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Russia-Ukraine war: An Analytical Study on Van Dijk Ideological Square (*)

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(*) The Paper was Received on February 17, 2023 and Accepted for Publication on March 30, 2023.

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Russia-Ukraine war: An Analytical Study on Van Dijk Ideological Square

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Abstract

In February 2022, Russia launched a military attack on Ukraine which caused over nine hundred civilian death and pushed millions of Ukrainians to flee to neighboring countries. This ongoing conflict began in 2014, when Russian troops invaded eastern Ukraine; a year later, a peace treaty was signed, but the tension continued between these two countries.

This war has been described in different media outlets as a battle between democracy and autocracy; western media focused on the Russian role in the conflict and depicted Russia as hostile, aggressive, and the most dangerous country. On the other side, pro-Russian media outlets presented a different story.

Drawing on Van Dijk Ideological Square and thematic analysis. This study seeks to analyze Deutsche Welle and China Daily's representation of the Russian-Ukraine War from February 24 till July 1 to explain the main themes in the presentation of both media and what each news website focuses on. Besides, clarifying to what extent the ideology of both news websites impacts how each one has presented the war.

The main Results show that, both news websites focused on the same theme during covering the war, but from various angles. Both stressed the importance of the international community, but they focused on different countries. The United States was the crucial player from the China Daily perspective, while Russia was the threat to Europe and the world.

Deutsche Welle concentrated on the Humanitarian aspect of the war compared to China Daily; it described the refugee problems, the protection of the cultural heritage of Ukraine, and the impact of the war on climate change. While China Daily just focused on the civilian evacuation and the impact of the war on the spread of Covid-19

Keywords: Thematic Analysis, Ideological Analysis, Russia-Ukraine War- News Websites.

Introduction:

Ukraine, as the former Soviet Republic, was the cornerstone of the Soviet Union because it was the home to the Union's agricultural production, defense industries, and military. Post the collapse of the Soviet Union,

Ukraine moved away, trying to get closer to Europe, Hoping for membership in the European Union and NATO.

Moving closer to the west was considered as a threat to the Russian, and after months of threatening, Russia launched a full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24 2022. The war has left thousands of Ukrainian civilians dead or injured and cities destroyed. According to the UNHCR, more than 5.2 million refugees fled to neighboring countries. (European Parliament, 2022)

For the first time in years, a war erupted on the European Continent, and thousands of Europeans escaped the fight to the neighborhood countries. In response, the European Union mobilized all its resources to support Ukraine in the war against Russia. European Union declared its political, Economically and humanitarian assistance and support to Ukraine, besides imposing tough sanctions against Russia.

Major news organizations worldwide sent multiple journalists to Ukraine to cover the war all over the city across broadcast, digital, and print media. Journalists and media persons documented the war for the international audience.(Fletcher & Eddy, 2022)(Barry, 2022).

The war in Ukraine is devastatingly impacting press freedom; according to Reporters without Borders, Ukraine has blocked Russian media, while the Russian army has been targeting journalists. Media has been reflecting their countries' ideological interests and political stances.

This study aims to analyze how Deutsche Welle, representing the west and the European ideology, presents the war and how China Daily, one of Russia's closest allies, ideologically covers the war. Furthermore, this study will explain the ideological representation of the leading players and issues in the war on both news websites.

Literature Review:

Conflict is one of the crucial features of the modern world. Post the Cold War, there have been numerous conflicts and wars, one of the most important facts is how everyone perceives this war, and the media always played a vital role during international Conflicts.

A lot of research focused on the media coverage of war or conflict from different perspectives (Eckler & Kalyango, 2012) applied content analysis on 288 stories published in various news media outlets to examine the framing of the Russia-Georgia conflict. Findings show that the Ukrainian news outlets were preoccupied with demonizing Russian troops and resisting the war for domestic interests. In comparison to the Russian news outlets that managed to focus on their success

This article using qualitative content analysis of 20 political talk shows, examined the framing of the Ukraine crisis on German and Russian television. Results indicated that the situation had been discussed from different perspectives; the Russian media focused on the stability of the Ukrainian

government and the complexities within the country, while the German media emphasis more on international confrontation and violence in addition to presenting Russia's behavior as aggression (Lichtenstein et al., 2019)(Nygren et al., 2016) compared the media coverage of the conflict in eastern Ukraine in 2014 between four countries Ukraine, Russia, Poland, and Sweden. Results show that the media coverage is related to each country's political and historical context.

(Fengler et al., 2020) found that the media coverage differs across the European countries' media outlets according to the levels of geographical and cultural closeness, domestication, and economic exchange.

Consistent with the previous results (Barthel & Bürkner, 2019) revealed that the German news sources while covering the Ukraine crisis, presented Europe as defenders of good cause compared to the inferior of Russia "Putin" and its oligarchs.

(Roman et al., 2017) indicated that the media coverage of the military conflict is biased according to the following; every party in the conflict is framed differently or comparing the number of casualties and fatalities between military and civilians.

Furthermore, (Watanabe, 2017) stated that over 35000 English language newswires published by Russia's news agency ITAR-TASS were biased in covering critical events in favour of the Russian government, which confirms the tactical use of the state-owned news agency for propaganda

On the other side, (Ojala et al., 2017) focus on analyzing the visual coverage of the Ukraine conflict in The Guardian, Die Welt, Dagens Nyheter, and Helsingin Sanomat, and results show that European countries still perceive Ukraine as economically and politically underdeveloped, while Russia as an aggressor.

(Gaufman, 2015) compared the coverage of the conflict in Ukraine between traditional and new media, the framing of the conflict was similar across different media platforms. Although television is still the primary news source for the Russian population, social media is now a tool for promoting fascism.

The visual framing of the Conflict in Eastern Ukraine on social media (Makhortykh & Sydorova, 2017) indicated that the Pro-Ukrainian online communities represented the conflict as a narrow military action against local insurgents compared to the pro-Russian who depicted the conflict as a war against the Russian population in eastern Ukraine.

New media, especially social media, plays a crucial role in international conflicts. Multiple actors use these tools to share information, persuade, manipulate or disseminate fake news to control how the conflicts are perceived.

(Mejias & Vokuev, 2017) traced the disinformation practices in the post-Soviet times, they stated that Russia controlled the internet through political pressure to post content favoring the regime.

Media coverage of wars or international conflicts is politically and ideologically loaded content. This content is mainly manipulated to serve the socio-political needs of society. Manipulation involves the usual forms of ideological discourse, such as emphasizing Our good things and their evil things (Van Dijk, 2006)

This general strategy of dominant discourse often follows the track of justifying Our bad things and explaining their good things – a strategy called the ideological square (Van Dijk, 2015)

van Dijk conceptualizes 'ideological square' as an analytical framework by positive-self representation: (Us) positively, and negative-other representation: (Them) negatively (Daghigh et al., 2018)

Some studies examined how news is produced and the construction of "Self" and the "Other". (Youssefi et al., 2013) explored the coverage of the western press to Iran sanctions. Analysis shows that western media represented a negative image of Iran to justify the sanction imposed against the country. In the same context, (Kharbach, 2020) investigate the ideological construction of the Gulf crisis in Al Arabiya English and Al Jazeera English. Results show that both media were ideologically biased toward the political standpoints of their host states.

Furthermore, (Abid & Abdul Manan, 2016) indicated that before the War on Iraq, the US presented Iraq as an active country in upgrading its weapon of mass destruction and supporting terrorism. However, Iraq was a beacon of hope in the Middle East after the war, thus justifying the U.S. act of War.

(Atatfa & Al-Mamoory, 2017) studied the representation of the Syrian crisis on the Russian TV channel Russia Today. Findings revealed a manipulation in the use of language after the Russian involvement in Syria; Russia Today focused on negatively presenting the role played by the US.

(Ugoala, 2022) analyzed President Putin's Speech announcing the military operation in Ukraine, results show that Putin used harmful and offensive adjectives to refer to Ukraine, the US, and NATO.

Theoretical Framework:

This study depends on Van Dijk Ideological Square to describe how both news websites – Deutsche Welle and China Daily- presented the self and the other in their media coverage of the war. Furthermore, this study also uses Thematic Analysis to explain the main themes in the text.

Van Dijk Ideological Square:

Ideology is the shared mental representation of a social group. Ideology is polarized, as it tends to emphasize Our (in-groups) **good** things and Their (out-groups) **bad** things (van Dijk, 2006). Teun Van Dijk proposed strategies employed in texts and talks to describe social groups and their relations based on four axes. (Allami & Barzegar, 2020)

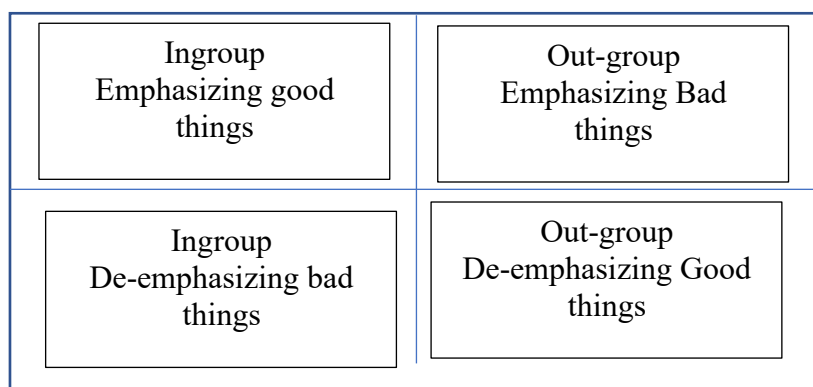


Figure 1
Van Dijk- Ideological Square

Figure. 1. Explain the four strategies of the 'ideological square: which assumes In-group favoritism and Out-group derogation: Sentences that express positive meanings about us, and negative connotations about them

- (1) Emphasize positive things about Us.
- (2) Emphasize negative things about Them.
- (3) De-emphasize negative things about Us.
- (4) De-emphasize positive things about Them (van Dijk, 2007)

Thematic Analysis:

Thematic analysis is a technique for recognizing and interpreting patterns of meaning "themes" within the data (Clarke & Braun, 2017). First, it looks for recognizable reoccurring topics and ideas (themes) occurring within the data by reading the data to identify the themes. Themes are the standard line of understanding occurring within the data. (Hawkins, 2017)

Identification of the themes is through careful reading of the data, where emerging themes developed into the categories for analysis. (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006)

Braun & Clarke provide a guide for the analysis, which begins with getting familiar with the data, Creating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, and then defining themes. (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017)

The approach implemented in this study is a data-driven inductive approach, which means the themes identified are strongly associated with the data itself. (V. Braun & Clarke, 2006)

Data Analysis level:

The analytical process begins with the semantic approach, where themes are detected on the surface and then moves to the latent approach. This level requires moving from the description of the data to interpretation based on the importance of the patterns. (Javadi & Zarea, 2016)

Data Analysis Process:

The researchers have followed the official steps of the thematic analysis; It begins by initializing through reading and rereading the data to reach an understanding of the main issues in the phenomenon under study. (Vaismoradi et al., 2016), then generating initial Codes; which identify and offer titles for the data that are relevant to the research question and the phenomena under study. (V. Braun & Clarke, 2015)

After that, organizing codes into possible themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme (V. Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this stage, there are three classes of themes:

Basic Themes: are derived directly from the data, then Organizing theme: a middle-order that organizes the basic themes into clusters of similar issues, and the Global Theme: which are super-ordinate themes that incorporate the central metaphors in the data as a whole. (Attride - Stirling, 2001)

Study Sample:

This study depends on both "China Daily" & "Deutsche Welle" to collect data during the period from (February 24- July 1 2022).

News Website Online Sample:

The researcher chooses these online news websites according to the following criteria:

1. China Daily: This online news website because it's a leading national website and one of the influential English Language Multimedia platforms ([China Daily Website - Connecting China Connecting the World](#)) (*About China Daily Group*, 1981) besides being one of the strongest and the closets allies to Russia.
2. Deutsche Welle: is Germany's international broadcaster and provides journalistic content in 32 languages. (<https://www.dw.com/>) (*About DW*, 2021). It represents the interest of the European Countries and the west generally.

Time Frame:

This study covers the period from (February 25- July 1 2022) as president Putin authorizes military operations in Ukraine, striking major Ukrainian cities. Post the attack; western countries announced sanctions on Russia. (*Timeline: The Events Leading up to Russia's Invasion of Ukraine*, 2022).

News Content Sample:

The researcher used the following Key Words to search for the relevant content "Russia Ukraine Conflict", "Russia Ukraine 2022", and "Russia Invasion Ukraine." Accordingly, (38) News Pieces from China Daily & (53) from Deutsche Welle.

Global Themes Operational Definition:

According to the Thematic Analysis of the sample of the news collected from "Deutsche Welle" & "China Daily" during this period (February 24 – July 1 2022), the global themes are as follows:

1. The Role of The International Community:

This theme covers all the topics related to the role of different countries worldwide and international organizations; in supporting Ukraine or Russia, providing either side with weapons or financial support, or taking action to end the war.

2. The Economic Consequences of the war:

This global theme tackle news related to the impact of the war on the economic level, the rise in food, oil and grains prices, besides the economic sanctions forced on Russia.

3. The Humanitarian Aspect of the war:

This theme tackles news related to the number of casualties, the impact of the war on climate change, the spread of Covid-19, the journalist's safety, and the refugee's condition and suffering.

Research Question

RQ1: What are the Global themes of the Russia-Ukraine War in Deutsch Welle?

RQ2: What are the Global themes of the Russia-Ukraine War in China Daily?

RQ3: How did Deutsche Welle and China Daily ideologically represent Russia and Ukraine in their media coverage?

Research Objective:

- 1- Analyze how both Deutsche Welle and China Daily represented the Russia-Ukraine War during the time frame (February-July 2022) according to the thematic analysis.
- 2- Compare between both media outlets regarding the main themes used to present the war
- 3- Identify the Ideological representation of both media outlets of the war between Russia and Ukraine, according to Van Dijk Ideological Square.

Results:

The following section will discuss the results through the thematic analysis of the articles published on the two news websites: Deutsche Welle and China Daily. Then, the results will explain the ideological representation of both news websites according to Van Dijk Ideological Square.

RQ1: What are the Global themes of the Russian-Ukraine War in Deutsche Welle?

The data analysis revealed that there are three main global themes for the Russia-Ukraine war in the Deutsche Welle which are: (1) The Role of the

International Community, (2) The Economic Consequences of the war, and finally, (3) The Humanitarian aspects of the war.

1.1 The Role of the International Community:

This global theme covers all the topics published in the Deutsche Welle, which focus on countries who played a crucial role, and the international organizations' role in the war, as follows:

1.1.1 The Role of the Countries:

Deutsche Welle mentioned different countries in multiple contexts concerning the Russia-Ukraine war. However, some countries were represented as key figures in the media coverage as Germany, India, China, England and USA. Also, some articles mentioned the European countries, the west or the international community.

• Germany:

Germany was the most mentioned country in the Deutsche Welle during the covering of the Russia- Ukraine war. Germany has been cited in different contexts during the analysis period. During the first three months of the invasion (February till May 2022), the articles criticize Germany. In March 2022, Ukraine attacked Germany for its ongoing economic relationship with Russia. "Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelenskyy addressed the German parliament with some harsh words for the German government over its economic interests with Russia: We saw how many ties your companies still have with Russia. With a state that uses you and some other countries to finance the war. (Europe is "behind a wall again," Zelenskyy tells Bundestag, 2022)

In April 2022, two articles criticized Germany; the first was blocking NATO membership invitation for Ukraine in 2008, and the second was for stalling in sending weapons to support Ukraine. "The criticism against German Chancellor Olaf Scholz has been unrelenting. He's been accused of breaking his promises over sending heavy weapons to Ukraine." (Ukraine: Pro-Russia demonstrations spark outrage in Germany, 2022)

In the same month, an article was published to describe the discrimination against Russian speaking population in Germany, which led to a demonstration in Germany calling for an end to such discrimination. The article discussed the controversy between accepting the people's rights to express their opinions and rejecting this demonstration as it is a symbol of shame in Berlin. (Ukraine: Pro-Russia demonstrations spark outrage in Germany, 2022)

• China:

Deutsche Welle focused on China's role from two different perspectives. The first concentrated on the vital role of China as a mediator between Russia and Ukraine, as no other country can do this role effectively. "The European Union's foreign policy chief Josep Borrell said he was in favor of China mediating the peace talks: There is no alternative," he said. "We can't be the mediators, that is clear... And it cannot be the US either. Who else? It has to be China." (Yang, 2022)

On the other side, Deutsche Welle stated their increased concerns about the military presence of China in the Pacific "NATO, in addition to leaders of Japan,

Australia, South Korea, and New Zealand, have been supportive of Ukraine but are also concerned about China's military presence in the Pacific." (Ukraine receives US missile systems; Russia advances in Luhansk - as it happened, 2022)

- England:

An article focused on the support of Great Britain to Ukraine by mentioning the visit of the England prime minister to the country "Boris Johnson makes the second trip to Kyiv." (Ukraine: Boris Johnson makes the second trip to Kyiv—As it happened, 2022b)

- India:

"China and India are the two Asian powers that have not condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine in late February, "We appreciate that India is taking this situation in the entirety of facts and not just in a one-sided way." (Lavrov visits India to discuss Ukraine amid US criticism, 2022) India was one of the Asian countries mentioned in the media coverage of the war in Deutsche Welle. This article focused on the role of India as one of the major countries in Asia that didn't condemn Russia's attack on Ukraine.

- United States of America:

This basic theme sheds light on the role of the United States as a supporter of Ukraine. The USA offered financial support to Ukraine in terms of military aid. (Ukraine receives US missile systems; Russia advances in Luhansk - as it happened, 2022)

- Group of Countries:

Deutsche Welle tackled the role of Europe, the western countries or the international community either as supporting Ukraine in the war, or placing sanctions on Russia, its role in the peace talk and conflict resolution.

1.1.2 The Role of the International Organizations:

Multiple international organizations were mentioned in the Deutsche Welle media coverage of the war. These organizations were the European Union, G7, and NATO.

The European Union's role was to pack Ukraine in the war and support Ukraine candidacy as an EU member is a turning point. Ukraine has been knocking on the EU for about 20 years, but Brussels did not want to open it." (Goncharenko, 2022)

The group of 7 roles denounced the Russian attacks or imposed sanctions on Russia. "The leaders of the G7 condemned the attack on a crowded shopping Centre in central Ukraine, saying it could constitute a possible "war crime." (Ukraine: G7 leaders slam "brutal" Russian strike on the mall - as it happened, 2022)

1.2 Economic consequences of the war:

The second global theme tackles all the news related to the war's financial, monetary, and commercial impact. The basic themes cover multiple perspectives, such as the rise in oil, food and grain crisis, global economic loss, the solution suggested to face the financial consequences, and the commercial sanction imposed on Russia.

1.2.1 Food and Oil Crisis:

This crisis has been the primary concern of many topics published in DW during the Russia-Ukraine war. The central countries mentioned in the context of this crisis were developing countries and Asian countries such as Nepal, Indonesia, Bangladesh or southeast Asian countries

"Bangladesh and Southeast Asian countries are all feeling economic strain triggered by the war. India's edible oil market and exports are suffering, while Bangladesh-Russia trade has been hit due to sanctions." (Ukraine war: Asian nations feel the economic brunt of the conflict, 2022)

However, the analysis revealed that war is the leading cause of the global food crisis because of the shortage of wheat and grains stuck in Ukraine. (Latschan, 2022)

1.2.2. Commercial sanction imposed on Russia:

Western luxury brands and corporate boycotts may no longer be available for Russians due to sanctions on Moscow. "With a market worth billions now off limits and Russian clients enraged, fashion houses could look further east to compensate." (Western luxury brands squeezed by Ukraine conflict may look further east, 2022)

1.3 Humanitarian aspects of the war:

Deutsche Welle was very concerned with the humanitarian aspects of the war. Different articles tackled the war's human rights, media and journalist rights, environmental, social and cultural heritage.

1.3.1 Human Rights and war:

This theme covered war crimes, prisoner exchange, evacuation and refugee rights. (Mudge, 2022) accused Russia of targeting civilians and killing them, a clear violation of international humanitarian law.

Moreover, there was a focus on prisoners; first, 144 Ukrainian soldiers prisoners were exchanged for Russian fighters. (144 Ukrainian soldiers return home in a prisoner swap - as it happened, 2022)

Second, news focused on how Russian soldiers were manipulated to join the war "Honestly, we were deceived; in the beginning, we were told it was about humanitarian things. But immediately we were sent to the front lines." (Fil, 2022)

This theme also covered topics related to refugee rights and safety, as the EU promised to accept all refugees despite their nationality. (Riegert, 2022)

1.3.2 Media and Journalist Rights:

The analysis stated that Deutsche Welle tackled journalist rights and their safety while reporting the war and the objectivity of the media coverage.

Articles focused on the intimidation the Russian independent journalist faced from the kremlin to shut critical voices and facilitate the spread of propaganda and fake news (Ghaedi, 2022). This subjectivity is not only limited to traditional media but also (Wesolowski, 2022) sheds light on the spread of Information warfare on online platforms through false claims and propaganda and deep manipulation from both sides.

1.3.3. Environmental Aspects:

Deutsche Welle mentioned the impact of the war and the global military emission on the climate, as the war poses an indirect threat to global climate goals. (S. Braun, 2022)

1.3.4. Protection of Cultural Heritage:

(Landsberg,2022) focused on the united nation's role in protecting Ukraine's cultural heritage as the continued attacks will threaten old historical places such as churches and monuments.

RQ2: What are the Global themes of the Russian-Ukraine War in China Daily?

An analysis of the coverage of the Russian-Ukraine war in China Daily indicated that the global themes were the same as the ones in the Deutsche Welle. Still, they are significantly different in terms of the content itself, as follows:

2.1. The Role of the International Community:

China Daily focused on the international community's role in the war, concentrating on some countries worldwide and a few international organizations.

Results show that the countries that played a crucial role in China's Daily media coverage differed from Deutsche Welle, as China Daily shed light on some Arab countries and their role.

2.1.1. The Role of the Countries:

China, Russia, the USA, European Countries, and Arab countries were mentioned in the media coverage of the Russia-Ukraine War in China Daily during the analysis time frame.

- China:

China has been the most mentioned country in the war coverage from different perspectives. First, a supporter of the peace talks (Desheng, 2022) stated that the world should take serious steps toward finding a solution to de-escalate the conflict.

Second, the analysis shows that China daily focused on the impact of the closed relationship between Russia and China. (Xinhua, 2022m) explained that the relationship between the two countries doesn't make China responsible for the Ukraine crisis. In response to not condemning Russia, China stated that as a country, they are committed to encouraging peace talks and providing humanitarian aid.

- Russia:

The media coverage of China Daily focused on Russia – as a primary player in the war; results stated that the coverage focused on the weak influence of the west sanction on Russia (Xinhua, 2022e). On the other side, Russia is taking serious steps against unfriendly actions taken by individuals or entities to respond to the Russian-Ukrainian war (Xinhua, 2022l).

China Daily was concerned about shedding light on the readiness of Moscow to hold talks with Washington, but the United States is complicating the work of the Russian diplomats. (Xinhua, 2022e)

- The United States of America:

Results indicated that the United States was described as the primary instigator of the Ukraine crisis, and they are using Ukraine as a tool for confronting Russia (Zi, 2022)

- Western and European Countries:

Analysis revealed that China Daily focused on western and European countries in general and their effort in supporting Ukraine. (Xinhua, 2022n) described the referendum process in Denmark to join the European Union defense pact to support Ukraine. On the other side, several European and Western countries support Ukraine differently, but "The West is using Ukrainians as cannon in its war against Russia." (Qi, 2022)

- Arab Countries:

China Daily sheds light on some Arab countries and their role in the conflict from two different perspectives. The relationship between Algeria and Russia and their bilateral cooperation was the main topic, in addition to discussing the ongoing situation in Ukraine. (Xinhua, 2022h)

The other Arab country was Egypt; China Daily concentrated on the Egyptian-Ukrainian relationship and how the two presidents discussed the development in the course of negotiation over the phone. (Xinhua, 2022d)

2.1.2 The Role of the International Organizations:

Results show that China Daily mentioned international organizations during the analysis time frame; NATO, G7, EU, UN, and AU.

- NATO:

NATO was on top of the most mentioned international organizations in the media coverage of the Russia-Ukraine war. China Daily criticized the role of NATO in different articles and accused it as one of the reasons for facilitating the invasion; quoting Pope Francis, "*NATO "barking" at Russia's door might have caused Russia's military operation in Ukraine.*" Besides, (Boyle, 2022) stated that the expansion of NATO posed a severe threat to Russia. In the same line, China Daily confirmed that the development of the US-leading NATO organization is a significant cause of the ongoing Conflict between Russia and Ukraine. (Xinhua, 2022j)

- G7:

Results show that G7 was mentioned during the China Daily's coverage of the war in different contexts; first, discussing the impact of the war on the Economic level or as a tool to impose sanctions on Russia. (Xinhua, 2022k) The Ukrainian prime minister expressed that Ukraine is in talks with the G7 members on seizing the Russian assets to fund the reconstruction of Ukraine.

- The European Union:

Analysis shows that both China Daily and Deutsche well presented the European Union in the same way. China Daily focused on the role of the European Union as a supporter of Ukraine in the war and the reconstruction phase. Besides supporting Ukraine for EU membership. (Xinhua, 2022o)

- The United Nations:

The United Nations stressed the need to stay in the peace talks to find a solution and protect civilians. (Xinhua, 2022a)

- The African Union:

In an agreement with the previous, African Union stressed the necessity of the ongoing peace talks to end the conflict. (Xinhua, 2022i)

2.2. Economic consequences of the war:

China Daily emphasized the Economic significance of the Russian-Ukraine war, first from the perspective of individual countries, for instance, China, the USA, Turkey.. etc. Second is the influence of the war on multiple fields and industries; food, the global economy and the grain market.

2.2.1. The Economic Consequences of the war on Countries:

Results indicated the central theme was how the war affected these countries economically or financially. During this year, China concentrated on the increase in trade between Russia and Ukraine (Zhihua, 2022). Compared to the other countries, who were represented in terms of the war's adverse economic impact. The United States of America stock indexes suffered massive losses besides the rises in the prices of energy and commodity prices. (Xinhua, 2022c)

Turkey and Cyprus suffered from significant losses in the tourism field because they depended mainly on tourists coming from both Russia and Ukraine. Cyprus stated that even if the conflicts ended soon, the sanctions imposed on Russia would affect Russia, who may cancel their overseas vacation later. (Gale, 2022)

China Daily stressed the massive impact of the Russia- Ukraine war on the different African countries regarding importing wheat and other food products from Russia and Ukraine, besides the influence of the sanction against Russia, as it will increase the fuel and different commodities prices across the African continent. (Xinhua, 2022g)

2.2.2 The Economic Consequences of the war on markets and the global economy:

The international monetary fund stated that the economic consequence of the conflict will spread fast because the global economy still didn't recover from the impact of Covid-19, which will slow global growth, increase the inflation rate and hurt the most vulnerable people worldwide. (Xinhua, 2022f)

Some articles focused on the most vulnerable sectors to the conflict's impact; food comes on top of these sectors. In response, the Director General of the FAO explained the graveness of the situation as both countries play a crucial

role in global food production. The FAO stated that the monthly food prices index rose 12.6 per cent in March, which is the highest total in the index's history. (Dongyu, 2022). As well as the increase in the energy prices which will affect shipping and cargo traffic. (Yinmeng, 2022)

2.3 Humanitarian aspects of the war:

This last theme was the least covered in the media coverage of China Daily, as only three articles tackled this theme. First, the ongoing conflict would increase the risk of many people getting infected with Covid-19 (Xinhua, 2022b). Second, from the perspective of Human Rights, (Qi, 2022) stressed that Russia opens a humanitarian corridor daily to evacuate civilians, but the Ukrainians are reluctant to use them.

RQ3: How did Deutsche Welle and China Daily ideologically represent Russia and Ukraine in their media coverage?

In the context of this research question, the primary concern is to show how the Deutsche Welle view represents Russia (the other) and Ukraine (the self). On the other side, how China Daily represent Russia (the self) and Ukraine (The other).

The analysis shows that Ukraine was never presented in China Daily in the context of (the other). Still, Russia was the crucial player in the ideological representation of both media outlets.

Deutsche Welle representation of the self (Ukraine):

According to Van Dijk Ideological Square, results indicated that the self was Ukraine, Europe, the USA and the west. While the other was Russia and sometimes China.

The analysis stated that many articles and news focused on the positive role of the International Organizations, European countries and the USA in supporting Ukraine. G.7 stated its support to Ukraine "as long as necessary, and with the necessary intensity, and provide billions in food assistance to prevent the hunger crisis caused by the war in Ukraine." (G7 leaders vow more support for Ukraine, pressure on Russia, 2022). The European Union indicated its support by stressing granting Ukraine membership in the Union. (Goncharenko, 2022)

Besides the refugee issue, The European Union stressed accepting all refugees from Ukraine, whatever their nationalities, and they emphasized that refugees now are their immediate neighbors, not a third world country, which Europe no longer thought was possible. (Riegert, 2022)

Deutsche Welle representation of the other (Russia):

On the other side, the vast majority of the articles either attacked or criticized Russia. Different countries and public figures expressed their refusal of the Russian action. "French President stressed that Russia should not win the war." (G7 leaders vow more support for Ukraine, pressure on Russia, 2022).

"All refugees from Ukraine are welcome, European Commission President Ursula von der Leyen promised. "Everyone who has to flee Putin's bombs will be welcomed with open arms."(Riegert, 2022)

(Mudge, 2022) stated that war crimes committed by the Russian troops in Ukraine violate the humanitarian international law in armed conflict. Further, Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, has accused Russian forces of committing genocide.

Results also indicated that Deutsche Welle sheds light on the manipulation process executed by the Russian government to deceive their soldiers. (Fil, 2022) A Russian prisoner said: "I didn't see any fascists; we supposed to be the good guys fighting for a good cause, but the reality is different."

China Daily representation of the self (Russia):

Results show that China Daily Coverage was moderate regarding the presentation of both parties in the war. Most of the analyzed pieces were either news or attacking the stance of the United States. (Xinhua, 2022m) stressed that closed ties between China and Russia don't make China responsible for the Ukrainian conflict. In response to not condemning Russia or supporting the west, China stated that it is committed to the U.N. Charter.

Moreover, (Xinhua, 2022l) explained the sanction taken by the Russian government was feedback towards the unfriendly actions taken by the United States and other foreign countries.

China Daily representation of the other:

The analysis shows that the other wasn't Ukraine in the China Daily coverage of the conflict but the United States. (Zi, 2022) stated that the United States was stirring up the war, and Ukraine is another piece in the game of geopolitics and a confrontation tool against Russia.

(Boyle, 2022) indicated that the one responsible for this conflict is the United States leading NATO. He accused the United States of committing countless illegal invasions, and it was in no position to lecture others about protecting human rights or abiding by international law.

(Xinhua, 2022e) emphasized that Russia was ready to hold peace talks, but the United States was doing everything to complicate the work of Russian diplomats.

Discussion:

This study raises some questions. How does the text offered on two news websites differ in representing the same war? How do ideology and political stance affect the content published in two media outlets from different countries? What aspects did the two news websites focus on when covering the war, and what did they ignore?

In conclusion, this research analyzed 91 articles according to the thematic analysis in both news websites Deutsche Welle and China Daily during the time Frame (February 25- July 1 2022).

The results indicated – as shown in Table.1- three global themes, 1. The Role of the International Community, 2. The Economic Consequences of the War, and Finally 3. The Humanitarian Aspects of the war.

According to Table 1. Deutsche Welle focused more on the international community's role, including countries and international organizations, the humanitarian aspects, and the economic consequences. Compared to China Daily, which concentrated on the role of the international society nearly the same as the Economic Consequences of the war, only three articles tackled the humanitarian aspects.

Table 1.
Comparison between Global themes in Deutsche Welle and China Daily

	Deutsche Welle	Deutsche Welle (%)	China Daily	China Daily (%)	Total
International Community	28	53%	17	45%	45
Economic Consequence	10	19%	18	47.36%	28
Humanitarian Aspects	15	28.3%	3	7.89%	18
Total	53	100%	38	100%	91

The analysis shows a significant difference between Deutsche Welle and China Daily in every global theme. Both media websites focus on different countries. Deutsche Welle examined the role of the European countries and the USA, and they neglected other countries except for a few countries in Asia as Japan, China and India. Germany is considered one of the founding members of the European Union; it plays an essential role on different political levels in addition to being a member of NATO.

On the other side, China Daily analyzed the role of different countries worldwide, such as African and Arab countries such as Egypt and Algeria, beside the role of the European Countries and the USA. China has become a substantial actor in the Middle East in the past decade as it increased its economic and political ties with many Arab countries, becoming the most important trade partner and external investor. (Lons et al., 2019)

The role of the International Organizations was the main focus of all the articles, especially the European Union and NATO. Both news websites focused on the European Union from two perspectives: its support for Ukraine and its acceptance of Ukraine's membership in the Union.

While NATO was tackled differently, Deutsche Welle focused on its role in supporting Ukraine financially or by weapons. On the other side, China Daily

accused NATO of being one reason for starting the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

Deutsche Welle represented Russia as the aggressor and the threat that Europe feared, compared to China Daily, which didn't mention Russia in this context but stressed that both countries have a close relationship. China Daily emphasized the role of the United States, either as complicating the work of Russian diplomats or as playing a role in the war.

Both news websites explained the Economic Consequences of the war, the rise in the prices of oil, energy, food, supplies, and the long-term effect of the war on the global economy.

Deutsche Welle described the humanitarian aspect of the war from different angles; the refugee, the cultural heritage of Ukraine, climate change, media freedom and journalist safety. While China Daily only tackled this aspect from three angles: the health one, focusing on the spread of Covid-19 and civilian evacuation.

Figure 2 describes the self and the other in both Deutsche Welle and China Daily according to Van Dijk Ideological square.



Figure 2.

Van Dijk Ideological Square applied on Deutsche Welle and China Daily

The main results show that the Deutsche Welle focused on the positive characteristics of supporting, assisting and aiding the Ukraine people in the war. On the other side, Russia was presented as an invader, destroying countries, killing civilians and committing war crimes.

China Daily focused on clarifying that its ties with Russia don't mean that it is responsible for the war. At the same time, Russia is exerting effort for peace talks, but (the other) the United States is complicating the process. China, in its

coverage, considered the United States the other either in accusing it of being responsible for the war or leading NATO, which is partially responsible for the war in Ukraine.

Future Recommendations:

This study suggests further potential research as several questions remain open and unanswered. Further research could offer an analysis of the ideological representation of the Russian-Ukrainian war in several counties with different ideologies and discourses.

Moreover, the research could focus on the information warfare techniques and strategies and how the different parties in the war could use such techniques via social media platforms for manipulation or propaganda.

Visual analysis can be applied to analyze how images and videos serve in the ideological representation of the war. Furthermore, the research could go beyond the text and analyze TV and Satellite channels' coverage of the war in Ukraine to analyze how can the same war be represented differently according to ideology and political stance?

In this context, other studies could use Framing Analysis as a theoretical framework to explain the salience in the content. Framing will look at the text's hidden aspects and the magnified aspects of the war in different media outlets.

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