

**Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv
Educational and Scientific Institute of Philology
Department of English Philology and Intercultural Communication**

Bachelor's thesis

**ENGLISH MASS-MEDIA DISCOURSE AROUND THE POLITICAL EVENTS
IN UKRAINE (2014-2022)**

Boncheva Mariia

4th year student of the Education Program

‘English Studies and Translation
and Two Western European Languages’

Field of science: 03 “Humanities”

Specialty: 035 “Philology”

Supervised by:

Verba Lidiia, PhD.

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INTRODUCTION

It's quite difficult to deny the role of mass-media and the impact it has on our every day's life. Mass media serves as a brilliant way of communication not only between government and society within one certain country, but also run as a red thread which unites the people all over the globe.

Without a doubt, the key function of the mass media is to inform the people about events and accidents all around the world. But also mass media resources are used to affirm the spiritual values of the society and exert certain ideological, political and economic influence on people's views, thoughts and behavior.

Ukraine was all over the international headlines from the end of 2013 until today due to its ongoing conflict with Russia and the annexation of Crimea. The coverage has included a range of topics such as political developments, military operations, economic sanctions, and humanitarian issues. Western media outlets, such as CNN, BBC, The New York Times and The Guardian, have provided in-depth reporting on the conflict and its impact on the region. And, while looking at the way the events of 2014-2022 were reported by Western media, we should pay attention to the next following questions: how was the data presented? What was the audience reaction, impact on public opinion?

Such questions determine the **relevance** of the presented research. The recognition of Ukraine on the international arena, the authority of the country and its future cooperation with European and Western countries largely depends on the coverage of events in the mass media.

The **aim** of the study is to analyze the coverage of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia in Western media from 2014-2022 and evaluate its impact on public opinion and the recognition of Ukraine on the international stage.

The defined goals involve the following **objectives**:

1) conduct a literature review on the role of mass media in shaping public opinion and the relationship between media coverage and political outcomes:

2) analyze the coverage of the conflict in Western media outlets such as CNN, BBC, The New York Times and The Guardian;

3) examine the presentation of data in the media and how it may have influenced public opinion;

4) evaluate the impact of media coverage on the recognition of Ukraine on the international stage.

The object of the research is to study and define the impact of the journalistic language on the audience, including their attitudes and beliefs about the conflict.

The subject of the research is the usage of language in media coverage, including the language choices made by journalists, the tone of the reporting, and the use of metaphors and other rhetorical devices.

The study material comprises 120 pages (48040 words) of articles and transcripts of video reports.

General and special **methods** of linguistics are used in the work for the complete inventory and systematization of the analyzed material:

- method of quantitative analysis;
- method of qualitative analysis;
- method of argumentation analysis;
- method of multimodal analysis;
- method of stylistic analysis.

The novelty of this paper lies in providing a comprehensive analysis of the linguistic and rhetorical features of media coverage of the Ukraine-Russia conflict, taking into account the complex political and social context of the conflict. **The theoretical significance** lies in bringing together insights and methodologies from linguistics, media studies, political science, and other fields to provide a holistic and nuanced understanding of the role of language and rhetoric in shaping public perceptions of the conflict. The results of the study can be also used to identify strategies for improving media coverage to promote greater accuracy, objectivity, and fairness in reporting on the conflict.

The bachelor's thesis consists of an introduction, three sections, conclusions, summary and references. The work is illustrated with appendices.

The introduction substantiates the relevance, defines the aim, object, subject, describes the theoretical and practical significance of the scientific research and provides information about the structure.

The first section "The theories of discourse and theoretical principles of language" focuses on the survey of scientific works: works on discourse studies by D. Crystal, P. Seriot, A. van Dijk and J. Gee and works on the typology and classification of media-texts and analysis of the distinctive features of the newspaper functional style by T. van Dijk, D. Machin, S. Hall, H. Mencken. It also describes the stylistic characteristics of military discourse in mass media and states the most widespread articles' types and themes.

The second section "Mass media in shaping the public opinion" focuses on the ways in which mass media can be used to shape public opinion, including both positive and negative purposes. It explores the various tools and methods of manipulative influence that are used in the media, as well as the different theories and perspectives that have been developed to study this phenomenon. The chapter also looks at the work of influential scholars such as Noam Chomsky, Stuart Hall who have contributed to our understanding

of how the media influences public opinion. In this chapter we also take a closer look to the creditability standards of the mass media and its impartiality.

The third section “Ukraine’s profile in western mass-media” include an overview of the major events in Ukraine during this time period and how they were covered by Western media outlets. This part also presents the results of a public opinion polls regarding Russian aggression against Ukraine.

The general conclusion summarizes the results of the research.

I. THE THEORIES OF DISCOURSE AND THEORETICAL PRINCIPLES OF LANGUAGE

1.1. The concept of discourse in modern linguistics

The term "discourse" remains a broad concept, which can be used in various contexts and scientific fields such as philosophy, psychology, theoretical linguistics, etc.

The concept of "discourse" for a long time existed in the meaning of categories such as "dialogue," "reasoning". As an independent linguistic term, discourse was first used in 1952 by American scholar Z. Harris in his article "Discourse analysis" [14]. He defined discourse as "a stretch of language perceived to be meaningful unified and purposive". In other words, discourse is a unit of language that is coherent and meaningful, and that is used to achieve a particular communicative purpose.

Harris emphasized the importance of context in understanding discourse, and argued that discourse cannot be analyzed in isolation from the social and cultural factors that shape its use. He believed that discourse is not simply a matter of individual expression, but is shaped by larger social and cultural forces.

The concept of discourse in modern linguistics has been thoroughly studied by many linguists, but they didn't manage to bring out one universal definition of this term.

For example, Nunan described the term 'discourse' like "a stretch of language consisting of several sentences which are perceived as being related in some way" [25].

British scholar David Crystal is another prominent linguist who has made important contributions to the study of discourse. He defines discourse as "a stretch of language consisting of several sentences which are perceived as related in some way" [7].

According to Crystal, discourse is a unit of language that is larger than the sentence and that consists of multiple sentences that are connected in some way. The connection

between the sentences may be based on their grammatical structure, their semantic content, or their communicative function.

Crystal also emphasizes the importance of context in understanding discourse. He argues that discourse cannot be analyzed in isolation from the social, cultural, and historical factors that shape its use. He identifies a range of contextual factors that influence discourse, including the purpose of the communication, the audience, and the medium of communication [8].

Overall, Crystal's definition of discourse highlights its complex and multifaceted nature, and underscores the importance of considering a range of factors in analyzing and understanding it.

Patrik Seriot is a linguist who has also written about discourse, and his definition emphasizes the importance of context and the social function of discourse. According to Seriot, discourse is "a type of language use that is situated within a particular social context and that serves a communicative purpose" [28]. He emphasizes the fact that discourse is always embedded in a particular context, and that it reflects and reinforces social norms, values, and power relations.

Seriot also notes that discourse is often characterized by various rhetorical strategies, such as the use of metaphor, repetition, and framing, which are employed to achieve specific communicative goals. He argues that these strategies are not just linguistic features, but are closely tied to the social and cultural context in which discourse is produced and interpreted.

Overall, Seriot's definition of discourse highlights the ways in which language use is shaped by social, cultural, and historical factors, and underscores the importance of analyzing discourse within its broader context.

Teun A. van Dijk is a prominent discourse analyst who has written extensively on the topic of discourse. Van Dijk defines discourse as "the use of language in social

contexts" [35]. He emphasizes the importance of context in shaping the meaning of language use, and argues that discourse cannot be fully understood without taking into account the social, cultural, and historical context in which it occurs.

Van Dijk also identifies several dimensions of discourse that are important for analysis, including [36]:

- text: the linguistic form and structure of discourse;
- discourse practice: the ways in which discourse is produced, distributed, and consumed;
- social interaction: the role of discourse in social interaction, including the relationships and power dynamics between speakers and listeners;
- sociocultural context: the broader social and cultural context in which discourse occurs, including the norms, values, and ideologies that shape language use.

Overall, van Dijk's definition of discourse highlights the importance of understanding language use as a social phenomenon that is shaped by a range of contextual factors.

One influential definition of discourse was proposed by James Paul Gee, a prominent discourse analyst who has written extensively on the topic. According to Gee, discourse is "a socially accepted association among ways of using language, other symbolic expressions, and actions" [11].

Gee's definition emphasizes the social nature of discourse, highlighting the fact that language use is shaped by social norms, values, and practices. It also incorporates a broad range of semiotic resources, including not only language but also other symbolic forms such as images and gestures, as well as actions and behaviors.

As evidenced by the scientific discussion around the concept of "discourse," this is a multi-level, polydisciplinary unit. It is used in the context of linguistics, literary criticism, philosophy, psycholinguistics, psychology, pragmatics, rhetoric, sociology, pedagogy,

ethics, etc. In general, in the plane of linguistic research, the category of "discourse" remains blurred and ambiguous, correlating in linguistics with the concepts of "text" and "speech."

This teaching, based on general scientific and linguistic research techniques, developed such methods and techniques of research that contributed to the separation of discourse into a separate scientific (primarily linguistic) category. The theory of discourse is based on methodological principles that contribute to the systematic presentation of the relationship and interdependence of concepts, phenomena, etc.

1.2. Media-discourse and media-texts.

Discourse, in a broader sense, refers to the communication and interaction around a particular topic or subject. It encompasses the exchange of ideas, perspectives, and arguments within a specific context or community. Media discourse, then, is a subset of discourse that specifically pertains to the communication that occurs through media channels.

Media discourse refers to the ways in which media organizations, journalists, commentators, and the public engage in communication and conversation about various topics through media channels such as newspapers, television, radio, online platforms, and social media. It encompasses the discussions, debates, narratives, and representations that take place within the media landscape.

Media discourse refers to the ways in which language and other semiotic resources are used in media contexts, such as news reporting, advertising, and social media.

Media discourse can be analyzed from various perspectives, including linguistic, sociological, and cultural. Linguistic analysis of media discourse might focus on the structures and functions of language use in media contexts, such as the use of headlines, captions, and soundbites.

Teun van Dijk is a prominent discourse analyst who has made significant contributions to the study of media discourse. He has developed a socio-cognitive approach to discourse analysis, which emphasizes the importance of social and cognitive factors in shaping language use and interpretation.

Van Dijk has applied this approach to the analysis of media discourse, focusing on issues such as the representation of social groups and events in the media, the construction of news narratives, and the framing of political discourse [37].

One of Van Dijk's key insights is that media discourse is a powerful tool for constructing and reinforcing social identities and power relations. He argues that media representations of social groups and events can serve to reproduce or challenge dominant ideologies and social hierarchies [38].

For example, Van Dijk has analyzed the ways in which media coverage of immigration and refugees can serve to reinforce negative stereotypes and xenophobic attitudes, by emphasizing the supposed "threat" posed by these groups to national identity and security. He has also examined the ways in which political discourse in the media can be used to legitimize or delegitimize particular political actors or agendas, depending on how they are framed and represented.

Overall, Van Dijk's work on media discourse highlights the important role that language and discourse play in shaping social and political reality, and underscores the need for critical analysis of media representations in order to challenge dominant discourses and promote more inclusive and democratic forms of communication.

David Machin is another prominent scholar in the field of media discourse analysis. He has conducted research on a range of topics related to media discourse, including news framing, visual discourse analysis, and the representation of social issues in the media.

Machin's work is characterized by its interdisciplinary approach, drawing on insights from linguistics, media studies, sociology, and other fields. He has developed a

range of analytical tools and methods for studying media discourse, including critical discourse analysis, multimodal discourse analysis, and corpus linguistics [18].

One of Machin's key contributions to the field of media discourse analysis is his work on news framing. He has analyzed the ways in which news stories are constructed through the use of framing devices such as headlines, photos, and text structure, and has examined the implications of different framing strategies for audience interpretation and understanding.

Machin has also conducted research on the visual aspects of media discourse, using multimodal discourse analysis to study the ways in which images, layout, and design contribute to the meaning and interpretation of media texts. He has applied this approach to a range of contexts, including news media, advertising, and political communication.

Overall, Machin's work on media discourse analysis emphasizes the importance of taking a critical and reflexive approach to the study of media texts and their social and political implications. He underscores the need for researchers to be aware of their own ideological biases and assumptions, and to approach media texts with a critical and nuanced understanding of their social and cultural contexts [20].

In media discourse, various actors contribute their perspectives, analysis, and commentary on a wide range of subjects, including politics, economics, social issues, culture, entertainment, and more. It involves the selection and framing of stories, the choice of language and tone, the inclusion of different voices, and the influence of media organizations' editorial policies and values.

Media discourse is dynamic and evolving, influenced by societal changes, technological advancements, and shifting public attitudes. It reflects and shapes public opinion, can influence public policy, and plays a significant role in shaping cultural narratives and values.

Understanding media discourse is important because it helps us critically analyze the messages and representations presented by the media, evaluate their accuracy and fairness, and recognize the influence they have on public perception and understanding of various issues.

The concept of "media text" has been widely used in media and cultural studies to refer to any form of communication produced and circulated by the media. The term has been defined and applied in various ways by different scholars, but its origins can be traced back to the early days of media studies.

One of the earliest and most influential definitions of media text was put forward by Stuart Hall, who defined it as "a site of struggle over meaning" in his influential essay "Encoding/Decoding" [13]. According to Hall, media texts are not simply neutral or objective representations of reality, but rather are constructed through a process of encoding and decoding, in which producers and audiences negotiate the meaning and interpretation of the text.

Since then, many other scholars have built on Hall's work and developed their own definitions of media text. Some have focused on the formal and structural features of media texts, while others have emphasized the social and cultural contexts in which they are produced and consumed.

Overall, the concept of media text remains a central and important concept in media and cultural studies, and continues to be used in a variety of ways to analyze and understand the complex relationship between media, culture, and society.

1.3. Functional styles of English. Newspaper functional style. Military discourse in mass media.

In the field of linguistics, functional styles are the variations in language use that depend on the communicative situation. In English, some of the commonly recognized functional styles include:

- ***Scientific style:*** This style is used in academic writing, research papers, and technical reports. It is characterized by a formal tone, precise terminology, and a focus on objectivity and accuracy.

John Swales defines the genre of scientific research articles as a "publicly presented written discourse on scientific topics, organized to meet the expectations of the target audience and usually referencing previous research in the field" [31].

- ***Official style:*** This style is used in official documents, such as legal documents, government reports, and business contracts. It is characterized by a formal tone, complex syntax, and the use of specialized terminology.

John M. Conley and William M. O'Barr define legal language as "a special dialect or language of its own, characterized by technical vocabulary, complex syntax, and precise rules for its use" [7].

- ***Newspaper style:*** This style is used in news articles, journalistic writing, and other forms of mass media. It is characterized by a concise and clear writing style, the use of headlines, and a focus on objectivity and readability.

Van Dijk describes news discourse as "a type of discourse that has certain features that distinguish it from other types of discourse, such as its focus on current events, its use of headlines and subheadings, and its use of photos and graphics" [40].

- ***Literary style:*** This style is used in creative writing, such as novels, poems, and short stories. It is characterized by a use of figurative language, complex sentence structures, and a focus on stylistic elements such as imagery and metaphor.

Wayne C. Booth defines the language of literature as "a deliberate and strategic use of language that seeks to achieve an artistic effect through the use of a range of literary techniques, such as imagery, metaphor, and symbolism" [5].

- ***Colloquial style:*** This style is used in informal conversations and everyday language use. It is characterized by a relaxed and casual tone, the use of slang, and a more flexible approach to grammar and syntax.

Deborah Schiffrin defines casual conversation as "an interactive and spontaneous use of language, characterized by a range of strategies such as turn-taking, repair, and topic management". [26]

According to the topic of the research, we should pay additional attention to the peculiarities of the Newspaper's style as the main style of the mass media.

Newspaper style is a specific style of writing used in newspapers, characterized by its brevity, clarity, and objectivity. The main purpose of newspaper style is to inform readers in a concise and accessible manner. The style also emphasizes the use of headlines, subheadings, and bylines to help readers navigate the content.

One of the pioneers in the study of newspaper style was H.L. Mencken [22], who wrote extensively about the evolution of newspaper language and the use of concise, punchy language to capture readers' attention. Other notable researchers in this field include J. Anthony Blair, who has written about the linguistic structure of news stories and the role of journalism in society, and Neil Postman, who has studied the impact of television on newspaper style [4].

The specific features of newspaper style include:

- **Clarity:** newspaper style emphasizes clarity and simplicity of language, with a focus on conveying information in a way that is easy for readers to understand.
- **Objectivity:** Journalists strive to maintain objectivity in their reporting, presenting information in a way that is unbiased and factual.
- **Brevity:** Newspaper style is characterized by its brevity, with writers often condensing complex information into short, easily digestible pieces.

- Structure: News stories are typically structured in a specific way, with the most important information presented first in the headline and lead paragraph, followed by supporting details in subsequent paragraphs.

To understand the language peculiarities of English newspaper style it will be sufficient to analyze the following basic newspaper features:

- 1) brief news items;
- 2) advertisements and announcements;
- 3) headlines;
- 4) the editorial.

- *Brief news items*, also known as news briefs, are short news stories that provide essential information in a concise and straightforward manner. They typically consist of a few sentences or paragraphs and are designed to be quickly read and understood by the audience. Brief news items can cover a wide range of topics, including breaking news, local events, sports scores, weather updates, and more. They are commonly found in newspapers, online news sites, and broadcast news programs. The goal of brief news items is to deliver the most important information to the audience quickly and efficiently, without overwhelming them with too much detail or unnecessary information.

Specific vocabulary features are: special political and economic terms (e.g. gross output, president), non-term political vocabulary (e.g. public, progressive), newspaper clichés (e.g. vital issue), abbreviations (e.g. UNO, NATO), neologisms.

- *Advertisements and announcements* are considered as specific features of newspapers as they serve a specific function in providing information to the readers. Advertisements are messages from companies or organizations promoting their products or services, while announcements are notices from individuals or

institutions informing readers of an event, job opening, or other relevant information.

In terms of lexical features, advertisements often use persuasive language and employ catchy slogans or taglines to grab the reader's attention. They may also use hyperbole or other rhetorical devices to emphasize the benefits of the product or service being advertised. Announcements, on the other hand, tend to use more straightforward language and provide clear and concise information about the event or opportunity being announced. They may use specific language related to the event, such as dates, times, and locations, to ensure that readers have all the necessary details.

- *Headlines* are an essential part of news articles as they aim to grab the reader's attention and provide a summary of the story. Some of the specific features of headlines in news include:

1) headlines are usually short and to the point, with a limited number of words, typically around 10-15 words.

2) headlines should convey the main idea of the story accurately and clearly.

3) headlines should be catchy and engaging to grab the reader's attention.

4) the tone of the headline can be serious, informative, entertaining, or sensational, depending on the news story and the target audience.

- The function of the *editorial* is to influence the reader by giving an interpretation of certain facts. It comments on the political and other events of the day. It appeals not only to the reader's mind, but to his feelings as well. So the editorial is characterized by:

1) emotionally colored language elements, both lexical and structural;

2) use of colloquial words, slang, professionalisms;

3) use of trite metaphors and epithets, periphrases;

4) allusions.

All these items altogether are the core principles of the newspaper functional style. They can be used in various ways depending on the mood of the prepared information, the intention to spread up a certain thoughts and moods of the target audience the intention to focus, or vice versa, distract the audience from certain events.

Journalistic style is the style of mass media - newspapers, magazines, television, radio, public propaganda publications. It is indispensable when shaping public opinion, discussing socio-political ideas, engaging in debates, political propaganda, and promoting social development. In other words, the journalistic style is intended for the masses as well as for each individual citizen.

The journalistic style is implemented through various genres, among which three main groups can be distinguished:

- Informational genres (news brief, interview, report, news report, etc.). They are united by a significant event or occasion as a motive for their presentation. Generally, they operate with simple, primary information and aim to provide timely reporting of facts and events. The main characteristic of informational genres is novelty.
- Analytical genres (article, correspondence, version, commentary, journalistic investigation, open letter, review, etc.). They are characterized by in-depth research into life and comprehensive analysis of facts.
- Artistic-journalistic genres (sketch, conversation, confession, essay, feuilleton, pamphlet, parody, epigram, etc.). They are distinguished by imagery, typification, emotional expressiveness, and richness in literary and artistic devices, as well as linguistic and stylistic features. In these genres, a specific documentary fact

seemingly takes a back seat, and for the author, it is more important to rise above the phenomenon, above the fact.

Thus, informational materials state facts, analytical materials interpret and summarize, and artistic-journalistic materials typify the real documentary reality.

Let's focus on English-language military-oriented newspaper-journalistic materials. In newspaper-journalistic style, the use of clichés, abbreviations, and acronyms is characteristic. In military newspaper-journalistic materials, all of these elements are present but are distinguished by their specific thematic orientation. The army is a relatively closed social system, which is why many abbreviations and acronyms are not widely used.

The third type of newspaper materials is informational. In military print publications, it can be divided into two subgroups: firstly, the block of news and informational articles, and secondly, the block of advertisements and announcements.

In the news block of English-language military journals, the following types of articles can be distinguished: news on technology and weaponry, the latest news from war zones, international news encompassing updates on the military sector of foreign countries, and, finally, news specifically focused on space technology.

One of the most important functions performed by military newspaper-journalistic materials is the function of influence. In the modern world, armed forces often serve not only as a means of defending national interests but also as a tool for achieving specific political goals. In this context, the task of the media is to persuade the audience of the correctness and legitimacy of a particular political act, presenting arguments that contribute to shaping the necessary societal response, both to specific political decisions and potential subsequent military actions.

Conclusion Part I

Summing up all the facts about, we can conclude that discourse itself has been the object of scientific debates, views, research for several decades. The role of discourse in modern society is difficult to overestimate. Discourse plays a crucial role in modern society because it is the means by which individuals and groups communicate, negotiate meanings, and construct social reality. Discourse refers to the language and communication practices that are used to produce and reproduce social norms, values, beliefs, and power relations. In other words, discourse shapes the way we understand and make sense of the world around us.

Discourse also plays a critical role in shaping public opinion and influencing political decision-making. Media discourse, for example, can be used to frame issues in certain ways that shape public perception and opinion. Political discourse, on the other hand, can be used to construct and legitimize certain policies and power relations.

Mass media plays an important role in shaping discourse in modern society. As a powerful tool of communication, mass media has the ability to influence public opinion, shape cultural norms and values, and define social reality.

One way in which mass media shapes discourse is through the selection and framing of news stories. By choosing which stories to cover and how to frame them, mass media can influence public perception and opinion on a wide range of issues, from politics and economics to social and cultural issues.

Moreover, mass media also plays a crucial role in constructing and reinforcing cultural norms and values. Advertising, for example, often reinforces gender stereotypes and promotes consumer culture, while television programs and movies can shape our perceptions of social relationships, family structures, and other cultural practices.

The material from the theoretical sources (scientific works of D. Crystal, P. Seriot, A. van Dijk and J. Gee, D. Machin, S. Hall, H. Mencken) was used during the investigation of the concept of discourse and mass-media field.

From the perspective of structural characteristics, military newspaper-journalistic materials exhibit a wide variety of genres. They encompass three main groups of materials: informational, analytical, and artistic-journalistic, all aimed at fulfilling the core functions of mass media as a whole.

In other words, military newspaper-journalistic materials serve the informational function (reporting on current affairs, various conflicts, and events), the evaluative function (often presenting facts accompanied by commentary, analysis, and assessment), and the popularization function (transmitting diverse scientific and professional information, contributing to the knowledge base of their readers).

II. MASS MEDIA IN SHAPING THE PUBLIC OPINION

2.1. Mass media's tools

Mass media has a significant impact on public opinion, as it serves as a primary source of information for many people. News outlets, social media, and other forms of media can shape the way people think, feel, and behave about a wide range of issues.

One way that mass media impacts public opinion is through framing. Framing refers to the way that media outlets present information to the public. By emphasizing certain aspects of a story, downplaying others, or using certain language, media outlets can influence the way people perceive an issue.

Another way that mass media shapes public opinion is through agenda-setting. Agenda-setting refers to the way that media outlets prioritize certain issues over others. By covering certain topics more frequently or more prominently, media outlets can influence which issues are seen as most important by the public.

Finally, mass media can also have a direct impact on public opinion through persuasion. Through editorials, opinion pieces, and other forms of content, media outlets can directly advocate for a particular position on an issue and attempt to persuade their audience to adopt that position.

It is important to note that the impact of mass media on public opinion is not always straightforward or predictable. Different individuals may respond differently to media messages, and the context in which those messages are received can also play a role. However, it is clear that mass media plays a powerful role in shaping public opinion, and this role will likely continue to be important in the future.

There are several tools that mass media can use to shape public opinion:

- News reporting: News reporting is one of the most important ways that the media shapes public opinion. The way a news story is framed, the sources used, and the details included can all influence how people understand and feel about a particular issue.
- Editorial content: Editorial content, including opinion pieces and editorial cartoons, can be used to express a particular point of view and persuade readers or viewers to adopt a certain stance on an issue.
- Advertising: Advertising can be used to shape public opinion by promoting a particular product or service, but it can also be used to influence attitudes and beliefs about social and political issues.
- Social media: Social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram have become increasingly important tools for shaping public opinion. Social media can be used to disseminate information, promote a particular point of view, and mobilize people around a particular cause or issue.
- Entertainment media: Entertainment media, including movies, television shows, and video games, can also be used to shape public opinion. The way that certain groups or issues are portrayed in popular media can influence how people think and feel about them.

It is important to recognize that these tools can be used for both positive and negative purposes. While the media can be a powerful force for informing and educating the public, it can also be used to spread misinformation and manipulate public opinion. It is therefore important to approach media messages critically and with a healthy dose of skepticism.

Mass media can serve both positive and negative purposes when it comes to shaping public opinion.

Positive purposes:

1. Informing the public: Mass media can provide accurate, timely, and important information to the public on a wide range of issues, such as current events, political developments, health issues, and scientific advancements.
2. Promoting public debate: Mass media can encourage public debate and discussion by presenting different perspectives on controversial issues, providing a platform for experts and ordinary citizens to voice their opinions, and facilitating dialogue between different groups.
3. Raising awareness: Mass media can raise public awareness about social issues and problems, such as poverty, discrimination, and human rights abuses, which can lead to greater public engagement and action.

Negative purposes:

1. Propaganda: Mass media can be used to disseminate false or misleading information for the purpose of promoting a particular agenda, ideology, or political viewpoint.
2. Sensationalism: Mass media can rely on sensational or emotionally charged stories to attract viewers or readers, which can distort the public's perception of certain issues.
3. Manipulation: Mass media can be used to manipulate public opinion by selectively reporting or framing information in a way that supports a particular viewpoint or interest group.

Overall, the impact of mass media on public opinion depends on the motives and values of those who create and control the media, as well as the degree of critical thinking and media literacy among the public.

2.2. Means of manipulative influence on the reader. Propaganda.

In the realm of mass media, the ability to shape public opinion is a powerful tool. One way that media outlets achieve this is through the use of manipulative techniques that influence the reader's perception and understanding of a given topic or issue. The means of manipulative influence can take many forms, ranging from subtle cues and persuasive language to more overt tactics such as propaganda and misinformation. In this section, we will examine the various means of manipulative influence used by media outlets to shape public opinion, with a focus on their impact and potential consequences.

There are various manipulative methods used in the mass media, and these can include techniques such as:

- Emotional appeal - This involves using language and imagery that evokes strong emotions in the reader, such as fear, anger, or excitement.
- Loaded language - The use of loaded language involves using words or phrases that are emotionally charged or carry a strong connotation, such as "terrorist" or "freedom fighter".
- Selective reporting - This involves selectively reporting certain facts or perspectives while ignoring or downplaying others, in order to shape the reader's understanding of an issue.
- False balance - This involves giving equal weight to opposing views or perspectives, regardless of their actual merit, in order to create the illusion of balanced reporting.
- Misleading statistics - This involves using statistics in a way that misleads the reader or distorts the truth, such as by selectively choosing data points or presenting them out of context.

Noam Chomsky is a well-known linguist, philosopher, and political activist who has written extensively on the role of the mass media in shaping public opinion. One of Chomsky's most influential works is his book "Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media", co-authored with Edward S. Herman [16].

In this book, Chomsky and Herman argue that the mass media serves as a tool for manufacturing consent among the public, particularly in the context of the United States. They argue that the mass media is controlled by a small number of powerful corporations and individuals, and that it serves to promote the interests of these entities, rather than providing objective and unbiased reporting.

Chomsky and Herman identify several techniques that the mass media uses to manipulate public opinion, including the five examples we mentioned earlier. They argue that these techniques are used to create a false sense of consensus and to marginalize dissenting voices, thereby promoting the interests of those in power.

Overall, Chomsky's work has been influential in drawing attention to the manipulative techniques used by the mass media, and in encouraging readers to adopt a critical perspective when consuming media.

British cultural theorist and sociologist Stuart Hall also wrote extensively on the role of the mass media in shaping public opinion. His work was heavily influenced by the ideas of Antonio Gramsci, who argued that cultural hegemony was a key tool for maintaining social control.

In his book "The Hard Road to Renewal: Thatcherism and the Crisis of the Left" [12], Hall argued that the mass media played a key role in promoting the rise of Thatcherism in the UK during the 1980s. He argued that the mass media was able to shape public opinion through the use of specific discourses and narratives, which in turn reinforced the dominant ideology of the ruling class.

Hall was particularly interested in the ways in which the mass media constructs and represents different social groups. He argued that the media tends to create and reinforce stereotypes and negative images of marginalized groups, such as racial minorities and the working class. These negative representations can then be used to justify discriminatory policies and practices.

Overall, Hall's work emphasized the power of the mass media to shape public opinion and the need for critical engagement with media representations. He argued that the media is not neutral, but rather is shaped by powerful economic and political interests, and that it is essential to understand these interests in order to understand the ways in which the media operates.

2.3 Evaluating Media Credibility: Reliability and Impartiality

The tips for ensuring reliability and impartiality in mass media are not attributed to any specific individual or organization. Rather, they are widely accepted best practices in journalism and media ethics that have been developed over time through the work of many journalists, media outlets, and industry organizations.

Codes of ethics created by media associations and organizations, including the Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ) and the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), frequently reflect these values. Here they are:

- **Verifying the information:** Always verify the information from multiple sources before publishing or reporting it. This will help to ensure that the information is accurate and reliable.
- **Fact-checking:** Use fact-checking tools to verify the accuracy of the information. Fact-checking helps to identify false or misleading information and ensures that the information is reliable.

- **Avoiding sensationalism:** Avoid sensationalism, exaggeration or sensational headlines that may distort or misrepresent the information. Be cautious when reporting breaking news or unverified information.
- **Using of credible sources:** Use credible sources for information such as government reports, academic studies, and reliable news sources. This helps to ensure the reliability and accuracy of the information.
- **Remaining objective:** Strive to remain objective and impartial in reporting, regardless of personal opinions or beliefs. Avoid taking sides, favoring one group or individual over another, or engaging in biased reporting.
- **Providing context:** Provide sufficient context and background information to help the audience understand the issue or topic being reported. This helps to avoid misunderstandings and ensures that the information is presented accurately.
- **Corrections and retractions:** Be transparent and willing to issue corrections or retractions when errors or inaccuracies are discovered. This helps to maintain the credibility and reliability of the mass media.

Taking into account all the above-mentioned facts, we will analyze the loudest and most famous events of the period from 2014 to 2022, covered in the Western media according to the following criteria: brief news items, headlines, editorial, context and objectivity, possible manipulative means such as emotional appeal, loaded language etc.

Conclusion Part II

Mass media plays a crucial role in shaping public opinion by presenting information and framing events in a particular way that can influence people's attitudes and beliefs.

The mass media can be used for both positive and negative purposes in shaping public opinion, including informing the public about important issues or manipulating them for political or commercial gain.

Various techniques of manipulation and propaganda have been identified in mass media, and it is important for media consumers to be aware of these techniques and critically evaluate the information presented to them.

Scholars such as Noam Chomsky, Stuart Hall have contributed to our understanding of the ways in which the mass media can shape public opinion and perpetuate certain power structures and ideologies.

Research in media effects has shown that the media can have a significant impact on public opinion and behavior, but the exact nature and extent of this influence is complex and depends on many factors.

3. UKRAINE'S PROFILE IN WESTERN MASS-MEDIA

3.1. The Main Discourse about Ukraine in Western Mass Media from 2014-2022

Since 2014, the war in Ukraine has garnered significant attention on the global stage and has gotten widespread coverage in Western media. The way the conflict has been reported in the media has significantly influenced how the general population feels and behaves about the Ukrainian crisis. To understand how the media has portrayed and framed the conflict, it is crucial to study the key discourses about Ukraine in the Western mass media from 2014 to 2022.

From 2014 through 2022, the BBC News created a list of the most significant events that shaped Ukraine's political and social environment. This list is a good starting point for understanding the background and relevance of the media coverage of the Ukrainian conflict during this time period. While the focus of this chapter will be on the media's representation of the conflict, it will also consider broader political and socioeconomic trends that have shaped the media narrative.

BBC News briefly divided the events on three major parts:

- Maidan revolution (2013, November – 2014, October)
- European Union association (2015, February – 2018, October)
- President Zelensky takes office (2019, April – ...)

Let us have a closer look at the most discussed and resonant events of each period to figure out which of them has grabbed the reader's attention the most.

The Maidan Revolution, also known as the Revolution of Dignity, profoundly altered society and captured the interest of the Western media. The first mentions in the mass media appeared back in November 2013.

2013 November – Tens of thousands of protesters take to the streets to protest at the government's sudden decision to abandon plans to sign an association agreement with the EU, blaming Russian pressure.

2014 February – Security forces kill at least 77 protesters in Kyiv. President Yanukovich flees to Russia, opposition takes over.

2014 March – Russian forces annex Crimea, prompting biggest East-West showdown since Cold War. US and European Union impose ever-harsher sanctions on Russia.

2014 April – Pro-Russian armed groups seize parts of Donetsk and Luhansk regions on Russian border. Government launches military operation in response.

2014 May – Leading businessman Petro Poroshenko wins presidential election on pro-Western platform.

2014 September – NATO confirms Russian troops and heavy military equipment entering eastern Ukraine.

European Union Association refers to the Presidential term of Petro Oleksiyovych Poroshenko (June 2014 – May 2019). The continuous confrontation with Russia and corruption inside the Ukrainian government were two major obstacles that Poroshenko's administration had to overcome. He also tried to strengthen Ukraine's ties with Western nations and initiated a number of changes, such as judiciary and anti-corruption measures. These efforts, according to some detractors, were insufficient, and his administration came under fire for not doing enough to combat the nation's economic problems and corruption.

2015 February – Germany and France broker a new Donbass deal at talks in Belarus, resulting in a tenuous ceasefire.

2017 June – Ukraine's association agreement with the European Union is ratified by all signatories, and comes into force on 1 September.

2018 May – Russian President Putin officially opens a bridge linking southern Russia to Crimea, an action Ukraine calls illegal.

2018 October – The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople agrees to allow Ukraine to set up its own Orthodox Church independent of Russian ecclesiastical supervision.

President Zelensky takes office. The way that Ukraine has been covered in the Western media under President Zelensky's administration has varied, with various news sources presenting various viewpoints on his leadership and the political climate of the nation.

The 2014-starting conflict between Ukraine and Russia has remained a major topic of discussion in Western media. The media has extensively examined Zelensky's efforts to reach a peace agreement with Russia, with some praising his openness to negotiation and others criticizing him for caving in to Moscow.

Zelensky has implemented a number of reforms, including changes to the court and initiatives to draw in foreign investment, with the goal of combating corruption and enhancing the nation's economic prospects. Western media sources have typically treated these initiatives favorably.

2019 April-July – Television comedian Volodymyr Zelensky wins presidential election run-off in a landslide victory over incumbent Petro Poroshenko. He takes office in May, and his Servant of the People party wins early parliamentary elections in July.

2019 August – Parliament appoints President Zelensky's aide Oleksiy Honcharuk prime minister.

2019 September – Russia and Ukraine swap prisoners captured in the wake of Moscow's seizure of Crimea and intervention in the Donbass.

2019 October – Ukraine becomes embroiled US impeachment row over allegations of President Trump attempting to put pressure on the country over investigating possible Democrat president rival Joe Biden.

2020 March – President Zelensky appoints former businessman Denys Shmyhal prime minister with a mandate to stimulate industrial revival and improve tax receipts.

Feb. 24, 2022 – Putin authorizes "special military operations" in Ukraine. Russian forces begin missile and artillery attacks, striking major Ukrainian cities including Kiev.

Feb. 26, 2022 – Western allies announce new sanctions, including restrictions on Russia's central bank and expelling key banks off the main global payments system.

We can learn more about the prominence and significance of the Ukrainian war in Western media by keeping track of the number of references of it over time and across various media sources. We will use a variety of resources, such as news databases and social media analytics tools, to carry out this investigation. To make sure that our analysis is thorough and accurate of the media environment, we will also take into account the keywords and sources we employ. We can better comprehend how the crisis has been reported over time in Western media by looking at the quantitative overview of the frequency of mentions of Ukraine provided by this analysis. (APPENDIX A)

On this graph, we can see the general frequency of mentions of Ukraine in such print publications and online news websites as CNN, New York Times (NY Times), BBC News and The Guardian.

The number of media references of Ukraine is rapidly rising, particularly in connection with the Revolution of Dignity, the outbreak of the conflict in eastern Ukraine, and the 2014 presidential election.

After the initial peak, the frequency of mentions of Ukraine gradually decreased until the 2019 presidential election, where it reached another peak. However, the frequency started to decrease again until the start of a full-scale invasion.

Based on the frequency of mentions presented in the graph, we can infer that BBC News may have provided more extensive and up-to-date information about the events taking place in Ukraine.

3.3 The portrait of Ukraine in Western Mass Media

We will begin analyzing the news of the three periods (Maidan revolution, European Union association, President Zelensky takes office) in the chronological order suggested by the BBC News.

I. Maidan Revolution

The protests started on November 21, 2013, in response to the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine's decision to halt the process of preparing for the signing of the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the European Union. After the demonstration in Kyiv was violently dispersed on the evening of November 30, the protests significantly spread.

2013 November

BBC News

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| Headlines: | Ukraine protests: Clashes as thousands defy protest law in Kiev (November 24, 2013) [29] |
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| Brief news items: | <p>There have been clashes between Ukrainian riot police and demonstrators at a rally in the capital Kiev.</p> <p>Tens of thousands of demonstrators rallied despite new laws which aim to curb public protests.</p> |
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“Ukraine protests: Clashes as thousands defy protest law in Kyiv (November 24, 2013)” is a 1-minute-length video broadcast reported by BBC's Daniel Sandford from Kyiv. The video covers the protest that have erupted in response to a parliament voting on Thursday (November 21, 2013). The reporter leads a live report from the scene and provides background information on the incident.

The video also includes the footage of the protests, which helps to convey the scale and intensity of the demonstrations.

The tone of the video is largely neutral, with the reporter presenting the facts.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | <p>"Ukraine protests: thousands flood Kiev demanding EU agreement" (November 24, 2013) [44]</p> |
| Brief news items: | <p>Biggest demonstrations since Orange revolution after Viktor Yanukovich allegedly aborts trade deal under Russian pressure.</p> |

"Ukraine protests: thousands flood Kiev demanding EU agreement" (November 24, 2013) the article presented by Oksana Grytsenko from Kyiv. The article highlights the anti-government protest in Maidan Square. The article also includes comments from the

protesters, which gives some context on the issue. The tone of the article is largely neutral, with the reporter presenting the facts and allowing interviews to speak for themselves. However, there are moments where the tone becomes more emotional, particularly when protesters describe their anger and frustration with the police and the justice system.

CNN

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| Headlines: | Demonstrations in Ukraine over EU deal (November 25, 2013) [33] |
| Brief news items: | 10,000 demonstrators gather after violent police crackdown; opposition leaders call for president's resignation. Riot police detain dozens of protesters in Kiev's main square. United States condemns "violence against protesters" in Independence Square. |

CNN International's Russia correspondent Phil Black, reporting from Moscow, provides informative analysis of the situation and highlights points of view from all sides. He describes the protestors' views on the Ukrainian government's decision, their hopes and expectations for EU partnership and Ukraine's future. Black also discusses Moscow's reaction to Ukraine's intention to join the EU and its own plans for the formation of the so-called Customs Union. In addition, he comments on the European Union's position on this matter

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | Thousands Protest Ukraine's Rejection of Trade Pacts (November 24, 2013) [51] |
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| Brief news items: | Tens of thousands of people marched through downtown Kiev on Sunday to protest the government's decision last week to abandon far-reaching political and free trade agreements with the European Union and instead focus on improving economic ties with Russia. |
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David M. Herszenhorn, a Washington correspondent and foreign correspondent based in Moscow, describes the preconditions to the protests and comments on the current situation in his article "Thousands Protest Ukraine's Rejection of Trade Pacts." The article also contains interviews with the protestors, speeches by political figures such as Volodymyr Klitschko and Arseniy Yatsenyuk, and provides an overview of the reactions and official positions of Ukrainian mass media.

2014 February

The fighting for control of Maidan Square on Thursday, February 20, 2014, in Kiev between protesters and police grows more violent.

BBC News

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| Headlines: | Ukraine: The day of the sniper (February 27, 2014) [30] |
| Brief news items: | On Thursday 20th February 2014 violence between protesters and police in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev intensified as each group fought for control of Maidan Square. |

Reporter Gabriel Gatehouse in this report says that a sniper is working at the scene and the locals report that six protesters have already died as a result of shelling.

This episode contains the process of rescuing those wounded as a result of sniper fire on protesters and their preparation for a possible attack in the future.

By the end of this five-minute report BBC's team was under fire.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | Ukraine crisis: deadly clashes shatter truce (February 20, 2014) [42] |
| Brief news items: | Diplomatic efforts continued into the night to resolve a three-day standoff between forces loyal to Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich and anti-government protesters, who by day's end Thursday had strengthened their grip on the key central square, Independence Square, or the Maidan. |

Matthew Weaver in London and Tom McCarthy in New York: Advances by the protesters came at a terrible price, with anywhere from 39 (the health ministry figure) to more than 70 (a field medic's figure) dying in violence on Thursday. Guardian reporters saw 21 corpses in the square. Most of the deaths appeared to be from gunfire.

CNN

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| Headlines: | Ukraine: A nation on edge (February 21, 2014) [31] |
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| Brief news items: | Protests. Talks. Violence. Protests. Talks. Violence. |
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CNN's reporter Nick P. Walsh from Kyiv reported about current situation.

By early Friday morning, the lone positive point was that – for the time being – Ukraine’s cycle of political and physical infighting was not then at its bloodiest point, as it had been hours earlier.

Opposition medics said that 100 protesters died Thursday in clashes with police, when gunfire was unleashed.

The government places the toll much lower. The health ministry puts the total death toll since Tuesday at 77. Twenty-six of them had been previously reported for Tuesday alone.

Another 577 people have been injured; 369 of those were hospitalized, the ministry said.

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | "Police and Protesters Clash in Kiev, Ukraine" (February 20, 2014) [45] |
| Brief news items: | Security forces fired on masses of antigovernment demonstrators in Kiev on Thursday in a drastic escalation of the three-month-old crisis that left dozens dead and Ukraine reeling from the most lethal day of violence since Soviet times. |

Reporters Andrew E. Kramer and Andrew Higgins from New York Times’ office in Kyiv made the following comment of the situation of February 20: Antigovernment protesters in Ukraine set up a protective ring of fire around their encampment on

Independence Square in Kiev after a day of deadly violence, including reports of police using live ammunition and doctored percussion grenades to inflict serious injury. At least 14 people were killed, making it the bloodiest day of protests in over two months. The violence began as a peaceful protest against President Viktor F. Yanukovich's decision to spurn a trade deal with Europe and tilt toward Russia. The United States and European Union's mediation efforts were fruitless, and Russia portrayed the protesters as American-backed "terrorists."

2014 March

BBC News

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| Headlines: | Russia's Crimea plan detailed, secret and successful (March 19, 2014) [27] |
| Brief news items: | The annexation of Crimea was the smoothest invasion of modern times. It was over before the outside world realized it had even started. |

John Simpson reported from World Affairs Editor, Crimea about the takeover of Crimea by Russian forces in 2014. It started with the arrival of extra soldiers and civilian "volunteers" in Crimea in February of that year. Checkpoints were established, and on March 1, the author and their cameraman encountered hostile men at one of these checkpoints who stole their equipment and announced "Welcome to Russia!" It was later revealed that these men were Ukrainian soldiers and police, who were actually sealing off Crimea on behalf of Moscow.

By March 2, the military bases in Crimea were taken over by soldiers carrying the latest Russian military weapons, but with no national or unit markings on their uniforms. These soldiers were later joined by genuine volunteers who had come from Moscow. The

author notes that while some of the volunteers were tough and aggressive, their discipline held and there was no looting or attacking of civilians. The author also suggests that the outcome of the vote in Crimea to join the Russian Federation was what the majority of Russian-speakers in Crimea wanted, and there was little need for force to achieve this outcome. The takeover was described as a remarkable, quick, and mostly bloodless coup d'etat.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | Crimea referendum: early results indicate 'landslide' for secession – as it happened (March 16, 2014) [40] |
| Brief news items: | Partial results indicate more than 90% of Crimeans favor secession, according to an election official via RIA Novosti. Crimean officials say turnout was 83%. Revised numbers are expected late tonight |

The Guardian's reporters Oliver Laughland, Conal Urquhart and Alan Yuhas provides information on voting results in Crimea. In their report they referring to results announced by Russian Media Ria Novosti with headquarters in Moscow.

Vladimir Putin and Barack Obama spoke by phone, with the White House saying it would ‘never recognize’ the referendum. The Russian president, however, insisted to his American counterpart that the vote accords to international law, adding that “ultra-nationalists and radical groups” threaten Russian “compatriots” in Ukraine.

CNN

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| Headlines: | Putin signs Crimea annexation (March 21, 2014) [35] |
| Brief news items: | Yatsenyuk signed the political elements of a trade pact with the European Union on Friday as Russian lawmakers finalized annexation of Ukraine's Crimea region. |

The signing in Brussels, which also bears additional symbolic weight, expressed Europe's sympathy with Ukraine. Viktor Yanukovich, the president of Ukraine, made the choice to abandon the trade agreement in November in favor of deeper connections with Russia, which set off the demonstrations that resulted in his overthrow in February and the current situation.

Putin finalized the annexation of the Crimea area and its port city of Sevastopol to Russia on Friday by signing a treaty while being accompanied by the speakers of both houses of the Russian Parliament.

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | Putin Signs Crimea Annexation Law, Defying West (March 18, 2014) [48] |
| Brief news items: | President Vladimir V. Putin reclaimed Crimea as a part of Russia on Tuesday, reversing what he described as a historic injustice inflicted by the Soviet Union 60 years ago and brushing aside |

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| | international condemnation that could leave Russia isolated for years to come. |
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The article by Steven Lee Myers and Ellen Barry from Moscow headquarters contains the brief review on Putin’s speech.

On Tuesday, President Vladimir V. Putin announced the reclamation of Crimea as part of Russia, reversing what he called a historical injustice inflicted by the Soviet Union 60 years ago. Putin delivered an emotional address in the Grand Kremlin Palace, expressing Russia's frustration with the West and its perceived slights. He declared that he did not seek to divide Ukraine further but would protect Russia's interests there from Western actions that he said left Russia feeling cornered.

Throughout his remarks, Putin emphasized the restoration of Russia after a period of humiliation following the Soviet collapse, which he famously called "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century." He also denounced what he called the global domination of one superpower and its allies, accusing them of repeatedly cheating Russia and making decisions behind its back.

2014 May

BBC News

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| Headlines: | Petro Poroshenko claims Ukraine presidency (25 May 2014) [26] |
| Brief news items: | Ukrainian confectionery tycoon Petro Poroshenko has claimed outright victory in the country's presidential election. |

BBC's Daniel Sanford conducted the report from the scene of the events. He introduced Petro Poroshenko as a billionaire, who made his money on chocolate and now has to face the Russian separatist in the East.

This report also provides the interview with the locals about importance of today's vote.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | Chocolate tycoon heads for landslide victory in Ukraine presidential election (25 May 2014) [38] |
| Brief news items: | Petro Poroshenko has faced down protesters and rivals to lead the opinion polls before the first round of voting on Sunday. |

The article presents Petro Poroshenko as a popular candidate in Ukraine's upcoming presidential election. It highlights his adroit positioning and ability to avoid unpopularity among Ukraine's governing class. The article suggests that Poroshenko's success comes from his balanced and reasonable approach, as well as his business fortune in the chocolate industry rather than energy. The article also touches on Poroshenko's involvement in the Maidan protests, where he supported the protesters while trying to maintain a balanced approach towards Russia. There are no clear signs of manipulative or emotional appeal in the article.

CNN

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| Headlines: | Billionaire Poroshenko declares victory in Ukraine (25 May 2014) [32] |
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| Brief news items: | Billionaire Petro Poroshenko declared victory Sunday in Ukraine's presidential election, following preliminary exit polls that suggested he got 56% of the vote. |
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Nick Paton Walsh, correspondent for CNN based in London made comments on the results of presidential elections in Ukraine.

According to the results, Petro Poroshenko has claimed the victory with 56% of votes.

The report contains the part of Poroshenko's speech related to his win. It also contains the part of the speech by Yulia Tymoshenko, who took second place with the result 12,8%.

The reporter also mentioned the low turnout of candidates in the east of the country.

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | Pro-European Businessman Claims Victory in Ukraine Presidential Vote (May 25, 2014) [47] |
| Brief news items: | Caught in a battle for influence between Russia and the West, Ukrainians elected Petro O. Poroshenko as president on Sunday, turning to a pro-European billionaire to lead them out of six months of turmoil. |

Petro Poroshenko is on the verge of becoming Ukraine's new president, as opinion polls suggest he will win the first round of the presidential election by a landslide. His rise

to popularity is due to adroit positioning and the fact that he managed to avoid the unpopularity that has engulfed the rest of Ukraine's governing class. Poroshenko's current popularity is expected to help him accomplish the difficult job of running Ukraine, which has been on the edge of financial collapse and civil war. He will face the challenge of calming and reuniting a country that has been in turmoil since the ousting of Viktor Yanukovich as president, which set off Russia's invasion and annexation of Crimea. Mr. Poroshenko's chief tasks will include easing tensions with Russia and bringing peace to Ukraine, – by David M. Herszenhorn, Washington correspondent and foreign correspondent based in Moscow.

I. Maidan Revolution. Reaction.

The European Union officially supported the Euromaidan protests in Ukraine in 2014, expressing concern over the violence and loss of life, and calling for dialogue and a peaceful solution to the crisis. The EU also imposed sanctions on individuals responsible for violence and human rights violations in Ukraine.

The United States government also supported the protests, with President Barack Obama expressing his support for the Ukrainian people's right to peaceful protest and self-determination. The U.S. imposed sanctions on Russian officials and entities involved in the annexation of Crimea and the conflict in eastern Ukraine.

The international community, including the United Nations and individual countries, also condemned Russia's actions and the annexation of Crimea, and recognized Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

II. European Union Association

2017 June

BBC News

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| Headlines: | Ukraine's sink or swim EU agreement (26 June 2014) [31] |
| Brief news items: | Ukraine's President Petro Poroshenko has signed a landmark free trade agreement with European leaders, slashing import tariffs with the European Union and committing the country to an ambitious programme of political and economic reform. |

This report by Davis Stern from Kyiv contains the interview with local both people and business about signed a loan about free trade deal with the EU. The journalists also remind the precondition for the Revolution of Dignity and Moscow reaction on the events and also mentioned the pro-russian separatists who fights in the East of Ukraine.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | Ukraine set to sign EU pact that sparked revolution (26 June 2014) [43] |
| Brief news items: | Kiev to sign association agreement with European Union, which Viktor Yanukovych backed away from in November |

This article by Shaun Walker from Moscow headquarters mostly tells about Russia's reaction towards Ukrainian's decision to become a part of EU. It also tells about Russia's plans about its own so-called Eurasian Union which linked Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine, which declined the offer.

The article also highlighted the reaction of the President of the Republic of Belarus who criticized Russia's grab of Crimea while Kazakhstan, with its large population of ethnic Russians, has become uneasy about the newfound zeal with which Moscow is "protecting the rights of ethnic Russians" in neighboring countries.

CNN

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| Headlines: | Ukraine signs EU deal that sparked months of upheaval; extends cease-fire (June 27, 2014) [36] |
| Brief news items: | The signing came hours before the President's office announced a three-day extension of a cease-fire. This is the latest step suggesting Ukraine may be moving back from the brink of full-fledged civil war – though the situation remains volatile, with continued violence and the constant fear of yet more, cease-fire or not. |

Laura Smith-Spark from London highlights the most important moments of today's meeting. US Secretary of State John Kerry has called on Russia to disarm separatists in Ukraine and encourage them to become part of a legitimate political process.

Ukraine has signed an association agreement with the European Union, marking a critical moment in its history. The signing of the agreement comes amid a three-day extension of a cease-fire in the region.

The tension in Ukraine has roots in then-President Viktor Yanukovich's decision to work with Russia instead of the EU. The move unleashed deadly strife that led to Yanukovich's ouster, the loss of Crimea, and a pro-Russia separatist rebellion.

The signing of the association agreement shows how dramatically things can change in a short time, if the will of the people is strong enough, said Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko.

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | The War No One Notices in Ukraine [50] |
| Brief news items: | In eastern Ukraine, a low-grade but brutal fight churns on, virtually invisible to the world. For residents of the houses that lie between each side’s positions, in towns like Marinka and Avdiivka, where combat is heaviest, the conflict is a conspicuous and unavoidable part of daily life. |

Eastern Ukrainian population face a challenging and hazardous situation. Many people are residing in regions that occasionally contain trench lines, sluggish garrisons, and makeshift fighting positions. Between two million and three and a half million people have been displaced by the violence since it started in 2014, and many of them were compelled to relocate to Kiev, the country's capital. Border towns like Avdiivka and Marinka are barely surviving, with many buildings being abandoned and having holes in their floors and ceilings from previous municipal buildings. Many civilians have also lost their homes as a result of the war, and those who are still alive frequently have to make do without essential services like gas heat. According to estimates, the fighting has resulted in at least 9,940 fatalities and 23,455 injuries.

II. European Union Association

Reactions to Poroshenko's presidency were conflicted. He was viewed as a pro-Western figure who strove to strengthen Ukraine's connections to the EU and NATO. Additionally, he received praise for his initiatives to update the nation's armed forces and for his backing of anti-corruption policies.

Poroshenko, however, came under fire for his ineffectiveness in enacting changes and combating corruption. A large number of Ukrainians were also dissatisfied with the economy's poor rate of expansion and the ongoing confrontation with Russia. During his time in office, his approval ratings significantly declined.

Overall, Ukraine had both growth and difficulties under Poroshenko's presidency.

III. President Zelensky takes office

2019 April-July

BBC News

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| Headlines: | Ukraine election: Comedian Zelensky wins presidency by landslide (22 April 2019) [28] |
| Brief news items: | Ukrainian comedian Volodymyr Zelensky has scored a landslide victory in the country's presidential election. |

Ukrainian comedian Volodymyr Zelensky has won the country's presidential election run-off with more than 73% of the vote, with incumbent Petro Poroshenko coming in second with just 24%. Zelensky promised his supporters that he would never let them down. Russia has urged Zelensky to show "sound judgement", "honesty" and "pragmatism" in order to improve relations, but Russian Prime Minister Dmitry Medvedev expressed doubt that Zelensky would depart from his campaign's "familiar ideological

formulas." Poroshenko, who has admitted defeat, has stated that Zelensky is too inexperienced to deal effectively with Russia.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | Comedian wins landslide victory in Ukrainian presidential election (22 Apr 2019) [39] |
| Brief news items: | Petro Poroshenko concedes defeat as Volodymyr Zelenskiy takes over 70% of votes, promising: ‘I won’t mess up’ |

Ukrainian comedian and actor, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, has won the presidential election by a landslide, with almost complete counting showing he won over 70% of the vote. The incumbent, Petro Poroshenko, conceded defeat on Sunday evening. With 85% of the vote counted on Monday morning, Zelenskiy had won 73.4% of the vote, compared to Poroshenko’s 24.4%. Zelenskiy, best known for his role in the Ukrainian television series *Servant of the People*, where he played a teacher unexpectedly elected to the presidency, offered little information about his policies or plans for the presidency during the campaign. He faces significant challenges including a struggling economy and an ongoing war against Russia-backed separatist forces in the east that has claimed more than 13,000 lives.

CNN

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| Headlines: | Political newcomer Volodymyr Zelensky celebrates victory in Ukraine’s presidential elections (April 21, 2019) [34] |
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| Brief news items: | Political newcomer and television comedian Volodymyr Zelensky on Sunday declared victory in Ukraine's presidential elections after exit polls showed he was on track for a landslide win against incumbent and chocolate magnate Petro Poroshenko. |
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In Ukraine's presidential election, actor and comedian Volodymyr Zelensky triumphed handily with over 70% of the vote, according to exit polls, as opposed to incumbent Petro Poroshenko's 25%. Poroshenko tweeted that he would not quit politics and would instead help the new president as he accepted loss. Zelensky gained notoriety in the TV series "Servant of the People" playing a teacher who becomes president after an anti-corruption tirade goes viral. Zelensky presented few policy specifics during his campaign. He expressed his gratitude to all of the voters and promised not to make any mistakes. Zelensky will now have to deal with a number of difficulties, such as Ukraine's faltering economy and its protracted conflict with separatists backed by Russia.

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | No Joke: Ukraine TV Comedian Wins Election's First Round (March 31, 2019) [46] |
| Brief news items: | A Ukrainian comedian who plays an accidental president on television delivered a walloping rebuke to the country's political class in the presidential election on Sunday by |

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| | emerging first in a crowded field of candidates, exit polls indicated. |
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According to exit poll results from the presidential election on Sunday, Ukrainian comedian Volodymyr Zelensky took the lead. The actor received more over 30% of the vote, therefore a runoff against President Petro Poroshenko is anticipated to take place in three weeks. Yulia Tymoshenko placed third with roughly 13%, followed by Poroshenko in second place with about 18%. Involvement was roughly 63%. The polls indicate that Zelensky, who has no prior political experience, will perform well. The victor will be in charge of a nation that has had over 13,000 fatalities and millions of displaced persons as a result of the ongoing conflict between Russia and the West since 2014.

Feb. 24, 2022

BBC News

On February 24 BBC has started a serie of lives in Moscow, Brussel, Washington and across Ukraine (Clive Myrie from Kyiv), to provide the very latest news about the situation. However, full-scale invasion is still called "Ukrainian crisis" and "conflict" but not a "war".

Ben Brown reported about assaults of multiple targets in the North, South and East of Ukraine. His report also includes the Volodymyr Zelensky's speech addressed to international community.

And the immediate reaction of Western colleges: the NATO secretary general Jen Stoltenberg said it was a brutal act of war; Boris Johnson has said "this hideous and barbaric venture must end in failure".

Paul Adams from Kyiv has the roundup of the day's dramatic events. He reported that in Ivano-Frankivsk in the south west a missile struck an airport and made comments on images from Ukraine northern and southern borders which seem to show the columns

of russian armor entering from Belarus and Crimea. Within hours russian tanks were reported to be on the streets of Ukraine second largest city — Kharkiv.

He also reported that at Mariupol in the south airport is in fire.

Hours after the roads out of Kyiv jammed with traffic. Nick Beak has been gauging the thoughts of some of the people in Kyiv.

After the overnight attacks from the skies many are taking refuge underground. People says they are scared.

Other ones tell that they are now ready to fight on the front line and die for their country, because this is the only way to save their families and homes from Russian occupation.

Lots of people heard Russia’s claim that it carried out targeted strikes on the Ukrainian military, but people are saying it doesn't feel like that go them, instead they feel that they are under attack and the president Putin has declared war on them.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | Russia invades Ukraine and advances on Kyiv – as it happened [41] |
| Brief news items: | US secretary of state says Russia plans to encircle and threaten Kyiv; Ukrainian spokesman condemns ‘totally pointless attack’. |

Air raid sirens are audible throughout Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, as dawn approaches.

Residents claimed to have woken up earlier to the sound of explosions as news of Russian missile strikes on the city of just under 3 million people spread.

In response to rumours that Russian tanks were approaching the city from all directions, a large number of residents sought refuge in bomb shelters and metro stations.

In a Friday morning speech to the nation, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskiy acknowledged many reports of Russian missile strikes.

In the wee hours of Friday, loud explosions were audible in Kiev. A local Guardian reporter who heard what appeared to be a big explosion confirmed it.

Russian forces were within kilometres of reaching Kyiv, according to US officials. According to a phone call that took place about 6:30pm ET on Thursday, US defence secretary Lloyd Austin told lawmakers that Russian mechanised forces that entered Ukraine from Belarus were about 20 miles (32km) from Kyiv, the Associated Press reports citing a source familiar with the call.

CNN

Early on Friday, blasts have been recorded in Kyiv, and a Ukrainian official has claimed that ballistic or cruise missiles have struck the city. According to top US authorities, Russian forces are currently about 20 kilometres away from Kyiv.

On Thursday, Russia started its assault with a barrage of missile strikes and long-range artillery. As Russian forces pounded Ukraine from three directions, it quickly spread across the country's center and east.

New "strong" sanctions were announced by US President Joe Biden against Russia as he denounced the invasion and referred to President Vladimir Putin as a "aggressor."

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | Putin Announces Start to 'Military Operation' Against Ukraine [48] |
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| Brief news items: | “The invasion has begun,” Ukraine’s Interior Ministry said. Putin says he seeks “demilitarization” of Ukraine but has no plans to occupy it. |
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Russian President Vladimir Putin declared the beginning of a "special military operation" in Ukraine on April 28, 2022. He declared that his intention was to "demilitarize" the nation, not to occupy it. Minutes later, however, explosions were heard in many Ukrainian cities, and the Interior Ministry of that nation declared that Russian forces had arrived in Odessa and were in the process of crossing the border. Dmytro Kuleba, the foreign minister of Ukraine, described it as a "full-scale war" and pleaded with the rest of the world to do anything to stop Putin.

Putin referred to his action as a strike against the American-led international system, which he referred to as a "empire of lies." He claimed he was responding to a request for assistance from the heads of the separatist areas established in eastern Ukraine with Russian support in 2014. He added that the operation was justified by NATO's eastward expansion and Ukraine's desire to join the organization.

President Biden advocated for a diplomatic solution and put the onus of solving the crisis completely on Mr. Putin.

April, 2022

BBC

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| Headlines: | Bucha killings: 'I wish they had killed me too' (6 April 2022) [26] |
| Brief news items: | Volodymyr Abramov was trying desperately to put out the fire in his home, |

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| | in the Kyiv suburb of Bucha, calling out for his son-in-law to help. |
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The article describes an incident in the Kyiv suburb of Bucha, where Russian troops killed Oleg Abramov, a welder who lived with his family in the area. Russian soldiers stormed his house, opened fire, and set it on fire with a grenade. Oleg was found dead on the pavement outside the gate, with evidence suggesting he had been forced to kneel and shot in the head at point-blank range. This killing is one of many uncovered in Bucha, with the mayor stating that at least 300 civilians have been killed, although there is no official tally yet. The article also mentions burned-out tanks, bullet-riddled cars, and destroyed houses in the area, with residents describing Russian soldiers shooting civilians without provocation.

The article does contain some emotional language, which is not uncommon in news articles that cover traumatic events. It's important to note that this emotional language is not necessarily used to manipulate the reader. Rather, it is used to convey the seriousness and brutality of the events and to help readers empathize with the victims and their families.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | ‘They made him kneel and shot him in the head’: the savage occupation of Bucha (10 April 2022) [51] |
| Brief news items: | Resident recounts the murder of her nephew, just one of the casualties of the carnage wrought by Russian forces |

The article tells the story of a Ukrainian man named Volodymyr Cherednichenko who was taken by Russian soldiers and held for three weeks before being killed. His aunt, Natasha Alexandrova, witnessed his abduction and later discovered his body in a cellar.

There is some emotional language used in the article, particularly in describing the brutality of the soldiers and the death of the nephew. However, it does not appear to be used to manipulate the reader, but rather to convey the gravity and seriousness of the situation.

CNN

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| Headlines: | Bodies tied up, shot and left to rot in Bucha hint at gruesome reality of Russia’s occupation in Ukraine (5 April 2022) [54] |
| Brief news items: | The Russian column of tanks and armored personnel carriers sped along a residential street in Bucha, a tree-lined suburb of the capital Kyiv. That was February 27th. |

The Ukrainian suburb of Bucha has become a symbol of war crimes following reports of summary executions, brutality, and indiscriminate shelling that emerged after the Russian army's hasty retreat from the area. Witnesses who spoke to CNN have attested that the violence began weeks ago, and there are similarities between the destruction in Bucha and Russia's playbook in other towns and cities in Ukraine. Despite Moscow's claims that the accusations are staged, eyewitness accounts, and satellite images show that the devastation in Bucha occurred while it was under Russian control, with the bodies of civilians lying in the streets for weeks.

The New York Times

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| Headlines: | Bucha’s Month of Terror (11 April 2022) [42] |
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| Brief news items: | ‘They shot my son. I was next to him. It would be better if it had been me.’ |
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The Russian assault on Bucha, a suburb of Ukraine's capital, Kyiv, has resulted in war crimes and atrocities against civilians. From the first day of the war, civilians were targeted, and the brutality escalated as the Russian advance on Kyiv stalled. When the Russian Army finally retreated, they left behind a scene of devastation, with dead civilians strewn across the streets, basements, and backyards, many of them with gunshot wounds to the head and hands tied behind their backs. The New York Times spent more than a week documenting the atrocities against civilians, uncovering new details of execution-style killings. The evidence suggests that the Russians killed recklessly and sadistically, in part out of revenge.

Siege of Mariupol, 24 February 2022 – 20 May 2022

BBC

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| Headlines: | Mariupol's Azovstal fighters: What next for Ukraine's captured soldiers (18 May) [45] |
| Brief news items: | Nearly 1,000 Ukrainian fighters, who have been holed up in the Azovstal steelworks in Mariupol for weeks, have left their positions and handed themselves over to Russian forces and pro-Russian separatists, according to Russia's defence ministry. |

The evacuation of Azovstal fighters likely marks the end of the battle for Mariupol, which was devastated by Russian shelling. Ukraine is calling for a prisoner exchange, but Russia has not confirmed that this will happen. Concerns are growing about the fate of the

fighters if they remain in Russian custody. Some Russian politicians have called for them to be put on trial, while others have suggested they should be executed. Ukraine claims that such statements are made for domestic propaganda. The Azov regiment, which is part of the National Guard, has been a frequent target of Russia's claim that it is fighting against Nazis in Ukraine. President Zelensky has said that the mission to evacuate the remaining soldiers involved the most influential international mediators. Mariupol is a strategic prize for the Russians, and the Azov battalion is a prize for President Putin, who may use them to prove his claims that there are Nazis in Ukraine.

The article appears to be mostly informative and factual, with some quotes and opinions from Ukrainian and Russian politicians included. While there is some emotional content, such as concern for the fate of the evacuated soldiers and their families, there does not appear to be any overtly manipulative techniques. However, the article does highlight the potential bias of some Russian politicians who are trying to paint Ukrainian soldiers as Nazis, and it includes opinions from Ukrainian officials to counter those claims.

The Guardian

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| Headlines: | Fate of hundreds of Ukrainian soldiers unclear as Azovstal resistance ends (17 May) [37] |
| Brief news items: | Ukraine says there will be prisoner swap but some Russian officials have said forces could be tried or executed. |

The article reports on the uncertain fate of Ukrainian soldiers who surrendered after weeks of resistance at the Azovstal steelworks in Mariupol. The article mentions conflicting statements from Ukrainian and Russian officials on whether the soldiers will be exchanged or face trial and execution. The article also reports on the soldiers' transfer

to Russian-controlled territory and plans for their interrogation and potential charges. The article describes the soldiers' conditions during the standoff and their eventual surrender. The article reports on the Ukrainian government's push for a deal that would allow the soldiers to retreat to Ukrainian-controlled areas or evacuate to a neutral country, which did not come to fruition. The article also notes hardline statements from Russian officials that could delay any potential prisoner exchange. There are no obvious manipulative techniques or emotionally charged language in the article.

The article reports on a complex and emotionally charged situation, but overall it appears to be a straightforward account of events and does not appear to use manipulative techniques. The article presents different perspectives from Ukrainian and Russian officials, as well as quotes from various sources, without seeming to take a particular side. However, the article does use some emotive language to describe the situation, such as "uninhabitable wasteland" and "animals in human form", which could potentially influence readers' views.

CNN

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| Headlines: | ‘They never expected Mariupol to resist.’ Locals horrified by Russia’s relentless attack on the vast steel plant shielding Ukrainians (29 April) [54] |
| Brief news items: | Few beyond the metals industry had heard of Mariupol’s Azovstal Steel and Iron Works before it became the scene of a desperate last stand against Russia’s invading forces. |

Azovstal Steel and Iron Works, a major steel producer in Ukraine, has become the scene of a desperate last stand against Russia's invading forces. Until recently, Azovstal

was a major player on the global stage, producing four million tons of steel annually and exporting the majority across the globe. The pocket of Ukrainian fighters entrenched at the plant has become a symbol of the country's unwavering resistance in the face of an enemy that far outnumbers them. At least 150 employees have been killed and thousands remain unaccounted for.

The article does have an emotional tone, with descriptions of the devastation and personal stories of those affected by the conflict. It does not appear to use manipulative techniques to sway the reader's opinion.

New York Times

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| Headlines: | Despair in Mariupol's last stronghold: 'They're bombing us with everything' (19 April) [51] |
| Brief news items: | A huge Soviet-era steel mill is where the last Ukrainian defenders of Mariupol have taken refuge as Russia's battle to take full control of the city appeared to be entering its final stages. |

Ukrainian soldiers holed up in the besieged city of Mariupol have sent a message of despair, demanding that the world do something to stop the Kremlin's war as Russian forces continue to bombard them. The soldiers spoke to a reporter via video chat, offering a rare glimpse of a battlefield that has transfixed the world. The last Ukrainian defenders of Mariupol have taken refuge in the Azovstal steel plant, a Soviet-era steel mill with underground bunkers that is sheltering thousands of soldiers and civilians. The plant is now pivotal to the survival of the holed-up soldiers and civilians. A cease-fire was called by Russia's defense ministry for the area of the plant to allow civilians to leave, but previous attempts to suspend fighting have fallen through.

The language used seems to be descriptive and factual, providing information about the situation without expressing an opinion or manipulating the reader's emotions. However, the situation itself is emotionally charged, and the soldiers' expressions of desperation could potentially evoke strong emotions in readers.

III. President Zelensky takes office

On May 20, 2019, Volodymyr Zelensky became Ukraine's sixth president. The majority of Western nations praised his election and endorsed his reform agenda.

The ongoing confrontation with Russia, which started in 2014 with Russia's annexation of Crimea and its assistance for separatist insurgents in eastern Ukraine, has been a defining feature of Zelensky's presidency. Despite numerous attempts at a ceasefire, the conflict has persisted.

Russia gathered soldiers close to the border and in Crimea in September 2021, which caused tensions between Ukraine and Russia to rise once more. Western nations expressed their disapproval of Russia's actions and their support for Ukraine. Additional sanctions against Russia were put in place by the US and EU, and NATO reaffirmed its support for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Ukraine.

3.4 Public reaction

On February 26, 2022, Ukraine filed a lawsuit with the International Court of Justice of the United Nations regarding Russia's violation of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. Ukraine also immediately filed an application for provisional measures, in which it essentially asks the ICJ to order Russia to stop the war in Ukraine.

World's reaction to Russia's atrocities in Bucha (April, 2022)

The entire Kyiv oblast was freed from Russian invaders on April 2. Irpin, Bucha, and Hostomel have experienced multiple Russian Army attacks since the start of the war.

The entire globe has expressed its dismay and support, and several nations are getting ready to impose further sanctions. What were the responses of world leaders to the genocide of the Ukrainian people?

USA

Secretary of State Antony Blinken says that “pictures from Bucha are a punch in the gut. Before the Russian aggression, we said that they were likely to commit atrocities. Since the aggression, Russian troops have committed war crimes, and we are working to document this in order to provide information to the relevant institutions and organizations, for which there should be accountability. But the most important thing is that we should not be indifferent to this. We must not normalize it.” Blinken added that the US would strengthen the current sanctions and add new ones.

NATO

Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg says that such brutality against civilians has not been seen in Europe for decades.” Stoltenberg added that it was essential that the International Criminal Court started investigating war crimes in Ukraine so that the perpetrators would be brought to justice.

The European Union

The President of the European Council, Charles Michel, is shocked by the atrocities of the Russian army. He promises additional sanctions, and also emphasizes that the EU is helping Ukraine to collect evidence to prosecute Russia in international courts.

United Kingdom

Prime Minister Boris Johnson states that the attack on civilian Ukrainians in Bucha and Irpin is another proof that Putin and the Russian army are committing war crimes in Ukraine. He says he will “do anything to starve Putin’s war machine.” Johnson also added

that the United Kingdom would strengthen sanctions and military support for Ukraine, but without details.

Germany

German Chancellor Olaf Scholz promised to initiate additional sanctions against Russia and provide arms for Ukraine. He also called for international organizations to be granted access to the affected territories in order to independently document crimes.

France

President Emmanuel Macron stated his willingness to implement new sanctions: “There are clear signs that war crimes are being committed. The Russian army is responsible for the murders in Bucha. What has happened needs a new round of sanctions.”

Poland

President Andrzej Duda called on Western allies to provide Ukraine with more weapons. He also said that images from the Kyiv region refute the idea of finding any compromises, and all criminals should be held accountable.

Volodymyr Zelensky urged the European Parliament to create a special tribunal for Russia before the end of the war.

In this part we also will pay attention to the polls conducted by Ipsos - Paris's multinational market research. Ipsos, which was founded in 1975 and has made significant contributions to market research, is the third-largest survey-based research company in the world, employing more than 15,000 people across more than 80 nations.

We will consider two following polls “The World's response to the war in Ukraine” (April 2022) and “EU's response to the war in Ukraine” (April 2022) provided by Eurobarometer.

Attention to the Russian-Ukrainian war

The data of the first global study by Ipsos show that from 57% to 77% of respondents in 27 countries in different parts of the world follow news about Ukraine. The exceptions are the Japanese (89%) and Swedes (83%) at one end of the spectrum, and Malaysians (49%) at the other.

Relatively little attention is paid to the events in Ukraine in such countries as Israel (57%) and Canada (61%).

According to a Eurobarometer survey conducted exclusively in EU countries, more than two-thirds of respondents follow news related to the war in Ukraine several times a day (41%) or once a day (29%). Another 19% follow them several times a week. In other words, nine out of ten respondents constantly keep the topic of Ukraine in their field of vision.

Relatively less informative interest in events in Ukraine (mentioned several times a week or less) is observed in such countries as Hungary (45%), Slovenia (45%), Belgium (43%), France (40%) and Greece (37%).

Risks to the world

On average, 82% of respondents in 27 countries say that the war in Ukraine poses a great or significant risk for the world as a whole; 61% - that it applies directly to their country. The perception that one's own state faces significant risk is most common in Japan (87%), Poland (77%), South Korea (77%) and Sweden (75%), all of which are geographically close to Russia.

Around the world, about a third of respondents say that the war in Ukraine poses at least a significant risk to them personally (36%), their family (34%), and their work or business (37%).

Citizens of India (56%), Poland (50%), Japan (53%) and Italy (48%) feel most vulnerable because of Russia's war against Ukraine.

At the same time, the Eurobarometer study showed that in all 27 EU member states, more than two-thirds of respondents are concerned about the war in Ukraine. The share of those who agree with the statement "I am personally concerned about the war in Ukraine" ranges from 69% in Slovakia to 95% in Portugal. Nine out of ten respondents are worried about the war in Malta (92%), as well as in Estonia and Italy (both 90%).

Liability issues

78% of Europeans believe that the Russian government is to blame for the situation in Ukraine. However, in some countries, such as Cyprus (51%) and Bulgaria (46%), a significant proportion of the population disagrees.

Although the majority of respondents consider Russia responsible for the current situation, a clear majority of Europeans (81%) agree with the dangerous statement that a distinction should be made between the Russian leadership and the Russian people.

In Bulgaria, Greece, Slovakia and Hungary, people prefer diplomacy and trade with Russia to investing in their own defense. A fairly significant number of supporters of economic cooperation with the Russian Federation remain in Italy (33%), Spain (30%) and Croatia (30%).

Support for sanctions against Russia

On average around the world, two-thirds of respondents say that economic sanctions against Russia are an effective tactic, ranging from 50% in Hungary to 78% in South Korea.

However, just over half of all 27 countries (54%) agree that paying more for fuel and gas due to sanctions against Russia is worth it to protect another sovereign country.

More than 75% support in South Korea and Poland, less than 40% in Mexico, Peru, Hungary, Brazil and Argentina.

Only 40% of those polled around the world support a ban on oil and gas imports from Russia to their country, even if it would lead to further price increases. More than 50% support such a ban only in Great Britain, Canada, India, Sweden, Poland, Australia, the USA and France, and in Hungary and Turkey - no more than 20%. In Germany, which is highly dependent on Russian natural gas, 45% support such a ban, 30% oppose it, and 25% are undecided.

A rather uncertain number of the population supports the introduction of sanctions on the purchase of Russian energy carriers in Spain (48%), Italy (44%) and Belgium (42%).

According to the results of a separate April poll in the US, four in five (81%) Americans believe that the United States should not buy oil or gas from Russia during this conflict, even if it causes the price of American gas to rise.

Support for the introduction of additional sanctions against Russia averages 48% worldwide. Again, such measures are supported by the majority of the surveyed EU countries, with the exception of Hungary. The highest level is in Great Britain (75%), Canada, USA, Australia, Japan and South Korea. Elsewhere, support for additional sanctions ranges from 23% (in Turkey) to 40% in South Africa and India.

Eight out of ten respondents in the 27 EU countries approve of economic sanctions against Russia. Only two EU countries showed a not very good result here - Bulgaria (44%) and Cyprus (48%). At the other end of the rating are Finland, Poland and Portugal: there the level of support is more than 90%.

79% of EU citizens approve of sanctions against Russian oligarchs. Those who approve of such restrictions range from 46% in Cyprus, 53% in Greece and 58% in Bulgaria, to 90% in Finland and Portugal and 91% in Poland.

Two-thirds of respondents support the ban on broadcasting of state-run Russian mass media in the EU. Residents of Cyprus (29%), Greece (32%) and Bulgaria (33%) respond least favorably to this.

Support of Ukraine

Globally, three-quarters of respondents (74%) agree that their country should accept Ukrainian refugees, but six in ten respondents (61%) say they cannot afford to support Ukraine financially.

Acceptance of refugees is particularly high in Poland (84%), and the highest level is recorded in Sweden (89%), the Netherlands (86%) and Spain (85%). The lowest is in Turkey (53%), which has already accepted four million refugees, mainly from Syria.

The vast majority in all developing countries agree that in the current economic crisis, their country cannot afford to provide financial support to Ukraine. However, more than half of respondents in several highly developed countries, including Sweden (67%), the Netherlands (63%) and France (55%), disagree.

The survey showed that 89% of Europeans feel sympathy for Ukrainians, 88% approve of the idea of inviting people fleeing war to the EU, and 80% support the idea of providing Ukraine with financial support.

The percentage of respondents who are satisfied with how their national governments have responded to the war in Ukraine ranges from 28% in Bulgaria, 31% in Greece and 38% in Cyprus and Slovakia to 75% in Denmark, 76% in Estonia and 80% in Finland.

Opinions on military aid were divided

On average around the world, majorities believe that their country should support sovereign nations in times of aggression (70%) and that inaction in Ukraine will encourage

Russia to take further military action elsewhere (68%). However, the majority also say that their country should avoid direct military intervention in the war (72%).

In Saudi Arabia, Hungary, Malaysia, and India, there is an opinion that "Ukraine's problems are none of their business, and they should not interfere." This is also shared by half of those surveyed in Mexico, Israel and Argentina. In contrast, with the exception of Hungary, between 65% and 80% in all eight other EU member states surveyed, as well as in Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, Japan and South Korea, disagree with this statement.

The differences are even stronger when it comes to the direct provision of military aid or the deployment of troops to Ukraine. On average around the world, about a third support their country, which provides the Ukrainian military with certain types of weapons (36%), finances Ukrainian military purchases (33%) and sends troops to Ukraine's neighboring NATO countries (32%).

A clear majority of those who support the supply of arms to Ukraine are in the Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden, the USA, Canada, Poland, Germany, France, and Australia.

In the context of providing financial assistance, the British, Germans, Canadians and Americans are the most supportive.

The Netherlands, Great Britain, Canada, France and Belgium for sending troops to NATO countries neighboring Ukraine. However, those who support the sending of their own troops to Ukraine are a minority of respondents in each of the 27 countries (about 17%). At the same time, 67% of EU citizens approve of financing the supply of military equipment to Ukraine.

To the question "how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way NATO and the EU reacted to the war in Ukraine", respondents from 27 EU countries answered as follows: satisfied with NATO's reaction - 49%, with the EU's reaction - 51%.

At the same time, an April poll by Ipsos showed that three out of four Americans (73%) support US efforts to supply weapons to Ukraine.

A YouGov poll found that sending troops to war with Ukraine as part of a NATO operation is the most difficult for Europeans to agree to (on average, only 31% support this option).

Sending weapons and military equipment to Ukraine is currently supported by 58% of surveyed citizens in 17 countries. Among the countries that are against are Bulgaria (71%), Hungary (66%), Greece (65%), Slovakia (61%), Italy (47%) and Romania (43%).

When asked whether you would like your country to send armed forces to help protect Ukraine from a hypothetical military attack (it is not about an ongoing war), 17 countries were divided into the following groups (overall 42% - for, 38% - against):

- An absolute or relative majority supports the deployment of troops (Lithuania - 59%, Poland - 58%, Spain - 57%, the Netherlands - 53%, Finland - 53%, Great Britain - 47%, Sweden - 44%, Denmark - 43%, France – 40%);
- An absolute or relative majority does not support the deployment of troops (Hungary – 75%, Bulgaria – 71%, Greece – 59%, Slovakia – 55%, Germany – 50%, Romania – 44%, Croatia – 42%, Italy – 40%).

In the case of the need to provide direct military aid to a country that has undergone an act of aggression, European states are divided into two main categories. The first is the countries inclined to participate within the joint mission led by the EU (France, Italy, Sweden, Finland, Greece, Bulgaria). The second - states that prefer to participate in a joint mission under the auspices of NATO (Great Britain, Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary, Denmark, Poland, Croatia, Lithuania, Romania), the opinion of those interviewed in Spain and Slovakia was almost equally divided.

Euro perspective of Ukraine

According to the Flash Eurobarometer survey, 66% of Europeans support Ukraine's accession to the EU when our Ukraine is ready for it.

The greatest support for Ukraine is in Portugal, where 87% of respondents said "for". This is followed by Estonia (83%), Lithuania (82%), Poland (81%) and Ireland (79%).

Most disagree with the fact that Ukraine should join the EU when it is ready in Luxembourg (38%), Greece (37%), Hungary (36%), Austria and Bulgaria (35% each), as well as in Cyprus and Slovakia (34% each).

At the same time, respondents in Lithuania (58%), Ireland (53%), Estonia (49%), Portugal (48%) and Sweden (47%) expressed absolute agreement about Ukraine's membership in the EU.

Hungarians are the most skeptical of Ukraine's accession, where only 48% of respondents support this idea (37% are against). At the same time, in Hungary, the highest share of the population that is undecided on this issue is 16%. The same in Belgium and France.

A YouGov study showed that 49% of respondents are in favor of "accelerated" membership of Ukraine in the European Union. Among the biggest supporters of this idea are citizens of Lithuania (67%), Finland (66%), Sweden (64%), Poland (64%), Spain (61%). Among the opponents are citizens of Slovakia (53%), Hungary (49%), Germany (48%) and Bulgaria (46%).

Conclusion Part III

Western media outlets covered the political developments in Ukraine extensively between 2014 and 2022, particularly during the Euromaidan Revolution and the subsequent confrontation with Russia. While criticizing Russia's annexation of Crimea

and participation in the ongoing conflict in Eastern Ukraine, the Western media generally backed Ukraine's efforts to establish a democratic and pro-European government.

The media also covered President Zelensky's election in 2019 and his initiatives to modernize the nation. The media continued to report on ceasefire agreements and diplomatic efforts to fix the situation, but the war with Russia remained a primary concern.

The Western media often presented Ukraine as a victim of Russian aggression and underlined the nation's difficulties to construct a stable and democratic government while dealing with external challenges.

SUMMARY

The bachelor paper focuses on the coverage of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia in Western mass media from 2014-2022. Mass media serves as a brilliant way of communication not only between government and society within one certain country, but also run as a red thread which unites the people all over the globe.

Ukraine was all over the international headlines from the end of 2013 until today due to its ongoing conflict with Russia and the annexation of Crimea. The coverage has included a range of topics such as political developments, military operations, economic sanctions, and humanitarian issues. Western media outlets, such as CNN, BBC, The New York Times and The Guardian, have provided in-depth reporting on the conflict and its impact on the region.

Having analyzed all the articles about Ukraine in Western mass media, we found out that the highest number of articles was published by BBC News (2,924) and New York Times (2,886). Fewer articles and reports were published by CNN (2,273) and The Guardian (2,667). For most newspapers, the highest frequency of mentions of Ukraine in the Western mass media falls on 2014, during the events of the Revolution of Dignity. Over time, there has been a noticeable decrease in interest and the frequency of mentions of Ukraine in the headlines of reports and articles.

The outbreak of war in Ukraine marked a significant shift in the coverage by major mass media outlets. Notably, CNN and The New York Times started mentioning Ukraine in every edition, reflecting the gravity and widespread impact of the conflict. Furthermore, the inclusion of a dedicated section titled "War in Ukraine" on the official website of the BBC further underscored the heightened attention and prominence given to the ongoing

conflict in the media landscape. This increased focus on Ukraine highlights the importance of keeping global audiences informed about the unfolding events and their implications.

The Maidan Revolution, which took place in Ukraine in 2013-2014, was covered extensively in Western media. Generally, Western media outlets portrayed the revolution as a popular movement driven by Ukrainians seeking closer ties with the European Union and democratic reforms. The focus was often on the pro-European aspirations of the Ukrainian people and their dissatisfaction with corruption and authoritarianism.

For instance, when covering the Maidan Revolution, the majority of media outlets tried to include expert commentary and voices from Ukraine people. However, a lot of the media did not make it apparent that the protests were coming from different regions of the nation and social groups that went beyond the traditional East/West division. For example, few reports noted that many protesters were chanting pro-European slogans in Russian.

Western media outlets generally aim to provide balanced coverage, reflecting different viewpoints and expert analysis. They strive to avoid generalizations and portray a nuanced understanding of the situation.

The influence of Russian narratives on Ukraine in Western media can vary. Some media outlets may critically analyze and challenge Russian narratives, providing a counter-narrative or presenting a more nuanced perspective. However, it is possible that certain narratives propagated by Russian media or sources with a pro-Russian bias could find their way into Western media discussions to some extent, either directly or indirectly.

In conclusion, it can be observed that the Russian narrative depicting an armed coup d'état and the presence of Nazis in Ukraine lacks confirmation from correspondents on the ground. On the contrary, reports confirm the occurrence of atrocities, looting, and lawlessness in the captured territories. Despite the usage of terms like "conflict" and "special military operation," the information presented, stripped of metaphors and

epithets, is sufficient to unequivocally classify it as a war and a war crime, constituting a crime against humanity.

Furthermore, linguistic features in the reporting about Ukraine reveal certain trends. Misspellings of Ukrainian names, such as 'Kiev' instead of 'Kyiv,' were common until the start of the full-scale invasion, but there is now a growing tendency to use the original Ukrainian names for settlements.

The word 'crisis' is one of the most frequently used words in newspaper headlines about Ukraine. In different contexts, it has covered the Maidan Revolution, the Crimea annexation, the backing of pro-Russian separatists in parts of eastern Ukraine, and finally, the full-scale invasion. While a crisis itself typically refers to a critical or unstable situation characterized by intense difficulty, danger, or uncertainty, crises can also encompass a wide range of events or circumstances, such as economic downturns, natural disasters, political conflicts, or social unrest. Therefore, we can conclude that the word 'crisis' rarely reflects the true nature of these events and remains quite inaccurate.

While reporting on the events, mass media used terms such as 'conflict,' 'little green men,' 'demilitarization,' 'special military operation,' and 'partial mobilization.' These expressions are enclosed in quotation marks and are cited as quotes from state representatives. However, terms like 'Ukrainian question,' 'Ukrainian crisis,' and 'Ukrainian conflict' are used as statements without any specific attribution or clarification. On one hand, such a formulation can be considered neutral, but on the other hand, it fails to provide objective information or clarify the situation, thus shifting the focus of attention away from the aggressor.

Despite the prevalence of the Russian narrative alleging an armed coup d'état and the presence of Nazis in Ukraine, on-the-ground correspondents have consistently failed to confirm these claims. The lack of confirmation by correspondents present in Ukraine casts significant doubt on the credibility of the Russian narrative, raising questions about

its authenticity and motives. The absence of supporting evidence from correspondents reporting from Ukraine strongly undermines the legitimacy of the Russian narrative surrounding an armed coup d'état and the alleged presence of Nazis.

The study highlights that Western mass media, in general, demonstrate objectivity in their articles and reports, avoiding manipulative techniques. The reports are based on on-site coverage, including statements and appeals from public figures, interviews with local residents, and video materials of the events, which enable readers/viewers to gain a comprehensive understanding and form their own conclusions. The contextual information provided by the mass media contributes to a better comprehension of the events and the overall situation.

Overall, it is difficult to assess what impact international reporting on the Ukraine story has had on public opinion worldwide. The results of public opinion polls regarding Russian aggression against Ukraine provide valuable insights into the public's perception of events. The analysis of the polls suggests that the majority of respondents recognize the threat posed by Russian aggression, but there are significant variations in perception across different countries.

While there are notable strengths in terms of comprehensive reporting and efforts to present diverse perspectives, there are also areas where improvements can be made to ensure a more accurate and objective portrayal of the situation.

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Appendix A

Frequency of mentions of Ukraine in Western media headlines 2014-2022

| | <i>2014</i> | <i>2015</i> | <i>2016</i> | <i>2017</i> | <i>2018</i> | <i>2019</i> | <i>2020</i> | <i>2021</i> | <i>2022</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| BBC News | 476 | 523 | 428 | 333 | 285 | 238 | 309 | 190 | 142 | 2,924 |
| CNN | 500 | 350 | 262 | 212 | 187 | 225 | 200 | 162 | 175 | 2,273 |
| The Guardian | 473 | 362 | 272 | 262 | 237 | 312 | 300 | 237 | 212 | 2,667 |
| New York Times | 577 | 400 | 311 | 255 | 244 | 277 | 266 | 222 | 334 | 2,886 |