scene will be heavily, and unavoidably, media depended” (Eyal 1980 as cited in Manheim, J., Albritton, R., 1984:643). This notion can be considered as the starting point for our understanding of what differs when framing a national, an international or a global event. The proximity or contact of the audience with the source of a news event plays a crucial role when framing this event, and will be further analyzed on the review of framing theory later on.

Until now I analyzed the characteristics of the situation in Greece, in relation to the European Union, other countries or global entities, and how media deal with such issues. Before I dive deep into how this crisis has evolved within Greece, it is important to say why I define this situation as a crisis.

There are at least two ways of defining a crisis, which I argue are suitable for the current situation. The first one comes from Arjen Boin, Paul ’t Hart and Allan McConnell, who “define crises as events or developments widely perceived by members of relevant communities to constitute urgent threats to core community values and structures” (2009:83). In the case of the Greek crisis that is a national crisis with global aspects, not only Greek people identified it and define it as such, but also the people of other countries that are already involved (directly or indirectly) and might be affected by it.

The other definition comes from the article “This Is History”: Nation and Experience in Times of Crisis-Argentina 2001. In that article it is stated that “Crises are recognized as the “end” point of
a process whereby contradictions that may have been spawned over a longer period “become visible everywhere”. The crisis is, then, the moment of visibility, the point of recognition after which “history could look entirely different” (Koselleck, 2002 as cited on Goddard, V., 2006:270).

Applied to the Greek case, the crisis did not break out over a night. There was a whole period of developments, processes and a series of dysfunctions, like the steady growth of public debt, or the manipulation of numbers of the Greek figures, which led to the crisis and the realization of it.

The previous disclosure of some key characteristics of this crisis allows me at this point to bring the focus of this research. This study aims to explore the coverage of the Greek crisis by the British newspapers the Guardian and Financial Times and the Spanish El Mundo and El Pais. In order to see the national framework each country applies when covering the Greek crisis, I want to answer the following questions:

RQ1: Are there any stereotypes used by the newspapers The Guardian, Financial Times, El Pais and El Mundo in order to describe Greece and the Greeks during the financial crisis? RQ2: Which are the prevailing stereotypes? RQ3: Are there any differences between the North (Great Britain) and the South (Spain) on the stereotypes they choose to employ?

The time period chosen to apply qualitative content analysis on the sample is from May 24 until June 30, 2011. This is the period when the movement of the indignant started to emerge in Greece and it also includes some other key events of this crisis, which will be further analysed in the historical backdrop that follows. It is vital for the purpose of this research to understand that even in a crisis like the Greek, which has global implications, the foreign media domesticate the crisis by employing national frameworks. This introductory chapter aimed to make this point and the historical backdrop that follows will provide more details for the understanding of this crisis.
From the First Bailout Agreement to the Indignant

In order to have a complete picture of the crisis it is necessary to see how it unfolded within the country. Therefore, in this part of my research I will give the key points of the crisis, something necessary for the understanding of the project and its aims. It is also important to state that this crisis is ongoing and has not passed yet on the pages of history, which makes it difficult to give a detailed historical overview. The aim of this section is not to dive deep into financial terms and details, but to highlight some aspects of the crisis, namely the country, the people and the media.

- The Country

The Greek crisis is not just the series of events that have been going on for the last couple of years. If someone wants to see how Greece came to the point at which it is standing right now, he or she has to go back in time, perhaps to when Greece entered the Eurozone. I do not intend to proceed to an exhausting narration for the reader concerning what happened from the point when Greece entered the Eurozone until now. However, as some media, like New York Times, put it when the crisis started to become visible there is a simple and fast way to describe what happened at the above mentioned period of time.

The phrase that supposedly said it all is ‘Greek statistics’. This sentence means the ‘creative’ accounting, and number manipulation that Greece used to implement right from entering the Eurozone in order to show ‘healthy’ numbers or as Nicholson puts it, “Its budget deficit numbers have proven so unreliable since it joined the euro that in Brussels, “Greek statistics” is synonymous with funny numbers” (Nicholson, C., 2009, dealbook.nytimes.com). This quote comes from the New York Times and it is representative of how some of the media tried to track the source of the crisis.
What happened the last few years is that after 2008 the deficit of Greece and its debt as well started to rise faster and faster. At that time all the eyes were focused on the eruption of the financial crisis that took place on the other side of the Atlantic. In the years that followed, the world was trying to recover from the crisis of 2008 and this could be the reason, why global institutions, rating agencies and other entities decided to be more cautious with the financial status of some countries.

The difficult financial situation that Greece was in, started to show after 2008. The Greek government at that time, Nea Demokratia, and its leader Konstantinos Karamanlis was talking about the need to take some austerity measures in order to overcome the difficult situation “Mr. Karamanlis after mentioning ‘two very difficult years are going to follow’, he announced tough reforms and policies on three basic directions: strict control on public spending, handling of tax evasion and structural reforms” (unknown author, 2009, inews.gr)¹. However, the opposition party PASOK and its leader George Papandreou had another motto at the very same period. In the article Governmental lies of the website Aegean-news.gr it is written in retrospect “Before the 2009 national elections: “There is money” [in text subheading]. While the whole Europe knew that Greece has a huge problem with its debt, PASOK before the elections was giving to the Greeks unfulfilled promises” (unknown author, 2011).

Greek people were unaware of the gravity of the situation; therefore they preferred to believe the declarations of Mr. Papandreou, something that gave the victory to his political party on the parliamentary elections of October 2009.

The finance minister of Greece at that time, George Papaconstantinou, short after he took responsibilities in the ministry, revised the deficit of 2009 from 6% to 12.5%, more than double

¹ Translation from the original in Greek. All quotes that come from Greek sources are translated in English by the author of this thesis.
from the estimation that the last government had made. After this announcement the rating agency Fitch downgraded the Greek fidelity from A to A-. This could be seen as the beginning of the end. Later on the so called spreads, or the lending rate, begun to rise and it was very difficult for the country to keep on lending money from the markets because of the high interests. Additionally to this environment, the European Statistics Agency, Eurostat, after monitoring the Greek numbers, revised Greece’s budget deficit for 2009 and for the past years as well “The mission also revised upward the debt and deficit figures going back to 2006” (unknown author, 2010, sofiaecho.com).

All these developments made the country unable to borrow money from the international market, since no one wanted to lend money to a country that was not to be trusted. Even then George Papandreou was declaring that Greece was only seeking for political support from Europe; “So we are not asking for help, as some reckless country just wanting to live off the wealth of others. We are not asking for money from the Germans, the French, or the Italians or other workers or taxpayers. What we are saying is we need the strong political support in order to make these necessary reforms, and making sure that we are not going to pay more than necessary in order to get these reforms enacted” (Papandreou, 2010, papandreou.gr).

However, a couple of months after this statement the country finally asked for financial support from Europe and the International Monetary Fund.

The official declaration of the Prime Minister for financial support came on April 23, 2010 and the first bailout agreement along with the austerity measures came on May 1, 2010.
The People

The crisis in Greece did not end after arranging to receive the financial support on May 2010. The problems remained and the country had to implement strict measures in order to fulfill the aims of the austerity program. As it was presented earlier the people voted for the party that stated there was enough money to overcome the problems. Looking at various blogs one gets the sense that some people felt deceived. The lead paragraph of antinews.gr is a representative example of what is often being said among other citizens “Science raises the hands up. The Prime Minister is one step before turning into one of our favorite childhood heroes, Baron Munchausen. So many lies and deception of the Greek people, so distorting the truth and reality on the Greek economy and the country and we didn’t even lived in the days of Andrew”, who was the father of the former Prime Minister George Papandreou (factorx, 2011)³.

When Greece came to the point to ask for international help, people were told that the only alternative they had was bankruptcy, and that the bailout agreement would help them recover in about three years “In the context of a three year joint programme with the IMF, the financial package makes available € 110 billion to help Greece meet its financing needs, with euro area Member States ready to contribute for their part € 80 billion, of which up to € 30 billion in the first year”(statement by the Eurogroup, 2010). Every now and then the Greek government reassured the people that there would be no additional austerity measures introduced, but this was not the case. The reason is that the goals set by the government were never fully achieved and extra money was needed to fill those black holes. The following picture (figure 1) comes from a front-page of the newspaper Eleftherotypia of August 2010 and the headline is translated to “The government is pressed by the deficit, the recession and unemployment. They bring now the measures of 2011”.

³ Greek source. Quote translated by the author this thesis.
With the ‘emergency’ measures introduced, the main target was pensioners and workers, who had been always paying their dues. Other measures that could help the progress of the economy were often voted in the parliament but not employed in reality. This situation made the feeling of injustice grow among the people, as it is described by the Greek media. “Last year the country became a bit more unfair with regard to paying taxes. This is solemnly confirmed by the data of the Ministry of Finance, that show once again, that the main face of the country is the defense of undeclared money, no matter how high or low are those who reap it. So for the incomes of 2009 workers and pensioners paid 7 billion euro or 52.5% of the tax burdens, 5.5% more than last year” (Teloglou, T., 2010, protagon.gr)\(^4\).

It should be also noted, that Greece is a country where cases of corruption at times have shaken public life. The Greeks after the emergence of the crisis had as their motto “bring the stolen [money] back” referring to their politicians. Various cases of corruption that involved politicians or prominent citizens closed without anyone getting punished, something that did not get unnoticed in the press and the people. The newspaper *Eleftherotypia* has a sharp article

\(^4\) Greek source. Quote translated by the author.
concerning one of the biggest scandals which allegedly involved high ranking officials; “With yesterday’s vote against the proposal to refer at least Mr. Alogoskoufis and Markogiannakis to a preliminary committee, that would investigate their potential responsibilities for the Siemens scandal, actually the tombstone of impunity was placed” (Pantelakis, G., 2011)⁵. However, the corruption is not only taking place in the higher layers of the society but in everyday life such as by avoiding to declare all incomes, or simply by not giving receipts for various services.

However, in an environment where people were asked to pay for the mistakes of the past, they expected to see the more privileged contribute as well. Figure 2 is taken from a campaign of one of the biggest Greek Channels, Antenna, and more specifically its morning news show which had as its motto “Bring the stolen [money] back” for a certain period of time. This was a common slogan in protests before it became the motto of the show “Good morning Greece”.

Figure 2: ©onlyingreece-foryou.blogspot.com

After a year during which the politicians were encouraging people that their sacrifices would be acknowledged and they would head to a better future, the outcome was different. Another package of austerity measures, called mid-term program, was about to get introduced in the parliament in order to get voted. The members of the parliament were once again facing the

⁵ Greek source. Quote translated by the author if this thesis.
same dilemmas: more measures or bankruptcy. The citizens found themselves facing the same dead-end situation, but their reaction to that was to fill the streets and protest.

This is the point when the story brings us to the indignant- indignados (in Spanish) or aganaktismenoi in Greek. Some weeks before Greeks decided to gather outside the parliament for a peaceful protest, the Spanish had done the same kind of protests in various big squares of Spain. In fact the Spanish gave the name indignados to this movement, which later on the Greeks continued (and translated to aganaktismenoi). The crowd in Spain consisted mainly of young people, who saw their future getting blurred by the crisis. The big unemployment and recession in Spain made people fill the streets; even sleep there during the night inside tents. They were asking for real democracy, as they did not feel that their politicians were representing them (unknown author, 2011, comunicas.org).

The indignados movement started in Spain on May 15 and later on the Greeks followed on May 24. The people had a date everyday at 18.00 outside of the parliament and every Sunday there was a call for similar protests at the European level. The crowd consisted of people of all ages. People were coming alone or with their children, they did not represent any political party and they were gathered to support their rights. Under the virtues of direct democracy, there was a daily assembly and people were free to support their views concerning their problems and make suggestions as to how they could continue this movement.

Part of the bailout agreement was the so called mid-term program, which was expected to get voted by the parliament in June, but the Greek indignant had as their goal to stop the voting procedure. The talks for the mid-term program started on June 15, and thousands of people gathered outside the parliament to express their anger, while a general strike was also taking place at the same time.
The protesters wanted to construct a human shield in front of the parliament so that the members of the parliament would not be able to proceed there in order to take part in the talks. “Greek protestors have vowed to blockade the national parliament in Athens, in order to prevent law makers debating further austerity measures for the crisis hit country” (unknown author, 2011, nucleus.uk.net). However, strong police force was standing in front of the parliament in order to protect it, something that triggered the tension among the protesters. This tension led to big fights in the center of Athens, something that made the government move one step closer to resignation. At that time many rumors took place concerning what was going to happen, and the Greek media were talking about ‘historic moments’ that were taking place. Finally, the outcome was the resignation of two members of the parliament and a restructuring of the government. The minister of finance, who was often under criticism, was transferred to another ministry and Evagelos Venizelos, the minister at the time of writing this paper, took his place.

Finally, the midterm program was voted on June 29, even though the people once again showed their opposition to the new measures. The financial help was given to Greece in installments and at that point the 5th dose was going to be disbursed only with the precondition that the parliament would approve the program. This finally happened since the members of the parliament did not want to carry the burden of a potential default.

The daily gatherings continued for several weeks, but as the time was passing their power started to decrease.

- The Media

The story of the Greek crisis made headlines around the world, and still does. In some cases it could be said that there was an open debate between countries, like Germany and Greece.
Provocative headlines and manipulation of symbols were often employed by both sides, in order to get biased messages across (see figures 3 and 4).

In the foreign press it seems that Greeks were often presented also as ‘lazy’ people, something that shows from the cartoon on the front page of the current thesis.

With this thesis I aim to identify which representations of Greeks prevail in foreign press, since it is expected that the people or the media abroad would be skeptic towards Greece, after seeing so many inconsistencies coming from this country.

Some international media talk about ‘ongoing parties’ that have been taking place for years in Greece, as the headline of the Economist “The sad end of the party” shows (unknown author, 2010, economist.com). This could be the case for some people, but not for the majority in Greece. This generation was often mocked as “the generation of the 700 euro”, since this is, or better said was, the basic salary; and it seems rather generalizing to say that people were living in wealth, spending money constantly.
However, the depictions of Greeks as corrupt or lazy, took bigger dimensions for Greece and its people. The aim of this paper is to see which stereotypes were employed by the foreign press and to what extent. The choice of Spain and Britain gives two different angles to look through, in order to have a better picture. The two countries are expected to apply different national frameworks to localize this crisis and so the differences that are expected to come up will shed light to our understanding of why foreign media frame a news event in certain ways. Another potential ‘couple’ for research could be Greece and Germany, but given that these countries are directly involved (with Greece being the country in crisis, and Germany being one of the countries, along with France, that dictate the policy for the solution of this crisis), the results would be more “radical” and thus probably less representative.

The historical backdrop was unfolded in three levels and covered some key characteristics of this crisis which are necessary in order to understand better the media coverage. The aim of this thesis is to identify the prevailing representations of Greece and the Greeks in the British and Spanish press. However, this research takes also another step towards the potential differences between the two countries’ coverage. The Greek crisis has some global aspects but this does not mean that the two countries covered it the same way. On the contrary, it is expected that this news event was framed in different ways to some extent, in order to make sense for the national audiences of Britain and Spain. The theory of framing and the way stereotypes are used will help us understand the potential ways with which foreign media may cover a crisis.
Before I dive deeper into framing, I will open a small parenthesis to see which the criteria of journalists are when selecting certain foreign news for coverage. It can be said that the news values with which journalists select their news are the anteroom of a whole process that follows in the journalistic practice, and framing is one of these processes. Stereotypes are part of framing and will be analyzed last since it is important to establish first a background on framing.

“There is an extensive literature concerned with ‘news values’, much of which elaborates upon an innovative study conducted in the mid-1960s by Galtung and Ruge (1981) on the structure of foreign news in the Scandinavian press” (Allan, S., 1999:62). Galtung and Ruge set twelve criteria with which journalists define the newsworthiness of an event. In this case the Greek crisis satisfies most of these criteria. The first criterion is Conflict. Maybe there is no literal conflict taking place, but it could be said that there is a conflict of interests. On the one side is Greece with a debt issue, who failed to follow some rules, and on the other side is Europe, who will decide whether or not it lends money to Greece and under which terms they will do so.

The second criterion is Relevance. The Greek crisis takes place in Greece, but the global outlook of this crisis makes it relevant for Spain and/or Great Britain which could be possibly affected by this situation. Another criterion is Personalization which could be also applied in this case. The media do deal with the country and other institutions but they also deal with the human factor, with the society and its reactions.

Continuity is also satisfied since it is an ongoing crisis, whose evolution and therefore its coverage can be scheduled, as it goes around specific times and events. These events might be the disbursement of an instalment to Greece, the voting of austerity measures, a Eurogroup meeting where the crisis is being discussed, or even the coverage of a big movement like that of
the indignant. This crisis also satisfies several other criteria like Reference to elite nations, Reference to elite persons and of course Negativity, since the nature of a crisis is inherently negative.

Now that it is established why the media choose to cover this news event, it is time to move towards the core which is, how these newspapers will frame this event in order to deliver it to their audiences. Framing is a big field in the Media Studies, which many researchers have tried to cover (e.g. Reese, S., Gandy, O., Grant, A., 2003; Entman, R., 2007; Scheufele, D., Tewksbury, D., 2006; Semetko, H., Valkenburg, P., 2006; De Vreese, C., 2005; Gamson, W. A., Modigliani, A., 1989). Some of the aspects that have been researched are what framing is, how it is being performed, why journalists employ this practice, what it means for the audiences and how it can affect them. Several explanations have been given to the above mentioned questions, some of them contradictory and others complementary to each other. For the purpose of this paper I will present some of them, which I consider relevant to this research.

The starting point is what framing is. “Framing in communication texts arises from networks of professional communicators who engage in framing, defined as selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and constructing messages that highlight connections among them in ways that promote a particular interpretation” (Entman, R., Matthes, J., Pellicano, L., 2009:176). Following that interpretation of framing, journalists highlight some of the aspects of a news event, according to which the audience will construct an interpretation of the event. The authors continue by saying that “A frame repeatedly invokes the same objects and traits, using identical or synonymous words and symbols in a series of similar communications that are concentrated in time. These frames function to promote an interpretation of a problematic situation or actor and (implicit or explicit) support of a desirable response, often along with a moral judgment that
provides an emotional charge” (2009:177). The frames used by the journalists thus help the audience make sense of an event and proceed to the formulation of judgements about it.

One potential effect of the repetition of certain frames is that it can affect the opinion of the audience concerning one matter. “A framing effect can be said to occur ‘when in the course of describing an issue or an event, a speaker’s emphasis on a subset of potentially relevant considerations causes individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions’” (Druckman, 2001 as cited in De Vreese et al., 2009:458).

A lot has been said as to whether, how and who get mostly affected by news frames. “Frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals’ prior knowledge and predispositions. Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation and evaluation of issues and events” (de Vreese, C., 2005:52). It has been said that the amount of information an individual already has about a topic plays a crucial role as to how much he/she will be affected by news frames. At times when talking about framing and its effects, we get the sense that the audience is vulnerable to the frames, as a pathetic receiver of messages. Studies have proven though that this is not true (eg. Druckman, J. N., 2001:), but the purpose of this paper is not so much to focus on the effects of framing on the audience, but rather on the way frames and framing devices are employed on the production level.

Going back to framing, Goffman has also an interesting interpretation of this phenomenon and he defines it as “‘schemata of interpretation’ that enable individuals ‘to locate, perceive, identify, and label’ occurrences of information” (Goffman, 1974 as cited in Zhou, Y., Moy, P., 2007:80). In a way the ‘schemata of interpretation’ facilitate the individuals to make sense, classify and manage the information they get.
Gamson and Modigliani are also close to Goffman’s definition of framing. They identify frames as ‘interpretative packages’ that provide meaning to the issue that is each time at stake. This central organizing idea helps people understand similar events. Gamson and Modigliani go one step further and they “identify ‘framing devices’ that condense information and offer a ‘media package’ of an issue. They identify (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images as framing devices” (1984 as cited to de Vreese, 2005:54). Stereotypes can be also considered as part of the above mentioned framing devices, since they can be encountered in all of the above categories established by Gamson and Modigliani.

After revising different definitions of framing it is interesting for the purpose of this research to see what changes when talking about foreign news. It is expected that framing a national issue by local media differs from framing a foreign issue by foreign media. The need to localize a foreign news event in order to make sense for the audience, dictates the way the event will be framed based on the national framework at play. First of all the culture where the event takes place is different than the culture of the country where the news are being produced and transmitted. Therefore, the news needs to be processed differently in order to make sense for the foreign audience. The distance the audience has from the source of events, increases the need for simplification in order to make the information easier to be understood (see Galtung and Ruge, 1965, as cited in Evans, M., 2010).

The thesis, that the proximity of a nation to the source of the problem plays a crucial role on their understanding and on the way media will frame this problem, is also shared by Lim and Seo. In their study about framing of Korea by the United States they argue that “in foreign affairs, there are multiple competing frames, as there are in domestic social concerns, such as immigration, the financial crisis, or crime. These social concerns can be learned by people’s personal experiences or interpersonal connections. However, understanding the nature of
foreign affairs is fundamentally different from that of domestic social concerns. Foreign issues are far away from people’s everyday lives, therefore the American people cannot utilize their personal experiences to understand the implications of the U.S. government’s policy toward North Korea, unless they themselves are policy makers” (Lim, J., Seo, H., 2009:207)

Apart from looking at how framing changes in the case of foreign news, it is also necessary to see how framing works in periods of crisis. “Weinstein (1982) found that higher levels of perceived seriousness regarding a hazard increased levels of biased perception, yet personal concern about a hazard decreased these biases” (Shah,D., 2010:5). Therefore, during the period of the Greek crisis about which it is widely said it can affect not only Europe but the global economy as well, it is expected that biases will be stronger than in other cases. As Soroka (2006) also suggests negative economic news coverage has a greater effect on the public, than positive economic news. Consequently, when we are talking about a financial crisis that is inherently negative, then the public is expected to consider it as a serious hazard and therefore to lean on biases and stereotypes rather quickly.

A crisis can also be considered as an ambiguous situation. Especially, in the case of the Greek crisis the situation was very unstable and its consequences unknown. In such cases various scholars have stated that “Stereotypic biases are known to be at their most powerful when situations are ambiguous” (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998; Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2003, 2004 as cited in Hugenberg et al., 2006:1026). In the same study it is also stated that stereotypical effects are stronger when “motivation and capacity to process social targets (i.e., individuate) are reduced”. In the case of a global crisis social targets are far from the audience that receives the information. Therefore, it is expected that the framing of such an issue will be heavier than in the occasions of national news, where the news event and the reception of the news report happen within the same country.
Stereotypes and frames facilitate journalists to approach the unknown or distant. The need for framing devices is not so big when we can experience something with our senses.

Frames can be also seen as pictures. Both of them stand between reality and the perception of it and both of them assist the individual to make sense and approach the reality no matter how far it may be from him/her. However, for Frosch (2011) picturing instead of being a solution for the gap between the mind and the world, it can rather be a problem. “Reality is inaccessible to direct knowledge: all we have are our constructions of it. The danger is to mistake the latter for the former, a danger to which we commonly, perhaps inevitably, succumb” (Frosh, P., 2011:97).

During the revision of framing theory it has been noted that framing and stereotypes meet each other often in the texts of researchers. When one talks about framing, it can occur that stereotypes appear within this talk. In this sense Entman when talking about framing suggested that “frames in the news can be examined and identified by ‘the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments’” (1993, as cited in De Vreese, 2005:54). In this exact phrase someone understands how stereotypes are parts of framing and how focusing on the former needs a previous explanation of the latter. The man that played a crucial role in our understanding of stereotypes is Walter Lippmann and for this reason I will make a short introduction in the next chapter quoting him on his book Public Opinion (1922).
Media and Stereotypes

The constructions of reality that each person carries could be translated as the “pictures in our heads”, as Walter Lippmann put it in his book *Public Opinion* (1922). The forefather of media theories has contributed a lot to our understanding of the media and the way they affect public opinion. In the aforementioned book Lippmann talked extensively about stereotypes and the role they play in our lives. Therefore I consider it useful and important to use the book *Public Opinion* as a transition from framing theory to the use of stereotypes.

*Walter Lippmann and the “Pictures in our heads”*

> For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see. (Lippmann, W., 1922)

Walter Lippmann in his book *Public Opinion* argued that each person with his/her own senses and experiences gets to know only a limited part of the world. The same holds true even for experts, law makers and so forth. Therefore it is often the case that people construct an opinion for more things than they can experience with their own senses. The opinions we form of events that we are unfamiliar with -first hand-, are constructed by what others have reported on and what we can imagine.

The journalists, who have as their role to inform the public about various occurrences, are not an exception to the above mentioned ‘rule’. “All the reporters in the world working all the hours of the day could not witness all the happenings in the world. There are not a great many reporters. And none of them has the power to be in more than one place at a time. Reporters are not clairvoyant, they do not gaze into a crystal ball and see the world at will, they are not assisted by thought-transference. Yet the range of subjects these comparatively few men
manage to cover would be a miracle indeed, if it were not a standardized routine” (Lippmann, 1922, online).

The ‘standardized routine’ which journalists employ in order to report on multiple events, is not the only thing that affects their reporting according to Lippmann. “The pattern of stereotypes in the centre of our codes determines what group of facts we shall see, and in what light we shall see them” (Lippmann, 1922, online). Lippmann goes on stating that the news policy of a journal is dictated by its editorial policy, and so a capitalist will choose a certain set of facts, while a socialist will choose another and both of them will consider the other unreasonable for his/her choice. For Lippmann this is a matter of different perception. “That difference is imposed by the difference between the capitalist and socialist pattern of stereotypes” (1992, online).

The way stereotypes affect how journalists report on an event is important having in mind that the public uses these reports to make sense of the world that is not within its reach. Following the above mentioned statements Lippmann argues that “the mass is constantly exposed to suggestion. It reads not the news, but the news with an aura of suggestion about it, indicating the line of action to be taken. It hears reports, not objective as the facts are, but already stereotyped to a certain pattern of behaviour” (1922, online).

As we saw earlier on how framing affects some people, it could be expected that not all people are affected by the stereotypes that are included in the news reports. However, not everyone is capable of distinguishing what is a stereotype and what is a fact; especially, when the stereotypes coincide with the pre-constructed images that a person has for other people, events or countries. In this case the stereotypes are getting consolidated and are likely to be used by the individual in the formation of his own opinion. As Lippmann puts it “The subtlest and most

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6 The author accessed the book Public Opinion as an e-book from the website Project Gutenberg where the page numbers were not available.
pervasive of all influences are those which create and maintain the repertory of stereotypes. We are told about the world before we see it. We imagine most things before we experience them. And those preconceptions, unless education has made us acutely aware, govern deeply the whole process of perception” (Lippmann, 1922, online).

Since this study is concerned with the existence of stereotypes in the news, it is necessary to see some cases where stereotyping has been employed. As framing is not applied intentionally, as outlined before, in order for journalists to manipulate information at their own will, the same holds true for stereotypes. First of all stereotypes are not always negative depictions. Second, they are not always used intentionally but by repeating them they have become part of routine expressions. However, this does not mean that they are not in a way dangerous. The way generalizations occur with the use of stereotypes may consolidate biased perceptions, and people may base their opinions on these consolidated biases. In this sense, it is alarming that sexist or racist depictions may get naturalized and stay rooted in the subconscious of the public.

Walter Lippmann in his book *Public Opinion* provided necessary information for our understanding of stereotypes. Based on his ideas it is easier to understand more recent studies on stereotypes and this is the reason why I made a brief mention of his work in the introduction of this chapter.

As it was stated previously the way an event is framed by journalists and the way it gets understood by the public has to do with the proximity that the individual has with the source of a news event. “The proximity of the home audience to either of the sides in the conflict will affect the portrayal of elites and common people in narratives and quotes. They also find that the more distant a nation is culturally, the greater the tendency to stereotype and reduce complexity, presenting events and people in ‘ideal types’” (Galtung and Ruge, 1965, as cited in Evans, M., 2010:225). It is rather expected when people have never had any individual contact with a
specific nation and they are culturally different, to oversimplify and rely easier on stereotypes. In this sense it would be rather expected that the British press will tend to stereotype more the Greek crisis since they are culturally very different and they do not share a similar experience (except of the recession after the crisis of 2008). On the other hand, Spain belongs to the ‘South’ as Greece and faces a similar problem, so its press would be expected to make lesser use of stereotypes about Greece and its people. Therefore, the cultural proximity is one of the reasons why the two countries might frame differently the Greek crisis to some extent. In this sense the dipole North versus South might appear in their coverage.

Based on the idea of proximity, it cannot be expected by the media practitioners to package their material in the same way when they talk for local news and when they talk for international or global issues. This understanding is a key which unlocks the door for the use of stereotypes when talking about foreign issues, since one of the roles of stereotypes as we will see later is simplification. Foreign or global issues tend to be more complex and relatively out of reach for the individual. Therefore the need for simplification is bigger.

Another use of framing and stereotypes is also to draw a line between nations by constructing certain images. In this case, there is a possibility that the need of a nation to distance itself from a crisis-stricken country like Greece will affect framing as well. Spain is the one that needs to keep a bigger distance from Greece since it is one of the countries that face similar financial problems. Here we would rather face the dipole of ‘We- Spain- are not like Them- Greece’, which will be presented by the Spanish press by using a certain national narrative. This aspect should not be overlooked since it might occur later on in the results of this research.

Before I proceed to the threefold relationship among media-stereotypes-the public, it is necessary to explain the term stereotype.
“Lipmann described stereotypes as ‘pictures in our heads’ which we store and turn to in order to categorize individuals, groups and events....Stereotypes are similar categorizing tools to ideal types; we abstract from reality, seeking out key characteristics of a group or nation and invest the pictures with meaning in our mind’s eye” (Grix, 2004, as cited in Grix, J., Lacroix, C., 2006:376). The authors continue and state where the danger of stereotyping is hidden; “the danger arises when one relies solely on stereotypical views of the world or on ‘automatic’ stereotyping, resulting in an opinion based on little or no empirical experience against which to check and recalibrate these stereotypes” (Grix, J., Lacroix, C., 2006:376).

A similar definition is given by Christopher Ferguson in his study about the portrayal of immigrants in mass media. “Stereotype” is here defined as a description of a group (whether ethnic, gender, religion, etc.) wherein it is suggested that most or all members of that group share a particular trait or set of traits. Stereotypes are thus used to prejudge members of that group rather than evaluating them on their individual characteristics. Although stereotypes are generally considered a negative phenomenon, the traits themselves may either be positive or negative” (2008:4). Ferguson argues that it is possible that stereotypes are based on actual group differences but the problem lies when generalization takes place and these stereotypes are used to judge members of a group without providing supportive evidence for those judgements (2008). Doris Gaber gives an explanation as to why media function this way; “The media favour stereotypes and perpetuate them because they are dramatic and easy to understand, rather than offering nuanced comments” (2003:148).

Stereotypes are not always negative, but “Everyone uses them to negotiate and understand their own environment, a type of cognitive shorthand to help us grasp the complexities of everyday life” (Grix, J., Lacroix, C., 2006:375). This does not mean that stereotypes are ‘innocent’, but indeed they are a tool for making sense of everyday life and especially for making
sense of unfamiliar to us events. Stereotypes are also used as tools for packaging information by journalists. The authors argue that media practitioners with the use of stereotypes recall “previously held images of a nation” which will be recognizable by their audience (2008). Therefore, here we see the link between how and why media use certain stereotypes in relation to the audience to whom they adhere, which supports the idea that the press of different countries will frame the same news event in different way to some extend.

“As such the media may represent a public face to the biases, concerns and worries of the general social group from whom the media expects to extract its funding. The social concerns of a particular era may thus be reflected in the prevailing themes in the media” (Ferguson, C.J., 2008:6). When talking about a global crisis, the use of stereotypes serves to ‘localize’ the event, which means that stereotypes could be understood as unspoken conventions between the media and the public in order to make sense of an issue. The media use certain images, which they repeat and base on the stock of perceptions of a specific nation, and the public recalls these images and reinforces them with the common stock of images that the media refer to.

Therefore, according to Liz Jackson “the media is not simply free to portray things however they would like, but depends upon audience interests (among other factors, not the least of which includes owners’ personal and political interests) in depicting facts and fictions” (2010:7).

Hall among other authors has also supported the argument that the way the cultural ‘other’ is represented, has to do a lot with the formation of the identity of the ‘self.’ (Qing, C., 2011). Qing argues that there are certain patterns which help delineate the differences between the West and the Others and they “provide a set of criteria against which other societies are rated and judged applying a whole range of dichotomous discursive clusters such as ‘rational/irrational’, ‘developed/undeveloped’, ‘modern/primitive’ or ‘metropolitan/tribal’. Significantly, these clusters are loaded with certain feelings and attitudes” (2011:6).
Later on Qing defines another substantial difference between how media frame the information when talking about domestic and foreign news. “Media stories reporting domestic events routinely neutralise controversial issues to allow room for different interpretations, and to accommodate diverse audiences, in contrast to international news reporting that tends to present a more black-and-white picture” (2011:12). An explanation for this was given earlier, when talking about the need to simplify foreign news. This practice may also have to do with the need for a dichotomous distinction of ‘Us vs. Them’ as it was already described for the case of Greece and Spain.

However, stereotyping is not always formulated by repeating specific images for a group or a nation. The absence of other types of representations of a nation works the same way, as it reinforces a specific image and overshadows the other aspects and characteristics of this nation. This is also the case when we analyse the coverage of Muslims. According to various studies, Muslims as a group have been repeatedly targeted as terrorists or extremists by some media, especially after the 9/11 period. Jackson argues that “although the media does not appear to actively aim to vilify real life Muslims, lacking any major representations of Muslims doing good things, or being ordinary members of society, emergent from their major presentations are predominantly sinister, scary, and threatening sorts of Muslims, representing only the narrowest margin of Muslim experience” (2010:17).

To the same conclusion comes also another study that has been dealing with the targeting of Arabs and Muslims. Akram Susan states eloquently the following: “It seems that the human race cannot discriminate between a tiny minority of persons who may be objectionable and the ethnic strain from which they spring. If the Italians have Mafia, all Italians are suspect; if the Jews have financiers, all Jews are part of an international conspiracy; if the Arabs have fanatics, all Arabs are violent. In the world today, more than ever, barriers of this kind must be broken for we are all
more alike than we are different” (2002:65). In this statement we see some of the most common stereotypes that have been attributed to the above mentioned nations and religion groups. This quote may seem overwhelmingly irrational and provocative as it sums up all those stereotypes together, but studies have proven that these attributions have at times been given by people or the media to these nations.

The use of stereotypes is indeed an irrational practice, especially if we think that antithetic characteristics have been attributed to a nation in different periods of time. Since this study is dealing with Greece and the Greeks, I find it necessary to reveal a research that has been conducted after Greece won the European Championship in football on 2004, the year that the country also held the Olympic Games. The study named “Impossible is a fact: Greek nationalism and international recognition in Euro 2004” highlights the nobleness with which Greeks used to be described at that period of time from Greek and foreign media.

“The BBC reporters were delighted when they found out that the Greeks were planning to welcome back their victorious team ‘at a packed Panathenaic stadium, where the first Olympics were held in 1896’ (BBC Sport, 05/07/2004). They also remarked that ‘the ancient Acropolis was lit by fireworks while cannons under the city’s Lycabetus hill fired celebratory shots’ (BBC Sport, 05/07/2004). The message from abroad was clear: Greeks had grasped the chance to celebrate their ancient heritage” (Tzanelli, R., 2006:485). In this statement it is visible that the BBC creates a rather glorious image of Greece, a country that appears to be still linked to its splendid past. This image is nothing but another stereotype, since everyday life in Greece does not have a lot to do with its ancient heritage.

Tzanelli further states about Greeks that “Their struggle for national recognition as the ‘cradle of European civilization’ found expression in newspaper commentary following Euro 2004” (2006:486). Thinking about this type of recognition today amid the crisis, it seems at least
absurd. Nowadays Greece in the pages of the foreign press is less likely to be recognized as the ‘cradle of European civilization’ and most likely to be described as the source of trouble for Europe. I argue that both approaches are wrong, in the sense that both of them are holistic and cannot be representative of a whole nation. Not all Greeks are civilized nobles, nor people who want to abuse the trust that Europe showed them by allowing them to enter the Eurozone.

The statement of Nikos Dimos as quoted on the study of Tzanelli describes the spirit of antithetic sentiments concerning Greeks that both lean to the extremes. “With the greatest national pride in Europe (97%) we believe in the ‘Greek demon’, the Greek cleverness that humiliates every stupid Frank [i.e. Westerner]. We also have a private God (‘the god of Greece’). We view ourselves as the chosen people. . . . We feel that we must have special recognition and treatment, and when we don’t receive them, we say that we are targeted. We become insecure and grumpy. We discover conspiracies and we feel lonely and ‘brotherless’ in a hostile world” (Dimos, N., 2004 as cited on Tzanelli, R., 2006:498).

The play on stereotypes concerning Greece is very well described with the above quote. This statement includes not only the stereotypic images that others have been using at times when referring to Greece, but also the way the country constructed the image of the national self with the use of stereotypes.

Following I am interested to see how Greece has been framed by the foreign press by using stereotypes during the current crisis. Whether Greece has been saved in the eyes of Europe’s press by its ‘private God’ or the ‘Greek demon’, remains to be seen in the chapters that follow. At this point the theory needed before proceeding to the methodology section has been completed. Now the application of qualitative content analysis is expected to reveal the way the Greek crisis has been framed by the British and Spanish press.
Methodology

The purpose of this research is to give answer to three questions: Are there any stereotypes used by the newspapers The Guardian, Financial Times, El Pais and El Mundo in order to describe Greece and the Greeks during the financial crisis? Which are the prevailing stereotypes? Are there any differences between the North (Great Britain) and the South (Spain) on the stereotypes they choose to employ?

In order to give an answer to my questions I chose to perform a qualitative content analysis on the sample that comes from the four newspapers. I consider the qualitative content analysis as an adequate method for my research since it is used to analyze verbal communications and texts and it has been widely employed in media studies. More specifically I will perform inductive qualitative content analysis, since I do not intent to test an existing case using different data, but to create new categories that are based on my sample. “[W]ithin the framework of qualitative approaches it would be of interest, to develop the aspects of interpretation, the categories, as near as possible to the material, to formulate them in terms of the material. For that scope qualitative content analysis has developed procedures of inductive category development, which are oriented to the reductive processes formulated within the psychology of the text processing” (Ballstaedt, Mandl, Schnozt&Tergan, 1981; van Dijk, 1980 as cited in Mayring, P., 2000:4).

The starting point of my research is May 24, 2011, when the movement of the indignant started in Greece. The end date is June 30, 2011. The reason I made that choice is that as the crisis is ongoing I wanted to find a specific period within this crisis which has a beginning and end, so that I will not take a time period in an arbitrary way. Second, this period has an importance as outlined in the chapter two. It is the moment when the movement of the indignant arose and it is also a period in which many events took place, such as the reshuffling of the Greek parliament.
and the negotiations for a second set of loans. On June 29 another austerity package was voted in the Greek parliament (which caused the outrage of Greeks and relief to Europe, as it was the precondition for the provision of the fifth tranche of cash from the EU and the IMF) and so I decided to take as end date the 30th in order to include the newspaper editions that talk about this event. The movement of the indignant continued even after the 30th of June, but as the time was passing its power started to loosen and therefore the focus of the media decreased.

Now that it is clear why I chose this period of time for my research I will outline how I performed the selection of my sample. First of all, I chose these newspapers because they are big publications in their respective countries and they have a well respected status according to information found on the electronic database Lexis Nexis Academic, which provides some data for each newspaper. Another reason for choosing broadsheet newspapers instead of tabloids is that the tabloids tend to use a rather sensational language, something that could possibly bias my research risking giving less representative results. As Baker explains with regards to Muslim coverage “The tabloids tend to use more emotive form of language than the broadsheets, with more references to Muslim terrorists, fanatics and hate preachers...” (2010:43). This type of coverage of Muslims by the tabloid press is one-sided, extreme and biased. Therefore I avoid having tabloids in my sample for the results would tend to lean more to the extremes than the norm.

In order to gather my sample I used Lexis Nexis Academic and for each newspaper I used Greece as a keyword (and Grecia for the Spanish newspapers). This way I was able to gather all articles referring to Greece and then go over them manually for a secondary selection. The Guardian gave initially 165 articles, Financial Times 539, El Pais 361 and El Mundo 182. Thereafter, I read the entire sample and I excluded articles such as weather, sports, obituaries, film- book reviews, tv-programs. I also excluded articles where Greece was mentioned among
other countries, or the Greek crisis was mentioned as a background, (e.g. when talking about the stock markets and it is said that the markets are nervous because of the situation in Greece etc), or when Greece was mentioned once or twice without any specific context that makes it interesting or necessary to be included in the sample of my research. Therefore, the final sample was 79 (14.9%) articles from the Guardian, 242 (45.7%) from the Financial Times, 113 (21.4%) from El Pais and 95 (18.0%) from El Mundo.

For the operationalisation of my research I chose the inductive approach. I went through part of my sample in order to identify some patterns and then I constructed the categories of stereotypes that can be found in my sample. The categories I formed are fourteen: 1. Reference to ancient Greece (drama, tragedy, democracy etc.), 2. Greek customs, traditions, music, culture, 3. Reference to sun, islands, 4. Achievements during WWII, 5. Rescue Greece/Greeks (financial aid, help etc.), 6. Rescue Greece/Greeks explaining the banks are saved, 7. Domino effect, contagion, source of trouble in the EU, 8. Greeks doing big life, spending etc., 9. Corruption, tax evasion, 10. Lazyness of Greek people, 11. Manipulation of numbers, 12. Greece out of eurozone, drachmas, 13. We (Spain, Ireland etc) are not Greece, 14. Greece is like Lehman Brothers. The last part of this chapter is dedicated in explaining each category, why it was considered as stereotype and how I coded it.

For my coding sheet I used excel sheets that included the title of the article, the date, the author, the genre and the length. Beneath this information I placed the categories which I marked when I identified a stereotype in the article. I did not mark how many times a single stereotype was used in an article but as long as it was used one time I marked it and I put next to it in a box the specific phrase that represents it. I did not go for the prevailing stereotype in each article, but I coded as many stereotypes I found in each article. When further explanations

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7 See appendix for sample of coding sheet.
were needed as to why I coded something this or another way I put more details in the part bellow the table with the stereotypes.

If a stereotype was found on a quote and the author of the article did not reflect on it, I coded it as a stereotype since stereotypical ideas can also pass through the officials/sources whose quotes are used by the journalist and because it is the journalist who judges whether he/she will use a specific quote or not.

Sometimes there were cases where in an article the author was referring to a stereotype used by another newspaper (for example an article published by the German newspaper Bild with title “Sell your islands you bankrupt Greeks...and the Akropolis as well” [unknown author, 2010, Bild.de]) but since the author republished the stereotype without refuting it, then it was coded as such.

Moreover, there are cases in which an article was written by a Greek author or even by the former Minister of Finance of Greece, George Papaconstantinou. I decided to include it in my sample because it is likely that even if there is a Greek person writing an article, it does not mean that he/she will not use stereotypes. Concerning Mr. Papaconstantinou, when he wrote an article on the Financial Times (“Give Greece time to prove it can do the job”, 28/06/2011) he was no longer minister of Finance. In the Financial Times often some articles (mostly comments) are written by people of the financial markets, of financial institutions or institutions of the European Union and the article of Mr. Papaconstantinou was one of these cases.

Last but not least, I decided to also code the Letters to the editor because there we can see how the narrative of a newspaper might affect some of its readers. These cases can, however, only be a hint, since in order to extract valid results for the reaction of the readers, an audience research is needed.
In the first place (in the coding sheets) I kept the genre as it was defined by the newspaper itself. However, later on when I did the statistics it was impossible to extract results because each newspaper was having its own way of naming its sections. So I formed 10 larger categories that include the genres as provided by each newspaper. Here one can see how I summed up the genres in order to understand the rationale behind this division.

1. **National News**: España/Spain, National news, home pages

2. **International News**: Internacional/international, international pages, world news, world news digest, world round-up

3. **Financial**: Banks, Bolsa/Stock market, business life, companies, economia/economy, financial pages, FT report-fund management, FT weekend supplement- money, markets, markets and investing, markets-back section, mercados/markets, negocios/business (in table 3, chapter 6 one can see that the biggest amount of the articles comes from the financial pages, something expected since the Financial Times has mostly this kind of articles and because of the financial nature of the issue at stake)

4. **Comment**: Comment, market news and comment, Opinión/opinion

5. **Column**: Leader, Lex column, Sociedad/society, the long view, the short view, vida y artes/life and arts, eurozone crisis, eurozone woes, FT magazine, global insight, Greece crisis, inside business, insight, Domingo/Sunday

6. **Letters to the editor**: Leader pages (letter), letters to the editor, Opinion (letters to the editor)

7. **Analysis**: analysis

8. **Features**: feature pages, features
9. **Front page**: front page-back section, front page-companies and markets, front page-first section

10. **Last page**: Ultima página/last page

This categorization helped me to make more comprehensible tables in order to extract results. In the coding sheets the initial genres as provided by the newspapers are available.

At a second level I took the data of each article, this time without the quotes and comments, I entered them in the program Access 2007 of Microsoft in order to have all the articles gathered together in one sheet, which I finally entered in the program SPSS 20.0 in order to extract the statistics. Where differences were found between the newspapers or between the two countries, I estimated the chi-square variable in order to see whether there is statistic significance. This was needed because as one can see there is not an even amount of articles from each newspaper and this way the risk of making false assumptions was avoided, as it could harm the validity of the research.

At that point it is necessary to give further information on the categories of stereotypes that I formed in order to perform my research. I will describe not only why they are considered as stereotypes but how I proceeded in coding them.

1. **Reference to ancient Greece** (drama, tragedy, democracy etc.): This category has to do with reference to ancient Greece. The image of Greece, in relation to its ancient past is often used by the media because as an image it is well rooted in the consciousness of people abroad. ‘Ancient Greece’ is associated with culture, monuments, arts, democracy, tragedy and drama. Whenever there is such a mention in the text it is coded in this category. There are also times...

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8 A table that shows the frequency and percentage of each genre in the total of the sample is available in chapter 6, table 3.
that it is suggested to Greece to sell the Acropolis, for example. This case is also coded within this stereotype.

2. Greek customs, traditions, music, and culture: This stereotype is related to how Greeks are thought of having fun. In order to be more explanatory, the ideas of Zorbas, syrtaki dance, or of Greeks breaking plates at the so called bouzoukia (places with live Greek music) are some that could explain this stereotype better. This stereotype is often reproduced in movies. Even if this image was quite close to the reality in the past, this no longer holds true.

3. Reference to sun, islands: This stereotype coincides with the image of Greece as holiday haven. The picture of eternal sun and nice islands is well attached to the imagery of Greece and it is often used by the media when referring to this country. However, the picture is not always as dreamy as it seems in summertime. Greek islands face various problems during the winter, such as bad communication with the coast, boats with supplies that have difficulties reaching their destination, or even need of doctors in more remote and small islands. Therefore, it is a simplification to reproduce the image of sunlit islands and this is why it is coded as a stereotype. It should also be mentioned that in case it is suggested to Greece to sell its islands, it will be coded within this stereotype.

4. Achievements during WWII: Greece in some cases throughout history has been mentioned as a small country that fought brave during the Second World War. One of the famous quotes of that period was the one of Sir Winston Churchill “Hence you will not say that Greeks fight like heroes but that heroes fight like Greeks”. Under this idea, statements related to the Greek bravery that could be possibly found in the sample will fall in this category. This is another stereotypical image attached to Greece. First of all it falls under the rule of generalization, since not all Greeks are heroes (or fought as such) and second because this image of resistance to
the foreign enemy of WWII, when used today could create mental links with the current crisis situation (in the sense of financial occupation).

5. Rescue Greece/Greeks (financial aid, help etc.): In the narrative of the media for the last couple of years it has often been said that the European Union is trying to rescue Greece or is giving financial help/aid in order to save its people from bankruptcy. However, this picture does not hold fully true. Greece is not receiving help, but loans starting with 5% interest, which could be considered rather expensive. As stated in the Economist website “[E]uro-area leaders agreed to offer the beleaguered Greek government up to €30 billion ($41 billion) of three-year loans, at an interest rate of 5%. That is not cheap, but it is much less than private investors were demanding” (unknown author, 2010). It should also be noted that French and German banks hold a large amount of Greek bonds. Therefore an attempt to ‘save’ Greece is also a way to ‘save’ these banks or as Dayen explains: “So the Germans and the French don’t want the Greeks to default because that will force French and German banks to recognize losses and then they’ll have a banking crisis. It’s easier for them to keep these countries afloat than to bail out the banks.” (2011, news.firedoglake.com). Therefore when in the articles phrases like rescue/save/bailout Greece/Greeks, or financial aid/help will be mentioned they will be coded as stereotypical.

6. Rescue Greece/Greeks explaining the banks are saved: There are cases within the sample that made the creation of this category necessary. Some authors use the words ‘financial help’ or ‘rescue Greece’ etc. However, they determine in their text that the banks are being ‘saved’, or that the loans are expensive. In this case such statements will fall under this category because even though the above mentioned explanations are provided the use of words like ‘help’ or ‘rescue’ still creates mental links of Greece being saved. In order for an
article not to be coded as Rescue Greece or Rescue banks it has to make use of phrases such as loans, financial package, emergency loans etc.

7. Domino effect, contagion, source of trouble in the EU: I consider phrases like ‘contagion’, ‘domino effect’, ‘Greece destroying the Euro’ and other similar as stereotypical as they fall under the rule of simplification. Greece represents only the 2-3% of the European GDP. It is considered as a small economy and alone it might not be able to create a collapse of the Eurozone, as it is stated in the New York Times: “But Greece’s economy is too small for an isolated collapse to cause any significant damage throughout the continent” (Davidson, A., Goldstein, J., Kenney, C., 2011, nytimes.com). Therefore the use of this stereotype could create the false idea that Greece has to be blamed for a potential collapse of other countries (like Portugal, Ireland, Spain etc. which face their own financial problems), or the Eurozone in total.

8. Greeks doing big life, spending etc.: Various media often reproduce the image of Greek people living beyond their powers, spending money and getting privileges from the state. However, this image is not representative of a whole nation. Some people may have indeed living a costly way of life, but it should be stated that the recent (pre-crisis) generation of Greeks that are making their first steps in the labour market, have been often mocked as the ‘700€ generation’. These young people, starting with such a salary had problems (and still do) to start a life away from home. There is a blog, for example, called the 700€ generation alternative survival guide that informs people with low income for any available bargains (http://genia700euro.pblogs.gr/). It is true that Greece was lending money in order to make ends meet but people were not aware of the gravity of the situation. Therefore, any simplification of this type will be considered as stereotype.

9. Corruption, tax evasion: It is true that corruption and tax evasion are some of the characteristics of the Greek system. Stereotypes are not pure lies, far from that, they are indeed
based on reality, better said in bits of truth, but the generalization of these bits, or the omission
to refer to the rest of the picture, are capable of distorting reality. As Ferguson argues “It is
possible that stereotypes may, at times, be based on actual group differences, but tend to be
overgeneralized and used to make judgments about members of the group in the absence of
supporting evidence for that individual” (2008:5). So there is corruption in Greece, but in other
countries as well. There are Greeks (the minority) that keep their money in Swiss banks but
there are also minorities from other countries that do the same, as explained in the Greek
documentary of Mega Channel called Erevna. In this documentary former employees of Swiss
banks talked about rich people that kept their money in these banks. These employees
contacted the Swiss authorities or the governments of the countries that its citizens were hiding
their money, in order to pass this information and restore justice. Corruption might be one of the
reasons for the crisis, but the Greek economy majorly suffered from other pathologies some of
them created within the country and others because Greece was part of the Eurozone that had
its own systemic deficiencies.

10. Laziness of Greek people: Greeks have been often judged as lazy people, who take many
days of vacation or retire early. Again this may be true for a small part of Greeks. However, a
survey of the Office of National Statistics (published by the Guardian 8/11/2011) showed that
Greeks work the longest hours in Europe (all-in-employment 42.2), with Czech Republic and
Poland coming second and third respectively. While Spiegel.de publishes other data that show
the average retirement age of Greeks is 61.9 while that of Germans is 61.8 and the vacation
days are the same for both of them (20 days) (Böll, S. and Böcking, D., 2011). Having this data
in mind (as well as the generalizing nature of stereotypes) statements that refer to Greeks as
being lazy, or getting early pensions or having prolonged holidays will be coded under this
category.
11. Manipulation of numbers: As mentioned in the historical backdrop, Greece manipulated its numbers in order to enter the Eurozone and also throughout the last years in order to mask its deficit and debt. However, Greece was not the only country that did so. Rather “the Goldman arrangement is thought to be just one of many that helped mask the full scale of Greece’s fiscal chaos. Other Mediterranean countries, including Italy, have resorted to similar tactics” (Fleming, S., 2010, thisismoney.co.uk). Moreover, France and Germany were the first countries to break the Maastricht treaty by exceeding the agreed upon deficit (unknown author, 2011, guardian.co.uk). In general it could be said, Greece carries a big part of responsibility in the current financial crisis but when it is blamed as the only country that did things wrong then it touches upon a stereotypical idea.

12. Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas: It has been a long discussion between officials and the media as to if Greece should or will default, if it should be excluded from the Eurozone and return to the drachmas. So far the treaties do not foresee the exit of a country from Eurozone. It is also unknown what could be caused by a potential exit (maybe nothing at all, maybe a lot more than someone thinks of). Therefore, I will code as stereotypical any suggestion of Greece returning to drachmas as a solution to the problem. This suggestion will be coded as such if it is made by the author of an article, or if it is included in a quote without the author elaborating on it. A potential default of Greece is a matter of discussion in several articles. In some cases, however, it will not be coded as stereotype because the authors only mention a possibility and discuss the implications of such an event. It will only be coded as stereotype if it is suggested as a remedy for the problem and without even elaborating on this suggestion.

13. We (Spain, Ireland etc) are not Greece: Each country of the European periphery suffers from different kinds of problems. However, the similarity lies in the point that these countries face (or may face for Spain) the closed doors of the markets and might have to ask for money
from the European Union and/or the International Monetary Fund. The aim of this category is to shed light on the distinction of the Us versus Them. In the European crisis Greece was the first to fall and it is often seen as the black sheep, that the other countries want to separate themselves from. A country can protect or repair its image by representing another in a certain way. Or to put it with Qing “In the extensive literature on representing the ‘other’, many scholars such as Hall (1992) argue that constructing an image of the ‘other’ is an integral part of identity formation of the ‘self’” (2011:6).

14. Greece is like Lehman Brothers: In the crisis of 2008 the fall of the Lehman Brothers became the symbol of the financial collapse in the other side of the Atlantic. However, Lehman was not the only bank/company that fell and it cannot be blamed for the deficiencies of a whole sector. One way or another, Lehman Brothers functions as a depiction or stereotype for the crisis of 2008. Now, the Greek crisis has been often compared to Lehman Brothers. It can be said that a stereotype is used in order to stereotype another crisis. However, Greece is not a bank/company, it is a country, the problems are not one on one comparable with 2008 and various people have argued that Greece cannot be a “second Lehman”, something that the article “Greece is no Lehman Brothers. Politicians are using misguided comparisons in their efforts to ignore Europe’s sick, undercapitalised banking system” explains in detail (Ruparel, 2011, guardian.co.uk.). When a comparison of Greece with Lehman is found, it will be coded under this category, while when it is explained that Greece is not like Lehman Brothers it will not be coded since it shatters the stereotype rather than enhances it.

After explaining the categories of stereotypes and before proceeding to the results it is time to mention the limitations of this research. As this study is based on an inductive approach of qualitative content analysis, it is difficult to replicate it in other cases. Second, by nature qualitative content analysis rests on the perception of the coder and therefore it may not be fully
objective, even if the process of coding is thoroughly outlined. Furthermore, it has been seen that the sample from both countries chosen for this study is not even and even though the chi-square test has been applied it still would have been better to have rather equal amounts of articles. Last but not least, the articles by genre are also not equally distributed, with a bigger number of financial articles. This is mainly because the Financial Times is part of the sample and secondly because the Greek crisis is of financial nature.

Regardless the limitations, this research is expected to help us understand the national media coverage of a global crisis. The Eurozone crisis is a big news event the last couple of years and it involves many countries either as part of the problem or as ‘spectators.’ Therefore, it is important to understand how the latter see the former and how (and why) this changes from country to country. This thesis focuses on the coverage of Greece by the Spanish and British press and it expected to reveal some tendencies in their national coverage regarding the stereotypes they choose to employ.
Results

As it was expected stereotypes have been used, to some extent, to report on the Greek crisis. All the research questions have been answered by the findings, giving fruitful information, which provide depth on the use of stereotypes by the British and Spanish press concerning the Greek crisis. The results have been divided according to the three research questions in order to make the information manageable.

RQ1: Are there any stereotypes used by the newspapers *The Guardian*, *Financial Times*, *El Pais* and *El Mundo* in order to describe Greece and the Greeks during the financial crisis?

This question is positively answered by the findings. All the newspapers gave results for the established categories of stereotypes. Therefore it can be said that Greece and its people have been stereotypically presented by these newspapers, not in all the articles, but in the majority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of stereotypes</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout the sample, the minimum amount of stereotypes was 0 and the maximum 7 with a mean of 1.35 stereotypes (standard deviation = 1.01) per article. 18.7% of the articles included
in the sample do not contain any stereotype. 81.3% contain from 1 until 7 different stereotypes. The article Nuestros mitos Griegos (Our Greek myths) of the newspaper El Mundo contains seven different types of stereotypes and it is the only article with this number of appearances. Most of the articles (43.1%) present one type of stereotypes. These first figures already show that only a small amount of articles do not contain any stereotype and therefore the question as to whether stereotypes are used to describe Greece/Greeks is answered positively.

**RQ2: Which are the prevailing stereotypes?**

The data coming from Figure 5 reveal which stereotypes have been used more by the four newspapers and which less. The following figures (Table 2) also show how the stereotypes are distributed in all four newspapers. The Figure 5 below gives an overall view of the stereotypes through a sample of 529 articles.

![Figure 5: Frequency of stereotypes in the total of the sample](image-url)
In Figure 5 we can see the fourteen categories of stereotypes that appear 714 times in total in the article sample. The prevailing stereotype is *Recue Greece* (304, 57.7%), second comes the *Domino effect, contagion* stereotype (155, 29.3%) and third the *Reference to ancient Greece* stereotype (50, 9.5%). The stereotype that appears the least is *Greek customs, traditions* which appears 2 times in the total of the sample or 0.4%.

I also explored how many times each stereotype appeared in each newspaper (see Table 2 for frequencies). In order to see if the difference of these frequencies were statistically important a chi-square test and the *p*-value were conducted, that is the value of statistical difference. All *p*-values above 0.05 are considered as significant.

In the table below we can see more details concerning the categories of stereotypes. It shows the frequency of each stereotype in each newspaper and also the differences among the four newspapers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotypes</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>El Mundo</th>
<th>Financial Times</th>
<th>El Pais</th>
<th>F total</th>
<th>Percentage total</th>
<th><em>p</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference to ancient Greece</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to islands, sun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domino effect, contagion, source of trouble in the EU</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>0.444</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The tables that correspond to all the charts are available in the appendix.*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotype</th>
<th>FT</th>
<th>EP</th>
<th>TG</th>
<th>EM</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rescue Greece</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue banks</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption, tax evasion</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks doing big life</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laziness of Greek people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek customs, traditions, music, culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation of numbers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements during WWII</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece is like Lehman Brothers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows how these stereotypes are distributed in each newspaper and by running the chi-square test it is defined which of the differences among the newspapers have statistical significance. In the case of statistical significance, that is $p>0.05$, the results are bolded in order to be distinguishable. It is found that the Rescue Greece stereotype, which is the prevailing in all four newspapers, appears 123 times in Financial Times, 78 in El Pais, 38 in The Guardian and 65 times in El Mundo. The sample of the Financial Times consists of 242 articles. The numbers
show that in more than half of the articles (50.8%) this stereotype is used. For *El País* the total number of articles is 113 and the percentage of the appearance of this stereotype is 69.2. *The Guardian* has in total 79 articles and the percentage of this stereotype within the newspaper’s articles is 48.1. While for the newspaper *El Mundo* in a total of 95 articles the stereotype appears in 68.4% of them.

The *Domino effect, contagion* is the second most appearing stereotype in all four newspapers but as the *p* value reveals, differences among the newspapers do not have statistical significance, which means that the differences are not that important.

Figure 5 shows that the third most appearing stereotype in the total of the sample is the *Reference to ancient Greece* stereotype, but Table 2 reveals that this stereotype does not come third to all of the newspapers. In *The Guardian* and *El Mundo* indeed this stereotype comes third, but in the *Financial Times* third (with big difference of appearances from the second) comes the *Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas* category with 19 appearances and in *El País* the *Rescue banks* stereotype with 14 appearances.

*The Guardian* and *El Mundo* continue placing *Corruption and tax evasion* on the fourth place, while *Financial Times* has the *Reference to ancient Greece* as fourth, and *El País* the *Manipulation of numbers* category. The fifth place in *The Guardian* is shared by two stereotypes, *Rescue Banks* and *Greece is like Lehman Brothers*. The newspaper *El Mundo* has fifth the *Manipulation of numbers*, whereas the *Financial Times* has fifth the *Rescue banks* stereotype, and *El País* has as fifth the *Reference to ancient Greece* stereotype.

The differences continue as the countdown goes on but what is interesting to see is which stereotype does not appear at all in each newspaper. *The Guardian* scores zero in the category *Manipulation of numbers* while the *Reference to islands, sun* stereotype is used once. The
same goes for the Greek customs, tradition and the We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece stereotypes that also appear only once.

The newspaper El Mundo scores zero on the Greek customs, traditions stereotype, while the stereotypes We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece and Achievements during WWII are mentioned once. In general El Mundo and The Guardian coincide in many categories, something that hints that the differences in coverage do not only have to do with the country but with the style/interests/sympathies of the newspapers as well.

The newspaper Financial Times has two categories with zero results and these are the Achievements during WWII and the We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece stereotypes. In this newspaper the Greek customs, traditions stereotype was mentioned once.

The newspaper El Pais scored zero in more categories than the other newspapers. The categories are three in this case; Laziness of Greek people, Greek customs, traditions and Achievements during WWII. The stereotypes Reference to islands, sun and Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas were mentioned one time.

In this section we saw the prevailing stereotypes in the total of the sample and per newspaper. The data also reveals which categories were less used (or not at all). These first findings add to the understanding of the way Greece was represented by these newspapers. In this sense one can see that the coverage of this crisis was mostly focused on its financial aspects, rather than on a general characterization of the Greek people. However, since this paper aims to see the potential differences between countries, North and South, it is time to move on to the last research question.
RQ3: Are there any differences between the North (Great Britain) and the South (Spain) on the stereotypes they choose to employ?

In order to answer this question I made a cross country comparison of the results of the stereotypes. Apart from the differences between the two countries I went one step further in order to get a deeper view of the results and I created one chart (Figure 7) that shows in which genre more stereotypes are used in the total of the sample.

![Figure 6: Frequency of stereotypes per country](image)

Figure 6 shows the differences between the two countries for each category of stereotypes. It should be noted that the chi-square test was also run in this case in order to estimate the statistical significance. The reason for conducting this test was again to reassure that the differences, between Spain and Great Britain, in the appearances of the stereotypes are important. The categories that noted statistical significance are mentioned below.

The stereotype *Rescue Greece* appeared 161 times in the British sample, and 143 times in the Spanish. The statistical significance for this case was $p<0.001$. The stereotype *Manipulation of...*
Numbers appeared only 8 times in the British sample while in the Spanish sample it appeared 20 times and this category notes an extreme significance of $p<0.001$. The stereotype *Greece out of Eurozone, dracmas* appeared 25 times in the British sample and 5 times in the Spanish sample. In this case the $p$ value is $<0.01$ (highly significant). The stereotype *We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece* appeared 1 time in the British sample and 6 times in the Spanish sample and $p=0.011$.

Before I proceed to the findings of Figure 7 which gives more details about the genres, I consider it necessary to provide a table that shows the distribution of articles in each genre.

**Table 3**

Frequency of Genres in the sample and percentage on the total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National News</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International News</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to the Editor</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front Page</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Page</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>529</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3 shows that most of the articles come from Financial news (238) and then follows the Column section (83), which also contains many financial columns. I consider this information important in order to understand why certain genres present more stereotypes than others, since the knowledge on a topic (in this case the topic is financial) affects the use of stereotypes.

![Figure 7: Number of stereotype appearances per genre in the total of the sample](image)

Figure 7: Number of stereotype appearances per genre in the total of the sample

In the beginning of the results section Table 1 showed how many articles scored from 0 until 7 stereotypes. In figure 7\textsuperscript{10} one can see for each genre how many articles score from 0 until 7 stereotypes (vertical axis: 0-120 number of articles, horizontal axis: genres, and 0-7 coloured scale: number of stereotypes found in an article [the number six is missing since no article with six stereotypes was found]). Having in mind what was said about framing and stereotypes in

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\textsuperscript{10} Due to a technical problem the labels do not appear on the chart, that is why they are explained in the text. The corresponding table is available in the appendix.
chapters three and four, looking at the concentration of stereotypes in each genre may lead to a deeper understanding of them. When we have to do with a news article, or a comment we do not expect to see the same amount of stereotypes. The same holds true for an article in the financial news where the author and the reader are expected to be more savvy and therefore possibly use/need less stereotypes to simplify information.

Figure 7 shows that zero stereotypes can be found mostly in the Financial news with frequency 39. The second genre with zero articles is the Column (most of them are financial columns) with 20 articles. Having in mind that the stock of knowledge on a topic plays a role on the use and the perception of stereotypes, it is expected that these two genres had more articles that were free of stereotypes. The fact that these two genres included more articles with zero stereotypes should not make us overlook to the fact that they had many articles with at least one stereotype.

In most of the genres we see that most of the articles had one stereotype. What is interesting here is that the genre National news has more articles with two or three stereotypes than with only one. This finding is also explained because in National news the need for simplification is greater for various reasons; first, readers of National news may not have the same background on a topic as someone that follows the International news and therefore he/she may need stereotypes, which function as ‘cognitive shorthands’\(^{11}\), in order to make sense of a topic. It may also be the case that in the National news the need for domestication is bigger and the adherence to the stock of knowledge through stereotypes is a way to explain the issue at stake. Last but not least, in National news there might be the case of drawing comparisons between Spain or Great Britain and Greece. Journalists might opt for using stereotypes in order to show the difference between Us and Them.

\(^{11}\) See chapter four, theory of stereotypes
In the genre of *Financial news* we see that most articles had one, two or zero stereotypes. Compared to *National News* this finding confirms once again the theory of framing and the use of stereotypes, which relate the amount of knowledge on a topic with the use of stereotypes. People that know a lot about a topic may resist to information that is heavily framed or stereotyped. These people also do not need stereotypes as ‘cognitive shorthands’ since they have enough knowledge to comprehend the information themselves. Therefore, it is expected to see less use of stereotypes in financial news than in national news where people are far from the financial context.

*International news* sections also seem to present a more moderate use of stereotypes compared to other genres. Most of the articles under research here included one stereotype, nine articles contained zero or two stereotypes and only two articles had three stereotypes which was the maximum in this genre.

The *Comment* section has articles with various appearances of stereotypes, which range from zero until seven. Just one article alone scored seven stereotypes, *Our Greek Myths* (Nuestros mitos Griegos) of the newspaper *El Mundo*. By the name of the article someone may understand why it contained so many stereotypes. The concept of the article was something like “our contemporary myths for Greece” and these myths were influenced by the Greek financial crisis.

The genre *Letters to the editor* is interesting, since there are ten letters/articles with one stereotype, ten letters with zero, four letters with two stereotypes and then one letter with three and four stereotypes. The interesting point is that nine readers’ comments are free of stereotypes. It would be expected that since these articles are not written by journalists, they would contain more stereotypes, since journalists, as professional communicators, are expected to be more careful of the language they use.
The sample of *Analysis* was rather small (5 articles) and most of the articles (3) had one stereotype. One article contained two stereotypes and one three stereotypes. In general, this genre consisted of lengthy articles, which might increase the chances of a stereotype to appear. However, the latter cannot be supported by the findings.

The rest of the genres, except of the *front page* articles, had a small number of articles. Most of the articles of the *front page* section, 15 out of 22, had at least one stereotype. This could be the reason of front page articles often being more “catchy” and stereotypes can make them appear more appealing. Also *front page* articles are in general smaller and they do not convey enough room for depth.
Discussion

The question as to whether Greece and the Greeks have been stereotyped during the financial crisis is answered positively by the results. The biggest part of the sample (81.3%) used from one until seven stereotypes to describe this crisis. Some of the stereotypes are used to explain the causes of the crisis (e.g. corruption, laziness, Greeks doing big life etc.), other stereotypes describe the consequences and possible solutions (e.g. contagion, Lehman Brothers, Greece out of Eurozone etc.) and others are used to place the crisis geographically and culturally (e.g. reference to ancient Greece, Greek customs etc.).

All the categories of stereotypes, which I constructed for the purpose of this research, have been discovered in the sample, some of them more and others less. It should be noted that 99 articles out of 529 did not contain any stereotype at all. Most articles with zero stereotypes were found within the financial news section, something that tells us that the amount of knowledge that someone holds over an issue plays indeed a role in the use of stereotypes. This does not relate only to the audience but to the journalists as well. I argue that journalists do not need to use stereotypes in order to simplify information for their readers, in case they adhere to an audience that has better background on a topic. However, I also argue that when journalists themselves have an expertise on a topic are more at ease to transmit it to their readers without using stereotypes because they (the journalists) may at times use a stereotype for their own comfort instead of offering “nuanced comments” as Doris Gaber proposed (2003:148).

The majority of the sample (43.1%) contains one stereotype. The categories chosen and some examples from the articles will be presented in the following in order to better describe some types of representations. The categories will be mentioned beginning with the most salient and ending with the least. After analysing each category of stereotype, I will go on to a cross-country comparison, where I will define whether the differences between the British and Spanish press
(concerning the stereotypes they use) have to do with the proximity they have with the cultural other (Greece) or if these differences derive from another factor. The last part of the discussion section is called ‘general remarks’ because there I want to discuss other findings that may be of interest but do not fall in the main foci of this research as I established them with my research questions.

- The stereotypes

1. **Rescue Greece (57.7%)**: In most of the articles this stereotype has been used in order to refer to the loans that Greece got from the European Union, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The most common words used were: ‘rescue package’, ‘financial aid’, ‘financial help’, ‘Greek rescue’ and so on. For example the *Guardian* in one of its articles says, “European leaders met last night to thrash out a pledge to come to the rescue of Greece for the second time in 15 months” (Traynor, I., 2011). The high frequency of this stereotype throughout the sample could possibly increase the chances that in the consciousness of the readers will remain that Greece has been saved by its counterparts in a spirit of solidarity. Journalists may tend to use this stereotype as it is easier and faster to say ‘rescue Greece’ than to explain the situation over and over again. However, one could avoid using this stereotype, by choosing for instance the word ‘loans’ instead of ‘rescue package’.

2. **Domino effect, contagion (29.3%)**: This stereotype has been also widely used in a way to describe the possible consequences of a Greek fall. The ‘domino effect’ category is part of the scaremongering narrative of the newspapers, which use this stereotype in order to describe what could follow a mishandling of the Greek crisis. *El País* described the estimated gravity of a Greek default as follows: “Burdened by the urgency to avoid a default of Greece, which would

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12 The percentages refer to the overall sample.
lead to an unprecedented crisis of the system...” (unknown author, 2011). The use of this stereotype might create a sense of anxiety in readers concerning the possible consequences and it increases the chances of Greece being identified as the reason for a potential collapse of the system or of other countries, which have financial problems such as Portugal, Ireland, Spain or Italy.

3. Reference to ancient Greece (9.5%): The stereotype in this category can take two different forms. The first form is the reference to the Greek drama, the tragedy (useful to describe the current situation), democracy, mythology and so on. The other form of this stereotype has to do with the ‘advice’ of some authors of articles that Greece should sell the Acropolis in order to avoid a financial collapse. This latter was very rare but it was mentioned in the sample especially when articles referred to the German newspaper Bild, as El Mundo did: “Will they sell Acropolis’, was asking last week the tabloid Bild Zeitung,” (Sanchez, R., 2011). Myths like the Herculean Labours were also mentioned in order to describe how difficult the way that Greece has to follow is. The country was also mentioned as the source of European civilization, at times with positive connotation and others as Greece being the birthplace of Europe but also its tomb. Most of the times this stereotype was used as a euphemism, for instance journalists instead of referring to the Greek financial crisis they referred to the Greek tragedy. When this stereotype took a negative connotation (as Greece being Europe’s birthplace and its tomb) this type of frame aimed to attribute responsibility to Greece for a potential collapse of Europe.

4. Rescue banks (7%): This stereotype also ranks high in the list of stereotypes in the total of the sample. This has rather positive consequences for the portrayal of Greece since there are more chances for someone to understand the complexity of the situation, even if in this case the ‘Rescue Greece’ stereotype is partially used. The reason for this is that further explanations of

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13 The quotes coming from the Spanish sample are translated by the author of this thesis.
how and why Greece is lending money are provided by the authors of the articles that use this stereotype. The newspaper *El Pais* has a representative example of how this stereotype is formed: “*Imitate the bankers! The second rescue has to be more generous: not to save only the banks but the citizens too*” (Xavier, 2011). There are various cases in all four newspapers where it is explained how the banks are being saved along with Greece, or that the ‘rescue packages’ are loans with high interest rates. This category is somewhat peculiar because on the one hand a journalist uses the stereotype ‘Rescue Greece’, but on the other provides explanations that weaken the stereotype’s effect on the reader, who—while reading such an article—has more chances to understand the complexity of the situation.

5. Corruption, tax evasion (6.8%): This stereotype was not used often, since it appeared only in 36 articles out of 529. Sometimes the state was blamed as being corrupt and at times the citizens. Corruption was often identified as being one of the sources of the problem. One article of the *Financial Times* presented Greece as a demoralised country “*that has lost the sense that it controls its own government,*” (Rachman, G., 2011). *El Mundo* in one of its articles described the everyday life of Greeks: “*Corruption in everyday life is so widespread that some consider it endemic. If a Greek wants to be well treated in a hospital, he slides a banknote in the hands of the doctor. If a tax inspector claims to turn a blind eye on their frauds, he drops a possibility of reward in cash,*” (Velasco, I.H., 2011). Furthermore, the use of this stereotype facilitates framing relevant to attributing responsibility to Greeks or the Greek state for the situation that the country is into now.

6. Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas (5.7%): In various articles it was suggested that Greece should leave the Eurozone and return to its previous currency, drachmas, or it was taken for granted that Greece will default within the coming days or weeks. The suggestions to default either came from the author of an article or from official lips, without getting further elaborated
by the author. In an article of *the Guardian* the certainty of bankruptcy is described with a dose of irony by the author, “Should we book our holidays in Greece now, or should we wait until the end of the week when the country defaults, brings back the drachma and military dictatorship?” (Gibbons, F., 2011). This stereotype was mentioned only in 30 articles and one of the reasons may be that the contagion stereotype was one of the strongest. This means that an author would not mention the exit of Greece from Euro as a solution, having mentioned the ‘fear of contagion’ because these two stereotypes are rather contradictory to each other, since a default of Greece and exit from the Eurozone could trigger a domino effect as described by some journalists. “Crises typically generate a contest between frames and counter-frames concerning the nature and severity of a crisis, its causes, the responsibility for its occurrence or escalation, and implications for the future” (Boin, A. et al., 2009:82). According to the results of this research I argue that the frames which attribute responsibility (to the country or its people) for the escalation of this crisis are stronger than the counter-frames which look to the future and propose a remedy for this crisis.

7. **Manipulation of numbers (5.3%)**: This stereotype was used in 28 articles. The manipulation of numbers stereotype was used either to signal the source of the current problem, or as a way to distinguish Greece from other countries that may have financial problems but did not use the same tools as Greece did. The second version of this stereotype is mostly seen in Spanish newspapers who want to separate their country from Greece. An article of *El Pais* starts by noting that “Spain is not Greece. Athens deceived the EU from the hands of Goldman Sachs,” (Perez, C., 2011) and then goes on delineating the other differences between the two countries. It could be said that this stereotype can facilitate the distinction between *Us versus Them*. The two countries face similar problems but the Spanish press by using this stereotype draws a line that separates Spain from Greece, which appears as a country that deceived its European counterparts in an immoral way.
8. **Greece is like Lehman Brothers (4.7%)**: There has been an attempt in some articles to draw a comparison between Greece and the crisis of 2008 which was symbolized with Lehman Brothers. It can be said that this stereotype expresses the fear of the ultimate contagion scenario that no-one wants to see being repeated. In these cases a fall of Greece was feared to cause another global financial collapse. This stereotype has been mostly (8 times) used by *the Guardian*, and half of the times these mentions were concentrated on the 16th and 17th of June. These days had been crucial in Greece because the government, due to peoples’ unrest, was one step before the resignation, which finally was avoided by reshuffling the government on the 17th. Therefore, it could be said that the uncertainty in Greece triggered this kind of speculative press clippings: “The long-feared “Lehman moment” - an uncontrolled debt default by Greece, with the impact being felt across the eurozone banking system - suddenly seems a horrible possibility” (Pratley, N., 2011).

9. **Greeks doing big life (3.8%)**: This stereotype has been mentioned in 20 articles in the total of the sample. The way of life of the Greek people is being seen as another reason for the financial situation in Greece. However, as it is visible from the results, only a minority of articles is using this stereotype and therefore it would be expected to have small impact (if any) on the readers. This stereotype took also the aspect that Greeks have to tighten the belt and forget the past privileges or the aspect of foreign taxpayers having to pay the big life of Greek people, “*Why should Greeks accept austerity when they know foreign taxpayers will finance their extravagance?*” (Jenkins, S., 2011, *the Guardian*). The last aspect of this stereotype I argue is the strongest, since it victimizes foreign taxpayers, who have to pay for the mess Greeks created and therefore readers that identify themselves in this stereotype, may tend to support it. Therefore, it could be said that this stereotype might foster anti-Greek sentiments.
10. Reference to islands, sun (1.7%): This stereotype has been used very few times through the sample. The newspapers *El Mundo* (4) and *Financial Times* (3) used it more often while the other two newspapers used it only once each. *Financial Times* two times repeated the stereotype as it was used by the German newspaper *Bild* “Sell your islands, you bankrupt Greeks! And sell the Acropolis too!” the paper proclaimed” (Bryant, C., 2011). On the contrary *El Mundo*, in all four articles, suggested that Greece should sell the islands in order to solve its problems “The Greeks could sell Crete, the biggest island in Mediterranean after Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and Cyprus, and [sell] the Parthenon” (Del Pozo, R., 2011). I argue that this frame cannot be taken seriously as a remedy/solution to this crisis, but it should be seen as a populist bit in an article that could make it look more appealing in the eyes of a reader rather than to offer depth in the crisis analysis. Since we have to do with four broadsheet newspapers this stereotype scored such a small percentage. Having in mind the campaign of the German tabloid *Bild Zeitung*, where it was supported that Greece should sell its islands, it is expected that tabloids might opt for such a stereotype, something that the broadsheets do not do.

11. Laziness of Greek people (1.5%): This stereotype as well has been used very few times. Most of the times the stereotype appeared in the newspaper *El Mundo*, which offers a characteristic example: “First, it can be that the German Government would think that it was difficult to sell to German citizens new injections of capital to the banks because some lazy and profligate Greeks spent more than they had” (Montalvo, J., C., 2011). This stereotype as well functions as a frame which defines the causes of the crisis as Boin et al. put it. As the findings reveal it could be said that between the two Spanish newspapers, *El Mundo* was found to use tougher language than *El Pais* and it is also the newspaper that included the maximum amount of stereotypes in one article. By looking at Table 2 in the results section one can see that stereotypes like laziness of Greek people, corruption, Greeks doing big life which may facilitate general characterizations of Greek people, are used in bigger extend by *El Mundo* than *El Pais*. 64
This finding suggests a difference between newspapers and not between countries, which might be more related to the style or the sympathies (political, corporate etc.) of a newspaper, rather than the narrative of a country.

12. **We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece (1.3%)**: This stereotype has been used to outline the distinction between the Greek case and that of other countries with financial problems. In this way this distinction was outspokenly drawn, while other stereotypes can be used for the same purpose, but in a more indirect way (e.g. manipulation of numbers stereotype). The Guardian mentioned in one article that Ireland has two years to prove that it is not Greece (Elliott, L., agencies, 2011), but certainly most mentions of this stereotype come from the Spanish press. This is expected since Britain and Ireland do not form a typical ‘We’, even if these countries belong to the North, share the same language and have financial ties. El Pais used this stereotype more times, in order to explain why similar circumstances between the two countries do not make them equal: “Greece is not Spain, nor Mariano Rajoy is Antonis Samaras, the leader of the conservative party New Democracy, who refuses to support the adjustment plan of the socialist Papandreou, even though this could ruin the European rescue plan and precipitate the suspension of payments of Greece” (unknown author, 2011).

13. **Achievements during WWII (0.6%)**: Two times out of three this stereotype has been mentioned in the sample coming from the Guardian. It should be noted that both times this stereotype was used by a Greek author or an author of Greek origin. One article was found in the section Letters to the Editor and the other in the Comment section. In the article written by a reader there is a reference to WWII, the contribution of Greece to the fight against Germany and Italy and how this should be acknowledged by the EU, rather than imposing harsh austerity to Greek people. In the Comment, the author mainly speaks about the peaceful gatherings of the Greek indignant, who apply direct democracy, and just makes a mention in the modern history
of Greece that resisted a dictatorship and foreign occupation with “determination and sacrifice” (Douzinas, C., 2011). This stereotype has a positive connotation and it is used by these authors in order to highlight a positive aspect of Greeks (as the authors see it). In the case of the letter to the editor this stereotype works also for the creation of the dipole of Us - Greece - versus Them – Europe, since it implies that We-Greece benefited Europe and this should be acknowledged by Them. However, the restricted use of this stereotype cannot have any effect on the readers.

14. Greek customs, traditions, music, culture (0.4%): This stereotype has been mentioned only twice in the British sample. In the article of the Guardian about a meeting concerning the reform of Greek economy, with Greek ministers and officials attending it, the author describes an interval during which Greek music played on the background “In an interval, the music from Zorba started up and it was hard not to imagine plates being smashed on the ground” (Chakrabortty, A., 2011). This is a typical image of Greece, coming especially from movies, but the amount of mentions is so small, that it cannot have any effect on the readers, rather than recalling this image.

The above mentioned categories, as they appeared in the sample under research, reveal that the most popular stereotypes are of financial nature. This supports the view that one of the uses of stereotypes is to simplify information. Also the stereotypes that appear more often have to do more with the evolution/consequences and causes of the crisis, than with possible solutions, the future of the crisis and general characterizations of the population. It is also found that in various cases there was an attempt to draw a distinction between Greece and Spain (and not so much with Britain). The next point of analysis is to see if the proximity of the audience to the cultural other Greece plays a role in the use of stereotypes, meaning if there will be a tendency between
North and South (relevant to cultural proximity) or if the dipole Us versus Them will prevail (drawing of boundaries that separate Greece from Spain or Britain).

- **Great Britain and Spain**

Figure 2 in the results section describes the differences between the two countries. After estimating the statistical significance there were four categories whose differences are worth to be analysed.

The first category is *Rescue Greece*. This stereotype was mentioned 161 times by Britain and 143 by Spain. This finding tells us that Spain, which could be more affected by the crisis than Britain, is less likely to use this stereotype because journalists may want to assist people to understand the crisis deeper, since they may find themselves in a similar position in the near future. Britain is more distant from this situation for two reasons. First it is not member of the Eurozone and the effects of this crisis will be comparatively less. Spain not only is in the Eurozone but is one of the countries that face financial issues similar to Greece, yet not so severe, and therefore it is expected that its press might be more concerned for the understanding and the evolution of the crisis. Second, Britain only holds a small part of the Greek bonds- something that makes the country less involved, increasing the chances of stereotyping. These aspects explain also the way press reacts. As Liz Jackson said the way media portray things depends upon audience interests in depicting facts and fictions (2010). Therefore, if Spanish people feel more affected by this crisis, they would possibly want to get more nuanced information, something that the Spanish press can offer with more explanations and less stereotyping. In another way the proximity (which plays also a role in the use of stereotypes) of the Spanish audience with the crisis situation is bigger than this of the British audience, enhancing the need for more and better information.
The second category in which statistical significance was found is *Manipulation of numbers*. The British press referred to this stereotype only 8 times, while the Spanish newspapers referred to it 20 times. This is also something expected, since this stereotype facilitates the distinction between Spain and Greece. By bringing up this aspect Spain wants to show that We-Spain are not like Them-Greece. This stereotype touches upon moral values and represents Greece as a country that manipulated its numbers and deceived its European counterparts. One could argue that Spain, by using this stereotype, wants to draw a line. In this sense, maybe Spain faces financial problems similar to Greece, but did not perform such immoral practices in the past as Greece appears to have done. The Spanish press by constructing the image of the Other in a certain way, helps to reconstruct the image of the Self (Cao, Q., 2011) in the sense that ‘we are not what they are’. Britain does not share the same need to distance itself from Greece and this is why its press probably does not make that much use of this stereotype.

*Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas* is another category of importance. British newspapers referred to this stereotype 25 times, while Spanish newspapers did so only 5 times. Thinking that the contagion effect was the second most popular used in the articles under research someone can understand why Spanish newspapers do not think that a Greek default can be a good solution for this crisis. Britain, on the other hand, is not going to be that much affected by such a credit event and could thus suggest it more as a solution or sees a default more as something that is certainly going to happen. Such a certainty for Spain could have great implications, as the newspapers’ narrative dictates (e.g. domino effect), and therefore it is less prompted.

Another reason could also be that if Spain was found in the difficult situation of being unable to service its debts, it would not want to see the exit from the Eurozone, something that a precedent of Greece might make more possible. Therefore, it is expected that the newspaper
narrative of Spain does not make big use of this stereotype, since the press would not support something that is against the interests of the country and its people. This does not mean that it is in the interests of Britain that Greece left the Eurozone, but the distance of Britain from the crisis (its consequences and implications for the future of the Eurozone) might make it easier for its press to make such suggestions. The stereotype of Greece to default and return to drachmas is anyway used very few times in the sample, something that shows that it is an extreme case and neither of the two countries’ press suggests it as a solution.

The last category of statistical significance is We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece. This stereotype was mentioned once in the British press and six times in the Spanish. This is also something expected because in a period of crisis lines need to be drawn and in this case Spain is more in need to do so. As it was mentioned Ireland may have some common characteristics or ties with Britain; however it is not one and the same country, far from it. Therefore, it makes sense that the British press did not use this stereotype as much as the Spanish. As it was mentioned with other stereotypes, such as the manipulation of numbers, the Spanish press works more towards a distinction of its country from Greece and the use of this stereotype is the most outspoken way to do it. One should not forget that in the beginning of the Eurozone crisis there was a group of countries, so called P.I.G.S. (the acronym comes from the first letters of the countries Portugal, Italy, Greece, Spain), that were blamed for the situation. Greece and Spain were two of these countries. Therefore, it is expected for the Spanish press to use a narrative that facilitates the distinction of Spain from this group. Spain until now has managed to control its problems and has not yet asked for emergency loans as the other countries did, and its press has to accredit this to the country and its people by using a narrative that makes its audience understand that their case is different.
It could be said that the differences found by this research are not based so much in the dipole North versus South but in the distinction of Us versus Them. Most of the differences are justified when considering the involvement of a country in this crisis, rather than based on a group of common characteristics like South versus North. It cannot be said that Spain made lesser use of stereotypes when narrating the Greek crisis because it belonged to the group of southern countries that share similar worries. On the contrary looking at the stereotypes of Laziness or Greeks doing big life, the two countries score similar results (Laziness 4 mentions in each country, and Greeks doing big life 11 for Britain and 9 for Spain). This finding shows that the cultural proximity of an audience to the country where an event takes place is not alone a factor that defines the use of stereotypes. Even though there is a general perception that the South is more ‘loose’ (e.g. less productive) while the North is more ‘organized’ (e.g. more effective public sector, following strictly deadlines and timetables), the findings show this idea is not particularly supported or rejected by any of the two countries’ press and therefore the cultural proximity does not seem to affect this finding. This research has shown mostly that the need for simplification is a more important factor for the use of stereotypes.

Last but not least, looking at the tables in the results section one can see that more differences are found among the Guardian, Financial Times, El Mundo and El Pais, rather than between the two countries. For example one can see that the newspapers El Mundo and the Guardian coincide in more categories of stereotypes from the most appearing stereotype to the least. This could have to do with the style of each newspaper (even though they are all broadsheets) or the political/business/etc. sympathies, which was not falling into the scope of this research.

- General remarks

This research did not aim to see specifically how the indignant were portrayed by the press, but having as a peg this movement I placed the research in this time period. In generally, when the
newspapers were referring to this movement, they were rather sympathetic. They presented personal stories of the protesters and tried to see the crisis from the perspective of the people that undergo hard reforms. Of course there were some exceptions but the main body of articles that referred to the indignant was rather understanding.

Some of the groups of stereotypes reveal this tendency as well. The categories *Laziness of Greek people* and *Greeks doing big life* scored low among the other categories of stereotypes that were found in the sample under research. If the indignant were targeted by the press as lazy or privileged these stereotypes would have more appearances. One of the categories that may be harsher for Greek people is the *Corruption, tax evasion* category that was 5th from the top or the *Manipulation of numbers* that was 7th right in the middle of the list. However, in these cases the state was the main target and in a period of crisis it is expected that some groups of people (and in this case mostly the public servants, or people of high prestige) are more often targeted than others.

Another remark on the findings of this research has to do with the role of the Genres. As it was observed in the results section, Financial articles or Columns (most of the coming from Financial Times) were the genres that had more articles with zero stereotypes. This suggests that the knowledge over a topic can affect the process of stereotyping significantly. It was also observed that National news contained more articles with two or three stereotypes than with one, something that has to do with the stock of knowledge, the need for simplification and the drawing of boundaries between countries. It was not within the scope of this research to dive deep in the relation of the genres and the stereotypes but with the use of this data one could find interesting results concerning whether news or comments contain more stereotypes, or concerning the role of the style or the place of an article in a newspaper and the use of stereotypes.
Before closing this section, it is probably worth saying a few words about the one article that scored the highest amount of stereotypes. This article was from the newspaper *El Mundo* and it was called “Our Greek Myths”. The categories of the stereotypes found in this article were the following: First of all there is a Reference to ancient Greece and what this country used to mean in the minds of young people. “*For today’s youth Greece is synonymous with rescue, bankrupt country, fiscal fraud, deception in the public accounts, public servants that are lazy and people that are not paying their debts*” (Mendez, L., 2011). The author goes on saying that Greeks thought they could go on living in a certain way and benefit from the prosperity that was offered by the cheap loans, but once the manipulation of numbers that was performed with the help of Goldman Sachs was discovered, there is no Plan B for Greece. The author suggests that Greece has to reinvent the way of turning the situation around and perhaps selling Cyclades complex of islands could help. This is an Opinion article and it is expected to be more subjective and critical than a news piece. The stereotypes that it carries are *Reference to Greece, Rescue Greece, Manipulation of numbers, Laziness of Greek people, Corruption/ tax evasion, Greeks doing big life* and *Reference to islands*.

This article of course is an exception compared to the rest of the articles of the sample as it carries many stereotypes and it is very critical towards Greece. This research proved that categories which could stigmatize Greek people did not score high in the list of stereotypes. On the contrary stereotypes of financial relevance were more often encountered in the overall sample and maybe this has to do with the complexity of financial issues. The use of such stereotypes can simplify complex financial information in order to be easier understood by the readers (something that would cost in accuracy though).
Conclusion and Further Research

This study found that at a certain level the Greek crisis has been stereotyped by the foreign press, and more specifically by the British and Spanish press represented by the Guardian, Financial Times, El Pais and El Mundo.

The Greek crisis is basically a national crisis that took a global outlook in some of its aspects and became of interest for the audience and the media abroad. However, it was not the global outlook of the crisis that prevailed on the coverage, since each country employed its national framework in order to localize this news event. As it was ascertained by the results of the study, it was more the financial sight of this crisis that was sketched by using stereotypes in these newspapers. This could be a result of the need to simplify a complex issue. Another reason could be that it was the first time that such an issue takes place in the Eurozone and therefore the unexpectedness, the uniqueness and the inability to fully understand that issue led to the use of stereotypes in newspaper articles.

However, it should be noted that these kinds of stereotypes that represent the social aspects and characterizations of the Greek people were limited in the minority of the articles. It is more likely that people abroad will remember that Greece has been ‘rescued’ during this crisis, rather than that Greeks are lazy or live with big privileges. There were occasions within the sample though where articles appeared to include more than two or three stereotypes, something that made them appear very critical towards Greece but these cases were limited.

It should also be noted that the indignant most of the times were described with sympathy and the articles in this sample held many personal stories of these people. There were of course some exceptions but the majority of the articles were trying to approach the point of view of the protesters.
This research contributed to the understanding of this crisis and more specifically to understand how this crisis was projected by the media abroad. During the crisis period it has been observed that the local Greek media took news stories from abroad that were very critical towards Greek people and gave the sense to the citizens that they are being misjudged. However, this is not exactly the truth since as it was found in this research these kinds of stories are the minority. In a further research it would be interesting to take these results and make two kinds of comparisons. First, someone could combine these results with an audience research in Spain and Britain in order to see which of these stereotypes finally pass in the mentality of the people. Second, it would be interesting to see how the Greek audience thinks it is being represented by the media abroad. By this way one can understand in a more holistic way how stereotypes play out in the content, how audiences might react to it, but also how local media transmit the representations of foreign media.

At a second level research could dig deeper on the basis of these results and analyze the combinations of stereotypes within the articles, or try to find out if some stereotypes appear more in specific genres. Another interesting aspect would be to see in which days within the research period more stereotypes are used. Thinking that the period selected has some peak-events like the reshuffling of the government or big protests that became more violent, research could concentrate on how the media reacted in these specific cases. Furthermore, a discourse analysis could go even deeper and bring to the light certain patterns and ideologies at play.

This study was just the first step of understanding a big news event of our days. In this case the choice of the countries that were studied plays an important role for the outcome of the research. These two countries can be categorized as ‘observers’, even if Spain is more involved than Britain, in the sense that it is one of the countries of the Eurozone that faces financial issues. If one was to study Germany and Greece, the results may have been different. But this
change would shift also the angle of the research because we would have Greek media reporting on the Greek crisis. I argue that the countries chosen for this research are better in the sense that they offer less radical results, something that could possibly make them more representative for our understanding of the reaction of foreign media in a crisis. I argue that Greece and Germany as a couple would offer more radical results because the tension between the two countries is bigger while the crisis, since they sit in opposite sides on the table of negotiations.

The inductive approach of this research makes it hard to replicate and re-test in other occasions of crisis because the categories were designed from the sample itself and these categories work for the Greek case but might not work when analyzing other countries, since as it was noted the stereotypes derive from bits of reality and each country has its own special national realities.

Other limitations of this research are that the sample of each country was not even and that Britain’s sample had a financial spin because of the Financial Times. However, since the issue is of financial nature, even in the other newspapers the core of the articles was placed on the financial pages.

Stereotypes are part of our lives and function as tools for the comprehension of complex issues. Some stereotypes are positive and others negative. The problem starts when people tend to rely on them in order to form an opinion over an issue. It is also the repetition of stereotypes that might lead to the consolidation of certain images, with the risk that these images are ‘naturalized’ and pass to the minds of the people as reality. Framing and the use of stereotypes is not something that someone is doing intentionally and with a specific purpose, it is rather a way of packaging or classifying information and knowledge on an issue, which sometimes is incomplete and distorts the whole picture.
Journalists are among the people that have the power to define reality to some extent, and that is why they should be aware of how they manage and distribute information. The audience is not a passive player in this process, so it is up to each person’s hands to elaborate on the information they get and form their own opinion for matters that are not within their reach and cannot experience them themselves. However, it should be noted that the journalist carries the responsibility of providing the audience with balanced, accurate and verified information.

Stereotypes can be harmless when we are aware of them. This is why Journalism Studies do deal with them and try to identify them. The next step is for media outlets to self reflect on such issues, in order to improve their purpose that is to inform and at times educate the people.
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42. Figure 3: Unknown creator. Focus front-page. Antibaro.gr 23/02/2010. 3/01/2012

http://antibaro.gr/forum/1252

43. Figure 4: Unknown creator. Cartoon of newspaper To Pontiki 29/10/2011. 3/01/2012

http://anthropolikes.wordpress.com/2011/10/29/%CF%84%CF%83%CE%BF%CF%85%CE%B6%CE%AC%CE%BC%CE%B5%CE%BD-%CF%84%CE%B1-%CF%86%CE%AC%CE%B3%CE%B1%CE%BC%CE%B5%CE%BD/
Works Cited


Appendix

Coding Sheet sample:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEREOTYPES</th>
<th>SELECTION</th>
<th>CORRESPONDING TEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference to ancient Greece</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(drama, tragedy, democracy etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek customs, traditions, music, culture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to sun, islands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements during WWII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue Greece/Greeks (financial aid, help etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue Greece/Greeks explaining the banks are saved</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domino effect, contagion, source of trouble in the EU</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks doing big life, spending etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption, tax evasion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazyness of Greek people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation of numbers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece out of eurozone, drachmas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (Spain, Ireland etc) are not Greece</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece is like Lehman Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Number of stereotypes appearing in each article in the total of the sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of stereotypes</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>18.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>529</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frequency (and percentage below) of stereotypes in the total of the sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotype</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference to ancient Greece</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to islands, sun</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domino effect, contagion, source of trouble in the EU</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue Greece</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue banks</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption, tax evasion</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks doing big life</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazyness of Greek people</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek customs, traditions, music, culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation of numbers</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements during WWII</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece is like Lehman Brothers</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Frequencies of the stereotypes for each newspaper and p-value for the statistical difference among the number of stereotypes through the newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stereotypes</th>
<th>The Guardian</th>
<th>El Mundo</th>
<th>Financial Times</th>
<th>El Pais</th>
<th>F total</th>
<th>Percentage total</th>
<th>p</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference to ancient Greece</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>0.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to islands, sun</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domino effect, contagion, source of trouble in the EU</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>0.444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue Greece</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue banks</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption, tax evasion</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks doing big life</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laziness of Greek people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek customs, traditions, music, culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation of numbers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements during WWII</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>0.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece is like Lehman Brothers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.046</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Frequency of stereotypes per country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries/ Stereotypes</th>
<th>Great Britain</th>
<th>Spain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reference to ancient Greece</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference to islands, sun</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domino effect, contagion, source of trouble in the EU</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue Greece</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rescue banks</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption, tax evasion</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greeks doing big life</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lazyness of Greek people</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek customs, traditions, music, culture</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulation of numbers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements during WWII</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece out of Eurozone, drachmas</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (Spain, Ireland) are not Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece is like Lehman Brothers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Frequency of Genres in the sample and percentage on the total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National News</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International News</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>9.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to the Editor</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front Page</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Page</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>529</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Number of stereotype appearances per genre in the total of the sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of stereotypes/Genres</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National News</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International News</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comment</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letters to the Editor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Features</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front Page</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last Page</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>