**Appendix A**

**Tables**

*Table A1: Frame occurrences and percentage of articles applying them.*

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Frame | Number of occurrences | Percentage of articles (*n* = 400) |
| War | 291 | 72.8% |
| Political aspects | 283 | 70.8% |
| Responsibility | 245 | 61.3% |
| Economic consequences | 93 | 23.3% |
| Violation of international law | 85 | 21.3% |
| Human interest | 80 | 20% |
| Possible solutions | 58 | 14.5% |
| Anti-war protesters | 18 | 4.5% |

*Table A2: Frame occurrences in selected countries. In parentheses: percentage of all instances of a given frame.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Frame  | USA | France | Poland | Russia |
| Violation of international law | 17 (20%) | 16 (18.8%) | 28 (32.9%) | 24 (28.2%) |
| Human interest | 32 (40%) | 19 (23.8%) | 23 (28.7%) | 6 (7.5%) |
| War | 98 (33.7%) | 86 (29.6%) | 83 (28.5%) | 24 (8.2%) |
| Anti-war protesters | 6 (33.3%) | 6 (33.3%) | 5 (27.8%)  | 1 (5.6%) |
| Economic consequences | 33 (35.5%) | 20 (21.5%) | 20 (21.5%) | 20 (21.5%) |
| Responsibility | 84 (34.3%) | 54 (22%) | 56 (22.9%) | 51 (20.8%) |
| Political aspects | 77 (27.2%) | 61 (21.6%) | 53 (18.7%) | 92 (32.5%) |
| Possible solutions | 16 (27.6%) | 9 (15.5%) | 9 (15.5%) | 24 (41.1%) |

*Table A3: Results of Cramer’s* V *and χ2 tests for individual countries and frames. Two-tailed significance in parentheses. Statistically significant results in bold.*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Frame  | USA | France | Poland | Russia |
| *V* | χ2 | *V* | χ2 | *V* | χ2 | *V* | χ2 |
| Violation of international law | .060 | 1.44 (.261) | .070 | 2.20 (.159) | .01 | 3.63 (.067) | .040 | .60 (.481) |
| Human interest | .17 | **12.00 (.001)** | .010 | .08 (.885) | .040 | .75 (.389) | .20 | **16.33 (.000)** |
| War | .33 | **42.88 (.000)** | .17 | **11.81 (.000)** | .13 | **7.07 (.009)** | .63 | **159,84 (.000)** |
| Anti-war protesters | .04 | .70 (.409) | .04 | .70 (.409) | .01 | .08 (.783) | .10 | 3.80 (.053) |
| Economic consequences | .13 | **7.10 (.009)** | .04 | .79 (.414) | .04 | .79 (.414) | .04 | .79 (.414) |
| Responsibility | .27 | **29.08 (.000)** | .09 | 2.95 (.097) | .06 | 1.55 (.236) | .12 | **5.90 (.018)** |
| Political aspects | .08 | 2.52 (.128) | .12 | **6.12 (.016)** | .23 | **20.30 (.000)** | .27 | **29.09 (.000)** |
| Possible solutions | .02 | .24 (.625) | .09 | 3.25 (.074) | .09 | 3.25 (.074) | .16 | **9.71 (.003)** |

*Table A4: Results of Cramer’s* V *and Pearson’s χ2 tests for different factors related to media national affiliation and frames. Two-tailed significance in parentheses. Statistically significant results in bold.*

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Frame  | Historical relations with Russia | Historical relations with Ukraine | Media system | Energy dependence on Russia | Political culture |
| *V* | χ2 | *V* | χ2 | *V* | χ2 | *V* | χ2 | *V* | χ2 |
| Violation of international law | .08 | 1.74 (.187) | .12 | 5.58 (.061) | .12 | 5.90(.117) | .14 | 5.65 (.130) | .12 | 5.87 (.053) |
| Human interest | .09 | 2.59 (.107) | .21 | **16.91 (.000)** | .23 | **21.88 (.000)** | .13 | 5.33 (.149) | .20 | **16.59 (.000)** |
| War | .07 | 1.38 (.240) | .63 | **159.83 (.000)** | .64 | **166.20 (.000)** | .21 | **12.87 (.005)** | .64 | **162.57 (.000)** |
| Anti-war protesters | .01 | .03 (.860) | .10 | 4.01 (.135) | .10 | 3.96 (.266) | .03 | .19 (.979) | .10 | 3.96 (.138) |
| Economic consequences | .07 | 1.53 (.216) | .08 | 2.44 (.295) | .13 | 7.10 (.069) | .17 | **8.58 (.035)** | .08 | 2.37 (.306) |
| Responsibility | .16 | **7.47 (.006)** | .16 | **10.47 (.005)** | .27 | **29.61 (.000)** | .29 | **24.74 (.000)** | .16 | **10.65 (.005)** |
| Political aspects | .04 | .46 (.497) | .31 | **38.39 (.000)** | .33 | **43.53 (.000)** | .23 | **15.50 (.001)** | .31 | **37.34 (.000)** |
| Possible solutions | .05 | .81 (.367) | .18 | **12.50 (.002)** | .18 | **12.34 (.006)** | .19 | **10.34 (.016)** | .16 | **10.36 (.006)** |

**Appendix B**

**Information on selected newspapers**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Newspaper | Avg. circulation in 2022 (number of copies) | Periodicity | Format | Political line |
| *The New York Times* | 310,000 (Monday–Friday)745,000 (Sunday)[[1]](#footnote-1) | Daily | Quality | liberal[[2]](#footnote-2) |
| *The Wall Street Journal* | 654,000[[3]](#footnote-3) | Daily  | Quality | centrist[[4]](#footnote-4) |
| *Le Monde* | 482,756[[5]](#footnote-5) | Daily | Quality | center-left[[6]](#footnote-6) |
| *Le Figaro* | 354,180[[7]](#footnote-7) | Daily | Quality | center-right[[8]](#footnote-8) |
| *Gazeta Wyborcza* | 48,328[[9]](#footnote-9) | Daily | Quality | leftist[[10]](#footnote-10) |
| *Sieci (wPolityce)*[[11]](#footnote-11) | 30,980[[12]](#footnote-12) | Weekly (with daily news on the web site) | Quality | rightist[[13]](#footnote-13) |
| *Izvestia* | 83,134[[14]](#footnote-14) | Daily | Quality | no data/consistent with the government |
| *Rossijskaja Gazieta* | 130,500[[15]](#footnote-15) | Daily | Quality | no data/consistent with the government |

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**Appendix C**

**Number of articles about the 2022 invasion of Ukraine during the first month**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Title | Number of publications |
| *The New York Times* | 1995 |
| *The Wall Street Journal* | 1424 |
| *Le Monde* | 211 |
| *Le Figaro* | 241 |
| *Gazeta Wyborcza* | 536 |
| *wPolityce* | 2727 |
| *Izwiestija* | 5915 |
| *Rossijskaja Gazieta* | 243 |

**Appendix D**

**List of questions for articles in the research material**

**1 Violation of international law**

Does the story refer to cases of violation of international law?

Does the story mention crimes against humanity or war crimes committed by either party?

Does the story suggest bringing politicians, commanders or soldiers to justice after the end of the war?

**2 Human interest**

Does the story emphasize how civilians in Ukraine are affected by the war?

Does the text describe fates of refugees?

Does the story define the situation as a humanitarian disaster or employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy, or compassion?

**3 War**

Does the story focus on fights and military developments?

Does the text use martial terms such as “war,” “conflict,” “military conflict,” “invasion,” or “attack” to define the situation?

Does the story refer to the strategic situation on the front and possible actions by both parties of the conflict?

**4 Anti-war protesters**

Does the story provide examples of anti-war protests organized by citizens in any country?

Does the story provide examples of public figures (e.g., famous show business people, important politicians, heads of churches, cultural and philosophical authorities) protesting against the war?

**5 Economic consequences**

Does the text refer to possible financial consequences of the war for the world?

Does the text mention possible war-related food or other supply problems in the world?

Does the story highlight oil supply shortages or problems with the supply of energy, natural gas or other natural resources with relation to the war?

**6 Responsibility**

Does the story point to a country responsible for the outbreak of the war?

Does the story point to the persons responsible for the outbreak of the war?

Does the story indicate who (person, organization, institution or state) should take care of ending the conflict?

**7 Political aspects**

Does the story mention specific politicians on both sides that are involved in the conflict?

Does the story focus on specific politicians in countries not involved in the war that are trying to influence any of the parties to the conflict?

Does the story indicate geopolitical reasons for the war?

**8 Possible solutions**

Does the story try to prompt any way to end the war or does it suggest what steps should be undertaken?

Does the text inform about any peace proposals?

Does the text try to anticipate possible scenarios for the end of hostilities?

1. The New York Times Company (2023) [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. AllSides (2021) [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Statista (2023) [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. AllSides (2021) [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. ACPM (2023) [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Library of Congress (n.d.) [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. ACPM (2023) [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Library of Congress (n.d.) [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. PBC (2022a) [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Kopeć-Ziemczyk (2021) [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. wPolityce is a news web site belonging to the *Sieci* weekly. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. PBC (2022b) [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Mielczarek (2018) [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Izvestia (2022) [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Head Media (n.d.) [↑](#footnote-ref-15)