

**REPRESENTATION OF RUSSIA IN
AMERICAN PRINT MEDIA DURING RUSSIA-
UKRAINE WAR:
A FRAMING ANALYSIS**

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Representation of Russia in American Print Media During Russia-Ukraine War: A Framing Analysis

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Candidate of **Master of Philosophy** at the National University of Modern Languages do hereby declare that the thesis **Representation of Russia in American Print Media During Russia-Ukraine War: A Framing Analysis** submitted by me in partial fulfillment of MPhil degree, is my original work, and has not been submitted or published earlier. I also solemnly declare that it shall not, in future, be submitted by me for obtaining any other degree from this or any other university or institution.

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ABSTRACT

TITLE: Representation of Russia in American Print Media During Russia-Ukraine War: A Framing Analysis

The current study analyzes the editorials of two well-known American newspapers namely *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* to explore the representation of Russia. It is an attempt to explore what role newspapers play in propagating different types of narratives by using various framing techniques. For this purpose, the researcher has used Fairhurst and Sarr's (1996) Framing Theory as a framework for the study to analyze the representation of Russia in the American newspapers in the context of Russia-Ukraine war. The theory includes five types of different framing tools including catchphrases, metaphors, stories, spins and contrasts and the same tools have been used for the study. The present research is qualitative in nature. The sampling technique is based on convenience in the non-probability sample with the rationale of choosing this technique to include only those editorials which largely reflect the representation of Russia during Russia-Ukraine war. The study tries to identify the approach of American newspapers towards Russia-Ukraine war. The findings of the study reveal that the selected newspapers hold Russia responsible for initiating the war. The analysis suggests that the selected newspapers use framing tools extensively to construct the identity of Russia as an aggressive, violent and manipulative state. The analysis of data further reveals that these newspapers have hardly a neutral stance. However, it has been observed that the American narrative has been promoted by eclipsing the Russian narrative. The study recommends to the editors and the owners of the newspapers to be submissive of the international news policy and maintain a maximum of objectivity in the diction of the news printed.

KEY WORDS: *Framing Analysis, Print Media, Russia, Ukraine, War*

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my beloved father (Abdul Rahim), my mother (Khalida Khanum) and my grandma (Gulnar Ahmed)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The current study aims to analyze the editorials of two American English newspapers. The study investigates how the selected newspapers portray Russia in their news coverage. It is an attempt to explore the language of print media through the lens of framing theory. It analyzes the frames used by the selected newspapers in shaping the image of Russia in the context of the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine. It is a known fact that print media plays an indispensable role in constructing reality for its audience through its use of language. It is one of the sources to convey to the readers what is happening around the world. It has the power to construct and change the point of view of the public. In other words, it can be said that print media has become the opinion-maker of the masses. It is an important source of information and it is considered an authentic source of information and news, so usually people rely on newspapers for making opinions. It has the power to portray a villain as a hero and vice versa. Therefore, it is imperative to investigate how media uses language to propagate its desired narratives. In this regard, the researcher aims to create awareness among public regarding the role of print media in constructing their opinions, ideas and attitudes towards a particular issue by conducting a study on the role of American newspapers in portraying Russia during the Russia-Ukraine war.

The present study employs the framing theory of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). They explain how media uses various frames to construct narratives on a particular matter. According to them, there are five techniques of framing that are widely used by news producers to propagate their desired ideologies: catchphrase, metaphor, spin, contrast and stories. Framing as a method was originally developed in the field of journalism and communication, it also has its bases in psychology and sociology. Framing analysis was first researched and put forth by Goffman (1974) who argued that every individual creates “frames” in order to give meaning to otherwise meaningless events. He named the frames the “schemata of interpretation” (p. 21). The framing process, however, happens as well on the second level, when an outside subject intends to create a biased perception of an event or piece of information. According to Entman (1993), “to frame is to select”

(p. 53), select one part of information and make it more silent compared to other parts. Pan and Kosicki (1993) associate framing exclusively with the process of producing news discourse. According to Iyengar (1994), media plays a crucial role in shaping the narrative of society by using various tools of framing. The way of laying down information for the audience always has a hidden intention of directing them to a certain desired point of view. In general, framing refers to the construction of perceptions about a subject through the use of various tools and devices.

According to Pan and Kosicki (1993), every news story has a specific theme that acts as the main organizing concept. They are of the view that themes are basically related to meanings. The meanings of the story may come from shared values, ideas or experiences, as there is no direct relation between the ‘signifying elements and meaning’ (p. 59). Therefore, the news producers exploit this arbitrary relation between the signifier and signified to provide their ‘intended or preferred meaning’ (p. 59). By doing this, the new producers direct the thought process of their audience. By explaining the structuring function of theme, it is also defined as a frame. The signifiers of a theme are described as the lexical choices that are created by using certain shared values, ideas and experiences. They perform different functions. They act as framing devices because they are familiar and thus can be easily recognized, organized, and manipulated by the news producers to propagate their desired or intended narratives. In simple words, the news producers use them as tools for constructing different news stories. Moreover, they discuss framing analysis as an approach that is used to investigate how news producers construct and negotiate news discourse by using various tools of framing to shape the opinion and attitude of the public.

1.1 Background and Context of the Study

In today’s world, media plays a pivotal role in constructing the worldview of people. Media is considered the fourth pillar of a state because of its influence on people and policymakers. Iqbal, Danish & Tahir (2014) conducted a study to investigate the power of media in manipulating and constructing the worldview of the public through its discourse. The findings of the study suggest that media has tremendous power to influence people; hence, influential bodies are using it as a tool to shape the opinions and

attitudes of people for their political and material gains. Likewise, Ramanathan and Hoon (2015) conducted a study to discuss the role of media. The findings of this research reveal that the language of media is not neutral; rather, it is embedded with various ideologies. Media uses its power to spread propaganda and to create inequality in society. It further elaborates that discourse is constructed and controlled by the powerful entities of society.

Generally, the framing analysis theory is used to examine the news coverage that deals with controversial issues. It is used to observe if the news stories illustrate biased attitudes or maintain neutrality towards the issues under consideration (Kuypers, 2002). A large number of studies have been conducted to analyze the role of American print media in framing other countries. To illustrate, Yu and Riffe (1989) carried out a study to understand the role of American print media in framing the image of two famous leaders: Chiang and Mao. The findings of their study reveal that the American print media follows the foreign policy of the United States in their coverage of foreign political leaders. In the same way, employing framing theory, Dorman and Farhang (1988) conducted a study to examine the role of American newspapers in portraying the image of Iran during different time periods.

The context of the current study is the Russia-Ukraine war that started on February 24, 2022. According to Russia, it is an action of self-defense as Ukraine intends to become a member of the European Union and NATO. Russia justifies its action by saying that NATO is a threat to Russian sovereignty. Russia claims that it has no issue with Ukraine; rather, it just wants to contain NATO's expansion in Eastern Europe because it would become a threat to Russian security. On the other hand, the member states of NATO condemn Russian military action in Ukraine by calling it a threat to global peace and security (Sergei, 2022). America is the key member of NATO, so it has a significant role in the whole scenario. Therefore, the American media is trying to highlight the issue by using various framing tools. It is a general perception that print media plays an indispensable role in constructing reality for its audience through its use of language. It plays a crucial role in the production, maintenance and propagation of dominant ideologies through various tools and strategies. However, people are not aware of these techniques and strategies, so they consume whatever media feeds them. Thus, it was necessary to conduct a study in this area to create awareness among people regarding

the role of media in constructing their opinions, attitudes and behaviors. Also, the literature review suggests that there is a knowledge gap in the existing system of literature as none of the scholars has applied the framing theories to analyze the representation of Russia in the context of Russia Ukraine War in the selected American newspapers. Therefore, the current study has been conducted to explore the language of print media through the lens of framing theory. It analyzes the frames used by the selected newspapers in shaping the image of Russia in the context of the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Print media plays a significant role in the construction and representation of ongoing debates and facts anywhere in the world. The narratives and the news presented in the newspapers can easily influence the readers and provide new ways of thinking through the use of language. Different framing techniques are used by different newspapers to shape the minds of the target readership; however, most of the readers of newspapers are not aware of these techniques used by news producers. Therefore, people usually believe whatever newspapers want them to believe. It is also a general perception that newspapers play a critical role in representing different groups and people in positive and negative way on the basis of their interest and agendas. In view of this, the researcher observed some of the newspapers based in America portraying Russia in different capacities and roles which motivated the researcher to look into the editorials as to how actually Russia is being presented in the newspapers during the Russia-Ukraine war. Thus, the current study has been conducted to identify whether the American newspapers, namely *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, are maintaining neutrality or showing bias towards Russia through the use of language.

1.3 Rationale of the Study

The ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine has gained the attention of print, electronic and social media. It is a general perception that media plays a crucial role in narrative building, especially during wars and conflicts, by using language as a tool. It has the power to make anyone a hero or villain based on its own agendas and interests. Therefore, the current study has been conducted to explore how print media uses

language in narrative building during a conflict between two states. The main purpose of conducting the present study is to explore how print media covers the news related to wars and conflicts. The researcher has closely observed news regarding the current conflict between Russia and Ukraine by following various print and electronic media sources. In this process, the researcher notices that different media channels from different countries cover the same event in different ways. It motivates the researcher to conduct a study on this topic in order to explore the underlying factors behind the behavior of the media. Apart from this, the study has been conducted because it is quite relevant to the changing geo-political situation of the world which further enhances its importance. This conflict is perceived as a decisive moment in changing the established world order. According to many experts, this war has the potential to transform the world from a unipolar to a multipolar world order. Keeping these points in mind, the researcher finds the need to conduct a study on this topic.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- 2 To explore the linguistic constructions used by the selected American newspapers to represent Russia.
- 3 To investigate the representation of Russia in the selected American newspapers.
- 4 To examine the position of the selected English newspapers on the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine.

1.5 Research Questions

- Q1. What type of linguistic constructions are used to represent Russia in the selected American English Newspapers?
- Q2. How do the framing tools used by the selected newspapers shape the representation of Russia?
- Q3. How do the framing tools employed reflect position of the selected English newspapers with regard to the issue?

1.6 Delimitation

The current study is delimited to the analysis of the editorials appearing in *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* from 24th February to 24th June 2022. In this study, only those editorials have been analyzed which are related to Russia-Ukraine war. Data selected for analysis is delimited to 30 editorials published in the selected newspapers. The selected editorials have been analyzed by using Framing Theory of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996).

1.7 Significance of the Study

The current study is significant as it tries to explore different narratives embedded in the text of print media through the method of framing analysis. The discourse of print media influences its readers, which is quite obvious, but the readers usually ignore this fact. Generally, people are not familiar with the framing techniques used by print media to shape the worldview of the public. Therefore, the current study creates awareness among readers regarding the role of print media in constructing ideologies through their use of language. Usually, people read newspapers to get the idea of different issues occurring across the globe, so it is crucial to create awareness among them regarding the role of newspaper discourses in shaping the worldview of the public. Most of the time, the print media uses language as a tool to spread propaganda and to manipulate the opinions and attitudes of their audience. Hence, in this context, the present research helps the audience in understanding the language of print media and their hidden agendas. The current study analyzes the language of American newspapers and explores how they use language to promote their narratives which ultimately contribute to the existing body of knowledge.

It is beneficial for students of mass communication to understand how media use language to frame different issues based on their agendas and interests. It makes them aware of the use of framing techniques by the news producers. In addition to this, it helps students and researchers of political science and international relations to comprehend how world powers use media as a tool to enhance and maintain their power and hegemony. It illustrates that the global powers use media to support their allies and to defame, criticize and oppose their enemies. Further, the study is very significant for the

students of linguistics as it explores the role of language in shaping the attitudes, beliefs and worldviews of people. It highlights how linguistic constructions play an indispensable role in creating the image of an individual, group or country. Furthermore, the current study provides a way for new researchers to use the method of framing analysis to analyze the language of different types of the media such as print media, electronic media, social media etc.

In addition to this, the study indicates that the media's role is critical in modern wars as it fights the war of narrative which is considered the most important feature of modern warfare. To understand the power of the media, the example of the Arab Spring can be taken into account. Social media has played a crucial role in the emergence, organization, and dissemination of the Arab Spring. Therefore, the present study highlights the role of the media in shaping the worldview of people by using various techniques of framing. Thus, it can be argued that the current study is very significant as it would facilitate the Pakistani public to analyze the language of print media with a critical eye that initiates a healthy change in society. It would also guide the media house to review their biased policies in order to gain and maintain public trust.

1.8 Chapter Breakdown

The present study is organized into five chapters. The chapter wise structure of the current study is given below.

The first chapter of the present research is an introduction to the study and it provides an overview of the study's background, significance, objectives, questions, delimitation and the organization of the thesis.

The second chapter reviews the previous literature relevant to the current study. It highlights the role of media in constructing different narratives by using different tools of framing. And most importantly, this chapter demonstrates the knowledge gap in the current literature and explains how the current study can fill that gap by exploring new dimensions of research.

In the third chapter, the researcher discusses the methodological stance of the study to explore the representation of Russia in the editorials of American newspapers in

the context of Russia-Ukraine war. In this chapter, the researcher discusses the research design, sampling technique, data collection, data sources, coding process and the theoretical framework of the study in detail.

The fourth chapter of this study analyzes the data (editorials of two American newspapers) by using Fairhurst and Sarr's (1996) Framing Theory. The selected editorials have been analyzed by using the framework discussed in the third chapter of this study to explore the representation of Russia in American newspapers during Russia-Ukraine war.

The fifth chapter is technically the last chapter of the current study. It summarizes the whole discussion and discusses the findings of the study. It also provides some suggestions for future researchers who are interested in doing research in the same field.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

It is very important to review the previous literature in order to make sure that the current research is new and to identify the gaps in previous researches. Therefore, in this chapter, the researcher reviews the relevant literature to the current study. In this way, the researcher would see how the current research is linked with the previous studies and vice versa. There are various approaches to review the literature. However, here, the researcher adopts a funnel approach to review the previous literature. According to the funnel approach, the chapter should start with the foundational concepts (the broad concepts or ideas) related to the research topic and then gradually move towards specific concepts related to the issue, ending with the research gap. In simple words, it states that the literature review should start with broader aspects of the research topic (background, concepts, main ideas, examples, etc.) and then discuss the specific aspects of the topic (Lee & Scott 2015). By following this approach, the researcher starts the chapter by discussing the basic concepts such as representation and reality, the power of media, etc. Afterward, the chapter provides a review of the literature that is relevant to the current study. In the last section of the chapter, the researcher provides a review of previous studies that have adopted framing analysis as their conceptual framework, as they are quite relevant to the present study. By doing so, we have found the research gap in previous literature.

2.1 Representation and Reality

Media decides how society should perceive reality by presenting it in its own ways (Iyengar, 1994). Also, Grunwald (1993) discusses how the ideological beliefs of the media are translated into its coverage of different events. The role of media is deemed pivotal in selecting and portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience. (Entman, 2007).

Bashir and Fedorova (2014) conducted a research to observe how the media of different countries present the same event in different ways by keeping their national

interests in mind. They analyze four different newspapers from the United States and Russia: the Russian *Argumenty i Fakty*, *Izvestiya*, and the American *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*. The study tries to find out the representation of Pussy Riot in Russia by these mentioned newspapers. The research demonstrates that the American newspapers cover the issue by protecting US interests, as they show a sense of solidarity and harmony with the group. Further, they oppose and criticize the Russian handling of the case by employing various framing devices. On the other hand, the Russian newspapers raise multiple questions on the church performance by asking whether it is an act of hooliganism or freedom of expression. The American newspapers support the Pussy Riot by quoting the endorsements of various celebrities, whereas the main focus of Russian newspapers is the latest developments of the event. This study describes how the newspapers of the two different states have made the Pussy Riot controversial. The researchers conclude the study by explaining that media plays a crucial role in representing and shaping reality. Media has the power to show a hero as a villain and vice versa. Thus, it can be argued that in the era of media technology, a huge difference can be found between representation and reality

2.2 Power of Media

In today's world, media is considered the fourth pillar of the state because of its peculiar role in our lives. Media has the power to construct and change the point of view of the public. In other words, it can be said that media has become the opinion-maker of the masses. Print media is an important source of information and it is considered an authentic source of information and news, so usually people rely on newspapers for making opinions. It is an undeniable fact that media has tremendous power to influence people, so influential bodies are using it as a tool to shape the opinions and attitudes of people for their political and material gains. In advertisements, the language is used in a tactical manner to manipulate the audience and convince them to buy the products. The research has been conducted under the title "Exploitation of Women in Beauty Products of Fair and Lovely: A Critical Discourse Analysis Study" in which it has been discussed how media plays a vital role in pursuing the audience to purchase the products by using different linguistic techniques in their advertisements. Basically, the researchers highlight

the power of the media in manipulating and constructing the worldview of the public through their discourse. (Iqbal, Danish & Tahir, 2014)

Media plays a significant role in shaping the opinions and attitudes of the public. In this regard, Eberl et al., (2018) conducted a study to highlight the role of European media in representing the image of immigrants in its news stories. They have analyzed the previous literature to explore how the European media portrays immigrants in its news reports. Usually, the European media represents immigrants as outsiders and invaders. Consequently, people have started considering the immigrants as their enemies and showing negative attitude towards them. Thus, to sum up the argument, it can be said that media has become an extremely powerful element of the state as it controls the narratives of people. Further, KhosraviNik, (2010) explains how British newspapers use different discursive techniques to portray the image of asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants. He analyzes the newspapers between 1996 and 2006. He argues that though the terms ‘asylum seekers’, ‘refugees’ and ‘immigrants’ are used to refer to different groups of people yet all of them are portrayed in a negative way. Thus, he argues that the British newspapers have an agenda to represent these groups as invaders and terrorists. They consider these groups outsiders or THEM, who do not belong to the British nation. Thus, it can be said that the British newspapers are actually trying to construct the negative image of asylum seekers, immigrants and refugees through their discourse. Hence, it illustrates the power of media in constructing the image of people.

Mass media plays a crucial role in the production, maintenance and propagation of dominant ideologies through its discourses. The discourse of the media creates inequality and prejudice in society by suppressing the already oppressed group and empowering those who are in power. In this context, Ramanathan and Hoon (2015) conducted a study to discuss the role of media. The findings of this research demonstrate that the language of media is not neutral; rather, it is embedded with various ideologies. Media uses several discursive devices in its discourse to construct different ideologies and identities. Media uses its power to spread propaganda and to create inequality in society. It further says that discourse is constructed and controlled by the powerful entities of society. In a similar way, Xie (2018) discusses the importance of the analysis of the news discourse in his study, *Critical Discourse Analysis of News Discourse*.

According to him, people can get an idea of the real situation by critically analyzing the discourse produced by the media in the form of news. Moreover, it helps to create awareness among people regarding the discourse of the media. The study also suggests some methods of critical discourse analysis of news discourse.

Similarly, Kim (2014) analyzes the representation of North Korea in the news of American mainstream media. He employs both qualitative and quantitative approach in his work. The study uses both corpus analysis and critical discourse analysis as its framework. The article intends to explore how American media is trying to portray the image of North Korea in their discourse. The article provides context by discussing the ongoing tensions between North Korea and America. Moreover, it sheds light on Kim Jong's attitude towards the USA and the UN. Kim does not have favorable relations with America because of his nuclear program. Thus, the article tries to explore how American media is constructing the image of North Korea by using different discursive techniques in their news discourse. The study reveals that America and North Korea are not in good relations, so the US media tries to show the negative image of North Korea by representing it as a threat to international peace and stability. Further, it argues that the American media divides the world on the basis of its allies and opponents. In this way, the US media portrays the good things about those countries that are included in the 'in-group' (p. 17) and highlights the negative aspects of those countries which are categorized in the 'out-group' (p. 17) category. By analyzing the discourse of American media, we have come to know how the media uses its discourse to construct ideologies and to spread propaganda. Thus, it can be said that the analysis of media discourse plays a pivotal role in creating awareness among people regarding the role of the media in spreading propaganda.

The above article is closely related to the current study as it discusses the role of American media in constructing the image of North Korea through its discourse while the current study explores how American media uses its discourse to construct the image of Russia during Russia-Ukraine war.

Media has the power to construct and change the point of view of the public. In this regard, Brookes (1995) analyzes the British newspapers to explore how they are

constructing the image of Africa and Africans through their discourses. By analyzing two British newspapers, he finds out that their discourse shows a stereotypical image of Africa. He argues that the purpose of these discourses is to maintain the hegemony of Western countries over colonial states. Thus, it can be argued that the concept of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ is very prevalent in the discourse of British newspapers. He discusses the representation of Africa in British newspapers. Similarly, the current study also tries to explore the representation of Russia in American newspapers during the Russia-Ukraine war. Hence, it can be said that this article is very relevant to the present study. Generally, the languages which are used in the news reports are believed to be unbiased and neutral; however, Zhang (2014) argues that this is not true; rather, the languages of the news reports are biased. He discusses the importance of news reports in his study. In order to prove his point, he conducts a study on the news reports of American media that are related to the Iraq war. In this study, he employs Fairclough’s (1992) three-dimension model and Halliday’s (1985) functional grammar as theoretical framework to analyze the language of American media. The language of news reports is analyzed by using both micro and macro level strategies. He finds out that the American media uses different discursive techniques to represent quite different images of the American side and the Iraqi side in this war. The news reports portray Saddam Hussein as an aggressor and villain, whereas the American troops are shown as the saviors of the world. Consequently, people start criticizing Saddam Hussein for his dictatorial attitude. The language of these news reports also justifies the war in Iraq. This depicts that the news reporters are trying to construct a positive image of America and a negative image of Iraq and Saddam Hussein. The languages of these news reports are loaded with hidden ideologies which are explored by the researcher in his study. Thus, it can be said that the language of news discourse is not neutral; rather, it is used to construct the opinions, attitudes and worldviews of people. In conclusion, the researcher argues that the analysis of news reports plays a crucial role in creating awareness among people. This article is relevant to the current study as both try to explore the hidden ideologies embedded in the language of news.

To explore the representation of Muslims and Islam in US media discourse, Samaie and Malmir (2017) conducted a study. They explain how the US media is using

different discursive strategies to portray the image of Islam and Muslims in their discourse. The discussion illustrates that, in general, US media tries to associate Muslims and Islam with violence, terrorism and extremism. They also show the other side of the story by discussing the real meaning of Islam and its message. They provide the definition of Islam from a Quranic perspective in their work and argue that Islam preaches the message of peace and love rather than violence and prejudice. The findings illustrate that various discursive strategies are being used by the US media for the ideological representation of Islam and Muslims. Likewise, Alaazi et al. (2021) conducted a study to explore the discursive methods used by Canadian newspapers to represent the parenting method of African immigrants in Canada. They employ Fairclough's (1992) Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to analyze the language of Canadian newspapers. The study uncovers the hidden ideologies that are embedded in the discourse of Canadian newspapers about African immigrants and their parenting practices. The article elaborates that the parenting practices of African immigrants are represented in a negative way. In Canadian newspapers, African immigrants parenting practices are deliberately compared with Canadian parenting practices to show the superiority of Canadian over African immigrants. Consequently, African immigrants are forced to quit their cultural and traditional parenting systems. In conclusion, the study suggests to create awareness among people regarding the language of news. Besides, it urges to celebrate diversity and to show acceptance towards other culture.

In a similar way, Ahmed (2020) conducts a study to investigate the discursive techniques used by American and British newspapers to narrate the story of Prince Harry and Meghan Markle. He analyzes the headlines of these newspapers to explore the hidden ideologies embedded in their discourse. The headlines are basically related to Prince Harry and Meghan Markle's decision of leaving the country. The researcher tries to explore the discursive devices such as lexical choices, grammar and presuppositions to reveal the ideologies of American and British media regarding this issue. The researcher employs Fairclough's (1992) framework of CDA to analyze the headlines of British and American newspapers in his study. This study is closely related to the current study as both deal with the language of newspapers. However, the current study is different and

unique from the above research as it intends to explore the hidden ideologies and agendas embedded in the discourse of print media by using the theory of framing analysis.

Belt and Road Initiative is a multi-billion-dollar project initiated by the Chinese government to strengthen its economy and trade. This project has got a lot of attention from the western media because of its great implications. This project is also known as a game changer for Chinese economy. Therefore, America perceives it as a threat to its global hegemony and believes that it is actually challenging American dominance in the world (Mobley, 2019). Xiao, Li, and Hu (2019) conduct a study to analyze how Chinese media and American media are trying to present this project in different ways according to their agendas. They employ the Critical Discourse Analysis approach to explore the hidden ideologies embedded in the discourse of American and Chinese newspapers. The study argues that the language of American newspapers is not in favor of the Belt and Road Initiative while Chinese newspapers are writing in support of this project. By analyzing the discourse of American newspapers, it is found that they are trying to portray the negative image of Belt and Road Initiative; on the other hand, the Chinese media is trying to represent the positive aspects of this project.

Ahmed and Sajjad (2019) study the incident of the Red Mosque operation conducted by Pakistani armed forces in 2007. They discuss how this event has been portrayed in different manners by the western newspapers and the local newspapers. This is basically a comparative study to highlight the perspectives of different newspapers belonging to different nations which indirectly reflect their national interests. They reveal how media uses the framing techniques to portray the news in its own ways. The analysis techniques of the western and local newspapers have been discussed extensively to explain how media uses different types of analysis for propagating its narrative. The local right wing newspapers try to portray the positive image of protesters by associating it with the fundamental rights of citizen. At the same time, these local newspapers are blaming government for violating the human rights by conducting military operation against the protesters of the Red Mosque. On the other hand, the Western newspapers are portraying the protesters as terrorists by calling them rebellions. Thus, this shows how social realities are constructed in different ways by different societies and media through the use of framing techniques. In this regard, Perreault (2014) discusses the

representation of Islam in English-language Egyptian media. In this study, he explains that most of researchers have conducted their researches to explore the coverage of Islam and Muslims in the West. Therefore, he tries to find out the representation of Islam in Muslim majority country through framing analysis. According to him, Islam and Muslims are portrayed in a positive manner in Muslim majority country by highlighting their positive aspects. Hence, it can be argued that framing analysis plays a pivotal role in shaping the opinions, beliefs and values of people.

Jacuinde (2020) explains how Alexandria Ocasio Cortez uses social media to become a famous figure in the United States of America. The paper further narrates how her social media accounts help her in winning the election. She uses framing techniques to portray her messages on social media mainly on Instagram and Twitter. She highlights the issues of the public by using different frames and gives people hope for a better future which helps her in constructing a positive and optimistic image of her personality. She emerges as a ray of hope for people. She shapes her identity and political position through framing on social media; resultantly, she becomes a famous figure and successful politician. On social media, she shares her personal experiences which is the important element of framing.

In today's world, print media plays a crucial role in shaping the narrative of its readers. Lee, Maslog and Kim (2006) conduct a study to analyze eight newspapers from five different countries namely Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka and India. They have tried to reveal the framing process at two different levels of conflicts which are local and international. In this article, they evaluate the news coverage of the Asian conflicts and Iraq War in the newspapers of these countries. They employ Gatlung's war or peace journalism as a theoretical framework to discuss the stories on the Asian conflicts and Iraq War. According to them, the war journalism framing is used to narrate the hard stories whereas the opinion pieces and features are dominated by peace journalism framing. Surprisingly, the findings of the study suggest that the Asian newspapers use war journalism framing to discuss their local conflicts and peace journalism to explain the Iraq War. This clearly shows that the government influences the coverage of local conflicts. Further, it shows that the state's media does not remain neutral in describing a conflict involving its own state. In this scenario, it is understandable that the Asian

countries are not directly involved in Iraq War which makes them neutral and helps in adopting a peace journalism framing in portraying the Iraq War. They desire for the peaceful resolution of the War. However, on the other hand, the western media uses war journalism to depict the Iraq War because of the direct involvement of America. Hence, they conclude their study by stating that framing is directly related to the interests and agendas of a media.

According to research by Nikolayenko (2019), social movements need effective framing to maintain contentious collective activity and win over the public. This article uses the Moscow Peace March on September 21, 2014, as an example to examine how anti-war activists and their opponents framed demonstrations against Russia's engagement in Ukraine. According to the research, various interpretations of patriotism influence how conflicts and opposing identity constructs are viewed. Before the march, peace activists used Twitter to criticize the Russian government's military participation in Ukraine and to advocate for a peaceful settlement of the crisis. These activists positioned themselves as citizens with high moral standards and excellent patriotism. As a result, they began targeting Russia's foreign policy. Meanwhile, the march's opponents regarded themselves as real patriots and their opponents as national traitors who condemned Russia's military presence in Ukraine. This study adds to the body of knowledge on social movements by examining anti-war frameworks of activism on social media platforms during a period of hybrid warfare, marked by significant ambiguity and deceit regarding the dynamics, causes, and effects of both state and non-military acts.

Sedu and Diah (2015) discuss the role of magazine in highlighting the health related issues. The researchers focus on menopause to observe its coverage in MIDI, a woman Malay magazine. According to them, usually magazines do not give proper coverage to this issue as compared to other topics such as beauty, fashion, education and business. This issue is considered a social taboo. Most of the magazines consider this issue as less important. They select this magazine because it claims of having huge number of aged female readers. They analyze the language of the selected magazine to explore the representation of menopause by using Fairhurst and Sarr's (1996) Theory of Framing Analysis. For this purpose, they select 18 articles on menopause from the magazine. The findings of the study suggest that menopause is an underreported issue in

this magazine. Despite of having large number of aged female readers, it does not give a proper coverage to this issue because of the social factors. Thus, the study suggests that this topic should be discussed in magazines to create awareness among females. In order to normalize this discussion, it is imperative to re-frame the issue by highlighting it as a medical problem which requires medical intervention. The medical framing of menopause would change the perspective of people on this issue and they would consider this issue in more serious manner. Hence, it can be argued that the researchers explain the importance of framing and re-framing in highlighting the different issues.

Bednarek and Caple (2014) try to formulate new framework for the analysis of news discourse for new researchers who are interested in this area of research. The new framework is concerned with the linguistic analysis of the news values. They develop the framework by conducting two case studies of British news discourse. According to them, the new framework is basically the integration of corpus linguistic analysis and multimodal discourse analysis. From this study, they draw a conclusion that the news discourse usually constructs and propagates ideologies by using different discursive techniques.

The role of frames in news discourse plays a vital role in constructing the narratives of the public. Doolan (2022) examines the statements made by Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky both abroad and locally during the first sixty days of the Russia-Ukrainian War. The way Vladimir Zelensky planned the war and pleaded for support in 22 speeches between February 22 and April 23, 2022, is examined using a mixed-methods quantitative analysis. Iyengar (1991) employed a predetermined broad framework based on the findings of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The frameworks employed include the situational framework, theme framework, framework for assigning responsibility, conflict framework, framework for human interest, ethical framework, and framework for economic consequences. The study reveals that each utterance of Volodymyr Zelensky was random and that each of the five broad frames described by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) was present in varied degrees. The most prominent factors were duty assignment, conflict, human interest, moral implications, and economic effects. Utilizing four of the five frames produced nearly identical outcomes, demonstrating how almost symbiotic the frame's use was. Although they are utilized far

less frequently than other frameworks, economic results are nevertheless relevant and helpful when used with other broad frameworks. This essay contends that Volodymyr Zelensky's use of collective memory and the balanced application and interdependence of universal communication frameworks strengthened the persuasiveness of his propaganda messages for both Ukrainian and Western (Western) audiences. In addition to helping people establish their global identities, Zelensky's ongoing media and internet presence might influence how Ukrainians and Westerners remember the Russo-Ukrainian War.

Similarly, Sanghara (2016), in her research paper, studies four speeches of President Obama which he delivered during the initial year of his second presidential terms. She uses the framing theory of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to uncover how Obama constructs different stories to gain the public attention. The study uses three framing techniques: contrast, metaphor and slogan. The findings of the study elaborate that Obama successfully uses the political, social and economic stories to construct the perspective of American public in his favor. He uses framing techniques to share his personal experiences and to convince people that he is the one who can empower Americans by ensuring a better future for them. Resultantly, he becomes able to convince the Americans to make him a president. This illustrates the significance of storytelling and framing techniques in shaping the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of people.

Newspapers play a crucial role in portraying the image of a person in positive or negative way. In this regard, Freyenberger (2013) conducts a study to examine the role of newspapers in representing the image of Amanda Knox, an American foreign exchange student. She was arrested when her roommate was found dead in her room. This case got the attention of the international media. Therefore, the researcher analyzes various newspapers to explore how these newspapers cover her story in different ways by using the techniques of framing. For this purpose, he employs framing theory as the analytical framework of the study. The findings of the study suggest that most of the newspapers paint her as a violent person. Further, the findings suggest that the British newspapers have frequently used negative words to describe her as the victim was from the United Kingdom. She has been framed by using various terms like 'demonic', 'Satanic', 'Lucifer', 'sex-obsessed', 'Foxy Knoxy' etc. (p. 9). However, the American newspapers

tried to prove her innocent by framing her in positive way as she was the citizen of the United States. Thus, the study suggests that media frames different issues in different ways on the basis of its interests and agendas.

Bowe and Makki (2016) conduct a research study to examine the representation of Muslim community in five American English newspapers. The researchers employ framing analysis theory to analyze the language of the selected newspapers. They discuss five frames: Political Debate, Local Regulation, Islamic Threat, Legal Authority and Muslim Neighbors. The findings of the study indicate that some of the discourse illustrate the presence of Islamophilia in these newspapers. It means they are presenting the stereotypical image of ‘good Muslims’ (p. 6) who are civilized people in contrast to the ‘bad Muslims’ (p. 6) who are barbaric. However, the study further suggests that most of the discourse have the evidence of Islamophobia which means they are showing hatred towards Muslim and Islam. By using various framing techniques, the newspapers portray the image of Muslims as terrorists. They depict Islam as a threat to American society. The researchers conclude the study by suggesting that media should play its role in responsible way as it influences in shaping the public opinion. Thus, it is pivotal to have a balanced approach in narrating a story about any community.

In same manner, Albert (2016), in his research article, discusses how different Egyptian politicians use framing devices differently to explain democracy after the Egyptian Revolution. The researcher is interested in evaluating the differences among various groups: Islamists leaders, political activists, former presidential candidates and media workers. He analyses the tweets of different people from each group to unveil the dominated frame used by them. He uses Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) frame analysis approach which includes five elements namely conflict, attribution of responsibility, human interests, morality and economic consequences. The findings show that mostly the politicians and social activists use the human interest and attribution of responsibility frames. The Islamist leaders mostly use the morality frames. The economic consequences frame is less evident as compared to other frames in the selected tweets. Hence, this study illustrates that different groups use different framing devices to propagate their narratives.

An examination of the resurgence of Cold War divisions in Europe is invited by Ojala and Pantti (2017). This research examines how news framing methods, both textual and visual, support the creation of geopolitical rationalities and the justification of foreign policy, with a particular focus on the role of the media in war. They examine how the conflict's framing evolved in response to four significant events in Die Welt, Dagens Nyheter, Helsingin News, and The Guardian between February 2014 and February 2015. The study demonstrates how media helps to legitimize EU policies that support the military actions of the Ukrainian government in eastern Ukraine and attributes the conflict to Russia by endorsing a certain information framing. Therefore, they argued that the news framing ultimately helped to normalize the "new cold war" (p. 2) as a geopolitical rationale, guiding and approving European foreign policy.

Generally, the framing analysis theory is used to examine the news coverage that deals with controversial issues. It is used to observe if these news stories illustrate bias attitudes or maintain neutrality towards the issues under consideration (Kuypers, 2002). Luther and Miller (2005) conduct a study to examine how newspapers frame the pro and anti-war demonstrations during the 2003 Iraq war. They examine news articles from American newspapers to observe how they framed the pro and anti-war demonstrators. The findings of their study reveal that the newspaper articles framed the anti-war protestors in dark way by associating various negative terms with them such as 'violence', 'arrests', 'blocking', 'disorderly' and 'unpatriotic' (p. 85). On the other hand, the pro-war demonstrators are described by using words that have positive connotations such as 'religious', 'patriotic', 'freedom', 'love' and 'peaceful' (p. 86). Further, the results of the study suggest that the American newspapers tried to portray the image of the anti-war protestors as deviants and traitors.

Media frames different issues to construct the opinions and attitudes of the public as it has a great impact on public's perception of reality. In this context, Babin (2016) conducts a study to analyze the role of media in framing the field of science. In his study, he selects articles from four American newspapers namely *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *'Inquirer'* and *'Star Tribune'*. The purpose of the study is to examine the distribution of neutral, positive and negative science news in the selected newspapers. The findings of the study suggest that these newspapers frame the news related to the

field of science in positive and neutral ways. Likewise, Yang (2003) used a frame analysis technique to examine how Chinese and American media covered the NATO air strikes on Yugoslavia in 1999. According to the study, Chinese and American newspapers frame the issue in contrasting ways. The findings of the study reveal that the Chinese media condemns and opposes the air strikes by describing the act as violation of international law. According to Chinese newspapers, it is the violation of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity and sovereignty. They emphasize on the need of peaceful and diplomatic resolution of the issue by highlighting the horrific scene of war. To frame the NATO's air strikes, they use expressions such as 'NATO's brutal attack', 'bloody strikes' and 'genocidal war' (p. 243). However, the American newspapers appreciate the military forces for providing humanitarian aids to Albanians. They also praise the NATO forces for stopping the Serbian army from ethnic cleansing. In other words, they try to justify and legitimize the air strikes. Thus, the author argues that the national interest has a significant impact in framing the international media content.

Media frames, as Lynch (2014) noted, are a fundamental idea for linking a new series. Regarding war-related topics, media creates interpretative frameworks for news coverage, which can positively or negatively impact the public's decision to oppose the war actively. Consequently, media framing is a technique that distinguishes between the public's favourable and unfavourable perceptions of news coverage (Khaldarova, 2016). According to Zaliska et al. (2022), there have been terrible human tragedies, fatalities, infrastructure damage, injuries, negative effects on one's health and finances, and casualties every day since the Russia-Ukraine war began. De Witte (2022) adds that the early-year Russian assault on Ukrainian land was viewed as a transgression against international peace. A significant humanitarian catastrophe brought up by the war also resulted in a high death toll and widespread relocation (Feldscher, 2022).

A large number of researches have been conducted to analyze the role of American print media in framing other countries. To illustrate, Yu and Riffe (1989) carry out a study to understand the role of American print media in framing the image of two famous leaders: Chiang and Mao. For this purpose, they analyze news stories from three American news magazines namely *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*. They attempt to determine the influence of American foreign policy on the coverage of

these leaders by the press. The time period for data collection is from 1949 to 1976. The findings of the study suggest that these magazines follow the foreign policy of the United States in their coverage of foreign political leaders. For instance, they depict Mao as an aggressive, undemocratic and violent person during the era of hostility. However, during cold war, when China and the United States come close to each other after President Nixon's visit to Beijing, the representation of Mao in the American magazines becomes increasingly favorable. Similarly, for many years, these magazines present Chiang as hero and peaceful person in their news stories. However, when the United States recognizes China as a sovereign nation, these magazine articles portray Chiang less favorably and Mao more favorably. It illustrates that these magazines have adopted the stance of their country's foreign policy in their news coverage of foreign leaders. In the same way, employing framing theory, Dorman and Farhang (1988) study the role of American newspapers in portraying the image of Iran during different time periods. To explore the role of American print media, they analyze the news stories of six famous American newspapers including *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Christian Science Monitor*. The authors examine how these newspapers represent Iran in different eras, namely before and during the period of Revolution. By examining these newspapers, they find out that these newspapers show different treatment towards Iran in those periods. Before Revolution, these newspapers frame Iran as a close ally of the United States. They glorify Shah's Iran by associating words with positive connotations with it. By September 1988, the uprising starts against the Shah's regime; therefore, from that point on, these newspapers change their stance on Iran. They start highlighting the dark side of Iran by equating the Revolution to anti-modernism. In their coverage of Iran, they assert that the fundamentalists are exploiting the general public for their selfish interests and motives. Thus, it implies that these newspapers support the narrative of the United States on Iranian Revolution.

Victor et al. (2019) conduct a research to find out whether media helps in promoting or discouraging suicide in Malaysia. According to the World Health Organization media is responsible for increasing suicide rate in Malaysia. They employ framing analysis theory to discover the role of media in framing the suicide in its news

stories. The researchers find out that the newspapers are providing the details of the suicide methods used by the victims through different framing devices. In today's era, media has become very influential as it can shape the beliefs, attitudes and behaviors of its audience by inculcating different ideologies in them. Thus, the study suggests that media should play its role in more responsible manner by creating awareness among people regarding mental health issues. It should provide guidance to prevent the suicide attempts through more sensitive and positive reporting.

Stovickova (2021) discusses the role of Czech's media in constructing the image of Vladimir Putin during three presidential elections. He employs the theory of CDA to examine the representation of Russian President in the discourse of Czech's media. He applies Van Dijk's approach as theoretical framework in his study. The findings of this research reveal the subjective representation of Putin and his policies. According to the researcher, the language of Czech's media is biased towards Putin and is loaded with ideologies. Putin is described as an aggressor, non-democratic leader and authoritarian by using different discursive strategies. Czech does not have favorable relations with Russia because of historical grievances. The nationalist ideology of Czech is to defend its nation from any possible Russian attack. Therefore, it can be said that they are trying to express and propagate these ideologies among people through their media discourse.

The literature review suggests that none of the scholars have applied the framing theories to analyze the representation of Russia in the context of Russia Ukraine War in the selected American newspapers. Therefore, the current study is different from the existing literature. Hence, it can be said that the present work is unique and it helps to bridge the knowledge gap in the existing system of literature.

2.3 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has presented the review of previous literature and examined how they are relevant to the current study. It has also explained the theoretical background of the present study and elaborated how framing analysis plays a crucial role in exploring the narratives embedded in the discourse of media. The researcher has also discussed the fundamental concepts such as language, ideology and power of media. In addition to this,

the researcher has found the knowledge gap in the existing body of knowledge and explained how the current study can try to fill this knowledge gap.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodological stance of the study to explore the representation of Russia in the editorials of American newspapers in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war. In this chapter, the researcher discusses the research design, sampling technique, data collection, coding process and theoretical framework of the study in detail.

3.1 Research Design

The study has been carried out by using the qualitative research method as it deals with non-numeric data. This method is used to collect and analyze qualitative data in order to understand a phenomenon better and answer research questions. This research is qualitative in nature as the main focus of the research is on the interpretation of data to explore how American newspapers represent Russia in their editorials during the war between Russia and Ukraine. Descriptive design is used to describe things as they exist, so the researcher uses this design because it is suitable for the current study.

Hsieh and Shannon (2005) define qualitative content analysis as a ‘research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data’ (p.1278) through the process of identification and codification of different patterns or themes. Further, they discuss three types of qualitative research techniques: conventional, directed and summative. These three designs can be used to analyze the ‘content of text data’. In the conventional approach to content analysis, there is no predetermined categories or theoretical perspectives. A summative content analysis can be used to count or compare keywords or content. Another important design is directed content analysis in which a researcher uses existing theories or previous studies to identify the main variables or concepts as initial coding categories. In other words, the theoretical framework determines the categories or patterns. To illustrate, if a researcher is interested in directed content analysis of newspaper articles he or she has to identify and highlight the relevant part of the text from the selected articles. The next step is to code all highlighted phrases

or sentences by using the predetermined codes. The current study uses the directed content analysis technique as it allows the researcher to use the existing theory ‘to develop the initial coding scheme prior to beginning to analyze the data’ (Kyngas & Vanhanen, 1999).

3.2 Data Collection

The data for the current study is the editorials appearing in two American newspapers, *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, from February 24 to June 24, 2022. These two newspapers have online archives at www.nytimes.com and www.washingtonpost.com/. For the collection of data, the researcher got subscription of these newspapers as most of the editorials were not available to non-subscribers. Afterward, the data collected from these newspapers was recorded on a separate word document. Only those editorials have been selected where the editors discuss the matter of issue.

3.3 Data Sources

The researcher has collected data from the official websites of the respective newspapers after getting their subscriptions. The data from *The New York Times* has been selected from its official website, <https://www.nytimes.com/>. Similarly, the data from *The Washington Post* has been collected from its official website, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>.

3.4 Sample

The researcher has selected editorials on non-probability basis. This technique of sampling allows the researcher to choose data/units which are relevant to the study. This technique is quite convenient for the researcher in the scrutiny of data to formulate a sample. Oliver (2006) is of the view that the purposive sampling technique helps the researcher to select a specific sample based on the research relevance, capacity and objectives. The rationale behind using this sampling technique is to include only those editorials that illustrate the representation of Russia in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war in the selected American newspapers.

The editorials are carefully selected considering representation of Russia. The editorials are selected from 24th February 2022 as the war started on that day till June 24th 2022. The researcher found 343 editorials in *The Washington Post* and 352 in *The New York Times* during the selected time period. However, there are around 70 editorials which are quite relevant to the current study having much relevance and data regarding Russia-Ukraine war. In the current study, the researcher has selected equal number of editorials from each newspaper to find out Russian representation in them. These editorials have been selected on the basis of the frequency of framing tools present in them.

3.5 Rational for the Selection of Sample

The selection of sample from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* is based on their large circulation and their popularity around the world, and this makes them international.

The Washington Post, also called ‘The Post’, is an American daily newspapers published in Washington, DC. It is considered one of the most circulated newspapers in the United States and across the world. *The Washington Post* was established in 1877. It is famous for its political reporting. Further, it won 65 Pulitzer Prizes. According to Alliance for Audited Media the daily circulation of *The Washington Post* is 474,767 copies.

The New York Times is also an American daily newspaper published in New York City. It was established in 1851 by former banker George Jones and journalist and politician Henry Jarvis Raymond. It is published by The New York Times Company. It was awarded with 132 Pulitzer Prizes. According to Alliance for Audited Media the daily circulation of *The New York Times* is 1,865,318 copies.

3.6 Codification of Data

The present study has adopted deductive approach to investigate the representation of Russia in selected American newspapers. The researcher has selected 15 editorials from each newspaper to analyze them by using Fairhurst and Sarr’s (1996) Framing Theory. According to Stemler (2000), there are two approaches to the coding of

data: a prior coding where codes are predefined and emergent coding where codes are drawn from the text. The researcher coded the data by using the predefined coding approach. Coding is a process of organizing and labelling the qualitative data to identify patterns or themes. It makes the study more systematic and rigorous. For this purpose, the articles were studied in detail for several times. Afterward, the five frames (catchphrases, metaphors, spin, stories and contrast) suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) were identified and highlighted. After the completion of this process, the code 'WP' has been used to refer to *The Washington Post* and the code 'NY' for *The New York Times*. The editorials were recorded and numbered in sequence. For instance, the code 'WP1' denotes to the first selected editorial and the code 'WP2' refers to the second selected editorial from *The Washington Post* and the list go on. Similarly, the code 'NY1' refers to the first editorial of *The New York Times* and 'NY2' refers to the second editorial of *The New York Times*. In the same manner, the code 'M' has been used to denote the 'metaphor'. The metaphors present in *The Washington Post* have been coded by using a term 'WPM'. For instance, the code 'WPM1' denotes to the first metaphor found in *The Washington Post* and so on. The metaphors found in *The New York Times* have been coded by using a code 'NYM'. To illustrate, the code 'NYM1' refers to the first metaphor found in *The New York Times*. Moreover, the code 'SN' has been used to refer to the spin frame. And, the code 'WPSN' refers to the spin frames found in *The Washington Post* and the code 'NYSN' refers to the spin frame found in *The New York Times*. Further, the code 'ST' has been used to refer to the stories. For instance, the code 'WPST1' denotes to the first story found in *The Washington Post* and the code 'NYST1' refers to the first story found in *The New York Times* and so on. Likewise, the code 'C' has been used to refer to the contrast frame. For instance, the code 'WPC1' denotes to the first contrast frame found in *The Washington Post* and the code 'NYC1' refers to the first contrast frame found in *The New York Times* and so on.

3.7 Theoretical Framework

The present study employs the theory of framing as theoretical framework to investigate the representation of Russia in the American newspapers. The concept of framing and its significance in media discourse have been discussed by many scholars.

According to Goffman (1974), media plays a significant role in framing different issues by portraying their positive and negative aspects. The framing technique is used to shape the opinion of the public on a particular issue. Usually, media uses this technique to manipulate people by enforcing different ideologies according to its own agendas and interests. Entman (1993, p. 52), also discusses framing by describing it as a process which is used to choose some aspects of reality and to highlight them in a communication “in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation” (p.52). It is generally accepted fact that frames are used to shape and modify the opinions and attitudes of people towards a particular issue. The process of framing comes under agenda setting as it teaches people not only what to think but also how to think about a particular problem.

The concept of framing and frame analysis are usually viewed as the extension of agenda setting theory. Framing is a social construction of reality (Scheufele, 1999). It is an inevitable process in communication; however, Gamson (1992) argues that media does not use framing as a random process; rather, it carefully uses strong discursive strategy to propagate elite social discourses as the common sense or the public discourse of society. Media frames act as discursive strategy to carry out specific functions. Their functions include the definition of problem, identification, evaluation and suggestion to promote the elite discourses (Entman, 1993). He outlines the functions of media framing which is to explain both ‘a process and an effect’ (p. 53). In media framing, various words, phrases, themes and images are used to propagate certain opinions, facts, judgments and interpretations. Further, he elaborates how media provides different schemas for the audience to interpret events.

According to Domingo and Heinonen (2008), framing analysis is a technique which is used by the researchers to explore the representation of certain topics by media. They are of the view that frames are the “conceptual tools” which are used by people and media “to interpret, convey and evaluate information” (p. 3). In order to understand and study the impacts of framing on the audience, it is necessary to identify the frames first. Thus, the current study has tried to find out the frames and then analyze them in detail.

Generally, the word ‘frame’ is used to refer to its meaning in the material world, where either it means a picture frame or a skeleton of a building. According to Tankard (2001), there are various functions of frames. For instance, the function of picture frame is to portray certain materials in isolation and to draw the attention of people towards it. Similarly, the frames which are used by the media also draw the attention of the public by highlighting certain issues. The tone for perceiving the isolated material is determined by the shape, size and colour of a frame. The isolated material can be in the form of a photo, a picture or any piece of art which is perceived through the lens of the frame in which it is fitted. The same process applies for the framing of information by media, where frames determine a certain way of interpretation.

Frames are the guidelines or rules which “are socially shared and persistent over time” (p. 27). Frames play a crucial role in structuring the social world. Also, culture is dependent on frames to perform its functions (Reese, Gandy & Grant, 2001). The texts and images are perceived as reality when they are shown through repetition, reinforcement and placement (Entman, 1991). Ryan (1991) defines frame analysis as a process which is used to analyze the information and the way people perceive political issues. This approach can be used to discover the sufferings and fears of a community or a nation and then to conceptualize their understanding of a problem.

In the light of above discussion which explains that frames are social constructions, it can be argued that frames used in conveying the information in one part of the world might not be useful in another part, due to a different mindset of people. If the receiver does not comprehend the frame, it depicts that the sender has failed in inculcating his agendas in receiver’s mind. Hence, it illustrates that different frames are perceived differently in different parts of the world depending on the social context.

The current study employs Fairhurst and Sarr’s (1996) Framing Theory that has been discussed in their book *The Art of Framing*. The present study uses this theory as theoretical framework to analyze the representation of Russia in American newspapers in the context of Russia-Ukraine war. The authors explain framing as “...the skill that enables people to bring others to accept one meaning over another” (p. 13). In their book,

they propose seven popular framing tools to analyze the language of media. The following postulates of the theory have been used for the analysis of the data collected.

- A. Catchphrases, Jargons and Slogans
- B. Metaphors
- C. Spin
- D. Stories
- E. Contrast

3.8 Analytical Model: Juxtaposing Framing Theory with Linguistic Constructions

In the analysis, the linguistic units have been mentioned and used keeping in view the theoretical postulates. Word level analysis has been carried out in jargon where different words have been used by the selected newspapers and analyzed. Similarly, phrase level analysis has been carried out using different phrases in catchphrase, spin and metaphors. In the same way, the sentence level analysis was carried out in contrasts, stories and slogans. The details of linguistic analytical tools are as under:

3.8.1 Catchphrases, jargon and slogans

Using Slogan, jargon and catchphrase is a technique suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) for framing. Slogan is used in order to frame the topic with a catchy and memorable phrases. Jargon are special words and phrases that are used by particular groups of people, especially in their work (in military, politics, media). Catchphrase is a phrase that is often repeated and therefore becomes connected with a particular organization or person, especially someone famous such as a television entertainer. (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online) Using the technique make reader to easily recognize those catchy phrases and ‘make it more memorable and relatable’ (Fairhurst & Sarr 1996, p. 108)

3.8.2 Metaphors

‘Metaphor’ means ‘to frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else’. The dictionary definition – metaphor is an expression, often found in literature that

describes a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object. (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online)

3.8.3 Spin

Spin is used to present a concept in such a way as to convey a value judgment (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; to create an inherent bias by definition. Spin is a tool which present a concept or idea in a way giving it either positive or negative implication. It is a way of describing an idea or situation that makes it seem better than it really is, especially in politics. (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online)

3.8.4 Stories

Stories (myths, legends) refer to framing using storytelling or narrative in a ‘vivid and memorable way’ (Fairhurst & Sarr 1996, p. 119). When using a personal story, or a vivid anecdote, we fix certain elements in the audience’s mind, as narratives offer memorable structures and thus persuade.

3.8.5 Contrast

Contrast is another type of framing technique that the framers can say contrasting things about an object. For instance, one can describe a house differently from what it is. It is used to picture an objective in terms what it is not. It is an obvious difference between two or more things. (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online). To describe something in terms of what it is not is an old and well-known method of definition

According to Tomasello (2007), “a linguistic construction is prototypically a unit of language that comprises multiple linguistic elements used together for a relatively coherent communicative function, with sub functions being performed by the elements as well. Consequently, constructions may vary in their complexity depending on the number of elements involved and their interrelations.” According to him, human beings use their linguistic symbols together in patterned ways. In this study, the term ‘linguistic constructions’ means the words, phrases and sentences that are used by the selected newspapers to construct the image of Russia in the context of Russia-Ukraine war. To address the first question, the researcher analyzes the catchphrases in data analysis chapter. The selected newspapers have extensively used catchphrases to grab the

attention of the readers and to highlight the intensity and implications of the ongoing war. Likewise, the study also tries to explore the sentences used by these newspapers in the form of stories, slogans and contrast frames to portray the image of Russia in their news coverage.

3.9 Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher has explained the methodology of the present study. The chapter starts with research design in which the qualitative approach has been discussed. Then, it moves towards data collection and sources of data. Also, sampling technique has been discussed in detail by explaining the non-probability purposive sampling technique. Afterward, it discusses the codification of data and the theoretical framework of the study in detail. The chapter also mentioned the time period of data collection that is from 24th February to 24th June 2022. The researcher made sense of data by employing framing analysis as method to analyze newspaper editorials.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter deals with data analysis. In this chapter, the researcher analyzes gathered data by using Framing Theory given by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). This chapter is divided into five sections analyzing each category of framing technique of editorials under separate section. The five categories are catchphrases, metaphor, spin, stories and contrast. Moreover, the researcher has investigated the data to answer the research questions in the light of theoretical insights. The data for the present research has been collected from two American newspapers namely ‘The Washington Posts’ and *The New York Times*.

4.1 Catchphrases

In this section, the researcher analyzes the catchphrases, slogans and jargons in the selected editorials. Using Slogan, jargon and catchphrase is an important technique suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) for framing. Slogan is used in order to frame the topic with a catchy and memorable phrases. Jargon are special words and phrases that are used by particular groups of people, especially in their work (in military, politics, media). Catchphrase is a phrase that is often repeated and therefore becomes connected with a particular organization or person, especially someone famous such as a television entertainer (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online). This technique helps reader to easily recognize those catchy phrases and ‘make it more memorable and relatable’

4.1.1 Catchphrases in the editorials of *The Washington Post*.

In this section, the researcher analyses the catchphrases present in the editorials of *The Washington Post*. The code ‘WP’ has been used to refer to *The Washington Post* and the numbers have been used to represent the series. For instance, the code ‘WP1’ denotes to the first selected editorial and the code ‘WP2’ refers to the second selected editorial from *The Washington Post* and the list goes on.

1. Analysis of catchphrases in WP1

The text uses a phrase **“falling under the sway of a hostile hegemon”** to predict the future of Europe under the influence of Russia. It grabs the attention of the readers by warning them about the consequences of the ongoing war. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), ‘catchphrases are appealing language choices’ that are used to captivate the attention of the audience towards a specific matter. They are familiar and memorable expressions that appeal the emotions of the audience. Therefore, the text under analysis uses various catchphrases to highlight the significance of the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. In this regard, the phrase **“blood and fire”** is used to highlight the current situation of Ukraine. It evokes a sense of urgency and fear among the readers. To reveal the oppression and violence of Russia, the text uses phrases such as **“an aggressor’s bombs”**, **“missiles and tanks”**, **“wreaking horror”** etc. The term **“hostile hegemon”** is used to represent Russia as a danger for entire Europe. Thus, it is suggested to protect the continent from the hostility of Russia by stopping the war in Ukraine at any cost. The text also uses jargons such as **“black-letter international law”** which is used to describe the well-established case law or the law which does not need any further interpretation by the courts. Here, it is used to illustrate how Russia is violating this law by attacking a sovereign state. Another jargon **“economic sanctions”** is used to describe the suggested punishment for Russia. In addition to this, the slogan **“Mr. Biden can and must counter Mr. Putin robustly”** is used to express that Mr. Biden has the authority to stop Mr. Putin from further escalating the conflict. It manifests that Mr. Putin is disrupting the global peace and harmony by waging an illegal war against Ukraine; therefore, he must be stopped and punished. According to Entman (1993), a frame “operates by selecting and highlighting some features of reality while omitting others” (p.53). In this context, the text under analysis effectively uses the framing technique to construct the image of Russia by using various catchphrases.

2. Analysis of catchphrases in WP2

The catchphrase **“war without a cause”** is used to emphasize that this war has no purpose. It is not fighting for any right cause rather just showing the power against a weak neighbor. Furthermore, the phrase **“fear and risks”** is used to describe how the Russian government is trying to suppress the voice of its citizens by creating an

environment of fear and horror in the country. It explains that the **“courageous people”** of Russia are protesting against the war, despite the “fear and risks”. To highlight the position of journalists on this war, the catchphrase **“condemned the war against Ukraine”** is used. It expresses that those people who believe in peace and prosperity condemn the wars and conflicts. Further, the quote of popular TV host Ivan Urgant is mentioned where he says **“Fear and pain. NO to war”**. This slogan summarizes that war causes fear and pain; hence, it should be avoided at any cost. The slogan **“War has never been and will never be a method of conflict resolution and there is no justification for it”** is a powerful statement which rejects and criticizes war by declaring it an immoral and unjustifiable act. It implies that the text denounces the ongoing war by stating that Russia has no moral or legal “justification for it”. In this way, the slogan portrays Russian government as an illogical and irrational entity that seeks solution in war and conflict.

The catchphrases used by the text can be compared with the catchphrases used by Barack Obama in his speeches. Sanghara (2016) conducted a research *BARACK OBAMA’S SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES: A NARRATIVE AND FRAMING ANALYSIS* to investigate how Barack Obama uses framing tools in his second presidential election campaign to persuade people to elect him for second time. According to the research, he uses various catchphrases to evoke the emotions of his audience to get their support. For instance, he condemns violence and war by using a catchphrase **“stop the spread of nuclear weapons”**. It implies that he is civilized person who condemns the use of destructive weapons in war.

3. Analysis of catchphrases in WP3

The text uses catchphrase **“resistance of Ukraine’s army”** to highlight the bravery and courage of Ukraine’s army and its determination to sacrifice for its motherland against the foreign aggression. The phrase **“inspirational leadership of President Volodymyr Zelensky”** is used to portray the image of the Ukrainian President as an inspiration for all those leaders who want to protect their nations from foreign aggressions. He is represented as a symbol of resistance and bravery. According to Goffman (1974), media uses different techniques of framing to manipulate people by enforcing different ideologies according to its own agendas and interests. It has the power to construct the image of people or groups in positive and negative ways by using various

frames. The text under analysis has shown that it uses various catchphrases to construct the image of the Ukraine and Russia in different ways. For instance, it uses the phrase **“sanctions against Russia”** to highlight that the “American adults” are demanding from their government to impose sanctions on Russia. It implies that Russia deserves severe punishment for violating international law. The phrase **“SWIFT payments system”** is a jargon which is used to reveal that the international community has expelled “Russian banks” from this system as a punishment for demonstrating aggression against a sovereign and independent state. As suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the text also uses a slogan **“Congress should add to his trouble”** to emphasize that the American legislature should take action against Mr. Putin for invading a weak neighbor. The slogan creates a sense of pressure and determination.

4. Analysis of catchphrases in WP4

The phrase **“Vladimir Putin’s nuclear threats”** is mentioned to illustrate that the Russian president has become a threat to global peace and security. It is a strong catchphrase which categorically suggests that the world is facing a grave threat from Mr. Putin. He is represented as an aggressor and dangerous person who may use nuclear weapons to pursue his political and strategic interests. It implies that he is an irrational and crazy person who can go to any extent for his selfish interests. Besides, the phrase **“Russian aggression against Ukraine”** is used to portray the image of Russia is an aggressive and violent state. It further suggests that Russia does not respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighboring states. The text also uses the phrase **“reckless nuclear weapons threats”** to reveal the aggressive and barbaric attitude of Russian government towards the innocent Ukrainians. Moreover, the text uses the phrase **“Ukraine misadventure”** to predict that the Russian invasion of Ukraine is likely to fail as the international community is criticizing and taking action against Russia.

Likewise, Brza (2017) conducts a study to investigate how Al Qaeda uses numerous catchphrases in its magazine to portray the dark image of western countries. For instance, it uses a headline **“They killed father, they killed son”** to highlight how Western countries are killing innocent civilians in Middle East. It suggests that the politicians of the western countries have no sense of humanity. It further implies that the catchy headline is used to portray western leaders as barbaric, cruel and inhumane who

do not care about the pain and suffering of the Muslim citizens. The illustration shows that the catchphrases play a pivotal role in creating the image of specific people, groups or countries.

5. Analysis of catchphrases in WP5

The phrase “**criminalized the truth**” is a strong and captivating expression that exposes the oppression and cruelty of Russian government towards its people. It implies that people are deprived of their fundamental rights. They are not allowed to exercise the right of expression by criminalizing the truth. It depicts that Russia does not respect the dignity and rights of its citizens by curbing their fundamental rights. It is also an open violation of international law which guarantees the right to freedom of expression. Moreover, the catchphrase “**a nation of frightened silent people**” is used to refer to the Russian public. As stated by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), this phrase is captivating as it depicts the condition of Russian public who are scared and frightened; therefore, they are silent and unable to raise their voices against “**the aggressive war against Ukraine**”. This catchphrase is used to create the sense of urgency among the Russian public that this is not a situation where they should remain silent rather they should show some courage and stand against the aggressor. Besides this, the slogan “**Let's fight against the war**” is used to give them a vision by saying that this is an unjust war so they should fight against this war.

6. Analysis of catchphrases in WP6

The text exposes the atrocity and violence of Russian government towards the people of Ukraine by using various catchy expressions. It uses the phrase “**Mr. Putin's bombs**” which indicates that the bomb belongs to Mr. Putin and he is solely responsible for the suffering and pain of Ukrainians. The Russian oppression is further elaborated by using the phrase “**missiles and rockets**”. This phrase is a familiar expression which is used to highlight the cruelty of the Russian government towards Ukrainians. In addition to this, the grief and sorrow of Ukrainians are discussed by using phrases such as “**civilian deaths and injuries**”, “**looming humanitarian crisis**”, and “**millions of flesh-and-blood,**”. It may imply a sense of violence and oppression. The phrase “**civilian deaths and injuries**” depicts that the Russian military forces are targeting the civilian population which is considered a war crime. According to international law, the parties

involved in war should refrain from attacking civilians. They must make a distinction between the combatants and non-combatants. Therefore, it seems that the text is criticizing and condemning Russia for showing brutality and violence against Ukraine. On the other hand, the phrase **“Ukrainian resistance”** is used to project Ukrainians as brave and courageous people who do not tolerate any kind of oppression and injustice against them. They are represented as freedom fighters and defenders of their homeland. Moreover, the text quotes Mr. Macron’s statement where he predicts that **“the worst is yet to come”**. It implies that the consequences of the current conflict will be horrible. In Fairhurst and Sarr’s (1996) perspective, the prediction is strong and memorable. It evokes a sense of danger and fear among the readers. In other words, it portrays Russia as a threat to global peace and security as it is responsible for waging the current war.

7. Analysis of catchphrases in WP7

The term **“RUSSIA’S WAR on Ukraine”** is a catchy expression which expresses that the war belongs to Russia as it is the one that initiated the conflict. The phrase holds Russia responsible for waging war against Ukraine. It indicates that Russia is an aggressive state that does not hesitate in showing violence and aggression against its neighboring countries. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) claim that catchphrases are short, familiar and memorable expressions that draw the attention of the readers towards a particular issue. Here, the Russian atrocities and aggression are outlined by using various catchphrases such as **“Russian atrocities”**, **“civilian bodies”**, **“bombs against hospitals and schools”**, **“war crimes”** and **“bodies lying in their streets”**. These phrases are short and familiar expressions which illustrate the inhumane, ruthless and oppressive attitude of the Russian government towards the civilian population of Ukraine. Specifically, the phrases such as **“civilian bodies”** and **“bombs against hospitals and schools”** suggest that the Russian military forces are violating international law by attacking the civilian population of Ukraine. Thus, in this way, they are committing **“war crimes”** in Ukraine. The phrase **“war crimes”** is a jargon which is used to describe the violations of international law during a battle. Therefore, the slogan **“do anything within their lawful power to stop Russia from achieving its ends”** is used to suggest that the West should take strict action against the Russian government for committing serious war crimes in Ukraine. This slogan also conveys a sense of authority and legitimacy to the West.

Therefore, it implies that the text denounces Russia for demonstrating aggression and violence against a sovereign and independent state. Furthermore, the text portrays the image of Russian president by using the phrase **“Mr. Putin and his fellow perpetrators”**. This phrase is harsh as it represents Mr. Putin and his fellows as violent and cruel persons by associating a word “perpetrators” to them. According to Reese, Gandy and Grant (2001), frames are the guidelines or rules which “are socially shared and persistent over time”. Frames play a crucial role in structuring the social world.

8. Analysis of catchphrases in WP8

The text uses a catchphrase **“crippling economic sanctions”** to illustrate how the United States and its allies are punishing Russia by imposing sanctions on it. It suggests that Russia has committed a crime by invading Ukraine due to which it has to face the consequences. This term is usually used in international relations. It also gives authority and legitimacy to the United States and its allies to punish Russia for violating international law. Another important expression is **“assault on a democratic country”** which is a catchy and memorable term. The phrase is used to describe the hostility of Russia towards democratic nations. It implies that Russia is trying to eradicate democracy from its surrounding states. Further, it indicates that Russia intends to impose its own ideology in the region by threatening the neighboring democratic countries. In addition, the phrase **“Mr. Putin's sometimes murderous response to criticism”** is used to reveal how Mr. Putin responds to those who criticize his policies. The word **“murderous”** is used to describe something which is very brutal or dreadful. Hence, here, it depicts the cruel and brutal response of Mr. Putin towards his opponents and critics. It suggests that he is a tyrant who does not tolerate any criticism on his decisions. The text also uses a slogan **“Tactics he uses to keep people in line should have no place here”** to criticize Putin’s policy of suppression and violence. It also implies that the United States has no place for such draconian and authoritarian tactics. In this way, the slogan draws a contrast between Russia and the United States. According to Domingo and Heinonen (2008), framing analysis is a technique which is used by the researchers to explore the representation of certain topics by media. In the text under analysis, the researcher observes various catchphrases as a framing tool to highlight the autocratic role of Russia in the ongoing conflict with Ukraine.

9. Analysis of catchphrases in WP9

The text uses catchphrases such as **“his war”** and **“Mr. Putin’s war”** to associate the ongoing conflict to Mr. Putin. By using these phrases, the text holds Mr. Putin responsible for imposing an unjustified war on Ukraine. Also, it implies that the war is immoral and illegal because the Russian president has initiated it for his political and selfish interests. The word **“war”** has negative connotation as it symbolizes violence and aggression. Therefore, the phrases draw the image of Mr. Putin as a violent and aggressive person. Apart from this, the text uses phrases such as **“indiscriminate attacks against Ukraine’s people and civilian infrastructure”** and **“inflict devastation on Ukraine”** to discuss how Russia is demonstrating violence and aggression against Ukraine. It indicates that the Russian forces are targeting the Ukrainian citizens which is strictly prohibited by international humanitarian law. Thus, it conveys a sense of oppression and injustice. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), these are strong and emotional expressions that criticize Russia for inflicting pain and injuries on Ukraine.

10. Analysis of catchphrases in WP10

The text uses various catchphrases such as **“Putin’s invasion of Ukraine”**, **“Mr. Putin’s forces”**, and **“the Russian invasion”** to reveal that the current war belongs to Mr. Putin as he has initiated it. These are simple and familiar expressions which suggest that Russia is an aggressive state that does not respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighboring states. The word **“invasion”** is used in negative connotation as it describes the use of force and violence against other countries. By associating this word with Mr. Putin, the text presents his dark image. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) are of the view that catchy phrases are used to grab the attention of the audience towards a specific issue. Therefore, the text uses a catchphrase **“potential war crimes”** which grabs the attention of the readers. It highlights the crimes committed by Russian military forces in Ukraine by violating international humanitarian law. This phrase has been frequently used to expose the illegal activities of Russian troops.

11. Analysis of catchphrases in WP11

The catchphrases **“Ukrainian defenders”** and **“Ukrainian resistance”** are used to highlight the bravery and courage of Ukrainian fighters. They are depicted as the defenders of their motherland against foreign aggression. In the light of Fairhurst and

Sarr's Framing Theory (1996), it implies that the Ukrainians are united and determined to counter Russian aggression. They are not afraid of sacrificing their lives for the sovereignty and independence of their country. It suggests that the text appreciates and supports them for fighting against Russian invasion of their land. On the other hand, the text uses phrase "**Mr. Putin and his propaganda machine**" to reveal how the Russian president is spreading lies and disinformation to justify his illegal and immoral war against Ukraine. It also reflects that he is controlling and directing the Russian media outlets to spread his narratives. Therefore, the text uses the word "**propaganda machine**" to expose his real face. Moreover, the phrase "**war crimes**" is also used to reveal the illegal and immoral activities of Russian troops in Ukraine. It is a familiar and memorable expression which has been frequently used in the text. According to Iyengar (1994), media decides how society should perceive reality by presenting the reality in its own ways. The text under analysis expresses the same idea by representing Russia in its own manner through various catchphrases.

12. Analysis of catchphrases in WP12

The text uses a catchy and powerful expression "**war with Ukraine is a step to nowhere**" which implies that the ongoing war has no purpose; therefore, it is futile to continue it. It also uses a phrase "**No war**" which is a strong and persuasive expression as it gives a sense of rejection and disapproval for war. It suggests that war is not a solution of any dispute rather it brings more suffering and pain to humanity. It is easy and memorable term which grabs the attention of the reader towards the severe consequences of war. It also persuades the readers to denounce the ongoing war. Moreover, the text describes the situation of Russia by explaining how it has become "**a pariah country**" due to which it is facing "**international isolation**". The phrase "**pariah country**" is a jargon which is used to represent the state that is rejected by the international community for its particular conduct or strategies. Thus, here it suggests that the international community has rejected and ostracized Russia for waging war against a sovereign state.

13. Analysis of catchphrases in WP13

According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), "catchphrases are appealing language choices" that are used to captivate the attention of the audience towards a specific matter. They are familiar and memorable expressions that appeal the emotions of the audience.

Therefore, the text under analysis employs a phrase **“information-hungry audiences”** to represent those people who are eager to get information from various sources. It implies that they consume information from everywhere without investigating the reliability of those sources. By mentioning the phrase, the text reveals how the Russian government is spreading propaganda to manipulate and exploit the “information-hunger audiences”. This phrase is short and unforgettable expression. Likewise, the text quotes the headline from the independent Russian newspaper which expresses its disapproval and anger by using three-word banner **“Russia. Bomb. Ukraine”**. It is a simple, short and powerful expression which criticizes Russia for attacking Ukraine. It portrays Russia as perpetrator whereas Ukraine is depicted as victim. Further, it uses the phrase **“silenced and closed”** to expose how Russia is trying to silence the voice of people and independent media outlets by using force and violence. The metaphor **“tomb-stone moment”** is also a catchy and memorable phrase which predicts the future of journalism in Russia after the suspension of the independent newspapers. The text also uses a familiar expression **“swept independent media”** to expose how Russia is violating the right of expression by banning those media channels that oppose and condemn war. In addition to this, the text uses a slogan **“No to war”** which gives a sense of rejection and condemnation. In other words, it implies that the text criticizes Russia for invading Ukraine. It also advises all nations of the world to resolve their disputes through negotiations and dialogues instead of war and conflict.

14. Analysis of catchphrases in WP14

The text uses a phrase **“roll call of atrocity”** to grab the attention of the reader. The word “atrocity” is used to represent the act which is barbaric, cruel or oppressive. It is not a neutral or objective word rather loaded with negative meanings. Thus, it implies that this powerful expression is deliberately inculcated in the text to reveal the oppression and violence of Russian troops towards the citizens of Ukraine. It also creates a sense of horror and fear among the readers. Similarly, the text uses a phrase **“more destruction in store”** to warn the international community about further attacks from Russia. Through this phrase, the text associates the word “destruction” with Russia which suggests that the text is biased towards Russia. The phrase also draws the pessimistic image of the future where Russia is likely to continue its aggression and violence against Ukraine. Apart

from this, the text uses a jargon “**defensive munitions**” which refers to the weapons and equipment that are used to defend one’s country against foreign attack. Here, it is used to describe how NATO is supporting Ukraine by providing essential defensive weapons to them. It implies that Ukraine is not an aggressor; rather, it is only defending its land against aggressive forces.

15. Analysis of catchphrases in WP15

As suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the text under analysis uses a phrase “**freshly dug mass grave**” which creates a sense of horror and fear. It is a harsh and powerful expression which draws a vivid image of Ukrainian cities where people are facing death and injuries. It implies that the situation of Ukraine is miserable and pathetic after Russian invasion. Besides, it employs a phrase “**Russia’s unjust destruction of Ukraine**” which highlights that the war is illegal and unjustified. It is simple and memorable expression which suggests a sense of injustices and oppression. It also implies that Russia is a violent state that creates disturbance and trouble in its neighboring states to pursue its political gains. Through this expression, the text condemns Russia for inflicting destruction and pain on Ukraine. Likewise, the phrase “**indiscriminate shelling and bombs**” is used to reveal how Russian troops are targeting the civilian population in Ukraine. The word “**indiscriminate**” indicates that the Russian military forces are not differentiating between the combatants and civilians in their attacks. In this way, they are committing “war crimes”. The jargon “**war crimes**” is used to elaborate that the Russian troops are violating international humanitarian law by attacking civilians in Ukraine. Moreover, the catchphrase “**war criminal**” is used to portray the image of Mr. Putin as someone who violates international law during war by curbing basic human rights. The phrase is harsh and powerful expression which paints Mr. Putin as a violent and aggressive person.

4.1.2 Catchphrases in the editorials of *The New York Times*.

In this section, the researcher analyses the catchphrases present in the editorials of *The New York Times*. The code “NY” has been used to refer to *The New York Times* and the numbers have been used to represent the series. For instance, the code

“NY1” denotes to the first selected editorial and the code “NY2” refers to the second selected editorial and the list go on.

1. Analysis of catchphrases in NY1

The text uses a phrase **“Putin’s full-scale invasion of Ukraine”** to reveal that Mr. Putin intends to invade the entire country. The phrase is catchy and familiar expression. It associates the word “invasion” with Mr. Putin to portray him as an invader and aggressor. It seems that the text is trying to persuade the readers to condemn the Russian President for invading a weaker neighbor. Further, the term **“war of choice for all the wrong reasons”** is used to highlight that the current war is driven by political and selfish interest, rather than by humanitarian or ethical principles. Therefore, it suggests that the war is illegal, immoral and unjustified. The phrase is strong and convincing which implies a sense of rejection and disapproval. Moreover, the image of Russia military is constructed as a violent and oppressive forces by using a term **“an invading army”**. The phrase is a short, simple and recognizable expression. Likewise, the text holds Russia solely and fully responsible for waging war by using the phrase **“Russia’s attack”**. The phrase associates the word **“attack”** with Russia which illustrates that the text is biased and subjective towards Russia. Furthermore, it uses a catchphrase **“massively destructive cyber war”** to grab the attention of the readers. The word **“cyber war”** is a jargon which is used to describe the activity in which a state uses computer network or any other digital technology to destroy or disrupt the information systems of another state. It is considered an illegal and immoral activity. Here, the phrase is used to expose the Russian involvement in this illegal activity. In addition to this, the Putin’s administration is described by using a catchphrase **“Mr. Putin’s authoritarian rule”**. The term “authoritarian rule” is used to describe those regimes where people are not allowed to exercise their basic human rights. It is a powerful and familiar expression which implies that Mr. Putin is a despotic and autocratic ruler. To support this point, the text uses another catchphrase **“fierce police crackdown”** to reveal that the Russian people are not allowed to protest against the policies of the government. It implies that if they protest, they face “police crackdown”. Thus, in this way, it suggests that the Russian government violates the right to freedom of expression by silencing the voice of its public

through force and violence. By mentioning the “police crackdown”, the text highlights the despotic and dictatorial attitude of Russian government towards its own people.

Similarly, Brza (2017) discusses how Al Qaeda uses several catchphrases in its magazine to delegitimize the West. In this context, it states “**Attacking the west helps the global cause**” which depicts that the magazine is evoking anti-western sentiments in its readers. It is a powerful slogan that encourages people to stand against western atrocities in Middle East by fighting against them. It suggests that the catchphrases play a crucial role in highlighting specific issues.

2. Analysis of catchphrases in NY2

The text uses various catchphrases to construct the image of Russia. For instance, it uses a phrase “**unprovoked war of aggression**” and “**the Russian war of choice**” to associate the current war to Russia. It implies that Russia is the one that has initiated the war without having any justified reason. The word “unprovoked” refers to the action or attack which is carried out without any identifiable cause or justification. It suggests that Russia has waged “war of choice” against Ukraine instead of war of necessity. In other words, it is a “**war of aggression**” which is considered a crime against humanity. To represent Russia as a threat to the region, the text uses a catchphrase “**Russia’s nuclear forces on a heightened alert**” which suggests that Russia’s readiness to use its nukes against Ukraine. Through Fairhurst and Sarr’s (1996) theoretic lens, this phrase is a powerful expression which catches the attention of the readers as it creates a sense of alertness and warning. It predicts that Russia is likely to use its nuclear weapons. By making this prediction, the phrase sketches Mr. Putin as an illogical, irrational and emotional person who can go to any extent to achieve his selfish goals. Further, the text employs a phrase “**destroying their future and lying to them**” to explain how Russian government is manipulating its own people and destroying their future. The phrase is a memorable and familiar expression that draws the image of the Russian government as a liar. In addition to this, the text describes that the United States and its allies are determined to punish Russia by imposing “**harsh, immediate and wide-ranging sanctions**” on it. The catchy expression depicts that Russia has committed a crime or done something wrong due to which it has to face international sanctions. Moreover, the text quotes the Ukrainian president who states “**I want peace**”. This is a slogan which

specifies the goal or motive of Ukrainian president. It indicates that he is a non-violent, peace-loving and democratic person who prefers peace over violence and destruction. The text also uses another slogan **“no matter how long it takes; Ukraine will be free”**. This slogan expresses the optimistic approach of the text towards the future of Ukraine.

3. Analysis of catchphrases in NY3

The text expresses its condemnation and disapproval for the ongoing war by using various catchphrases such as **“Mr. Putin’s aggression”**, **“his ruthless invasion”**, **“Mr. Putin’s war”**, and **“Mr. Putin’s savage invasion of Ukraine”**. These phrases are memorable and familiar expressions which associate the current war to Mr. Putin. It suggests that there is no legal or moral reason behind this war; rather, it solely belongs to Mr. Putin who wants to show his power and dominance by using force against a weaker neighbor. The terms **“aggression”**, **“ruthless invasion”** and **“savage invasion”** are being used to reveal how the Russian government has adopted a cruel, brutal and barbaric attitude towards Ukraine. These terms are not neutral or objective rather loaded with negative meanings. It illustrates that the text expresses a bias and subjective opinion on the current conflict. Also, it uses a phrase **“campaign of terror”** which reflects that the Russian military forces are spreading fear and panic in Ukraine by demonstrating violence against it. Along with this, the text employs phrases **“brutalizing its people”**, **“demolishing its cities”** and **“Russia’s horrific targeting of civilians”** to reveal how Russian troops are committing war crimes in Ukraine. These catchphrases suggest that the Russian forces are targeting the civilian population in Ukraine which is the violation of international humanitarian law. Thus, in the light of above discussion, it can be stated that the text presents the image of Russia as a violent and aggressive state.

Semyvol and Kokorskka (2017) are of the view that people get information about the ongoing issues from media. Therefore, the journalists “choose the information that we need to know”. They create the image of people and groups by using framing devices. They can show a hero as a villain and vice versa by using various framing tools. It suggests that they control our worldview by telling us not only what to think but also how to think. The above analysis also shows how the text of the newspaper is using the

framing tool to construct the image of Russia. It portrays Russia as a violent and aggressive state by using catchphrases.

4. Analysis of catchphrases in NY4

The text uses a phrase **“Russia’s savage war”** to expose the oppression and violence of the Russian government towards Ukraine by imposing an immoral war on it. The word **“savage”** is used to describe something which is wild, barbaric or brutal. Grunwald (1993) is of the view that the narratives of the media are translated in its coverage of different events. The role of media is deemed pivotal in selecting and portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience. (Entman, 2007). Therefore, the catchphrase under discussion suggests that the expression is used to draw the image of the Russian government as cruel and violent entity. Further, the image of Mr. Putin is depicted by using a phrase **“Vladimir Putin’s war in Ukraine”** which indicates that he is the one who is responsible for initiating the war. Likewise, the text uses several phrases to highlight the war crimes committed by the Russian military forces on the territory of Ukraine. They violate international laws and norms by targeting non-combatants. To outline the war crimes, the text uses phrases **“indiscriminate bombing”**, **“bombarding civilian infrastructure”** and **“shelling of civilian infrastructure”**. These are catchy and memorable expressions which expose the oppressive and autocratic attitude of the Russian government towards Ukraine.

5. Analysis of catchphrases in NY5

The text uses various catchphrases to draw the attention of the readers towards the violence and aggression of the Russian military forces in Ukraine: **“brutality of the war”**, **“Russian shells”**, **“unprovoked war”** and **“mass grave”**. These are simple and powerful expressions which describe the cruelty and tyranny of Russia military forces in Ukraine. The terms **“brutality”**, **“shells”**, **“unprovoked”** and **“mass grave”** are associated with Russia to expose its oppressive and destructive attitudes towards Ukraine. Furthermore, the text uses phrases **“atrocities in Bucha”** and **“horrors of Bucha”** to explain how Russian troops are creating terror and fear in Bucha, city of Ukraine. Again, the text highlights the war crimes committed by the Russian military forces in Ukraine by

using phrases such as **“indiscriminate shelling of cities and towns”**, **“systematic attack on the civilian population”**, **“act of genocide”**, **“crimes committed on Ukraine soil”**, **“horrific evidence of criminal atrocities”**, **“crime against humanity”**, and **“war crimes”**. The phrase **“crime of aggression”** illustrates that the current war is not fighting for any just cause; instead, the dictator wants to show his power and influence against a weaker neighbor. Therefore, it is **“the crime against humanity”** which suggests that the Russian troops are committing crimes not only against Ukraine but also against entire humanity. In this way, the text depicts Russia as an existential threat to entire humanity. Apart from this, Russia is involved in an **“act of genocide”** which implies that Russia intends to eliminate the entire race of Ukrainians. By using these catchphrases, the text portrays Russia as an entity that believes in violence, crime, and oppression. Therefore, it justifies and supports the decision of imposing **“sanctions on Mr. Putin and his country”**. The term is familiar and powerful expression which implies that Russia has committed crimes due to which it has to face sanctions from international community.

6. Analysis of catchphrases in NY6

The phrase **“trampling on the sovereignty of a neighbor”** is used to reveal that Russia is violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbor by imposing an illegal and unjustified war on it. The phrase is a catchy and powerful expression which depicts Russia as an invader. It is further elaborated by using phrases **“Russia’s invasion”** and **“terrible war”**. Likewise, the oppression of Russia is described by using a phrase **“ruthlessness and grave atrocities towards civilians”**. It suggests that the Russian troops are violating basic human rights by attacking the civilian population. Also, the terms **“ruthlessness”** and **“grave”** are not neutral words; instead, they are loaded with negative meanings. Therefore, it implies that the text is showing bias towards Russia by associating negative words with it. In addition to this, the text employs a phrase **“authoritarian regime”** to portray the dark and gloomy image of Russia. It suggests that Russia is a dictatorial and autocratic state where people are deprived of their fundamental rights. It indicates that due to lack of democratic principles, it has imposed a **“terrible war”** on Ukraine. The word **“terrible”** illustrates that the Russian invasion has created horror and fear in Ukraine. Therefore, the text suggests that the global community should take serious action against Russia by imposing **“international sanctions”** on it.

The term “international sanctions” is a jargon which implies that the Russian government has violated international law due to which it has to face the consequences in form of sanctions. Adding to this, the text uses another jargon “**economic isolation**” to explain how Russia has become isolated due to the sanctions from the international community. To conclude, it can be argued that the text uses various catchphrases to represent Russia as an autocratic, oppressive and aggressive state.

7. Analysis of catchphrases in NY7

The text criticizes Russia for initiating war against Ukraine by using a catchphrase “**Russia’s unprovoked aggression**”. It suggests that the ongoing war is a war of choice instead of a war of necessity. It means that Russia has initiated the war to achieve its “**revanchist ambitions**”. It is a powerful and familiar expression which implies that the Russian government intends to recover its lost territory and glory by invading weak states. Further, it uses a phrase “**volatile despot**” to depict the image of Mr. Putin as a tyrant and absolute dictator. He is the one who is “**inflicting untold destruction on Ukraine**” which indicates that he is indifferent and merciless. The word “**destruction**” is associated with him which implies that he is a violent and crazy person. Moreover, the text uses a phrase “**Ukraine’s stunning successes against Russia’s aggression**” which reflects that the people of Ukraine are brave and patriotic. They are not afraid of sacrificing their lives for the protection and security of their motherland. It is the reason; they are becoming successful in this war which has been imposed on them by Russia. They are “**fighting, dying and losing their homes to Russian aggression**”. The words “**fighting**”, “**dying**” and “**losing**” are associated with Ukrainians to express their pain and grief. The text also uses a slogan “**support for Ukraine means support for democratic values**” to persuade people to support Ukraine because it is a democratic country. It implies that Russia intends to eradicate democracy from the region to impose its own ideology in the region. Therefore, Ukraine is acting as a guardian of democracy in the region due to which those who support democracy should also show their support for Ukraine.

Bashir and Fedorova (2014) conduct a research to observe how media of different countries present the same event in different ways by keeping their national interests in

minds. They analyse four different newspapers from the United States and Russia: The Russian Argumenty i Fakty, Izvestiya, and the American Washington Post and the New York Times. The research demonstrates that the American newspapers cover the issue by protecting the US interests as they show the sense of solidarity and harmony with the group. On the other hand, the Russian newspapers raise multiple questions on the church performance by asking that whether it is an act of hooliganism or freedom of expression. This study describes that the newspapers of the two different states have made the Pussy Riot controversial. The researchers conclude the study by explaining that media plays a crucial role in representing and shaping the reality. Likewise, the text under analysis also shows the image of Russia and Ukraine in different ways. It creates the image of Ukraine as a democratic state that is fighting for the “**democratic values**” whereas Russia as an aggressive and autocratic state.

8. Analysis of catchphrases in NY8

The text uses phrases “**Russia’s aggression**” and “**Vladimir Putin’s war**” to suggest that the aggression or war belongs to Russia. It is solely responsible for disrupting the peace and security of the region by invading the sovereign state. Therefore, it implies that Russia is perpetrator whereas Ukraine is depicted as victim of the unjust war. Also, the phrase “**Russian shelling**” is used to identify Russia as the attacker or aggressor. It is a familiar and memorable expression which creates a sense of threat and fear among the readers. Likewise, the phrase “**humanitarian blackmail**” is used to draw the attention of the readers towards the cruel attitude of Russia. It implies that the Russian government is blackmailing the global community by deliberately creating humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. In addition to this, the text uses a phrase “**devastating repercussions**” to warn the world about the consequences of the current conflict. It is a simple and strong expression which predicts that the consequences of the war may prove “**devastating**” for the entire world. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), “catchphrases are appealing language choices” that are used to grab the attention of the audience towards a specific matter. They are familiar and memorable expressions that appeal the emotions of the audience. Thus, the text under analysis uses various catchphrases to portray the image of Russia as a threat to the global peace and security.

9. Analysis of catchphrases in NY9

The phrase “**soviet yoke**” is employed to explain how Soviet Union had shown cruelty and oppression towards its own people, as “yoke” is a symbol of oppression, slavery, and subjugation. It implies that Russia has the history of suppressing and subjugating people. The phrase is a metaphor which is memorable and powerful expression. Furthermore, the text uses a term “**Mr. Putin’s brutal and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine**” which suggests that the war is immoral and illegal. The text has been frequently mentioning the words “**brutal**” and “**unprovoked**” to describe the ongoing war. These words indicate that the Russian government is cruel and oppressive towards its neighbor state. Another important phrase “**Mr. Putin’s galling decision**” expresses that the Russian president is an illogical, irrational and violent person who takes aggressive decisions. It is a simple and memorable expression which creates a sense of fear and danger. Along with this, the text also uses phrases “**fratricidal war**” and “**scorched-earth invasion of Ukraine**” to expose the brutality and atrocity of the Russian troops towards Ukraine in the ongoing war. Likewise, it sketches Mr. Putin as an oppressive, undemocratic and despotic ruler by using the expression “**grievance-driven tyrant**”. The word “**tyrant**” suggests that the Russian ruler is an absolute dictator who does not allow his people to exercise their basic human rights. Also, the phrase “**spreading lies and death**” is used to represent him as a manipulative person who wants to keep his people away from reality by propagating fake news. It further implies that his troops are causing “**death**” in Ukraine by attacking the civilian population. The phrase is short, simple and familiar expression which grabs the attention of the readers. Similarly, as suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the text under analysis uses catchphrases “**pain and sense of helplessness**” and “**heart-wrenching**” to describe the situation of Ukraine after the invasion. It implies that people are suffering from pain and death. These are catchy expressions which create a sense of injustice and oppression. In addition to this, the text uses a phrase “**brain drain**” to reveal that the educated and skilled people are leaving Russia. It implies that the educated people are seeking better life opportunities in other countries because they cannot see any future in their own country.

10. Analysis of catchphrases in NY10

The text uses phrases “**devastated villages**” and “**brutal consequences**” to portray the situation of Ukraine after the invasion. These are short, catchy and familiar expressions which sketch the horrific and destructive image of Ukraine. The words “**brutality**” and “**devastated**” are used to unveil the brutality and violence of Russian military forces towards Ukraine. Moreover, the phrase “**his increasingly autocratic rule**” is employed to illustrate how the Russian president is becoming despotic and dictatorial day by day. He is increasing his power and influence through undemocratic means. To prove this point, the text uses a phrase “**shut down independent media outlets**” which implies that the Russian government does not tolerate any criticism from independent media channels. Another phrase “**state-controlled media**” suggests that the government controls and directs media outlets which is the violation of democratic norms and values. Additionally, the phrase “**upper hand in propaganda**” specifies that Russia is expert in propagating misleading and fake news. These phrases are familiar and memorable expressions which create the image of Russian government as an undemocratic and manipulative entity.

11. Analysis of catchphrases in NY11

The text uses various catchphrases to describe how Russia is using propaganda as a tool to spread its narrative. The phrase “**troll factory**” is used to compare the paid propagandists of the Russian government to the workers who work in the factory to produce goods. It is a metaphor which suggests that Russia is running a factory that spreads lies and propaganda to influence the opinions, beliefs and attitudes of people. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) are of the view that “catchphrases are appealing language choices” that are used to captivate the attention of the audience towards a specific matter. They are familiar and memorable expressions that appeal the emotions of the audience. Therefore, the text under analysis outlines various catchphrases “**Russian propaganda**”, “**Russian disinformation**”, “**Putin’s digital meddling**”, “**fire hose of falsehoods**” and “**Putin’s mastery over global discourses**” to portray the image of Russia as a manipulative and propagandist state. These are short and memorable expressions which describe how Russia is trying to spread misleading and fake news to control the narrative

of the world. The words **“propaganda”**, **“disinformation”** **“falsehoods”** and **“meddling”** are not neutral or objective terms; instead, they have negative connotations. Thus, by associating these terms with Russia, the text is trying to create the dark and gloomy image of Russia. Further, the text describes how these misleading information have created **“chaos and confusion”** in the society. The phrase is catchy, familiar and memorable expression which holds Russia responsible for creating chaos in society. Also, Russia is represented as a violent state by using a catchphrase **“an aggressive, authoritarian state”**. In addition to this, the phrase **“grave new threat to global democracy”** is used to portray Russia as a threat to democratic states. It is recognizable and strong expression which implies that Russia intends to eradicate democracy from the world by spreading its own ideology through propaganda and violence.

12. Analysis of catchphrases in NY12

The text uses a phrase **“Vladimir Putin’s war against Ukraine”** to reveal that the initiator of the war is Mr. Putin. The phrase is familiar and memorable expression which implies that the Russian president is solely responsible for disrupting the peace and security of the region. Further, the phrase **“Putin’s lies”** is used to reveal his dishonesty and hypocrisy. Also, the catchphrase **“indirectly against the whole democratic West”** suggests that the current war is not only against Ukraine but also against the entire Western nations. It reflects that Russia intends to uproot democracy from the world by waging war against the democratic nations. In this way, it portrays Russia as an existential threat to the global democracy. Therefore, it suggests that the West should support Ukraine against Russia because the Ukrainians are **“fighting and dying for freedom and self-determination”**. The phrase is catchy and recognizable which highlights the bravery and suffering of Ukrainians. They are brave and patriotic due to which they are **“fighting”** and their sufferings are mentioned by using a word **“dying”**. They are represented as freedom fighters as they are fighting for **“freedom and self-determination”**. On the other hand, Russia is represented as an invader and aggressor by using a catchphrase **“crushing its cities and indiscriminately shelling its civilians”**. The phrase reveals how Russian troops are violating international humanitarian law by targeting civilians. In addition to this, the term **“stop the war”** is used to condemn and

protest against the war. It implies that war is not a solution of any dispute; therefore, it should be stopped immediately.

13. Analysis of catchphrases in NY13

The text uses a phrase **“Russia’s previous territorial seizures in Crimea”** to reveal that Russia has the habit of invasion and occupation of foreign lands. The catchphrase is used to remind the readers how Russia illegally annexed Crimea in 2014. In this way, it expresses that Russia has the history of violence and aggression against sovereign states. In this context, the text uses another catchphrase **“Putin’s ambitions”** to highlight that the main purpose of Mr. Putin in waging war against Ukraine is not to defend Russian territorial integrity; instead, he intends to enhance his dominance and influence in the region. Further, the phrase **“incompetence of Russian troops”** is used to portray the weakness of Russian army. Also, the catchphrase **“mentally unstable Putin”** is employed to sketch Mr. Putin as an irrational and crazy person. In addition to this, the phrases **“his strategy of targeting civilians”** and **“mass killing of civilians”** are used to expose how Russian troops are committing war crimes in Ukraine. These are familiar and catchy expressions which outline that the Russian forces are targeting civilians which is the violation of international humanitarian law. Hence, it can be argued that the text uses various catchphrases to project the image of Russia as an expansionist and violent state.

14. Analysis of catchphrases in NY14

The text uses an expression **“Vladimir Putin’s barbaric attempt to wipe Ukraine off the map”** to reveal how the Russian president is trying to completely destroy Ukraine. The word **“barbaric”** is used to describe the cruelty and destructive attitude of Mr. Putin in attacking Ukraine. Along with this, the phrase **“his reckless decision to invade Ukraine”** is used to condemn his war. It is a short and memorable expression which implies that Mr. Putin’s decision to invade Ukraine shows his irresponsible and ruthless behavior. The word **“reckless”** has negative connotation which describes the careless or irresponsible behavior or action. Therefore, here, it seems that the text intends to portray Mr. Putin as someone who is careless and indifferent to the suffering and pain of humanity. In addition to this, the phrase **“poisoning democracies with disinformation”** is employed to reveal how the Russian president is hurting

democracy through propaganda and disinformation. It implies that Mr. Putin is expert in spreading propaganda and lies about the democratic norms and values. It further indicates that he is an undemocratic person who wants to eradicate democracy from the surface of the earth. Apart from this, the text uses a phrase “**ferociously defend**” to describe how Ukrainians are bravely and courageously defending their land from foreign invasion. The phrase is a simple, catchy and familiar expression which appreciates and encourages the people of Ukraine for defending their country.

15. Analysis of catchphrases in NY15

The selected text uses various phrases to describe that the ongoing war belongs to Russia as it has initiated the war. To hold Russia responsible for the war, it uses catchphrases “**his unprovoked war**”, “**Russia’s invasion of Ukraine**” and “**Putin’s invasion**”. These are simple, powerful and memorable expressions that are used to condemn Russia for waging an “unprovoked” and unjustified war against a sovereign state. Also, it suggests that Ukraine has done nothing to provoke Russia for imposing war on it. Further, it mentions a phrase “**biggest refugee crisis**” to highlight the consequences of the conflict. The phrase is catchy expression that grabs the attention of the reader towards the urgency of the matter. It indicates that the Ukrainians are forced to leave their country due to the ongoing conflict. Consequently, it creates refugee crisis in the neighboring states. In addition to this, the text exposes how Russian troops are committing war crimes in Ukraine by using catchphrases such as “**indiscriminate shelling**”, “**killing civilians**”, “**looting homes**”, “**raping women**”, “**systematically destroying Ukrainian cities**”, and “**murdering scores of civilians**”. These are strong and captivating expressions which outline the cruel and barbaric attitude of Russian forces towards the innocent civilians in Ukraine. These phrases suggest that Russia is violating international humanitarian law by targeting the civilian population. It implies a sense of oppression and injustice. Therefore, it seems that the text is criticizing and condemning Russia for showing brutality and violence against civilians. Hence, it can be inferred that the text is appealing to the international community to punish Russia by imposing “economic sanctions” on it. Entman (1993) discusses framing by describing it as a process which is used to choose some aspects of reality and to highlight them in a communication.

4.2 Metaphor

In this section, the researcher investigates metaphors used in the selected editorials. “Metaphor” means “to frame a conceptual idea through comparison to something else”. The dictionary definition – metaphor is an expression, often found in literature that describes a person or object by referring to something that is considered to have similar characteristics to that person or object. (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online)

4.2.1 *Metaphors in The Washington Post.*

In this section, the researcher analyses the metaphors present in the editorials of *The Washington Post*. The code “WP” has been used to refer to *The Washington Post* and the code “M” has been used to denote the “metaphor”. For instance, the code “WPM1” denotes to the first metaphor found in *The Washington Post* and so on.

WPM1: ‘This time, the *victim* is *Ukraine*’

In the selected line, Ukraine is mentioned as a “victim” to represent the sufferings of the people of Ukraine. Generally, the word “victim” is used for a person who has been hurt, injured or killed as a result of crime, accident or other action. However, here, it refers to Ukraine to reveal its situation after Russian invasion.

Semyvol and Kokorskka (2017) are of the view that people rely on media to get information about the ongoing issues. According to them, media constructs reality for its audience. They create the image of people and groups by using framing devices. They can show a hero as a villain and vice versa by using various framing tools. Here, the selected metaphor illustrates the fact that the text is trying to reveal the miserable situation of Ukraine by calling it a victim. It suggests that media controls our worldview by telling us not only what to think but also how to think.

WPM2: The *perpetrator* is *Russia*

On the other hand, “**Russia**” is called a “**perpetrator**” as it is responsible for the sufferings and pain of the Ukrainians. In literal sense, the word “**perpetrator**” is used to represent a person who commits an act of violence against another human being. However, here, it is used metaphorically as suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to represent the sufferings of the people of Ukraine which is caused by the Russian

government by invading their country. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are of the view that “metaphors helps us to understand and experience one thing in terms of another”.

WPM3: Once again...*blood and fire*

Another important metaphor is “**blood and fire**” which is used to picture the horrific scenes of war in Ukraine. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), metaphor is a powerful tool to explain a situation by comparing it with something else. Here, the text under analysis has used the metaphor of “**blood and fire**” to describe the miserable situation of Ukraine where people are dying due to the war. The word “**blood**” symbolizes death and the word “**fire**” is used to describe something which is violent or destructive. Therefore, it implies that here the metaphor is used to describe the terrible situation of Ukraine where the Russian troops are killing people and destroying their country. The Ukrainians are terrified by witnessing all these war crimes and act of violence in in their country by the Russian armed forces.

WPM4: Deterrence...*roar of explosives ...*

The horrible sound of chemical weapons used by Russia in Ukraine is represented with the term “roar of explosive”. The word “**roar**” is used to describe a deep or loud sound of a lion or other wild animal. However, here it is used to refer to the dreadful sound of the explosives. It implies that the Russian invasion is so violent and wild. According to Goffman (1974), media uses different techniques of framing to manipulate people by enforcing different ideologies according to its own agendas and interests. It has the power to construct the image of people or groups in different ways. The metaphor under analysis proves the fact that the text is trying to create the image of Russia as an aggressive state by revealing how it is using destructive weapons against Ukraine.

WPM5: But after ...*the streets swelled ...thousands of protesters*

The metaphor of “**streets swelled**” is used to refer to the protest that people are demonstrating against President Putin for waging war against Ukraine. This phrase is comparing the street with a body part which is inflamed or in pain. Therefore, it can be argued that the metaphor expresses the grief and pain of the protesters who want peace and prosperity instead of war and conflict. Brza (2017) conducts a study to investigate

how Al Qaeda uses numerous framing devices in its magazine to construct the image of western countries. For instance, it uses a metaphor “America’s worst nightmare” to elaborate how the members of Al Qaeda has successfully conducted attacks in the West. It suggests that they are not afraid of death; instead, they are ready to sacrifice their lives for their religion by attacking the enemies of Islam.

WPM6: A *madman* is bombing ...

The word “**madman**” is used to refer to the Russian President. This metaphor is used to compare Mr. Putin who is bombing Ukraine with someone who is out of control or irrational, which are characteristics that are associated with madness. It suggests that Mr. Putin is a crazy and irrational person who is a threat to global peace and security. Therefore, it can be inferred that the metaphor condemns Mr. Putin for invading Ukraine by calling him a “madman”. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) argue that “metaphors do more than just dress up our thoughts”. According to them, metaphor helps us to understand a concept through comparison to something else. It is a powerful tool used by the influential people and media. The text under analysis also uses the metaphor frame to construct the image of Russian president as a crazy person by associating a word “madman” to him.

WPM7: Mr. Putin ... a *bad bet on democratic decline and disarray*.

The metaphor “**bad bet on democratic decline and disarray**” is used to condemn the decision of Mr. Putin to invade Ukraine. Here, the term “**bad bet**” describes that Mr. Putin’s decision is based on illusion and miscalculation. His decision is compared with gambling where he risks a lot of resources on an uncertain result. It implies that Mr. Putin is standing on the wrong side of history as he has lost his bet because the western countries responded strongly against his aggression and the Ukrainians showed great resistance in this war. Further, this metaphor suggests that the Russian President is a misguided and irrational person who has committed a huge mistake by invading Ukraine. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) are of the view that metaphors are “pervasive in everyday life”. According to them, metaphors are embedded not only in our language but also in our thoughts and actions.

WPM8: Mr. Putin's war also casts a cloud over arms control...

As stated by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the metaphor “**cast a cloud over arms control**” is used to explain the negative impact of the ongoing war on arms control negotiations. The word “**cloud**” is used to describe the condensed water vapors in the sky; however, here this word is used to explain something else. For arms control negotiations, the impact of this war is negative, gloomy and dark just like a cloud which has a gloomy and dark effect on weather. This war creates mistrust among the member countries of this treaty and makes arms control negotiations more difficult, dark and uncertain.

WPM9: Europe ... closing skies to Russian flights.

The metaphor of “**closing skies**” is used to indicate the situation of Russia when the European countries and the United States ban the “Russian flights”. This suggests that Russia has become isolated because of its aggression against Ukraine. It illustrates that the international community is ready to punish Russia for its unjust war against the sovereign state. Further, the sky is a symbol of opportunities and the phrase “closing skies” implies that the world of opportunities has been closed for Russia. In this way, by using the metaphor as suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), it depicts that Russia has been trapped and it has lost the access to the world.

WPM10: THE FOG OF WAR...

The metaphor “**fog of war**” is used to represent the uncertainty and confusion that are created by the Russian invasion of Ukraine. The word “fog” refers to the cloud of water droplets near the ground level. It may also refer to the clouds of ice particles or smoke particles that reduce the visibility near the surface level. In this way, it creates confusion and makes the driving conditions dangerous. Similarly, the “fog of war” also makes the condition unpredictable and dangerous. It implies that the war initiated by Russia has created a lot of confusion and fear among the people. The outcome of this war cannot be calculated or guessed as the current situation is not clear or known. The metaphor suggests that this war has created a sense of uncertainty, confusion, anxiety and fear among the people.

WPM11: RUSSIA'S WAR ... reached an *inflection point*

The metaphor “**inflection point**” is used to explain the condition of war in Ukraine. The phrase “inflection point” is a mathematical expression which is used to represent a point of curve from where it changes its direction. Here, the metaphor suggests that the war has reached at a critical point from where the outcome may change drastically. The Russian forces are trying to capture various cities of Ukraine whereas the Ukrainians are showing strong resistance against this invasion. However, now it has become very difficult for Ukraine to resist it anymore and the Russian army may take the charge of the “**country's eastern Donbas region**”. Thus, the metaphor “**inflection point**” is used to explain that the war has reached at a decisive point.

Sanghara (2016) conducts a research *BARACK OBAMA'S SPEECHES AND ADDRESSES: A NARRATIVE AND FRAMING ANALYSIS* to investigate how Barack Obama uses framing tools in his second presidential election campaign to persuade people to elect him for second time. According to the study, he uses various framing techniques to evoke the emotions of his audience to get their support. For instance, he uses a metaphor “the star” to describe the guiding principles that unite all Americans. It implies that he believes in democratic principles and norms. This metaphor helps him to present himself as a democratic leader who are contesting election to create unity among Americans.

WPM12: IN HIS..."journalism in Russia ... a *dark valley*.

The metaphor of “**dark valley**” is used to describe the current situation of Russia where people are facing oppression and violence at the hands of the government. They are being deprived of their basic human right by not allowing to exercise their right to expression. The media outlets are dictated to follow the instructions of the government which indicates that the media is being controlled by the government. They are not allowed to report anything which contradicts with the oppressive and cruel policies of the government. According to the article, a large number of the journalists have been forced to leave the country which suggests that the government intends to suppress the voice of free and independent media. Thus, it illustrates the situation of journalism in Russia by comparing it with “**a dark valley**” where everything is gloomy, depressing and dreadful.

WPM13: This is a *tombstone moment* ...

The metaphor of “**tombstone moment**” is used to describe the future of journalism in Russia after the suspension of the independent newspapers. It suggests that this is the end of the era of free and independent media in Russia as the government can no longer tolerate the voice of independent media. It depicts that the Russian media is going through a depressing and gloomy situation. Further, the metaphor illustrates that this is the tragic and miserable situation for a generation of independent journalists. It compares the suspension of media to the death of a person by implying that it cannot be brought back to life. Besides suspending the media outlets, the autocratic government tries to erase the identity of the independent journalists which would completely destroy their career. By describing the anti-media policies of the government, it highlights the undemocratic and dictatorial policies of the government.

WPM14: Mariupol, a city ... a *bloody model* ...

The metaphor of “**bloody model**” is used to explain the condition of “**Mariupol**”, the city of Ukraine, where the Russian forces have attacked the civilian population due to which thousands of people have lost their lives. The metaphor is used to draw the image of Mariupol after the invasion. The city is not a model in its literal sense; rather, it is used to warn other cities of the possible outcomes of the invasion. Further, the word “**bloody**” is used to illustrate the horrible and dreadful attack of Russian forces on civilians of the city. It shows the violence and aggression that the city has experienced and will experience if the situation remains same. The metaphor illustrates the miserable condition of the people living in the city. It depicts how the city has become a symbol of terror and hopelessness where the citizens are deprived of their basic necessities of life. Also, they are facing constant threat from the aggressor that does not value the life of human beings.

WPM15: The Bucha massacre ... *turning point* in Russia's invasion...

The metaphor of “**turning point**” is used to compare it to the “Bucha massacre”. The term “turning point” is used to represent a time or point at which a significant change occurs in a situation. Therefore, according to Fairhurst and Sarr’s (1996) theory, this metaphor is employed to explain the situation of Bucha where Russian forces are committing war crimes by destroying buildings and infrastructure of the city. Along with

this, they are also massacring the civilians which affects the situation of Russia's invasion. Thus, it shows the gravity and urgency of the situation and it appeals the world to "respond forcefully"

4.2.2 Metaphors in *The New York Times*.

In this section, the researcher analyses the metaphors present in the editorials of *The New York Times*. The code "NY" has been used to refer to *The New York Times* and the code "M" has been used to denote the "metaphor". For instance, the code "NYM1" denotes to the first metaphor found in *The New York Times* and so on.

NYM1: ... to plant a puppet regime ... occupy the country?

The metaphor "**plant a puppet regime**" is used to compare the action of installing a pro-Russian government in Ukraine to planting a puppet, a toy which is controlled by someone else. It reveals the intention of Mr. Putin who wants to enhance his influence in Ukraine by installing a pro-Russian government in it. It suggests that the Russian President intends to bring a ruler in Ukraine who remains obedient and loyal to Russia. To plant a puppet regime, Mr. Putin is likely to use violence, political pressure and propaganda to remove the present Ukrainian government. It indicates that Mr. Putin is interfering in the internal matter of Ukraine which is the violation of sovereignty and integrity of Ukraine. By planting a puppet regime, the Russian President wants to exercise his will in Ukraine instead of the will of Ukrainians which is against the democratic norms and values. Thus, it implies that the Russian President wants to enhance his influence in the region by demonstrating aggression and violence against the neighboring states. This metaphor is used to paint the picture of Mr. Putin as a manipulative, cunning and exploitative ruler.

NYM2: Mr. Putin vented his frustration...

The metaphor of "**vented his frustration**" is used for the comparison of Mr. Putin's anger to a steam or gas that needs to be released. It suggests that the "frustration" of the Russian President has reached at extreme level due to which he has put "Russia's nuclear forces on a heightened alert". In general, the "nuclear forces" are used as a last option to resolve a conflict but here the Russian President is deliberately escalating the conflict by putting the "nuclear forces on alert". The metaphor describes that Mr. Putin is

an insane person who cannot control his emotions of anger and fury. Thus, his madness might bring severe consequences to the region specifically and the world generally. By using this metaphor, the text draws the image of Mr. Putin as a frustrated, violent and irrational person who takes decision on the basis of his emotions instead of thinking in logical and reasonable manner.

NYM3: But...*Mr. Putin is a liability.*

The text employs metaphor to compare “**Mr. Putin**” to a “**liability**”. The word “liability” is used to represent something that causes damages or losses. Therefore, it suggests that he is not beneficial; rather, he is a burden or hindrance for the corrupt Russian oligarchs. He is called “a liability” to the wealthy and powerful people of Russia because his illegal invasion of Ukraine has made the United States and other Western states to freeze the foreign assets of these people. To support Ukraine, the United States has decided to confiscate the foreign properties of Putin’s supporters. Thus, the metaphor implies that Mr. Putin is likely to become isolated and infamous as his own companions might stop supporting him in this war.

NYM4: It...*opening eyes in Russia.*

The metaphor of “**opening eyes**” is used to explain that the Russians are becoming aware of the real situation. It does not mean that the people are literally “**opening eyes in Russia**”; rather, it illustrates that they are gradually seeing the truth which has been kept hidden from them. The editorial explains that the United States has played a pivotal role in exposing the lies and propaganda of Mr. Putin by “sharing its intelligence” related to the secret planning of the Russian government. Thus, it can be argued that the White House has played a crucial role in making people aware of the real situation of invasion. In this way, the metaphor reveals the hypocrisy of Russian president and now how Russians are condemning him by protesting against his illegal and unjustified war.

NYM5: Policymakers...*wrestling with two questions...*

The metaphor of “**wrestling with two question**” is used to compare the act of wrestling to the difficulty or confusion of western policymakers who are trying “to help Ukraine”. They are stuck in “two question” which is compared with “wrestling” to make a vivid imagery of the situation. On one hand, they are trying to help Ukraine; and on the

other hand, they are seeking a way to maintain relationship with Russia. It implies that the western countries are trying to support Ukraine without instigating Russia for further attacks. According to Grunwald (1993), the ideological beliefs of the media are translated in its coverage of different events. The role of media is deemed pivotal in selecting and portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience. (Entman, 2007). Hence, via the metaphor under analysis, the author highlights the kind gesture of western states for Ukrainians whereas at the same time, it pictures the cruel Russian invasion of Ukraine due to which civilians are suffering from death, injuries and distress.

NYM6: The *apocalyptic images of bodies...*

The metaphor of “**apocalyptic images**” is used to compare the horrific situation of Ukraine to complete destruction of the world. By using this metaphor, the text highlights the seriousness of the situation. The word “apocalyptic” is usually used to represent something which is very devastating, catastrophic, or dreadful. Thus, it implies that the situation in Ukraine is so horrible and devastating. The metaphor illustrates the consequences of the brutal invasion which has brought death, injuries and grief to the people of Ukraine. In this way, the metaphor exposes violence, cruelty and brutality of Russian troops towards the citizens of Ukraine. Via the metaphor, the text draws a vivid and powerful images of the shocking and terrible scenes of the war.

NYM7: The knowledge ...*cries out for a reckoning.*

The text uses a metaphor of “**cries out for reckoning**” to highlight the demand of Ukrainians for justice. They are not crying in literal sense; rather, they are requesting the international community and authorities to hold the aggressor responsible for initiating the unjustified and immoral war. It suggests that the situation of Ukraine is so terrible and horrific that it needs some kind of action to pacify the situation. To provide justice for the victims, the text demands from the international community to punish the aggressor. The text clearly criticizes and condemns the Russian President who is the initiator of the war. The metaphor is used to present a memorable and vivid image of the war and its consequences.

NYM8: The Biden administration ...*puncturing the Kremlin's propaganda*...

The metaphor of “**puncturing the Kremlin's propaganda**” is used to compare the efforts of the United States in exposing the fake propaganda of Russia to the act of puncturing a tire. The word “**puncturing**” is used to illustrate the act of destroying a tire or balloon by piercing it with a sharp object. Therefore, the metaphor here suggests that “the Biden administration” has destroyed the fake propaganda of Russian government by using its “intelligence”. It implies that the Russian government has expertise in spreading lies and misinformation to keep people in ignorance. On the other hand, it depicts the United States as a hero that always narrates truth and reality. Thus, the text appreciates the United States for exposing the fake propaganda of the Russian government

NYM9: The greatest effects ...*unplugging Russia*...

The metaphor of “**unplugging Russia**” is used for the comparison of the removal of Russia “from the international financial system” to the act of removing a plug from the socket. The word “unplugging” is used to denote an activity in which a plug of an electric appliance is removed from its socket. Therefore, the metaphor suggests that the global community has removed Russia “from the international financial system” to punish it for violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a neighbor state. It implies that Russia has become isolated in an international community for showing aggression against Ukraine. It expresses that the aggressor has to face the consequences of its aggression in terms. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), it is a crucial step to analyze the relationships and ideas that metaphors create in mind. They are of the view that metaphors are strong expressions whose implied relationships should be examined carefully.

NYM10: ...people who are *tightening their belts*...

The metaphor of “**tightening their belts**” is used to highlight the situation of Russians who are suffering from financial crisis due to the imposition of international sanctions on Russia for initiating war against Ukraine. The metaphor describes that the “average citizens” of Russia are bearing the economic burden on their shoulders, however, they cannot pressurize or influence the dictator as he disregards the will of

people and imposes his own decision on them. Thus, the metaphor illustrates the consequences of war by discussing the miserable condition of Russians.

NYM11: ...*the Soviet yoke*...

The metaphor of “**Soviet yoke**” has been used to describe the cruelty and oppression of the Soviet Union. The word “yoke” is used to describe a wooden device that is fastened across the necks of draft animals which enables them to pull heavy loads. It also controls the movements of these animals during plowing. Here, the metaphor compares “yoke” to the brutality and barbarism of the Soviet Union. The metaphor has been used to highlight how the Soviet Union had shown cruelty and oppression towards its own people, as “yoke” is a symbol of oppression, slavery, and subjugation. Further, the metaphor implies that the failure of the coup liberated people from the autocracy and tyranny of the Soviet Union.

NYM12: ...Russia has come *full circle*.

The metaphor “**full circle**” is used to describe the situation of Russia. It indicates that Russia has returned to the point from where it started. This metaphor highlights the history of Russia by comparing it with the current situation of the country. Russia has not learned anything from history; instead, it is going back to its original state: the totalitarian and aggressive state. It means that the Russian government has not allowed democracy to flourish in the country due to which the Russian people are suffering from several issues. They are deprived of their basic human rights such as freedom of speech, freedom of association, right to vote etc. Hence, in this way, the metaphor “circle” suggests that the country is not making any progress just like a figure which has no end or progress.

NYM13: With its “*troll factories*,” ...grave new threat to global democracy.

The metaphor of “**troll factory**” is used to compare the paid propagandists of the Russian government to the workers who work in the factory to produce goods. It suggests that Russia is running a factory that spreads lies and propaganda to influence the opinions, beliefs and attitudes of people. These workers are organized and skilled in spreading misleading and fake news related to the invasion of Ukraine. They are trying to justify the invasion by portraying Russia as the victim. Thus, in this way, the metaphor exposes the hypocrisy and dishonesty of the Russian government.

NYM14: Putin ...a *hidden Russian hand* in media and politics

The metaphor “**hidden Russian hand**” is used to compare the hand that is hidden and manipulative to the influence of the Russian government on media and politics of the United States. It does not mean that Russia has any hidden hand; instead, it expresses how Russia is interfering in the internal affairs of the United States by influencing its media and politics. It is the clear violation of international law that prohibits all countries of the world from interfering in the internal affairs of other sovereign states. Therefore, it can be argued that the metaphor unveils the manipulative and deceptive behavior of the Russian government.

NYM15: ...invasion is just *too ugly a pig to pretty up*

By using the metaphor “**too ugly a pig to pretty up**”, the war or invasion is compared with a “pig” which is “ugly” and nothing can make it “pretty” or attractive. It implies that the war is so cruel or ugly, it cannot be justified in any manner. The invasion is very unethical and awful thing that no one is ready to accept it. It suggests that the Russian government cannot hide its oppression and violence anymore. The Russian propaganda has failed to justify this invasion; hence, people are protesting against it.

NYM16: ...*Russia’s fire hose... chaos and confusion...*

The metaphor of “**Russia’s fire hose**” is employed to compare the Russian model of propaganda to the “hose” which is a flexible tube designed to sprinkle a large amount of water with great force. It implies that Russia is spreading propaganda and lies with great force to manipulate people. To get the support of the public, the Russian government is propagating various “conspiracy theories” related to the ongoing war. Also, by spreading disinformation and fake news, the Russian government is creating “chaos and confusion” in society. Therefore, it can be inferred that the metaphor is used to expose the manipulative face of Russia.

NYM17: when Putin ...*the bosom of Mother Russia*

The metaphor “**bosom of Mother Russia**” is used to explain how Mr. Putin projects the image of Russia as a mother who embraces her child in her chest. It suggests that he perceives Ukraine as a child who needs to unify with its mother for better care and

development. Therefore, he intends to bring Kyiv back to Russia under his control. He presents himself as a well-wisher and protector of Ukraine. It implies that he is living in a fool's paradise because his dream of occupying Ukraine will never be fulfilled. It further suggests that Ukraine is an independent and sovereign state that would never accept foreign invasion and dominance. In this way, the metaphor portrays the image of Mr. Putin as someone who lives in delusion and fantasy.

NYM18: ...*tutorial on fighting and dying*...

The metaphor of “**tutorial on fighting and dying**” is used to compare the struggle of Ukrainians for self-determination to a lesson or direction that teaches Russia how to fight and sacrifice their lives for freedom and democracy. It highlights the bravery and courage of Ukrainians who fight for their rights and dignity. They have shown their enemies that they are not afraid of sacrificing their lives for the protection of their motherland. Thus, in this way, the metaphor depicts Russia as an aggressive and violent state. On the other hand, it draws the heroic image of Ukraine by highlighting how the people of Ukraine are sacrificing their lives for a just and legal cause.

NYM19: Putin...*his own germ-free isolation chamber*

The metaphor of a “**germ-free isolation chamber**” is used to compare Putin's current situation to an isolation chamber. It suggests that he is being trapped in an insecure situation due to his own deeds. He is plotting schemes against Ukraine by sitting in his comfort zone without realizing that he is inflicting suffering and pain on Ukrainians by demonstrating violence and aggression against them. Therefore, the United States and Western countries have imposed sanctions on Russia. Due to these sanctions, Russia is facing diplomatic isolation which is represented by the term “**isolation chamber**”. The term “**germ-free**” is used to indicate that he is trying to avoid any form of criticism and condemnation from the international community and his own people by sitting in his comfort zone. Further, it suggests that he is afraid of facing the consequences of his unjust war due to which he chooses to stay in denial and isolation.

NYM20: ...*to save his face*

The metaphor “**save his face**” is employed to describe how Mr. Putin is trying to protect his reputation and image in society. The “face” is compared to a “social status” or

“reputation” of Mr. Putin. It explains that Mr. Putin is not getting the desired result from the ongoing war; instead, it has destroyed “both Russia’s and Ukraine’s economies and armies”. However, the text predicts that the Russian president will not end the war; rather, he is likely to continue it “to save his face”. It implies that he does not care about the economy of his country. Also, he has no sympathy for those who are losing their lives in his war. In addition to this, it implies that he does not hesitate in violating international law and norms to satisfy his ego. Thus, the text criticizes Mr. Putin for destroying “two countries” to protect “one face” which is “his face”.

4.3 Spin

In this section, the researcher analyzes the spin frame used by the text of the selected editorials. Spin is used to present a concept in such a way as to convey a value judgment (positive or negative) that might not be immediately apparent; to create an inherent bias by definition. Spin is a tool which present a concept or idea in a way giving it either positive or negative implication. It is a way of describing an idea or situation that makes it seem better than it really is, especially in politics. (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online)

4.3.1 *Spin in The Washington Post.*

In this section, the researcher analyses the spin frame present in the editorials of *The Washington Post*. The code “WP” has been used to refer to *The Washington Post* and the code “SN” has been used to denote the “Spin”. For instance, the code “WPSN1” denotes to the first spin frame found in *The Washington Post* and so on.

WPSN1: But Russia's war ... repercussions worldwide.

In the text, Russia is represented as a threat to the world. The text predicts that the war “could all too easily spread”. It implies that this is a war not only against Ukraine but also against the entire world because it has “worldwide” repercussions. Therefore, it indicates that the war in Ukraine may destabilize the entire world. Russia’s war may disrupt the international peace and harmony. The text uses terms such as “Russia’s war”, “destabilizing”, and “repercussions” to describe Russia. These terms are not neutral; rather, they have negative connotations. Thus, it suggests that the text is biased and

subjective in describing Russia. It has employed a spin frame to project the image of Russia as an aggressive and violent state.

WPSN2: Government censor ...threatened penalties for violators.

Here, the text uses a spin frame to pass the negative value judgment on the action of Russian government. The text describes that the government has “warned” the media outlets “to publish only information from official websites” which reflects that the government is oppressive and does not believe in the freedom of press. The Russian news channels are controlled as they are not allowed to publish any news against the government. The term “threatened penalties for violators” indicates that the government is determined to punish those who criticize its policies and strategies. Therefore, it can be argued that the text is portraying the dictatorial and autocratic images of Russian government.

WPSN3: FIVE DAYS ...overconfident Russian president's way

The selected text uses a spin frame to highlight the actions and intention of President Putin by mentioning him as an “overconfident” person in this war. He is described by using a word “overconfident” which is not a neutral or objective word; rather, it has negative connotation. Therefore, it indicates that the text is biased and subjective in its approach. It portrays Mr. Putin as an arrogant person who relies on his military powers to demonstrate violence against the neighboring states. Further, the text explains that he launches a war on Ukraine by believing that he would win this war but the “things are not going” in his favor. It implies that he is not getting the desired outcomes from the war. Thus, it can be argued that the text represents President Putin as an overconfident aggressor who does not respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states by imposing war on them.

WPSN4: ...blunting ...to break Ukraine's will ...less discriminate shelling, rocket and missile fire.”

The technique of spin is used to expose the violence and aggression of Russian army in Ukraine. It discusses how Russian army is violating the basic human rights in Ukraine. In addition to this, President Putin is considering to increase the number of

soldiers “to break Ukraine's will”. Also, the terms “less discriminate shelling, rocket and missile fire” are used to highlight the nature of attack on Ukraine. The Russian military does not see any difference between the combatants and the non-combatants; hence, it is bombing the entire state. Therefore, the text passes negative moral judgment on the activities of Russian troops in Ukraine by unveiling their oppression and brutality towards the civilian population of Ukraine.

According to Goffman (1974), media plays a significant role in framing different issues by portraying their positive and negative aspects. The framing technique is used to shape the opinion of the public on a particular issue. Usually, media uses different techniques of framing to manipulate people by enforcing different ideologies according to its own agendas and interests. It has the power to construct the image of people or groups in positive and negative ways by using various frames. The text under analysis reflects that it is trying to highlight the horrific situation of Ukraine by narrating how Russian troops are deliberately targeting the civilian population. It uses a spin frame to reveal the atrocities of Russian forces in Ukraine.

WPSN5: ...the horrific harm ...on Ukraine's civilian population.

The image of Russian President is constructed as a dangerous person who is a security threat to the people of Ukraine. He is the one who creates “horrific harm” by “inflicting” war on “Ukraine's civilian population”. Further, it suggests that Vladimir Putin is an aggressor who does not even care about the “civilian population”. There are various international laws that provide protection to the “civilian population” during war. According to international humanitarian law (IHL), the distinction should be made between civilians and combatants. Similarly, the United Nations also prohibits targeting the civilians during war. In the light of international laws and rules, Mr. Putin’s action is considered a war crime as his army is not making any distinction between the fighters and civilians, by attacking both of them. It depicts that the Russian President does not regard international laws, and thus, it implies that he is an existential threat to the global security.

According to Semyvol and Kokorskka (2017), people get information about the ongoing issues from media. Therefore, the journalists “choose the information that we

need to know”. They use framing techniques to create the bad or good image of people or groups. They construct reality for us by using various tools of framing. In this regard, the selected text can be taken as an example because it is using a framing tool to create the image of Russia. It uses a spin frame to highlight the war crimes committed by the Russian troops in Ukraine.

WPSN6: The kernel of truth ... his plan is to conquer Ukraine, period.

By using a spin frame, the selected text describes that Mr. Putin intends to escalate the conflict by using “destructive violence” against Ukrainians as his main motive is “to break Ukraine’s will”. It suggests that the text portrays Mr. Putin as someone who believes in violence and destruction instead of the peaceful resolution of the matter. This description of his character indicates that he is not a civilized person who follows international laws and norms. Moreover, it explains that his evil motive is not only “to break Ukraine’s will” but also “to conquer Ukraine”. This illustrates that he wants to invade a sovereign state which is an illegal, immoral and unlawful act. Therefore, it can be said that the text passes negative value judgment on the intentions of Mr. Putin by mentioning that he intends “to conquer Ukraine”.

WPSN7: ...the brutality...and, now, Ukraine.

The “civilian population”. According to international law, it is illegal to attack the civilians in war which indicates that Russian army is violating international law. Further, the term “dehumanizing training conditions” is used to illustrate the inhumane and brutal behavior of “Russian soldiers” towards the people of Ukraine. The characteristics of Russian army are explained by using the phrases like “indiscriminate bombardment” and “personal cruelty”. The term “indiscriminate bombardment” depicts that the Russian army does not see any difference between civilians and combatants. Similarly, the term “personal cruelty” is used to represent the war crimes committed by individual Russian soldier. To support this point, the references are given from history where the Russian forces committed similar war crimes such as in “Chechnya, Georgia, and Syria”. It shows that the Russian forces are prone to committing war crimes by demonstrating their cruelty towards the civilian population.

WPSN8: Russian musicians... relentless and increasingly brutal invasion of Ukraine...

The selected text discusses how Russian artists and “other cultural figures” are suffering due to Mr. Putin’s “relentless” and “brutal invasion of Ukraine”. The Russian athletes, musicians and artists have been banned from international competitions to punish the Russian government. By explaining the suffering of the talented people of Russia, the text is directly blaming Mr. Putin and holding him responsible for the backlashes they are facing. The image of Mr. Putin is represented as a “brutal” and indifferent dictator who has nothing to do with the future of his own people. The term “brutal invasion of Ukraine” suggests that the invasion is violent, cruel and unjustified. In addition to this, the reaction of the world towards the invasion is explained by using words like “outraged” and “repulsed” to highlight its anger and resistance towards this illegal act. Ukraine is a sovereign and democratic state due to which this invasion is considered “the assault on a democratic country”; thus, the international community has decided to punish Russia for its unlawful act by banning its “athletes”, “musicians”, “artists” and “other cultural figures”. Therefore, the text passes negative moral judgment on Russia by equating the invasion with the despotic, barbaric and undemocratic act.

WPSN9: ...shut down the last vestiges of independent media ...forced to suspend...

In this text, the dictatorial behavior of Mr. Putin is highlighted by explaining how he tries to silence the voice of “independent media” in Russia by giving them “threats of punishment for truthful reporting”. The Russian President is represented as a dictator who does not tolerate truth and voice of “independent media”. Besides, it suggests that he has made it impossible for the international media to broadcast independently by banning and suspending “their operations in Russia”. In this regard, the example of “Radio Free Europe” is mentioned by claiming that the Russian President “has shut down” it forcefully which implies that Mr. Putin wants to control the narrative about his invasion of Ukraine by imposing his terms and conditions on media. It further illustrates that he has zero tolerance for criticism and difference of opinions. This act of Mr. Putin is illegal and unlawful as he is violating the right of expression by threatening the independent

media and trying to suppress the independent voices. Independent media is considered an important pillar of democracy; however, the act of banning and threatening it is perceived as an undemocratic and oppressive act. Therefore, this text is criticizing Mr. Putin for his tyrannical attitude towards the independent media outlets. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), framing is a technique in which the author “choose one particular meaning over another”. This definition of framing is also supported by Entman (1993) who argues that a frame “operates by selecting and highlighting some features of reality while omitting others” (p.53). The text under analysis reflects the same phenomenon by using a spin frame to pass moral judgment on Russia by narrating one side of the story, and not presenting the perspective of other side.

WPSN10: Also, Mr. Putin...at the mercy of Russian artillery.

In the selected text, the possible reaction of Mr. Putin is discussed if “economic sanctions” are imposed on Russia. It explains that he is likely to take this sanction as a “declaration of war” against Russia which exposes his aggressive nature. By keeping this in mind, it is predicted that he will take the “aircraft transfers” to Ukraine as “a provocation”. To support this assumption, the example is given from “recent history” where he has not hesitated to “invent provocation” to escalate the ongoing conflict. The text presents the negative impression of Mr. Putin’s actions by associating negatives terms with him such as “war”, “sanctions”, “provocations” and “artillery” whereas it gives the positive impression of Ukrainians by showing sympathy to them and by explaining that they cannot be left at the “mercy of Russian artillery”. Grunwald (1993) states that the ideological beliefs of the media are translated in its coverage of different events. The role of media is deemed pivotal in selecting and portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience. (Entman, 2007). The text under analysis expresses the same thing by using a spin frame to criticize Mr. Putin by illustrating him as an aggressor and perpetrator; on the other hand, it depicts Ukraine as a victim. It appeals the readers to show sympathy for Ukraine and to condemn Russia for invading Ukraine by violating international laws.

WPSN11: ...Mr. Putin's assault on United Nations member Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

By using a spin frame, the selected text tries to present the invasion as an act of violence and terror which lacks “the necessary legal bases”. It uses the Latin term “jus ad bellum” to explain the conditions under which war is considered justified and legal. It is basically a set of rules which act as a guiding principles for the international community by explaining the circumstances under which a legitimate authority can fight a war with a right intention for a legitimate and justified cause. It prohibits everyone from initiating war to achieve any political or national interest; rather, it should be fought to maintain peace and justice. In the light of these conditions, the text argues that “Mr. Putin’s assault” does fall under this category. In this way, it manifests that he has not initiated the war with right intention and for the legitimate cause; rather, he has invaded Ukraine to maintain the domination and hegemony of Russia in the region. Moreover, it mentions the conditions defined by the “International Criminal Court (ICC)” under which a war becomes a “crime of aggression”. By discussing those conditions, it suggests that “Mr. Putin’s” war is the “violation of the Charter of the United Nations”. In this way, this invasion is equated with the “crime of aggression” and an act of violence against a sovereign state.

WPSN12: ...massive Russian shelling of Kyiv...apartment buildings and hospitals.

Afterwards, the technique of spin is used by discussing another Latin term “jus in bello” to highlight the war crimes committed by the Russian forces in Ukraine. According to “jus in bello”, there are some “basic rules” which should be followed by the parties involved in war. It strictly prohibits “deliberate targeting of civilians” and considers it a war crime. By mentioning the characteristics of war crimes, it reveals how Russia has committed war crimes by highlighting the “Russian military’s actual conduct on the battlefield”. It criticizes Russia for “shelling” on the “densely populated cities” such as “Kharjiv”, “Kyive” and “Mariupol”. It suggests that the Russian army is deliberately violating the rules of “jus in bello” by targeting the civilians in Ukraine. Also, it explains that the Russian army is indiscriminate in their attacks; thus, it has

destroyed the “schools, apartment buildings and hospitals” which is the open violation of international law. This projection of Russian army illustrates that its “conduct on the battlefield” is immoral, unethical and illegal.

WPSN13: ...is a crime in every sense of the word, moral and legal.

The selected text passes moral judgment on Russia to highlight the war crimes committed by the Russian army in Ukraine. It explains that the “lives may yet be saved” if the aggressor realizes the importance of human lives and learns to distinguish between the legal and illegal acts during the war. It further reveals that the Russian soldiers are demonstrating violence against the civilian population which is considered a “crime in every sense”. The act of violence against civilians is not acceptable in any civilized society. Furthermore, the text criticizes those who are “waging this war” by associating their actions with “moral and legal” crimes. In this way, the text expresses its disapproval and condemnation for the ongoing war by clearly stating that the war is illegal and unjustified. Apart from condemning the war, it demands that those who are responsible for committing war crimes should be held accountable.

WPSN14: The civilians ...ferocious and indiscriminate Russian bombardment...

The selected text draws the picture of Ukraine after Russian invasion by describing the condition of “the civilians” and “a ruined city”. It exposes the inhumane attitude of Russian troops towards the people of Ukraine as they do not make any distinction between the combatants and the civilians which manifests their ignorance and evil nature. Besides, it illustrates the picture of “ruined city” where “tens of thousands” of people “died” due to the Russian aggression against them. It suggests that “a ferocious and indiscriminate Russian bombardment” have brought destruction and pain to the lives of Ukrainians. They are suffering from this illegal and unjustified war. The terms “ferocious” and “indiscriminate” imply that the Russian military forces are ruthless, brutal and violent. They are indifferent towards the suffering of humanity, which is shown by their indiscriminate bombardment on the civilians. By attacking the civilians, they have violated international law that prohibits all parties from attacking the non-

combatants during war. In this context, it implies that the Russian forces are cruel and violent in their attacks.

WPSN15: The fighters...Russia from seizing other territory...

The selected text reveals how Russian forces are trying to seize the Ukrainian cities and how “the fighters” from Ukraine are successfully defending their homeland by fighting against the foreign invaders. The text portrays the Ukrainian fighters as brave and fearless defenders who “not only survived” in the critical situation where the Russian army is targeting them but also successfully “prevent Russia from seizing” other important cities of Ukraine. This outlines the bravery and courage of the defenders, and at the same time, it condemns Russia for demonstrating aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent state. By using the technique of spin, the text provides a negative judgment on the illegal act of Russian forces where they are trying to seize the cities of Ukraine namely “Mariupol, Kyiv and Kharkiv”.

WPSN16: A huge slice of Russia's population ...tracks protests and arrests.

The selected text explains how the Russian government is trying to suppress the voice of those people who are speaking “against the war”. To support this point, the text mentions the number of people who “have been detained” for protesting against the illegal war in Ukraine. It argues that “a huge slice of Russia’s population is passive” which implies that the public has been oppressed by the autocratic ruler by not allowing them to express their opinions. It suggests that the government is violating the basic human right, which clearly states that everyone has the right to freedom of expression. By keeping this in mind, it can be argued that the Russian government is violating international law and norms. Despite all these threats, many people come out to protest against the war. Therefore, the text appreciates and encourages the brave people who are not afraid of the dictator and standing for the rights of Ukrainians. Further, it shows that the general public of Russia is sympathetic and sensitive towards the suffering of humanity whereas the Russian President is cold-hearted and cruel who does not care about the lives of human beings. In this way, it reveals the cruelty and oppression of the Russian government towards its own people as well as the neighboring states.

WPSN17: Mr. Putin's security services ...censored the press and closed social media.

By using a spin frame, the selected text exposes how “Mr. Putin’s security services” are trying “to suppress the protests”. It illustrates the undemocratic attitude of the Russian President towards its people by preventing them from exercising their right to expression. Therefore, the text criticizes the despotic ruler for violating Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that everyone has the right to freedom of expression. Apart from suppressing “the protests”, it is reportedly said that “many of those arrested” face “harsh treatment in jail” which implies that the government is abusive, merciless and ruthless. Moreover, the term “Mr. Putin’s security services” indicates that the security forces are not loyal to the people and the law of the land; rather, they are showing their loyalty to the president by blindly following his orders. Furthermore, the text reveals that the Russian government “has censored the press and closed social media” to hide its tyranny and oppression. It suggests that the government intends to silence an independent and free voice of media. Thus, in this way, the text portrays the image of Russian President as a cruel, violent and undemocratic ruler.

WPSN18: ...Mr. Putin..."just a group of sick, crazy old men..."

The selected text quotes “Alexei Navalny”, the opposition leader, who criticizes “Mr. Putin and his cronies” by calling them “a group of sick, crazy and old men”. According to him, Mr. Putin and his cronies are the senseless, selfish and greedy people who “don’t have sympathy for anyone or anything”. Further, he explains that these people work for their self-interests and they only “care about” their “Swiss bank accounts” which illustrates their inconsiderate attitude towards their “motherland”. He encourages people “to oppose the war” by calling it “every person’s duty right now”. He condemns the Russian president and his supporters by revealing that “they say about patriotism is a myth” which indicates that they are not loyal to their country; rather, they are just using the term “patriotism” to achieve their political interests. Hence, by highlighting the intention of Mr. Putin and his cronies, he portrays them as villains, cruel and greedy.

WPSN19: ...suspended publication, threatened by the government ...Putin's onslaught against Ukraine.

The selected text explains how Russian government is controlling the media outlets by threatening the journalists. It gives the example of “Novaya Gazeta”, the Russian investigative newspaper, which has been forced to shut down because it fails “to label a group as a foreign agent”. It indicates that the Russian government is trying to dictate media to spread propaganda against its opponents by labeling them as a “foreign agents” which is the open violation of democratic norms and values. Further, it describes the “new law” that prohibits media and other independent organizations from criticizing the “armed forces”. According to the law, it is a crime to “discredit” the military forces and those who violate this law would face “penalties up to 15 years in prisons”. In addition to this, it criminalizes the use of the words such as “attack”, “war” or “invasion” to express “President Vladimir Putin’s onslaught against Ukraine”. By passing this draconian law, the Russian government represents that it does not believe in freedom of expression which is the basic human right. It intends to punish those who raise their voice against injustice and tyranny by passing undemocratic, oppressive and controversial law. In this way, the text uses a spin frame to expose the abusive law passed by the Russian government to crush its critics and opponents.

WPSN20: ... Ukrainian resistance ...blasting Ukraine...

Via spin, the selected text describes the failure of Russian forces in conquering “the country swiftly” which depicts their “incompetence”. Simultaneously, the bravery and courage of the people of Ukraine are highlighted by mentioning the “Ukrainian resistance”. To portray them, the text passes positive moral judgment by presenting them as freedom fighters who are ready to sacrifice their lives to protect their motherland. They have proved that they cannot be defeated easily; rather, they are resilient towards foreign aggression. Following the failure of his army, the text predicts the next step of Mr. Putin by explaining that he “seems to have switched” to another plan which is “blasting Ukraine into submission”. Mr. Putin is likely to use “rockets, shells and bombs” to completely destroy Ukraine. It implies that the Russian President has no sympathy for the pain and grief of humanity; rather, he is ready to cause more harms to humanity for

his political gains. He does not hesitate in using “bombs” and “rockets” to achieve his political interest which depicts his evil and wicked nature. By explaining the intention of Mr. Putin, the text suggests that the Russian President is abusing his power by inflicting unjustified aggression against an independent state.

WPSN21: Mr. Putin... tyranny of violence...atrocities in Bucha and all of Ukraine.

The selected text uses a spin frame to reveal the brutality and aggression of Mr. Putin towards the people of Ukraine. It states that the Russian President “puts his faith in the tyranny of violence” which suggests that he is a ruthless, merciless and wicked person who does not believe in humanity. The phrase “puts his faith” describes that he is irrational and blind to the consequences of his aggression. He is a violent person who does not hesitate in ruining the lives of millions of Ukrainians by targeting them in his unjustified and illegal war. Therefore, the text condemns him for his act of violence in Ukraine and demands that the international community hold him accountable for “such barbarism”. The word “barbarism” suggests that he is not a civilized person who respects international norms and values. Further, the text mentions “Bucha” to unveil the brutality and oppression of Russian forces in that city. According to the text, the Russian military forces have “carried out the atrocities in Bucha and all of Ukraine”. It implies that the Russian military forces are cruel and insensitive as they have not left any part of Ukraine from their “atrocities”. In this way, the text uses a spin frame to portray the dark image of Mr. Putin and the Russian army by associating strong and negative words to them such as “tyranny”, “violence”, “barbarism” and “atrocities”.

4.3.2 Spin in *The New York Times*.

In this section, the researcher analyses the spin frame present in the editorials of *The New York Times*. The code “NY” has been used to refer to *The New York Times* and the code “SN” has been used to denote the “Spin”. For instance, the code “NYSN1” denotes to the first spin frame found in *The New York Times* and so on.

NYSN1: ...waging war on a weaker neighbor... war of choice for all the wrong reasons...

The technique of spin is used to expose the false “justification” of the Russian President “for waging war on a weaker neighbor”. It highlights that the war is unjust and illegal as it does not “contained much truth or any justification”. Mr. Putin’s justifications are not convincing as he fails to provide any solid reason or evidence for initiating war against a neighbor state. It suggests that the Russian President is an aggressive and violent person. Further, the text explains that this is “a war of choice for all wrong reasons” which implies that the war is driven by political and selfish interest, rather than by humanitarian or ethical principles. Adding to this, it argues that “Mr. Putin and his coterie” are “fully responsible” for initiating aggression against a sovereign state by violating international law and norms. Thus, it suggests that they should be punished by the international community to teach a lesson to the like-minded people. In this war, the Ukrainians face a lot of suffering as they lose their lives and homeland. Apart from losing human lives, they also face “economic pain” in the ongoing conflict. By mentioning the pain and grief of the people of Ukraine, the text reveals the aggressive, oppressive and abusive attitude of Russian government towards “a weaker neighbor”. Thus, in this way, the text represents the Russian president as a violent, brutal and oppressive person who does not care about the sovereignty and human rights of the neighboring states and their people.

NYSN2: ...fierce police crackdown...Mr. Putin’s authoritarian rule...

The selected text uses a spin frame to paint Putin’s government as “authoritarian rule” by revealing “the reaction of the Russian public” towards the invasion of Ukraine. The Russian public shows strong resistance by protesting against this unjustified war “in Moscow and other cities”. According to the text, “thousands of Russians” have protested against the invasion. The Putin’s administration responds to these protests with “a fierce police crackdown”. It suggests that the Russian government violates the right to freedom of expression by silencing the voice of the opponents who protest against the policies of the government. By mentioning the “police crackdown”, the text highlights the despotic and dictatorial attitude of Russian government towards its own people. It is the open violation of democratic norms and values. In Grunwald’s (1993) view, media plays a

crucial role in constructing the image of people or groups through its coverage of different events. The role of media is deemed pivotal in selecting and portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience. (Entman, 2007). Thus, it can be argued that the text under analysis is trying to project the image of Russia by passing negative judgment on the Russian government by condemning and criticizing its aggressive policies. On the other hand, it encourages and appreciates the people who protest against the government's tyrannical policies by using a word "courageously" to emphasize their efforts in ending the war. In this way, it depicts the protesters as brave and fearless people who stand against the dictatorial policies of the government.

NYSN3: ...Volodymyr Zelensky...I want peace."

The selected text employs a spin frame to illustrate the brutal aggression of Russian forces towards Ukraine and the heroic response of the Ukrainian President to this aggression. The text presents "Volodymyr Zelensky" as a hero who has raised his voice for "peace". He has become the symbol of bravery, fearlessness and courage by showing "the face of heroic resistance". He has shown to the world that he is not in favor of war but when it has been imposed on his country, his people will show a strong resistance. In addition to this, it suggests that the Ukrainians are not afraid of sacrificing their lives to protect the sovereignty and integrity of their motherland. In this scenario, the text mentions Russia as an aggressor, invader and threat to global peace and security.

NYSN4: Mr. Putin ...two leading liberal media... have been all but silenced.

By using a spin frame, the selected text exposes the "lies" and propaganda of Mr. Putin. It explains that the Russian public does not "support" Mr. Putin in his war of aggression against a sovereign state due to which he is lying to them. It predicts that the "Russian public support" could "crumble" if Mr. Putin's "lies are exposed". According to the text, "thousands of Russians have been arrested" for speaking against the illegal war against a neighbor state. Apart from this, the Russian government has banned the "two leading media outlets" from broadcasting because of their anti-war stance. The "Echo of Moscow and TV Rain" are the two independent Russian media outlets which have been "silenced" for exposing the propaganda and lies of Russian government. By silencing the voice of the public and independent media outlets, the Russian government

conveys a message that it does not tolerate any criticism from the opponents. Along with this, it implies that the Russian government disregards and disrespects the freedom of expression and information which is the open violation of international law and norms. Thus, in this way, the text pictures the autocratic and dictatorial image of Russian President who spreads lies and propaganda to manipulate his people for his political and strategic gains.

Semyvol and Kokorskka (2017) claim that media has become a main source of information in today's world. It constructs our ideas, beliefs and attitudes by using various framing techniques. The selected text proves this point by using a framing tool spin to represent the dictatorial aspect of the Russian government.

NYSN5: ...his erratic behavior...

Via spin, the selected text passes the negative value judgment on the intention of Mr. Putin whose "aim is to take over all of Ukraine". It indicates that the Russian President wants to illegally occupy a sovereign state by using force and violence. It also reveals that he is not fighting this war for any right cause; rather, he is acting as an invader who wants to occupy an independent state. According to Article 2(4) of United Nation Charter, it is illegal to "use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of another state" without having a justified reason such as self-defense etc. In this regard, it implies that the Russian invasion of Ukraine is illegal, immoral and unjustified act of aggression against an independent state. In addition to this, the text mentions the "erratic behavior" of Mr. Putin which "makes it impossible" to foretell "his next move". It suggests that Mr. Putin is an unpredictable person who takes illogical and insane decisions which illustrate his lack of wisdom and judgment.

NYSN6: Russian forces ...epic humanitarian challenge...

The selected text uses a spin frame to describe the damages caused by the Russian troops to the Ukrainian cities. It explains how "Russian forces are encircling" the city of Ukraine by putting people in miserable condition. It also describes the sufferings and pain of Ukrainians who are forced to leave their country due to the foreign aggression. According to the text, "more than million" people have left Ukraine, "creating an epic humanitarian challenge". Besides leaving the state, there is a large number of people who "may be displaced internally". Goffman (1974) observes how media plays a crucial role

in shaping the opinion of the public by using frames. By describing the miseries, pain and grief of Ukrainians, the text under analysis depicts the image of Russia as a violent, merciless and cruel force. It tries to evoke the emotions of reader to show sympathy for the Ukrainians who are suffering at the hand of foreign aggression. Similarly, it persuades the readers to condemn and criticize the war and pressurize Russia to end the current war. Additionally, it implies that the ongoing conflict has become an international issue, so the international community should take crucial steps to stop the war by imposing sanctions on Russia.

NYSN7: As his ruthless invasion...fresh horrors.

The selected text uses a spin frame to expose Putin's "ruthless invasion" of Ukraine. It reveals the evil intention of Mr. Putin who "is trying to break Ukraine" by using violence and force against it. It depicts that he is violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine by imposing an illegal and unjustified war on it. The term "demolishing its cities" is used to highlight the destructive attacks of the Russian military forces on Ukrainian cities. Moreover, the term "brutalizing its people" illustrates that the Russian troops are merciless, ruthless and violent who do not hesitate in destroying the public infrastructure and targeting the innocent civilians. It is also against the international law as it prohibits everyone from targeting the civilian population during war. Despite the condemnations and sanctions from the international community, the Russian President does not refrain from escalating the conflict. Thus, it illustrates that he is a cruel dictator who does not respect international law and norms.

NYSN8: Mr. Putin's savage invasion of Ukraine...

The selected text employs a spin frame to unveil the damages caused by "Mr. Putin's savage invasion of Ukraine". It describes how the unjustified and illegal war has impacted the relationship between Russia and "the democratic nations of Europe". According to the text, the ongoing conflict "has shattered the post-Cold War projects" of diplomatic relations and economic integration that Russia and the European nations have been working on for decades. It implies that the Russian government is solely responsible for the disruption of these projects as it initiates the war without having any legal or moral justification. In addition to this, the text tries to remind the readers "that the Cold War was won by those who took better care of their own people" which suggests that the

Russian government needs to focus on its own people instead of demonstrating violence and aggression against the sovereign states. Also, it implies that the European states are “democratic nations” that take care of their people by providing them the fundamental rights due to which they “won” the Cold War. The text also depicts the violent and non-cooperative behavior of Russian President by mentioning “Putin’s savage invasion” and how it “shattered post-Cold War project”.

NYSN9: The mass flight...a humanitarian crisis ...Russia’s savage war...

The selected text uses a spin frame to highlight “a humanitarian crisis” caused by “the mass flight of refugees from Ukraine”. The word “mass” is used to show a large number of people who are forced to escape the conflict zone. In addition to this, it explains that “Europe” has not seen any dilemma like this “since World War II” which depicts the severity of refugee crisis in European countries. The word “dwarfs” is used to compare the ongoing conflict to “World War II” which is an exaggeration as World War II was one of the most terrible and devastating events in history. According to the text, “more than four million people” have taken shelter into “neighboring countries”. It implies that the Russian invasion has forced people to leave their motherland and take refuge in other states of Europe. Further, the text predicts that “millions more will flee” which highlights the seriousness of the matter. It also implies that the Russian government intends to escalate the conflict which would force “millions more” to flee. By calling refugee crisis “a humanitarian crisis”, it portrays the dark image of Russian government by holding it responsible for this disaster. Thus, the text successfully uses spin to paint the Russian government as a cruel and aggressive entity.

NYSN10: ...bombarding civilian infrastructure...

The text uses a spin frame to unveil the hypocrisy and brutality of Russian government. It describes how Ukrainians are suffering from “Russian invasion of Ukraine” by explaining that they are forced to leave their country for the safety and protection of their families. According to the text, “nearly one million people” have migrated from Ukraine since the invasion which manifests that the Russian military forces are targeting civilians due to which they are compelled to seek refuge in the neighboring states. The text claims that “nearly one million people have left Ukraine” without mentioning any credible or reliable source from where the data has been taken

which implies that the text is trying to exaggerate the current situation. Apart from mentioning the refugee crisis, it predicts how “Russia will keep bombarding civilian infrastructure” which indicates that the Russian troops are violating international law which strictly prohibits targeting civilian populations. In the context of international law, it can be argued that the Russian forces are committing war crimes in Ukraine as they are not differentiating combatants and non-combatants in their attacks. Moreover, it makes a prediction by stating that “ten million people” are likely to migrate from “the country in the coming months”. In this way, the text depicts Russia as an aggressive and violent state. On the other hand, it portrays Ukraine as a resilient, determined and patriotic nation which “will keep fighting for its survival”. By predicting the deadly consequences of the conflict, it appeals the international community to make “a peace agreement” between Russia and Ukraine to bring peace and stability to the region.

NYSN11: Refugees...Indiscriminate bombing and shelling of civilian infrastructure...can be destabilizing.

By using a spin frame, the selected text reveals that “refugees are not a design flaw” of the war; rather, “Vladimir Putin” is forcing the people of Ukraine to leave their country and seek refuge in the neighboring countries. The term “indiscriminate bombing” is used to expose the inhumane attitude of Russian forces towards the civilian population as they are not making any distinction between fighters and civilians in their assaults. Further, it uses the term “shelling of civilian infrastructure” to expose the war crimes committed by the Russian army in Ukraine by destroying the civilian properties. It further explains that the “refugees are not a design flaw” of Russian invasion; rather, it is a “part of a broader strategy” of Mr. Putin who wants to destabilize the “neighboring states” by forcing people to migrate into these states. Thus, the text unveils the evil intention of Mr. Putin who wants “to demoralize the civilian population” by targeting them and forcing “residents” to migrate “into neighboring countries”. In this way, the text reveals the real intention of the Russian President who is planning to destabilize the entire region to enhance his influence and power in the region. Hence, it can be argued that the text tries to present Mr. Putin as an arrogant tyrant who has no sympathy for humanity. He wants to create his dominance and hegemony in the region by destabilizing it.

NYSN12: The apocalyptic images of bodies...cries out for a reckoning.

The selected text uses a spin frame to highlight the horrific image of “Ukrainian cities” after the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It suggests that the Russian forces have brought destruction and pain to Ukraine by bombarding “Ukrainian cities”. It provides the example of “Bucha” where the Russian troops have demonstrated violence and aggression by targeting the civilian population of the city. The “charred walls” and “splintered trees” are telling the stories of oppression and tyranny of Russian troops towards the people of Ukraine. Furthermore, the term “brutality of war” suggests that the Russian forces are showing barbaric and cruel attitude towards the innocent civilians of Ukraine. The text criticizes “Vladimir Putin” for initiating the unjustified and illegal war against a sovereign state. Hence, the text passes a negative value judgment on the immoral and illegal action of the Russian president against a weaker neighbor. He is represented as a cruel aggressor and tyrant who does not respect and regard the democratic norms and values.

NYSN13: ...Russia is the aggressor... unprovoked war ...sanctions on Mr. Putin and his country.

The selected text employs a spin frame to represent “Russia” as “the aggressor” that intends to destroy the peace and stability of the region by initiating “an unprovoked war”. It explains how Ukrainian city has been illegally “occupied by Russian forces for five weeks” which suggests that the Russian government has adopted the policy of geographical expansion through warfare. In addition to this, it describes the miserable situation of other Ukrainian cities such as “Mariupol”, “Kharkiv”, “Chernihiv and Kyiv” that are facing brutal attacks from Russian forces. It states that these cities “would be peacefully greeting spring” if “Mr. Putin” had not imposed “an unprovoked war” on them. It indicates that the happiness and excitement of the people of the mentioned cities are killed by the Russian president in the form of imposing the war on them. He is portrayed as the enemy of their happiness and joy as he has initiated the “war to satisfy his ambitions of empire”. He is solely responsible for “the destruction of neighboring nation” because he has started the war to enhance his dominance and influence in the region. Apart from mentioning the dark picture of Russian president, the text depicts Ukrainians as brave, patriotic and determined citizens by mentioning “Ukraine’s

resistance” against foreign aggression. It encourages and supports the resistance by calling it an act of “self-defense”. In this way, it paints a heroic picture of Ukraine that knows how to defend its territory against foreign invasion. Along with this, the text demands from “the nations of the world” to punish the aggressor by imposing “sanctions on Mr. Putin and his country”. This portrayal of Mr. Putin elucidates that he does not respect international law and norms; thus, he should be punished to teach a lesson for like-minded dictators who intend to attack the sovereign states to establish their dominance and hegemony.

NYSN14: The Russian Army’s actions...deemed war crimes...crimes against humanity.

The text reveals how “Russian Army’s actions” are the violation of the laws of Geneva Convention of 1949. By targeting the “civilian population”, the Russian forces have given “every appearance of violating” international law and order. To support the point, the text gives the reference of “International Criminal Court and some other courts” that have started “investigations” to collect the evidence of war crimes in Ukraine. Further, the term “indiscriminate shelling of cities and towns” indicates that the Russian forces have not seen any difference between combatants and non-combatants in their assaults. Moreover, the text uses terms such as “killings”, “mass graves” and “bombing” to expose the cruelty and oppression of Russian troops towards the citizens of Ukraine. They target the civilian population which is an open violation of international law and the act of attacking civilians is considered a “war crime”. In addition to this, it states that “the entire invasion” is actually “a crime of aggression” against a sovereign and independent state. Afterwards, it explains that the “systematic attack on the civilian population” should not be tolerated and forgiven. Instead, the aggressor should be punished by imposing heavy penalty on him as he is committing “crimes against humanity”. Therefore, the text criticizes Mr. Putin by highlighting the war crimes committed by his forces in Ukraine. In this way, the text employs a spin frame to express its disapproval for the war and its initiator.

NYSN15: When Vladimir Putin ...ruthlessness and grave atrocities toward civilians...

The text passes negative value judgment on Putin's decision of initiating war by violating the "sovereignty of a neighbor". It represents "Vladimir Putin" as an aggressor who "ordered the invasion of Ukraine" without having any justified and solid reason. The word "trampling" is used to illustrate how Russia has been trying to destroy the weaker neighbor by using force and violence against it. In this context, the text justifies the act of imposing "international sanctions" on Russia by calling it "the best path" to punish the aggressive state. It appreciates "the United States and its allies" for supporting Ukraine by imposing sanctions on Mr. Putin. By mentioning "international sanctions" against Russia, it suggests that the country has violated international law and norms due to which it will face severe economic punishments in the form of sanctions. Moreover, it uses the terms "ruthlessness" and "grave atrocities" to expose the brutality and oppression of Russian forces toward "civilians". The use of these words indicates that the text is biased as the words are not neutral or objective; rather, they are loaded with negative meanings. By associating these words with Russian forces, it implies that they are violent, inhumane and oppressive who have no sympathy for the innocent civilians.

NYSN16: ...tightening their belts...

Via spin frame, the text paints the image of Mr. Putin as an absolute tyrant who takes all the decisions of his country without consulting anyone. It explains that "the oligarchs" are paying heavy price for this war but they "have little sway over the Kremlin" because the dictator does not take any advice or suggestion from anyone. Also, people are suffering from financial crisis as the international community has imposed several economic sanctions on Russia for initiating the unjust war against a sovereign state. Although the Russian people are facing financial issues, they cannot pressurize the dictator to end the war because they are deprived of their right to expression. In Russia, the president is not willing to implement the will of people. It suggests that the Russian president does not want to flourish democracy in Russia. He perceives democracy as a threat because it might challenge his absolute authority. To maintain his power and influence, he spreads fake propaganda and misleading information to manipulate the "average citizens" of Russia. Along with this, he justifies the war by accusing the "West"

for conspiring against him “to bring down Russia”. In this way, the text portrays Mr. Putin as a manipulative, oppressive and aggressive dictator who does not respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the neighboring states.

NYSN17: ...Ukraine will be free... Russia’s unprovoked aggression...to resist his revanchist ambitions.

The selected text criticizes Mr. Putin for initiating an “unprovoked aggression” against Ukraine. It shows its disapproval for the unjust war against a sovereign state by appealing the readers to show support for the Ukrainians who are suffering from the current conflict. According to the text, “the United States and its allies” have clearly conveyed a “message” to both “Ukrainians and Russians” that “Ukraine will be free”. It implies that the US and its allies are determined to help Ukraine in achieving freedom from the foreign aggression. Moreover, it states that “Ukraine deserves support” which indicates that Ukraine is the victim of Russian aggression due to which the international community should show its support for Ukraine by imposing heavy penalty on Russia. In addition to this, it associates negative attributes to the Russian president by using a word “revanchist” to portray him as an aggressor who intends to regain Russia’s former territory and glory. Thus, in this way, the text uses a spin frame to sketch the image of Mr. Putin as someone who demonstrates violence and aggression against a weaker neighbor to create his dominance and hegemony in the region.

NYSN18: Russia...inflicting untold destruction on Ukraine...

The selected text uses a spin frame to reveal the possibility of “inflicting untold destruction on Ukraine” by Russian troops. It suggests that the Russian forces are wild and aggressive due to which they are likely to cause more destruction to Ukraine. Additionally, it states that Russia is a “nuclear superpower” which is a great threat to the peace and security of the region as the “volatile despot” of Russia is an irrational and heartless person. He does not respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of neighboring states. The text uses words such as “aggrieved”, “volatile” and “despot” to draw the picture of Russian president. It implies that the text is giving a subjective opinion as these words are not neutral and objective; rather, they have negative connotations. Besides describing Mr. Putin as a “volatile despot”, it explains that he has no “inclination toward a negotiated settlement” which suggests that he does not believe in

peace and harmony. Instead, he wants to achieve his selfish interests by using force and violence against the sovereign states which is the open violation of international law and norms. In short, it illustrates that he is a cruel, inhumane and merciless ruler who does not hesitate in ruining the life of millions of people for his political gains.

NYSN19: ...Russian aggression...

Via spin frame, the selected text highlights the cruelty of Russian forces towards Ukraine due to which the people of Ukraine have reached at a point where they “must make the hard decisions” for their survival. It explains how they are fighting against Russian aggression for their safety and survival. It also states that the Ukrainians are “fighting, dying and losing their homes” due to the unjustified war which has been imposed on them. By mentioning the sufferings and pain of Ukrainians, the text persuades readers to show sympathy and support for the people of Ukraine. Further, it evokes the emotions of reader to criticize and condemn “Russian aggression” against an independent state. Thus, in this way, it depicts Russia as an aggressive state that must be punished for committing grave crimes against humanity. Grunwald (1993) suggests that the ideological beliefs of the media are translated in its coverage of different events. Also, Entman (2007) is of the view that the role of media is pivotal in selecting and portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience.

NYSN20: Russia ...in history as a butcher.

The selected text employs a spin frame to predict the consequences of the war for Russia by explaining that it will face “isolation” and “economic sanctions for years to come”. It suggests that the Russian government has violated international law by showing unjustified aggression against an independent state due to which the international community is likely to impose economic sanctions on Russia. The word “isolation” is used to indicate that Russia has been cut off from the rest of world for demonstrating violence against Ukraine. Moreover, the text predicts that “Mr. Putin” will be remembered “in history as a butcher” for targeting the innocent civilians of Ukraine. By predicting the future of Russia and Mr. Putin, the text expresses its disapproval and criticism for Putin’s decision of invasion. Thus, in the light of above discussion, it can be

argued that the portrayal of Mr. Putin implies that he is a threat to the peace and security of the world.

NYSN21: Russia ...devastating repercussions...

The selected text uses a spin frame to highlight how Russia has been affecting the global supply chains by initiating war against Ukraine. It describes that Russia is trying to restraint “the world’s supply of a key fertilizer”. Apart from this, it uncovers how “Russian shelling” is playing a key role in destroying the “granaries” of Ukraine. This act of Russia has created a threat to global food security. Resultantly, other countries, such as India, are being forced to cut off their “wheat exports” to meet “their own needs”. Furthermore, the text predicts that “Vladimir Putin’s war” is likely to have “devastating repercussions” on global food chains. Also, it states that the war is likely to effect the “prices far beyond Ukraine’s borders”. The text uses terms such as “curbed”, “destroyed”, “Russian shelling”, “Vladimir Putin’s war”, “devastating repercussions” to represent Russia which illustrates that the text is not neutral and object; instead, it shows bias towards Russia. The term “Vladimir Putin’s war” indicates that the current war belongs to Mr. Putin who has initiated this war to pursue his political interests. Thus, in this way, the text constructs the image of Mr. Putin as someone who is insensitive and indifferent to the suffering of human beings.

NYSN22: ...a pariah spreading lies and death.

The text employs a spin frame to reveal how the atrocities and tyranny of the Russian government are damaging the country. It explains that the “educated and creative” people “are leaving” the country, which indicates that Russia is facing a great brain drain. It would hinder the development and prosperity of the country as the “young” and talented people are not willing to provide their services for Russia by risking the lives of their families. They are looking for better opportunities in other countries where they can work and live peacefully. In addition to this, it states that only “hard men are ascendant” which suggests that the violent and ruthless people are dominant and influential in Russian political system. Due to this, Russia is called “a pariah” as it has become isolated and lost the trust of the international community. It is a ruthless state that violates international law and norms by “spreading lies and death”. The text uses several terms, such as “hard men”, “pariah”, “lies and death”, etc. to describe Russia. It manifests

that the text is not neutral or objective; instead, it is biased and intended to evoke the emotions of readers against Russia by projecting it as “a pariah” state. It passes negative value judgment on Russia by discussing how it spreads “lies and death”.

NYSN23: ...Mr. Putin’s brutal and unprovoked invasion...

The selected text uses a spin frame to expose “the reactions” of the Russian public towards “Mr. Putin’s brutal” invasion of Ukraine. The text uses words like “brutal” and “unprovoked invasion” to illustrate that the invasion is illegal, unjustified and immoral. The phrase “Mr. Putin’s invasion” has been used to specify that the war belongs to President Putin. He is solely responsible for demonstrating aggression against a sovereign state to pursue his political interests. Further, it explains that the government is insecure and afraid of the public reaction due to which “the reactions within Russia” have been silenced. It illustrates that Russia is violating international law by curbing the right to expression. The Russian government tries to control and direct independent media outlets in Russia by threatening those who “contradicts the falsehoods” of “Kremlin”. It implies that the government does not tolerate any form of criticism against the invasion. In addition to this, the text indicates that Mr. Putin is trying to cover his brutal invasion by naming it a “special military operation”. The text uses words with negative connotations such as “brutal”, “unprovoked”, “falsehoods”, “threat” and “prison” to construct the image of Russia. Therefore, it can be argued that the text is subjective and biased.

NYSN24: And Mr. Putin’s...deny there is any war and to minimize Russian casualties...

The selected text employs a spin frame to reveal how Mr. Putin is trying to hide the reality of the war. According to the text, he is making “extraordinary efforts” to hide the actual “Russian casualties” in the ongoing war. It exposes his insecurities and fears due to which he is trying to hide “the truth”. He is using the term “special military operation” for his invasion of Ukraine. Therefore, the text implies that if people learn about the reality of his “special military operation” and “its cost”, they are likely to stop supporting him. By using a spin frame, the text portrays Mr. Putin as a liar and hypocrite who keeps his people in ignorance for his personal and political interests.

NYSN25: That ...another military exercise

The text employs a spin frame to reveal the hypocrisy of Mr. Putin. Prior to invasion, when the United States exposes his intention of invasion, he rejects the intelligence report by calling it a propaganda against his government. He claims that “the massive buildup of troops along Ukraine’s borders” is not a part of any secret invasion; instead, it is just “another military exercise”. However, in contrast to his claim, he invades Ukraine on 24th February 2022 which exposes his dishonesty and duplicity. Apart from portraying him as a hypocrite and liar, the text also outlines him as a violent and inhumane person who demonstrates aggression against a sovereign state for his political and strategic interest. Further, it implies that he is not afraid of violating international law which he has shown by attacking the integrity and sovereignty of a neighbor state. In addition to this, the use of terms such as “first rockets”, “troops” and “armored vehicles” suggests that the text intends to project the image of Mr. Putin as someone who relies on military powers instead of negotiation and diplomacy. Thus, in this way, the text represents Mr. Putin as a violent, aggressive and deceptive ruler who has no moral and ethical values.

Goffman (1974) points out the role of media by explaining how it uses framing devices to construct the image of people according to its own agenda and interests. The given text reflects the same phenomenon by portraying the image of Mr. Putin as an autocratic and despotic ruler. It uses spin frame to expose the lies and dishonesty of the Russian government.

NYSN26: In these first information battles...upper hand in propaganda...

The text reveals how “Russia had the upper hand in propaganda” during the annexation of Crimea in 2014. It explains how Russian government justifies the annexation by “claiming to be responding to pleas from Russian-speaking residents”. It shows that the government conceals real motives of annexation and represents itself as the savior of “Russian-speaking residents” of Crimea. Also, it implies that the Russian government has expertise in spreading lies and disinformation to manipulate people. By mentioning the deceptive and cunning nature of Russia, it argues that “the Americans and Ukrainians” have become aware of these tactics of Russia in the “information battles”. Therefore, they are focusing on exposing these lies and propaganda to reveal truth to the

world. It indicates that the text appreciates and supports “the United States and Ukrainians” for bringing truth to the world. On the other hand, it condemns and criticizes Russia for spreading disinformation and lies to pursue its political interests. Further, the text uses words such as “assaulting”, and “propaganda” to associate these characteristics to Russia which shows that the text is not neutral; rather, it is biased towards Russia. Thus, it can be argued that the text passes negative value judgment on Russia for manipulating people through propaganda and misleading information.

NYSN27: As a former K.G.B. agent, Mr. Putin...personal struggle to stay in power.

The selected text uses a spin frame to criticize the “worldview” of “Mr. Putin” who perceives “the world as a battleground”. It suggests that he prefers war over peaceful existence and mutual respect among neighboring states. The text identifies him “as a former K.G.B agent” who sees conspiracies in everything. It implies that he has the mind set of blaming others for conspiring against his state. In addition to this, it reveals how he views “the color revolutions”, “the Arab Spring”, and “other global upheavals” as tactics of the United States to maintain its “domination”. It expresses that he has anti-American sentiments due to which he accuses America for all “global upheavals”. Also, he is represented “as an heir to the Soviet worldview” which illustrates that he is the symbol of authoritarianism and despotism. Moreover, it explains that he is aware of the “importance of information warfare” due to which he focuses on spreading propaganda against his opponents to construct the opinion of people in his favor. Further, he uses “information warfare” to legitimize “his regime” and “to challenge liberal democracy”. Afterward, it explains that he is a liar who relies on “lies” “to stay in power”. By revealing the “lies” of Mr. Putin, the text projects his image as a liar and a power-hungry man.

NYSN28: Today...anti-Western propaganda.

Via the tool of spin, the text exposes how “Russian government-funded television and internet outlet” to manipulate people by spreading misleading information related to the invasion. It implies that the Russian government intends to control media by using illegal means. According to the text, the government supports those channels that spread “conspiracy theories” and “anti-Western propaganda”. It infers that Russia is a hostile state that spreads lies and disinformation against its enemy states. The text uses words

and phrases like “conspiracy theories”, “populist” and “propaganda” to associate them with Russia. By using these words and phrases to describe Russia, the text illustrates that it is not neutral.

NYSN29: ...With its “troll factories” ...hidden Russian hand in media and politics.

The selected text explains how “Russian operatives” misuse technology by hacking the information of other countries. For instance, in 2016, they “hacked and leaked the Democratic National Committee’s email”. Further, it states that they are experts in creating “fake Facebook and Twitter posts” to propagate the agenda of the Russian government. In this regard, it gives the example of the US Presidential election where the Russian government uses social media platforms to spread propaganda and lies “to aid Donald Trump’s presidential campaign”. It suggests that Russia violates international law by interfering in the internal affairs of other countries. It is committing a crime by involving itself in an act of political engineering in the United States. Also, it indicates that Russia does not respect the sovereignty and national integrity of the United States. Further, it illustrates how Mr. Putin is being perceived in the West by calling him “a wizard of the digital dark arts”. It implies that the Russian president is an evil and wicked person who uses technology for his selfish interests. In addition to this, it describes how Russia is posing “a grave new threat to global democracy” by using various tools of propaganda and disinformation to manipulate people. It reflects that Russia has initiated information warfare with its enemies by acting as a “troll factory” against them. Afterwards, the text describes how “during the Trump presidency”, Mr. Putin became a monster by calling him a “boogeyman”. The term “hidden Russian hand” is used to expose the influence of the Russian government on the media in the United States. The text associates various words and phrases with Russia such as “hacked”, “leaked”, “fake”, “dark”, “troll factory”, “hacking plots”, “grave new threat”, “boogeyman”, “scary” etc. These words and phrases are not neutral or objective; rather, they have negative connotations. Thus, in the light of above discussion, it can be argued that the text is biased towards Russia.

NYSN30: The operation...across all forms of media.

The selected text employs a spin frame to expose the aggressive behavior of the Russian government “since its 2008 incursion into Georgia”. It reflects that the invasion of Ukraine is not a new adventure for Russia as it has the habit of demonstrating aggression against weak states. Apart from showing aggression, it describes that Russia uses propaganda as a tool to justify its violence and brutality against neighboring states. It creates “propagandistic memes” and “videos” to influence the opinions, beliefs, and attitudes of people in other countries. The text is basically revealing how “the operation” of Russia’s warfare is posing a grave threat to the peace and security of the world. It states that the operation “is high volume and multichannel”, which implies that the Russian warfare department is organized and skilled in spreading a series of lies and propaganda. It uses “all forms of media” to propagate its agenda which suggests that it is misleading and manipulating people for its political and strategic interests. Thus, in this way, the text portrays Russia as an aggressive, manipulative and propagandist state.

NYSN31: Putin... paranoid and isolated

The selected text employs a spin frame to describe the current situation of the Russian president. It describes that he “looks anything but macho” which suggests that he does not possess the ability to handle difficult situation. In other words, he cannot bear pressure. Further, it defines his position as “awkward” because he has been seen using “comically long tables” when he meets “with his advisers”. Apparently, the “long table” is used “as a precaution against Covid-19”, but, in reality, it symbolizes that Mr. Putin has become “paranoid and isolated”. The text uses words such as “awkward”, “paranoid”, and “isolated” to refer to “the Russian leader” which suggests that the text is portraying the dark image of Mr. Putin. Hence, it can be argued that the text is biased and subjective towards the Russian president.

NYSN32: It’s the kind of vicious madness...

The text uses a spin frame to construct the image of the Russian president by comparing him to “a spurned lover” who shows his “madness and insanity”. The phrase “vicious madness” is used to describe the invasion which indicates that the decision to wage war was illogical, unjustified and irrational. Further, the words “shocking” and “petrifying” are being used to explain how Mr. Putin is spreading fear and terror in

Ukraine by bombing its cities and towns. Along with this, the text warns the international community by reminding it that he is the ruler of a country “with some 6,000 nuclear warheads”. So, he should be considered a threat because he is a madman and may use the weapon of mass destruction to achieve his selfish interests. Thus, it implies that he should be taken seriously by punishing him for initiating an unjustified and immoral war against Ukraine. Further, it implies that Russia has become a grave threat to global peace and security. In addition to this, the text makes a prediction by using terms like “portends” and “ominous surprise” which indicate that the Russian president is likely to inflict more pain and suffering on Ukraine. It uses various words and phrases such as “vicious madness”, “spurned lover”, “honor killing”, “shocking”, “petrifying”, “nuclear warheads”, “portends” and “ominous surprise” to associate them with Russia. These terms are not neutral; rather, they have negative connotations. Thus, it reflects that the text is biased with a lot of spin.

NYSN33: ...mentally unstable Putin is prepared to use nuclear weapons.

The selected text explains how Russia is “targeting civilians” in Ukraine which exposes “the incompetence of Russian troops”. It also states that Mr. Putin has adopted a policy of “the mass killing of civilians” to put “immense pressure on Zelensky”. He intends to force Zelensky and the West to accept his demands which are “territorial concessions and Ukrainian neutrality”. In the current situation, “the West” is also looking for a way “to de-escalate” the conflict as it believes that Mr. Putin is “mentally unstable” so, he may “use nuclear weapons”. Therefore, they are ready to negotiate with Mr. Putin to resolve the conflict. However, the Russian president is trying to take advantage of the situation by targeting civilians. Hence, it can be argued that the text employs a spin frame to present Mr. Putin as an opportunist, cruel and manipulative person.

NYSN34: If Ukraine’s leaders choose ... for a better world.

The selected text depicts Russia as an aggressor that intends to destroy the entire Europe. On the other hand, Ukraine is represented as the savior and defender of “Europe” by fighting against Russian aggression. It states that “they are not just defending Ukraine”; rather, they are acting as a buffer zone for Europe. Therefore, it is suggested that the Western countries “should help them in negotiations”. Also, if “they choose to fight”, they should be assisted by providing weapons. To exaggerate the struggle of

Ukraine, the text states that they are struggling not only “for a better Europe” but also “for a better world”. It indicates that the text is trying to project the positive image of Ukraine. On the other hand, it portrays the dark image of Russia.

4.4 Stories

In this section, the researcher discusses stories incorporated by the text of selected editorials. Stories (myths, legends) refer to framing using storytelling or narrative in a “vivid and memorable way”. When using a personal story, or a vivid anecdote, we fix certain elements in the audience’s mind, as narratives offer memorable structures and thus persuade.

4.4.1 Stories in The Washington Post.

In this section, the researcher analyses the stories present in the editorials of *The Washington Post*. The code “WP” has been used to refer to *The Washington Post* and the code “ST” has been used to denote the “Story”. For instance, the code “WPST1” denotes to the first story found in *The Washington Post* and so on.

WPST1: ...Ivan Urgant...NO to war...

According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), stories play a pivotal role in drawing the attention of the people towards a particular issue. It explains the problem from the experiences of people. The text under analysis incorporates the story of “Ivan Urgant” to describe how celebrities are speaking up against the war which is imposed by Russia on Ukraine. Mr. Urgant hosts a comedy show and writes against the ongoing war. According to him, war brings “fear and pain”; therefore, it should be condemned and discouraged at any cost. The text seems to appreciate him for courageously raising his voice against the war. In other words, it portrays him as a brave, kind and sympathetic person. On the other hand, the undemocratic attitude of the Russian government is revealed by describing how it bans Urgant’s show on speaking against the war in Ukraine. This reflects that the text is illustrating the dark image of President Putin as he is represented as an oppressor and dictator. This story is narrated to give the human face and voice to the protest against Russia.

WPST2: The radio station... survived online.

The story of Echo of Moscow is narrated briefly to highlight its struggle and importance in raising the voice against the dictator. It played a pivotal role “in resisting the coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991” which was a critical moment in Russian history. At that time, the TV channel got several threats from the government but “it maintained its independence” and successfully revealed the true scenario of that time. It also gained great recognition for its “coverage of the anti-Putin protests in 2011 and 2012”. It was a courageous step to show the protest against a dictator; hence, this story suggests that the Echo of Moscow is the true voice of democratic norms and values.

Sanghara (2016), in her research paper, studies four speeches of President Obama which he delivered during the initial year of his second presidential terms. She uses the framing theory of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to uncover how Obama constructs different stories to gain the public attention. She observes that Obama uses various stories to convince people to follow his leadership. Also, he presents himself as a democratic leader by narrating stories from his personal life.

WPST3: The corpse of one Ukrainian resident...

The selected text narrates the story of a specific victim, Ivan Monastyrskyi, to expose the atrocities of Russian army in Ukraine. The story is based on a report by *The Washington Post* that provides detail about the victim who was targeted by the Russian army. According to the report, the corpse “had bullet holes in the calves” which suggests that he was targeted while trying to run away. It further says that “his arms were stretched out at strange angles” which implies that he was tortured before killing. By providing details of the story, the text exposes the brutality and atrocity of the Russian forces. They are depicted as a cruel and brutal army of the world who does not have any sympathy for civilians. This story is narrated to create fear and horror among the people towards the Russian forces, as it highlights their cruelty and violence. Moreover, the text is trying to generate sympathy for the Ukrainians as they are enduring the oppression from the Russian army. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) are of the view that stories are used to create a vivid and memorable image of the situation.

WPST4: Mr. Ovechkin...his wife and children are in Russia.

The story of Alex Ovechkin, a famous Russian ice hockey player, is narrated to unveil how Mr. Putin has become a symbol of terror after the invasion of Ukraine from a “symbol of world peace”. The story reveals that Mr. Ovechkin intends to change his “profile picture on instagram” in which he is standing with Mr. Putin which indicates that the Russian President does not deserve to be shown on social media because of his aggression against Ukraine. Moreover, the intention of Mr. Ovechkin to remove the picture of Mr. Putin from his profile is represented as a form of protest against the aggressor. However, he “was advised against it” because his family members were in Russia which suggests that even the Russian people do not have the sense of security against the despotic ruler. Here, it further implies that the dictator does not hesitate to use force against the people of his own country for his political gains. This story portrays the image of Russian President as a violent person who does not deserve to be portrayed as a peacemaker on social media.

According to Goffman (1974), media uses framing techniques to construct the image of people. It has the power to shape the opinion and attitude of the public on a particular issue. It makes people hero or villain by using various frames. The text under analysis also uses a story of Alex Ovechkin to describe how he is trying to raise his voice against the illegal war. In this way, it presents him as a hero; on the other hand, it creates the dark image of Russian president by explaining that he does not deserve to be presented on social media because he is a cruel and barbaric ruler who has no sense of humanity.

WPST5: Fleeing civilians...

The “mortar attack on a civilian area of Irpin” is narrated in the form of story to highlight the violence and aggression of the Russian army against the innocent Ukrainians. The selected text narrates “one of the ugliest incidents of war” where the Russian army targets the “civilian area”. Resultantly, “four people” die at the spot that includes “an 8-year old” which depicts the indiscriminate attack of Russian military on the civilian areas of Ukraine. It suggests that the Russian army is deliberately committing war crimes by openly violating “the laws of war”. Although International law prohibits

the “wanton destruction of property” during war, the Russian military is continuously destroying the civilian property in Ukraine. It implies that the Russian military does not hesitate to violate international law which illustrates the savage nature of Russian military. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), stories play a pivotal role in describing any matter as it creates a vivid and unforgettable image in the mind of the audience. The text under analysis follows the same framing technique to create a vivid and memorable picture of the tragedy and demands the sympathy and support of the international community for the Ukrainians.

WPST6: ...Greek King Pyrrhus of Epirus ...Putin completed on Monday.

The selected text narrates the story of “Greek King Pyrrhus of Epirus” who fights a war against the Romans. He gets victory in the war against the Romans; however, he “lost thousands of soldiers” in this war “while defeating the Romans”. It makes him realize that the outcome of war is not glorious and heroic rather depressing and dreadful as he expresses in his words: "ANOTHER SUCH victory and we shall be utterly ruined". This story reflects that war is not a solution to any problem; rather, it brings more suffering and pain. This story is compared with the “Russian conquest of Mariupol, Ukraine” to explain that the Russian President will regret it in the same way after losing a large number of soldiers from his army in a futile war. It suggests that the Russian President is committing a similar mistake by waging a war against Ukraine which is wrong both legally and morally, and he will have the same outcome as his predecessors. In this way, the text predicts that Mr. Putin is not likely to achieve anything from this war but regret.

WPST7: In Moscow, a woman...

The selected text describes the story of “a woman” who condemns the Russian war by protesting in front of “city’s majestic cathedral”. The woman is protesting in a unique way by “holding a sign” that says "The Sixth Commandment, Thou Shalt Not Kill". Basically, it is a biblical reference which explains that the “sixth commandment” is one of the Ten Commandments that God gives to Moses on Mount Sinai. According to the sixth commandment, nobody is allowed to take the life of any innocent person. It strictly prohibits people from killing other human beings by clearly mentioning that it is a

big sin to murder anyone without a just cause. By prohibiting the unlawful taking of human life, it highlights the value and sanctity of human life. Further, it teaches us to show love and respect for humanity rather than demonstrating hatred and violence against one another. By “holding a sign” of “The Sixth Commandment”, the woman tries to remind the despotic ruler about the commandment of God; however, the arrogant ruler, instead of taking lessons or realizing his mistake, orders the “police” to arrest her. This story suggests that the Russian government does not even hesitate to disobey divine orders to achieve its political interests. Along with this, it implies that the autocratic government has no moral or ethical values. Jacuinde (2020) explains how Alexandria Ocasioa Cortez narrates stories from her personal life on social media to become famous figure in the United States of America. The study illustrates how her stories related to her struggles and experiences help her in winning the election.

WPST8: Vera Bashmakova...growing darker by the day.

The story of “Vera Bashmakova, the editor of a popular science magazine,” is narrated where she speaks against the war by holding a poster of “No to war”. For speaking truth, she is “charged with discrediting the army” which exposes the oppressive and brutal laws of Russia as they prevent people from exercising their right of expression. Her story is described to show her bravery and fearlessness in standing against the tyrant. She is represented as an inspiration for the citizens of Russia to stand against the unjustified and illegal war against a sovereign nation. She is portrayed as a symbol of courage who does not fear in standing against the autocratic and despotic ruler. However, at the same time, the image of the Russian government is depicted as an aggressive, oppressive and dominant force that violates the human rights by suppressing its opponents and critics. Further, it uses the term “dark valley” to describe the current situation of Russia where people are deprived of their basic human rights. By discussing the current scenario, it predicts the future of the Russian citizens that is “growing darker by the day” due to the expansionist and oppressive policies of the government. As stated by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the text under analysis narrates the story of “Vera Bashmakova” in vivid and memorable way.

WPST9: In May 2019, Russian planes bombed...causing at least 10 deaths.

The story of Russian oppression in “Syria” is described by comparing it with its current aggression in Ukraine. The text states that the “Russian planes bombed four hospitals in Syria”; resultantly, a large number of people lost their lives. Russia supported the “Syrian dictator” by crushing his opponents in the “civil war”. It implies that Russia has the history of committing violence and aggression against the weak people in support of cruel and autocratic rulers. The text compares the cruel and ruthless actions of Russia against the Syrian public in civil war with the ongoing crisis in Ukraine, where people are facing similar brutality from the Russian government. To support this point, it quotes “the World Health Organization” which reports that the Russian forces have made “18 attacks on health providers” in Ukraine leading to “at least 10 deaths”. By comparing the current aggression with the situation of Syrian civil war, the text tries to expose the violent, abusive and exploitive policies of Russian government towards the weak people. According to Entman (1993), a frame is used for “highlighting some features of reality while omitting others” (p.53). In this regard, the text under analysis effectively uses the framing technique to construct the image of Russia. It uses a story as a framing tool to highlight how Russian troops are violating international law which prohibits the states from attacking the “health providers”.

WPST10: Russia's military atrocities...to attack them.

The selected text narrates a story of “Syrian city” where the Russian military forces demonstrated violence and aggression by targeting the civilian population. During civil war in Syria, the Russian forces along with Bashar al Assad’s troops targeted “Aleppo”, the Syrian city, to crush the opponents of the government. Further, the text describes that the Russian government pretended to agree to provide “humanitarian corridors” for the people of Aleppo but their real intention was not to provide them safe exit instead they wanted to “attack them”. This is the violation of human rights and international law, and also a betrayal to the citizens of “Aleppo” who were trapped in the besieged city. The Russian government intends to make similar agreement for “Ukraine’s Mariupol” but it is probable that they will also violate and attack the people who try to escape the war zone. This story is narrated to compare it with “Russia’s military

atrocities in Ukraine” by explaining how “the brutal zachistka” has destroyed the entire city of “Chechnya”. To destroy the “towns and villages” of Ukraine, the Russian government is using euphemism “cleansing operation” to make it appear legitimize and necessary action. Thus, it implies that the Russian government has the history of using violence and deception to gain its military and political interests.

4.4.2 Stories in *The New York Times*.

In this section, the researcher analyses the stories present in the editorials of *The New York Times*. The code “NY” has been used to refer to *The New York Times* and the code “ST” has been used to denote the “Story”. For instance, the code “NYST1” denotes to the first story found in *The New York Times* and so on.

NYST1: A family killed ... touching hands and parting.

The selected text narrates the story of “a family” to expose the brutality and violence of Russian military forces who have “killed” the Ukrainian family members “while crossing a bridge to safety”. This story evokes the emotions of the readers as it paints the tragedy in vivid manner by describing the entire horrific scene. It explains how the family was trying to escape the conflict zone in hope of a better future. Further, it paints the picture of “fathers and children touching hands and parting” which suggests that the family members were forced to separate from one another due to the illegal invasion. This is the story of every Ukrainians who wants to escape the battle zone, and who seeks safety and security in other places. This story evokes the emotions of the readers to show sympathy, solidarity and support for the innocent civilians of Ukraine, and to condemn and oppose the immoral war which brings death, destruction and pain to millions of people. By describing this story, the text creates a sense of hopelessness and sadness as the family members can only touch hands and not hug. It implies that war is a humanitarian disaster which shatters hopes, dreams and aspirations of innocent civilians. Therefore, it should be condemned and resisted to save human lives, fundamental rights and dignity of mankind. Apart from condemning the war, the story describes that the Russian troops have no mercy for humanity as they are targeting the innocent civilians who are trying to flee the conflict zone.

NYST2: Novaya Gazeta...was denounced to the police.

The text narrates the story of “a priest” who speaks up against the war by calling it “a fratricidal war”. This story has been published by “Novaya Gazeta” which is an independent Russian newspaper. According to the text, the “priest” tries to inform the public about the reality of the war by exposing the lies and propaganda of the Russian government. He calls the war “a fratricidal war” which illustrates that they are involved in a war against their own brothers and sisters. Therefore, he condemns and opposes the invasion. It also implies that he is requesting the public to protest against the unjust war as it is killing their own “brothers and sisters”. For speaking up against the invasion, he “was denounced to the police” which reflects the undemocratic and autocratic attitude of the government towards its citizens. It also suggests that the government does not respect international law by prohibiting people from exercising their basic human rights. The text seems to appreciate and support the “priest” for fearlessly speaking up against the tyrant. It portrays him as a hero who has a great sense of humanity, due to which he considers Ukrainians his “brothers and sisters”. He has shown his sympathy and support for the people of Ukraine.

Sanghara (2016), in her research paper, studies four speeches of President Obama which he delivered during the initial year of his second presidential terms. She uses the framing theory of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to uncover how Obama constructs different stories to gain the public attention. The findings of the study elaborate that Obama successfully uses the political, social and economic stories to construct the perspective of American public in his favor. He uses framing techniques to share his personal experiences and to convince people that he is the one who can empower Americans by ensuring a better future for them. Resultantly, he becomes able to convince the Americans to make him a president. This illustrates the significance of storytelling and framing techniques in shaping the attitudes, beliefs and behaviors of people.

4.5 Contrast

In this section, the researcher analyzes a contrast frame incorporated by the texts of the selected editorials. Contrast is another type of framing technique that the framers can say contrasting things about an object. For instance, one can describe a house

differently from what it is. It is used to picture an objective in terms what it is not. It is an obvious difference between two or more things. (Cambridge dictionary: 2016, online). To describe something in terms of what it is not is an old and well-known method of definition.

4.5.1 Contrast in *The Washington Post*.

In this section, the researcher analyses the stories present in the editorials of *The Washington Post*. The code “WP” has been used to refer to *The Washington Post* and the code “C” has been used to denote the “Contrast”. For instance, the code “WPC1” denotes to the first contrast frame found in *The Washington Post* and so on.

WPC1: “The perpetrator is Russia... contrary to black-letter international law...”

In the selected text, the actions of Russian President are contrasted with international law by explaining that President Vladimir Putin does not respect international law; instead, he considers himself above the law. According to international law, Ukraine is a sovereign state whereas Putin denies to accept it as a sovereign state by showing aggression against it. He also claims that “Ukraine has no sovereign rights” which clearly shows his rejection and disapproval of “black letter international law”. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), contrast frame is used “to describe something in terms of what it is not”. They are of the view that it becomes easy and effective to explain something by using a contrast frame as it helps in understanding the differences between two things. The contrast is drawn by the text under analysis to highlight that Russia’s position is not in line with the legal position. This illustrates that Putin violates international law by invading Ukraine. The selected text uses the word “contrary” to express the contrasting idea.

WPC2: “Mr. Putin draws power... not the voters.”

The selected text employs contrast as a framing tool to illustrate that Mr. Putin’s source of power is not the voters; rather, he gets the support of “cronies and clans”. It indicates that he is not representing the will of people rather showing a one-man show. It implies that he does not rely on public support which is the violation of democratic norms

and values. Thus, it can be argued that the text uses a contrast frame to identify Mr. Putin as an undemocratic and autocratic ruler. In this text, the word “not” is used to highlight the contrast between the first and second part of the sentence. Goffman (1974) argues that media has the power to construct reality for the public by using different techniques of framing. The text under analysis also illustrates that it uses a contrast frame to create the image of Mr. Putin as someone who violates the democratic norms and values for his selfish interests.

WPC3: Mr. Putin's two decades in office...But Echo of Moscow...

The undemocratic actions of “Mr. Putin” are contrasted with the resilient attitude of the “Echo of Moscow”. As suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the difference is created between Mr. Putin and the Echo of Moscow by explaining how Mr. Putin’s era has brought “gradual but relentless destruction of civil society” whereas the Echo of Moscow “remained on the air and independent” to convey the truth to the people. During his “two decades in office”, Mr. Putin tried to control and direct media channels; however, the “Echo of Moscow” did not follow his instructions; instead, it “remained independent” when other media outlets “fell under state control”. It implies that Mr. Putin is a dictator who intends to suppress the voice of media whereas the Echo of Moscow is the democratic voice in the authoritarian regime. According to Iyengar (1994), media decides how society should perceive reality by presenting the reality in its own ways. He is of the view that framing techniques are frequently used to construct reality for people. The text under analysis expresses the same view by using a contrast frame to construct the reality of the ongoing war.

WPC4: In talks...But the Putin regime...war-zone deals.

The distinction is made between the “tentative agreement” and the Russian habit of “making and then breaking such war-zone deals”. It describes that the negotiation is going on between Russia and Ukraine to create “humanitarian corridors” for the citizens in Ukraine; however, the negotiation is less likely to succeed as the Russian government is not trustworthy and reliable because of its past records. Here, the contrast is employed to highlight the history of “Putin regime” which does not keep its promises and often breaks them. Further, it suggests that Russia is solely responsible for breaking the war-

zone agreements. By mentioning the historical background of Putin's regime, it exposes the pattern of Russian violation of international law. The text uses the word "but" to express contrast.

Sanghara (2016) conducts a study to investigate how Barack Obama uses framing devices to make his speeches effective and relatable. He finds out that Obama uses various frames to convey his message effectively. For instance, he uses a contrast frame "The election four years ago wasn't about me. It was about you". It suggests that he is trying to appreciate his voters for supporting him in the previous election. He praises them by associating his victory to them. It manifests that contrast frame is crucial in conveying the message effectively.

WPC5: Cold statistics...pain and grief... Oblivious to that, Mr. Putin...

The people of Ukraine are suffering from "pain and grief" due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It explains that the "cold statistics" and numbers cannot express the real suffering and pain of "millions of flesh-and-blood". It implies that the world should show sympathy and solidarity to them in this hour of difficulty. However, the aggressive Russian president is planning for another attack under the name of "special operation" which indicates his indifference to the suffering of the humanity. It implies that the Russian president is insensitive and detached from the reality. By using a contrast frame as suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the selected text reveals that the Ukrainians are struggling for their survival due to the conflict with Russia and at the same time, the word "oblivious" which is associated with "Mr. Putin" shows that he is not paying heed to this humanitarian crisis. Thus, the projection of Mr. Putin's character leads to depict him as an insensitive and barbaric person.

WPC6: Russia's way of war.... To the contrary...

The selected text explains that the Russian forces are committing war crimes in Ukraine and the Russian president has no intention of making them "accountable for excesses". On the contrary, the Russian government is issuing "official propaganda" against Ukraine by claiming that it is Ukraine which "has actually committed the atrocities". It suggests that the Russian President is expert in spreading propaganda against other states. The contrast is drawn to mention the illegal and violent conducts of

Russian army in Ukraine, and how the Russian government tries to cover it by putting the blame on other countries. By blaming Ukraine for committing atrocities, Russia is trying to justify its occupation and aggression. This exposes the dishonesty and hypocrisy of Russia and the tactics which it uses to avoid responsibility and accountability. Thus, the text demands sympathy and support for Ukraine against Russian aggression.

WPC7: Some...deserve ...Others...

The selected text makes a distinction between the people who support Mr. Putin's aggression and those who are against this invasion. It argues that the supporter of Mr. Putin's war should be punished as "they deserve to be shunned by Western institutions". The famous Russian players and celebrities who support Mr. Putin should be punished by throwing them away from international platforms. They should not be given any opportunity to show their talent at international forums because they are supporting the merciless and ruthless dictator who is slaughtering the people of Ukraine in brutal manner. They are called the "cheerleaders for Mr. Putin's aggressions" which suggests that they are also responsible for this destructive war as they show their full support for Mr. Putin's aggression. In this regard, the example of "Mr. Gergiev" is mentioned who has been remained the supporter and cheerleader of Mr. Putin's war; thus, the text demands to punish him and to set an example for other like-minded people. Conversely, the text also discusses about those people who "spoke against the war" and it shows sympathy and appreciation for them. In this context, the example of "Alexander Malofeev" is given who condemns the brutal invasion. Therefore, they are appreciated and praised for taking a courageous step by standing against the unjustified and unlawful war. Furthermore, it is suggested that they should not be punished just because of their identity as Russian as it would be "unjustified" to them. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) claim that sometimes it becomes more convenient and effective to state "what our subject is not than we can say what it is". Thus, in this way, the text under analysis illustrates the contrast between the supporters and the opponents of this war and how they should be treated differently.

WPC8: Something must be done...as opposed to the phony local truces...

In the selected text, it is suggested that “something must be done” to support Ukraine against the Russian aggression. And at the same time, it is also recommended to “force Russia to accept a real cease-fire” which suggest that Russia is the invader; therefore, the international community should pressurize Russia for a cease-fire. Here, the contrast is created by presenting Ukraine as a victim that wants peace and security whereas Russia is depicted as a perpetrator that disrupts the peace and stability of the region. By presenting the situation of Ukraine, the text demands support from authorities and readers for Ukraine to enable it “to withstand the onslaught”. On the other hand, it is suggested that the international community should punish Russia by imposing sanctions on it. Also, the representation of Ukraine as a peaceful state suggests that it respects and follows international laws; on the contrary, the Russian portrayal of the text indicates that it violates them. In addition to this, the same sentence shows another distinction between the “phony local truce” and the “real cease-fire”. It discusses the differences between these two types of agreements and suggests that the “real cease-fire” should be made to stop the war. According to the selected text, the “Russians violated” the “phony local truces” again and again; thus it is no more applicable. Therefore, the “real cease-fire” is recommended as a better and permanent solution to resolve the ongoing conflict.

WPC9: Hospitals are supposed to enjoy special protection...Yet...

The selected text explains that the international law gives “special protection” to the “hospitals” during the situation of conflict or war. It is imperative to provide protection to the hospitals as they are the main source of “medical care” for the injured people in war zones. Therefore, to give special status to the hospitals during war, the international community has shown consensus by passing law. After passing law in the United Nation, it has become the moral and ethical responsibility of all states to respect and regard this law by refraining from attacking the hospitals in critical situations. On the contrary, according to the “World Health Organization”, Russia violates this law by attacking the hospitals, “health-care workers and ambulances” in Ukraine which reflects that Russia does not respect international law. It violates rules and regulations of the UN by hitting the “health facilities”. Grunwald (1993) discusses that the ideological beliefs of

the media are translated in its coverage of different events. The role of media is deemed pivotal in selecting and portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience. (Entman, 2007). The text under analysis illustrates the same phenomenon by using a contrast frame to highlight the cruel, inhumane and barbaric nature of the Russian army. The text clearly illustrates contrast between international law which provides protection to the hospitals and other “health facilities”, and the country that violates this law by targeting these places

WPC10: Yet Moscow...contrary to all prewar expectations...

The selected text draws a contrast between the expectation and reality of war. Prior to the invasion, “Moscow” was expecting to get a victory within a short period of time. On the other hand, the reality comes out in totally different way as it has “paid an extraordinary price” to conquest “Mariupol” which is contrary to “all prewar expectations”. To conquer Mariupol, the Russian army “had to fight” for “nearly three months” which depicts that war is not like a game that can be won within hours or days. In addition to this, the term “extraordinary price” suggests that war is costly in terms of resources and human lives. It further illustrates the miscalculation and failure of the Russian army by explaining that it underestimated the resistance and the cost of war and overestimated its own capabilities. The Russian military was overconfident and arrogant, which led to their humiliation and defeat in the war. In this way, the text depicts the Russian army as stupid and reckless, and its war against Ukraine as a crime and a mistake.

WPC11: There was an undeniable contradiction...

The selected text creates a distinction between the propaganda and the reality of Russian war. It elaborates that there is a huge difference between the “Russian war propaganda” and “the reality” of the war by using the term “undeniable contradiction”. It explains that the Russian army was spreading propaganda by claiming that it would destroy Ukraine and wipe it off the map of the world; however, the reality of the war tells us something else. The Russian army faced strong resistance from the Ukrainian forces and the international community, which was an unexpected outcome for Moscow’s ambitious invasion plan. The text exposes the failure of Russian policies by arguing that

“Moscow had to negotiate” which implies that Russia has no other choice except to accept the terms and conditions of the Ukrainian side. Apart from this, it suggests that Russia has failed in achieving its dream of creating dominance in the region, as “it had vowed to annihilate” Ukraine. Hence, the text successfully draws a contrast between the fake Russian propaganda and the reality of the war where the Ukrainian “defenders” show strong resistance against the foreign aggression.

WPC12: NEAR THE end...Instead...

The selected text illustrates the contrast between the appeal of President Vladimir Putin and the reaction of people towards his appeal. The text explains how Russian President tries to convince the people of Russia to believe that the war is actually a “special military operation” against an enemy state. He appeals the public to support the government by taking “a consolidated, patriotic position”. It suggests that he wants to get the sympathy and support of Russian public in his war against Ukraine. In contrast to his appeal, the Russian people have “expressed skepticism and opposition to a war” which points out that Russians are not in favor of war; instead, they want peace and prosperity in the region by living in harmony with neighboring states. Further, they express their disapproval for the war by condemning and opposing it. By drawing the contrast between the intention of Mr. Putin and the reaction of the public towards his evil intention, the text makes it clear that the responsibility of this war lies with Russian President Vladimir Putin, who has initiated it without the consent of his people. Thus, it suggests that the international community should take necessary action against him by holding him accountable for committing the grave crime.

WPC13: It is not clear... but in a bitter speech...

The selected text describes that the Russian President “vowed that self-purification of the society” is imperative to get rid of “traitors” from Russia. It indicates that the Russian president intends to eradicate his opponents in the name of “self-purification of society”. His speech is mentioned as a “bitter speech” which reflects that he uses aggressive and abusive language in it. He expresses his desire to have a submissive society where people obey his orders without questioning them. To achieve this goal, he declares that the purification of society is mandatory by eliminating critics

and opponents in the name of “traitors”. In contrast to his desire, “Russians” are not ready to blindly follow his orders; rather, they are opposing the illegal war against an independent state which reflects that they are civilized and sympathetic people. By elaborating on this, the text states that they “are not meekly accepting his war” which suggests that Russians are not showing their approval for the unjustified war initiated by their ruler. Apart from showing their disapproval, they are trying to get internet access to portray the real situation of the country. To get internet access, they are using “virtual private networks” to bypass the “internet censors” imposed by the government. This indicates that the Russian president and the people are standing on opposite ends of the spectrum, as they have very different views on this matter. In other words, the government is in favor of demonstrating violence and aggression against the sovereign state, whereas the people are showing strong resistance against this decision of the government. Therefore, the text uses a contrast frame to represent the people of Russia positively and to sketch the image of Mr. Putin in a negative way.

WPC14: Even in the authoritarian years... But now...can no longer tolerate any independent outlets.

The selected text explains that the Russian government “permitted” some of the media outlets “to function” during its “authoritarian years”. The example of “Novaya Gazeta” is quoted to illustrate how it “distinguished itself” by “fearlessly exposing money-laundering and exploitations of Siberian forests”. For reporting these news, the Russian government “killed” six reporters “over the years”. It depicts the harsh treatment of the government towards the journalists during its authoritarian years. However, now the situation has become worse than before as “Russia is moving from authoritarianism to totalitarianism”. It clearly draws a contrast between the “authoritarianism” and “totalitarianism” of Mr. Putin’s regime. Basically, authoritarianism is a form of government in which a leader or a party holds power in its hand and limits the civil liberties and political rights of the citizens. On the other hand, totalitarianism is the extreme form of authoritarianism where a ruler or a party concentrates all power in its hand and tries to control every aspect of society such as political, cultural, economic and educational. During the “authoritarian years”, the government allowed media to criticize its policies to some extent whereas now it has banned the media outlets from reporting

anything which goes against the decisions and policies of the government. It suggests that now the government has become more despotic, authoritative and oppressive due to which it “can no longer tolerate any independent outlets” in Russia.

WPC15: Attempts...failed...

As stated by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the selected text shows a contrast between the “attempt to set up an evacuation corridor for civilians” and the failure of that attempt due to “Russian shells”. The text highlights the efforts of authorities who are trying to provide “evacuation corridor” for the victims of the war. In contrast, the Russian military forces are showing their brutality by targeting the “areas where buses were assembling” to evacuate civilians. This illustrates the contrasting intentions of two parties: one that intends to save civilians and the other that intends to attack them. Grunwald (1993) is of the view that media uses framing tools to construct the image of people and groups in different ways. Entman (2007) also points out that media plays an imperative role in portraying the news stories in different ways; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities for its audience. The text under analysis expresses the same thing by using a contrast frame to paint the positive image of those who are trying to protect the civilians whereas it exposes the dark side of the Russian forces who are blocking the aid efforts and endangering the lives of innocent people.

WPC16: EVEN BEFORE...But its scale grew over the weekend...

The selected text creates a contrast between the two time periods by using words and phrases such as “even before”, “grew over the weekend”, and “revealing”. This indicates that the Russian forces were already committing “a war crime” by deliberately attacking the “innocent civilians” and by smashing “people’s hopes and dreams along with their homes”. They were targeting “hospitals and theaters” that is strictly prohibited by the international law, which highlights their violation of international norms and values. They were already destroying people’s future and hopes along with their buildings and infrastructure; however, the situation got even worse this weekend when President Putin withdrew its forces “from Bucha” by unveiling “indelible evidence of the slaughter of innocent civilians”. The “streets” of “Bucha” were telling the stories of Russian atrocities where “the bodies of people” had been abandoned to rot. The text

provides more details of the horrific event by using phrases such as “indiscriminate shelling and bombs”, “shot in the head” and “a freshly dug mass grave”. These details are presented to create a vivid and shocking image of the war crimes committed by the Russian troops in Ukraine. By providing these details, it highlights the brutality and violence of Russian forces towards the “innocent civilians” of Ukraine and it appeals to the readers’ sense of humanity and justice. In this way, the text draws a contrast between the two time periods to show the gravity and urgency of the situation.

WPC17: It makes no sense ...while funding....

According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), contrast frame is used “to describe something in terms of what it is not”. They are of the view that it becomes easy and effective to explain something by using a contrast frame as it helps in understanding the differences between two things. Therefore, the selected text draws a contrast between denouncing “the war crimes” and “funding the war machine”. By showing contrast, it explains that it is futile to condemn “the war crimes” while providing financial assistance to the aggressor. Basically, it exposes the hypocrisy of the European Union which is criticizing and condemning the Russian aggression against Ukraine; at the same time, it is “funding the war” by importing Russian fossil fuel. Thus, the text suggests that the world needs to be unified in resisting the illegal and unjustified war against a sovereign state by imposing sanctions against the aggressor.

4.5.2 Contrast in *The New York Times*.

In this section, the researcher analyses the stories present in the editorials of *The New York Times*. The code “NY” has been used to refer to *The New York Times* and the code “C” has been used to denote the “Contrast”. For instance, the code “NYC1” denotes to the first contrast frame found in *The New York Times* and so on.

NYC1: The Russian president... yet he intends...

By using contrast, the selected text unveils the hypocrisy of Russian President by describing how he shows contradiction in his words and intention. It explains that although Mr. Putin “said he had no intention of occupying Ukraine” yet his real intention is something else. According to the text, Mr. Putin wants to remove the “leadership” of Ukraine which clearly depicts the evil intention of Russian President. After removing the

present leadership of Ukraine, Mr. Putin intends “to plant a puppet” leader in Ukraine “without seizing Kyiv” which implies that he intends to indirectly take the control of Ukraine through a puppet ruler. The text uses some rhetorical questions to indicate contrast such as how he intends to plant a puppet ruler without occupying the capital of Ukraine or how he can “kidnap” Ukrainians without seizing “the whole country”. These questions manifest that the Russian President is hiding his true objectives and motives which exposes his hypocrisy and dishonesty. In this regard, it implies that he is using propaganda and deception to justify his illegal and immoral aggression against an independent state by turning deaf ear to the international condemnation and sanctions.

NYC2: Mr. Biden...But this is just the beginning...

The selected text draws a contrast between the actions of the Russian President and the reactions of “Mr. Biden and other Western leaders”. It depicts Mr. Putin as an aggressor who violates international law and norms by invading a sovereign state. He is represented as a rigid person who believes in violence and destruction instead of peace and negotiation. On contrary, the western leaders are portrayed as diplomatic and conciliatory in their approach towards the ongoing conflict. They are the supporters and partners of Ukraine who seek a peaceful resolution whereas Mr. Putin is ruining their efforts “to deter” the war; instead, he is escalating the conflict. Further, it explains that the western leaders “will also be sorely tested” as they support Ukraine and also defend “their obligations and principles”. On the other hand, Mr. Putin will continue to target “Ukrainians” for his political interest. Thus, in this way, the text projects the contrasting image of “Mr. Putin” and the “Western leaders” by using words such as “justified”, “deter”, “clash”, “obligations”, “principles”, “tested”, “flexibility” and “strength”

NYC3: Mr. Putin’s readiness...But President Biden wisely...

The selected text describes the severity of Mr. Putin’s “aggression” who has shown his “readiness to invoke nuclear weapons”. Generally, the nuclear weapons are used in extreme cases when there is no other option left but here the Russian President is showing his willingness to use these destructive weapons to pursue his political and strategic goals. He has “added another fearful dimension to his aggression” by showing his “readiness” to “attack a nuclear power plant” of Ukraine which would destroy the

entire country. In contrast, the American President has “wisely refused to escalate” the conflict by canceling “a planned missile test”. In addition to this, he announces that he has no intention of using “troops” to protect Ukraine as he “has not pledged to defend” it with military forces. It implies that “President Biden” wants to resolve the conflict through diplomacy as he expresses his willingness to compromise by canceling “a planned missile test”. Thus, it highlights the flexible and cooperative attitude of the United States towards the current conflict. At the same time, it reveals the uncompromising and authoritarian stance of the Russian President who intends to gain his selfish interest by demonstrating threat and violence towards the weaker neighbors.

Similarly, Ahmed and Sajjad (2019) study the incident of the Red Mosque operation conducted by Pakistani armed forces in 2007. They discuss how this event has been portrayed in different manners by the western newspapers and the local newspapers. They reveal how media uses the framing techniques to portray the news in its own ways. The analysis techniques of the western and local newspapers have been discussed extensively to explain how media uses different types of analysis for propagating its narrative. The findings of the study reveal that the local right wing newspapers try to portray the positive image of protesters by associating it with the fundamental rights of citizen. At the same time, these local newspapers are blaming government for violating the human rights by conducting military operation against the protesters of the Red Mosque. On the other hand, the Western newspapers are portraying the protesters as terrorists by calling them rebellions. Thus, this shows how social realities are constructed in different ways by different societies and media through the use of framing techniques. The text under analysis also uses a framing technique to portray the image of “President Biden” and “Mr. Putin” in different ways.

NYC4: Weakening public support.... but it could...The obscenely wealthy Russian oligarchs...But if they lose...

Via contrast frame, the selected text tries to explain how the “wealthy Russian oligarchs” can realize the cost of supporting Putin. It describes that the wealthy oligarchs may not refrain from supporting “Putin’s actions” because they are the partners of Russian President in oppressing the people of Russia and neighboring states for their material gains. They are also responsible for the unjustified aggression against a

sovereign state as they show their full support for “Mr. Putin’s actions”. However, the only way to teach them a lesson is to freeze their “bank accounts and confront the possibility of criminal prosecution in the United States”. It predicts that they will consider “Mr. Putin” as “liability” if “they lose their London townhouses”. It suggests that the only motive of Russian oligarchs is to accumulate wealth and if they see their properties are in danger they will stop supporting the dictator in this war. Thus, it suggests that their foreign accounts should be frozen and other properties should be confiscated to set an example for other like-minded people. In this way, it highlights the significance of punishing the cruel people to maintain the peace and order of the world. In short, the contrast frame is used to differentiate the attitude of “wealthy Russian oligarchs” towards Mr. Putin before and after the imposition of heavy financial penalties on them by the West.

NYC5: Despite...the Biden administration...

The selected text creates a contrast between the Russian aggression and the cooperative attitude of the United States towards Ukraine. It explains how Russia is using violence and aggression to achieve its political interest. The Russian military forces are targeting civilians which is a war crime as it is against the international law that provides protection to the civilians during war. Further, the term “Russia’s horrific targeting of civilians” suggests that the Russian forces are violent and brutal as they do not differentiate between the combatants and non-combatants in their attacks. The word “horrific” indicates that the invasion creates a sense of fear and terror among the citizens of Ukraine. On the other hand, the United States is trying to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict as it “has wisely emphasized the need for military restraint” which depicts that “the Biden administration” is against the use of force and violence to achieve the political and strategic interests. The term “military restraint” suggests that the United States does not believe in using military forces as it would further escalate the conflict. Apart from stressing the “need for military restraint”, President Biden rejects “calls to enforce a no-fly zone above Ukraine” which implies that he intends to dilute the situation by taking cooperative steps rather than creating a hostile environment. Entman (2007) points out that media plays an imperative role in portraying the news stories in different ways by using various framing tools; consequently, it shapes and constructs the realities

for its audience. In this regard, the text under analysis uses a contrast frame to create the positive image of “the Biden administration” by highlighting its diplomatic efforts to resolve the conflict peacefully. On the contrary, it portrays the gloomy image of Russian government by revealing its violence and oppression against the people of Ukraine.

NYC6: Already...than the number...

As stated by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the text under analysis uses a contrast frame to make a distinction between “the flow of refugees from Ukraine” and the number of refugees “from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq” to Europe. According to it, the number of refugees coming from Ukraine is “far greater” than the other mentioned states. By making this claim, the text does not provide any statistics or data from any valid source which shows that it is exaggerating the situation to grab the attention of the readers towards this issue. It implies that the current conflict is more deadly and devastating as compared to the war in other countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria. In this way, it argues that the international community should take crucial steps to end the conflict otherwise the European states would face a great refugee crisis.

NYC7: Sanctions can...but authoritarian regimes...

The selected text draws a contrast between the purpose of imposing sanctions and its “unintended consequences” in the autocratic regimes. The main purpose of imposing sanctions is to teach a lesson for the dictators who try to threaten peace and stability of the region. However, the text states that it can “end up strengthening a dictator’s grip on power” as he takes complete “control over the economy” of his state. In addition to this, the autocratic rulers use them as a tool to manipulate their citizens by blaming “a credible external enemy” “for the misery of their people”. In this scenario, the example of Russia has been quoted to explain how the Russian president highlights western “sanctions” on Russia as a hostile policy towards Russia. The sanctions were actually imposed on Russia as a punishment due to its “annexation of Crimea” but the dictator exhibits it as an anti-Russian policy. Resultantly, “Russians” perceive them as an act of hostility to “weaken and humiliate Russia”. Thus, by using a contrast frame, the text presents Mr. Putin as a tyrant who is expert in exploiting his people for his selfish interests.

NYC8: Ukraine...but with its ports...

The selected text uses contrast to show the status of Ukraine as one of the “largest exporter of grain and seeds” and its difficulty in exporting these things due to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. It highlights the importance of Ukraine in global food supply chain as it is “the fourth largest exporter” of food products such as “corn and wheat”. However, the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine has created hurdle in exporting these food items which is likely to create food shortage across the world. According to the text, the Ukrainian “ports” are “either occupied or blockaded by Russia” which makes it difficult for Ukraine “to ship its grain”. It suggests that Ukraine has a large stock of grains but it cannot export them due to Russian aggression. It implies that the Russian government is solely responsible for creating hurdle in exporting Ukrainian grains. Consequently, this act of Russia would lead to global food shortage. By using contrast, the text explains how Russia is fueling the global food crisis by preventing Ukraine from exporting its food products. In addition to this, the text suggests that Russia has become an existential threat to Ukraine as it intends to wipe Ukraine off the map of the world by causing an irreversible damage to its economy. Thus, in this way, it depicts Russia as a great threat to the peace and security of the region.

NYC9: The largest constraint... but these methods...

The selected text employs a contrast frame to create a distinction between the potential and the reality of the grain export from Ukraine. It explains that Ukraine has a huge amount of grain stocks to export, but the Russian invasion has disrupted the exportation. Ukraine is unable “to use its primary Black Sea port, Odessa,” which hinders its grain export. The sea port has been blockaded by Russian troops after the invasion of Ukraine. Therefore, Ukraine has “tried to ship its grain” by using alternative routes such as “road, rail and river”. However, export from these routes has not been proved satisfactory to meet Ukraine’s export needs. In addition to this, the text shows a contrast between the pre and post war conditions of export. Prior to war, Ukraine’s export rate was “3.5 million tons of grain per month”. However, “that fell to 300,000 tons in March” which shows a drastic decline in export rate. This is because the Russian troops have prevented Ukraine from exporting its grain by forcefully occupying the “Black Sea port”.

It implies that Russia is an aggressive state which is posing a great threat to the economy and food security of Ukraine. Along with this, it suggests that Russia is solely responsible for global food crisis as it is preventing Ukraine from exporting grain.

NYC10: Russia has indicated... but it would...

The selected text draws a contrast between the Russian indication “to open a secure channel” for trading and its expectation of “lifting of some sanctions” in response. It explains that Russia has shown its willingness to provide “a secure channel” for Ukraine to continue its trade. In this way, it suggests that Russia is showing some flexibility and cooperation in this matter. However, in the second line, the word “but” is used to reveal the real intention of the Russian government by describing that Russia is doing it for its own interest. The western countries have imposed sanctions on Russia for initiating war against Ukraine. Because of these sanctions, the Russian economy has been moving towards decline. To restore its economy, the Russian government is showing flexibility and cooperation. It implies that the Russian government has no intention of ending the conflict; instead, it is trying to find a way to restore its struggling economy. Hence, it demonstrates that the Russian government is playing a double game by manipulating the situation

NYC11: There is merit...but easing the sanctions...

By using contrast, the selected text creates a distinction between the need to regulate “food supplies” in the war-torn areas of Ukraine and the need to show resistance to the demand of the Russian government. The author of the text understands the complexity of the matter, where the international community has the responsibility to provide humanitarian aid to the people of Ukraine. Simultaneously, it has to resist the Russian demand, where the Russian government has offered a secure route to the international community for humanitarian aid. In return, Russia demands to lift the sanctions that have been “imposed on Russian exports and financial transactions”. The text suggests that humanitarian aid is pivotal for the people of war-ravaged country; however, at the same time, the international community should not show any weakness or sign of defeat by “easing the sanctions that Russia is demanding”. Therefore, the text reflects a sense of dilemma, as there is no straight-forward solution to the situation. Via a

contrast frame, the text reveals how Russia is trying to take advantage of the humanitarian crisis in Ukraine.

NYC12: The shame...even though...however great Mr. Putin's hatreds and grievances, he was...

The text employs a contrast frame to illustrate a difference between the reality and expectations of people. It uses the word “refused” which suggests that the people who believed that “Mr. Putin” would never “actually invade Ukraine” were in a state of denial. Although, they had some clue that Putin might attack Ukraine yet they preferred to reject it. Further, it explains that “even though” these people were “against his oppressive rule”, they did not expect he would initiate a full-scale invasion. They considered him a sane and rational person who would never “do something so criminal” and “self-destructive”. However, in contrast to their expectations, he invaded Ukraine on 24th February 2022. It was a moment of “shame” and shock for those “Russians” who defended Mr. Putin by claiming that he would never attack a sovereign state because “he was sufficiently rationale”. It implies that Mr. Putin is an irrational, insane and violent ruler.

NYC13: ...when he first came to power... But over the years...

The selected text describes how “majority of Russians” and “the intelligentsia” support Vladimir Putin in his early days of government. In “the early post-Soviet years”, he is seen as a savior and hero because he plays a vital role in restoring the law and order of the country. Along with this, “the economy” of the state has “rapidly expanded” which improves the “standard of living” of “many people” in big cities. However, “over the years” he becomes oppressive and “less tolerant”. He imposes censorship on “independent media”, and “nonprofit groups” are forced to “identify themselves as foreign agents”. It implies that “over the years” Mr. Putin has become an autocrat and despot who does not respect basic human rights. He is trying to suppress and silence the voice of independent media. Thus, in this way, as suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), the text draws a contrast between the past and present. It highlights how Mr. Putin has become an oppressive and violent ruler with the passage of time.

NYC14: Russia was surprisingly slow... But after that slow start...

The selected text uses contrast to show a distinction between the “slow start” of war and how it “went into high gear”. It explains that the Russian government “was surprisingly slow to prepare” its citizens for an invasion. It assumes that the Russian “leaders were convinced” that they would easily achieve victory in this war. However, later, Russia “went into high gear” which suggests that it had intended to destroy the entire country by starting “a full-scale invasion”. For this purpose, it banned “independent media outlets” in Russia to hide its brutality and violence against Ukrainians. It “quashed demonstrations” which indicates that the government does not tolerate any public criticism against the war. The text suggests that the Russian government is a propagandist and manipulator as it tries “to prepare its population and the world for full-scale invasion” by using fake propaganda and lies. However, ironically, the government blames those who protest against the war for spreading “false information” about the war. In this way, the text exposes the double faced of the Russian government who intends to deceive “its population” and “the world” by framing truth which suits it. The text uses terms such as “full-scale invasion”, “shut down”, “Quashed demonstration”, and “threatened” to represent Russia. It implies that Russia is an aggressive, oppressive and undemocratic state.

NYC15: When Putin was plotting this war...Instead...

According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), contrast frame is used “to describe something in terms of what it is not”. They are of the view that it becomes easy and effective to explain something by using a contrast frame as it helps in understanding the differences between two things. The text under analysis draws a contrast between the expectations of Mr. Putin and the reality of the current war. The word “instead” is used to express a contrast between expectations and reality. It explains how Mr. Putin “was assuming” that he would “be giving a victory speech at the Ukrainian Parliament” after the invasion. Moreover, he “probably assumed” that the Ukrainian president “would be in exile” and the Ukrainians would welcome “Russian troops” by throwing flowers on “their tanks”. His assumptions are discussed in detail by describing that he thought of “high-fiving” with “President Xi Jinping” after getting the victory. They would teach “NATO” and “Sleepy Joe” about the real superpower by showing them “who’s going to set the

rules of the international system”. In contrast to these assumptions, the reality of the war has come out in very different way. The people of Ukraine have shown their real strength and courage by “fighting and dying for freedom and self-determination”. It suggests that they are not afraid of sacrificing their lives for the protection of their motherland. The text presents them as freedom fighters and brave people who are defending their country from foreign aggression. Also, their president has shown extraordinary courage and bravery, due to which he has been provided an opportunity to address “the US Congress virtually”. On the other hand, Mr. Putin is represented as an aggressive and irrational person who “appears locked into his own germ-free isolation chamber”. It implies that he has become isolated in the international community for waging an unjust war against a sovereign state.

NYC16: ...Putin has gone from saying ...to its natural home...

The selected text employs a contrast frame to explain how the Russian president presented himself as the savior and guardian of “Ukraine” before the invasion and how he has become a monster and villain after invading it. He claimed “to liberate Ukraine from its Nazi leadership” which suggests that he perceived himself as a hero. It also implies that he was trying to justify the invasion by declaring a war against “Nazi leadership” of Ukraine. He showed his intention to “bring Kyiv back to its natural home with Russia,” which reflects his expansionist motives. It illustrates that he intended to occupy the entire country in the name of liberation from fascist leadership. In contrast to his claim, now he is destroying Ukrainian “cities” and towns by attacking their infrastructure and buildings. Further, the Russian military forces are committing war crimes in Ukraine by “indiscriminately shelling its civilians”. According to international law, it is a war crime to target the civilian population during a battle. Therefore, it implies that Russia has no moral or ethical values, due to which it is violating international laws and norms. In addition to this, the text explains that the main motive of Mr. Putin is “to break their resistance to his will” which reveals his evil intentions. Thus, by using contrast, the text projects the image of Russia as an expansionist and aggressive state.

NYC17: He thought Russian-speaking Ukrainians...

The selected text uses a contrast frame to highlight the difference between what Mr. Putin was expecting and what actually happened. Each sentence of the text starts

with the phrase “he thought” and ends with a contrasting idea that contradicts his thought. For instance, it describes that he was expecting from “Russian- speaking Ukrainians” that they “would welcome” Russian military forces in Ukraine. Similarly, he assumed that he would easily overthrow “Volodymyr Zelensky’s government”. He also had a view that he would be able “to divide NATO”, and China “would help him” in achieving these motives. In contrast to Mr. Putin’s expectations, the reality has come out in a very different manner. It suggests that the Russian-speaking Ukrainians show their full support for the Ukrainian government. They criticize Russia for waging war against their country. Similarly, Mr. Putin’s dreams shatter when he fails to “depose Volodymyr Zelensky’s government”. Also, he fails to divide NATO; instead, “he’s united it”. He remains unsuccessful in maintaining the economic stability of Russia against international sanctions. In addition to these, he fails to convince China to “help him out”. By using contrast, the text describes the consequences of Mr. Putin’s war. According to Entman (1993), a frame is used for “highlighting some features of reality while omitting others” (p.53). In this context, the text under analysis effectively uses the framing technique to construct the image of Mr. Putin as an irrational, aggressive and crazy person who makes decisions based on his emotions instead of logic and reason.

NYC18: His reckless decision...But he wanted...

The text draws a contrast between Putin’s “desire to halt NATO’s expansion” to “Russia’s border” and how his “plan has gone badly awry”. He wanted to stop NATO’s expansion at any cost. For this purpose, he waged a war against Ukraine to unveil “how much the West is weak and divided”. Also, he wanted to show everyone “how much Ukraine is not a real country”; instead, it is an integral part of Russia. So, the main purpose of Mr. Putin was “to teach the West a lesson” by showing his strength and power. In contrast to his desire, his “plan” has failed badly. During cold war, Russia faced “humiliations” at the hands of the West and the United States. To erase “Russia’s humiliations”, Putin demonstrated aggression against Ukraine. However, the consequences of the aggression suggest that “Putin has been further humiliated”. According to Grunwald (1993) media plays a key role in constructing the image of people and groups by using various tools of framing. This argument is also supported by Entman (2007) who states that media selects and portrays the news stories in different

ways to construct the realities for its audience. The text under analysis proves this point by using a contrast frame to draw the dark image of Mr. Putin by representing him as an illogical, aggressive and violent person.

4.6 Research Findings

In this part of the chapter, the research findings are discussed one by one. The current study employs Framing Theory of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to analyze the language of two leading American newspapers. According to Fairhurst and Sarr (1996), framing tools are used to construct the perception of the public towards a particular issue.

The findings of the study reveal that the selected newspapers present Russia as an aggressive and violent state. In this regard, they inculcate various catchphrases, spin frames, contrast frames, metaphors and stories. To illustrate, the terms “aggressive forces”, “Russian aggression”, “war of aggression” and “an invading army” are frequently used to represent Russia. Also, the terms “less discriminate shelling, rocket and missile fire” are used to highlight the nature of attack on Ukraine. It implies that the Russian military does not see any difference between the combatants and the non-combatants; hence, it is bombing the entire state which is clearly an act of violence and aggression.

These newspapers try to present the image of Russia in the context of international law. According to international humanitarian law, it is strictly prohibited to target the civilian population during a war. However, according to the selected editorials, Russia is continuously violating international humanitarian law by attacking the civilian population of Ukraine. In order to highlight this point, they frequently use a term “war crimes”. The selected newspapers also use jargons such as “black-letter international law” which is used to describe the well-established case law or the law which does not need any further interpretation by the courts. It is used to illustrate how Russia is violating this law by attacking a sovereign state. Another jargon, “economic sanctions”, is frequently used to describe the suggested punishment for Russia. In WPC9, the contrast frame is used to reveal the Russian violation of international law by attacking the hospitals, ‘health-care workers and ambulances’ in Ukraine.

Furthermore, in most of the editorials, Russia has been blamed for spreading false propaganda. Russia is mentioned as an expert in propagating disinformation by using media. In this context, the example of a metaphor “troll factory” can be taken into account which is used to compare the paid propagandists of the Russian government to the workers who work in the factory to produce goods. It suggests that Russia is running a factory that spreads lies and propaganda to influence the opinions, beliefs and attitudes of people. The phrase “upper hand in propaganda” also specifies that Russia is an expert in propagating misleading and fake news. Apart from this, the phrase ‘Mr. Putin and his propaganda machine’ also reflects that the Russian president is portrayed as a propaganda master.

Similarly, Russia is also portrayed as a state that does not believe in freedom of press. The editorials discuss how Russia has been trying to silence the voice of independent media channels. It has been done by mentioning that Russia has threatened the independent media outlets for reporting anything against the policies of the Russian government. The phrase “criminalized the truth” indicates that people are deprived of their fundamental rights. They are not allowed to exercise the right of expression by criminalizing the truth. It depicts that Russia does not respect the dignity and rights of its citizens by curbing their fundamental right i.e. freedom of expression. In WPSN9, the dictatorial behavior of Mr. Putin is highlighted by explaining how he tries to silence the voice of “independent media” in Russia by giving them “threats of punishment for truthful reporting”. Thus, in this way, The Russian President is represented as a dictator who does not tolerate truth and voice of “independent media”.

Likewise, Russia is also painted as an anti-democratic state by explaining that it has intended to uproot democracy from the region by pressurizing the neighboring states. For instance, in NYSN29, Russia is described as “a grave new threat to global democracy”. Similarly, the phrase ‘assault on a democratic country’ is used to depict Putin’s anti-democratic stance. In WPSN17, the text describes how Mr. Putin uses force to ‘suppress the protests’ which illustrates the undemocratic attitude of the Russian President towards its people by preventing them from exercising their right to expression. Further, the findings of the study express that Russia has become an existential threat to global peace and security. In this regard, statements such as “Russia’s nuclear forces on a

heightened alert”, “readiness to invoke nuclear weapons”, “Vladimir Putin’s nuclear threats” and “reckless nuclear weapons threats” are used to suggest Russia’s readiness to use its nukes against Ukraine.

In addition, Russia is portrayed as an expansionist state by describing how it has been trying to annex different regions of Ukraine. To illustrate, the phrase “Russia’s previous territorial seizures in Crimea” is used to reveal that Russia has the habit of invasion and occupation of foreign lands. Further, in NYC16, the intention of the Russian government has been mentioned by using a phrase “bring Kyiv back to its natural home with Russia,” which reflects its expansionist motives. In contrast, the Russian citizens are mostly represented in a positive way by appreciating their efforts in resisting the aggressive policies of their government. For instance, in NYSN2, the text appreciates Russian public for showing strong resistance by protesting against the unjustified war “in Moscow and other cities”. Likewise, in WPSN16, the text appreciates and encourages the brave people who are not afraid of the dictator and standing for the rights of Ukrainians. Further, it shows that the general public of Russia is sympathetic and sensitive towards the suffering of humanity whereas the Russian President is cold-hearted and cruel who does not care about the lives of human beings.

Furthermore, the selected editorials draw the image of Ukraine as a resilient and brave nation. They highlight the bravery and courage of Ukraine’s military forces and their determination to sacrifice their lives for their motherland against the foreign aggression. For instance, the phrase “fighting and dying for freedom and self-determination” highlights the bravery and suffering of Ukrainians. They are represented as freedom fighters as they are fighting for “freedom and self-determination”. The people of Ukraine are represented as the symbol of resistance, courage and bravery. In other words, Ukrainians are projected as brave and courageous people who do not tolerate any kind of oppression and injustice against them.

4.7 Summary

The chapter provided the detailed discussion on the editorials in the light of theoretical framework. It has discussed the selected data by using the Framing Theory suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). The analysis of the data helped the researcher in

answering the research questions raised in the beginning of the study. Furthermore, the study proved effective in exploring the representation of Russia in the selected American newspapers. It examined how media uses framing techniques to construct the attitude, beliefs and values of its audience. Apart from this, the chapter revealed how media can portray people or groups in biased or unbiased manner. The following chapter presents a detailed account of the findings, reflection on the research questions, conclusion and recommendations for the future researchers.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

The researcher has analyzed the editorials from *The Washington Posts* and *The New York Times* by using the framing theory of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). The researcher has tried to analyze how the newspapers use framing techniques to construct the image of a person, group or country. The main objective of the current research is to illustrate the representation of Russia in American print media in the context of Russia-Ukraine war. The study investigates whether the selected American newspapers maintain neutrality while depicting Russia or they show bias attitude towards it.

5.1 Reflection on Research Questions

This section of the chapter attempts to provide discussion on the research questions posed in the beginning of the study. Further, it gives a holistic view of the analysis drawn on the basis of the theory of ‘framing’ given by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996).

The first question of the current study examines the linguistic constructions used by the two American newspapers namely, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*, to represent Russia in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war. The analysis of this question revealed that both of these newspapers used somewhat subjective linguistic choices on an individual and national level to portray the image of Russia. The findings highlight that the selected newspapers use various lexical items such as ‘Putin’s war’, ‘his war’, ‘war of choice’, ‘war of aggression’, ‘ruthless invasion’, ‘Russia’s savage war’, ‘unprovoked war’, ‘unprovoked aggression’, ‘fratricidal war’, ‘terrible war’, ‘aggressive war’, ‘Russian aggression’ etc. to refer to the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine. These linguistic constructions express that these newspapers hold Russia responsible for initiating the war. Furthermore, the analysis illustrates that the newspapers use terms such as ‘heart-wrenching’, ‘ruthless’, ‘reckless’, ‘murderous’, ‘devastating’, ‘brutal’, ‘atrocities’, ‘aggression’, ‘act of genocide’, ‘campaign of terror’ etc. to describe the cruelty of the Russian army towards the people of Ukraine. These linguistic expressions do not seem following the aspects of objectivity and neutrality.

Similarly, the analysis reflects that the selected newspapers use terms such as ‘Russian propaganda’, ‘Russian disinformation’, ‘fire hose of falsehoods’, ‘propaganda machine’, ‘troll factory’, ‘Putin’s lies’, etc. to represent Russia. These linguistic expressions do not seem neutral either for they contain some type of subjective connotations. Likewise, they use terms such as ‘madman’, ‘mentally unstable Putin’, ‘perpetrator’ etc. to identify Mr. Putin. Also, the term ‘war crimes’ is frequently used by these newspapers to highlight how Russia has been violating international law. Thus, it can be argued that the selected newspapers use linguistic items that have subjective connotations to portray the image of Russia and Mr. Putin.

The second question deals with the role of framing tools in representing the image of Russia by the selected newspapers. The representation of Russia is reflected in the choice and instances of frames. The present study analyzes the editorials by using the framing tools given by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). It investigates how these framing tools are incorporated in the editorials by the selected newspapers to depict the image of Russia in the context of the Russia-Ukraine war. The researcher has found that the selected newspapers try to represent the image of Russia as an aggressive state by using various frames. For instance, they use various catchphrases such as ‘Russian aggression’, ‘war of aggression’ and ‘unprovoked aggression’ to project the image of Russia as an aggressive state. In NYSN1, the spin frame has been used to condemn Russia for initiating aggression against a sovereign state by violating international law and norms.

In the same manner, the Russian government is represented as a propagandist entity by using the framing tools suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). In NYSN28, the spin frame has been used to represent Russia as a hostile state that spreads lies and disinformation against its enemy states. It states that the Russian government supports those channels that spread ‘conspiracy theories’ and ‘anti-Western propaganda’. Similarly, in NYM13, the metaphor of ‘troll factory’ is used to compare the paid propagandists of the Russian government to the workers who work in the factory to produce goods. It suggests that Russia is running a factory that spreads lies and propaganda to influence the opinions, beliefs and attitudes of people.

Besides, Russia is painted as an anti-democratic state by explaining that it has intended to uproot democracy from the region by pressurizing the neighboring states. In WPSN8, the spin frame has been used to pass negative moral judgment on Russia by equating the invasion with a despotic, barbaric and undemocratic act. The invasion is equated to ‘the assault on a democratic country’. Also, in WPSN9, the act of banning and threatening media is perceived as an undemocratic and oppressive act. In NYSN27, the Russian government is described as a threat to ‘liberal democracy’. In WPSN19, the spin frame has been used to expose the abusive law passed by the Russian government to crush its critics and opponents. Further, in NYSN2, the anti-democratic policies of the Russian government are revealed by stating how they violate the right to freedom of expression by silencing the voice of the opponents who protest against the policies of the government. Hence, it can be argued that the researcher has found various instances where Russia is represented as an anti-democratic state.

Moreover, the analysis reflects that the selected newspapers try to highlight how Russia is violating international law in the ongoing war. In WPST9, a story is narrated as a framing tool to highlight how Russian troops are violating international law that prohibits the states from attacking the ‘health providers’. Similarly, in WPC9, the contrast frame is used to reveal the Russian violation of international law by attacking the hospitals, ‘health-care workers and ambulances’ in Ukraine.

In addition, the findings of the study illustrate that the framing tools have been used to present Russia as an existential threat to global peace and security. To illustrate, the catchphrase ‘Vladimir Putin’s nuclear threats’ is mentioned to give the impression that Russia has become a threat to global peace and security. It is a strong catchphrase which categorically suggests that the world is facing a grave threat from Russia. Similarly, in NYSN33, the spin frame has been used to state that ‘mentally unstable Putin is prepared to use nuclear weapons’. Also, in NYC3, a contrast frame has been used to highlight Russia’s ‘readiness to invoke nuclear weapons’. Thus, in this way, the newspapers under analysis use various frames to portray Russia as a threat to the peace and security.

In a nutshell, the analysis of the editorials reveals that the selected newspapers represent Russia as an aggressive, violent and manipulative state. The Russian

government is depicted as an autocratic, despotic and undemocratic government. The analysis suggests that the selected newspapers use framing tools extensively to construct the identity of Russia as an aggressive state that does not hesitate in showing violence and aggression against its neighboring countries.

The third question of the study is related to the position or stance of the selected English newspapers with regard to the issue. The researcher has investigated how these newspapers employed framing tools to discuss the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine. The analysis of the editorials suggest that the newspapers are opinionated on the issue. The language of these newspapers reflects that they are not neutral; instead, they have used subjective approach towards the issue. The findings of the present study illustrate that these newspapers use framing tools suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to construct the image of Russia in the context of Russia-Ukraine war. By using framing tools, they criticize Russia for initiating the war. Also, the war is mentioned as an act of aggression against a sovereign state. The war is described by using various terms that have subjective connotations such as ‘aggressive war’, ‘unprovoked war’, ‘Russian aggression’, ‘war of aggression’, ‘Putin’s war’, ‘terrible war’, ‘act of genocide’, ‘fratricidal war’ etc. Furthermore, these newspapers hold Russia responsible for waging the war and appeal the international community to punish Russia by imposing heavy sanctions on it. The newspapers quote several examples to expose the Russian atrocities towards the civilian population of Ukraine.

Surprisingly, as observed, these newspapers could not provide the background and context of the conflict nor is it visible how the conflict originated. Ukraine was actually the part of Soviet Union during the cold war; and at the end of cold war, it got the status of an independent state. The armed conflict started between Russia and Ukraine in the early 2014 when Russia annexed Crimea. Since the annexation of Crimea, the relations remained unstable between these two states. However, the condition became severe when Russia invaded Ukraine on 24th February 2022. According to Russia, it is an action of self-defense as Ukraine intends to become the member of European Union and NATO. Russia justifies its action by saying that NATO is a threat to Russian sovereignty. Russia claims that it has no issue with Ukraine; rather, it just wants to contain NATO’s expansion in Eastern Europe because it would become threat to Russian security. On the

other hand, the member states of NATO condemn Russian military action in Ukraine by calling it a threat to global peace and security. America is the key member of NATO so it has a significant role in the whole scenario. In this war, American government supports Ukraine by providing it weapons and aids and condemns Russia for its military aggression.

Keeping in view the above discussion and the analysis of the text, the findings of the study exhibit that the selected American newspapers could not succeed to provide the perspectives of both the sides in its coverage of the ongoing conflict between Russia and Ukraine. They tried to construct the image of Russia by narrating one side of the story; and not presenting the perspective of other side. The selected newspapers portrayed Russia as an antidemocratic, violent, barbaric, aggressive and autocratic state by using the framing tools suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). These newspapers have clearly opposing stand towards the Russian government. It appears that these newspapers support the American policy towards the current war. Thus, it can be argued that these newspapers do not have a neutral stance; rather, they have adopted pro-American narrative in its coverage of Russia-Ukraine war.

The findings of the present study also reveal that the selected American newspapers illustrate their inclination towards the stand of US government on Russia-Ukraine war. The findings suggest that these newspapers support US stance on this issue by opposing the policies of Russian government. It implies that these newspapers are not neutral in their approach to the current war between Russia and Ukraine.

5.2 Conclusion

The present study examined the representation of Russia during Russia-Ukraine war in two leading American newspapers. For this purpose, the researcher adopted the Framing Theory given by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996). The findings of the current study, as discussed above, illustrated that the selected newspapers used framing tools to portray the image of Russia as an aggressive, violent and autocratic state. The findings revealed that these newspapers completely skipped the background of the conflict and focused on the current situation. The frames used by these newspapers reflect that they do not have a neutral stance; instead, they are subjective in their approach on this issue. They presented

the dark image of Russia by associating terms with it that have negative connotations. They portrayed the image of Russian government as war criminal by highlighting how they targeted the civilian areas in Ukraine. In a nutshell, the study revealed how media can portray people or groups in different ways by using different frames.

5.3 Recommendations

On the basis of research findings, the study recommends following points:

- The findings of the study suggest that these newspapers do not have neutral stance; rather, they are biased in their news coverage. Therefore, the study suggests them to report events in more objective manner by maintaining the true spirit of journalism.
- The study, further, recommends that the United Nations should take necessary steps to ensure the freedom of press across the globe. This recommendation is in line with the 16th point of SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) which is related to peace, justice and strong institutions.
- The study also recommends that the news reports should be solution oriented for emerging conflicts and issues instead of adding fuel to the fire by taking sides.
- In addition, the study encourages people to read the news from multiple sources, so they can have different perspectives on different issues because there are always two sides to every story.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Researchers

In the current study, the researcher has attempted to investigate how framing tools of Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) are used to represent Russia in two American English Newspapers: *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*. For present study, the researcher selected two American newspapers and adopted purposive sampling technique to gather data from these newspapers. However, there are number of other newspapers that need to be examined to understand how media construct reality for the audience. Therefore, the following points are suggested for the future researchers:

- The study is of concern for those who are interested in analyzing issues related to politics, war, conflicts, and inequality.

- Moreover, the future researchers can use the Framing Theory suggested by Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to analyze the language other newspapers. They may investigate the Russian newspapers to investigate how they represent the United States and its allies by using different tools of framing
- In addition to this, the future researcher may conduct a comparative study of Russian and American newspapers to explore how they adopt different narratives on the ongoing war between Russia and Ukraine.
- Further, the current study aimed at investigating the framing tools incorporated by the print media to represent Russia. Therefore, the future researches can be conducted on other forms of media such as electronic and social media by using the same theoretical framework.

To sum up, the future researchers can use the Framing Theory to investigate how media uses various tools of framing to construct the image of any person, group or country.

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APPENDIX

Metaphors

Metaphors in *The Washington Post*

WPM1. This time, the *victim is Ukraine*,

WPM2: The *perpetrator is Russia*

WPM3: Once again, civilized life in this strategically vital continent is being overwhelmed by *blood and fire*

WPM4: Deterrence, to be sure, has failed; the *roar of explosives* across Ukraine proves that.

WPM5: But after President Vladimir Putin announced war against Ukraine this week, *the streets swelled* again with thousands of protesters

WPM6: A *madman* is bombing all of Ukraine

WPM 7: Mr. Putin interprets the West's firm response as evidence of hostility to Russia, not proof that he made a *bad bet* on democratic decline and disarray.

WPM 8: Mr. Putin's war also *casts a cloud over* arms control generally.

WPM 9: Europe and the United States are *closing skies* to Russian flights

WPM 10: THE *FOG OF WAR* is proverbial.

WPM 11: RUSSIA'S WAR on Ukraine has apparently reached an *inflection point*:

WPM 12: IN HIS lecture accepting the Nobel Peace Prize on Dec. 10, the editor of the Russian investigative newspaper Novaya Gazeta, Dmitry Muratov, declared that "journalism in Russia is going through a *dark valley*.

WPM 13: This is a *tombstone moment* for a generation of independent journalists.

WPM 14: Mariupol, a city of more than 400,000, might serve as a *bloody model* for what awaits other urban areas.

WPM 15: The Bucha massacre marks a grim *turning point* in Russia's invasion, and the world must respond forcefully.

Metaphors in *The New York Times*

NYM1: How did he intend to *plant a puppet regime* without seizing Kyiv, or to kidnap people without taking the whole country?

NYM2: *Mr. Putin vented his frustration* by putting Russia's nuclear forces on a heightened alert.

NYM 3: But if they lose their London townhouses and swollen bank accounts and confront the possibility of criminal prosecution in the United States, as Mr. Biden promised, others in Russia's kleptocracy might begin to wonder whether *Mr. Putin is a liability*.

NYM4: It allowed the world to see the full hypocrisy of his scheme, has strengthened unity in the United States and Europe and is *opening eyes in Russia*.

NYM5: Policymakers are *wrestling with two questions* that don't necessarily have the same answer: What can be done to help Ukraine? And what kind of relationship should Western nations maintain with an increasingly belligerent Russia?

NYM6: The *apocalyptic images* of bodies sprawled in the mud among twisted tanks, charred walls and splintered trees in Bucha and other Ukrainian cities speak to the brutality of the war that Vladimir Putin started

NYM7: The knowledge that more such horrors, many more, will be revealed as Russian troops retreat *cries out for a reckoning*.

NYM8: The Biden administration and its allies have done an admirable job of *puncturing the Kremlin's propaganda* with accurate intelligence

NYM9: The greatest effects seen so far from the sanctions have been *by unplugging Russia*, if only partially, from the international financial system through moves like freezing billions of dollars in assets overseas and taking some Russian banks off SWIFT, the global messaging system for financial transactions.

NYM10: The oligarchs who are losing their yachts and the people who are *tightening their belts* have little sway over the Kremlin.

NYM11: the tanks were not coming, that the coup had failed, that the *Soviet yoke* had been lifted

NYM 12: it's also hard to escape a deep sense of grief that Russia has come *full circle*.

NYM13: With its “*troll factories*,” its fluency with divisive meme culture and its military's apparent facility with politically valuable hacking plots, Russia's “information operations” have been called a grave new threat to global democracy.

NYM14: Putin became an all-purpose boogeyman for some on the American left — everywhere you looked, people were turning up supposedly scary evidence of a *hidden Russian hand* in media and politics

NYM15: There are many theories for why Russian propaganda about Ukraine has fallen so flat. Perhaps the most obvious is that the invasion is just *too ugly a pig to pretty up*

NYM16: This might be the model's great limit. Like, alas, a lot of media now, *Russia's fire hose*. can amplify conspiracy theories bubbling online and sow chaos and confusion in pockets of society

NYM17: when Putin was plotting this war, he was assuming that by three weeks into it he'd be giving a victory speech at the Ukrainian Parliament, welcoming it back into the *bosom of Mother Russia*

NYM18: Instead, Ukrainians have given Russians a *tutorial on fighting and dying* for freedom and self-determination

NYM19: Putin appears locked into his *own germ-free isolation chamber*

NYM20: He's the leader who destroyed two countries to save one face — his own. But he will do anything to keep trying to *save his face*

SPIN

Spin in The Washington Post

WPSN1: But Russia's war could all too easily spread, with destabilizing repercussions worldwide.”

WPSN2: “Government censor Roskomnadzor warned the Russian news media to publish only information from official sources and threatened penalties for violators.”

WPSN3: FIVE DAYS after Vladimir Putin launched his war on Ukraine, it is apparent that things are not going the overconfident Russian president's way

WPSN4: “However, the blunting of Russia's initial military thrust might increase Mr. Putin's desperation and prompt him to try to break Ukraine's will through increased and even less discriminate shelling, rocket and missile fire.”

WPSN5: What has already become crystal clear, however, is the horrific harm Russian President Vladimir Putin is inflicting on Ukraine's civilian population.

WPSN6: The kernel of truth is that - as he Mr. Putin seems to be escalating destructive violence to break Ukraine's will apparently indicated in a phone call to President Emmanuel Macron of France - his plan is to conquer Ukraine, period.

WPSN7: What probably will not change, however, is the *brutality* with which Russian soldiers conduct themselves toward Ukraine's civilian population. Between their officer corps' lack of tactical finesse and the *dehumanizing training conditions* they tolerate for rank-and-file soldiers, Russia's forces have earned a reputation both for indiscriminate bombardment of urban areas and for up-close-and-personal cruelty wherever they have fought in the past quarter century: Chechnya, Georgia, Syria and, now, Ukraine.

WPSN8: Russian musicians, artists, athletes and other cultural figures are facing broad backlash as Russian President Vladimir Putin has continued to press his relentless and increasingly brutal invasion of Ukraine. Much of the world is outraged and repulsed by the *assault on a democratic country* and is making clear it wants nothing to do with anything Russian.

WPSN9: Specifically, Mr. Putin has shut down the last vestiges of independent media in the country and ramped up threats of punishment for truthful reporting such that Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty and other international media have been forced to suspend their operations in Russia.

WPSN10: Also, Mr. Putin, who has already likened economic sanctions to a "declaration of war," could treat aircraft transfers as a provocation. Recent history, however, shows that he will invent provocations even when the West shows restraint, and that Ukraine cannot be left at the mercy of Russian artillery.

WPSN11: First, Mr. Putin's rationale for war utterly lacks the necessary legal basis - or *jus ad bellum*, in legal Latin. Recognized at the post-World War II Nuremberg trials of accused Nazi war criminals, the crime of aggression was defined in a 1998 treaty establishing the International Criminal Court (ICC): "The planning, preparation, initiation or execution, by a person in a position effectively to exercise control over or to direct the political or military action of a State, of an act of aggression which, by its character, gravity and scale, constitutes a manifest violation of the Charter of the United Nations." That perfectly fits Mr. Putin's assault on United Nations member Ukraine's sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence.

WPSN12: Next comes the issue of *jus in bello* - the lawfulness of the Russian military's actual conduct on the battlefield. The basic rule is that there may be no deliberate targeting of civilians, and that collateral damage is legally tolerable only if it results from attacks that were themselves intended to hit military targets, with proportionate force. Obviously, those criteria leave a lot of room for debate - but not about the massive Russian shelling of Kyiv, Kharkiv, Mariupol and other densely populated cities, which has struck schools, apartment buildings and hospitals.

WPSN13: Lives may yet be saved if those waging this war fully understand that it is a crime in every sense of the word, moral and legal.

WPSN14: The civilians of what is now a ruined city, tens of thousands of whom died during a ferocious and indiscriminate Russian bombardment, endured the worst of it, of course.

WPSN15: The fighters who held out at Mariupol not only survived but also helped Ukraine prevent Russia from seizing other territory, including cities such as Kyiv and Kharkiv.

WPSN16: A huge slice of Russia's population is passive, for now, realizing there are risks to speaking out. But a surprising number are doing so. So far, 14,980 have been detained for demonstrating against the war, according to OVD-Info, a nongovernmental organization that tracks protests and arrests.

WPSN17: Mr. Putin's security services are working overtime to suppress the protests. Many of those arrested have reported beatings and harsh treatment in jail. The government has censored the press and closed social media.

WPSN18: He said Mr. Putin and his cronies are "just a group of sick, crazy old men. They don't have sympathy for anyone or anything. And our country is the very last thing they care about. Their only motherland is their Swiss bank accounts. And whatever they say about patriotism is a myth - as well as an enormous threat to us all. It's actually clear what we need to do. It's every person's duty right now to oppose the war."

WPSN19: Now Novaya Gazeta itself has suspended publication, threatened by the government for failing to label a group as a "foreign agent" and because of an onerous new law that makes it a crime with penalties up to 15 years in prison to "discredit" the armed forces - including use of the words "war," "invasion" or "attack" to describe President Vladimir Putin's onslaught against Ukraine.

WPSN 20: Having failed to conquer the country swiftly, because of Ukrainian resistance and his own forces' incompetence, Mr. Putin seems to have switched to a militarily primitive Plan B: blasting Ukraine into submission with rockets, shells and bombs.

WPSN21: Mr. Putin puts his faith in the tyranny of violence. He must be shown that such barbarism will not be tolerated - by identifying and holding to account those who carried out the atrocities in Bucha and all of Ukraine.

Spin in *The New York Times*

NYSN1: It is imperative to state clearly that none of the pretext for war that Mr. Putin churned out in recent days and weeks contained much truth or any justification whatsoever for waging war on a weaker neighbor. This is a *war of choice* for all the wrong reasons, and Mr. Putin and his coterie are solely and fully responsible for every

drop of Ukrainian — and Russian — blood, for every livelihood destroyed and for all the economic pain engendered by this conflict.

NYSN2: Thousands of Russians courageously took to the streets in Moscow and other cities on Thursday to protest the war and were met with a *fierce police crackdown*. How deep the resistance goes, or what it could achieve against *Mr. Putin's authoritarian rule*, is unclear.

NYSN3: All of this, of course, represented Europe's best effort to live up to the example set by Volodymyr Zelensky, the 44-year-old president of Ukraine. Exhausted, unshaven and defiant, he has shown us the face of heroic resistance. In an address to his country on Thursday, he said, "I don't want Ukraine's history to be a legend about 300 Spartans. *I want peace.*"

NYSN4: Mr. Putin is well aware that his support in the Russian public is brittle and could crumble if his lies are exposed. Already, thousands of Russians have been arrested for demonstrating against the war, and two leading liberal media outlets, Echo of Moscow and TV Rain, have been all but silenced.

NYSN5: For one, while it is clear that Mr. Putin's current aim is to take over all of Ukraine, his erratic behavior makes it impossible to predict his next move.

NYSN6: Russian forces were encircling the northeastern city of Kharkiv. More than a million Ukrainians have already crossed Ukraine's borders, creating an epic humanitarian challenge. Many more may be displaced internally.

NYSN7: As his *ruthless invasion* continues, Vladimir Putin is trying to break Ukraine by *demolishing its cities and brutalizing its people*. Each day brings *fresh horrors*.

NYSN8: *Mr. Putin's savage invasion* of Ukraine has shattered the post-Cold War project of interlacing Russia with the democratic nations of Europe. As the West once again finds itself pitted against Russia, it is worth remembering that the Cold War was won by those who took better care of their own people and held out the prospect of a better life to those on the other side of the divide.

NYSN9: The mass flight of refugees from Ukraine has created a humanitarian crisis that dwarfs anything Europe has seen since World War II. More than four million people have

poured into neighboring countries, and as long as Russia's savage war continues, millions more will flee.

NYSN10: Since the Russian invasion of Ukraine began on Feb. 24, nearly one million people have left Ukraine every week. Barring a peace agreement, Russia will keep *bombarding civilian infrastructure*. Ukraine will keep fighting for its survival. Ten million people — roughly a quarter of the population of Ukraine — could end up leaving the country in the coming months.

NYSN11: Refugees are not a design flaw of *Vladimir Putin's war* in Ukraine. *Indiscriminate bombing and shelling of civilian infrastructure* is part of a broader strategy to demoralize the civilian population and drive residents into neighboring countries, where their presence can be destabilizing.

NYSN12: The apocalyptic images of bodies sprawled in the mud among twisted tanks, charred walls and splintered trees in Bucha and other Ukrainian cities speak to the brutality of the war that Vladimir Putin started. The knowledge that more such horrors, many more, will be revealed as Russian troops retreat cries out for a reckoning.

NYSN13: In Ukraine, there is no question that Russia is the aggressor, that Bucha, the Ukrainian town that had been occupied by Russian forces for five weeks — and Mariupol and Kharkiv and Chernihiv and Kyiv and scores of other cities and towns — would be peacefully greeting spring had Mr. Putin not ordered an unprovoked war to satisfy his ambitions of empire and the destruction of a neighboring nation. Ukraine's resistance is unquestionably self-defense, and the nations of the world are within their rights to impose sanctions on Mr. Putin and his country.

NYSN14: The Russian Army's actions give every appearance of violating these rules, and investigations have already begun in the International Criminal Court and some other courts. The indiscriminate shelling of cities and towns, the killings evidenced by the mass graves discovered in Bucha and the bombing of a Mariupol theater are among the many actions that could be deemed war crimes. The entire invasion would appear to be a crime of aggression, which would presumably reach Mr. Putin. If these crimes are determined to be part of a widespread or systematic attack on the civilian population based on a state policy, they could also amount to crimes against humanity.

NYSN15: When Vladimir Putin ordered the invasion of Ukraine in February, trampling on the sovereignty of a neighbor, international sanctions were the best path forward for the United States and its allies to take. The ruthlessness and grave atrocities toward civilians that have ensued since only reinforce that call.

NYSN16: The oligarchs who are losing their yachts and the people who are tightening their belts have little sway over the Kremlin. In Russia, with average citizens, Mr. Putin has grist for a loud “I told you so” about the West’s purported longing to bring down Russia.

NYSN17: In March, this board argued that the message from the United States and its allies to Ukrainians and Russians alike must be: No matter how long it takes, Ukraine will be free. Ukraine deserves support against Russia’s unprovoked aggression, and the United States must lead its NATO allies in demonstrating to Vladimir Putin that the Atlantic alliance is willing and able to resist his revanchist ambitions.

NYSN18: Russia, however battered and inept, is still capable of inflicting untold destruction on Ukraine and is still a nuclear superpower with an aggrieved, volatile despot who has shown little inclination toward a negotiated settlement.

NYSN19: In the end, it is the Ukrainians who must make the hard decisions: They are the ones fighting, dying and losing their homes to Russian aggression, and it is they who must decide what an end to the war might look like.

NYSN20: Russia will be feeling the pain of isolation and debilitating economic sanctions for years to come, and Mr. Putin will go down in history as a butcher.

NYSN21: Russia that have curbed the world’s supply of a key fertilizer, potash; granaries destroyed by Russian shelling; countries like India cutting off most wheat exports to make sure, understandably, that their own needs are met — and it becomes evident that *Vladimir Putin’s war* is having *devastating repercussions* on food supplies and prices far beyond Ukraine’s borders.

NYSN22: Russia’s potential is being set back by decades; the young, educated and creative are leaving; and the hard men are ascendant. Once again, Russia has become a pariah spreading lies and death.

NYSN23: In the weeks since Mr. Putin's brutal and unprovoked invasion of Ukraine, the reactions within Russia have been muffled. Many foreign correspondents, including those from The Times, have left Russia, and anyone who says anything publicly that contradicts the falsehoods put out by the Kremlin about the "special military operation" faces the threat of up to 15 years in prison for spreading "false information."

NYSN24: And Mr. Putin's extraordinary efforts to deny there is any war and to minimize Russian casualties speaks to his awareness that if the truth about the "special military operation" and its cost came out, support would likely crumble.

NYSN25: That was where the war began, in early 2022, weeks before Vladimir Putin sent the first rockets, armored vehicles and troops into Ukraine, when he claimed that the massive buildup of troops along Ukraine's borders was but another military exercise

NYSN26: In these first information battles, the Americans and Ukrainians showed that they had learned the lessons of 2014, when Russia had the upper hand in propaganda, assaulting Crimea and eastern Ukraine while claiming to be responding to pleas from Russian-speaking residents.

NYSN27: As a former K.G.B. agent, Mr. Putin sees the world as a battleground of conspiratorial maneuvers. In his speeches, the color revolutions in Ukraine and other former Soviet republics and the Arab Spring and other global upheavals are machinations to bolster American domination. As an heir to the Soviet worldview, he believes more than many Western leaders do in the importance of information warfare, both to give his regime a veneer of legitimacy and to challenge liberal democracy. On this battlefield, lies are ammunition in Mr. Putin's long and increasingly personal struggle to stay in power.

NYSN28: Today, the Russian government-funded television and internet outlet that has long been a haven for conspiracy theories and populist, anti-Western propaganda.

NYSN29: Ever since the 2016 election, when Russian operatives hacked and leaked the Democratic National Committee's email and ginned up fake Facebook and Twitter posts to aid Donald Trump's presidential campaign, Putin has enjoyed a reputation in the West as a wizard of the digital dark arts. With its "troll factories," its fluency with divisive meme culture and its military's apparent facility with politically valuable hacking plots,

Russia’s “information operations” have been called a grave new threat to global democracy. During the Trump presidency, Putin became an all-purpose boogeyman for some on the American left — everywhere you looked, people were turning up supposedly scary evidence of a hidden Russian hand in media and politics

NYSN30: The operation, which Russia has been developing since at least its 2008 incursion into Georgia, is “high-volume and multichannel” — propagandistic memes, videos, social media posts and other content is produced in huge quantities and distributed across all forms of media.

NYSN31: Putin, meanwhile, looks anything but macho. Over the past few weeks he has appeared mainly in awkward, possibly scripted encounters with his advisers, often featuring comically long tables. The tables are apparently meant as a precaution against Covid-19, but one so over the top that it’s hard not to see the Russian leader as paranoid and isolated.

NYSN32: It’s the kind of vicious madness that you see from a spurned lover or in an “honor killing.” And it’s shocking and petrifying to see it manifested by the leader of a superpower with some 6,000 nuclear warheads. There is something about this guy that portends more ominous surprises.

NYSN33: It also makes sense of his strategy of targeting civilians. More than simply a way of compensating for the incompetence of Russian troops, the mass killing of civilians puts immense pressure on Zelensky to agree to the very things Putin has demanded all along: territorial concessions and Ukrainian neutrality. The West will also look for any opportunity to de-escalate, especially as we convince ourselves that a mentally unstable Putin is prepared to use nuclear weapons.

NYSN34: If Ukraine’s leaders choose to cut a peace deal with Russia, we should help bolster them in negotiations, but as long as they choose to fight, we should help arm them. Because they are not just defending Ukraine. They are defending the possibility of a Europe whole and free — where one country cannot simply devour another. That doesn’t just make for a better Europe; it makes for a better world.

STORIES

Stories in *The Washington Post*

WPST1: A few celebrities also spoke out against the war. Ivan Urgant, who hosts a popular comedy show, wrote, "Fear and pain. NO to war." His show was taken off the air almost immediately.

WPST2: The radio station, founded by Moscow city democrats in 1990, played a key role in resisting the coup attempt against Mikhail Gorbachev in August 1991. Thrown off the air four times in three days, Echo of Moscow managed to get back on each time, and its broadcasts stirred hope the coup would fail, which it did. Over the years, Echo of Moscow ownership was brought under the control of the state natural gas monopoly Gazprom, but it maintained its independence and hosted popular and outspoken commentators. Dozhd, or TV Rain, was launched in 2010 and gained a devoted audience for its vigorous coverage of the anti-Putin protests in 2011 and 2012. The channel was eventually forced off cable but survived online

WPST3: The corpse of one Ukrainian resident of Bucha, Ivan Monastyrskyi, had bullet holes in the calves and "his arms were stretched out at strange angles between slats of wood with nails through them," according to a report in *The Post* by Louisa Loveluck and Serhiy Morgunov.

WPST4: Mr. Ovechkin, for example, reportedly had plans to change the profile picture on his Instagram account showing him with Mr. Putin to a symbol of world peace but was advised against it because his wife and children are in Russia.

WPST5: Fleeing civilians are entitled to safe passage, yet one of the ugliest incidents of the war so far was Sunday's sudden mortar attack on a civilian area of Irpin, outside of Kyiv, which killed four people, including an 8-year-old. Even when no one is killed or injured, artillery barrages such as those being unleashed by Russia can violate the laws of war, which expressly prohibit the "wanton destruction" of property.

WPST6: "ANOTHER SUCH victory and we shall be utterly ruined," the Greek King Pyrrhus of Epirus supposedly muttered after his army lost thousands of soldiers while defeating the Romans at Asculum in 279 B.C. Similar words might well apply to Russia's

conquest of Mariupol, Ukraine, which the forces of Russian President Vladimir Putin completed on Monday.

WPST7: In Moscow, a woman standing before the city's majestic cathedral holding a sign that said "The Sixth Commandment, Thou Shalt Not Kill" was reportedly hustled away by police. Protests have erupted in more than 100 cities

WPST8: Vera Bashmakova, the editor of a popular science magazine, was detained for several hours when she showed up at preschool to pick up her daughter with a "No to war!" sign in her car window. She was charged with "discrediting the army." This is indeed a "dark valley" for Russia, and it is growing darker by the day.

WPST9: In May 2019, Russian planes bombed four hospitals in Syria in 12 hours, according to a New York Times investigation. At President Vladimir Putin's orders, the planes were operating in support of Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad's side of a civil war. Now, in just two weeks of the war in Ukraine, the World Health Organization has confirmed 18 attacks on health providers, causing at least 10 deaths

WPST10: Russia's military atrocities in Ukraine have been seen before, in the brutal "zachistka," or cleansing operations, in Chechnya, which destroyed towns and villages, and the indiscriminate attacks on hospitals in the Syrian city of Aleppo. As in Syria, Russia has agreed to humanitarian corridors for Ukraine's Mariupol, only to attack them.

Stories in *The New York Times*

NYST1: A family killed while crossing a bridge to safety. Fathers and children touching hands and parting.

NYST2: Novaya Gazeta, which was until this week the last functioning major opposition news outlet, wrote about a priest who dared to preach, "Brothers and sisters, this is a fratricidal war," and was denounced to the police.

CONTRASTS

Contrast in *The Washington Post*

WPC1: “The perpetrator is Russia, whose repressive ruler, President Vladimir Putin, insists - contrary to black-letter international law - that Ukraine has no sovereign rights he is bound to respect.”

WPC2: “Mr. Putin draws power from cronies and clans, not the voters.”

WPC3: Mr. Putin's two decades in office have brought gradual but relentless destruction of civil society, including the press and nongovernmental groups such as Memorial. But Echo of Moscow remained on the air and independent when other news media channels fell under state control, perhaps because the station was a place for liberals to let off steam.

WPC4: In talks on Thursday, Russian and Ukrainian negotiators reportedly reached tentative agreement on creating "humanitarian corridors" for civilians in such cities. But the Putin regime has a long record of making and then breaking such war-zone deals. .

WPC5: Cold statistics cannot express the pain and grief of *millions of flesh-and-blood* human beings. Oblivious to that, Mr. Putin emerged on Russian television Thursday, speaking of a "special operation" that is "going according to plan."

WPC6: Russia's way of war, in short, includes war crimes. Certainly the record of President Vladimir Putin's previous campaigns offers no hint that anyone in the chain of command will be held accountable for excesses. To the contrary, confronted with unmistakable evidence of its troops' culpability, Russia regularly issues official propaganda asserting that its enemy, in this case Ukraine, has actually committed the atrocities so as to blame them on Russia.

WPC7: Some, such as Mr. Gergiev, have been cheerleaders for Mr. Putin's aggressions; they deserve to be shunned by Western institutions. Others, such as piano prodigy Alexander Malofeev, have seen their engagements canceled even after they spoke out against the war, simply because they are Russian; that is unjustified.

WPC8: Something must be done to enable Ukraine to withstand the onslaught and force Russia to accept a real cease-fire - as opposed to the phony local truces, intended to allow civilians to flee, which the *Russians violated* over the weekend.

WPC9: Hospitals are supposed to enjoy special protection because of international law's requirement that medical care is provided impartially even amid war. Yet the World Health Organization says at least nine attacks have hit health facilities, health-care workers and ambulances since Feb. 24.

WPC10: Yet Moscow paid an extraordinary price during the nearly three months it had to fight - contrary to all prewar expectations - for Mariupol.

WPC11: There was an undeniable contradiction between upbeat Russian war propaganda and the reality that, in the end, Moscow had to negotiate a surrender for defenders that it had vowed to annihilate.

WPC12: NEAR THE end of the Feb. 24 announcement of a "special military operation" in Ukraine, President Vladimir Putin of Russia appealed to the public to "take a consolidated, patriotic position." Instead, many Russians have expressed skepticism and opposition to a war they neither wanted nor were consulted about

WPC13: It is not clear whether public opposition to the war will influence Mr. Putin, but in a bitter speech Wednesday, he vowed that "self-purification of the society" would rid Russia of "traitors." But Russians are not meekly accepting his war or being silenced. They have flocked to virtual private networks to get around Internet censors.

WPC14: Even in the authoritarian years of Mr. Putin's rise, some were permitted to function. Novaya Gazeta distinguished itself with hard-hitting investigations, as Mr. Muratov noted in his lecture, fearlessly exposing money-laundering and the exploitation of Siberian forests, among other topics. Six of the paper's reporters have been killed over the years. But now it seems that Russia is moving from authoritarianism to totalitarianism, where the state can no longer tolerate any independent outlets.

WPC15: Attempts to set up an evacuation corridor for civilians failed when Russian shells targeted areas where buses were assembling.

WPC16: EVEN BEFORE this week, Russia's unjust destruction of Ukraine - the smashing of people's hopes and dreams along with their homes, hospitals and theaters by indiscriminate shelling and bombs - was a war crime. But its scale grew over the weekend as Russian President Vladimir Putin's troops retreated from Bucha, a suburb of

Kyiv, revealing indelible evidence of the slaughter of innocent civilians: streets littered with the bodies of people shot in the head, their hands bound; and a freshly dug mass grave.

WPC17: It makes no sense to denounce the war crimes while funding the war machine.

Contrasts in *The New York Times*

NYC1: The Russian president said he had no intention of occupying Ukraine, yet he intends to oust its leadership and round up his enemies. But what does that mean? How did he intend to plant a puppet regime without seizing Kyiv, or to kidnap people without taking the whole country? How long does he intend to occupy the country?

NYC2: Mr. Biden and other Western leaders are justified in saying they did all they could to try to deter Mr. Putin, meeting with him many times and searching for ways to meet his demands in ways that would not clash with their obligations and principles. But this is just the beginning: In coming days and weeks as Ukrainians fight for their lives, the West will also be sorely tested, and its leaders will need the utmost flexibility and strength to persevere and to guide their publics.

NYC3: Mr. Putin's readiness to invoke nuclear weapons and attack a nuclear power plant added another fearful dimension to his aggression. But President Biden wisely refused to escalate, canceled a planned missile test and repeated that the United States has not pledged to defend Ukraine with troops.

NYC4: Weakening public support for Mr. Putin may not force him to retreat from Ukraine, but it could raise questions in his entourage about his future. The obscenely wealthy Russian oligarchs also may not have sway over Mr. Putin's actions. But if they lose their London townhouses and swollen bank accounts and confront the possibility of criminal prosecution in the United States, as Mr. Biden promised, others in Russia's kleptocracy might begin to wonder whether Mr. Putin is a liability.

NYC5: Despite *Russia's horrific targeting of civilians*, the Biden administration has wisely emphasized the need for military restraint, rejecting calls to enforce a no-fly zone above Ukraine.

NYC6: Already, the flow of refugees from Ukraine is far greater than the number from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq who fled to Europe in 2015, upending European politics.

NYC7: Sanctions can have other unintended consequences as well. They can actually end up strengthening a dictator's grip on power by tightening state control over the economy. Private businesses can have a hard time weathering the storm of sanctions, but authoritarian regimes and their state-owned enterprises often find ways to circumvent them. Sanctions also provide dictators with a credible external enemy to blame for the misery of their people. Instead of pushing people to rise up against their rulers, sanctions often inspire a rally-around-the-flag effect.

NYC8: Ukraine is the fourth-largest exporter of grain and seeds in the world, mostly corn and wheat, but with its ports either occupied or blockaded by Russia, its ability to ship its grain has been sharply reduced.

NYC9: The largest constraint to the export of Ukrainian grain is the country's inability to use its primary Black Sea port, Odessa. Ukraine has instead tried to ship its grain by road, rail and river, but these methods fall far short of what would be exported through Ukrainian ports. Before the Russian invasion, Ukraine was exporting an average of 3.5 million tons of grain per month. That fell to 300,000 tons in March and went up to a little over one million tons in April.

NYC10: Russia has indicated that it is prepared to open a secure channel out of Odesa, but it would expect the lifting of some sanctions in exchange.

NYC11: There is merit in trying to put world food supplies above the exigencies of conflict, but easing the sanctions that Russia is demanding — those imposed on Russian exports and financial transactions, as a Russian deputy foreign minister, Andrei Rudenko, said on state media — would mean giving in to Russia's aggression and attempt at humanitarian blackmail.

NYC12: The shame is because these were Russians who had refused to believe that Mr. Putin would actually invade Ukraine, even though they had pushed back against his oppressive rule. They had assumed, as many in the United States and Europe did, that however great Mr. Putin's hatreds and grievances, however much he resented Ukraine's

independence, he was sufficiently rational not to do something so criminal and self-destructive.

NYC13: Like the large majority of Russians, the intelligentsia had supported Mr. Putin when he first came to power in 2000. He restored a measure of order to the chaos of the early post-Soviet years, and the economy rapidly expanded, and with it the wealth and standard of living for many people in Russia's big cities. But over the years Mr. Putin became increasingly less tolerant of dissent, especially as "color" revolutions and pro-Western leanings swept through Ukraine and Georgia and protests over dubious elections filled Russian streets. Independent media was steadily choked off, and nonprofit groups receiving funding from outside the country were required to identify themselves as "foreign agents."

NYC14: Russia was surprisingly slow to prepare its population or the world for a full-scale invasion, perhaps because its leaders were convinced that Kyiv would fall quickly. But after that slow start, the Kremlin went into high gear. Domestically, it shut down independent media outlets, quashed demonstrations and threatened anyone challenging the government line with "false information" about the invasion with up to 15 years in prison.

NYC15: When Putin was plotting this war, he was assuming that by three weeks into it he'd be giving a victory speech at the Ukrainian Parliament, welcoming it back into the bosom of Mother Russia. He probably also assumed that President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine would be in exile in a Polish Airbnb, Russian troops would still be removing all the flowers from their tanks thrown by welcoming Ukrainians, and Putin and President Xi Jinping of China would be high-fiving each other for having shown NATO and Sleepy Joe who's going to set the rules of the international system. Instead, Ukrainians have given Russians a tutorial on fighting and dying for freedom and self-determination. Putin appears locked into his own germ-free isolation chamber, probably worrying that any Russian military officer who comes near may pull a gun on him. Zelensky will be addressing the U.S. Congress virtually.

NYC16: In the space of three weeks, Putin has gone from saying that he came to liberate Ukraine from its "Nazi" leadership and bring Kyiv back to its natural home with Russia

to crushing its cities and indiscriminately shelling its civilians to break their resistance to his will.

NYC17: He thought Russian-speaking Ukrainians would welcome his troops. They didn't. He thought he'd swiftly depose Volodymyr Zelensky's government. He hasn't. He thought he'd divide NATO. He's united it. He thought he had sanction-proofed his economy. He's wrecked it. He thought the Chinese would help him out. They're hedging their bets. He thought his modernized military would make mincemeat of Ukrainian forces. The Ukrainians are making mincemeat of his, at least on some fronts.

NYC18: His reckless decision to invade Ukraine was fueled by a desire to halt NATO's and the European Union's expansion closer to Russia's borders. But he wanted to do it in a way that would show everyone how much the West is weak and divided and how much Ukraine is not a real country, by overrunning the place in a week. Class was in session, and Putin was going to teach the West a lesson. But Putin's lesson plan has gone badly awry. Rather than teaching the West — and all of those Ukrainians who want to be part of the West — a lesson and erasing Russia's humiliations, Putin has been further humiliated.