

Jean Monnet Policy Network *Challenges and opportunities for EU heritage diplomacy in Ukraine*
(HER-UKR), 2023-2026

HER-UKR Work Package 5: Strategic communication of Ukraine's heritage

Year 1 Report: Key findings and policy recommendations

**Prepared by WP5 research teams from the University of Canterbury, New Zealand and
Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine**

December 2024

Introduction

Key objectives of HER-UKR WP5 Year 1:

- Analyse the role and place of heritage in strategic communication of Ukraine to the world in the context of the war:
- Identify and map the role and place of Ukrainian cultural and historical heritage in international communication by leading Western and 'Global South' media: "What is there?", "What is needed?", and "How to move on?"
- Develop empirically-informed recommendations how to communicate Ukraine strategically in the context of the "battle of narratives" and in the framework of EU heritage diplomacy towards Ukraine

This report presents **key results and recommendations** as a summary of Year 1 HER-UKR WP5 research of narratives and frames produced by international media when they reported Ukraine and its heritage since February 24, 2022 till the end of July, 2024. Our Year 1 research is guided by a set of **research questions**: What narratives of Ukraine's heritage do geopolitical 'heavyweights' and major global opinion-formers communicate in their leading media about Ukraine? How do they frame Ukraine in this context? How do the global opinion-forming and agenda-setting media frame and narrate leading figures in Ukrainian heritage (historical and present-day) and their major legacy? Do these narratives align or clash with the official narratives from Ukraine, and with what consequences to Ukraine's global image and reputation? How is the EU narrated in this issue-area vis-à-vis Ukraine? Our analysis of the frames and narratives of Ukraine's cultural and historical heritage is guided by **two "logics"**.

"Logic" 1:

We engage with the Cascading Activation Framing theory (Entman 2003, 2004) and track what frames and narratives were the **most visible** (assessed in terms of volume of the coverage, intensity of presentations, presence of visual support, etc.), **with emotive charge** (assessed in terms of positive, neutral or negative evaluations) and with **a "local hook"** (i.e. featuring the country of reportage in the contexts that deal with Ukraine).

These characteristics are argued to be critical in the creation of **impactful frames that can influence audiences'** imagination about international affairs.

"Logic" 2:

We identify frames and narratives that belong to either of the two narrative pivots -- "**Ukrainian heritage proper**" (reporting Ukrainian historical and cultural heritage without anchoring the reported in the context of the war) and "**Ukrainian heritage under Russia's attack**" (reporting Ukrainian heritage as impacted by the war).

For both narrative pivots, we also track the 'local hook', or **self-narratives of the countries of reportage** in the context of Ukraine's heritage formulated by the local media.

Finally, we assess **frames and narratives of the EU, its institutions and EU member states** as actors in the issue-area of Ukraine's cultural and historical heritage in the context of the war.

Summaries below report the key finding following the lead indicators of the two "logics".

The results of our analysis following the two "logics" inform our **country-specific recommendations directed at Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators** who are tasked to communicate Ukraine and EU-Ukraine relations in the heritage issue-area to various international actors, and in the context of the EU heritage diplomacy taking place at times of the ongoing "battle of narratives" in an increasingly geopolitical world.

Methodology

The analysis of Western and Global South media follow identical methodology. We implemented comparative, interpretative content and narrative analyses (textual and visual), building on ontological maps of visibility, emotive change, and local resonance.

For each country, several influential media outlets were selected to represent diverse political views (Table 1). For each media outlet, following our protocol for systematic data collection, researchers identified and collected articles related to Ukraine's cultural heritage published between 24/02/2022 and 31/07/2024).

For the outlets where search engine capability was supported and for the outlets that were analysed using Factiva database, the articles were identified by using a keyword search with terms related to the topic of cultural heritage in Ukraine (sample query: Ukrain* AND (cultur* OR histor* OR museum OR gallery OR heritage OR language* OR literat* OR education* OR scien* OR spiritual OR sport* OR religio* OR art*).

Further, the relevance of the articles was evaluated based on headlines and the first paragraph. For the outlets that did not include a search engine on their website or where a search engine did not support comprehensive keyword search, the relevant articles were selected by reading headlines and the first paragraph of all articles published within the monitoring period. For the outlets where the topic of Ukrainian heritage was covered extensively (e.g. *The New York Times*), the researchers only selected articles where the topic of Ukrainian heritage was a major topic.

After data collection, for comparative interpretative content and narrative analyses, we developed and piloted a comprehensive coding scheme. A team of researchers was trained to code articles based on the coding scheme with any differences in interpretations resolved during the pilot analysis. In addition to the analysis of text, the researchers investigated the visual content of the articles, including images and videos. This ensured that the content analysis was multi-modal as both text and visual aids contribute to creating a narrative. The data was also evaluated quantitatively.

Table 1: Media under observation (February 2022-July 2024, 30 months)

Western media	The US	<i>New York Times, Washington Post, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, CNN, Fox News</i>
	The UK	<i>BBC, The Guardian, The Economist, The Times</i>
	Poland	<i>Gazeta.pl, Niezalezna.pl</i>
	Sweden	<i>Sveriges Radio</i>
	Germany	<i>Deutsche Welle, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung</i>
	France	<i>France24, Le Figaro, Le Monde</i>
	Italy	<i>Il Messaggero, Corriere della Sera</i>
	Hungary	<i>Magyar Hirlap, The Budapest Times</i>
	Pan-European	<i>Euronews</i>
Global South media	Brazil	<i>O Globo, Folha de S.Paulo</i>
	South Africa	<i>Sowetan, Mail & Guardian, Times Live</i>
	Indonesia	<i>Antara, Kompas, Tempo</i>
	India	<i>The Indian Express, Hindustan Times, The Telegraph India</i>
	China	<i>The Global Times, The People's Daily, The China Daily</i>
	Qatar	<i>Al Jazeera</i>

HER-UKR WP5 "Strategic Communication" is carried out by two research teams working in collaboration – **the University of Canterbury, New Zealand** (UC research centre "Public Diplomacy and Political Communication Forum" at the Department of Media and Communication) and **Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine**.

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Western media

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE US MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

by Oksana Pietsukh Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine
and Sophie Hill, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *Cable News Network (CNN)*, *The New York Times (NYT)*, *The Washington Post (WP)*, *The Wall Street Journal (WSJ)*, *FOX News (FN)*.

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: Ukrainian heritage as the major topic has high visibility in *NYT* (104 articles published, with 527 visuals), mid visibility in *CNN* (77 articles, 256 visuals), low visibility in *WP* (45 articles, 147 visuals) and *WSJ* (35 articles, 122 visuals), and very low visibility in *FN* (11 articles, 45 visuals).

Narratives and frames: The selected media, all with major national and international profiles, reported on the topic of Ukrainian heritage following the political leanings of each media source. The US media system, being liberal-democratic, is characterized by the presence of strong agenda-setters aligned across the political divide.

Overall, the **narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack” dominates** the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper” (*CNN* 68 vs. 9 articles respectively, *NYT* 96 vs. 8, *WP* 35 vs. 10, *WSJ* 28 vs. 7, *FN* 9 vs. 2).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: The outlets mostly report on culture and history. The less visible topics are heritage sites (*CNN* and *NYT*), language and literature (*NYT*, *WP*) and spiritual world represented through national identity, national symbols and religion (*WP*, *FN*).

Shared narratives: *Ukraine has rich and diverse culture; Ukrainian traditional cuisine is appreciated in the world; Ukraine has many precious heritage sites included in the UNESCO heritage sites list; The Ukrainian language and literature are the stronghold of Ukrainian national identity; Ukraine has glorious and tragic history and deeply rooted Soviet Union legacy. Separately, Ukrainians value their national symbols and follow national traditions (FN).*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: Articles about ruined and suppressed heritage are most visible *NYT* also addresses the issue of heritage looting in the war while *WP* considers the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture.

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian heritage objects listed in UNESCO heritage sites are vulnerable targets of Russia’s missile attacks; Ukraine has always been fighting a cultural war for its national identity; now, it is actively breaking its ties with the Russian culture. Additionally, Russia is robbing Ukraine of its cultural valuables (NYT); Ukrainian artists create new war literature and documentaries to show their resistance (WP).*

The US’s attitude towards Ukraine is presented as overwhelmingly positive, while the attitude to Russia is predominantly negative.

“Local hook” (the US’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): High visibility in *WP* (51% of the articles) and *NYT* (44%). In *WSJ*, *FN*, and *CNN*, the local hook is less visible (20%, 18%, and 8% respectively). Most coverage discusses the US in the context of Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack

Shared self-narratives: *The US a staunch supporter of Ukraine, recognising the value of Ukrainian culture and heritage sites and the importance of their protection.*

The EU's involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: Low visibility: *NYT* (6.7%), *WSJ* (17%), and *FN* (18%) refer to the EU or EU member states (mostly Germany, France, and Italy), with no such articles in *CNN* and *WP*.

Shared narratives: *The EU and its member states are solid supporters, providing financial aid to Ukrainian heritage damaged by the war and promoting art, cultural, and fundraising festivals designed to raise the profile of Ukrainian artists, culture, and content.*

Recommendations for the EU's strategic communication towards the US via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

@ EU strategic communicators

1. Prioritise formulation and projection of messages highlighting *collaboration* between the EU and the US to protect Ukraine's heritage. This framing could catch attention of US newsmakers who are more likely to report US-focused news. Such news is known to resonate with local audiences better.
2. In messages focusing on such EU-US collaboration, frame the EU and the US as "action heroes" whose cooperation and clever actions will save Ukraine ("the victim") from unjust and brutal attack.
3. Build the EU messages on the existing interests among US newsmakers to report on Ukrainian culture and heritage in specific issue-areas: art, music, history, and heritage sites (identified in our analysis).
4. Engage the EU's and EU member states' digital diplomacy channels in the US in sync to raise visibility of the EU as a heritage diplomacy actor. Increase/intensify messaging about EU heritage diplomacy in Ukraine incorporating stories about the EU working with EU member states in Ukrainian heritage preservation. US media tend to be interested in stories with a focus on EU member states when writing about Ukrainian heritage. Use the short video format for these messages as such formats may attract more attention from general audiences. Consider tagging US journalists from various media who already report about Ukrainian heritage regularly, particularly those who write in the earlier mentioned areas of interest.
5. Framing of the actions by the EU and EU members in the context of Ukraine's cultural and historical heritage generally carries positive evaluations and emotions towards Ukraine and the EU across the US' politically-divided media space. The EU has a chance to appeal to this fragmented arena when it sends messages about how it engages, cooperates, and collaborates with the US on this topic. Formulate the messages with a firm focus on the US while stressing the value that a US partnership with the EU would bring to Ukrainian heritage conservation and preservation.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE UK MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Oksana Pietsukh, Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine

and Margaret Vernygora, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: BBC, the Guardian (TG), the Times (TT), the Economist (TE) and Financial Times (FT).

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: Ukrainian heritage as the major topic has high visibility in BBC (91 articles, with 314 visual images); mid-to-high visibility in TG (74 articles, 214 visuals), and TT (73 articles, 68 visuals), and low in TE (29 articles, 80 visuals) and FT (17 articles, 106 visuals).

Narratives and frames: The selected media, all with major national and international profiles, reported **narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack” twice as much** as the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper”.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: the most visible topics are culture (music, dances, painting), followed by history and heritage sites. BBC also highlights Ukraine’s spiritual world (religion, national symbols, traditions and customs). TG covers Ukrainian language and literature.

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian culture is rich, diverse, and appreciated abroad; Ukrainian musical heritage is widely celebrated in the world; Ukraine has a long and tragic history of state building; Ukraine has a lot of professional sportsmen who promote their country abroad. The BBC’s narrative is Ukraine has authentic traditions, symbols and rituals that, together with the Ukrainian language, contribute to Ukraine’s national identity.*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: in all media under analysis, the most visible topics are heritage ruined in the war, suppressed heritage, and the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture. In addition, BBC and TG pay attention to the Ukrainian cultural and sports elite killed in the war.

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian heritage objects are the targets of Russia’s constant missile attacks; Ukraine is fighting for its cultural independence from Russia; Ukrainians struggle to preserve their culture and raise awareness about the reality of the war. In the particular narrative of BBC and TG, Ukrainian writers, singers and sportsmen take up arms and sacrifice their lives for Ukraine.*

All media outlets profile a dominant negative assessment of Russia. In contrast, **Ukraine is framed positively in the issue-area of heritage and culture in all selected media**, but *The Economist*, where the attitude to Ukraine in this issue-area is neutral.

“Local hook” (the UK’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): The highest visibility of Ukraine with a “local hook” are BBC (61.5% of the articles), TT (55%), and TG (46%), in contrast to FT (12%) and TE (11%).

Shared self-narratives: *the UK is a staunch supporter of Ukrainian heritage and Ukrainian cultural elite. FT focuses on the similarities between the British and Ukrainians.*

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The analyzed media vary in the number of articles covering the EU and its member states in the context of Ukrainian heritage: TE (22%), TG (16%), TT (15%), FT (6%), and BBC (3%).

Shared narratives: *the EU and its member states are solid supporters of Ukrainian culture; the EU and its member states are providing financial aid; the EU and EU member states are promoters of Ukraine organizing art festivals to raise visibility of Ukrainian heritage.*

Recommendations for the EU's strategic communication towards the UK via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. Emphasize the importance of the EU-UK *collaboration* in the issue-area of Ukrainian heritage and culture, with a focus on mutual support and joint promotion of Ukrainian identity communicated through culture, language, national symbols, traditions and customs.
2. Provide regular updates on the measures taken by the EU and EU member states to protect and restore Ukrainian heritage on various communication platforms, with priority given to digital diplomacy channels as well as outreach to the UK's civil society.
3. Assist Ukrainian strategic communicators in the UK in their efforts to highlight the ongoing relations between Ukraine and the UK in the domains of history, culture, education and science, as well as in outreach to the British journalists and British public.
4. Collaborate with Ukrainian strategic communicators in the UK in narrating Ukrainian cultural and spiritual values while building on respect the British nations themselves have to their traditions and customs.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE POLISH MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Oksana Pietsukh and Lesia Nechyporenko, both of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine

and Daria Kuznetsova, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *Gazeta.pl* (*GPL*) (liberal) and *Niezalezna.pl* (*NPL*) (right-wing). Both pride the reputation of the largest and highly influential Polish e-news portals.

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: medium visibility: *GPL* (49 articles, with 274 visual images) and *NPL* (60 articles, 75 visuals). In both media outlets, the articles where Ukrainian heritage is the major topic comprise about 80% of the sample.

Narratives and frames: The narrative pivot “**Ukrainian heritage proper**” is more visible than the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack”: 29 vs. 20 articles respectively in *GPL*, and 35 vs. 25 articles in *NPL*.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: both media outlets predominantly focus on culture – architecture and music. Much less visible are such topics as museums, heritage sites, sports, and religion. *GPL* occasionally refers to the Ukrainian language and literature, and *NPL* to the Ukrainian history.

Shared narratives: *Ukraine has rich culture; it is a curator of cultural treasures; Ukraine is creative and ingenious; Ukrainian artists are talented and popular in Europe, they participate in Eurovision; art and craft in Ukrainian museums and galleries deserve to be preserved and demonstrated to the world.*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: the most prominent shared theme is the heritage ruined in the war. The less visible are Ukraine’s suppressed culture and distorted history.

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian heritage sites and heritage objects are being destroyed by Russia; through history, Russia has been distorting the Ukrainian history and suppressing the Ukrainian language and culture; Ukrainian national identity has been under constant threat, now it is under threat of the territories occupied by Russia.*

The **dominant evaluation of Ukraine is positive, grounded in the dominant emotions of sympathy and support.** This is opposed to the negative assessment of Russia.

“Local hook” (Poland’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): Poland’s involvement in the context of Ukrainian heritage is found in 13 articles (26%) of *GPL*, and 16 articles (27%) of *NPL*.

Shared self-narratives: *Poland as Ukraine’s ‘staunch’ supporter; Polish singers cooperate with Ukrainian singers, they hold joint concerts (GPL, NPL); Polish communities provide humanitarian aid to Ukrainian museums (GPL); Poland and Ukraine have shared history and shared heritage (GPL).*

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: While addressing the issues of Ukrainian heritage, neither *GPL*, nor *NPL* refer to the EU or its member states.

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards Poland via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* In the analyzed Polish outlets, the diversity of Ukrainian culture has been reduced to music as the most prominent theme. Prioritise the communication of a wider scope of the issues related to Ukrainian culture and heritage. Raise visibility of Ukrainian education, science, tech sector among others. Include messages about Ukraine-Poland, Ukraine-EU and Ukraine-EU member states collaborations in these sectors.
2. *@ EU strategic communicators:* Engage with Ukrainian strategic communicators towards Poland, one of the EU's member states; provide necessary information on a regular basis.
3. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* Emphasise emotional and sensitive topic of today's war hazards depicted in the works of Ukrainian creatives. Stress the role of Polish society in general, and Polish creatives, civil society and government in supporting Ukrainian creative sector in its reflection on the war. Use digital diplomacy and community outreach. Communicate on this topic regularly via various channels. Tag most active Polish supporters of Ukrainian creatives on the digital diplomacy channels and follow up with them regularly. Invite them to the most prominent events by Ukrainian creatives in Poland.
4. *@ EU strategic communicators:* To address the lack of visibility of the EU and its member states in the field of heritage diplomacy concerned with Ukraine, conduct a series of EU-Ukraine workshops/webinars for Polish media on the topics of the EU/EU member states efforts in the area of preservation/supporting Ukraine's heritage and culture at times of war. NB: such workshops should have a firm Polish "local hook", features Polish as well as other EU member states speakers, and be relevant for Polish newswriters who may overlook reporting on cultural and heritage themes.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE SWEDISH MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Tetiana McGowan and Svitlana Zhabotynska,

both of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine

Observed media: *Sveriges Radio (SR)* (e-platform of this popular, conservative-leaning national radio channel)

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: medium visibility (72 articles, with 71 visual images). On average, 2-3 articles per month. In 75% of the publications, Ukrainian heritage is a major focus.

Narratives and frames: *SR* gives **more prominence to the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack”** than a narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper” (55 and 17 articles respectively).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: Articles in this narrative pivot report such themes as Ukrainian culture (music, cuisine, crafts, and paintings) (11); Ukrainian sports (2); Ukrainian national character (2); the country’s history (1) and language (1).

Narratives: *Ukraine has a rich culture and talented sportsmen; Ukrainians are hospitable hosts; Ukrainian military authorities are corrupted; Ukraine shares history with Sweden.*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: focus on the heritage objects and sites ruined in the war (49), occasionally referring to the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture (4), and the suppression of the Ukrainian language by Russia (2).

Narratives: *the Ukrainian nation and its language have been suppressed by Russia through history; Russia is responsible for russification and relocation of Ukrainians in the Soviet time; today’s military assault of Russia has ruined Ukrainian cultural and natural heritage sites; Russian Army loots Ukrainian museums; Ukrainians portray the war in their art.*

The media narrative features **Ukraine positively in 99%**, and Russia as 100% negative.

“Local hook” (Sweden’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): tracked in 15 articles (20.8% of the sample). Most of these articles depict the war.

Self-narratives: *Sweden is Ukraine’s staunch supporter; Sweden and Ukraine share a long history of international relations; Sweden condemns Russia for ruining Ukraine’s natural sites and cultural heritage; Sweden creatives and cultural organizations demonstrate solidarity with Ukraine; with the beginning of the war, Swedes have increased their interest to the Ukrainian language.*

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: low visibility: the EU and its member states, featured only in 4 articles over 30 months.

Narratives: *Some EU members states are actors in EU heritage diplomacy: e.g. France saves Ukrainian art treasures during the war, Germany patrons Ukrainian orchestras, the Netherlands hosts the Crimean museum’s exhibits belonging to Ukraine. Other global actors are more visible in heritage diplomacy: e.g. the UN is assessing the damage of culture in Ukraine.*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards Sweden via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* A popular agenda-setting medium in Sweden, SR narrated Sweden, an EU member state, as a solid supporter of Ukraine in the aspects of ecology and museum preservation while emphasising the help provided by ordinary Swedes to ordinary Ukrainians. Sweden also sees itself as a part of common history with Ukraine. Undertake strategic communications with an emphasis on the common history between Sweden and Ukraine. Build communications with a focus on the topic of natural environment, as it has local relevance, highlight the destruction brought by the war beyond cultural and historical heritage, and emphasise the collaboration between Sweden and Ukraine to overcome this destruction.
2. *@ EU strategic communicators:* collaborate with Ukrainian strategic communicators emphasizing the topic of environmental protection – one of the norms of the EU -- and EU-Ukraine collaborative projects in this area.
3. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* communicate regularly, via difference channels, the diversity of Ukrainian heritage, beyond the topics visible in the media. Tag Swedish newsmakers who report about Ukrainian heritage in the updates in their social media channels to, post frequently. Invite them regularly to various cultural events done by Ukrainian creatives in Sweden; update about various joint research projects between Ukraine and Sweden, and specifically in the issues areas of ecology and history.
4. *@ EU strategic communicators:* promote the efforts of the EU heritage diplomacy targeted at the protection, safeguarding and restoration of Ukrainian cultural heritage. Emphasize the contribution of the Swedish people, civil society and government in addition to profiling other EU member states in this issue-area. Stress the message of complementarity of efforts in the EU (e.g. by appreciating the efforts by Sweden in assisting Ukraine in the area of natural heritage or museum preservation).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE GERMAN MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Yevhen Datsenko and Svitlana Zhabotynska

both of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine

Observed media: *Süddeutsche Zeitung (SZ)* (center-left), *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (FAZ)* (center-right), and *Deutsche Welle (DW)* (center)

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: visibility varies significantly in the coverage of Ukrainian heritage: mid-to-high visibility in *SZ* (91 articles with 280 visual images), low visibility in *FAZ* (29 articles with 72 visual images), and very low visibility in *DW* (7 articles with 10 visual images). The articles where Ukrainian heritage is the major topic constitute 33% in *SZ*, 45% in *FAZ*, and 43% in *DW*.

Narratives and frames: The three observed outlets give preference to the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack” over the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper”.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: *SZ* focuses on the Ukrainian history and literature. *FAZ* and *DW* highlight Ukrainian culture (painting and music).

Shared narratives: *Ukraine is a multicultural country with different ethnicities (DW); Ukraine shows its diverse and authentic culture to the world (SZ, FAZ, DW); Ukraine has a rich history as an autonomous European entity (SZ, FAZ) with a distinct national identity (FAZ); the Ukrainian literature pictures the resilience of the Ukrainian nation (SZ).*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER ATTACK: the most visible themes are heritage ruined in the war (*SZ, FAZ, DW*), Ukrainian culture, language and literature suppressed by Russia (*SZ, FAZ, DW*), and Ukrainian history and identity distorted by Russia (*SZ, FAZ*).

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian heritage is continually targeted by Russia’s attacks; Ukraine reclaims its distorted history and identity; on the occupied territories, the suppressed Ukrainian culture and language are under threat; Ukrainian culture depicts the country’s resilience; Russia is a relentless aggressor, who suppresses, distorts, and ruins Ukrainian heritage.*

In all observed media, **Ukraine is positively assessed and appreciated for its resilience**, while Russia is negatively assessed and condemned for its aggression.

“Local hook” (Germany’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): The media narratives of Ukrainian heritage have a noticeable “local hook” in *SZ* and *FAZ* -- 18 articles (20%) and 10 articles (34%) respectively. In *DW*, the local hook was in 1 article (14%). These articles dealt with Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack.

Shared self-narratives: *Germany is a solid key supporter of Ukrainian culture affected by the war, and a promoter of initiatives to protect Ukraine’s national identity suppressed by Russia*

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: Low visibility of the EU, with 2 mentions of the European Commission, and 13 mentions of France, Poland and Spain. All publications referencing the EU dealt with Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack.

Shared narratives: *the European Commission and the EU member states contribute to the protection of Ukrainian culture through various programs and funding initiatives.*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards Germany via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* diversify and intensify communications about diverse issues concerning Ukrainian cultural and historical heritage via various channels communicating towards Germany. Stress themes of Ukraine's national identity integrated into European identity, and Ukraine's history shared with Europe. Emphasize the common grounds of Ukrainian and German culture, cite interesting, lesser-known cases and examples. Prioritise Ukrainian literature – a topic that got more visibility in German media.
2. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* Tag German newsmakers who write about Ukrainian heritage in their social media channels to the communications in this issue-area, post frequently. Invite them regularly to various cultural events done by Ukrainian creatives in Germany (e.g. literature-related events, book fairs, etc.) Update them about various joint projects, small and large, between Ukraine and Germany in the heritage and culture area.
3. *@ Ukrainian and the EU strategic communicators:* Collaborate in the outreach to the German opinion-making community (media, think tanks, academia). E.g. run a series of joint round tables involving researchers, think tankers and media representatives who tend to report on culture and heritage. Focus on EU- Ukraine and Germany-Ukraine heritage issues while inviting the attendees to learn lesser-known topics of Ukraine's cultural diversity, Ukraine's identity integrated into European identity, and Ukraine's history shared with Europe. EU strategic communicators may use these events as a space to accentuate the evolving roles of the EU in heritage diplomacy, inform about contributions of other member states to the promotion, preservation, and restoration of Ukrainian heritage, and share information about the EU-Germany-Ukraine projects in this issue area.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE FRENCH MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Svitlana Zhabotynska, Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine
and Konrad Szatters, College of Europe in Natolin

Observed media: *Le Monde* (LM) (centre-left), *Le Figaro* (LF) (centre-right), and *France24* (F24) (central, slightly left-leaning).

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: very high visibility in LF (317 articles), high visibility in LM (160), and very low visibility in F24 (20). On an average, it is 10 publications per month in LF, 5 publications per month in LM, and one publication per 2 months in F24. The analysed data comprises the randomly selected materials from LF (40 articles with 71 visual images) and LM (44 articles with 118 images), and all materials from F24 (20 articles with 47 images). In LF and LM, Ukrainian heritage is the major topic in about 50% of the articles. In F24 this number is only 10%.

Narratives and frames: The ratio between the narrative pivots “Ukrainian heritage proper” and “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack” is 17 vs. 23 in LF, 20 vs. 24 in LM, and 2 vs. 18 in F24.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: all analyzed media highlight Ukrainian culture (with an accent on music, cinema and theater) and history.

Shared narratives: *Ukraine has rich authentic culture, which has been existing in the context of historical relations between Ukraine and Russia; Ukrainians are willing to preserve their culture and promote it among wider audiences (LM, LF); Ukrainian cities are beautiful, and they have a complex history (F24).*

The coverage of the contemporary relations between Ukraine and Russia are clearly positive towards Ukraine. However, when it comes to history, then Russia’s role in those relations is reported as much more ambivalent and less negative.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: highlights suppressed heritage (LF, LM), heritage ruined in the war (LF, LM, F24), and the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture (LM, F24)

Shared narratives: *the situation of Ukraine vis-à-vis Russia has always been tragic (LM, LF, F24); Russia has been suppressing the Ukrainian culture and language through history; in today’s war Ukraine’s heritage sites are destroyed and looted by Russia; as a form of protest, Ukrainians rebel against the Russian language; Ukrainian creatives depict the war in their works.*

The emotive connotations in the descriptions of Ukraine are neutral-to-positive in LF, LM, and F24. In the descriptions of Russia, they are negative in LF and LM, and neutral-to-negative in F24.

“Local hook” (France’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): low-to-medium visibility in LM (20% of the articles) and LF (16%) and very low in F24 (5%).

Shared self-narratives: *France is Ukraine’s ‘staunch’ supporter; France, as a cultural superpower, is supporting and saving Ukrainian cultural heritage.*

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The role of the EU member states in its relation to Ukrainian heritage is more visible than that of France: 41% of the articles in LM, 25% of the articles in LF, yet 3% of articles in F24. NB: in the selected sample, the EU is represented only by its member states with most visible actors being Germany, Italy, and Poland. The EU per se and its bodies had no references in the selected sample.

Shared narrative: *the EU member states support Ukrainian culture during the war.*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards France via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators:* The case of the French press demonstrates clearly that it is possible to lean away from reality of the war and fall into talking about the "Pushkin's Russia" vs. "Putin's Russia", the former being a mythologised and fabled vision of the country in the cultural realm. Recognise and acknowledge a rather specific sympathy of the French discourses towards Russia/Russian culture, and counterbalance with facts educating about Ukraine and Russia, as well as cultural contribution of Ukraine to the European and global cultural space.
2. *@ EU strategic communicators:* emphasize the EU's unity in supporting Ukraine in general and in the issue-area of cultural and historical heritage. Stress the division of responsibilities between different member states in a bigger picture (e.g. France – culture, Germany – finances, Poland – humanitarian and military support). Build the narrative of the West's and the EU's unity in helping Ukraine is this groundbreaking historical moment never been seen before in the EU's history. Emphasise the role of France as a global and European soft power and cultural leader. Link the message of no divisions between the EU member states when it comes to Ukraine, only divisions of tasks between them.
3. *@ EU strategic communicators:* emphasize that Ukraine's case is "OUR" case -- it is a fully-fledged EU and European issue.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE ITALIAN MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Tetiana McGown and Svitlana Zhabotynska

both of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine

Observed media: *Il Messaggero* (IM) (liberal-conservative) and *Corriere della Sera* (CDS) (liberal-democratic).

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: Mid-visibility in IM (68 articles with 219 visual images) averaging to 2 articles with 3 images per month; with 57.6% of reportage featuring Ukrainian heritage as a major focus. Low visibility in CDS (26 articles with 35 images averaging in less than one article with 1-2 images each per month; with 80.7% having Ukrainian heritage as the major topic.

Narratives and frames: While IM gives preference to the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper”, CDS prioritizes the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack” (38 vs. 30 and 8 vs. 18 articles respectively).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: most reported are the topics of Ukraine’s sports, culture (with preference to music), and spiritual world (religion). But, unlike CDS, IM develops these issues in-depth, considering such aspects of Ukrainian culture, as music, ballet, movies, sculpture, installations, and Ukrainian cuisine; Ukraine’s spiritual world, along with religion, is represented by the national character and national symbols. Besides, IM also mentions Ukrainian history, language, and literature.

Shared narratives: *Ukraine has great athletes who are active proponents of their country abroad (IM, CDS); Ukraine is a multicultural country with a rich cultural heritage (CDS), it has talented people of art (IM) and particular national symbols, with Chernobyl as a symbol of nuclear disaster among them (IM); Ukraine is a multi-confessional country (IM, CDS), where the Ukrainian Orthodox church does not welcome the Pope (IM); Ukrainians are courageous and resilient, they never give up (IM).*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: the issues shared by both media outlets are the damage incurred to Ukraine in today’s war (ruined heritage, killed cultural and sports elite), the Russian-Ukrainian war in Ukrainian and world culture, the suppression of Ukrainian heritage (primarily language), and cultural interaction of Russia and Ukraine.

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian cultural heritage is a target of Russia’s attacks; Ukraine is losing its cultural heritage and may lose more of it (IM, CDS); Ukrainian cultural elite depict the war in their works, they raise money for Ukraine (IM) and require international assistance (CDS); Ukrainian sports and cultural elite defend Ukraine and die at the front and under Russia’s bombs (IL, CDS).*

The narratives contrast **the positive image of Ukraine** to the negative image of Russia.

“Local hook” (Italy’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): higher visibility in CDS (30% of the articles) vs. IM (7%).

Shared self-narratives: Italy is a solid supporter of Ukraine; *Italy is a supporter and promoter of modern Ukrainian cinema and music (CDS); Italy gives refuge to Ukrainian cultural figures (artists, musicians), sportsmen and scholars who have suffered in the war (IM, CDS). Italian film makers shoot a film about the war in Ukraine (IM); Italian musicians in their songs support Ukraine and condemn Putin (IM).*

The EU's involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The EU and its member states contextualized within the topic of Ukrainian heritage, remain inconspicuous: they are mentioned in 5 articles (3%) of *IM*, and 7 articles (27%) of *CDS*. The dataset has one reference of the European Council (*IM*), and 11 references to the MSs – France, Poland, and the Czech Republic, with the dominance of France.

Shared narratives: *the European Council plans to render assistance in the restoration of the Ukrainian heritage sites ruined by Russia (IM); Poland, Italy and France plan to do the same (CDS); they also support Ukrainian culture and sport (CDS); France enjoys Ukrainian ballet (IM); Czech archaeologists find the first European settlement in Ukraine (IM); Hungary (Orban) accuses Ukraine of suppressing its Hungarian minority (IM).*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards Italy via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* Italy's agenda-setting media, while narrating Italy as as supportive of Ukraine in the war time, tends to highlight its admiration of Ukrainian music and sports specifically. Use these topics with the local relevance to formulate and project messages towards Ukraine – as a main topic as well as a “hook” to communicate other messages.
2. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* in recognition of Italy's expertise in preserving and restoring its historical heritage, communicate about preservation and restoration of Ukrainian heritage during and after the war, outlining ongoing and future collaborations between Ukraine and Italy. Use this theme to link to other heritage-related issues, and to draw more attention to Russia's ongoing attacks on Ukraine's heritage.
3. *@ EU strategic communicators:* In Italian media, the visibility of the EU and its bodies in heritage diplomacy and external action is found to be extremely low. Organise a recurrent series of joint EU-Ukraine round tables/webinars dedicated to the issues of securitisation of heritage in the war against Ukraine and other conflicts; invite Italian newsmakers who write on the heritage- and culture-related topics in several leading national media, as well as civil society involved in heritage protection, researchers and heritage experts; engage other EU member states experts; update/inform them about the EU and other EU member state efforts; tag the participants of these workshops/webinars in their social media to provide regular updates about the EU/EU member states efforts in supporting Ukraine's cultural and historic heritage.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE HUNGARIAN MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Tetiana McGowan and Svitlana Zhabotynska

both of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine

Observed media: *Magyar Hírlap* (MH) and *the Budapest Times* (BT). Both are right-leaning conservative Hungarian media with nation-wide circulation.

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: low visibility in MH (19 articles with 24 visual images) averaging with 1 article per two months; with 68.4% of the articles focused on Ukrainian heritage as a major issue. Very low visibility in BT (2 articles with one visual image each), averaging in one article per 15 months.

Narratives and frames: Both outlets focus on the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack (11 articles in MH and one article in BT). The narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper” is less prominent (8 articles in MH and 1 article in BT).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: the most visible are the themes of Ukraine’s culture, and music in particular (MH, BT), Ukraine’s spiritual world subsuming the national symbols, religion (MH), Ukrainians’ national character (BT), and sports (MH).

Shared narratives: *Ukraine has talented and educated musicians and singers (MH, BT); Ukrainians honour their national symbols (MH); Ukrainian identity does not depend on nationality (MH); Ukraine is a multi-confessional country (MH); Ukrainians have a complex nature: they are rude, explosive, and corrupted (BT); being thievish, they steal exhibits from their museums (MH).*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: Both outlets narrate it with references to the ruined heritage sites, the war in the mirror of Ukrainian and world culture, and cultural interaction of Russia and Ukraine. MH also addresses the issues of the Ukrainian history and language.

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian schools are ruined (MH), Ukrainian cultural institutions are closed because of the war (BT); Ukrainian people of art experience hardships of war (BT); Ukrainian musicians and singers perform abroad to raise money for Ukraine (MH, BT); Ukrainians ask to ban Russian films and music (BT); they unjustly renounce the Russian language and culture (MH, BT), since the Ukrainian history is rooted in the Russian history (MH), and Ukrainians’ identity is questionable (MH); meanwhile, Ukrainians brainwash their children and make them nationalistic (MH) and Nazi-like (MH); Ukrainians have no Olympic spirits, since they are against Russian athletes’ participation in the Games (MH).*

In the narratives of both outlets, the **assessment of Ukraine is mixed (negative and positive at the same time)**, the same with the assessment of Russia in MH (in BT, it is not available).

“Local hook” (Hungary’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): mid visibility (5 articles out of 21 in the dataset).

Shared self-narratives: *Hungary helps Ukrainian and world musicians to raise money for Ukraine (MH, BT); Hungary hosts young Ukrainian circus artists (BT); together with Ukraine, it is a part of an international technological project (MH).* The media’s image of Ukrainian heritage positions Hungary as a ‘near-fencer’ who leans more away from Ukraine than towards it.

The EU's involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The EU member states were featured only in two articles in *MH*. No references to the EU or its institutions in this issue-area.

Shared narratives: *Poland, Czech Republic, and Slovakia together with Ukraine participate in a technological project; and the Dutch ambassador, who had made a questionable statement about Ukrainians being Russians, has resigned.*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards Hungary via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* The selected for analysis Hungarian media demonstrate very low visibility of the Ukrainian heritage issues, which tend to be presented through (partially) antagonistic narratives. Mitigate this antagonism by (a) engaging in open discussions through various channels of the narratives which deal with sensitive topics, e.g. ruined schools and children affected by the war. Education was found to be an issue-area that elicits attention and consideration in Hungarian media discourses; (b) develop new and communicate existing Ukraine-Hungary cooperations in the area of cultural and historic heritage (small- and/or large-scale).
2. *@ EU and Ukrainian strategic communicators:* The EU and its member states, while doing much for Ukraine in the issue area of cultural and historic heritage, remain with very low visibility in the media. Run a series of workshops/webinars for Hungarian heritage experts, civil society involved in heritage protection/restoration, and educators/academics who deal with heritage in their research/curricula to talk about joint projects between the EU and EU member states' in support of Ukraine at times of war. Emphasise the theme of education in those events as well as Hungary's achievements and know-how in protecting its own heritage.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN PAN-EUROPEAN MEDIA

(February 2022 – July 2024)

By Svitlana Zhabotynska and Inna Chernenko,

both of Bohdan Khmelnytsky National University of Cherkasy, Ukraine

Observed media: *Euronews* (its printed version in English), a reputable news resource which reaches a significant audience across Europe and globally.

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: high visibility (149 articles with 354 visual images). In 94% of the articles this topic is a primary focus. The topic’s visibility substantially decreases through March 2022 (23 articles) to May-July 2024 (one to no articles).

Narratives and frames: Out of the two narrative pivots – ‘Ukrainian heritage proper’, and ‘Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack’ – the latter one is much more prominent: 4 articles where Russia’s attack is not mentioned and 145 articles where it is in focus with or without the topic of Ukrainian heritage proper.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: mostly represented with Ukrainian culture (music and painting in particular), and national identity (national character, traditions and customs).

Narratives: *Ukrainian culture is rich and diverse; Ukrainian musicians popularize Ukrainian music abroad; Ukrainian artists depict the Ukrainian context in Europe; Ukrainians are brave and resilient; they have a prominent national identity; Ukraine honors its historically rooted traditions and customs.*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: focuses on the Ukrainian and world cultural elites in the Russian-Ukrainian war, on the war in the mirror of Ukrainian and world culture, and on Ukrainian heritage ruined in the war.

Narratives: *Ukrainian cultural elites suffer the hardships of war, they demonstrate resilience and patriotism, they contribute to Ukraine’s resistance, and raise money to help their country; Ukraine suffers the loss of natural and cultural treasures, Ukrainians protect and safeguard their heritage objects and sites; global cultural elites, British and American in particular, support Ukraine; the war has triggered a painful ‘outburst’ of Ukrainian culture; Russia is a destroyer of Ukrainian heritage and a killer of Ukrainian cultural elite.*

Russia’s negativity is opposed to **Ukraine’s positive assessment entailed by the emotions of admiration, approval, solidarity, sympathy, and pity.**

“Local hook” (the EU’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): Among the articles on Ukrainian heritage, 38 (25.5% of the total number) mention the EU – one article refers to the Council of Europe, and 32 – to the EU member states, with Germany, France, and Italy being most salient. All references to the EU relate to Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack.

Self-narratives: *the Council of Europe provides financial support to Ukraine’s film industry; the EU member states support Ukrainian culture financially, give refuge to Ukrainian cultural figures, organize demonstration of Ukrainian arts in the EU, and portray the war in their own art.*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards a pan-European media source via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ EU and Ukrainian strategic communicators:* The EU and its bodies, as a supporter and promoter of Ukrainian heritage at times of war, has very low visibility. Organise a series of joint meetings/info workshops/webinars with the Euronews newsmakers (the format to be discussed and agreed with the media outlet). Involve those media writers who already report more about culture and heritage in general, and Ukrainian historical and cultural heritage in particular. Expose the media professionals to the information about the EU's collaborations with Ukraine in this issue-area, discuss the securitisation of the heritage both from the EU and Ukrainian stand-points. Highlight the role and projects by EU member states in addition to the EU efforts. Provide the newsmakers interested in culture/heritage topics with regular updates about leading projects and initiatives, as well as links to the EU heritage experts who collaborate with Ukraine.
2. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* The topics featuring Ukrainian heritage proper tend to be represented by Ukrainian music and painting, as well as Ukrainian traditions and customs. Tag Euronews newsmakers who write about Ukrainian heritage in their social media, update them regularly about a wider range of cultural- and heritage-related events and news. Link them to the Ukrainian creatives from various areas.
3. *@ EU and Ukrainian strategic communicators:* In depicting Ukrainian heritage under Russia's attack, the emphasis is put on the consequences of Russia's nowadays aggression, and not on the historical continuity of such attacks. If the series of the meetings/workshops/webinars with the Euronews writers is to ahead, one of the key themes could be a theme dissecting where and how the distortion of Ukrainian history and identity, as well as the suppression of culture took place historically. Such topics could be discussed by invited experts/academics with background in cultural studies, history, heritage, etc., both from EU members states as well as from Ukraine. Another topic for such workshops could be a critical consideration of historical roots that underly Russia's military assault against Ukraine. Involvement of leading European and global experts and academics, including from Ukraine, is needed to ensure an informed critical discussion and engagement.

'Global South' Media

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE INDONESIAN MEDIA (February 2022 – July 2024)

By Mia Angeline and Natalia Chaban, both of University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *Antara* (the state news agency), *Kompas* (a prominent private outlet known for centrist reporting), and *Tempo* (recognized for its investigative journalism and critical stance). Together, they reached monthly traffic exceeding 33 million visits, a significant portion of Indonesia's online readership.

Visibility of the topic "Ukrainian heritage" during 30 months of observation: visibility of this topic is low in *Antara* (23 articles, with 27 visual images) and *Kompas* (26 articles with 103 visual images), and very low in *Tempo* (12 article and 16 visual images). While the volume was low, the intensity of representation was relatively high: Ukrainian heritage was a major focus of reporting in *Antara* in 15 articles (65%), in *Kompas* in 21 articles (81%) and in *Tempo* in 8 articles (67%). Between the three outlets, there were 146 visual images, demonstrating a higher visual profile. The peak coverage occurred in March 2022 following Russia's full-scale invasion. In additional observation, public engagement remained low, with only 5 reader comments recorded across all articles.

Narratives and frames: In the coverage, the narrative pivot "**Ukrainian Heritage proper**" dominated in visibility vis-à-vis the narrative pivot "Ukrainian Heritage Under Russia's Attack" (16 articles vs. 9 articles in *Antara*, 19 vs. 8 in *Kompas* and 8 vs. 4 in *Tempo* respectively).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: three topics emerged here: culture (Ukrainian cinema, traditional crafts, and local cuisine), history (the period of Ukraine's history from the USSR to the present day), and sports (achievements by Ukrainian athletes as symbols of national resilience and pride).

Shared narratives: *Ukraine as a resilient nation with rich cultural heritage; Assertive identity emotive about its culture and proud of its culture*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK: These articles report about damaged heritage sites and cultural suppression attempts.

Shared narratives: *Ukraine demonstrating determination to preserve its cultural identity despite the ongoing conflict; resilient nation, protective of its heritage, yet with psychological trauma*

There is limited antagonistic content towards Ukraine, while Russia was consistently framed negatively as the aggressor targeting Ukrainian cultural identity.

Most frequent **evaluations of Ukraine are positive or neutral-to-positive**. Dominant emotions of sympathy, support, and admiration come through textual and visual representations: e.g. coverage of Ukrainian artists continuing their practices in bomb shelters (sympathy), Indonesian cultural events raising funds for Ukrainian preservation (support), profiles of Ukrainian athletes competing despite wartime challenges (admiration).

"Local hook" (Indonesia's participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): The media profiles a rather limited "local hook" for Indonesia when they report Ukrainian heritage. Only 10 out of 61 articles incorporate "local hook" across three outlets: 3 (8.6%) in *Antara*, 4 in *Kompas* (15.4%) and 3 in *Tempo* (25%).

Shared self-narratives: *Indonesia is a peace-loving nation with historical ties to Ukraine, when the reporting focus is on Indonesia's neutral foreign policy stance, and/or cultural diplomacy initiatives.*

The EU's involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The EU's presence in the coverage is very limited: 3 articles (8.6%) in *Antara* and 4 (15.4%) in *Kompas*, with 4 articles mentioning EU member states (France and Finland).

Shared narratives: EU and EU member states support Ukraine (specifically in cultural initiatives).

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards Indonesia via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ EU strategic communicators:* given Indonesia's preference to link with/report on individual member states, leverage partnerships with the embassies of the most visible member states in media to showcase Ukrainian cultural initiatives.
2. *@ Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators:* considering Indonesia's neutral stance, present Ukraine's heritage within a broader framework of cultural preservation, not just as a response to the conflict with Russia. E.g., focus on stories, addressing issues like the digitalization of cultural heritage, or the protection of historical sites from challenges that Indonesia also faces.
3. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* The limited, yet positive framing of Indonesia in the context of Ukrainian heritage suggests opportunities for expanded coverage of Ukraine-Indonesia cultural connections. Approach Indonesian newsmakers who report on Ukrainian heritage with an invitation to participation in a workshop/seminar/round table/webinar to discuss issues related to Ukraine's cultural and historical heritage at times of war, current and potential collaboration with Indonesia, and the EU's help to Ukraine. Tag the participating newsmakers in their social media and provide regular updates about events and news in this issue area.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE BRAZILIAN MEDIA (February 2022 – July 2024)

By Daniela Grimberg and Natalia Chaban, both of University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *O Globo* (OG) and *Folha de São Paulo* (*Folha*) (F), major Brazilian newspapers. Both belong to the largest media conglomerates in the country, where the media landscape is highly concentrated (Media Ownership Monitor 2017). Press freedom is constitutionally protected, and the country ranks 82nd on the World Press Freedom Index (Reporters Without Borders 2024).

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: Medium visibility for *O Globo* (30 articles, with 68 visual images mostly of damaged heritage sites) and low-to-medium visibility for *Folha* (26 articles, with 97 visual images focusing on Ukrainian artists and film stills). Coverage intensity varied between the two newspapers. *O Globo* featured 22 major stories on Ukrainian heritage (73%), against 9 articles by *Folha* (35%). As a secondary topic, though, it was more prominent in *Folha* (14 stories) than in *O Globo* (6 stories).

Narratives and frames: The narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack” was more visible overall vis-à-vis the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper”. The former comes through in 24 articles in *O Globo* (80%) and 15 articles in *Folha* (57.7%).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: three themes are of higher visibility in this context: Ukraine’s culture, history, and language and literature

Shared narratives: *Brazilians, along with Ukrainian heritage, preserve their own cultural heritage (OG, F); Ukrainian artists are using their art to resist and create awareness of the war in Ukraine (F); Ukrainian culture and history are rich (OG); Ukrainian culture receives support from international actors (OG); Ukrainians have greatly contributed to the world culture.*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: The most visible representations of Ukraine in this context come when media report on Ukraine’s heritage ruined in the war (the dominant topic both in *OG* and *F*), followed by suppressed heritage, and the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture.

Shared narratives: *The safety of Ukraine’s cultural heritage has caused global concern (OG, F); Ukraine is resilient and protects its heritage; it uses art to resist and create awareness of the war (OG, F); Ukraine receives support from international actors (OG, F).*

Although both outlets **tended to adopt a predominantly neutral tone** in the coverage of Ukraine, some elements would often reveal emotions such as pride, solidarity and resilience, as well as fear and concern on a global scale. Neither outlet depicted Ukraine negatively, but *Folha* tended to portray it more positively, while *O Globo* maintained a more neutral stance, likely due to its higher reliance on international sources.

“Local hook” (Brazil’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): Local angle differed between the outlets. *O Globo* seldom referenced Brazil (in 2 articles only (6.6%)), whereas *Folha* highlighted local relevance, including immigration, shared culture and history, and comparisons between Brazil and Ukraine (9 articles (34.6%)). Brazil’s self-evaluations vis-a-vis Ukraine are neutral to positive

Shared self-narratives: *Ukraine immigration is part of Brazil's history (OG, F); Brazilian culture has received great contribution from the artists born in Ukraine and raised in Brazil (OG, F); Language parallels (OG, F): the similarity between the Portuguese and Spanish languages can be compared with the similarity between Russian and Ukrainian (OG), the Ukrainian language, like Brazilian Portuguese, is a "melodic language (F).*

The EU's involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The coverage of EU actors is minimal, with only a single mention of the European Parliament by *Folha*. Several EU member states were mentioned (France, Poland, Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, Denmark, Estonia, Italy, Portugal), though, often portrayed neutrally to positively.

Shared narrative: *The EU and EU member states are supporters and providers of aid for Ukraine's heritage protection efforts.*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards Brazil via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. @ *Ukrainian strategic communicators*: The study indicates modest but growing interest in Ukraine's heritage within Brazilian media. Engage with Brazil's Ukrainian-descendant community (approximately 450,000 people), to share local narratives and strengthen ties with Ukraine.
2. @ *Ukrainian strategic communicators*: Foster partnerships with Ukrainian institutions in Brazil, such as the Society of Friends of the Ukrainian Culture.
3. @ *Ukrainian strategic communicators*: Promote the legacy of Brazilian artists with Ukrainian roots (e.g. writer Clarice Lispector).
4. @ *Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators*: There is an educational approach towards explaining to audiences the context of the war by providing general information about Ukraine and its cultural heritage. Engage with Brazilian newsmakers – via various channels, including digital diplomacy as well as workshops/round tables/meetings – to share the latest updates on the EU's heritage diplomacy towards Ukraine as well as updates from various EU member states. Involve prominent Ukrainian writers, poets, and other creatives in these meetings as well as representatives of the Brazilian Ukrainian diaspora who are active in supporting Ukraine's heritage.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE CHINESE MEDIA (February 2022 – July 2024)

By Dmitry Romanenko and Natalia Chaban, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *The People's Daily* (the highest daily print circulation over 3 million copies, *PD*), *The Global Times* (2.6 million, *GT*), and *The China Daily* (900,000, *CD*). The three media outlets are owned and controlled by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. *The Global Times* serves as a platform to test and gauge public opinion on certain issues before they are addressed (or not) in *The People's Daily*. *The People's Daily* in turn is considered as the most authoritative voice, reflecting the party's official positions and policies. *The China Daily* is primarily targeted at foreign audiences in China and is used to project a specific image of China to international readers.

Visibility of the topic "Ukrainian heritage" during 30 months of observation: Low level of visibility of the topic Ukraine's heritage in *The Global Times* (25 articles, with 37 visual images portraying most famous heritage sites from Kyiv, L'viv, Kharkiv, Donetsk, Lugansk and Odesa). This newspaper has the highest volume of content and the highest intensity out of three sources analysed, featuring 19 articles where Ukrainian heritage is the major topic (76%). In contrast, *The People's Daily* (7 articles, with 13 visual images) and *The Daily China* (4 articles, with 9 visual images) have very low visibility of the topic. While *The People's Daily* has only 1 article where the topic of Ukraine is a major focus, the latter has no articles with that degree of intensity. In these two outlets, the visual images focused on China's cultural diplomacy towards Ukraine represented by the photos of Ukrainians participating in different forms of cultural exchange with China.

Narratives and frames: The **predominant visible narrative pivot was "Ukrainian heritage proper"**, while the pivot "Ukrainian heritage under Russia's attack" was invisible (only 1 article in *The Global Times* over 30 months of observation).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: The three most visible themes in this context were culture, Ukraine's heritage sites and history, with some attention to Ukrainian museums and galleries as well as Ukraine's spiritual world (in the *GT*).

Shared narratives: *Ukrainian heritage is rich, ancient and diverse (GT); Ukraine's relations with Russia are long and complicated (GT), China welcomes Ukrainians to learn and appreciate Chinese cultures (DC, PD).*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK: Over 30 months, there was only article reporting Ukrainian heritage impacted by the war – the destruction of Maria Prymachenko's paintings held in a local museum by Russian bombing in February 2022. While the article expresses empathy to Ukraine, it also notes that Russian cultural heritage is also (indirectly) affected by the war. Russia is assessed as another (although indirect) victim of the war.

Dominant **evaluation towards Ukraine is positive**. Dominant emotions towards Ukraine are approval, recognition and sympathy

"Local hook": *The China Daily* has the largest share of articles with a "local hook" (3 of 4, 75%), followed by *The People's Daily* (4 of 7, 57%). *The Global Times* has the lowest number of the articles with a local hook (20%, 5 of 25). In the reportage with a local hook, the most visible topic is "China's cultural diplomacy" in the leading context of Ukrainians participating in cultural cooperation with China. Emotions and

evaluations both of China and Ukraine in the reportage with a local hook are positive (approval, endorsement)

Shared narratives: *Ukraine's inclusion into the future China-led international cultural cooperation and exchange; the condition of such inclusion is recognizing China's leading role; China is a cultural leader of the world with a superior culture; China is welcoming Ukraine to participate in cultural exchanges, and invites Ukrainians to learn and appreciate Chinese culture (PD, CD).*

The EU's involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The visibility of the EU in the context of Ukrainian heritage is extremely low: in the whole sample, only 3 articles mention the EU member states (Germany and Austria in *The Global Times*, and Poland and the Netherlands in *The China Daily*). As the sample is extremely small, we do not identify the narratives.

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards China via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ EU strategic communicators:* Analysis shows that the heritage themes that attract attention of Chinese newsmakers and audiences are history, culture and heritage sites (and especially those listed as UNESCO heritage sites). Communicate the EU and EU's heritage diplomacy towards Ukraine in the context of these topics. This may help raise profiles of the EU and EU member states. Build these communications on cultural (and positive) examples of historic relations of European partners with China.
2. *@ Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators:* In the Chinese media narratives about heritage/culture, the countries are presented on their own first, arguably showing recognition of each unique culture, regardless of their relations with others. Prioritise the stories of culture and heritage of your individual country(ies) first, and then use it as a bridge to say how the heritage of different countries may be intervened. In other words, build on uniqueness (first) and then interconnection (second), emphasize mutual contributions to the world culture.
3. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* Most of the articles in the sample with major intensity (and those are also the most sympathetic to Ukraine) are in the Chinese language. Prioritise strategic communications in Mandarin.
4. *@ Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators:* Ukraine is narrated by the Chinese leading media with sympathy/ empathy/ endorsement in the majority of the articles. The main purpose of such positive attitudes is to promote China as a global leader of cultural cooperation and exchange. At the same time, these narratives also imply recognition of Ukraine's culture/heritage as being rich, diverse and ancient (the notions that play important role in Chinese culture). Communicate a clear message that Ukraine and the EU recognises China's efforts and priority to cultural cooperation and exchange in the world, and Ukraine and the EU – like China – are proud of its rich and ancient heritage.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE INDIAN MEDIA (February 2022 – July 2024)

By Shalabh Chopra and Natalia Chaban, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *Hindustan Times* (HT), *The Indian Express* (IE) (both are centre-left), and *The Telegraph India* (TI) (leans left). These are influential media sources, amongst the top-10 English newspapers in India. India has seen its press freedom decline sharply over the last decade with Reporters Sans Frontiers (RSF) ranking it 161st in 2023 from 140th in 2014, with self-censorship, pro-government bias, and harassment of journalists as major issues harming India's freedom of speech in recent years (V-dem institute).

Visibility of the topic "Ukrainian heritage" during 30 months of observation: Low visibility in the IE (21 articles, with 35 visual images) and in HT (26 articles, with 30 visual images), and very low visibility in TI (4 articles, with 3 visual images). In IE, 9 articles (43%) reported Ukraine's heritage as a main topic. The same degree of intensity was in 9 articles in HT (35%) and only in one in TI (25%).

Narratives and frames: There was no one preference for the narrative pivot in the observed media. *The Indian Express* focuses more on the context "Ukrainian heritage under Russia's attack", with the outlet in general being more active in reporting the war in general (e.g., Ukraine's military preparations as well as the human cost of war). In contrast, *Hindustan Times* focuses more on the narrative pivot "Ukrainian heritage proper", with more article about Ukrainian art and artists. *The Telegraph India* focuses mostly on Ukrainian identity and the geopolitics around it presenting a balance between the two pivots, yet with minimal visibility (2 and 2 articles respectively).

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: centers on the topics of Ukrainian culture (music, artwork, movies, Ukrainian artists in general), literature (Ukrainian novelists, their novels, some of which are featuring Russia-Ukraine relations), heritage sites (Ukrainian theaters, cathedrals), and historical cities of Lviv and Kyiv.

Shared narratives: *Ukraine is culturally vibrant; Ukraine is a talented and creative nation with many creative and artistic talents in filmmaking, music, and literature among others.*

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA'S ATTACK: highlights Ukraine's cultural assets (e.g., museums and art galleries, and heritage sites) under Russian assault. The most visible themes are heritage ruined in the war and the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture, followed by the less visible theme of suppressed heritage. Ukraine is narrated to be thriving culturally, with reports showcasing Ukrainians' talents in the Eurovision music contests and in the games of the European football leagues.

Shared narratives: *Ukraine is resilient in distressing times (HT, IE, TI); Ukraine is a tenacious nation with rich culture that, despite the war-induced hardships, is thriving and/or at least managing to "cope" with difficulties (HT, IE, TI); Ukraine is a victim (HT, IE)*

Coverage across the three outlets evokes sentiments of sympathy, sadness, and pity for Ukraine, alongside a sense of joy in the celebration of its cultural and sporting accomplishments. **Negativity towards Ukraine is absent.**

“Local hook” (India’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation): Only 15% of the sample (8/51) feature a “local hook”: 5 in *IE* (25%) and 3 in *HT* (11.5%). *HT* did not feature a “local hook”. The media reported on Ukrainian artworks touring India, and the Indian song *Naatu Naatu*, which had been filmed at the Presidential palace in Kyiv, and which won the Academy award as the best original song of 2022.

Shared narratives: India offers Ukrainian artists a platform to showcase their talents; India has a positive attitude to Ukraine, as Ukraine is a talented, culturally-rich nation which deserves sympathy.

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: A very low visibility of the EU or EU members states in the observed period (*IE* and *HT* scarcely reported, and *TI* did not report on the EU or its members states in the context of Ukraine’s heritage). Only 8 articles reference either the EU or its member states: Germany leads in coverage followed by Poland, Belgium, and Estonia.

Shared narratives: *The EU shows solidarity with Ukrainian; the EU helps Ukrainian refugees with employment.*

Recommendations for the EU’s and Ukraine’s strategic communication towards India via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* Produce more culture-oriented stories from Ukraine which not only resonate with the Indian public, but also have less scope to portray Ukraine negatively. Use various channels to disseminate: digital diplomacy, community outreach events, press releases, etc.
2. *@ EU strategic communicators:* Since India has historically chosen to prioritize dealing directly with the EU member states bilaterally, instead of the EU, some EU member states such as France (who shares with India particularly warm bilateral ties) may step in more actively to communicate the EU’s heritage diplomacy towards Ukraine and also support communications about Ukraine’s cultural and historical heritage at the times of war.
3. *@ Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators:* Highlight more of cultural and historical links between Ukraine and India like *Naatu Naatu*. These cultural links, if brought to the fore, will help counterbalance Russia’s long-standing influence on India’s strategic narrative.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA (February 2022 – July 2024)

By Francesca Harrison and Natalia Chaban, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *Sowetan*, *Mail & Guardian*, and *Times Live* (*Sunday Times*) – influential media sources which shape public discourse and set agenda within the country.

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: The topic is raised in a total of 46 articles concerning Ukraine and its cultural heritage. Thus, South Africa is among the countries with the lowest visibility on this topic in our sample. Its visibility is very low in *Sowetan* (10 articles with 18 visual images profiling actors involved in supporting Ukraine and its heritage) and *Mail & Guardian* (2 articles, with 26 visual images of Ukrainian films and actors). Visibility is medium-to-low in *Times Live* (34 articles and 85 visual images depicting various aspects of Ukrainian culture). Only 16 articles (with *Times Live*, 47%) focused on Ukraine’s heritage as a main topic.

Narratives and frames: The narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper” led in visibility over the narrative pivot “Ukraine’s heritage under Russia’s attack”: 6 vs. 4 in *Sowetan* (S), 2 vs. 0 in *Mail & Guardian* (MG), and 15 vs. 9 in *Times Live* (TL)

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: In this context, the most visible topics were Ukraine’s culture, sports and heritage sites.

Shared narratives: *Ukraine is a strong nation with strong culture* (S, MG, TL);

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: in this context, the topics dealing with Ukraine’s ruined heritage and the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture were the most visible ones.

Shared narrative: *Ukraine is a victim bullied, harmed and ruined by Russia; Ukraine’s heritage is as a casualty of war.*

There is a clear tone of sympathy in the recognitions of resilience (specifically in *Sowetan*), with Ukraine depicted as a nation under threat. Emotions evoked toward Ukraine often include sadness, pity, and sympathy, aligning with a broader narrative of vulnerability and endurance. Conversely, coverage of Russia tended to focus more on its geopolitical actions than on Ukraine’s cultural identity. **Dominant evaluations of Ukraine in the heritage issue-area are positive or neutral-to-positive**, no negative evaluations are observed.

“Local hook” (South Africa’s participation in Ukrainian heritage protection and preservation):

The reporting on South Africa in the context of Ukrainian heritage is minimal: South Africa is referred to in 2 articles from *Sowetan* (20%), one from *Mail & Guardian* (50%) and 7 from *Times Live* (20.5%). In this small sample, the self-evaluations are positive.

Shared narratives: *South Africa cares for Ukrainian culture; South Africa is a promoter of Ukrainian culture via hosting a Ukrainian film festival.*

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The visibility of the EU and EU members states is minimal, with only three articles that mentioned the EU’s role in the issue-area of Ukrainian heritage in *Times Live* and one in *Mail & Guardian*. There are no references to the EU or EU members states in the context of Ukrainian heritage in *Sowetan*. Articles with the reference to the EU

reported about the President of the European Commission Ursula von der Leyen, and the Sports Commission (with a focus on FIFA, F1, and boxing federations). Articles about the EU member states feature France, Germany, Norway, Finland, Poland, Lithuania, Sweden, and Italy

Shared narratives: *The EU members states are supporters of Ukrainian culture, artwork, films and literature; the EU member states help to further the knowledge about Ukraine's heritage and culture; Ukraine has a rich culture, and the EU supports and celebrates it (e.g. through organising Ukrainian film festivals by EU member states embassies).*

Recommendations for the EU's and Ukraine's strategic communication towards South Africa via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. *@ EU strategic communicators:* Very low coverage on the EU's heritage action in the context of Ukraine's heritage in South African media points to a gap and the need to outline a more targeted and strategic outreach by the EU informing South African opinion-makers, civil society, general public and the decision-makers about EU heritage diplomacy using various communication channels. The EU's role in heritage diplomacy, particularly in conflict zones, is a testament to its values of preservation, solidarity, and global cooperation. However, these efforts require more tailored effective communication, particularly in regions like South Africa where historical and cultural struggles hold significant resonance.
2. *@ Ukrainian strategic communicators:* the South African media landscape tends to prioritize stories with local or regionally relevant historical contexts, which may affect perceptions of Ukraine and its heritage as something remote and not immediately relevant. Align the messages projected towards South Africa with local narratives and draw connections and parallels between cultural preservation in Ukraine and similar historical experiences in South Africa. In such approach, the story of heritage preservation in Ukraine can reach and resonate more meaningfully with South African audiences.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE IN AI JAZEERA (February 2022 – July 2024)

By Margaret Vernygora Natalia Chaban, University of Canterbury, New Zealand

Observed media: *Al Jazeera* (e-platform, English-language edition)

Visibility of the topic “Ukrainian heritage” during 30 months of observation: Low-to-mid level of visibility, with 22 articles accompanied by 82 visual images. In this dataset, 16 articles reported Ukraine’s heritage as a major topic (73%). Visuals have portrayed changes in the monuments in Ukraine, Ukrainian talents, various aspects of Ukrainian culture, and destroyed heritage sites.

Narratives and frames: the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage under Russia’s attack” was more visible than the narrative pivot “Ukrainian heritage proper”: 14 vs. 4

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE PROPER: The three most visible topics were Ukrainian culture, language and literature, and history. Yet the coverage (9 articles) was rather limited to detect any patterns in narratives.

UKRAINIAN HERITAGE UNDER RUSSIA’S ATTACK: The most visible topic in this context was the war in the mirror of Ukrainian culture, followed by suppressed heritage, heritage ruined in the war, and distorted heritage (identity, history).

Narratives: *Ukraine values its culture and heritage; Ukraine is united; Ukrainian culture/heritage is valuable on a global stage*

Predominant evaluation of Ukraine is neutral. In the observed articles, Ukraine evokes the emotions of empathy, pity and sadness. *Al Jazeera* does not explicitly condemn Russia’s actions. Additionally, when Ukraine is presented from a positive perspective, this evaluation comes from *Al Jazeera’s* direct quotes of Ukrainians, not from its own commentary.

Local and/or “regional” hook: With *Al Jazeera’s* being not only a local (Qatar) media source, but an important voice in the Arab-speaking countries, as well as globally, a regional hook was expected, in addition to a local one. Yet, the coverage of Ukraine’s heritage did not feature either “hooks”.

The EU’s involvement in the Ukrainian heritage preservation: The visibility of the EU and/or its member states in the context of heritage diplomacy towards Ukraine was extremely low: the respective issued were reported only in 5 articles. While the EU leaders were mentioned two times, the EU member states – Germany, Italy, and Lithuania – were mentioned more frequently (each in two articles).

Narrative: *The EU is a supporter of Ukraine by embracing its culture.*

Recommendations for the EU’s and Ukraine’s strategic communication towards reaching out towards *Al Jazeera* via various channels (digital diplomacy, community outreach, diplomatic addresses, press releases, etc.):

1. **@ EU strategic communicators:** In *Al Jazeera’s* coverage, the visibility of the EU as an entity is low. EU member states, however, are slightly more visible. These EU MS are reported as supporters of Ukraine, or countries where Ukraine can exercise its culture. Focus on individual EU member states and their roles in providing support towards Ukraine. Initiate a meeting/round table with the *Al Jazeera’s* newswriters who already write about Ukraine’s heritage and provide them with a comprehensive update about the EU’s and EU member states’ heritage diplomacy, anticipating that the latter are reported on more frequently. *Al Jazeera’s* authors demonstrate interest in how EU MSs are reacting to the movement of Ukrainian talents and culture beyond Ukraine’s borders since the full-scale invasion.

2. *@ Ukrainian and EU strategic communicators:* There is a complete lack of a local and regional hooks. Neither Qatar nor the Middle Eastern and/or the Gulf regions are mentioned. In strategic communications toward the region and the countries in the regions, via different channels, prioritise local and regional “hooks” – how countries in the region collaborate with Ukraine in the heritage issue-area (even if these collaborations are small).
3. *@ Ukraine and EU strategic communicators:* Al Jazeera tends to provide positive evaluations of Ukraine only through the direct quotes of the Ukrainians who are positive about Ukraine. If interviewees are provided with an opportunity to express something positive about Ukraine, consider securing more interviews of the key Ukrainian actors with *Al Jazeera* – in general and in the heritage issue-areas as a source that can be used to promote a positive narrative about Ukraine.