INTRODUCTION: The fallacy of de-ideologization of politics in the age of mediatization

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"I don't think the American people want politics and the presidency to become the plaything of the high-pressure man, of ghostwriters, of the public relations men [...]. This isn't a soap opera, this isn't Ivory Soap versus Palmolive"

(Adlai Stevenson, Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1952, quoted by Diamond and Bates, 1992, p.58)

modern cultural studies, on the other hand, ideology being identified with the Marxist legacy

and media logic, as it is explicated in the work of Negrine. Marking the limits of this perspective, I will abandon the 'media-political logic' dualism and in its place I will provide an understanding of mediation as the symbolic act of media which is situated in specific institutional settings, drawing on the works of Bourdieu, Couldry, Davis and Thompson.

Negrine, in his work on the transformation of political communication (2008) argues that instead of ruptures and 'epochal shifts' what underlies the course of political communication in the 20th century is a process of   of political actors to the changes within political and media systems. However, adaptation for Negrine is not a passive, defensive stance but an active, strategic response of political actors to the challenges raised by the surrounding environment. For example, political developments, such as the decline of the traditional

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technologies of communication, which is simultaneously constitutive of and conditioned by the institutional context (political field) within which it takes place.

However, the reconceptualization of mediated politics is a necessary but not sufficient presupposition for challenging the fallacy of de-ideologization. Technologies of communication may allow the formation of technologies of politics, without these to be colonized by the media logic, but if ide

This double articulation of representations to the social is summarized in Hall's definition of ideology, which is partly borrowed by Althusser: Ideology consists in "sets of representations and discourses through which   'in an imaginary way, our relation to our   of existence' (2006, p. 148, emphasis added), without this experience to necessarily presuppose misrecognition.

The understanding of Ideology as a not necessarily erroneous meaning-making process, constitutive of but also conditioned by social reality, is also apparent in Thompson's work. As he puts it: "symbolic forms are continuously and creatively implicated in the constitution of social relations as such" (1990, p.58), but the same time "symbolic forms are always embedded in socially structured contexts and processes" (1990, p.59).

Freeden (2006), through the prism of political theory, argues that ideology is not simply a meaning making process but a process of making political meaning, of configuring the political ideas of each historical period. The new dimension Freeden adds offers the necessary criterion to distinguish political ideology from the other forms of cultural production, avoiding in this way a holistic approach according to which any case of meaning making is ideological. Arguably, the two aforementioned perspectives by relating ideology to the production of any kind of representations or symbolic forms carry this risk.

However, Freeden's (2006) conceptualization of the political avoids the structuralism and essentialism which lies at the heart of the understanding ideology as pre-structured and coherent set of grand ideas. In his rather post-structuralist view, discourse in late modernity is inherently multivalent and contestable without, however, this to preclude ideological ferments. Ideology appe

As Foucault has argued power is also productive in the sense that it can constitute new intersubjective relations, without necessarily to abolish the old ones, allowing the micro-physics of power to operate along with the broader template of generalized subjection (Krips, 1990, Hall, 2001). In Castell's work this productive aspect of power is exemplified by the

Chapter 3: The Conceptual and Analytical Framework

In the empirical part of this work, I will try to provide some preliminary answers to these questions, focusing only on one genre of mediated politics, the televised political advertising.

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If intertextuality is the nodal point at the intersection of the textual with the discursive dimension of recontextualization,   is the respective point at the intersection of the discursive with the social dimension. As Fairclough argues discourses are always associated with particular institutional settings and, as I showed in chapter 1, mediated discourses are associated with some conventionalized codes of articulation (necessary for the

question of this project, since ideology can be argued to be the preferred meaning political parties seek to inculcate in mediated symbolic constructs.

Second Critique:

CDA as a hermeneutical method is vulnerable to the criticism of subjectivism in interpretation. More particularly, it is argued that analysts treat texts in such a way so that anticipated meanings, those affirm their theoretical assumptions or personal predispositions, are elicited (Widdowson, 1996). However, this is a serious but not insurmountable risk. It reminds the analyst that s/he has to be as self-reflexive s/he can by following a systematically organized and consistently operationalized analysis of the research material. According to Rose such an analysis uses evidence from the material itself, pays attention to "the coherence of the analysis" and to "the coherence of the study in relation to previous related research" (Rose, 2007, p.161), to mention a few. This is the difference between the work of an analyst and of an ordinary reader (Fairclough, 1996).

SECTION II EMPIRICAL RESULTS

This second Section of the project consists in four chapters which introduce the case study that contextualizes the empirical analysis (chapter 4), present(chapter 5 and 6) and discuss the findings in relation to the conceptual framework underpin the current work (chapter 7), respectively.

Chapter 4: Introducing the case study: Mediated Politics and Ideology in Greece

Within a two-year period before the general election of May 2012, Greece, facing the most formidable fiscal crisis in its post-war history, was forced twice to ask for bailout from the European Union and the International Monetary Fund. A swath of measures of strict fiscal consolidation, including considerable wage and pension cuts as well as tax increases, had to be implemented by the Greek government in exchange for the financial aid.

The developments within the two major political parties, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and New Democracy (ND), were rapid. After the tremendous social reactions the government resigned (November, 2011) and was replaced by a technocratic transitional government with the support of three parliamentary parties (PASOK, ND and LAOS). For the first time in the post-dictatorship era, the two major parties, received together less than 50% of the popular vote in the election of May 2012. The incumbent PASOK was elected third party having lost more than three quarters of the electoral impact it had in 2009. ND was elected first party with less than 20% of votes and the left-wing party SYRIZA nearly missed to win the election (Ministry of Interior, 2012).

Arguably, the crisis accelerated and exacerbated destabilizing trends that were already in progress. For example, the clientelistic system, on which Greek political parties have been built, is in decline from 90s, because of the country's adaptation to the European and international rules, downsizing parties' traditional base of support (Charalambis and Demertzis, 1993). On the other hand, mass media and especially television have dominated political life emphasizing on scandals, spectacle and cockfighting between politicians (Papathanassopoulos, 2000). Political parties have increasingly relied to media practices in order to run their campaigns, employing media experts and focusing on televised political advertising (ibid). However, it would be an unsubstantiated claim to say that Greek politics has been colonized by the media logic, since the latter was never alien to politics. Political parallelism is strong in Greek media (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) and the media political

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As it can be inferred by the analysis of its compositional structure, this spot constitutes a form of 'personal witness ad', the   of the lay person, "in which the views of non-candidates are enlisted for the purposes of endorsement" (McNair, 2007, p.97). The latter is argued to propagandize the party message with simplicity and naturalness, contributing to the reconnection of institutional politics with the everyday life (Vamvakas, 2006). In the Greek context of triumphant populism this 'politics of the quotidian' always had a dominant place.

In this spot, the testimonials of the three characters re-contextualize symbols of the discourse of hope and the discourse of austerity giving birth to a new (inter)discursive practice: the   . The re-contextualizing practice unfolds through a process of self-reflexivity ("one time I thought [...]", "I thought of [...]") in which the role of emotion is critical. Three emotional appeals are clearly detectable in this spot: anxiety (storeowner: "I was stressed"), anger (teacher: "how should I feel" – frowned face, young man: "I am angry, disappointed") and optimism (storeowner: "I am optimistic", teacher: "I have to think positive", all the three: facial expression of smile).

Anxiety is the emotion that leads to "careful information processing, [...] more attention to the candidate's position on issues" (Castells, 2009, p.148); in this case PASOK calls attention to be paid on its proposal for overcoming the economic crisis. Anger, on the other hand, is an emotion which promotes heuristic processing and greater reliance on partisan stereotypes

seeks to   the current and forthcoming 'sacrifices' as necessary, albeit difficult and

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Chapter 6: New Democracy: The liberal and Patriotic Discourse of hope

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Spot 1

Spot 2

- 28 -

In the first part of this spot ordinary people are again in the 'front stage'. Their blurred faces connote the uncertainty and fear that have dominated Greek society, which is also illustrated

Spot 2

Genres   - 29 -

sacrifice/adaptation, which seeks to fragment society. In ND's first spot, the same connotations serve the re-contextualization (via displacement) of the discourse of hope (liberal discourse of hope) so that ND's responsibility for the implementation of tough neo-liberal policies is dissimulated.

Consequently, the case study from the Greek general election of May 2012 illustrates that in

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debates to the surfing in pornographic sites) (Giddens, 1991, Slater, 2001). Unfortunately, this 'diffusion' of the political has been primarily associated with the emergence of the new politics of social movements and activist groups, setting aside the domain of institutional pol

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Two gentlemen	Euro (the one) – drachma (the other)
A family (mother, father and the young girl)	Hope (mother) – fear (father)
A lady	I punish – I vote
Many people	Small Greece - GREECE
Gray background	Leader's Voiceover /F2.03nd 'rxh: 4 (G) 5 (D -1 ( ) 1

780 (ou) -1 5 ( ) 8 (( ) 6 (m) Wp /