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**MEDIA REPRESENTATION AND THE  
2013 FINANCIAL AND POLITICAL CRISES IN CYPRUS**

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Introduction by

**TAO PAPAIOANNOU, MIKE HAJIMICHAEL**

Paradise Lost:

Media Representation and the 2013

Financial and Political Crises in Cyprus

13 – 31

**Articles:**

**TAO PAPAIOANNOU**

Overcoming the Protest Paradigm? Framing of the 2013 Cypriot  
Protests in International Online News Media

35 – 70

*Earlier research on media coverage of social protests has yielded evidence of a protest paradigm: framing patterns that articulate support for entrenched interests and values. However, recent studies are detecting less predictable media responses, indicating the need to identify the extent of application of the paradigm and the underlying determinants within the changing media politics of dissent. This study investigates whether and how the protest paradigm is incorporated in the portrayal of the 2013 Cypriot protests in international online news media. A framing analysis of protest coverage by the news websites of the New York Times (NYT), BBC News and Euronews reveals contrasting results. NYT demonstrates the tendency to employ spectacle frames, privilege official sources and situate the protests within strict economic analysis. Alternatively, BBC News – more sympathetic than Euronews – constructs stories with frames legitimating protestors' perspective and questioning governing institutions. Finally, in consideration of the media's orientation to the destabilising elite consensus embedded in the crisis and their representations of relevant social criticism, this article examines the possibility of international news media conditionally moving away from the protest paradigm towards multi-perspective approaches, permitting a more credible discourse to emerge from social conflicts.*

**Keywords:** news framing, the protest paradigm, media politics, online media, BBC News, Euronews, the New York Times (NYT), the 2013 Cypriot crisis

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**LIA-PASCHALIA SPYRIDOU**

Producing Protest News: Representations of Contentious  
Collective Actions in Mainstream Print Media

71 – 105

*When covering protests, evidence suggests that the media tend to resort to the 'protest paradigm', a routinized template to produce protest stories, downsizing the scope, claims and mobilisation effects of the protest movements. This article examines the representations of protests by Cypriot mainstream media on the occasion of the recent economic remedies imposed by the EU/IMF. Framing analysis has indicated that media coverage adheres to the protest paradigm as the dominant frames of 'drama'*

*and ‘inevitability’ signal an explicit effort to marginalise and delegitimise their claims, and therefore discredit their significance and potential to affect policy making. And yet, the findings suggest that the political orientation of the media does affect the representation of protests as the left-wing media provide empowering representations of the protests. Overall, however, media coverage is elite-sourced, episodic, lacking in-depth analysis and alternative policy suggestions. This study contributes to the protest paradigm thesis, and argues that recent evidence claiming a repair of the paradigm are counterbalanced in the case of protests that radically question the status quo. Finally, considering the moderate protest movement that developed in Cyprus, the findings are discussed in conjunction with specific traits of the Cypriot political culture providing some preliminary interpretation on how the politics of futility and fear coupled by the ‘responsible politics’ discourse articulated systematically in the media, can offer a degree of insight into the development of modest protest dynamics.*

**Keywords:** news reporting, protest movements, representation, protest paradigm, responsible politics, protest dynamics, framing

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**GEORGE PAVLIDES**

A Content Analysis of How Radio Stations in Cyprus  
Covered the Bailout of March 2013

107 – 128

(English translation by Mike Hajimichael)

*This is an empirical analysis of how radio news programmes discussed, reported and reflected on the ‘haircut’ decision in Cyprus in the crucial days of March 2013. The research focuses on four Pancyprian radio news shows which vary according to their style and content. One of the main objectives of this research is to contribute to studying radio in Cyprus from an empirical content analysis perspective, and to investigate the depth of knowledge (or lack of it) by said radio stations on the economic and political climate that prevailed during those turbulent days when the ‘haircut’ decision was taken.*

**Keywords:** radio, content analysis, Cyprus, news, bailout, haircut

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**NICO CARPENTIER**

Articulating Participation and Agonism:

A Case Study on the Agonistic Re-articulations of the Cyprus Problem  
in the Broadcasts of the Community Broadcaster MYCYradio

129 – 153

*The article starts with a discussion on the material and discursive components of conflict transformation, arguing for the need to complement the dominance of material and psychological approaches with a more discursive-cultural approach. This plea contextualises the analysis of a series of broadcasts of the Cypriot web community radio station, MYCYradio. Supported by the Mouffe’s (discourse-) theoretical conceptualisations of antagonism and agonism, the analysis focuses on the broadcasts of three MYCYradio shows. For each show, 10 episodes, broadcast between September and November 2013 are analysed, using discourse-theoretical analysis. Through this analysis, four main re-articulations are identified in the MYCYradio shows: the overcoming/decentralising of the divide, the deconstruction of*

*the self (and the enemy), the reconfiguration of time, and the elaboration of the cost of the conflict. The analysis shows that community media, despite the many different problems they face, have particular abilities to support agonistic discourses.*

**Keywords:** community media, participatory media, Cyprus Problem, conflict transformation, discourse theory, agonism, antagonism, discourse-theoretical analysis, constructionism

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**DIMITRA L. MILIONI, LIA-PASCHALIA SPYRIDOU,  
KONSTANTINOS VADRATSIKAS**

Framing Immigration in Online Media and  
Television News in Crisis-stricken Cyprus

155 – 185

*Immigration is an issue of contestation across Europe. Since the 1990s, the retreat of multiculturalism has resulted in pressures exerted on immigrants to conform and integrate. The strengthening of anti-immigrant stances has intensified after the economic recession that has deteriorated standards of living for large populations and has increased the competition between social groups for public resources. Linguistic labels that evoke judgments have real consequences, as citizen attitudes depend on the labels attributed to immigrants in the public discourse. This study employs framing analysis of online articles and television news stories about third-country immigrants that appeared in the Cypriot media in 2013, when the consequences of the financial crisis were most strongly felt by the Cypriot population. The findings reveal the explicit discursive and sourcing mechanisms by which immigration is constructed as a problem and immigrants are 'othered' in the media discourse. The study concludes with a discussion of possible remedies deemed appropriate in the context of Cyprus.*

**Keywords:** News framing, sources, immigration, financial crisis, Cyprus

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**VASILIKI TRIGA, VENETIA PAPA**

'The Poor have been Raped':  
An Analysis of Politicised Collective Identity in  
Facebook Groups against the Financial Crisis in Cyprus

187 – 216

*This paper investigates the content of collective identities as constructed in Facebook groups created in protest against the haircut in 2013 in Cyprus. Given its supplementary role to offline social action, we use Facebook as a research domain and data gathering tool. Drawing on the concept of politicised collective identity we undertake a qualitative content analysis of the posts in three Facebook groups. The analysis reveals two main forms of collective identification. The first presents a rather common form of collective identity that is informed ideologically by nationalism. The second is built upon a strong anti-president rhetoric, echoing the arguments of the opposition parties. The 'banal' nature of such identities probably go a long way in accounting for the limited potential for collective action – unlike some of the other European crisis countries.*

**Keywords:** politicised collective identities, social movements, online social media, civil society, Facebook groups, Cyprus crisis, nationalism, shared grievances, adversarial attributions, thematic analysis

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**MARCOS KOMODROMOS**

Social Media and its Role for  
Cypriot Members of Parliament in Times of Crisis

217 – 232

*Social media are becoming progressively more important in the role they play in any organisation's marketing and client-base development platform, performing a strategic function in providing information sources for everyone. Recently, for instance, microblogging services such as Twitter, along with social networking sites like Facebook, are reputed to have the potential for increasing political participation nationally and internationally. In times of crisis, social media offer a different approach to stimulate citizen engagement in political life, reshaping creative structures and methods of contemporary political communication in the way that politicians and citizens can interact with one another. The goal of this study is to investigate the current role of the social media used by Members of Parliament and politicians to reach, communicate and network with their audiences (citizens), or groups of people, in times of political change and crisis in Cyprus. A qualitative study is adopted using face-to-face interviews in order to explore the views, experiences, beliefs and motivations of individual participants in Cyprus.*

**Keywords:** New media, social media, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, online communication, political communication, strategic change, Cyprus, parliament

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**MIKE HAJIMICHAEL**

Critiquing the Crisis through Music – Three Songs about Life in Cyprus  
Before and After the 'Haircut' of March 2013

233 – 248

*This essay reflects on three songs from Cyprus written, released and performed on/or about/around the bailout crisis of March 2013. While the songs come from three different musical genres and artists they articulate a number of themes which are pertinent to understanding the economic crisis as a possible succession of a number of political crises and unresolved wounds that go back to the 1970s. One of the essay's main objectives is to contribute to an emerging field in contemporary Cypriot scholarship, namely that of popular music studies through a contextual analysis of songs and the art of listening (Back, 2008). The essay also aims to develop an understanding of songs as commentary, as a form of media narrative on everyday lived experiences as reflected by musicians living through economic and political crises in Cyprus.*

**Keywords:** popular music, protest, songs, ethnomusicology, Cyprus, crisis, ethnography

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**NICOS PAVLIDES**

Cypriot Economic Crisis – Crime and Punishment:  
Great Expectations or Realistic Possibility?

249 – 290

*For many an ancient Greek tragedy, a precondition for the arrival of the effect of catharsis (renewal and restoration), is the attribution of nemesis, the just punishment for wrongdoings, arrogance and hubris before the Gods. Wrongdoings, arrogance and hubris were palpably present in the Cypriot economic crisis, in the banking as well as the fiscal sectors of the economy, but catharsis has yet to arrive.*

*As the people and the society slowly come to grips with the effects and consequences of the catastrophe, a number of burning questions are on every sufferer's mind which this article will discuss and strive to provide meaningful answers from a legal practitioner's perspective: Why did the legal and regulatory system prove unable to prevent such a catastrophe by allowing the banks to fail in so many respects? Is the arsenal of the legal and regulatory system strong enough to enable it to rise to the challenge of doling out just punishment? Are people's expectations for the punishment of those who are to blame, fanned by politicians' rhetoric, too high? What changes and improvements to the legal and regulatory system are necessary so as to substantially reduce the likelihood that similar failings will occur in the future?*

**Keywords:** Cyprus economic crisis, corporate governance, legal system, punishment, personal responsibility, corruption

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Afterword by

**SUMAN GUPTA**

Crisis and Representation: Notes on Media and Media Studies 291 – 310

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(Krini Kafiris) 329 – 333

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Edited by Raphaël Kies and Patrizia Nanz

(Ashgate Publishing: Farnham, Surrey/Burlington, VT, 2013), xviii + 244 pp.

(Christine Neuhold) 335 – 336

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(Roman Petrov) 343 – 345