

The Changes in Labor Relations of Journalists during the Period of Economic Crisis in Greece

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Abstract: *This article examines the economic crisis' impact on labor relations and working conditions of Greek journalists. It points out that the special features of Greek media system played a critical role in the way that the crisis hit this industry and affected labour relations. The article analyses the massive consequences of the crisis using, inter alia, unpublished data from the insurance fund of journalists and other media employees as well as the results of quantitative research which took place in June and July 2019.*

Keywords: Greek media system, financial crisis, journalism, labor relations, media employees

1. Introduction

The global financial crisis of 2008 had profound consequences on Greek economy. The financial crisis in Greece was, not only a result of the global crisis, but also a result of the structural weaknesses of Greek economy and the wrong choices of the political elite, especially after joining euro (Leandros, 2012). According to Skamnakis (2018), Greece was perceived as Europe's weakest link, due to the slow development of its industrial and service sectors. The public deficit soared in 2008 and 2009 and the country faced a loan crisis.

To overcome the crisis, Greece signed a memorandum in May 2010 and took a loan agreement from a support mechanism the so - called Troika which was created by the International Monetary Fund, the European Union and the European Central Bank. It was an agreement which led to a horizontal reduction in the incomes of employees and pensioners and to an unemployment increase. The support mechanism applied hard measures and extreme interventions were made at the expense of wage labor and thousands of jobs were lost. The loan agreement led to the application of unprecedented austerity measures, brought about limited national sovereignty and resulted in a staggering and ongoing domestic crisis, evident in all aspects of economic, social, political, and cultural life of the country (Leandros, 2012; Kouzis 2016; Skamnakis, 2018).

The financial crisis, besides the effects in the Greek society, stroke hard the Greek media system and journalism. Dramatic changes took place in the Greek media, a great amount of media companies were shut down, many employees lost their jobs and salaries were dramatically reduced. Moreover, leading media lost what was left of their credibility because of their historical interdependence with political power and dominant economic elites and their inability to highlight the underlying causes that led to crisis (Pleios 2013; Leandros 2013; Skamnakis 2015 & 2018).

The crisis in the Greek media system is not only a result of the global financial crisis and its consequences in Greece. According to Skamnakis (2018), the profound media crisis in Greece, especially the crisis of the press, is not

attributable to one reason alone; it is the result of a long, quantitative accumulation of various factors. Some of the reasons of the crisis in the Greek media system - except for the financial crisis - could be the oligopoly in media ownership (i think this is ok), the relations of interdependence between politics and media, the small size of the market and the weak political institutions (Leandros, 1992; Papathanassopoulos, 2004; Skamnakis 2018; Triantafyllou, 2020).

This article aims to present the changing of the labor relations and working conditions of the Greek journalists following the outburst of the financial crisis. For this reason, in the beginning the article presents important aspects of the Greek media system and explains its features and structure, which led to the crisis in media and journalism in Greece. After that, data from Greek journalistic unions and funds are presented, which highlight the changing of labor relations and working conditions of Greek journalists and data about the consequences of the crisis to the Greek media system. The changing of the working conditions and labor relations in Greek media system during the crisis is also presented in this article, by data and results from quantitative research among 307 Greek journalists, who are members of Greek journalistic unions.

Some important aspects of the Greek media system

Although, according to the categorization proposed by Hallin & Mancini (2004) we can classify the Greek Media system in the Mediterranean/Pluralist model, it seems to have its own special characteristics. (Triantafyllou, 2020). One of these characteristics is the oligopoly and dominance of a few mentoring groups that are part of wider economic empires, following international trends at this point. From 1873 when the modernization of the Greek press begins until 1980, most of the ownership belongs to a few families of traditional publishers (Triantafyllou, 2020).

In the 1980s, the ownership structure of print and audio - visual media changed dramatically. The owners of the media in the post - World War II period until the early 1980s, were traditional publishers, which means that they had a long - term relationship with the media and had no other major business activities. Their businesses were small or medium -

sized printing and publishing houses and their financial strength was limited in contrast to the great political influence they enjoyed (Leandros 1992; Triantafyllou, 2020). According to Bakounakis (2014), the main typological element of the press from 1873 until the regime change is that all publishers who, incidentally, all have a university education, come from the press and journalism and this is a fundamental feature of the business culture of the press in Greece.

In the early 1980s, technological changes mainly related to photocomposition and the need to renew the mechanical equipment of their businesses, created a difficult economic environment and allowed businessmen from other areas (shipping, construction, industry) to enter the media field and buy traditional newspapers or to relaunch older titles. Thus, many newspapers became part of wider economic empires, which is an important development for the industry, but also for the country's political system, whose press in the 1980s followed the international trend of acquisitions and mergers leading to cross ownership and the creation of larger media groups (Leandros, 2013 & 1992; Bakounakis, 2014; Pleios, 2014; Triantafyllou, 2020).

The 1980s proved to be extremely important for the media in Greece because another great change took place affecting the audiovisual sector. This is deregulation, the "breaking" of the state monopoly and the emergence of private radio and television. This development created, inter alia, a new business environment and resulted in the beginning of the decline in newspaper sales which was consolidated and became even greater in the following years with Internet development and later with the financial crisis. With private broadcasting in the late 1980s, the second distinct phase of media development began, according to Leandros (2000), which was marked by a series of pivotal events such as the abolition of the state monopoly on audiovisual and the consequent rapid growth of the private oligopoly. Hairetakis (2010) states that the 1980s were a harbinger of radical change, as media companies followed the strategy of diversification and tried to expand their activities in different sectors of the industry, resulting in the creation of wider journalistic giants.

The "breaking" of the state monopoly in the radio began in 1987. It was then that non - state radio stations broadcast for the first time on the airwaves. These first non - state radio stations were municipal. The municipalities began to set up the non - state television. After the parliamentary elections of November 1989, the first private television stations began to appear (Papathanassopoulos 2005; Valoukos, 2008). Mega Channel broadcast for the first time on November 20, 1989 and Antenna aired on December 31, 1989, while the Tzanetaki's government had already passed the Law 1866/1989 on the "establishment and operation of non - state television".

With the privatization of radio and television, a great new chapter was opened in the history of the Greek media. A chapter that also had negative aspects, such as the over - concentration and information's control by a few entrepreneurs and the degradation of the television product. According to Leandros (2013), during this period, impunity

prevailed in the broadcasting landscape of Greece and the whole process took the form of a 'savage deregulation', since within a few years we went from the few state stations to the hundreds of private ones. According to Papathanassopoulos (2005 & 1997), this period is associated with the deregulation in Western Europe, the causes of which were the wider reversal of economic and political orientations and preferences and finally in Greece led to reduced rates of television credibility with few exceptions. Vovou (2010) on her part, points out that in Greece deregulation was called privatization and liberalization, which is indicative of the political and ideological conditions of the time, while Hairetakis (2010) emphasizes that with deregulation the ownership structure of the media ceased to be demarcated. What cannot be ignored is the fact that this privatization marked the transition of information to an era of pluralism and as Papathanassopoulos (2005) states, was for our country the biggest change of the 20th century in the events of mass communication.

After the era of television and radio, in the mid - 1990s in Greece, came the era of internet, which, included social media and according to Reuters (2022) is now the first source for news in Greece. The fact that citizens prefer social media and the internet for their information equally or even more than television is another special characteristic of Greek media system (Triantafyllou, 2020). The Greek internet is now full of news' websites, which are either autonomous or part of wider media groups. According to Reuters (2022), the media market in Greece is also characterized by digital fragmentation, lack of trust in news and high perceptions of undue influence.

Leandros (1992), states that the mass media industry in Greece, consisting of newspapers and magazines, was lagging other countries due to the general economic and cultural backwardness and in combination with the political conditions and the abnormal political climate that prevailed in the country after World War II, the rapid development of publishing and printing activities was hindered until the fall of the dictatorship in 1974. After the restoration of the Republic and after Greece had entered a period of political normality, a new period began for the country's media. A period marked by technological change, newspapers' circulation launches due to political developments, which lasted until the appearance of private radio and television, internet's rising and finally the financial crisis.

The financial crisis and its consequences to Greek media

The global financial crisis, which began in 2008 in the United States and then expanded to Europe, struck Greece hard. The fiscal consolidation program imposed on Greece by the support mechanism was based on fiscal consolidation and internal devaluation which led to a horizontal reduction in the incomes of employees and pensioners and a degradation of work, which affected and continues to affect economic activity. As Kouzis (2016) mentioned, on the occasion of the memorandum (support mechanism), hard measures were taken that could not be legislated before, extreme interventions were made at the expense of wage labor and thousands of jobs were lost. Decades of regulation of the labor landscape in Greece ended with the enforcement of the memorandums.

The Greek media system was affected by the global and the Greek financial crisis. After the signing of the first loan agreement in 2010, the situation in Greek media companies started to change dramatically and they started to face enormous financial problems. According to Pleios (2013), the media experienced further dependence on the political and financial system, high levels of unemployment among journalists, old and young, dramatic deterioration of their economic indicators and a shrinking of their number.

Leandros (2013) states that most media companies did not have a systematic and well - thought - out development strategy and did not make systematic efforts to upgrade their products, during the "Golden Age" of Media that lasted from the early 1980s to the mid - 2000s. As a result, this "golden age" did not lead to modern, healthy businesses, but to over - expansion, high operating costs, and phenomena of interdependence with political elites. Leandros (2013) also notes that the crisis that hit media in Greece had started before 2008 and there were signs, but they were not evaluated correctly. Media companies were unprepared when the crisis struck and they were hit especially hard. Bakounakis (2014) states that the crisis of press credibility begins with the appearance of private television in 1989. According to Hairetakis (2013), the progressive collapse of advertising spending was the first obvious sign of the crisis for the media. The reduction began after the year 2008 because of the global financial crisis. In 2008 the total advertising in Greek media was 2.7 billion euro but fell to 0.8 billion euro in 2016 (Triantafyllou, 2020: 137).

According to Skamnakis (2018), declining numbers have also been noted in the so - called 'government advertising revenue', which has always supported public and mainly private media. The Greek State has been an important advertiser, something which is very common in many countries where state plays an important role in the economy. Besides, the policy of privatizations following the bailout deals, has resulted in a steep drop of advertising revenue from the public sector while the collapse of the available income due to heavy taxation and cuts has led to the decline of the advertising budgets of the private companies (Skamnakis, 2018). With advertising revenue shrunk, the economic results of mass media enterprises deteriorated leading, on many occasions, to huge losses (Leandros 2013). In addition, newspaper revenues dropped due to the decline of public announcements and open tender procedures, while numerous public organizations could no longer pay their debts to newspapers. What is more, the once obligatory publication of annual balance sheets of S. A. and Ltd corporations was abolished, which negatively affected the advertising income of most newspapers (Skamnakis, 2018).

Another result of the crisis was the reduction of circulation of newspapers and magazines. In 1989 when private television stations started operating in Greece the total circulation of the Pan - Hellenic daily newspapers was, on year average 401, 722 copies, including Sunday editions. In 2000 when the internet began to expand the corresponding figure was 273, 742, in 2008, the first year of the global financial crisis was 237, 900 (Triantafyllou, 2020). The period 2011–15 there was a reduction of 62.5 per cent,

while, for instance, in Ireland it was 26.5, in Spain 39.06, in France 13.4 and in Germany 14.8 per cent (WAN 2016; Skamnakis, 2018). Another outcome of the media crisis in Greece had been the lack of trust in news and the increase of social media use, for news. According to Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism (2022), the trust of the citizens toward media is only 27%.

The crisis in the Greek media system is reflected in the data of the Journalist’s Union of Athens Daily Newspapers. According to these data, from 2009 onwards, 43 newspapers were closed. Also, two large media groups in Athens, Pegasus and the Lambrakis Journalism Organization (DOL), went bankrupt in 2017 and sold after bankruptcy. Also, during the crisis, important TV stations, such as Mega Channel, the first private TV station in Greece, closed in 2017 and opened again under new ownership in 2020, like Pegasus and DOL.

The result of the closing of many media during the crisis was the increase of unemployment in Greek Media. According to the data of the Hellenic Statistical Authority and of the General Confederation of Greek Workers, the number of unemployed started increasing in 2010 and reached its peak in 2014 when it was more than 7 times higher compared to 2009. A gradual decline started in 2015 but the number of unemployed was still quite high three years later. Table 1 shows the data of unemployment in the Greek media from 2004 until 2018.

Table 1: Unemployment in the Media in Greece

Year	Unemployed
2004	744
2005	346
2006	440
2007	1, 149
2008	889
2009	821
2010	1, 057
2011	1, 594
2012	4, 071
2013	5, 647
2014	6, 151
2015	4, 651
2016	3, 075
2017	3, 922
2018	2, 732

Source: [https://www.inegsee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/NOEMBRIOS - DEKEMBRIOS - 2018. pdf](https://www.inegsee.gr/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/NOEMBRIOS-DEKEMBRIOS-2018.pdf)

From the above, we realize that the period 2012 - 2014 is the heart of the crisis in media in Greece. Table 2 shows unemployment allowances which were given by ETAP - Media, the main fund for the insurance (pension fund) of the journalists and the rest of the employees in Media until 2015. The year 2016 this fund was consolidated with the main insurance fund in Greece, EFKA. These allowances were given to journalists and the rest of the employees in the Greek media.

Table 2: Amounts of unemployment allowances (in Euro)

Year	Allowance
2009	1, 689, 130
2010	1, 984, 805
2011	3, 437, 888
2012	7, 968, 838
2013	7, 241, 168
2014	6, 180, 216
2015	4, 121, 110

Source: ETAP - Media, unpublished data

As we can see, the biggest amounts were given in the years 2012 - 2014, which show the same result as Table 1. Also, the increase in the amounts of allowances from 2009 onwards is continuous and became higher, in 2012 which was increased by more than four five times compared to 2009. We also must notice that the period 2012 - 2015 is a period that many media in Greece were closed, as we have already seen. We must also notice that in 2013 the public broadcaster, the National Television and Radio (ERT), was closed by the government with thousands of employees losing their jobs. Also, it must be noted that the decrease in the amounts seen from 2014 onwards is due not only to the decrease in unemployment, but also to the fact that unemployment allowances stop being paid after a year.

Table 3 shows the amounts of the insurance contributions of employers and employees to ETAP - MME during the years 2005 - 2015. In contrast with the allowances, the smaller amount of insurance contributions means fewer employees. It means that after 2008, when the global financial crisis began and especially after 2010 when the first memorandum (loan agreement) was signed in Greece, the decrease in the contributions of employers and employees is high. One very important conclusion from Table 3 is that from 2005 to 2015, almost half of the workers in Greek media had lost their jobs.

Table 3: Amounts of insurance contributions of unemployment allowances (in Euro)

Year	Employers	Employees
2005	14,422,353	23,307,547
2006	16,442,437	25,804,669
2007	14,588,273	27,014,479
2008	19,839,412	27,752,737
2009	17,895,320	31,614,224
2010	17,899,681	28,890,566
2011	13,255,482	21,419,724
2012	11,069,203	16,419,659
2013	10,013,049	14,274,658
2014	11,407,147	14,200,239
2015	7,949,223	12,152,085

Source: ETAP - Media, unpublished data

On the 11th of June 2013, a major incident occurred - which was the shutdown of the state radio and television by the government. The closure of a public broadcaster did not only happen due to the economic crisis, but also to the government's attempt to control the operation of information. The closure of ERT resulted in the unemployment of approximately 2, 500 workers and caused a heavy blow to journalists' funds since there was a loss of employers' and employees' contributions and were also forced to pay large sums as unemployment benefits for the

following year. ERT was finally reopened in June 13th, 2015, due to the unprecedented wave of solidarity that broke out at the time, showing the sensitivity of the majority of Greek society to acts of arbitrariness against a media of enormous importance for pluralism and democracy, such as state television. However, it opened with lower wages, with a loss of workers who did not return, others had retired earlier and others who had been forced to change professions.

Efimerida ton Syntakton (EFSYN) which means the Editors' Newspaper - an interesting cooperative venture - is also a result of the economic crisis. The Editors' Newspaper is a daily political newspaper with its own website, founded in November 2012 mainly by a group of former employees of the newspaper Eleftherotypia, which had been forced to stop publication due to mounting losses. The employees themselves are the shareholders of the newspaper, who had all put in a sum of money in order to start the operation of the newspaper. Its managers are elected by the workers themselves who all have the same salary. As Papadopoulou (2017) mentions, the Editors' Newspaper is an alternative daily afternoon newspaper published by the workers' association and it is a special case of Media, as it constitutes a different business model of social entrepreneurship. It is in fact, a crisis's result, since it was born by a group of dismissed journalists and technicians from other newspapers that were closed in the first years of the crisis.

From all the above, it becomes apparent that the financial crisis had a major impact on labour relations in the Greek media system. Thousands of jobs were lost, unemployment increased, the salaries were reduced dramatically, by 60% according to the Journalist's Union of Athens Daily Newspapers, and a rapid and violent change of labor relations took place (Kapsalis, 2018; Triantafyllou, 2020). As Kouzis (2016) said, on the crisis, measures that were taken, could not have been taken decades before in Greece. Maybe the biggest consequences beyond unemployment were the cut in salaries, the delay in payments and the absence of collective agreements. Kapsalis (2018) pointed out that after 2010, unemployment in Greek media started increasing like in all other sectors of the Greek economy, reaching 39% in 2014. According to Kapsalis (2018), unemployment in Greek media started decreasing dropped 12% from 2016 and reaching 15.5% in 2018 and he confirmed that the period 2012 - 2015 was the worst period and the heart of the crisis in media in Greece.

One of the consequences of the financial crisis was, as mentioned, the reduction of salaries, and the main reason for that was the absence of collective agreements. As Karakioulafi (2012) mentions, the collective agreements constitute a "safety zone" and ensure a minimum income, regardless of the economic course of a business and their abolition leaves absolute freedom to the employer to increase or decrease the salary according to the economic situation. Kouzis (2016) emphasizes that the restructuring of the system of collective agreements is the intermediate stage that leads to the individualization of labor relations and the way wages are set. This is exactly what happened in the media in Greece, in which the last collective agreements for journalists were signed in 2008 and were valid in 2008 - 2009. Since then, journalists and the other media workers

have been negotiating and working under individual agreements and individual contracts, with significant salaries reductions. At the same period, flexible forms of employment and labor without insurance became was wrongly adopted within Media. The breakdown of the collective agreements, except for the reduction of the salaries had other consequences such as the abolition of labor and wage rights for journalists and other media workers (Triantafyllou, 2020). According to Kapsalis (2018), after 2011 the freelancers in Greek media were increased. This can be noticed as a serious indication of the flexibility of labor relations and for the deregulation of labor rights in the media market.

The conclusion from all the above is that during the financial crisis in Greece, in media the labor cost was reduced and labor relations were deregulated, in parallel with the increase of unemployment and flexible forms of working, which were increase (Kapsalis, 2018; Triantafyllou, 2020). Things seem to have changed during 2017 - 2018, since according to Hellenic Statistical Authority, the share of salaried employment in media appears to be recovering (Kapsalis, 2018; Triantafyllou, 2020). The collective agreements of the journalists in Greece started again in 2019, with the agreements between unions and the government for the public media. These collective agreements were renewed in 2021 and still exist, but collective agreements in private media have not yet been started.

The policy of the unions

The breakdown of collective agreements and the consequences of the financial crisis created problems for journalistic unions. As a reaction, initially, unions turned to strikes, which didn't have significant results. In addition, the journalistic unions in Greece couldn't face other issues like technological changes, work intensification and changes in the content of work. With the reductions in salaries and employment, other gains of labor movement were lost, such as the quota of employed journalists in media, since the 80% of them had to be members of a union.

All these, in combination with the significant salary reductions, layoffs and the increase in unemployment, created a new, unprecedented situation, which has drastically changed the landscape, both in terms of work and work content. For the journalist of the new age, it is not enough to just report and write or broadcast, but they also must be able to handle the new assets, take photos, videos and post in a short notice, something which might affect quality and validity. He/she should be what is called a multi-tool journalist (Triantafyllou, 2020).

Furthermore, the high rate of unemployment in Greek media industry is also related to the change that has occurred in the content of work. Old journalists cannot work with new terms that the profession now has, so as a result, they remain unemployed and they are replaced by new journalists, with more skills, but with less salary and insurance requirements that cost less to the employer and because of that, they are preferred. This also leads to the phenomenon of "recycling", which means the process of replacing older workers with a lot of experience, increased salaries and/or with regulated labor relations (social welfare, inspection of hours and

decent working terms and conditions), by younger, or by simply new entrants to the industry with reduced labor and social rights and above all with lower wages (Kapsalis, 2018; Triantafyllou, 2020). In these circumstances, the journalistic unions in Greece followed a policy of dealing with the crisis that only included strike mobilizations. No serious measures were taken and no serious attempt to approach this new situation was made. This policy and finally, the infective treatment against changes and against financial crisis with the breakdown of collective agreements, led to the weakness of the unions (Karakioulafi, 2012; Triantafyllou, 2020).

Quantitative research

To examine in greater detail and depth the impact of the economic crisis on journalists' labor relations in Greece, we present the results of quantitative research. This research, with the use of questionnaire, was conducted in June and July 2019 among 307 Greek journalists (217 men, 90 women) who are members of Greek journalistic unions and who worked in media in the period of the survey. The total number of the questions of the research were 60, but we chose to present only the results of questions which are critical and show the changes in labor relations and working conditions. All findings are presented and analysed in Triantafyllou (2020: chapter 7).

The questionnaires were uploaded to Google Forms and were sent to all the Greek journalists who are members of the unions, via the five journalistic unions of Greece, Union of Daily Newspapers of Athens, Union of Daily Newspapers of Macedonia and Thrace, Union of Daily Newspapers of Peloponnese, Epirus and Islands, Union of Daily Newspapers of Thessalia, Sterea Ellada and Evia and Union of Magazines. Finally, the responses were statistically analyzed in SPSS. The demographic data of the survey are shown in the following Tables.

Table 4: Age of the participants

Age	Participants
18 - 24	3
25 - 34	18
35 - 44	115
45 - 54	122
55+	49

Table 5: Educational level of the participants

Level	Participants
Bachelor	127
Master	65
PhD	4
High School	32

Table 6: Media where the participants work

Media	Participants in %
Websites	38.1
Newspapers	37.1
Radio	26.1
TV	22.1
Press Office/Public Relations	12.7
News agencies	5.2
Owners of Websites	7.5
Owners of other media	0.7

For media where the participants work, must be clarified that even in this question there was the possibility of multiple answers, because in Greece there is still the phenomenon of multiple jobs in journalism.

The results of the survey show the profound crisis in Greek media and the change in the labor relations and in the working conditions of the Greek journalists. This can be shown in the question about salaries. In this question 99 participants replied that salary varies between 1, 001 and 1, 500 euro, 57 that their salaries vary between 501 - 800 euro, 52 between 801 - 1, 000 euro, 44 between 1, 501 - 2, 000 euro and 28 over 2, 000 euro. Some notable findings from this question are that 14 journalists said that they are paid up to 300 euro per month and 13 journalists said that they are paid between 301 - 500 euros per month, which means that 27 out of 307 journalists are paid up to 500 euros per month, plus the 57 journalists who are paid between 501 - 800 means that 84 out of 307 journalists paid up to 800 euro per month. On the other hand, 72 journalists said that are paid over 2, 000 euro per month.

About the phenomenon of multiple jobs in journalism in Greece which we previously mentioned, 73 journalists answered that they earn their income from two jobs and 36 that they have second and third job. In addition, one important result of the survey was, that most of the highest - paid journalists work in television, followed by radio, newspapers and most of the lowest - paid journalists were on the websites. As a result, we can conclude that the salaries of the journalists in Greece are low and even lower than other countries of the European Union, where the average salary of journalists in the countries of the European Union is approximately 2, 250 euros (Triantafyllou, 2020). One of the main reasons for the low salaries of the Greek journalists, is the lack of the collective agreements after 2009. This absence mainly affects the young journalists as the survey has shown (Triantafyllou, 2020). The situation in Greece has similarities with Portugal where according to a survey conducted in 2017, the average monthly income of journalists was 1, 113 euro (OBERCOM, 2017).

Because of the low salaries, 197 out of 307 journalists said that they have worked at least once in a job outside of journalism. Also, 111 of the participants answered that they are owners or employees of websites belonging to journalists or journalist’s cooperative schemes and 77 out of 111 answered that they have no income from this job.

In another question, 185 of the 307 participants said that they were asked to work extra time at their work without any extra payment and 241 of the 307 to do more things without extra payment either. The reason for that is the financial crisis because, a percentage of 43.3% answered that there is not enough staff, 31.9% that they had more job to do and 19.8% that the employer faces financial problems and can’t hire more staff.

Participants in the research were asked to evaluate the changes that have occurred in their work in 10 areas, compared to the pre - financial crisis period. These areas are: work hours, salary, consistency of payments, insurance, volume of work, pressure to produce more content, ethics,

independence, censorship and career prospects development. According to the responses, only in two of the 10 categories (insurance and censorship) things have remained at the same level for most of the participants, compared to the pre - financial crisis period. In the remaining eight categories (work hours, salary, consistency of payment, volume of work, pressure to produce more content, ethics, independence and career prospects development), conditions have changed to the worse and none of the above 10 categories has seen an improvement.

Specifically, in working hours, 151 out of 307 journalists said that are worse than in the pre - financial crisis period, 116 the same and 40 that they are in a better position. In salaries 262 out of 307 said that are worse than the pre - crisis period, 29 the same and 16 that they have become better. In the consistency of payment, 142 out of 307 of the participants said that the situation is worse, 119 the same and 46 worse. The conditions have remained the same during the crisis in insurance according to 167 out of 307 participants, 102 said that it is worse and 38 that they have become better. The volume of work has been increased during the crisis according to 142 out of 307 participants, 94 said that it has remained the same and 21 that it has been improved. The responses also shows that the pressure on journalists to produce more content has increased, 163 out of 307 said that has become worse, 121 that it has remained the same and 23 better. Conditions have changed for the worse in the inspection of ethics according to 150 out of 307 participants, 125 said that they have remained the same and 32 that they have become better. The same happens in independence where 147 out of 307 participants said that it became worse, 128 that it remained the same and 32 that it became better. In the area of censorship, the majority 153 out of 307 said that things have remained the same as the pre - crisis period, 123 that became worse and 31 that are better. In the prospects of career development, 197 out of 307 said that conditions are worse, 83 that they have remained the same and 27 that they have become better. The results are shown in Table 7.

Table 7: ΤΙΤΛΟΣ

	Worse	Same	Better
Working Hours	151	116	40
Salaries	262	29	16
Consistency of Payments	142	119	46
Insurance	102	167	38
Volume of Work	142	94	21
Pressure To Produce More Content	163	121	23
Ethics	150	125	32
Independence	147	128	32
Censorship	123	153	31
Career Prospects Development	197	83	27

Regarding the amount of work, we must note that from the answers given, it seems to have been increased significantly compared to the pre - crisis period. The technological development and the change in the way that journalists work, who are forced to do many things at the same time, write, edit, photograph, etc., has led to multi - tasking. From the responses of the research, it seems that the pressure on journalists to produce more content has also been increased, which was expected because there are now less journalists to produce more content. These findings are in agreement with

the findings of the survey Journalists' Perceptions of the Future of Journalistic Work (Picard, 2015), which on the one hand shows that the pressure to produce more content exists internationally and on the other hand, is one of the characteristics of the new landscape of journalism globally.

Participants in the research were also asked to evaluate the changes that have occurred in eight areas, critical for the change in labour relations, compared to the pre - financial crisis period. These areas are uninsured work, freelancers, part - time job, layoffs, unpaid work, late payments, collective agreements, individual agreements over collective agreements. Regarding uninsured work, 278 out of 307 participants answered that it has been increased compared with the pre - crisis period, 19 that it has remained the same and 10 that it has decreased. For the freelancers, 256 out of 307 said that have increased during the crisis, 28 that have remained the same and 23 that have decreased. The survey participants also saw an increase in part - time jobs, 284 out of 307 answered that it has increased, 16 that it has remained the same and seven that it has decreased. In the area of layoffs, 292 out of 307 said that they have increased, five that they have remained the same and 10 that they have decreased. An increase in unpaid work during the crisis has been occurred according to 274 out of 307 participants, 22 said that the situation is the same and 11 that it has been decreased. According to 283 out of 307 participants, the delay in payments has been increased during the crisis, 14 said that the situation is the same and 10 that it has been decreased. For the collective agreements, 143 out of 307 said that they have increased, 24 that the situation is the same and 140 that they have decreased. In the area of individual agreements over collective agreements, 253 out of 307 answered that they have increased, 26 that the situation is the same and 28 that they have decreased.

According to the answers, in seven of the eight areas investigated, the participants of the research said that there is a change for the worse compared to the pre - crisis period and only in collective agreements participants said that things have become marginally better. This can be explained from the fact that at the time of the research, collective agreements had started to be signed again in the public media in Greece. In addition, the research showed that most of the freelancers belong to the age group 25 - 34 and it keeps decreasing as the age increases. Also, the part - time job is also high in young journalists and especially in the age groups 18 - 24 and 25 - 34 and decreases to the 45 - 54 age group. Also, freelancers and unpaid work show rapid growth among young journalists, who were hit more by the crisis. The results are shown in Table 8.

Table 8: ΤΙΤΛΟΣ

	Increased	Same	Decreased
Uninsured Work	278	19	10
Freelancers	256	28	23
Part Time Jobs	284	16	7
Layoffs	292	5	10
Unpaid Work	274	22	11
Delay In Payments	283	14	10
Collective Agreements	143	24	140
Individual Agreements	253	26	28

In another question, 190 out of 307 participants in the survey answered that they are not satisfied with their job. Finally, 285 out of 307 of the participants said that journalistic work in the future will become more uncertain and precarious and said that they are not optimistic for their future.

According to surveys' results, the economic crisis has changed for the worse the labor relations and the working conditions of journalists in Greece. Several findings such as low salaries, late payments, unpaid work, uninsured work, freelancers, part - time job, layoffs, and lack of collective agreements have created an unsecured working environment which has caused anxiety, uncertainty and pessimism about the future. One of the most important results of the survey is that young journalists have been more affected by the economic crisis and are in a more difficult position than older journalists.

At the same time, in Portugal, according to the survey we mentioned before, 81.9% of the participants said that they were not paid overtime and only 29.6% work the number of hours according to their contracts. Furthermore, 57.8% answered that they have not progressed in their professional career for at least seven years. Moreover, 48.8% said that they were extremely dissatisfied with the evolution of their working conditions in the sector in the last five years, 69.2% of the participants reported that's they have done at least one internship and the 30.4% mention that their internship lasted longer than ten months. Also, 64.2% of the participants said that they have already considered abandoning journalism and among the reasons for this, are, low income, degradation of the profession or working conditions and contractual precariousness and even stress. The 39.2% of the participants said that they have been unemployed during their professional career as a journalist and 40.9% of the participants said that it is likely to become unemployed under these conditions, while 67% said that it would be difficult for them to have another opportunity to work in media. Furthermore, almost the 40% of the participants said that they wouldn't become journalist again if they had the opportunity to choose.

2. Conclusion

Greek media and journalists were affected by the global financial crisis, especially after 2010, due to the signing of memorandum and support mechanism. The consequences of the crisis to the Greek media were many and particularly significant: layoffs, salaries reduction, unemployment, company closures. According to the data of the journalistic funds, half of the employees in Greek media lost their jobs during the crisis and especially during the period 2012 - 2015 which was the worst period of the crisis in Greek media. The quantitative research confirmed all the above and highlighted many aspects of the changes in labor relations and working conditions of Greek journalists.

Media companies in Greece did not have a systematic and well - thought development strategy and did not make systematic efforts to upgrade their products, during the "Golden Age" of Media that lasted from the early 1980s to the mid - 2000s. All these led not to healthy business, but to over - expansion, high operating costs, and the phenomenon

of interdependence with political power. As a result, media collapse was easy to come, during the financial crisis.

In all the above, we must add the policy of the Greek journalistic unions which couldn't face efficiently the consequences of the financial crisis. The breakdown of collective agreements, which was one of the results of the crisis and the main reason for the reduction of salaries and the other consequences of the crisis (layoffs, unemployment) created problems to journalistic unions which adopted a one - dimensional and unsuccessful policy focused on strikes. In addition, the journalistic unions in Greece failed to develop concrete policies with respect to technological changes, work intensification and changes in the content of work.

After 2015 and especially the period 2017 - 2018 the Greek media system showed signs of recovery but in a very different business environment. The economic crisis reduced labor costs and changed working conditions. A new landscape has emerged characterized by flexible labor relations and lower salaries. A landscape which is transforming again under the impact of technological change.

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