Stories of War and Peace: Framing of the 2022 Russo- Ukrainian Conflict by the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal following the Peace Journalism Model

Arregui Gonzalez, Maria Cristina

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Master's Thesis

International Relations

Specialization: Global Conflict in the Modern Era

Maria Cristina Arregui Gonzalez

s2165406

m.c.arregui.gonzalez@umail.leidenuniv.nl

Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Maxine David

Second Reader: Dr. Andrew Gawthorpe

Word Count: 14,982

January 31st 2023

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The news coverage of war is part of what is known as conflict as news values. Conflict reporting is often exaggerated, sensationalized, and dramatized to increase circulation and ratings (Ethical Journalism Network, 2017). To make it more interesting, journalists write about war by siding with one of the involved; they use demonizing language against the "other" while they boost the winning of the "us." They also provide only superficial information with no context or background. These arguments are why some consider news a propaganda machine that promotes and supports the continuation of conflicts.

For this reason, Johan Galtung questioned what would happen if the information was more positive and neutral. Would peace follow? Supporters of Galtung's Peace Journalism theory believe that journalists can promote a culture of peace, primarily if they focus their reporting on peace initiatives, the structure of society, and promoting resolution, reconstruction, and reconciliation (Galtung, 1998, p.4). For this reason, this thesis aims to research if the journalists are following traditional propaganda/problem-focused war reporting on the conflict in Ukraine or if they are trying to avoid it by presenting accurate and truthful information.

Johan Galtung proposed the peace journalism model in the 1970s when he argued that reporting war was like reporting sports (Auwal & Erson, 2022, p.6). For him, there was a focus on winning as the primary goal in a zero-sum game between parties. He believed that if wars were reported more like health journalism, the promotion of peace would be more successful. Health journalism describes a patient's battle against dangerous cells. However, the journalist would still focus on presenting the causes of the harmful cells and the possible prevention and cures against them (Auwal & Erson, 2022, p.6). To expand on Galtung's explanation, Jake Lynch, nd Annabel McGoldrick (2005), two of the most important supporters of the model, define peace journalism as:

> Peace journalism is when editors and reporters decide what to report and how to report it, which creates opportunities for society to consider and value non-violent, developmental responses to conflict. (p. 5)

The model's supporters explain that four central dichotomies account for what both peace and war journalism focus on. These are violence vs. peace-oriented, propaganda vs. truth-oriented, elite vs. people-oriented, and victory vs. solution-oriented (Ottosen, 2010,

p.17). For Galtung, if the journalists report by reproducing the war framing, they may contribute to escalating the conflict and promoting war. However, if they chose the peace frame, they might present the readers with viable solutions to the conflict while focusing on the voiceless people and uncovering the untruths of all sides.

Nevertheless, the concept of peace journalism has also been widely criticized by authors like David Loyn. He believes it oversimplifies social conflicts and lacks objectivity, a critical aspect of journalism (Loyn, 2007). Furthermore, others criticize it because it lacks an epistemological base and because it assumes that media has powerful effects on people (Hackett, 2006, p.2). Despite these criticisms, P.J. is a credible alternative for studying journalism and monitoring its performance when explaining conflict. Lastly, it might contribute to stopping the "us" vs. "them" discourse that has been seen to have negative consequences in society.

Previous research on conflict reporting has focused on propaganda's influence when shaping public opinion and how it relates, for example, to election processes. However, less research has focused on what elements make these messages attractive to readers. Furthermore, as the 2022 conflict in Ukraine is currently happening, research on the influence of the media is almost nonexistent. Future research about the Ukrainian-Russian war might focus on propaganda from the Russian side. Thus, continuing the tradition of focusing on the differences instead of presenting the wither side of the conflict. These explanations show a research gap, thus the thesis aims to analyze the current conflict and the usage of Galtung's peace journalism model.

Given the lack of research regarding the use and validity of Galtung's model of peace journalism in current cases, this thesis aims to identify if the narrative on the Ukrainian War used by the selected newspapers, the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal, is related to Galtung's proposal. Furthermore, it will be explained which are the specific characteristics that reveal what type of narrative is being used. It was found that qualitative content analysis was the best method to investigate this, as it allows the researcher to evaluate the messages of multiple publications. In the present thesis, 171 articles were selected to be analyzed. This method will answer the thesis's central research question: how do the frames used by the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal while covering the 2022 Ukrainian War reflect Galtung's peace journalism?

This study will contribute to the body of knowledge on conflict and peace studies by evaluating a conflict using an alternative tool that believes that if narratives are focused on peace, it will foment it. It will serve as an example of how the current narratives on war reporting focus on the negative and exaggerates to promote circulation and keep readers hanging. The thesis will contribute to the literature on researching framing in conflict as it will provide specific indicators that can be reproduced in future investigations. Lastly, this research could exhort news readers to seek more truthful articles where biases are minimal or that it provides a broader picture of the Ukrainian conflict.

The thesis is structured in five parts. First, the present chapter provided the research problem. Then the research objectives, goals, and research questions were explained. It was also explained why this thesis adds to the literature. The second chapter will discuss the theoretical framework of the research, i.e., the concepts of framing, news values, and peace journalism and its discontents. Furthermore, the context of the conflict in Ukraine will be explained.

The third chapter will explain the methodology used to answer the research question, a qualitative content analysis previously used by Lee and Maslog. In the fourth chapter, the general results of the content analysis will be presented, while the individual results of each newspaper will be analyzed. Lastly, in the fifth chapter, conclusions will be drawn, the limitations of the research will be explained, and recommendations will be given for future research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

The present chapter will give an overview of the existing literature to create a theoretical foundation to achieve the aim of this research, which is to analyze the framing used by two newspapers using Galtung's peace journalism model. Then, as the research uses the concepts of war reporting and framing, they will be explained first and then connected to the war and peace journalism discussion. The concept of framing is essential because, according to Lee and Maslog, it is the theoretical support to P.J. (2005, p.313). The last part of this section will explain the context of the chosen conflict, the Russo-Ukrainian War of 2022. It is believed that this model can provide the tools to identify "peace" narratives in the news about conflict and also that it could provide news readers with a more truth-oriented explanation about them.

Framing theory

Media can influence people's reality by framing images in a predictive and patterned way (Scheufele, 1999, p.105). Yoon and Gwangho define news frame as "a persistent pattern of cognition, interpretation, and presentation of selection emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol handlers organize verbal or visual discourse (2002, p.92). These structures help the reader understand what is happening around them (Haynes et al., 2016, p.29). Because the use of frames helps people to understand the world, organizations, elites, and other actors try to modify the information given to the reader in a way that benefits them (Haynes et al., 2016, p.30). This manipulation of information is done by making small changes in the presentation of an issue to change people's opinions (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.104).

According to Hayne et al., there are two principal ways of framing information. First is an episodic frame, which presents an issue by offering a report of specific examples, case studies, or events. The second way is to use a thematic frame, which presents the broader context of an issue while using generalities instead of examples (Haynes et al., 2016, p.31). Iyengar argued that the use of thematic frames could lead to more support for policies on topics like poverty, crime, and racial equality because while reading a story about an individual instead of general trends, people may be more likely to not disagree with the decisions of the government (Haynes et al., 2016, p.41). Moreover, Semetko and

Valkenburg mention five frames constantly used in the news, attribution of responsibility, conflict, consequences, human interest, and morality (Arafat, 2020, p.552).

Furthermore, Entman argues that in foreign policy issues, framing works as follows. First, the frame of the administration shapes the frames of other elites, media outlets, and the public. Then, the reaction to these frames by the public gives feedback to the media and the elites, which can influence the administration's future reactions and views (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.117). Nevertheless, this manipulation shows why frames have many negative connotations as they evidence that public preferences are arbitrary and that elites can modify popular preferences to serve their interests (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.120).

News Values

Journalists attract readers to follow their news and promote their framing of events by using news values. Bell describes these as "the criteria by new workers make their professional judgments as they process stories" (Arafat, 2020, p.552). Political and economic factors such as the news source, editorial and cost constraints, and market orientation influence these judgments. Furthermore, Boyd describes news values as the criteria that influence the selection and presentation of events as news and what makes them newsworthy (2000, p.18). Finally, authors Monika Bednarek and Helen Caple present in their book a list of linguistic resources that help understand and establish news values (2017, p.79).

According to them, the news values are consonance references to stereotypical attributions, focus on elites, impact, negativity/positivity, and personalization (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). In addition, they include proximity, superlativeness (intensifiers, repetition, quantifiers), timeliness, and unexpectedness. However, even if these are all in the news analyzed for this thesis, the focus will be on the negative/positive value, as it talks about conflict. Therefore, in the following section, it will be explored what makes conflict "newsworthy."

Conflict as news value and its framing

A way to link framing and news values of conflict is by presenting Roach's argument. He argued that the media is interested in covering international events such as war and conflict because they can shape readers' opinions easier as they usually cannot rely on

other sources of information such as personal experience and interpersonal communication (Beaudin & Thorson, 2002, p.45). Furthermore, international news about conflict is prone to using frames because the information about it generally comes from foreign policy officials who want to share a narrative that facilitates the promotion of their policy interests (Yoon & Gwangho, 2002, p.93). This argument might explain why conflict is part of news values, as the journalists use frames that show conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions to capture readers' interest (Bjarnøe et al., 2020, p.105).

Besides, conflict framing can mobilize people politically and change the image of other groups (Bjarnøe et al., 2020, p.118). Adding to this argument, Yoon and Gwangho believe that when there is a conflict between two nations, each nation's media may represent the policies and actions in a positive image while portraying the one of the adversary's in a negative image (Yoon & Gwangho, 2002, p.94). As a result, the media promotes stereotypes and the creation of an "us vs. them" narrative. According to Beaudin and Thorson, these images might increase feelings of hostility and the legitimization of violence against them (2002, p.46).

As an example, Uri Bronfenbrenner showed that the way the U.S. represented the Soviet Union during the Cold War was a mirror view of how they were represented by the Soviet Union (Yoon & Gwangho, 2002, p.95). Both framed each other as being the aggressor and exploitative of their people. Furthermore, they both said that the other side could not be trusted. Even if this example is not directly related to the research done in this thesis, it was an interesting find as, on many occasions, the parties in the current Ukrainian War are representing each other as they did during the Cold War.

After the literature on framing was explained, it might seem that the media is only interested in presenting news with a negative narrative. This narrative might promote the continuation of conflict and legitimization of interventions. However, others believe that the media could use this "power" for a positive change. That is when the model of peace journalism comes into play. As will see below, it offers a way to present information to promote a culture of peace and the fight against propaganda.

Peace Journalism

Peace journalism proponents sought an alternative way of reporting and narrating conflicts. They argue that there is a need to create another way of constructing the news that does not focus on the differences. For these reasons, Johan Galtung produced this term. In the 1970s, he introduced the term with the expectation that if the media covers events with a more positive frame, then conflicts could be reduced. For him, these should be done by searching for a common ground and a solution-seeking frame (Galtung, 2002, p.5). Furthermore, he claimed that this approach gives a more realistic image of what is happening worldwide (2002, p.5).

Nohrstedt and Ottosen explain that it is also an academic tool for analyzing war (2015, p.2). Galtung described peace journalism as the competitive frame of war journalism in the coverage of conflicts (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p.314). He proposed a classification depending on the approaches and linguistic orientation of each to differentiate them. In the case of war journalism, there is an orientation to war and violence, which means it has a zero-sum orientation; it is closed in space and time, focuses on the visible effects, and dehumanizes "them" (Ottosen, 2010, p.15). It is also propaganda oriented, using the "us-them" narrative. Furthermore, it is elite-oriented because it focuses on "our" suffering and uses the elites as the primary sources of information and peace. Lastly, it is victory oriented, which means that for W.J., peace is a military victory and the ceasefire, while it focuses on the treaties and institutions (Ottosen, 2010, p.15).

According to von der Lippe and Ottosen, war journalism can exacerbate conflicts by reproducing propaganda and promoting war (2016, p.14). For Lacasse and Foster, war journalism frames news in ways that could polarize situations by focusing on differences and problems between actors while ignoring their similarities (2012, p.7). Another characteristic of war journalism is the type of language it uses. For example, W.J. news may emphasize people's helplessness and victimize those they want to portray as weak and powerless, who need protection according to them (Lacasse & Foster, 2012, p.8).

On the other hand, peace journalism is, as its name says, peace-oriented. It claims to explore conflict formation, has a win-win orientation, and investigates the causes and

consequences of it (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p.29). It also tries to humanize and give voices to all parties while focusing on the invisible effects of violence as trauma and damage to social and cultural structures. Moreover, it is truth-oriented as it aims to expose the truth on all sides and uncover cover-ups. It is also people-oriented as it shares the consequences violence has on all involved and promotes giving a voice to everyone (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2000, p.29). Finally, it is solution-oriented; peace for them is the use of non-violent initiatives and creativity while still paying attention in the aftermath of the conflict.

Another characteristic of peace journalism is that it will report on the three forms of violence presented by Galtung, structural, cultural, and direct (Abdul-Nabi, 2015, p.3). Structural violence concerns military occupation, economic injustice, and cultural violence use of hate speech and discrimination (Lacasse & Forster, 2012, p.7). Furthermore, Hackett explains that it is vital to move beyond presenting direct violence in the news and present the different stakeholders in the conflict, their behaviors, and their contradictions (Hackett, 2006, p.2). Finally, peace journalism is about de-escalation, neutrality, and holding some distance from all parties involved (Islam & Hasan, 2021, p.3).

Before exploring the arguments authors have against peace journalism, a study that validates this model is by McGoldrick and Lynch. They researched the effect of presenting readers to P.J. news. They had people from Australia, the Philippines, South Africa, and Mexico read two stories, one that used the war journalism frame and another following peace journalism (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2016, p.6). They argue that their research vindicates the idea that when coverage includes context, different voices, and ideas for problem-solving, it makes audiences more interested in non-violent responses to conflict (McGoldrick & Lynch, 2016, p.17). They also found that, in most cases, the P.J. versions created less anger and promoted empathy and positive engagement (p.9). This finding is a characteristic of Peace Journalism, as Ersoy argues it involves readers in problem-solving and in the power of people to set an agenda (2010, p.7).

Discontents

However, according to the most famous opponent, BBC reporter David Loyn PJ risks damaging the integrity of journalists and may cause them to forget they are supposed to be neutral propagators of information (Hanitzsch, 2007, p.4). Another opponent, Robert

Hackett, criticizes P.J. by arguing that it gets away from objectivity and becomes a journalism of attachment and emotions (2006, p.2). Hanitzsch adds that P.J. overestimates the capacity of journalists to contextualize their stories. Moreover, it oversimplifies the difficulty of reporting during conflict situations (Ottosen, 2010, p.5).

Hackett said it wrongly assumes the media has enough power to influence outcomes. Related to this argument, Hanitzsch believes that P.J. tends to treat journalists as individuals, leaving aside the structural elements of journalism that might limit their capability to report freely (2006, p.3). These arguments about structural limitations are better explained by Herman and Chomsky, as they presented institutionalized filters that connect media to the interests of other actors (Hackett, 2006, p.3):

1. Corporate and commerciality of media ownership
2. Media dependence on advertising
3. Reliance on government and business as sources

Most authors recognize that the central issue of P.J. is the use of the word "peace," as it is known to be a controversial concept in fields such as International Relations, Journalism, and Anthropology (Ersoy, 2010, p.3). Furthermore, Ersoy adds that besides defining the concept of peace, it is impossible to present the whole truth as it is normal for people to have biases and modify stories as they see them with their eyes (2010, p.4). Nevertheless, some scholars and journalists hold high hopes for peace journalism. In the end, journalists could play an essential role in creating a less polarized media. However, it is also recognized that the structural limitations and the focus on getting ratings might make it difficult. After explaining the model central to this research, the last part of this chapter will explore the context of the chosen case to be analyzed.

Conflict in Ukraine

The conflict between Ukraine and Russia has old roots dating from the 1700s when the country became part of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, the current War is a consequence of the conflict in eastern Ukraine in 2014 after Russia illegally annexed Crimea (Center for Preventive Action, 2022). One year before, political tensions arose as then-President Victor Yanukovych decided not to seek more economic integration with the European Union. As a consequence, protests in Kyiv were met with violence by state

security forces (Pifer, 2019). As a result, the Rada or the Ukrainian Parliament elected an acting prime minister and president who declared their intentions to get closer to Europe.

Putin saw this as a threat and sent troops to take control of the Crimean region. He argued that he was only there to protect Russian citizens and speakers. However, after a questionable referendum, Crimeans voted to join the Russian Federation, and the region was formally annexed. Consequently, independence referendums were also held in Donetsk and Luhansk, where several pro-Russian separatists existed. Russia denied any military operations, but NATO and the Ukrainian government reported the existence of troops in the region and cross-border bombings.

In 2015, the Minsk Accords were written, which included provisions for a ceasefire, withdrawal of heavy weapons, and Ukrainian control of the conflict zone. Nevertheless, the resolution was not successful. Consequently, in 2017, the United States became more involved and deployed two Army tank brigades to Poland. In addition, the following year, the U.S. imposed sanctions on twenty-one individuals linked to the conflict. By 2021, U.S. intelligence reported the movement and build-up of Russian troops, which prompted them to suggest there would be a large-scale invasion of Ukraine. Unfortunately, these reports were correct, and Russia invaded Ukraine again on February 24th, 2022, under the pretext of a special military operation (Center for Preventive Action, 2022).

 According to Putin, its goal was to denazify Ukraine. He also argued that he needed to protect Russians against genocide. Therefore, the tactics used aimed to capture Kyiv and occupy the country (Pifer, 2020). Russia has multiple interests that explain its continuous interference in its neighbor Ukraine, none of which justify invading it. For example, Kyiv was the Slavic place where Christianity arrived from Byzantium and therefore is called "the mother of Russian cities" (Masters, 2022). Another reason is that many in Russia consider letting Ukraine separate after the fall of the USSR as a mistake that weakened its power stance.

Nevertheless, the invasion was already considered a failure, as in late August 2022, Ukraine launched a counteroffensive that allowed them to recapture bast territories in the Kharkiv and Kherson Regions. As a result, Putin ordered a mass mobilization of more troops, planned to illegally annex more territory, and threatened to use nuclear

weapons (Center for Preventive Action, 2022). Up until January 2023, diplomacy has yet to have success, as it is considered that both sides still have motives to continue fighting.

Conclusion

This section argued that Peace Journalism is an under-searched tool to analyze conflicts, their causes, and their consequences. In the end, peace journalism supporters recognize that it is impossible to avoid framing but that journalist should use their capabilities to promote fairness and accuracy. It is important to remember through this research that it is not argued that media can make peace; nevertheless, it can contribute to it. This section presented the theoretical support to reach the research aim, which is to analyze if there are any examples of P.J. in the case of the New York Times and Wall Street's coverage of the 2022 Russo-Ukrainian war. In the next section, the methods and resources used will be explained, as well as the codes that will allow the categorization and analysis of the different frames.

Chapter 3. Methodology

Following the concepts discussed in the literature review, this section will present how the theory will be evaluated. It was already argued that content analysis should be used to evaluate Galtung's peace journalism. In the present thesis, the analysis model used was developed by Lee and Maslog. Through this method, it will be possible to answer the research question, how do the frames used by the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal while covering the 2022 Ukrainian War reflect Galtung's peace journalism?

Qualitative content analysis will be used to analyze the research question. Mayring, who first used the term in 1983, defined this method as a technique for analyzing a text that pays attention to the visible content and hidden themes and languages (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p.82). Contrary to quantitative content analysis, this method does not employ statistics; however, basic percentages will be used to see which themes are more dominant. This type of content analysis may be used to describe complex phenomena, compare group differences, and develop and test theories (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p.87).

Drisko and Maschi explain the differences that make qualitative content analysis a unique qualitative method from others as discourse analysis and critical theory (2015, p.82). The first method examines communication in its forms of speech and the sounds, gestures, and syntax that comes with it. The critical theory uses interpretation to explore the meaning of texts to assess and critique social structures (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p.82). They point out that even if the content analysis requires interpretation, it takes a more descriptive focus instead of critical. According to the authors, thematic analysis is the closest to content analysis because, as does the latter, the former uses codes to describe themes and summarize meanings.

The present chapter is designed so the reader can see how the research was done. First, the chosen method was presented and described, and it was justified why it was chosen. Then, the sampling method and the unit of analysis will also be described and justified. Next, the coding system by Lee and Maslog and the steps taken to apply it to the case study will be explained. Finally, there will be a critique of the investigation's shortcomings.

Methodology

In this thesis, the unit of analysis was individual news articles from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. These newspapers were chosen because they currently are the most-read online news outlets in the United States. After selecting the primary sources of information, the sampling method was chosen, which needed to be non-biased to confirm or refute the theory. It was decided to use purposive samples as they provide new perspectives and descriptions of events, beliefs, or actions (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p.99). Furthermore, maximum variation sampling was used to ensure that multiple dimensions of the topic were included.

Additionally, non-probability sampling was employed because the selection of samples was nonrandomized. Following this, the data collection part consisted of extracting news from both newspapers' websites. In the case of the Wall Street Journal, an external database called Factiva was needed because it was not accessible to do it directly on their internet site.

In both cases, the word used to narrow the search was Ukraine; this was chosen as it would facilitate that news related to many fields appear, not only about military operations or economics. Next, to further narrow the search to fit into the current Ukrainian conflict, the selected dates were between January 1st, 2022, to November 30th, 2022. Finally, only publications that mentioned the United States, the conflict, and people were selected to limit the results. The total amount of news gathered was one hundred articles from each newspaper; this was a suitable number as anything above would not be possible for the time and resources possessed for this thesis.

Following the data selection, codes were created to identify and describe the information found. Qualitative content analysis may involve reducing data through categories or themes (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p.94). That means selecting the most significant elements from a data set to generate typologies that help the researcher obtain answers to their questions. In the present case study, a deductive coding application was used, using prior research to develop categories (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p.106). As mentioned above, the model used was created by Lee and Maslog. Their study examined how Asian regional conflicts were framed as peace or war journalism by newspapers from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, and the Philippines (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p.311).

They also used content analysis to answer their research question. They created a coding frame based on Galtung's characteristics of peace and war journalism.

These characteristics were explained in the previous chapter. From these characteristics, Lee and Maslog built a coding frame to analyze each piece of news they reviewed. They created thirteen indicators and separated them into two themes, approach and language (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p.311). Each dichotomy is first mentioned as peace journalism and then war journalism. When it comes to the approaches used, the indicators are: proactivity vs. reactivity, reports invisible effects of war vs. reports visible effects, people-oriented vs. elite-oriented, similarities/solution oriented vs. differences/problem-oriented, focuses on causes and consequences vs. the here and now, avoid labeling good and bad vs. uses labels, multiparty orientation vs. two parties, non-partisan vs. partisan, win-win orientation vs. zero-sum orientation, stops reporting after war vs. stays for the aftermath (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p.326).

Additionally, the language indicators that show the frames used are, avoiding the use of victimizing language vs. using victimizing language, avoiding demonizing language vs. uses demonizing language, and objective and moderate vs. use of emotive words (Lee & Maslog, 2005, p.327). The table in Appendix A expands the explanation of the indicators by presenting their description and examples. This table is based on the previously mentioned Lee and Maslog research. In the thesis, these indicators were used as codes. The only indicator not used is about reporting after the war is finished, as the war is still being fought at the time of writing it.

The computer program Atlas.ti 22 was used because it is considered a system easy to navigate; it provides a wide range of ways for the researcher to interpret their data, for example, by using the "Merge Codes" function. This system is great for research that seeks to study data qualitatively, as the data analysis process is flexible. This flexibility means that in this thesis, each code was manually created and separated into two groups peace and war journalism. The categorization would allow seeing in the analysis which frame was used more. The articles were tagged with the appropriate code when an approach or language indicators were encountered. For example, if an article contained more codes of war journalism, then it was so, and in the case for those of peace journalism.

After collecting the samples and categorizing them according to the coding system, data analysis is the way to explain the results to answer the research question. The analysis involves reorganizing the categories to extract the substance of the data. This organization reveals the content of interest and readdresses the research question (Drisko & Maschi, 2015, p.109). The technique chosen to build the data analysis was a narrative format. This way, the categories presented by Lee and Masloog are used as headings. Then each of them will be interpreted and given meaning using direct quotations from the news articles. The quotations will highlight the differences and similarities that the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal have when framing the Ukrainian war. Furthermore, it will show whether the publications mostly use a war or peace journalism frame.

However, during the research, limitations were encountered. First, the time limited the sample size because a more significant number of articles would be impossible for one student to analyze. This issue might cause the results to represent the reality and the political views of the newspapers only partially. Second, as the research is interpretative, some assumptions might be unintentionally biased. Lastly, as a previously used coding system was employed, the opportunity to expand into the theory of peace journalism is restricted. However, the present case study is relevant as the conflict is currently happening and looking at it through the peace journalism frame poses an innovative way to understand and explain it.

Conclusion

This chapter of the thesis presented the how was it done elements of research. First, it was explained that the method used is qualitative content analysis, a technique for searching and coding in texts. Then it was explained that the unit of analysis is each article. Afterward, the coding system, previously proposed by Lee and Maslog, was described and explained how it was used in the current case study. Lastly, the limitations of the research were pointed out. In the next chapter, this method will be applied and analyzed.

Chapter 4. Results

The first part of this chapter will present the overall findings of the content analysis of articles from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal. The second section will analyze each newspaper's results, showing the most used peace and war journalism indicators. In each of these, notable quotes will be shown to support the claim that it belongs to that category. By the end of this chapter, the answer to the research question will be apparent, thus providing a distinct perspective when researching the current conflict in Ukraine.

Overall Results

As stated in the methodology chapter, content analysis was applied to 171 online news articles from the New York Times (97) and the Wall Street Journal (74). These were taken from the website of the former and the online database Factiva for the latter. The dates selected were from January 1st, 2022, till November 30th, the same year, as they mark a month before the beginning of the invasion and the current time this thesis is being written. This method aimed to analyze how the newspapers frame the conflict in Ukraine and the language used.

The first observation is that a war journalism frame was used more frequently. The sample contained 782 citations or parts of text coded. Of those, 484 (61.89%) were war journalism indicators. In contrast, 298 (38.11%) were peace journalism indicators. Table 2 presents the results of the content analysis. Because of these, it is seen that both newspapers use war journalism. Nevertheless, as will be seen below, journalists try to include information considered peace journalism, especially giving attention to people and the consequences of war on them.

Table 2.

Use of peace and war journalism frames by the NYT and WSJ

	Peace Journalism	War Journalism	
New York Times	170	280	
Wall Street Journal	126	204	
Total	296 (37.11%)	484 (62.05%)	780 (100%)

A second observation is that from these two newspapers, the most prominent indicator of peace or war journalism approaches was the people-centered indicator. This indicator was coded seventy-two times, making 8.24% of all the indicators. This indicator was followed by the difference/problem-oriented indicator with 6.98%. In third place were the peace journalism indicator causes and consequences approach and the zero-sum, 6.18% of the total approach codes used.

Regarding the language used, the most prominent was the emotive indicator. This result shows that 22.31% of the language used by journalists was words with biases or sentences that show how the writers feel about the situation to evoke an emotional response. The second language indicator with more appearances was using demonizing expressions, with 3.32%. This type of language is one of the oldest propaganda techniques. It ascribes all evil attributes to a person or group of people. It portrays them as threatening and with only destructive objectives (Wistrich, 1999, p.26). In addition, these expressions often promote the separation between "us and them." Appendix 1 presents the total results from the content analysis's approach and language indicators.

Another noticeable aspect is that, in many cases, there were co-occurrences. This term means that when concepts are found together multiple times, it reflects an underlying value that should be considered when analyzing the results (International Business Machines Corporation, 2022). In the present research, there were few cases of concurrency. For example, on ten occasions, the indicator of people-oriented was found next to the emotive language indicator. When journalists try to show what people are going through, they use emotive language to promote the acceptance of current policies or to intensify feelings. This concurrence was found in a New York Times article by journalists Thomas Gibbons-Neff, and Natalia Yermack described the situation for the people in Trostyanets. They reference people being hungry, horrified, and some even tortured (2022).

Another example of this concurrence was found in an article by the WSJ, where workers of a nuclear plant were kidnapped, beaten, and tortured (Parkinson & Hinshaw, 2022). In both cases, the authors' use of graphic descriptions and photos might be to create emotion in the reader. Because without this emotional discourse, the only thing the reader might see is violent photos without any connection with the people on them.

However, by using emotive language, they try to make readers sympathize and become involved.

A second concurrence was found to be emotive language with difference-conflict-oriented indicators. In this case, the "us vs. them" between the various actors was noticeable. For example, in an NYT article, Russian PM Sergei Mironov is quoted criticizing the "west" for providing weapons that kill Russian soldiers. He said, "you thought you could destroy us with other people's hands and observe from the sidelines? It will not work; you will have to pay for it all in full" (Troianovski & Barnes, 2022). This combination of indicators has been repeated ever since the beginning of the Cold War, as politicians and journalists argued that the "other" could use nuclear weapons because they are "evil."

A third issue that can be extracted from the results is what indicator appeared most often in each news agency. In the case of the New York Times, with 103 (20.32%) appearances, the indicator of emotive language was the most used. Followed by the difference-problem-oriented indicator, with 42 (8.28%) appearances; the third with the most appearances was the zero-sum, with 32 quotes (6.34%). In the case of the Wall Street Journal, the emotive language had 92 (25.07%) quotes. This indicator was followed by the people-oriented approach indicator with 45 (12%) appearances and the causes and consequences indicator with 25 (6.81%). From these results, it can be observed that even if, in percentages, war journalism was dominant, in the case of the WSJ, more peace journalism frames were used but with a majority of emotive language. On the other hand, war journalism frames dominated the articles of the NYT.

Results of the New York Times

The New York Times was chosen because it is one of the most-read online news agencies in the United States (Watson, 2022). From January 7th until November 30th, they published at least 4000 articles related to the conflict in Ukraine. The content analysis showed that the New York Times primarily uses a war journalism frame in their articles about the Ukrainian war. Nevertheless, analyzing all the dichotomies or indicators is essential to see how exactly they framed this conflict.

Proactivity vs. Reactivity

The newspaper was proactive as it published articles about the possibility of military intervention and diplomacy's role in de-escalating the situation. This indicator was shown, for example, in an article by Crowley and Sanger. They mention the importance of using dialogue and negotiations to "save" the people in Ukraine (Crowley & Sanger, 2022). Other articles also showed that the United States was interested in continuing to fund Ukraine if Russia invaded (Cooper, 2022). These, as in most articles, show the carefulness the U.S. is employing not to provoke Russia while still recognizing that their help is essential for Ukrainian success.

On the other hand, the NYT had a reactive approach when discussing the Ukrainian response to the possibility of war. For example, journalists Cohen and Sanger write about President Zelensky's skepticism about a possible Russian invasion (2022). In addition, as the days of the war passed, the newspapers published articles about what could have been done. These articles show that things could have been done to avoid war.

Visible vs. Invisible effects

The NYT focused on the visible effects from the first day of the war, focusing on the economic consequences that the war would have in the West. As time passed, the focus shifted to the casualties from both sides. These articles went from Ukrainian officials claiming to have killed thousands of Russian soldiers (Santora, 2022). To Russians using artillery to attack residential zones and hospitals with no military value (Fisher, 2022). The news agency repeated that mentioning the number of injured and dead people is essential to war journalism. Nevertheless, the NYT explained how they present information about casualties. They recognize that every side exaggerates the number of casualties, so they chose to avoid using numbers provided by the governments and instead use those provided by the U.N. or other third-party actors (NTY, 2022).

People vs. elite oriented

The result here was interesting because the NYT used a peace journalism frame. They used this frame by giving voice to often overlooked groups such as the LGBTQ community. Activists from the community argue that if Russia installs a puppet government, it could mean the end of their rights (Bigg, 2022). Another group, which is usually left out when discussing war, is women. NYT mainly focused on women refugees

and how their traditional roles changed as they needed to start working while still caring for their children because the men could not leave Ukraine (Taub, 2022). Lastly, the journalist, on multiple occasions, mentioned cases of sexual violence, the quest people were following to get justice, and the stigma about rape within Ukraine. In all these cases, most of the sources used were citizens or influential people of the communities.

Difference/problem-oriented vs. Similarity/solution-oriented

The results showed that the NYT focused more on the negative side of the conflict. Sometimes they were critical of the relationship between the U.S. and Ukraine. For example, they quoted an anonymous congressional Democrat that said that Zelensky needed to be taught how to approach the U.S. (Kramer & Schwirtz, 2022). Furthermore, there was also the argument that sometimes the United States does not fully trust how Ukraine is doing as the country does not share intelligence with them.

They also focused on the old and repeated differences between Russia and the United States. A prevalent topic was how Putin constantly blamed the war on the West and how he was open to diplomacy while they just wanted to attack Russia indirectly. This pointing finger is a clear example of the problem-oriented indicator as they mention that it is the other party's fault that there is no success in peace talks. For example, in the case of Ukraine, the news also shows that peace talks are not an option for Ukrainian politicians if Russia continues to attack them. Furthermore, they show that the relationship between Ukraine and the U.S. could be better. They write that Ukraine is not asking for help but demanding it, which for some, it will have negative consequences in the long term.

Causes and consequences vs. here and now

The results of these indicators are another time the newspaper used a peace journalism frame. The NYT showed the reader why the conflict happened and what might happen after it finishes. In these articles, the journalists presented the excuses Putin used to invade the country and their unjustifiability. They explained why Ukraine is important to Putin, as he argues that Ukrainians are "one people" with Russia, but the West controls them (Troianovski, 2022). They also argued that Putin wanted to regain territorial control after what he considers the catastrophic results of the Soviet Collapse (Leonhardt, 2022). Another baseless justification of the war is the claim of genocide against Russian-speaking Ukrainians by a "nazi government." The NYT calls it a war about ethnicity and

empire (Erlanger, 2022b). In the consequences part, they argue that sanctions would devastate Russia and other countries, especially causing severe inflation.

Labeling vs. avoids labeling

It was found that all sides used this label to project that they were doing the correct thing while their counterpart had all the fault for what was happening, especially when avoiding diplomacy. For example, Troianovski and Schwirtz write that Putin argues that he was open to diplomacy but that the United States lured them into conflict by sending more troops into Eastern Europe (2022). Another observation is that they refer to this conflict as a war of authoritarianism vs. democracy. They quote Representative Michael R. Turner (R.), who said, "Ukraine is a democracy. Russia is an authoritarian regime that is seeking to impose its will upon a validly elected democracy in Ukraine, and we are on the side of democracy" (Weisman, 2022). In another article, journalist Erlanger writes how Putin's notion of a nation is autocratic. Meanwhile, the western nations are built on civic responsibility, the rule of law, and individual rights (Erlanger, 2022). In these indicators, it became clear that the thought of East vs. West is still very much alive and that journalists are not neutral when they write about these topics.

Multiparty vs. two-party-orientation

It was interesting to find out that even if the NYT did spend time showing the people's perspective, they mostly talked about how one wins and the other loses in war. In these cases, it was talked about the meetings Russia had with the U.S., which mostly were about reviving the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty and setting limits to military exercises (Sanger, 2022). It demonstrates once again that for the U.S., the threat of nuclear war was real. They explained that both parties recognized that the price of a war between them would be too high (Fisher, 2022).

Furthermore, the indicator also demonstrates the unwillingness of Russia and Ukraine to begin peace talks. Russia was trying to gain territory, while Ukraine resisted it, not accepting any compromise except for the Russians leaving (Erlanger & Kingsley, 2022). These claims indicate that many think the war could not be finished with a peace treaty but by a military victory. For example, Estonia's Prime Minister argued, "peace cannot be the ultimate goal. I only see a solution as a military victory that could end this and punish the aggressor for what they have done" (Erlanger et al., 2022).

Partisan vs. non-partisan

The indicators show that the NYT was neutral or non-neutral, depending on the situation. The newspaper was partisan when it came to talking about the power of the United States. As journalist Jim Tankersley wrote, "Mr. Biden cannot end the war on his own. But he can minimize its economic pain" (2022). The agency also was partisan as they emphasized the war being of the West vs. East. Journalist Damien Cave calls for the U.S. to take back leadership in the international struggle against authoritarianism (2022). It is mentioned in an article that Ukraine is a democratic country with a pro-Western president; his election shows that most Ukrainians want to live in a country that resembles the European nations and the U.S. (Leonhardt, 2022).

Others also showed that President Zelensky learned how to talk in front of the United States, as he said to the American Congress that the war in Ukraine is a battle to preserve democracy, freedom, and the rule of law; and called the U.S. to defend those values (Kwai, 2022). This speech used phrases that are very hard for the Americans to ignore as their foreign policy has claimed to defend those principles for a long time.

Win-win vs. zero-sum orientation

The last approach indicator shows again that the NYT frames the conflict as not having another way out but by military victory. It was written about the signs of Ukrainian success on the battlefield, as they claim to have killed thousands of Russian soldiers and destroyed hundreds of pieces of equipment (Santora, 2022). This argument is further justified by the quote of Andre Michta, a defense analyst, "For Zelenzky, there is no other path forward than to continue to fight and reconquer the lost territory. The minute he agrees to any compromise, he loses political credibility" (Erlanger et al., 2022).

Furthermore, this indicator exposes the amount of economic and material resources given by the United States to Ukraine. U.S. officials argued that it was fundamental to continue sending as many weapons as possible, even if the war would continue for a long time (Cooper et al., 2022). The articles showed the Americans' confidence in the capabilities of the Ukrainians to push the Russians back if given the right tools.

Language

It was found that the NYT mostly used emotive words or phrases when describing something. Before the war started, the journalists already used emotive words that might create fear among readers. For example, when U.S. officials were studying Russian movements in January, it was described as an "ominous" assessment (Kramer & Schwirtz, 2022). Using phrases such as global consequences of the war in Ukraine might attract more readers than when they only confine it to the actual conflict zone. Journalists Troianovski and Schwirtz quoted President Zelensky saying, "this is not going to be a war of Ukraine and Russia if diplomacy fails, is going to be a full-fledged European war (2022).

These phrases are complemented by using sometimes exaggerated numbers, for example, "this decision could kill thousands of people" or "sending millions fleeing" (Cooper & Sanger, 2022). Alternatively, by using words like "chaos," "panic," "devastation," and "bloodshed" when describing the consequences on the West. As explained before, using emotive words in journalism provokes people's emotions and leads them to believe something and act according to that. For example, it could make readers believe that helping Ukraine without attacking Russia might keep them safe.

Lastly, another aspect of the language used was almost no demonizing name-calling toward Putin or Russians. There were just found some instances where he was called "dictator," "strongman," and "authoritarian," while when referring to Zelensky as "hero" and "leader ."This labeling is widely used because it sometimes turns news into a drama where the readers are kept hanging as they want to know what happens next and who wins.

The Wall Street Journal.

The Wall Street Journal was chosen because it is one of the most-read newspapers in the United States (Watson, 2022).. In the case of the WSJ, there were around 5000 articles; however, 74 articles were selected. The content analysis showed that the Wall Street Journal had more indicators of peace journalism in how it approached the information. However, the language used was part of W.J. Nevertheless, these results will be developed as was done with the case of the NYT.

Proactivity vs. reactivity

The first dichotomy showed that the WSJ was proactive as they were already publishing articles about Ukraine before the war started. For example, on January 29th, an article

was published that quoted Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin as he said, "while we do not believe that President Putin has made a final decision to use his forces against Ukraine, he now has the capability" (Hinshaw et al., 2022). They also mention the unpredictability of Putin as they explained it is impossible what he is thinking to do next, but that Ukrainians were ready to fight in case an invasion came. James Marson further published this civil readiness as he quoted Ukrainians using the hashtag #weare ready on Facebook. In addition, people shared tips on how to prepare for bombings and fires and how to explain the war to children (Marson, 2022). These preparations had positive results as there was no chaos and shortages of resources. These articles show WSJ took a different approach than the NYT as they did believe Ukrainians were expecting a conflict with Russia, and thus, it was not much of a surprise.

Visible vs. invisible effects

The results showed that, similarly to the NYT, the WSJ focused on the material consequences of the conflict. Since the beginning, they described heavy losses on both sides and bombings of hospitals and residential areas (Hookway, 2022). They include in almost all articles the number of casualties. Using the visible effects of war in the news can convince readers of the gravity of the conflict and, as a result, support or oppose their government's policies. Presenting the visible effects is a clear aspect of war journalism, as it focuses on attracting readers by presenting sometimes exaggerated data on the consequences of the war.

People vs. elite oriented

The WSJ occasionally managed to frame the conflict from the people's perspective. They might have done so because talking about ordinary citizens attracts more readers than information focused on politicians or countries. In their narrative, journalists write about the strength of the Ukrainians and their resistance against the invasion. However, the WSJ also shows that people had suffered. For example, some articles talk about being tortured and sometimes shot without any possible justification (Coles & Lovett, 2022). Another aspect is the different reactions Ukrainians had to the Russian troops; some fought them, but others cooperated with them and even helped them. This situation is causing problems in society which might be visible once the conflict is finished.

The WSJ also presents another perspective, that of the Russian citizens. Ann M. Simmons writes about how Russia's media manipulates them in an article. She shows that some people believe war is necessary to expel war criminals and the West from Ukraine (Simmons, 2022). Nevertheless, she also shows that only some Russians buy Putin's propaganda. For example, a group of scientists and journalists openly criticized the campaign. They argue that there is no rational justification for the war and that the whole responsibility is on Russia (Simmons, 2022). They include the Russian perspective, showing that not everyone agrees with Putin's unjustified invasion.

Difference/problem-oriented vs. Similarity/solution-oriented.

WSJ's framing focused more on the differences and the problems than on the similarities and the solutions. First, this newspaper explained the disagreement between Ukraine and the U.S. about the possibility of war. The European country denied the possibility of war to avoid panic and protect the economy, while the Americans thought they should prepare for an attack (Gordon & Mason, 2022). Then they present another disagreement between the two countries, this time over a no-fly zone over Ukraine. This decision was made because American officials believed it would inevitably cause a direct attack on Russia which would seriously escalate the war.

They also explain that for at least eight years, Russian television channels have said that the Maidan was conducted by a CIA-sponsored fascist group and Ukrainian nazis that want to kill Russian speakers. Journalist Shore explains that this narrative has been critical for the separation movement in the region (2022). Further into the war, they explain the difficulty of starting peace talks. Because for Putin, any agreement with Zelensky would mean he loses as he has repeatedly characterized him as a western Nazi puppet (Fidler, 2022). Moreover, Ukraine will not accept any agreement that causes them to lose sovereignty or territory. They also present how the region of Donbas has been affected by Russian propaganda for a long time and the consequences that are being reflected in the conflict.

Causes and consequences vs. here and now

These indicators demonstrated that the WSJ showed why the conflict was happening and what could be expected. Some articles explain how history has prepared Ukraine for what it is going through (Shore, 2022). Articles also mention that history can show why Russia

wants to control Ukraine; one line of thinking is that since the 19th century, there has been a narrative in Moscow that Ukraine does not exist and is instead a "little Russia." While the other one is that Ukraine exists but half of the territory belongs to them, as Vladimir Lenin unfairly gave it again (Trofimov, 2022a).

This indicator shows misinformation's important role in legitimizing the war in the eyes of Russians. Media claimed Russia was obligated to attack Ukraine to protect itself (Simmons, 2022). They continue the narrative of the nazi puppet government controlled by the West, which is trying to kill Russian speakers. Moreover, according to the media controlled by Putin, Russia and Ukraine are inseparable, "one people, a single whole," and the Ukrainian aspiration to become part of NATO is suspicious (Hookway, 2022). Nevertheless. The WSJ claims that the real cause of the invasion is so Putin can expand his influence and domination sphere to former Soviet republics.

In the consequences, articles argue that Russia does not want to engage directly against the West because the conflict can become nuclear or because there is a high possibility they would lose (Fidler, 2022b). Furthermore, they show the motivation of some countries to punish Russia and take officials to court to show that there are severe consequences when launching an unjustified attack on another country (Mandhana, 2022). Another article shows what people think might happen to Putin after the war. Some believe Russia will lose its status as a power after its lousy performance on the battlefield; it will stop modernizing and globalizing, thus forcing it to get closer to China (Gunitsky et al., 2022). Another opinion is that the situation will continue even if Putin is not in power anymore. Lastly, while some want a democratic movement to start when Putin leaves, not many are so optimistic that it could happen (Gunitsky et al., 2022).

Labeling vs. avoids labeling

These indicators were almost absent in the content analysis. Nevertheless, the majority labeled between the "good" and the "bad" when it was used. The result is related to the previous one as it shows the constant battle to place blame for the conflict by the parties. For example, journalist James Marson writes that Russia claims NATO is using Ukraine as a proxy to engage in war with them (2022a). Another time this labeling was used was when the WSJ wrote about a widely criticized report by Amnesty International, which claimed that Ukraine was purposely putting citizens at risk. As an answer to this, Ukraine's

Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba said it created a false image of who is the "criminal" and the "victim" (Coles & Gershkovich, 2022). This indicator shows that, as in any other conflict, no party is willing to take responsibility for their wrongdoings.

Multiparty vs. two-party-orientation

The following indicators displayed that even the WSJ dedicated some space to talk about the people. It often focused on Russia, the U.S., and Ukraine. In some cases, the U.S., not Ukraine, pushed for countries to punish Russia. For example, journalist Catherine Lucey quotes president Biden saying in the U.N. that Russia has violated the core principles of the Charter and thus it deserves to be sanctioned (2022).

The WSJ also uses the two-party orientation to explain the military advances, for example, Ukraine's gains while Russia escalates the war, sends more troops, and becomes more destructive. One of the last articles selected, from November 11th, explained that by recapturing Kherson, Ukrainians were stopping the Russian possibilities of advancing toward Odesa. This gain prompted the reaction of Ukrainian Foreign Minister Dmytro Kuleba to say, "Ukraine is gaining another important victory and proves that whatever Russia says or does, Ukraine will win" (Malsin & Simmons, 2022).

Partisan vs. non-partisan

The WSJ took a more neutral stance when reporting about the war than the NYT. These show that the newspaper was more critical of decisions taken by the U.S. For example, they described how former presidents misread Putin. President Bush found him trustworthy, President Obama did not believe Russia was a regional power, and President Trump thought the differences with their European allies were more severe than the threat posed by Russia (Cullison et al., 2022). The WSJ was also critical of the role the U.S. and the U.K. should have when it comes to prosecuting Russia after the war.

They cite a professor of international law at the University of Copenhagen, Kevin Jon Heller, when he argued that these countries should not be the ones setting up a tribunal because they also invaded Iraq in 2003.Furthermore, they were the ones who narrowed the ICC's jurisdiction over the crime of aggression (Mandhana, 2022). Related to this is that they argue that justice in prosecuting crimes is for both sides. Thus, claims of war crimes committed by the Ukrainians should also be investigated.

They also show the role of some actors in fighting propaganda. For example, TikTok "influencers," as Krishna Subramanian, chief executive of Captiv8, said, "whether people agree with it or not, digital creators and influencers have become a source of truth to many" (Needleman & Seetharaman, 2022). Nevertheless, unfortunately, all parties have used this medium for propaganda, from Russian influencers using messages with the letter Z, which the Kremlin has used to promote the war. To the Ukrainian influencers showing followers how to create Molotov bombs; and the Americans who have, in some cases, used unverified or incorrect information to explain the war (Needleman & Seetharaman, 2022). These results show that the WSJ was more neutral in reporting the war as they recognize that every part is capable of wrongdoings.

Win-win vs. zero-sum orientation

The WSJ focused on how one side's gain is the other side's loss, which is why peace talks were unsuccessful. For example, one article debates what victory would look like for Russia; it seems to be to demilitarize Ukraine and install a puppet government (Fidler, 2022a). They argue that Russia is open to diplomacy as a tactic to achieve its goals instead of a win-win solution. Furthermore, other, more somber opinions think that the war could escalate into the use of nuclear or chemical weapons. However, they say this would be more likely avoided as these weapons create damage not only for the opponent but for their own because they are difficult to control. Nevertheless, if they were used, it could be, according to Fidler, to terrorize countries and force them to make decisions to the aggressor's advantage (2022).

On the other hand, the WSJ argues that if Ukraine, with the help of the U.S., continues to get military successes, it would provoke the Russian army to collapse, and there would be a disorderly retreat (Fidler, 2022). A second option is that if the country manages to push Russia back, it would be satisfied by regaining control of all the territory lost on February 23rd. Furthermore, victory for Ukraine would be having their sovereignty back, compensation by Moscow for the invasion, and bringing perpetrators of war crimes to justice. Lastly, many think that one of the most likely scenarios is one of a stalemate, where no one can change the frontlines, and thus, there is no one winning or losing while both suffer significant losses (Fidler, 2022).

Language

The results showed that they mainly used emotive language and demonizing and victimizing language on fewer occasions. As seen in the case of the NYT, these results support the argument that the newspaper uses a war journalism frame. Which uses emotionally charged language to transmit its message instead of using objective language as the peace journalism proponents suggest to promote peace. When it came to the use of emotive language, in this case, study, it was found that journalists used words like "domination," "brutality," and "terrorism" to refer to the invasion and influence Russia has had in Ukraine. In an article, journalist Trofimov cites Zelensky when he said, "this a conscious extermination of people" (2022).

Furthermore, when used words such as cleansing in the Ukrainian context, it was positive as it was related to victory against Russia as they "cleansed the city of invaders." When it was used in the context of Russia, it was used to relate it to extreme violence against civilians. It can be argued that Zelensky often used phrases such as "fighting for Europe" and "giving our lives" to get the aid he needed.

They also showed how Putin used emotive words to make his followers believe Ukraine could use nuclear weapons against them and, on numerous occasions, used the word genocide to justify the invasion of Ukraine. In the case of the West, the WSJ used phrases such as "Cold War 2.0" or the beginning of "WWIII" because it might make the reader realize that the conflict is severe and, therefore, they should continue reading the news. It might also be used to justify why the U.S. is not getting more involved. A last clear example of the use of emotive language related to an extreme consequence of the war was found to be the use of the word "apocalyptic" when mentioning Putin's nuclear threats.

Conclusion

In the end, the New York Times framed the Ukrainian conflict mainly using negative language and phrases that, in many cases, could exacerbate the differences between groups, in this case, Russia and the West. The newspaper shows that until November 30th, 2022, little was done to achieve peace as the differences between groups were too big. However, it showed support from the U.S. to continue sending diverse types of aid to Ukraine. On the other hand, in a more P.J. fashion, they cared to show context and the causes of the conflict, and they gave, on some occasions, voices to different groups such

as the ethnic Hungarians, LGBT, women, and Jewish groups. Nevertheless, the journalists were not critical of the errors Ukraine has made, for example, the claims that there was discrimination against non-Ukrainians when trying to escape, which made them less neutral.

While the WSJ was more neutral than the NYT while explaining the war and its consequences to their readers, they similarly used emotionally charged language to make reading their articles more attractive. Another difference is that while the NYT presented diverse groups affected by the conflict, the WSJ also focused on the opinion of the Russians. This focus might have been not to promote the "us" vs. "them" division in societies and to argue that not everyone in Russia agrees with Putin's illegitimate intervention in Ukraine. Furthermore, they appeared to be more critical of the U.S. and its role in other international interventions. Moreover, they showed that they should not be dictating what happens after the war.

The information gathered in this section demonstrates that this conflict is a complex issue that should be taken seriously and studied from multiple angles. It also showed that Galtung's peace journalism is an alternative way to analyze the conflict and the hidden messages behind people's words. In the following chapter, the argument of his thesis will be synthesized, and conclusive remarks will be given. The chapter will also provide the opportunity to explain the limitations of the research and the recommendations for future researchers of peace journalism.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

This study aimed to investigate the framing given by two of the most-read U.S. online newspapers to the Russo-Ukrainian conflict during 2022. Furthermore, it aimed to use a theory-testing method to investigate if Galtung's peace journalism model could be applied. Finally, the purpose was to analyze if any of his peace and war journalism ideas are found in how the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal write their articles. Therefore, the research question was, how do the frames used by the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal while covering the 2022 Ukrainian War reflect Galtung's peace journalism?

To answer this question, first, a theoretical framework was presented to show the bases and essential concepts. These concepts were followed by a discussion of peace journalism, who promotes it, and who disagrees with it. Furthermore, the context of the 2022 war in Ukraine was mentioned. Finally, a qualitative content analysis following the model previously created by Lee and Maslog in 2005 was used to find a link between peace journalism in the context of the current conflict. After this, a more in-depth and critical analysis was made of each newspaper to see what the indicators showed.

The results showed that from 171 articles selected by the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, the most used frame was the one related to war journalism. It was found that 61.89% of the indicators coded were from this type of journalism, while only 38.11% were related to peace journalism. However, this result did not mean that the W.J. frame was dominant in every aspect. It was seen as primarily present in language indicators. At the same time, journalists approached the conflict using aspects considered part of P.J. For example, both news agencies presented the people's perspective and how they are affected by the conflict.

This argument was shown in the outcomes of the content analysis as the people-centered indicator was the second most used, only behind the language indicator's use of emotive language. Thus, most of the language used, contained emotions and biases towards certain groups or decisions. It was argued that this type of language provokes emotions in the reader and keeps them engaged. It was also observed that emotive language and the people-oriented approach were concurrences. This relation was found

to be part of impact as a news value, which means that the more people are involved, the more interesting it is.

In the case of the NYT, it was seen that they framed the conflict using a war journalism narrative. Principally from the violence-oriented perspective, they focused on the conflict arena and had a zero-sum orientation. Furthermore, they presented mainly the visible effects of the war as the number of people dead and the material things that were damaged. On the other hand, the NYT framed the conflict using the propaganda-oriented element as the "us-them" narrative was found repeatedly. For example, they argued that the West, built on the rule of law, is helping Ukraine "save" democracy while Russia is an authoritarian regime trying to destroy it.

The NYT used the victory-oriented narrative, as they wrote multiple times that the differences between actors impeded starting peace talks. For them, the only solution was to obtain a military victory. Lastly, NTY journalists' use of language was one of the most characteristically found in war journalism. They used phrases that make the conflict dramatic, for example, how it might be the beginning of WWIII or how a hero and a dictator are fighting for Europe. When this emotive language is used, people are expected to become more attracted, and the ratings will be higher. Furthermore, the emotions these narratives might provoke could shape people's opinions and reactions.

In the case of the Wall Street Journal, the frame they used was mixed, as it contained peace journalism approaches predominantly, but the language they used was from war journalism. It was observed that they primarily used the people-oriented element and the causes and consequences of the conflict. However, they did not write about Ukrainians always as victims. Instead, they wrote about their bravery and readiness to resist the invasion of Russia. In addition, they included groups that would usually be demonized or ignored. For example, they gave a voice to Russian citizens. This action is evidence of peace journalism, as they might be trying to humanize all sides.

Nonetheless, they also followed the violence-oriented element of W.J. as they constantly narrated the visible effects of the war. Moreover, they follow a victory-oriented framing instead of P.J.'s solution-oriented one. Finally, they described the difficulty of beginning peace talks because, for both leaders, the stakes are too high. It was seen that the WSJ tended to explain the conflict using peace journalism elements as they, for

example, criticized the role the U.S. had in past international interventions and how the former U.S. presidents were wrong about Putin. In the end, the way the Wall Street Journal narrates the Ukrainian conflict follows more what Galtung believes is part of P.J. than the New York Times.

This research shows that even if most news continues to focus on violence and dramatization, both newspapers tried to humanize the conflict and create a connection between the reader and those affected. A probable explanation for why these newspapers did not have a more P.J. framing might be because of how they would have to portray Russia. In some cases, they would have to show empathy, which many readers might disagree with. Furthermore, if the newspapers constantly talk about how the Russians think and are affected by the conflict, they might seem to support them. Media might want to avoid it as it was clear who was the invader and whom was the one affected.

The present thesis offers a quantitative and qualitative contribution to a topic yet to receive much academic attention. The content analysis could contribute to studying how the media writes about wars. Moreover, Lee's and Maslog's coding indicators are an efficient way to categorize and analyze information. This study also helped to develop further literature on peace journalism and offer an alternative perspective on a current conflict. Furthermore, peace journalism should be considered in conflict studies because even if it does not have the power to cause peace, it could improve how conflict is reported and present less black-and-white news. Lastly, this research showed the complexity of the conflict in Ukraine and might help students who want to learn more about it.

However, this thesis has multiple limitations. When it comes to writing, it was seen that the time limit influenced the depth of the investigation. For future research about peace or war journalism in specific newspapers, diving deeper to see how their political views affect their framing would be recommended. Another area for improvement of the research is that the content analysis method is prone to be reductive and, as a result, makes Ukraine's conflict seem more superficial. In contrast, the accidental biases of the writer affected the analysis of the results, thus making it subjective. Finally, one limitation of Galtung's model and the applicability of the research is that it focuses primarily on state conflicts while not providing how it can be applied, for example, in articles about non-state actors.

Further research could investigate how peace journalism could be used on the internet, especially in social media, as it is the new primary source of information for many. For example, it could mention how "influencers" should use language to promote peace instead of contributing to the propaganda narrative. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see how peace journalism affects people and how to promote it among journalists. Related to the people, other research could investigate, for example, how public opinion about international interventions changes or reacts when it is presented by the media while using a peace journalism focus. Finally, it is crucial for peace journalist academics to develop a way to apply this model to non-state actors. For example, to research if the way news about terrorism is narrated negatively affects the image of certain groups and how P.J. would change that.

To conclude this thesis, after following Galtung's peace journalism model, it was seen that the conflict in Ukraine is being approached by the NYT and the WSJ using war journalism. The publications mainly focused on the differences and turned the explanation of the conflict as if it was a movie, sometimes dramatic and exaggerated. Nevertheless, they showed to have peace journalism narrative qualities as they talked about the different groups involved and the damage this war is causing to them. In the end, even if the feasibility of peace journalism is still questioned, it is believed that the narrative of conflicts has to change from propaganda oriented to a more inclusive and fact-based one.

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Appendix A

Table 1

Coding system based on Lee and Maslog 2005

Codes	Description/examples
Peace Journalism Approaches	
• Proactive	Reports before war start
• Invisible effects of war	Reports on emotional trauma, damage to society and culture
• People-oriented	People as actors and sources of information
• Similarities/solution oriented.	Areas of agreement that may lead to a solution
• Causes and consequences of war	The conflict goes beyond what is going on in the place and in the time that violence is occurring
• It avoids using the good and bad label	Does not use us vs. them language
• Multiparty orientation	It gives voice to those involved
• Non-partisan	Neutral, it does not take sides
• Win-win orientation	Many goals and issues, solution-oriented
Peace Journalism Language	
• Avoids victimizing language	Reports what has been done by people and how they are coping
• Avoids demonizing language	Uses precise descriptions, titles, or names
• Avoids emotive language	Objective and moderate, does not exaggerate
War Journalism Approach	
• Reactive	Starts reporting after the war started
• Visible effects of war	Casualties, dead and wounded, damage to property
• Elite-oriented	Focuses on leaders and elites as actors and sources of information
• Differences/ problem-oriented	Differences that led to the conflict
• Here and now	Only sees what is happening now and in that place
• Dichotomizes good and bad	Victims and villains
• Two-party orientation	One wins, and the other one loses.
• Partisan	Biases for one side

• Zero-sum orientation	The goal is to win.
War Journalism Language	
• Uses victimizing language	It tells what has been done to people. E.g., destitute, devastated, defenseless, tragic, and demoralized
• Uses demonizing language	E.g., Vicious, cruel, brutal, tyrant, terrorist, extremist, fanatic
• Uses emotive language	E.g., genocide, massacre, and systematic

Adapted from: Lee and Maslog 2005

Appendix B

Table 3.

Frequency of Peace and War Journalism Indicators

Codes	NYT	WSJ	Total
Peace Journalism Approaches			
Proactive	6	8	14 (1.61%)
Invisible effects	9	5	14 (1.61%)
People-oriented	27	45	72 (8.26%)
Similarities/solution oriented.	25	10	35 (4.01%)
Causes and consequences	29	25	54 (6.19%)
Avoids using the good and bad label	3	3	6 (0.69%)
Multiparty orientation	14	12	26 (2.98%)
Non-partisan	28	14	42 (4.82%)
Win-win orientation	5	3	8 (0.92%)
Peace Journalism Language			
Avoids victimizing language	12	6	18 (2.06%)
Avoids demonizing language	6	2	8 (0.92%)
Avoids emotive language	18	6	24 (2.75%)
War Journalism Approach			
Reactive	6	6	12 (1.38%)
Visible effects of war	25	23	48 (5.50%)
Elite-oriented	16	10	26 (2.98%)
Differences/ problem-oriented	42	19	61 (7.00%)
Here and now	6	4	10 (1.15%)
Dichotomizes good and bad	16	5	21 (2.41%)
Two-party orientation	20	15	35 (4.01%)
Partisan	30	7	37 (4.24%)
Zero-sum orientation	32	22	54 (6.19%)
War Journalism Language			
Uses victimizing language	11	12	23 (2.64%)
Uses demonizing language	16	13	29 (3.33%)
Uses emotive language	103	92	195 (22.36%)