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The #MeToo Movement makes its Appearance in Greek Society.

Representation of the Victims in the Media.

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Abstract

The feminist #MeToo movement, which began in the United States and became known in 2017 and extended to many nations around the world, brought the subject of female sexual harassment and violence into the public's eye. The movement occurred during a period when there was an escalating trend of promoting feminism across media, and according to my research, the accusations from famous people attracted the media's interest in promoting the movement further to the public. The #MeToo, followed the revelations of sexual abuse in Hollywood and became a landmark movement that would spread from country to country and continent to continent, pulling back the black veil of silence that had covered every act of

sexual, and not only, violence, while giving women, above all, the courage to confront their perpetrators. However, one of the most prominent criticisms of the digital feminist #MeToo movement's coverage by the Media is that it focuses on women celebrities while reinforcing well-known trends pertaining to the publication of sexual harassment cases against women and also feminism.

This thesis was inspired by the extensive media coverage that the Greek #MeToo movement received, as well as the fact that the majority of those made by females, who were treated differently by the media based on their public status. Although the debate was open, some incidents never went to justice (perhaps because not all are proven without cameras or written testimonies), but at least this gave the courage to victims of sexual abuse or violence to speak up. The thesis aims to investigate how the media portray in their headlines alleged harassment victims, concentrating on the contrasts and similarities between celebrities and public figures. More specifically, for my research I used two different online media outlets, Thetoc.gr and Gossip-tv.gr, and their coverage of two cases that started the #MeToo movement in Greece. The first one is hosting "hard news", which basically deals with more political and societal issues and the second one "soft news", which covers stories about celebrities and famous people. The first case is about the athlete Sofia Bekatorou and her confession against an agent of the Hellenic Sailing Federation, and the second case is about three actresses Eleni Drosaki, Anna Maria Papacharalampous and Penelope Anastasopoulou where they accused a famous actor - director- of sexual harassment. The media outlets and their headlines are evaluated based on their quantity, classification within the web pages, and content.

Contents

Abstract	2
Introduction	5
Problem Formulation	6
Research Question	6
Significance of thesis	6
Historical content	6
MeToo in the world	6
MeToo in Greece before 2021	7
The case of Katerina	8
Theoretical Framework	9
MeToo Movement and Gender Violence	9
Gender-based violence and media	10
Framing Theory	10
Agenda setting theory	12
Methodology	14
Research Design	14
Case study	15
Data Collection	16
Limitations	17
Literature review	17
Sexual violence against women presented by the Mass Media	17
Sexual harassment in the celebrity space	19
Representation of women in digital media headlines	20
Representation of Sofia Bekatorou and Drosaki - Papacharalambous - Anastasopou in headlines before 2021. Public Figure vs Celebrity status	
Analysis	
Sofia Bekatorou case: a public figure reports sexual harassment	
Papacharalambous - Drosaki - Anastasopoulou case: three celebrities report sexual	
harassment	
Discussion on Findings	29
Discussion	31
Shortcomings and collateral damage	32
Conclusion	33
Bibliography	35

Introduction

In January 2021, the #MeToo movement made its appearance in Greece. It is a phenomenon of hashtag activism, as defined by Schneider and Carpenter (2020), which developed in America and became widely known in 2017 following the revelations of sexual abuse in Hollywood, and more specifically when the actress Alyssa Milano posted a short text on the platform social networking site Twitter, inviting women who have been sexually harassed to share their own experience using the hashtag #MeToo. The reason for the actress' post was the complaints of dozens of women from the entertainment industry against the American film producer Harvey Weinstein. Therefore, 24 hours after Milano's tweet, hundreds of thousands of responses had already been published, and within a month, more than 19 million tweets were posted with the hashtag #MeToo (Anderson and Toor, 2018). This resulted in a landmark movement that would spread from country to country and from continent to continent, pulling back the black veil of silence that had covered every act of sexual, and not only, violence, and at the same time giving courage to women, mainly, to face their abusers. The impact of the hashtag and the movement was such that it exceeded the limits of social networks and occupied the traditional media to a great extent. Indicative is the fact that that year TIME magazine named the women "the silence breakers" as "Person of the Year 2017", making a big reference to the tweet that triggered it.

It was January 2021 when the MeToo movement also appeared in Greece, on the occasion of the first named revelation of the athlete Sofia Bekatorou, who spoke about the sexual abuse she suffered at a young age by an agent of the Hellenic Sailing Federation. Her example was followed by other famous Greek women who, in turn, recalled from their memory similar incidents of psychological, verbal and physical abuse and harassment by publicly naming the abusers. In fact, there are not just a few cases of victims who either individually or collectively filed complaints (Kallergis, 2021). Also, her example which was followed by other women, started to get publicity and greek female celebrities, mainly actresses, began to speak about their own experiences, which created what the Mass Media called the "Greek #MeToo" (Tsivola, 2021). In other words, #MeToo made its appearance in Greece almost 4 years after Alyssa Milano's tweet, which was the reason for the creation of the movement. The complaints that have seen the light of day come, in the majority of them, are from women - celebrities. The aim of this paper is to explore the coverage of the Greek #MeToo by the headlines of online media outlets, and in particular way how they present the victims who reported sexual harassment or rape. Also, it is worth noting differences, if any, between the victims according to their social status. In order to do that, I will do a deductive case study on the headlines of two different online media outlets presenting the two cases that started the #MeToo movement in Greece, with a specific timeframe for each case.

Problem Formulation

The delayed arrival of MeToo movement in Greece brought to the light shocking testimonies from famous people who suffered sexual abuse in their workplaces. The confessions of Bekatorou and Papacharalambous, Drosakis, Anastasopoulou brought great results and helped other victims to have a voice. Greek #MeToo did not relent and, staying true to the fight for women's safety and dignity in their workplaces and beyond, resisted the reactionary anti-feminist wave that occurred in America that attempted to portray it as a movement out of control and a moral panic. In this thesis, I try to explore from a qualitative point of view if the media helped spread these confessions and the movement, and if so, how the victims were presented in their headlines. According to the two theories used in this thesis, framing theory and agenda setting, the media has the power to influence public opinion and determine what is a major issue.

Research Question

How are the victims of the MeToo movement in Greece portrayed in the headlines of online media outlets? Does the social status of the victims affect these headlines?

Significance of thesis

The contribution of this thesis to the field of Gender Studies is the presentation of the MeToo movement in Greece, through the perspective of online media headlines. The MeToo movement is a fairly recent event in Greek society, which it took by storm, because it involved famous people and people with power, and even now many accusations from 2021 are still in court. For this reason, there are not many research projects about the movement in Greece, and especially in the English language. Consequently, this thesis and its approach is important because it gives an image of how movements can be presented in the media and how the same media have the power to shape news and control the narrative. Moreover, the way in which the data base of the specific research is organized can be used for future research with the objective of applying the Case Study methodology or some other methodology, following a qualitative approach.

Historical content

MeToo in the world

The phrase MeToo was first used in the context described below in 2006, when American

activist Tarana Burke created a page on the social networking platform MySpace to promote the movement she wanted to create to help women who have been sexual harassment (Ohlheiser, 2017). In October 2017,11 years later, American actress and activist Alyssa Milano used the hashtag #MeToo on the social networking platform Twitter, encouraging users to share their own experience. Her post, which read "If you've been sexually harassed or insulted write "metoo" in reply to this tweet", was shared by many of her followers, who at the time numbered 3.4 million. 24 hours after Milano's tweet, hundreds of thousands of replies had already been posted, and from October 15, 2017 to September 30, 2018, more than 19 million tweets were posted with the hashtag #MeToo, that is, on average, more than 53,000 tweets per day (Anderson and Toor, 2018).

Hashtags, according to Schneider and Carpenter (2020) enable the rapid development of large social movements. By using them, online communities are created where users can share grievances and feelings, discuss issues related to identity, share resources or call for physical protest. The immediate spread of the Movement was contributed, among other things, by the use of social networks, "which not only led to a wide dissemination of the scandal in a short period of time, but also encouraged many people to participate by making their own stories public" (Luo & Zhang, 2021). A typical example that confirms this information comes from a survey conducted by the Pew Research Center (2018). In particular, it is reported that following the urging of actress and activist Alyssa Milano to women who have suffered sexual harassment or abuse to share their own story through the Twitter platform with the hashtag #MeToo, a total of over 1.7 million tweets were recorded from 85 countries within the first week.(DeSilver, 2018).

The #MeToo movement that followed Milano's tweet was linked to allegations of sexual assault, harassment or incidents of misogyny. The difference of this movement from others that arise through social networks, lies in the fact that there was no clear effort to mobilize for physical protest. Instead, #MeToo gave social media users the opportunity to write about their experience as either victims or witnesses of sexual assault or harassment and to stand up for the victims (The Guardian, 2017). Although #MeToo is one of the best-known examples of digital feminist activism, it follows a growing trend for audiences to engage with issues of resistance to or challenges to sexism, patriarchy, and other forms of oppression through feminist use of digital communication (Schneider and Carpenter, 2020).

The recognition of the great value of the #MeToo movement comes at a time when allegations of sexual misconduct seem to be hitting many figures from all walks of life, from politics, film and the media, with many of those accused have been removed from their jobs or resigned. As more and more people come forward with their accusations, many have shared their own personal experiences on social media using the hashtag "MeToo."

MeToo in Greece before 2021

The #MeToo movement may have been in the international news since 2017, but the Greek

debate on the inappropriate behavior of men towards women was still expected - and not only. From 2017 until 2021, the "greek silence" on the MeToo movement cases, does not imply that sexual harassment is unknown in Greek society. According to Papadopoulos (2018), young men are raised in such a way that they consider sexual harassment, in its various forms, as a way of behaving not just normal, but even forced, when they face the sensitive and discreet risk of being labeled "less manly." Women, protective mothers, daughters and sisters, are forced to reinforce the classic "manly" stereotypes in order not to fall behind in the social struggle of the men in their family (Papadopoulos, 2018). However, this is how they reproduce the tissue that traps them in the perpetuation of silence. Greece, in 2017, did not have a #MeToo movement because the acceptance of equality had not yet deepened, so that the appropriate environment can be formed that will make complaints possible (Papadopoulos, 2018).

In Greece, the awakening and the inevitable conflict took a few more years. In fact, the updated Gender Equality Index by the European Institute for Gender Equality showed that Greece is in last place among the member states of the European Union and has one of the lowest female employment rates in the EU (Nini, 2017a). As estimated by ActionAid, it will take another 170 years until there is at least economic equality between men and women, since women are still paid less than men for the same jobs (Nini, 2017a).

The case of Katerina

According to Karydaki (2018), victims of sexual abuse or sexual harassment by a public figure in Greece felt not only that they would be objects of public ridicule, but also that no one would want to hear their stories. In order not to be in the spotlight, many women chose to report anonymously. Also, research published in 2017 confirms that 32% of Greeks forgive the rape of a woman under conditions (Nini, 2017b). If a woman is a rape victim, she will have to go through a legal battle of many years until she finds justice, while there is always the possibility that she herself will be accused of defamation (Nini, 2017b). However, there were striking examples of women who did not hesitate to make revelations, even twenty years after the incident.

This also happened in the case of Katerina. When the scandal broke out with the professor of the University of Serres Kleanthi Konstantinoudis in October 2018, who was remanded in custody on the charges of bribery and extortion in the degree of a felony, Katerina contacted a journalistic group and shared her experience (Karydaki, 2018). When she was in her last year of studies, she was looking for a job due to financial needs and started working in her professor's accounting office. She states that after repeated attempts by the professor to approach her, she finally entered into a relationship with him with her consent, in 2000 (Karydaki, 2018). However, her financial dependence on Professor Konstantinoudis and the inequality in their relationship (the one professor and the another student, one employer and the other employee) combined, in fact, with the threat of exercising this power (never getting a degree, never getting a job) creates many questions as to the true nature of this consent

(Karydaki, 2018). The professor continued to blackmail and threaten her for a long time, until Katerina moved to England to get out of this situation, since there was no possibility to take legal action against him (Karydaki, 2018).

Theoretical Framework

MeToo Movement and Gender Violence

Apart from the process of setting the agenda and the studies on the MeToo movement, it is also worth highlighting the dimension of gender violence, from which the MeToo social movement was "born" and the fight against it is included in the set of objectives. First, it is considered useful to clarify the term gender-based violence, which, as formulated by the Center for Gender Rights and Equality (Diotima, 2021), is "an everyday, global phenomenon. It includes any harmful act, against the dignity and integrity of those who suffer it. Even threats of such acts, coercion and/or deprivation of liberty – constitute gender-based violence. It can be carried out both in a private and in a public place (home, work, public transport, etc.), directed against the person's will. It involves the use of existing or assumed power - authority and is used as a means of exercising social control, punishment and "punishment" of the individuals who suffer it (Diotima, 2021).

For the aim of this study, I will focus on the sexual form of gender-based violence by analyzing the way in which two different online media outlets in Greece presented in their headlines the cases of athlete Sofia Mpekatorou and actresses Papacharalambous, Drosaki, Anastasopoulou, which started the rising of the MeToo movement in the country. At the same time, it is important to clarify that regarding the victims of gender-based violence there is no discrimination, although "in the vast majority of cases, women and girls are affected by it. All women, however, can suffer gender-based violence, regardless of their age, educational level, social class and nationality" (Diotima, 2021).

In fact, the United Nations has designated gender-based violence against women as a global health and development issue. Furthermore, it has been pointed out that educational programs aimed at eliminating gender-based violence have been developed around the world (United Nations, 1989). In addition, it has been said that "gender-based violence is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon that is experienced differently by women and men. Such violence takes multiple forms, is rooted in patriarchal social structures and cultural roles of women and men, and is reinforced by media images' (Russo & Pirlott, 2006). At this point, the observation of Russo and Pirlott (2006) is noteworthy, that "referring to acts of gender-based violence or gender-based violence against women are not related to every act of violence that a woman can suffer, but only to those that stem from gender stereotypes". Of course, criminal acts, whether stemming from gender-based stereotypes or from other beliefs, still exist in

society despite some changes in recent decades, thus resulting in the emergence of demands from supportive social movements (Ionin, 2021).

Gender-based violence and media

As it has been emphasized, in general, and by Weldon (2006), "social movements", such as Me Too, "are critical avenues of political influence for both women and other marginalized groups". However, if the respective social movement remains weak and fragmented, then the effectiveness of their influence on the public is also reduced. In order to ensure, according to Weldon (2006), their solidarity and political influence, it is important that these movements can be highlighted and supported, in order that they in turn offer better support to the marginalized. One way that allows these movements to spread widely and rapidly is the internet, where the twenty-first century has created a new type of social movement known as "network" movements. Some examples of such movements are Time's Up, #BeenRapedNeverReported, Black Lives Matter and #MeToo (Ionin, 2021).

No matter how much help social media provides in the communication of social movements, the media, and in general, "journalism as the cornerstone of information plays a fundamentally important role in the process of public understanding of social problems" (Morgan & Politoff, 2012). For this reason, according to Morgan and Politoff, it is considered necessary to have strategies that will encourage journalists to incorporate gender-based violence into the news, with better analysis and to propose solutions. (2012). However, sexual harassment and abuse are the most under-reported crimes to law enforcement, which also contributes to their reduced visibility in the media to inform the public about the real news. It is therefore necessary for the media to acquire the purpose of informing and educating the public on issues such as sexual assault and sexual violence by focusing more on the causes of these phenomena of gender-based violence (Aroustamian, 2020).

Framing Theory

In this work, the goal is to analyze the titles of articles from two different online media related to the same topic, for this reason the framing theory is one of the two theories that were used in this paper. Framing theory is relevant to my research, because of the media's attention to specific issues at a time and therefore, MeToo's high coverage by the Greek Media during the first month after Sofia Bekatorou's confession.

The theory of framing (framing theory) has developed research at an exponential rate since 1972, when it first appeared as a term by Gregory Bateson in the science of Sociology (Bronner, 2010). This development is justified by the fact that "framing is one of the dominant methods for shaping perception" (Bronner, 2010). This theory, in general,

constitutes an "interdisciplinary paradigm that allows for the holistic study of the media's influence on public opinion" (Bronner, 2010).

Hallahan (1999) mentions about this theory that it creates a "framework that limits or defines the meaning of the message, thus shaping the conclusions that people draw about the message. Frames reflect judgments made by message creators or framers. Some frames represent alternative valence of information, that is, placing information in either a positive or negative light, or valence framing' (Hallahan, 1999), which will be discussed below. Entman (1993) tried to clarify this theory in a more illustrative way. Thus, it is pointed out that through framing, certain pieces of information about an object, which is the subject of a communication, are highlighted, thus highlighting them in a prominent position, which implies that the information becomes "more noticeable, meaningful or memorable to the audience". Additionally, the above researcher notes that "increasing salience enhances the likelihood that receivers will perceive the information, discern the meaning, and thus process and store the specific data" (Entman, 1993).

According to Hallahan (1999), framing research has demonstrated that there are seven different framing models that apply to public relations:

- 1. Situations: "The framing of situations provides structure for examining communication. It applies to discourse analysis, negotiation and other interactions.'
- 2. Cognitions: "Features of objects and people are emphasized while others are ignored, biasing information processing toward focal features."
- 3. Choices: "By framing alternative decisions in either negative or positive terms, they can bias choices in situations where there is uncertainty."
- 4. Actions: "How likely a person is to act in order to achieve their goals is affected by the alternatives they have. Either positive or negative."
- 5. Themes: "Social problems and disputes can be analyzed in different ways by different groups through their chosen definitions of what a problem is in the one situation at hand."
- 6. Responsibility: "Individuals tend to attribute the causes of problems to either external or internal factors, others are based on various levels such as stability and control of situations. People present their role in the events according to their self-image in order to strengthen it and as much as possible to reduce their share of responsibility".
- 7. News: "the media use familiar and culturally relevant topics to convey information about the events that are happening. The sources chosen to present the facts are either through the institutional framework or through sponsorships' (Hallahan, 1999).

Frame construction also refers to the factors that influence the structural properties of news frames. These factors are divided into internal and external. Internal factors are defined as the ways in which journalists and news organizations frame news issues, while external factors are defined by the process of framing through the continuous interaction between journalists, elites and social movements (De Vreese, 2005).

According to Ghanem (1997), four main areas of framing can be distinguished: 1) The topic of the news, i.e. what is included in the framing. 2) The presentation of the news, i.e. the

extent or size and position of the news. 3) The cognitive features of the news item, i.e. the details of what is included in the framing. And 4) the emotional characteristics of the news, such as the tone and timbre of the voice, the mood of the news broadcaster, as well as the atmosphere of the image. Beyond these, the presentation of the news is also related to story elements, such as photos, quotes, subtitles and titles add to the prominent position of the story, etc. (Ghanem, 1997). Regarding news frames, it has been found by scholars Tewksbury and Scheufele (2009) that framing theory claims that "news frames can exert a relatively substantial influence on public opinion's beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors".

According to the researcher Bennett (1993), framing in the media is related to the presentation of a news item in a specific way, depending on the intended purpose of each author (as cited in Scheufele, 1999), therefore, for this thesis two different online media were chosen. In addition, Hwang, Gotlieb and McLeod (2007) direct the attention of research interest to the interaction implied by the framing between the characteristics of the message and the audience. Additionally, in fact, they emphasize that "the advent of private media undermined the one-sided presentation of information and then the internet revolution completely changed the way in which media professionals and users operate. Thus, "the importance of the interaction between messages and the individual's pre-existing ideas", is recognized (Hwang, Gotlieb & McLeod, 2007. It is concluded, therefore, that "each person has an active role in understanding, analyzing and using messages subject to contexts in order to process judgment and information processing" (Hwang, Gotlieb & McLeod, 2007). Given this paper's engagement with the MeToo social movement, it has been pointed out that framing theory has a significant impact on how a social movement is perceived by the public. For this reason, the media plays a key role in how a social movement is framed and ultimately how the movement is perceived by the public (Aroustamian, 2020).

Agenda setting theory

Agenda setting theory, which argues that the media has the power to influence the issues that are considered important in society, is one of the theories that I will use in my research. According to the agenda-setting hypothesis, media organizations influence political discourse by selecting the most critical issues and emphasizing them in news reports/articles. The theory states that the media is the main force responsible for selecting the news that will be prioritized and reported according to the public interest, we can also see this in the outbreak of the MeToo movement, after the multiple publication of the confession by Sofia Bekatorou. Because the media distorts and modifies what viewers see, it can affect how people interpret political, social, and cultural news. The media gives people access to the information they believe is most important to society and will have the greatest impact on them, but also chooses the direction an issue will take, positive or negative.

Online news media are media entities involved in agenda setting. A news show presenting a story titled "Breaking News" or an online article titled "Shock..." is an example of agenda-setting theory, with the goal of inviting a larger volume of readers. According to the Alvernia University website (2018), the agenda-setting hypothesis is based on two fundamental principles. The first is that instead of simply telling stories to the public, the media filters and modifies what we see, and many times this starts with a simple headline. An example of this is when a sensational or controversial news item appears at the top of an online media outlet rather than a more recent or potentially wider-reaching news item, such as a parliamentary tax reform.

The second assumption is that the public will be more inclined to see an issue as important if the media covers it more extensively. Another way to look at it is that mass media companies present us with specific issues or situations that people should think about more deeply rather than telling us what to think or how we should feel about them (Alvernia University, 2018). The idea of agenda setting has support from both psychology and science. As mentioned earlier, when asked to recall an issue, people are more likely to remember it vividly the more the issue has been covered by the media or the way it has been presented, even if it is not directly relevant to them or stands out as a major problem. (Alvernia University, 2018).

There are three different agenda setting styles. First, the public agenda is made when the general population decides which articles are critical to have on the agenda, second the media agenda which illuminates the process by which the media decides which stories are relevant and which are placed on the agenda and third, setting an agenda for policy, when public and media agendas influence the choices made by public policy makers (Alvernia University, 2018). Agenda-setting theory can be used to understand how multiple groups on social media or journalists of the media have influenced the public's view on issues like the MeToo movement over time in relation to the research question, *How are the victims of the MeToo movement in Greece portrayed in the headlines of online media outlets?*. For example, the concept holds that online media outlets and the headlines on their articles have the ability to influence public opinion by disseminating information, using specifying language and shaping debate.

The #MeToo movement, therefore, was born on social media and subsequently occupied the traditional Mass media as well. This happens at a time when feminism is a popular and trendy topic for the Mass Media, which has a place on the public agenda but the role that this publicity serves for the essential development of the social movement is questioned. Coverage of #MeToo appears to be following a similar trajectory. The example of the British press proves that the media did help to multiply the publicity for the #MeToo movement, but it followed and reinforced already known trends (Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford, 2019). Another aspect that emerges from the research surrounding #MeToo concerns the context created by the media for women, and more specifically women - celebrities, who have reported sexual assault, violence or harassment.

Methodology

In the previous chapters, the theoretical framework from which the present work draws was outlined. First, the existence of MeToo in the rest of the world was discussed, then how things were in Greece regarding violence against women before the arrival of the movement in 2021, the issue of feminism was also discussed in relation to the publicity it receives from the Mass Media, and in particular the issue of the feminism hashtag to which the #MeToo movement belongs. In addition, I talked about the two theories I am gonna use in this paper, the framing theory and the agenda setting theory. Also, a presentation of sexual violence against women by the media and harassment in the celebrity space will be mentioned and explained below as part of the literature review to see the relevancy of the chosen theories.

Research Design

The case study with a deductive approach that follows focuses on the headlines selected by two online media for the news concerning a corresponding number of cases that fall under the Greek #MeToo movement. In particular, it focuses on the way in which women who reported incidents of sexual harassment are presented. The aim is to identify differences or similarities between the presentation of two cases, where one complaint was made by celebrities and the other from a public figure.

For the purposes of the research, all the publications published on the two websites in the first 16 days for the complaint of Sofia Bekatorou and the first 30 days for the complaint of Papacharalambous - Drosaki - Anastasopoulos were analyzed and contained the keywords in the titles, a total of 49 publications. The names of the women who reported sexual harassment and the names of the alleged perpetrators were defined as keywords. Specifically, the publications that include at least one of the following names in their title were analyzed: Aristides Adamopoulos, Penelope Anastasopoulou, Eleni Drosaki, Sofia Bekatorou, Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Petros Filippidis. I excluded the reports that included any of the names of the alleged rapists but did not describe the women or related to other allegations.

A key reason for the selection of the websites, from which the publications were drawn, was their differentiation in terms of the type of news they post. In order to establish the existence of differences or similarities in the coverage of a complaint by celebrities in relation to the coverage of a complaint by a public person, it was deemed necessary to make a comparison between a media outlet whose content is based on "hard news",(i.e. important, current, that have an impact on the lives of citizens, such as e.g. business news, international relations, etc.), and other media outlets whose content is based on "soft news",(i.e. news concerning celebrities, entertainment, lifestyle, etc.) (Reuters Institute, 2016). Therefore, I selected thetoc.gr and gossip-tv.gr.

Case study

I'll go into further length in this section on what a case study is and why I selected it as the foundation for my project. For this research, I thus made the decision to do a case study with a qualitative approach on how MeToo victims in Greece were represented in the headlines of two online media publications, beginning with the first article on January 14 and finishing on March 4 of 2021. The case study approach is built on inquiries that begin with "how" and "why" by the researcher and allows a researcher to carefully evaluate the facts within a specific context. A case study method often chooses a small geographic area or a relatively small group of individuals as study subjects. The case study as a research technique examines the contemporary phenomena of real life through a thorough analytical reference to a constrained range of circumstances or events and their connections. Thus, qualitative and quantitative research play a crucial role. These methodologies are not only used more frequently but also have a special relevance to the control process and are helpful for their examination (Yin, 1994).

Additionally, case studies can be divided into three categories: exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. Exploratory case studies initially seek to explore any phenomenon in the data that piques the researcher's curiosity. The following are examples of descriptive case studies that explain the natural phenomena that arise in such data, such as various reading methods and how readers employ them. To describe the data as it occurs is the researcher's aim. Explanatory case studies look closely, briefly, and deeply at the data to explain the phenomena they uncover (Yin, 1994). Regarding the design of the case study, two categories can be distinguished, the single case studies and the multiple case studies. Conducting a single case study is preferable when the researcher's goal is to explain and confirm or challenge a theory. In this case, the phenomenon under study is characterized as 'critical'. Furthermore, a researcher chooses to use the single case study when the phenomenon is 'extreme' or 'unique', with the aim of simply recording and analyzing it (Yin, 2003). However, the individual case study can also be used when the case is 'representative', in order to present the situation that prevails in a typical part of a set, where in the present work concerns the titles of articles from online media. In addition, the use of the single case study is indicated for the case that is being studied for the first time by a researcher and is characterized as 'revealing' (Yin, 2003). Finally, the single case study can be used to study the same phenomenon at different points in time, aiming to observe changes over time. In summary, we can say that the logic behind conducting a single case study corresponds to the logic used to conduct a single scientific experiment (Yin, 2003).

The benefits of a case study, according to Yin (1994), are that the data is typically analyzed in the context of its use, i.e. in the setting where the activity occurs, and that the case studies' differences in inherent, organic, and collective approaches enable both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. It is important to note that the thorough quality reports frequently produced in case studies assist in both investigating or describing data in the real-life

environment as well as in explaining the intricacies of real-life circumstances, which may not be captured by experimental research. While some of the disadvantages are that case studies are often blamed for a lack of rigor, they provide little basis for scientific generalization, as they use a small number of topics, some of which are conducted with a single topic. And they are frequently criticized for being overly drawn out, challenging to complete, and generating a ton of documentation (Yin, 1994). Therefore, when Sofia Bekatorou spoke publicly about her rape by Aristides Adamopoulos, vice-president of the Hellenic Sailing Federation, a chain reaction was triggered. The multitude of complaints that followed – of sexual harassment, rape, assault and violence in various aspects of social life, in sports, in schools and education, in politics, on television and in theatre. So, I chose to do a descriptive case which seeks to provide a deep and comprehensive analysis of a specific people, group, organization, event, or phenomena. It entails an in-depth analysis and description of the issue under investigation, with a focus on acquiring and evaluating rich qualitative data to grasp the case's complexities and unique elements. As a result, during data collection, headlines were categorized to classify media pieces that were connected to.

Data Collection

The website thetoc.gr defines itself as a "news information site", "covers a wide range of topics" and "produces valid and reliable news 24 hours a day", with more than 4,500,000 unique users. Its content basically belongs to the "hard news" category, although it also includes a percentage of "soft news" content. The categories in which he organizes its topics are: Greece, Politics, Economy, International but also People & Style, WomanToc, Life etc (Attica Publications Group, 2023).

Gossip-tv.gr is one of the largest online entertainment media in Greece. The site's content falls almost exclusively into the "soft news" category. It identifies itself as "The leading source of lifestyle news and celebrity gossip in the Greek market. It offers the latest local and international celebrity news, multimedia content, "hot" exclusivities and spicy interviews. Readers can surf through a wide variety of content related to showbiz, media, Hollywood news, fashion, interactive polls and much more." (DPG media, 2023). Indicative is the fact that the category with the most entries is "Showbiz", which has about 23 posts per day, while the category "Politics" has about 3 posts on average per day.

The term tabloid refers to media that give priority to entertainment, human interest and commercial issues. Usually tabloid media, such as gossip-tv.gr, are presented as the opposite of socially responsible journalism and "serious" media, such as thetoc.gr (Biressi and Nunn, 2008). The process of categorizing the titles led to the identification of three categories in how the women who made the complaints are presented: that of the victim, that of the brave woman who broke the silence, and that of the woman who lies or has a share of responsibility.

Limitations

The present study aimed to investigate the representation of sexual harassment victims as part of the MeToo movement in the headlines of two online media outlets. However, there are a few limitations that should be acknowledged. Therefore, the disadvantages of the research done for this thesis concern the small sample of publications and the type of media chosen. The majority of the greek online media outlets do not have sufficient search mechanisms in their websites, neither categorization of the relevant articles to my paper. In a subsequent research, it would be useful to analyze publications from traditional media, i.e. newspapers, television or radio newscasts, etc. and be compared with the publications of the digital media. Greater clarity in the results would also be given by the analysis of the content of the publications instead of just the title.

Literature review

Sexual violence against women presented by the Mass Media

Regarding the representation of sexual violence against women in the news, there are five trends, according to Benedictis, Orgad, and Rottenberg (2019), that scholars have repeatedly observed. First, these stories are considered commercial because they attract readers. Second, sexual terms are often used to describe victims, that are women who have experienced sexual violence. For example, Benedict (1992) argues that victims are categorized by the Media as either virgins (thus innocent) or sexual "vampires" (thus somehow seeking what happened to them). Third, the news presents incidents of sexual violence as isolated incidents rather than as a wider social problem that many people face. Fourth, many studies demonstrate the persistence of the media in a culture where harassment is blamed on the victim. This culture is perpetuated by myths, for example, that women cause rape, therefore they deserve it. In this context, the news often reports what the victim did, wore or said but rarely reports the corresponding information about the perpetrator. Thus, the victim enters a context that responds to the perspective of the perpetrator (Boyle, 2005). Moreover, for the most part, victims are represented by others (e.g. lawyers), who speak for them, so their own voice is not heard. Fifth, the Media in Western societies tends to present the "ideal victim" of sexual violence: white, middle-class, educated, well-behaved, young, and attractive women (Benedict, 1992).

In this context, Benedictis, Orgad and Rottenberg (2019) examined the coverage of the #MeToo case by UK newspapers during the first six months after Alyssa Milano's tweet. In their conclusions they emphasize that the press contributed to the expansion and strengthening of the movement's visibility in two ways. First, it multiplied publicity by sharing the issue with readers who are not informed by social media. Secondly, in terms of

content, while it highlighted the stories that emerged through the digital movement, it also identified and published new stories of sexual harassment. Although, #MeToo received positive coverage from all newspapers, there were significant variations, largely following the ideology of each newspaper: the left-liberal press had the highest percentage of positive coverage while the conservative press had the lowest percentage of positive coverage and the largest percentage of negative coverage. In the left-wing press, however, there is an almost complete absence of criticism of the #MeToo movement. As Gill and Orgad (2017) wrote, "feminism is living its own moment of ... appreciation." However, this assessment is often selective.

Indeed, a closer look at the research findings raises important concerns about press coverage of the #MeToo movement in the UK and whether it exemplifies, alongside acceptance and appreciation of, feminism. Despite the fact that the continuous coverage of the issue of sexual harassment for six months is remarkable, it seems to have followed and reinforced the already known trends regarding the publicity of similar incidents and feminism in the media. as mentioned above. In addition, 60% of the publications they analyzed referred to stories of famous women or women employed in the fashion sector, while there were no stories about women employed in, for example, domestic services, immigrant women and women with a low standard of living. Perhaps the most important of the research's findings is that it reveals the failure of the media to inform the public about possible solutions to the problems that #MeToo has revealed, so as to start a conversation around them. The vast majority of publications focus on recording incidents rather than looking for ways to address the causes that lead to sexual harassment. Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford (2019), studied media coverage of #MeToo, attempting to understand the role it played in framing four women who reported sexual harassment, each in a different country: Susan Fowler in the USA, Shiori Ito in Japan, Tanushree Dutta in India and Tessa Sullivan in Australia. From the process of categorizing the publications, four general categories emerged in all four cases: that of the brave woman who broke the silence, that of the stoic victim, that of the reluctant heroine or the heroine who is finally vindicated, and that of the hysterical sl*t.

Their findings confirm the observations of Fung & Scheufele (2014) who want the contexts created by the Media to arise from the differences in the social and cultural norms of each country. Thus, in the United States, a country characterized by high levels of individualism, Susan Fowler's confession found a positive response and she was recorded as a brave public law witness, the first to speak out about sexual harassment at a large multinational company such as Uber (Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford, 2019). In contrast, Shiori Ito from Japan faced a wave of negative publicity, indicative of the country's general reluctance to publicly discuss sexual harassment. This reluctance also reflects that aspect of Japanese culture where each person is expected not to speak but to suffer in silence. Thus, Shiori Ito was recorded as a bad citizen (Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford, 2019).

Also, the case of Tanushree Dutta, a well-known Bollywood model and actress, led to her being registered as a celebrity. In India, where celebrities enjoy widespread public acceptance, Dutta's confession received far more media coverage than other similar cases and there was a strong backlash against her critics. Although some media framed her as a hysterical sl*t, the public push combined with the negative framing her detractors placed her in led to a positive framing of Dutta. This fact testifies to the dual social position of women in India, either as worthy of respect and admiration or as submissive, but in a modernized social context, it reflects the rapid change in values as technology and modernization reach all strata of Indian society. (ChenarestanSofla & Karami, 2016).

Finally, Tessa Sullivan in Australia, a country with high levels of individualism, felt free to speak out about the sexual harassment she suffered from the mayor of Melbourne, but she immediately resigned as a councilor and then expressed her intention to stay out of the spotlight. This may be explained by the general desire of Australian society for private matters to remain private and modesty to prevail in public life (Peeters, 2004). In any case, the media storm that followed the revelations reflects the Australian media's tendency to attack female politicians in a particularly personal way. So Sullivan was labeled either as a sl*t or a liar.

Sexual harassment in the celebrity space

As can be seen from the research mentioned above, a large part of the complaints made public in the #MeToo movement concerns big names in the role of the abuser and the victim, very often actors, directors, producers, etc. After all, the reason for Alyssa's tweet, which sparked the #MeToo movement, were the complaints of more than 80 women against American film producer Harvey Weinstein. This specific case was not the first in the field of entertainment - in previous years other famous people, such as Bill Cosby and Kevin Spacey, had faced similar accusations - and it was certainly not the last (The Economic Times, 2017). Fame also seems to be related to sexual transgressions on a more fundamental level: the culture of surnames has always been characterized by unidirectional desires and extreme differences in the power of the two parties, according to Kavka (2020). At the same time, he adds that the process of becoming a celebrity goes through a toxic triangle of gender - power - sex. #MeToo revealed that to this day sex is a form of exchange inside the entertainment business: it is the "currency" that powerful men demand from "powerless" women (and in some cases men) in exchange for the chance to make them famous (Kavka, 2020). This is also proven by the testimonies of the women who accused Weinstein. Most of them confessed that they agreed to meet him in his room because they hoped that in this way they would secure a role in a film and that if they refused, this refusal would damage their future careers (Kavka, 2020).

In the case of Greece, the #MeToo movement appeared almost 4 years after Alyssa Milano's tweet. In January 2021, as part of a conference on the protection of children in sports, Olympic sailing champion Sofia Bekatorou spoke about the sexual abuse she suffered in 1998, at the age of 22, by an agent of the Hellenic Sailing Federation. Immediately after, two other athletes, Mania Bykov and Rabea Iatridou spoke about their own history of sexual

harassment in the field of sports (Cyprus Digest Team, 2021). The movement grew when, a few days later, complaints from the entertainment industry began to be made public. The first to speak was the actress Zeta Douka, who accused the director Giorgos Kimoulis of verbal, psychological and physical violence (Magra,2021). Her claims were confirmed by other actors, women and men, who experienced similar incidents while working with the same director. It is worth noting that there are no references to sexual violence in the complaints against Giorgos Kimoulis. However, in social media posts and media reports, there was no disaggregation of the act complained of, but these allegations were included in the #MeToo movement (Ta Nea, 2021).

Afterwards, the actresses Jenny Botsi, Angeliki Lambri and Loukia Michala, with their joint statement on social networks, denounced the actor and director Kostas Spyropoulos for acts of a sexual nature (Newsroom, 2021a). These posts were accompanied by an image of a raised fist and the words "women empowerment". On February 7, 2021, the actresses Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosaki and Penelope Anastasopoulou filed a complaint to the Disciplinary Council of the Greek Actors Association against the actor and director Petros Filippidis for acts "which insulted, among other things, their sexual dignity" (Proto Thema, 2021). At least five complaints were filed with the Actors Association and against the actor Pavlos Haikalis, of which at least one refers to attempted rape (Newsroom, 2021b).

There were also complaints from men, which were included in the MeToo . In particular, the actors Errikos Miliaris, Haris Tjortzakis and Yiannis Niarros spoke against the director Costas Zappa, while a number of complaints, including some from alleged minors when the harassment took place, against the director and artistic director of the National Theatre of Greece, Dimitris Lignadis (Ta Nea team, 2021). Apart from the field of entertainment, there were also complaints from the field of education. In particular, complaints from female students of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (TheToc team, 2021) and from graduates of the Arsakeio Psychikou school (Newsroom, 2021c) were made public. On January 16, 2021, two days after Sofia Bekatorou's confession, the hashtag #MeToogr appeared on Twitter. Unlike the first #MeToo tweet, the usage of the hashtag didn't urge users to tell their own story or sympathize with the victims, but it was informative. The Mass Media also gave the title "Greek #MeToo", which was later established as the main hashtag in social media, too.

Representation of women in digital media headlines

On January 14, 2021, at the web conference organized by the Ministry of Sports under the title "Start to Talk/Spase ti Siopi - Speak, Don't Endure", the athlete Sofia Bekatorou spoke about the sexual abuse she suffered in 1998, at the age of 22, by an agent of the Hellenic Sailing Federation. A few hours later, the news was published in many Greek Mass Media, while the discussion also spread on social networks. In the following days, other women also

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¹ https://www.instagram.com/p/CKn6MqsBuiJ/?utm_source=ig_embed&utm_campaign=loading

spoke about the sexual harassment they suffered, many of them actresses. The wave that was created was described as the Greek #MeToo. On February 4, 2021, and while this issue continued to be high on the media's daily agenda, a complaint document was made public by the actresses Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosakis and Penelope Anastasopoulos against the actor and director Petros Filippidis. Rumors of the upcoming complaint preceded publication, without naming the alleged victims.

During the analysis, my research is presented regarding the coverage of the two cases by two Greek online media, in order to identify differences and similarities between the first case concerning a complaint by a public figure and the second case concerning a complaint by celebrities. The titles of the publications analyzed were posted on the two websites gossip-tv.gr and thetoc.gr. For the needs of the research, the titles of the articles published from January 14, 2021 to January 31, 2021 for the Bekatorou case and from February 5, 2021 to March 4, 2021 for the Anastasopoulou - Papacharalambous - Drosaki case were analyzed.

The titles were categorized based on the categories that Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford (2019) identified in the reports of all four cases of complaints falling under the #MeToo movement, in a corresponding number of countries. That is:

- This brave woman who broke her silence. These reports highlight the courage of the woman to come forward. They include words like "courage" and "bravery" to describe the women.
- That of the victim of an unfair system. They include the risk each victim faces in seeking justice in an unjust system.
- That of the reluctant heroine or the heroine who is finally vindicated. The first strand concerns the complainants who unwillingly found themselves at the forefront of the #MeToo movement and the second strand concerns those who were attacked immediately after their complaint but were eventually vindicated.
- That hysterical sl*t, which is also the category with the most negative charge. Here the feelings, sexual activity and overall credibility of the complainant are questioned (Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford, 2019).

In my research below, three of the four categories were identified. In none of the titles are women presented as reluctant heroes or heroines who are finally vindicated after first being attacked. Therefore, the titles were divided into the other three categories, depending on how they present women: those who present them as victims, those who present them as brave women who broke the silence, and those who challenge or present them as responsible for what happened to them.

Representation of Sofia Bekatorou and Drosaki - Papacharalambous - Anastasopoulou in headlines before 2021. Public Figure vs Celebrity status

The first of the two cases involved in the investigation concerns the complaint by the athlete Sofia Bekatorou against an executive of the Hellenic Sailing Federation, and the second by

Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosaki and Penelope Anastasopoulou, against the actor and director Petros Filippidis.

According to Turner (2004), contemporary celebrity is a product of media representations. A public figure becomes a celebrity when the media focuses on his activities, his public role, and probing the details of his private life. The high profile achieved by his public activities is what provides him with the pretext for his transformation into a celebrity. Sofia Bekatorou, Olympic sailing champion in 2004 and 2008, before January 2021, when the complaint was made, occupied the Mass Media mainly with issues related to her involvement in the Olympic sport or sports in general. Most of the news concerning it is found on websites with special content, mainly informative for the field of sailing or sports. Examples: "Sofia Bekatorou: The first woman - flag bearer at CNN Greece" (Drakos, 2016), "Sofia Bekatorou flag bearer of Greece at the Olympic Games in Rio" (Newsroom Iefimerida, 2016), "Bekatorou - Pateniotis on track for Olympic... flight" (Spanea, 2019). Based on Turner's definition (2004). Sofia Bekatorou belongs to the category of "public figure" but not to the category of "celebrity" since, for example, details about her private life are not published. On the contrary, the three actresses who denounced the actor and director Petros Filippidis, are often in the public eye, not only with news concerning their professional occupation but also with others concerning their lifestyle, their family situation, their appearance, their positions on other issues, etc. Although the percentages differ, stories falling into these categories are found for all three women. Indicative: "Anna Maria Papacharalambous highlighted the casual chic with red touches" (Mcteam, 2020), "Anna Maria Papacharalambous: Meeting her husband in a series and the compromise on the baptism of her children" (News Digital, 2020), "Alexandros Bourdoumis - Lena Drosaki: They got married in extreme secrecy" (Newsroom Iefimerida, 2020), "Pinelopi Anastasopoulou: She shows us the original decoration of her house! Photos" (Tlife Team, 2020), "Pinelopi Anastasopoulou: She became a godmother and was extremely impressive" (Star Team, 2020).

Analysis

In the analysis, the headlines of the articles from Thetoc.gr and Gossip-tv.gr are classified through the categories of Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford (2019). Also, the framing theory was one of the two theories taken into account on explaining the headlines and the choice of words used from these two media outlets. According to Ghanem (1997), there are four major types of framing: 1) The news topic, i.e. what is contained in the frame. 2) The manner in which the news is presented, i.e. the extent or size and location of the news. 3) The cognitive aspects of the news article, i.e. the specifics of the framing. And 4) the emotional aspects of the news, such as the tone and timbre of the voice, the attitude of the newscaster, and the ambiance of the image. The second theory, agenda setting, explains the public's interest in the complaints and the rising Greek #MeToo, by the release of multiple articles by the media outlets about it. According to this theory, media are focusing on topics that the

readers mostly view, or they can even attract readers by setting the trends on which topic is popular from time to time. For example, when a topic is on the front page of the online media outlets, people are gonna believe that this is an important issue worth their attention or even using the word "Shock..." in their headlines, is an example of agenda-setting theory, with the goal of inviting a larger volume of readers.

Sofia Bekatorou case: a public figure reports sexual harassment

i) Thetoc.gr website published a total of 60 articles from the first day of the complaint, January 14, 2021 until the end of the same month, concerning the Bekatorou case. Of these, 25 were published in the first 5 days, while in total there are related publications for the month of February, with the last one appearing on February 9, 2021, which we will not analyze below. Of the total number of publications, 58 were located in the "Greece" category, where, as stated on the website, the content is "the latest news from Greece", while two were located in the "People & Style" category, where the content is "the news around fashion and celebrities". According to the framing theory, the headlines are following the same pattern, simplified message for people to be mobilized about the MeToo movement.

Sofia Bekatorou as a brave woman who broke her silence: In more than half of the publications of thetoc.gr website in the first month after the complaint, Sofia Bekatorou is presented as the brave woman who broke her silence, as a fighter and a symbol for women who have been sexually harassed. 26 of the 28 articles are published in the "Greece" category, while the other two are published in the "People & Style" category. In several cases the athlete is presented as the woman - symbol of the Greek #metoo : "Bekatorou abuse: Avalanche of revelations - Mouths open for the Greek Weinsteins" (Thetoc, 2021a), "Sofia Bekatorou: The woman - symbol of the Greek #MeToo who broke the abscess" (Thetoc, 2021b). A great deal of coverage is given to these news related to the changes in the management of the Hellenic Sailing Federation that were made due to the revelations (e.g. "Rain" of resignations from the Sailing Federation after the Bekatorou complaints" (Thetoc, 2021c), "Resignation of the heads of the Federation and elections are requested by Bekatorou and sailors" (Thetoc, 2021d) but also in those related to the legal procedures that began after the official statement of the sailor to the prosecutor's office (e.g. "Sofia Bekatorou: The Olympic champion testifies to the prosecutor about sexual abuse [images]" (Thetoc, 2021e), "Sofia Bekatorou testified to the Prosecutor: "I hope that other women will also speak"" (Thetoc, 2021f). She is also presented as a woman-symbol when she names or supports other women who have experienced similar incidents or urges women to speak: "Bekatorou's first statements are shocking

after the revelation: I'm not the only one in the field, break your silence" (Thetoc, 2021g), "Bekatorou revealed to the prosecutor the sexual abuse of another athlete - The case is not

² https://www.thetoc.gr/koinwnia/ "Get informed about all the latest news from Greece. All Greek current affairs with the validity of The TOC"

³ https://www.thetoc.gr/people-style/ "Read all the new about fashion and celebrities"

statute-barred" (Thetoc, 2021h). In a news report, she is presented as a symbol and a fighter in the eyes of her daughter: "Bekatorou's confession is shocking: My daughter said "Mom, now I feel that when I grow up I won't be afraid anymore" [video]" (Thetoc, 2021i). It is worth noting that Thetoc.gr tries to attract its readers' interest by using, according to the agenda setting theory, the word shocking in the headlines of multiple articles. Finally, two articles have been published in the "People & Style" category, where two celebrities have mentioned the athlete's complaint.

Sofia Bekatorou as a victim of an unfair system: The website thethoc.gr in the title it has chosen for the news of the case on February 14, 2021 presents the athlete as a victim, even using the word in such a way that it seems that she said it herself, however something like this does not emerge from the part of her speech that is in the text: "Sofia Bekatorou shocks: "I am a victim of sexual abuse - I said no, but he did nothing to me" (Thetoc, 2021j). The word "victim" as a label for women who have been sexually harassed has been accused, often correctly, of reinforcing perceptions of women's passivity and cementing victim status for them (Jordan, 2014). During the rest of the month, another 13 articles concerning the same case present Sofia Bekatorou as a victim, which is almost 30% of the website's total coverage of the case. All 14 articles have been published in the "Greece" category. Her representation as a victim is also reinforced by these headlines that reproduce statements or actions of other public figures that refer to the sailor and her complaint. Indicative: "Korakaki for Bekatorou's abuse: The ones who should be afraid are the abusers, not the victims" (Thetoc, 2021k), "Sofia Bekatorou: Wave of sympathy from 756 female track and field athletes - Text with signatures" (Thetoc, 20211), "Sofia Bekatorou: The psychologist who he helped her through the hell of the rape - "She almost refused life"" (Thetoc, 2021m). In one case, the athlete is presented as a victim, not only of the accused person, but of an entire system that created a negative climate for her regarding the confession of the event: "Psychologist Bekatorou: She lived under the threat of 'we will kill your dream'" (Thetoc, 2021n). Finally, she is also presented as a victim in two news reports concerning the first interview she gave after her complaint, where her statements are used in the title, again: "Sofia Bekatorou confesses to Nikos Evaggelatos: "I lost my respect for myself"" (Thetoc, 2021o), "Sofia Bekatorou shocking: When it was over I realized she had raped me - The shocking description" (Thetoc, 2021p).

Sofia Bekatorou as a woman who lies or is responsible for what happened to her: In eight cases, the Olympic sailor is presented as a woman who lies, is responsible for what happened to her or is accused of speaking up too late about sexual abuse that he suffered. However, these publications occupy a small percentage of the sample that concerns the case of Bekatorou and have been published on thetoc.gr website. Seven of the eight publications in this category concern statements by others about Sofia Bekatorou, while one publication concerns statements by her. Indicatively, two publications suggest that what the athlete is complaining about is not necessarily true ("Uproar after Sofia Bekatorou's revelations: The Sailing Federation asks her to "be specific" (Thetoc, 2021q), also three publications refer to the time the complaint was made public ("Sailing Federation President for Bekatorou: I have

a complaint that he took so long to speak to me" (Thetoc, 2021r), "Sofia Bekatorou reveals: Why I didn't speak earlier about the sexual abuse" (Thetoc, 2021s), "New vulgarity of Raptopoulos: "Bekatorou put the medal over her rape - It's not a good example"" (Thetoc, 2021t) and two publications refer to third-party statements that place the responsibility for the act on the complainant herself, "Caused by Boutouris for Bekatorou: There is no rape - She opened the door and entered by herself" (Thetoc, 2021w), "Uproar over a vulgar post against Bekatorou: They break into hotel rooms and subsequently renounce their responsibilities" (Thetoc, 2021x). Finally, a publication indirectly blames Sofia Bekatorou for "dismissal" of the agent of the Hellenic Sailing Federation who seems to be responsible for the sexual harassment, "Kouya's Intervention for Bekatorou's Complaints: Legal Brutality the Dismissal of Adamopoulos" (Thetoc, 2021y).

According to the framing theory, the media have the power to influence people's opinions and beliefs (Tewksbury and Scheufele, 2009). As it is noticeable, the website Thetoc.gr presents the case of Sofia Bekatorou in a specific way, supporting in their headlines mostly the victim during the first few weeks of her confession.

ii) The website gossip-tv.gr published a total of 25 articles from January 14 until the end of the same month, since the complaint of Sofia Bekatorou against an executive of the Hellenic Sailing Federation. It is interesting to note that out of the 25 articles that were published, only 4 directly refer to the athlete's confession, with the rest being the opinions of well-known people on the case. The very second relevant publication that was made, concerns a comment by the wife of the then prime minister of the country about the complaint of the champion sailor, "Mareva Mitsotakis: "I am with Sofia! We denounce sexual violence" (Gossip-tv, 2021a). It is worth noting that the 4 main articles concerning the athlete's confessions have been registered in different categories each. The first reported article on January 14 with the title "Sofia Bekatorou is shocked by the sexual abuse: "I told him "no", but he didn't stop"" (Gossip-tv, 2021b) was placed in the category "society", where it is about more social issues and politics. The immediately following publication, 2 days later, included the disclosure of the name of the man who abused her, with the title "Sofia Bekatorou: Reveal the agent who sexually abused her!" (Gossip-ty, 2021c), with the article to be placed in the media category, which deals according to the website with "All Media News. TV Behind the Scenes, Series News & Gossip."⁴ The next two articles were placed in the gossip and showbiz categories, although the content of the articles does not differ from the aforementioned. For example, the first article entitled "Sofia Bekatorou: When a woman says 'NO', she means 'NO'", was considered by the website team to be related to the gossip category, even though it did not report any "hot" news about celebrities, while at the same time the second article entitled "Sofia Bekatorou: She took a stand on the complaints of the actresses", was placed in the showbiz category, where according to the website the content ranges from local celebrities, to Hollywood and Eurovision⁵.

⁴ https://www.gossip-tv.gr/media-tv

⁵ https://www.gossip-tv.gr/showbiz

Sofia Bekatorou as a brave woman who broke the silence: 60% of the publications present the Olympic athlete as the woman who broke her silence and fights for justice but also as the woman - a symbol for those who have experienced similar incidents, for example "Sofia Bekatorou: Reveal the agent who sexually abused her!" (Gossip-tv, 2021c), "Bekatorou: The path to the top and the bitter revelation that shocked Panhellenic" (Gossip-tv, 2021d), and also the message from the Greek President of the Republic with the title "Sofia Bekatorou: Her message President of the Republic - "Dissolve the conspiracy of silence" (pics)" (Gossip-tv, 2021e).

Sofia Bekatorou as a victim: The remaining 40% of the website's publications about the athlete's complaints, present her as a victim. The first of the two articles presents her in the title as upset that she can't hold back her tears "Sofia Bekatorou: She described the nightmare she lived through while she was trying to hold her tears! "I wanted to take out my flesh" (Gossip-tv, 2021f). In the second article, the title contains a personal statement about her feelings recalling those ugly moments of the past "Sofia Bekatorou is shocked: "I was lying to myself that it will pass" (Gossip-tv, 2021g).

Lastly, no publication of the website gossip-tv.gr falls into the third category, where the complainant is presented as a woman who lies or is responsible for what happened to her.

Papacharalambous - Drosaki - Anastasopoulou case: three celebrities report sexual harassment

The case of Papacharalambous, Drosaki, Anastasopoulou burst into the media on February 5, 2021 when the three actors reported the actor Petros Filippidis to the Greek Actors' Union for anti-colleague and unprofessional behavior that offended sexual dignity. Specifically, Lena Drosaki alleged that the actor sexually harassed her, at first more subtly and then in an increasingly inappropriate manner, while she described outbursts of anger and humiliating insults to her face (Newsroom, 2021d). Penelopi Anastasopoulou in her complaint mentioned, among other things, that during a meeting about a possible collaboration, the complainant "had spread his legs wide, had put both his hands inside his pants, right in the genital area, and making reciprocating movements was caressing his genitals" (Newsroom, 2021d) Finally, Anna Maria Papacharalambous alleged that he entered her dressing room and that he repeatedly committed serious acts of insulting her sexual dignity. "The complainant also harassed me outside the theater in various ways, such as following me and causing me a constant worry that sometimes bordered on terror. I didn't know what his next move would be" (Newsroom, 2021d).

i) From the website thetoc.gr, 20 article titles were analyzed over a period of one month, concerning the complaint of the three actors. Of these, 11 have been published in the "People & Style" category, whose content concerns celebrity news, and the other 9 have been published in the "Greece" category, which contains current news from all over the country. In

the first 7 days after the complaint the frequency of publications was from two to four per day, while for the rest of the month the frequency dropped to one publication per day or one publication every two days.

Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosaki and Penelope Anastasopoulou as brave women who broke the silence: In the great majority of them, the titles of the publications of the thetoc.gr website that were analyzed for the needs of this research, present the three celebrities as women who fight for to be vindicated but also to change things at the expense of the perpetrators, and they become symbols of the Greek movement #metoo. Specifically, 73% of publications belong to this category. Four titles out of a total of 16 refer to the news of the actresses complaint (e.g. "Official: Three "fire" complaints against Petros Filippidis by Papacharalambous, Anastasopoulou and Drosakis"), while two other titles refer to the legal proceedings that began after the complaint ("Greek Actors Association disciplinary system in works - First complaints against Kimoulis - Haikalis, followed by Petros Filippidis" (Thetoc, 2021i), "Zero hour for Petros Filippidis: Prosecutorial investigation begins after complaints of sexual harassment" (Thetoc, 2021ii). Four titles write about the effects the complaints had on the work and the reputation of Petros Filippidis. Indicative: "Three female actors demolish Petros Filippidis - Shocking descriptions of sexual harassment" (Thetoc, 2021iii), "Petros Filippidis fired from ERT (Public national tv channel) after the complaints - Official announcement" (Thetoc, 2021iv). As for the publications that present the actresses as fighters, not only for their own incidents but also alongside other women who have experienced sexual harassment, they focus exclusively on one of the three complainants, Penelope Anastasopoulou. A total of six publication titles belong to this category. Indicative: "Penelope Anastasopoulou's new post: Things will change when everyone speaks" (Thetoc, 2021v), "Penelope Anastasopoulou: Time for new complaints in the theater - Now we're talking » (Thetoc, 2021vi).

Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosaki and Penelope Anastasopoulou as victims: 22% of the headlines of the publications referring to the complaints of the three celebrities present them as victims. This is done in two ways: either by describing scenes that refer to the harassment in order to cause emotion, according to the framing theory, or by the statements of other celebrities that refer to the complaints of the three women.

Most of the articles that present them as victims belong to the first category, specifically four out of five articles. In three of the titles, the sentences that show harassment are put in quotation marks or are written in the first person, attributed to the complainants like this: "Papacharalambous & Drosaki are shocked about Filippidis: "He used violence, I felt terror" - Dandoulaki fired him" (Thetoc, 2021vii), "Pinelopi Anastasopoulou: "He would put his hands inside his pants and then come and touch my face"" (Thetoc, 2021viii), "Papacharalambous' allegations are shocking: He would pull down his pants and ostentatiously urinate in the sink of my dressing room" (Thetoc, 2021ix). The fourth title that shows harassment concerns a video from the collaboration of Anna Maria - Papacharalambous with Petros Filippidis, where, according to the publication, the latter behaves inappropriately on stage: "Anna Maria Papacharalambous: This is the scene with the inappropriate kisses from Philippidis on the

stage" (Thetoc, 2021x). In the second category of headlines that present women as victims, and in which their "defense" is undertaken by other celebrities, there is only one publication in which the actress Katia Dandoulaki appears as a protector of the victims ("Katia Dandoulaki takes a stand on the Filippidis case and explains why he fired him: Blackmail is not tolerated") (Thetoc, 2021xi).

Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosaki and Penelope Anastasopoulou as women who lie or are responsible for what happened to them: Although no title on the thetoc.gr website directly accuses the celebrities of false statements, the news that the actor Lefteris Zapetakis confirms the complaints of one of the women described as "bomb" news, ""Bomb" by Lefteris Zambetakis: He confirms the complaints of Lena Drosakis about Petros Filippidis" (Thetoc, 2021xii). The headline's surprise at the confirmation possibly suggests that the allegations against the three actors were doubted.

ii) From the website gossip-tv.gr only 6 article titles were analyzed from the gossip-tv.gr website, all of which were published within one month of the complaint. It is important to note that in the following months there were no articles related to the subject until the case officially began. All articles were published in the "Showbiz" category, which as I mentioned above covers celebrity, Hollywood and Eurovision news. The first post was made on February 5 and informed readers of the news of the complaint and the first statement from the victims' lawyer, a day after it was made (Gossip-tv, 2021h). The small amount of articles in this period may also be due to the fact that the actor, a few days before the publication of the complaint, sent an extrajudicial letter to all the mass media, so that they would not mention his name in relation to cases related to the Metoo movement (Protagon Team, 2021). According to Protagon (2021), the accused Petros Filippides had been informed of the upcoming complaint and wanted to be able to protect his name or at least the association of his name with this case.

Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosaki and Penelope Anastasopoulou as brave women who broke the silence: Four of the six titles, i.e. 65% of the sample, present women as brave, those who broke the silence and whose complaints have direct consequences to the accused (e.g. "Petros Filippidis: The hour of Justice - An actor accuses him of rape" (Gossip-tv,2021i), "Papacharalambous - Drosaki: Excerpts from the complaints against a well-known actor" (Gossip-tv, 2021j), "Papacharalambous - Anastasopoulou - Drosaki: The statement of their lawyer after the complaints" (Gossip-tv, 2021h) but also those who fight alongside other accusers of sexual harassment (e.g. "Pinelopi Anastasopoulou: "I have known Dimitris Lignadis for over 20 years" (Gossip-tv, 2021k)).

Anna Maria Papacharalambous, Eleni Drosaki and Penelope Anastasopoulou as victims: 35% of the headlines present the three women as victims. Of these, half use excerpts from statements by the three celebrities where they themselves use the word or other words that suggest weakness in front of the alleged abuser. Indicative: "Anna Maria Papacharalambous shocks: "He pulled down her pants and defiantly urinated in the sink" (Gossip-tv, 20211),

"Lena Drosaki: Her first post after the complaint is moving: "Let's speak loudly" (Gossip-tv, 2021m). The other half of the publications concern statements by other celebrities who either comment on the incident or declare their support for the three women, for example "Yiannis Bezos: "We all knew and we weren't talking" - What did he reveal about Anna Maria Papacharalambous?" (Gossip-tv, 2021n).

A publication of the website gossip-tv.gr regarding only Penelope Anastasopoulou leaves hints as to why she did not speak earlier. This question was raised, apparently, from a part of their readers, therefore according to agenda setting that articles are, also, based on people's interests, gossip-tv.gr offered this view as well. However, for the other two victims, there is no article that presents them as women who lie or are responsible for what happened to them.

Discussion on Findings

For this research, I chose two different media outlets in order to have a holistic view on how these two cases were presented and how they formed their agenda according to the theories that were used. The coverage of the two cases of sexual harassment complaints by the two websites is not equal. Thetoc.gr website, which mainly hosts "hard news", has almost five times more coverage than the gossip-tv.gr website, which mainly hosts "soft news". Regarding the two cases, the thetoc.gr website expanded on Sofia Bekatorou's complaint while publishing the vast majority of articles in the "Greece" category, where "the latest news from Greece" can be found. On the contrary, in the case of the three actresses, he gave about half the space of the one he gave to Sofia Bekatorou, while he published half the articles concerning them in the "People & Style" category where "the news about fashion and celebrities" are found.

The website gossip-tv.gr gave less scope to both complaints. As for Sofia Bekatorou, the website published the news of her complaint, but the immediately following article referred to her among the comments of the Prime Minister's wife on the subject, without any previous article where Bekatorou talks about her rape. The four main articles concerning the athlete's complaint were published in four different categories, while the content of the articles or even the titles had a common denominator. In the case of the three actors, all articles were published in the similar categories, such as "Media", "Showbiz" and "Gossip".

The extent of the coverage provided by the two websites, combined with the categorization of the articles, leads to the conclusion that the complaint of Sofia Bekatorou, a public figure, was basically treated as "hard news", i.e. important news (Reuters Institute, 2016), while the complaint of of three actors was treated as "soft news", i.e. news about celebrities, entertainment, lifestyle, etc. (Reuters Institute, 2016). This finding is confirmed by Mendes (2011) conclusions that media coverage of feminism in the 21st century, represented mainly by female celebrities, eventually shifts to what we call a "lifestyle", contributing to the depoliticization of feminist goals.

Regarding the trends that, according to Benedictis, Orgad and Rottenberg (2019), have been repeatedly observed regarding the representation of sexual violence against women in the news, in the research above at least two out of five were identified. Both the athlete Sofia Bekatorou and the three actors meet the criteria for what Benedict (1992) calls the "ideal victim," that is, they are white, middle-class, educated, well-behaved, young, and attractive. Also, the #MeToo movement in Greece gained so much popularity because of these two cases, in comparison to previous sexual abuses like Katerina's case, where if we take into account framing theory and agenda setting about media and their topics, at that time it was one accusation that, maybe, did not attract people's interests or it was not covered extensively by media. Therefore, according to the framing theory, the media have the power to shift the public's opinion on a social movement, which in our case is the MeToo and was covered extensively only since 2021 and after. Also, the lack of covering cases from no "famous" people before 2021, is one of the main criticisms against the #MeToo movement. As Fileborn and Loney – Howes (2019) wrote, "the #MeToo movement suffered significant losses because it 'overdid it' in relation to the 'types' of sexual harassment it promoted". The Greek #MeToo is also distinguished by the absence of pluralism. Although, this time around online media outlets frames highlight specific parts of a perceived reality, typically simplifying the message to mobilize people and win support, so Thetoc.gr and Gossip-tv.gr frame the news from a specific point of view in order to achieve that.

The culture where sexual harassment is blamed on the victim is also highlighted as a tendency in the representation of sexual violence against women by the media. After all, this is one of the four categories that Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford (2019) identified in publications from four different countries (Japan, America, Australia and India) featuring women from the #MeToo movement. In the previous research, 10% of the publications of thetoc.gr website present Sofia Bekatorou as a woman who lies or is responsible for what happened to her. In some cases, these are posts by social network users, which online media journalists have used and highlighted as news. Based on the research of Diaz – Campo and Segado – Boj (2015), this practice is accepted by the codes that have been adapted to keep up with the new media landscape formed since the beginning of the popularity of the Internet. However, this is where ethical and moral issues arise, which code of conduct overlooks. The other two categories identified by Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford (2019) and which occupied our research, are those in which the complainants are presented as victims and as brave women who broke the silence. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, victimization reinforces the perception of passivity for women (Jordan, 2014). The reinforcement of such stereotypes by the Media, according to Carter, Branston and Allan(1998), may bring about unpleasant social consequences for women as they reinforce sexist judgments and their degradation in the context of patriarchal society. Finally, the presentation of women as brave and those who broke the silence is the one to which the largest number of publications belong. The #MeToo movement seems to represent a decisive shift away from moral issues related to "sexualization" and closer to politicized understandings that bring power relations forward (Gill and Orgad, 2018).

To summarize, the framing theory and agenda setting provide an explanation on why some issues are chosen for media coverage while others are not seen as newsworthy. This has the potential to influence public opinion and change the course of current events. However, the power of hashtags can also shape news, which are often influenced by the media. In the case of Greece, movements like #MeToo may be in a position to question social structures and the already valid social perception and lead to radical changes. Especially in problems, such as sexism and sexual harassment, which are deeply rooted in Greek society as something acceptable or not worthy of mention, the complaints that formed the starting point of the MeToo movement have the prospect of bringing rapid changes in the long term to social structures. At the same time, however, changes have the prospect of being made, as long as the movement remains in the public eye. Until now, the media, either of their own volition, or out of the interest of the world, regularly highlight such complaints, with a positive sign. Because, according to the agenda setting theory, if a news item is covered frequently and clearly, the public will consider the topic as more important.

Discussion

In this section, I am going to discuss the impact of #MeToo in the world, as well as the shortcomings and collateral damages, as part of a further research. #MeToo movement has come to overturn the culture of silence, guilt and contempt for women's voices and not only. Thanks to this movement, victims of sexual harrasment or rape dared to bring their stories into the public eye and their testimonies were finally taken seriously. Although, in a lot of cases the accused people had financial power and an army of lawyers, the #MeToo movement and the platform of denunciation it provided to many women proved to be a catalyst for the formation of new perceptions in American and other Western societies.

One year after the Weinstein scandal was exposed, and despite any backlash the #MeToo movement has received, it is possible to take stock of the changes that the Weinstein case has brought about. Since the first complaint was made public, at least 200 named men have lost their jobs due to public allegations of sexual harassment (Carlsen, 2018). Some of them, including Weinstein, even faced criminal charges. According to Carlsen (2018) at least 920 people have disclosed that they were sexually abused by someone that is in the list of famous people, and in many cases women took over their job positions. According to research conducted by McMaster University (2013), it has been shown that women in government positions are more cooperative and impartial, and that they promote more policies supporting women, children and social welfare. In fact, after the first complaint was made public, at least 200 big-name men lost their jobs due to public allegations of sexual harassment (Carlsen, 2018). In the media and in the entertainment industry, many women who have replaced men have changed the tone and substance of what they offer to the public and in some cases the impact of #MeToo has shaped their decisions.

Shortcomings and collateral damage

However, the assumption of government positions by women does not mean that sexual harassment in the workplace has stopped. After all, when it is such a large movement, positive changes in the society will come over time and not overnight. Federal law still does not fully protect large groups of women, including those working as self-employed professionals or in companies with fewer than 15 employees (Jeyakumar and Vad, 2019). New workplace policies will prove ineffective or only marginally effective if they are not accompanied by deeper cultural changes (Jeyakumar and Vad, 2019). As the Supreme Court's decision in Brett Kavanaugh showed, American citizens disagree on how accountability should be assigned to people accused of sexual assault and on the reliability of the evidence involved (Jurecic, 2018). During Kavanaugh's trial, a campaign using the hashtag #HimToo was launched. The reaction of the male gender could be attributed to the anger they feel at being targeted - sometimes unfairly. Indeed, US President, back in 2018, Donald Trump has stated that the accusations against Kavanaugh are a campaign of political and personal destruction based on false evidence, while First Lady Melania Trump has stated that women must show evidence before making accusations of sexual violence (Noveck, 2018).

Some men follow the standard tactic of blaming the victim, thus reinforcing misogyny and fueling populism. Therefore, although a significant number of women have risen in the hierarchy of power since Weinstein's downfall in the USA, their representation at the top of American institutions remains highly inadequate (Jevakumar and Vad, 2019). Moreover, it should be noted that #MeToo has also been accused by women-victims of sexual abuse of creating anxiety and psychological depression, as it causes them to recall bad images and relive emotions (Jeyakumar and Vad, 2019). According to Scocca (2019), "collateral damage" of the #MeToo movement should also be considered the talented writer and former director of the New York Review of Books, Ian Buruma. Buruma, who only lasted 16 months at the "helm" of the important magazine, insisted on publishing an article by Canadian TV presenter, Jian Ghomeshi. In the controversial article, Ghomeshi denied the allegations of more than 20 women against him, who claimed to have been victims of abuse, including slapping, punching, biting and other violence, and described himself as the victim of a "campaign of humiliation" (Scocca, 2019). The publication of the article was the subject of a heated debate among the small editorial board of the New York Review of Books, with the main topic being the possibility of repentance for men who have been accused of such incidents. Buruma's attempts to justify the publication prompted a new wave of outrage, with the resigned man condemning the "accusatory climate" of modern society (Scocca, 2019).

Conclusion

Following the Framing theory and Agenda Setting theory, the given research question: *How* are the victims of the MeToo movement in Greece portrayed in the headlines of online media outlets? Does the social status of the victims affect these headlines? can be answered as follows: from the framing theory perspective media has a significant impact on how a social movement is presented and perceived by the public. For this reason, the media plays a key role in how a social movement is framed and ultimately how the Greek #MeToo movement and its victims are presented and therefore perceived by the people. The media use familiar and culturally relevant topics, starting from their headlines to convey information about the events that are happening and creating a framework that limits or defines the meaning of the message, thus shaping the conclusions that people draw about the message. Also, with the pairing of the framing theory and agenda setting, we can come to the conclusions on how the victims were portrayed in the headlines, which in our case is positive, and also why it was positive. The agenda setting theory, also, helped in answering why the media followed a positive direction towards the victims. For example, the theory states that the media is the main force responsible for selecting the news that will be prioritized and reported according to the public interest, which seemed to be huge after Sofia's Bekatorou confession, and that this can define the direction an issue will take, positive or negative. As for the social status of the victims and its influence on the headlines, according to agenda setting theory that claims a movement can also be questioned through media agenda, specifically in our case we could see differences on how a public figure was more tendentiously portrayed, in comparison to celebrities.

Starting this thesis I referred to the topic of feminism and its coverage by the Mass Media. Kaitlynn Mendes (2011) writes about the growing trend of media coverage of the movement but observes that, compared to previous decades, it has shifted to what she calls a "lifestyle", personal expression that is, mainly through consumer choices, instead of organized social mobilization. Hashtag activism, emerging from social networks and enabling the rapid growth of large social movements (Schneider and Carpenter, 2020), has contributed to the visibility of the feminist movement. The #MeToo digital feminist movement, which started with a tweet by Alyssa Milano and was linked to allegations of sexual assault, harassment or incidents of misogyny, has spread to many countries around the world and received significant attention from traditional media as well. Benedictis, Orgad, and Rottenberg (2019) examined the coverage of the #MeToo case by UK newspapers and concluded that, although it significantly increased visibility, it ultimately followed and reinforced already known trends of publicizing similar incidents and feminism in the media. Starkey, Koerber, Sternadori & Pitchford (2019), studied media coverage of #MeToo, attempting to understand the role it played in framing four women who reported sexual harassment, each in a different country. Their findings confirm the observations of Fung & Scheufele (2014) who want the contexts created by the Media to arise from the differences in the social and cultural norms of each country. The #MeToo movement appeared in Greece almost 4 years after Alyssa Milano's tweet. As in other countries of the world, the majority of complaints that have seen the light are made by celebrities, mainly actresses.

In the research, I attempted to identify differences or similarities between the coverage of the complaints by a public figure and by three celebrity actresses. To achieve this I analyzed headlines from two digital media, the thetoc.gr website, which mainly hosts "hard news" and the gossip-tv.gr website, which mainly hosts "soft news", using framing theory in order to see how are the same news presented by two different online media outlets and what was their purpose. From the analysis of the publications, it was concluded that the news concerning the complaints of the celebrities were mainly categorized as "soft news" while those concerning the public figure, as "hard news". The news coverage of both cases revealed trends that, according to Benedictis, Orgad, and Rottenberg (2019), have been repeatedly observed in the representation of sexual violence against women in the news. In both cases the women meet the criteria of the "ideal victim," a fact that the #MeToo movement has been accused of, anyway. Also found were reports accusing the complainants of lying or somehow being responsible for the sexual harassment, another trend in representations of sexual violence, where according to agenda setting theory depends on the media, who have the power to influence public opinion through the methodical course of circulation of articles and the way of presenting specific news. However, it was observed that the vast majority of these publications concern the public figure. Finally, the titles of the rest of the publications fell into the categories that present women as victims or as brave, who broke the silence. In both the public figure and celebrities, most publications belong to the second category. Perhaps, if these accusations had not sparked the MeToo movement in Greece, which in some way became a "trend" that expressed a lot of people, as well as attracted the interest of the readers, according to the agenda setting theory the coverage by the mass media would not have been to such a great extent this time, and maybe not with a positive view.

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