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UKRAINE IN THE MIRROR OF FOREIGN ONLINE MEDIA AFTER THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR IN ISRAEL

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This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the portrayal of Ukraine in foreign online media such as BBC, CNN, The New York Times, The Guardian following the outbreak of war in Israel, highlighting the interconnectedness of international conflicts and their media coverage. Initially, the article explores the immediate shift in media focus, scrutinizing how major online outlets adjusted their attention from the ongoing situation in Ukraine to the emerging conflict in Israel. This section employs quantitative content analysis to assess the extent of coverage and thematic prioritization given to each conflict.

Subsequently, the article examines the evolution of the media narrative surrounding Ukraine amidst the changing global political landscape. It utilizes discourse analysis to dissect how the war in Israel has reframed international media perspectives on Ukraine, considering aspects such as geopolitical allegiances, humanitarian concerns, and regional stability. It is discussed how the change in narrative potentially influences public opinion and international policy-making regarding Ukraine. The study also contemplates the role of digital media in shaping and reshaping narratives in the context of rapidly evolving global events.

This article concludes that the war in Israel didn't significantly impact the portrayal of Ukraine in foreign online media, because the situation in Ukraine was still broadly highlighted in the popular international online media. The findings underscore the need for a nuanced approach to media consumption and analysis, especially in the context of complex international events where narratives are continuously evolving and intersecting. This study contributes to the broader discourse on media's role in shaping public perception and policy in international conflicts, offering insights into the fluidity of global news priorities and the interconnectedness of diverse geopolitical events. It is outlined the importance of further researches on the image of Ukraine in foreign online media and its inclusion in the world agenda setting.

Key words: online media, war, Ukraine, Israel, content.

Introduction. Since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, all international media have been actively monitoring the situation in Ukraine, many correspondents and journalists are coming to Ukraine, going to the most dangerous places to film a report and show what Russia is actually doing in Ukraine. At the same time, on October 7, the emphasis of the world media shifted, because in all Telegram channels, online publications and all other mass media, all the news was about the fact that the militants of the «*Ham*as» group attacked Israel. Over 3,000 rockets were fired at Israel and dozens of hostages were

taken. In response, the Israeli army struck the Hague and Lebanon. On October 9, the Israeli authorities ordered a complete siege of Gaza, as well as to stop supplying various food, water, fuel and all other goods to the two million people who live in the territory controlled by « Hamas ». Only at dinner on October 9, the number of dead reached 900 people. On October 9, the President of Ukraine – Volodymyr Zelenskyi reacted to the events that took place between the two states. He stated that Russia is interested in igniting a conflict in the Middle East because it wants a new conflict to significantly weaken world unity and thereby help Russia destroy freedom in Europe, and especially in Ukraine. On the evening of October 9, the main intelligence department of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine reported in official sources that the Russian special services could use the attack of the Hamas group on Israel for a major provocation against Ukraine. According to our intelligence, Russia handed over to Hamas trophy weapons captured during the hostilities in Ukraine, manufactured in the USA and EU countries. That's why she prepared a group of fakes in which she accuses the Ukrainian military of allegedly « selling Western weapons to terrorists », the GUR warned in all official sources.

Formulation of the problem. Many international analysts have pointed out that it was the Kremlin that stepped up information campaigns accusing the West of neglecting conflicts in the Middle East in order to support Ukraine. Even Dmytro Medvedev publicly stated that the US should work on the « Palestinian -Israeli settlement » and did not interfere in the relations between Russia and Ukraine.

So far, no one knows for sure how Russia could be involved in the attack of « Hamas » on Israel, but some political scientists believe that everyone has been preparing for this for some time. Also, because of this conflict, Russia is doing everything possible to divert all attention from Ukraine. Therefore, it is important to understand whether the military actions in Israel really shifted the emphasis of the world media and whether the topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war did not recede into the background of the world agenda.

Research methods. The research methodology included a theoretical and practical part. At the first stage, the method of analyzing scientific papers on the war in Israel and Ukraine and the possible interrelationships between these events was used. Also, for a better understanding the reasons for the war between Israel and Hamas, the historical method was used. Examining the historical context of both conflicts, including causes, key events, international reactions, and consequences, can provide a deeper understanding of the ways in which the war in Israel affects the perception of the war in Ukraine. The basis of the next stage was the empirical analysis of data obtained through content analysis of foreign media materials. The section « International life » in the following foreign media was chosen for analysis: The New York Times , The Guardian , BBC , CNN for December 2023. All the media which were mentioned above are authoritative and popular, and their section « International Life » is representative of world trends in coverage of international politics. On the basis of the content analysis, a comparative analysis was also carried out. Comparing approaches to covering the war in Israel and in Ukraine can help to identify similarities and differences in audience reactions and general understanding of both conflicts. This analysis included an examination of the narratives used in the media and the different approaches to coverage of the events. The results of the conducted research were formed by the method of data summarization.

Analysis of recent research and publications. The topic of the Russian-Ukrainian war is current not only in the media, but also in the scientific publications as well. There are a lot of publications, which are published by Russian researchers. Most of them blame foreign quality media in propaganda and unfair support of Ukraine. On the topic of depicting Ukraine in the foreign media interesting is the research of Melnyk I. about the content of Chinese press on the Russian Ukrainian war [5]. Other Ukrainian scientists mostly pay attention to the general images of Ukraine in foreign media [9] [10], the problems of linguistic instruments during the war [8], [6] fake news in Ukrainian and international media [4].

Among publications of foreign researchers Hanley et al. pay attention to the fact that « while the Western press outlets have focused on the military and humanitarian aspects of the war, Russian media have focused on the purported justifications for the « special military operation » such as the presence in Ukraine of « bio- weapons » and « neo-nazis », and Chinese news media have concentrated on the conflict's

diplomatic and economic consequences» [3, p.340]. Ferid Selimi, who examined the coverage of the Russian-Ukrainian war in the newspapers of the Western Balkans, declares researched that «a significant number of news headlines are presented in a sensational manner. In terms of objectivity and subjectivity, five newspapers published objective headlines while the other five published subjective ones. However, the percentage of objectivity and subjectivity varies from country to country and from newspaper to newspaper. As for bias, the majority of newspapers lean towards Ukraine» [7]. Oliver Boyd-Barrett, analyzing the German media *Die Zeit* writes that «after February 24, 2022, the format and rhetoric regarding the events in Ukraine changed. For prompt coverage of events, the subject «War in Ukraine» was opened . . . » And he goes on that the media agenda is dominated by the coverage of the following issues: Russia's war of aggression against Ukraine, sanctions of the Western countries, the oil embargo, and the solution to the problem of dependence on Russian gas and arms supplies to Ukraine [2, p.38]. A. Abiodun et al. who examined *The Guardian* online newspaper framing of the Russian-Ukraine war say that *The Guardian* paid major attention to the destruction and casualties caused by the war in its reportage. War news with the human interest frame follows with 12%, and these news reports focused on some individuals who have been specifically affected by the war in negative ways [1, p. 42].

Results. In the section «International life» *The New York Times* is dominated by news about the war in Ukraine. On the first page of the column on December 20, 2023, three materials about the war were placed: «Russia-Ukraine War : West that Consider New Sanctions After Putin's Latest Moves», «US, Allies that Extend Ukraine Arms Aid , But Offer No New Troops» «Ukraine's President Vows that Continue Fighting, Despite Russian Advances». In addition, materials on other important international events were published in the section, including:

«China's Economic Growth Slows as Global Headwinds Mount», «Israelis and Palestinians Hold Talks in Egypt in Bid that Restore Cease-Fire», «US and Allies that Meet that Discuss New Climate Goals» (US and allies to meet to discuss new climate goals)

In general, the section «International life» *The New York Times* is carefully prepared and informative. The publication provides a wide range of materials on important international events, paying special attention to the war in Ukraine.

In the section «International life» *The Guardian* also focuses heavily on news about the war in Ukraine. On the first page of the column on December 20, 2023, four materials about the war were placed: «Russia-Ukraine War: Putin's New Moves Could Prolong Conflict», «US and Allies that Consider New Sanctions Against Russia», «Ukraine's President Vows that Fight On , Despite Russian Advances», «Russia's War in Ukraine: A Timeline». In addition, materials about other important international events were published in the column, in particular: «China's Economic Growth Slows as Global Headwinds Mount», «Israelis and Palestinians Hold Talks in Egypt in Bid that Restore Cease-Fire», «US and Allies that Meet that Discuss New Climate «Goals».

This publication also drew attention to the impact of the war in Israel on interest in Ukraine. For example, the article «Ukraine is concerned that the prolonged war in Gaza may weaken global support». The text says Ukraine, which is still locked in a bitter struggle with Russia along hundreds of miles of front lines, is also facing what Kiev sees as troubling changes in the geopolitics of the war.

«The attention of key allies is focused on the war in Gaza, military aid from the United States is bogged down in the Republican race for leadership in Congress, and cracks in European support have appeared during elections in Poland and Slovakia». The material under the heading is devoted to the problems of supporting Ukraine «Has support for Ukraine reached its peak? Some are afraid so». In the text of the material they write: «Vividly concerned, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy personally visited NATO defense ministers in Brussels this week, worried that the war between Israel and Hamas would divert attention – and needed weapons – from Ukraine's long and bloody fight against Russian encroachment».

US and NATO officials tried to placate Mr. Zelensky, promising another \$2 billion in immediate military aid. But even before war broke out in the Middle East last week, there was a strong sense in Europe, watching Washington, that the world had reached «peak Ukraine» – that support for Kyiv's fight against the Russian invasion would never again be as high as it was. a few months ago.

After the Hamas attacks on Israel last weekend, Ukraine tried to position itself as a friend of Israel, while saying that Moscow would try to use the conflict to drive a wedge between Ukraine and countries that support it. Russia, for its part, said that Israel's war in the Gaza Strip shows the failure of the West's policy and, in particular, the US's policy in the region.

The exchange of accusations illustrates how, nearly two years after Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine, the two countries are trying to strengthen their diplomatic alliances and sway public opinion to bolster their respective military causes.

In general, the section «International life» The The Guardian is similar to The column New York Times . The publication also provides a wide range of materials on important international events, paying special attention to the war in Ukraine.

Another influential global edition of the BBC has always been a reliable partner for Ukraine. Correspondents and journalists of the British service often come to Ukraine to shoot special projects and exclusive reports and cover news without involvement. Although the BBC remains on «neutral territory», support for Ukraine is still quite noticeable. End of December 2023 BBC material about Ukraine reflected active events on the battlefield. For example, the material under the heading «War in Ukraine: Russia attacks Avdiivka stronghold in eastern Ukraine» informs that Russian troops have launched a large-scale offensive on the city of Avdiivka in eastern Ukraine. Three battalions of around 2,000 troops, dozens of armored vehicles and jet aircraft were reportedly involved in what was described as the largest-ever attack in the area. The following material is «Russia cannot return to the UN Human Rights Council". The article states that Russia could not be re-elected as a member of the UN Human Rights Council.

The state was expelled from the top human rights body last April after its troops invaded Ukraine. Russia hoped that getting a new three-year term would highlight differences among UN member states over whether to continue supporting Ukraine. Another article titled «Biden vows to support Ukraine despite budget fiasco» informs that "President Joe Biden has promised that the US will continue to support Ukraine after further military funding was excluded from a last-minute congressional budget deal». The stopgap measure, pushed through to avert a government shutdown, did not include \$6 billion (£4.92 billion) in military aid to Kiev, a top White House priority. Hard-line Republicans oppose further military aid, and many openly oppose Mr. Biden's approach to war.

Even on these few news items, you can see the support of the BBC. During December 2023, there was no material on the website that could talk about Ukraine's defeat or failure on the battlefield. Just as often, the corporation reminds that international partners support Ukraine in various ways, and impose even more sanctions on Russia.

CNN, as well as the BBC, actively covers the events currently taking place in Ukraine. In many articles, you can see that the publication also supports our state, despite the fact that it is also on the neutral side, so that all people can judge the real facts for themselves. In addition, the publication often calls the actions of Russia «inhuman», «terrible», and shows disappointment and contempt for Russian officials in a hidden context.

It is also clear from the materials that the publication does not at all justify the actions of Russia and the way it kills Ukrainian civilians. Therefore, by looking at the «News of Europe» section, you can see many different topical materials that relate to all events. CNN describes Ukraine in a positive way, as a strong state that others want to help. This opinion is confirmed by the following materials: «Zelensky seeks to win the support of the West, as attention is focused on the Middle East». *When NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg met Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyi in front of the press in Brussels on Wednesday, his smile quickly faded and his gaze turned gloomy. It was Zelenskyi's first visit to the alliance's headquarters in the Belgian capital since the beginning of Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. This time, however, the Ukrainian president was forced to turn his attention to a crisis that is now garnering more attention than Moscow's invasion of his country: Hamas' brutal attack on Israel.* Russian shelling of Ukraine is a constant topic of CNN materials . In particular, «Not a single military target in the Ukrainian village was affected by the "inhuman" Russian missile strike, officials say." *There were no military targets in a village hit by a Russian missile strike on Thursday, a senior Ukrainian police official said, in one of the deadliest attacks on civilians since the start of the conflict, which the country's president*

called "inhumane" and "deliberate». Another article has the title *Moscow forces fired at a cafe and a store in Groza near the city of Kupyansk in Kharkiv Oblast, eastern Ukraine, using what Ukrainian officials say was a powerful Iskander ballistic missile , killing at least 52 people, including a 6-year-old a boy* It is noteworthy that CNN refers to information from Ukrainian officials in its materials. This fact is confirmed by the material «Ukraine says that today Russia carried out one of the most destructive attacks of the war. Here's what you need to know». *At least 51 people, including a child, were killed in a Russian missile strike on Thursday in a village near the city of Kupyansk in eastern Ukraine, officials said. According to a senior Ukrainian police official, this is one of the deadliest attacks on civilians reported by Ukraine since the beginning of the conflict, and it occurred without a possible military target».*

Everyone is well aware that Russia is not achieving the goals it has set for itself on the battlefield. Because of this, they are doing everything possible to ensure that the supply of weapons to Ukraine from the West stops as soon as possible and that Ukraine has nothing to defend itself and go on a counter-offensive. In addition, the Kremlin is interested in creating political instability in the world and dealing a serious blow to the reputation of the United States.

Conclusions. In the materials about Ukraine in the foreign mass media analyzed by us, the positive image of Ukraine prevails. Ukraine is presented as a country that courageously resists Russian aggression, and its citizens are presented as heroes fighting for their freedom.

This positive image is formed due to the following factors:

➤ The heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people against Russian aggression. The wars in Ukraine are the most important international event of 2023. It attracted the attention of the whole world, and Ukraine is presented as a country that courageously defends its independence.

➤ Strong leadership structure of Ukraine. The President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyi, has become a symbol of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom. He has gained great popularity in the world and is called one of the most popular world leaders.

➤ Openness of Ukraine to the West. Ukraine strives for Euro-Atlantic integration, and it is seen as an important ally of the West. This contributes to the positive perception of Ukraine in the Western world.

At the same time, there are also some negative accents in the materials about Ukraine in the foreign media. For example, corruption in Ukraine and the difficulties faced by the Ukrainian economy are mentioned. These negative accents can negatively affect the image of Ukraine. For example, the emphasis on corruption may lead some people to believe that Ukraine is not ready for membership in the European Union. There are some differences in the coverage of Ukraine in the materials of various mass media.

The New York Times and The The Guardian provides more detailed coverage of the war in Ukraine. They publish materials about hostilities, the consequences of the war for the population of Ukraine, and the international reaction to the war. Instead, the BBC and CNN provide broader coverage of Ukraine. In addition to the war, the publication also publishes materials on other aspects of Ukrainian life, such as the economy, politics and culture.

Positive coverage of the war in Ukraine in the international media helps to improve the image of Ukraine in the world. Ukraine is presented as a country that deserves support and sympathy. However, negative accents in coverage of Ukraine can negatively affect its image. For example, the emphasis on corruption may lead some people to believe that Ukraine is not ready for membership in the European Union. Positive coverage of Ukraine in the international media is an important factor for its international image. It contributes to improving the understanding of Ukraine in the world and increases its chances of successful integration into the world community.

In addition to the positive image of Ukraine, the following features are also found in the materials about Ukraine in the international media:

Emphasis on the heroism of the Ukrainian people. Ukrainians are often portrayed as brave and courageous people who are ready to give their lives for the freedom of their country.

Passion for Ukrainian culture. International mass media often publish materials about Ukrainian culture, in particular about music, literature and art.

Hope for peace in Europe. The war in Ukraine has caused concern around the world, and international media often publish materials about the need for peace in Europe. These features of coverage contribute to improving the image of Ukraine in the world and increase its international authority.

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УКРАЇНА В ДЗЕРКАЛІ ІНОЗЕМНИХ ОНЛАЙН-ЗМІ ПІСЛЯ ПОЧАТКУ ВІЙНИ В ІЗРАЇЛІ

Стаття містить комплексний аналіз відображення подій в Україні в іноземних онлайн-медіа, таких як BBC, CNN, The New York Times, The Guardian, після початку війни в Ізраїлі, підкреслюючи взаємозв'язок міжнародних конфліктів та їх висвітлення в ЗМІ. У статті досліджено негайне зміщення фокусу ЗМІ, досліджуючи, як основні онлайн-видання перевели свою увагу з поточної ситуації в Україні на початок конфлікту в Ізраїлі. Для цього дослідження використовували якісний аналіз контенту, щоб оцінити ступінь охоплення та тематичну пріоритетність кожного конфлікту.

Також у статті досліджено еволюцію медіанаративу навколо України на тлі мінливого глобального політичного ландшафту. Використано дискурсивний аналіз, щоб проаналізувати, як війна в Ізраїлі змінила погляди міжнародних ЗМІ на Україну, враховуючи такі аспекти, як геополітична прихильність, гуманітарні проблеми та регіональна стабільність. Розглянуто, як зміна наративу потенційно впливає на громадську думку та формування міжнародної політики щодо України. Дослідження також висвітлює роль цифрових медіа у формуванні та зміні наративів у контексті глобальних подій, що швидко розвиваються.

У цій статті зроблено висновок, що війна в Ізраїлі істотно не вплинула на зображення України в іноземних онлайн-медіа, оскільки ситуація в Україні все ще широко висвітлювалася в популярних впливових міжнародних медіа. Результати підкреслюють необхідність нюансованого підходу до споживання та аналізу медіа, особливо в контексті складних міжнародних подій, де наративи постійно розвиваються та перетинаються. Це дослідження сприяє ширшому дискурсу про роль ЗМІ у формуванні суспільного сприйняття та медіаполітики в міжнародних конфліктах, пропонуючи розуміння мінливості пріоритетів глобальних новин і взаємозв'язку різноманітних геополітичних подій. Акцентовано на розумінні важливості наступних досліджень щодо відображення України у закордонних медіа та її присутності у світовому порядку денному.

Ключові слова: онлайн-медіа, війна, Україна, Ізраїль, контент.