

Ukraine's Possible NATO Membership

- An Exploratory Case Study Investigating the Rhetoric Used by The Guardian and The Daily Mail.

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Abstract

Dette speciale undersøger to engelske nyhedsbureauers beskrivelse af Ukraines forsøg på et NATO medlemskab. Hvilket sker på grund af der var identificeret et problemfelt i at det er vigtigt at undersøge hvordan nyhedsbureauer beskriver internationale begivenheder. Eftersom det længe har været argumenterede i akademia, at nyhedsbureauer kan være med til at påvirke læsernes holdning. Hvilket gør at en retorisk undersøgelse af Ukraine forsøg på at blive medlem i NATO er interessant da det indebærer spørgsmålet om NATO-udvidelse tættere på den russiske grænse. Dette dækker også et problem Ukraine har forsøgt at løse siden Budapest-memorandummet i 1994, hvor Ukraine har forsøgt at søge Suveræniteterkendelse og sikkerhedsgaranti af frygt for militær invasion. Hvilket gør at den følgende problemformulering er valgt:

Hvordan beskriver The Guardian og The Daily Mail retorisk Ukraines forsøg på at blive medlem i NATO fra en liberal internationalisme og realisme perspektiver af en suveræn stat i krig?

Efter problemfeltet er der en redegørelse af en historisk gennemgang af Ukraines forsøg på få sikkerheds garanti enten igennem politisk forhandling på international plan eller igennem NATO. Samt de problematiske begivenheder der har været imellem Ukraine og Rusland i forhold til et Ukrainsk NATO medlemskab.

Til at finde et muligt svar på problemformuleringen er det valgt at strukturere en teoretisk værktøjskasse, som består af to internationale relationsteorier, en teoretisk opsættelse af Vestfalens suverænitetets model og en sprogteori til at forklare retoriske midler journalister gør brug af. Teorien bliver brugt til at analysere 209 artikler fra The Guardian og The Daily Mail igennem et metodisk strukturer, som gør at undersøgelsen bruger et tværsnit design og behandler data som i et casestudie. Hvortil undersøgelsen er struktureret igennem en erkendelse af deduktiv og induktiv metodisk fremgang. Men på baggrund af, at dette felt er relativt nyt, er det valgt at konstruere analysen igennem den induktive eksplosive undersøgelse metode, hvortil der blev valgt to analytiske metoder. Hvor den første er dokumentanalysen, hvor der blev brugt tema og indikatormetoden til at operationalisere teoriernes begreber for analysen, samt valgt at den eksplosive undersøgelse skal udføres med et fokus på manifest fremgangsmetoden til at finde retorisk mønstre blandt data. Den anden er corpus analysemetoden, hvor der blev udført en sammenhængsanalyse og en overensstemmelse analysen, hvormed det var muligt at undersøge retoriske mønstre ned i små detaljer af sproget

brugt i artiklerne. Dermed har undersøgelsen en analyse der benytter en teoretisk værktøjskasse til at undersøge data for at finde mulige mønstre der kan give sproglige meninger til hele tekstpassagen.

Analysen var i stand til at finde frem til at Ukraine søger NATO medlemskab, men processen er tæt knyttet til ord der indikerer forhandlinger om medlemskabet. Hvortil det var fundet at Ukraine ønskede NATO medlemskabet for den sikkerhedsgaranti som NATO kan tilbyde. Dog var der også mønstre der pegede på at Ukraine overvejede at indgå i en fredsaftale med Rusland, hvor Ukraine er villig til at forlade sin ambitioner for et NATO medlemskab, hvis Ukraine kan få sikkerheds garanti. Det betyder at der er fundet mønstre, som indikerer at Ukraines adfærd som en stat indebærer de kvaliteter som er beskrevet i neorealismen, men også at Ukraine benytter sig af Vestfalens suverænitets model i takt med der er beskrevet et fokus på territorial integritet og befolknings sikkerhed i Ukraines søgen på sikkerhedsgaranti. Den neoklassisk realisme forståelse af internationale relationer var også fundet da forhandlinger og interaktioner imellem NATOs medlemslande, Rusland og Ukraine benyttede specialiseret aktører til at forhandle på staternes og NATOs vegne. Dette betyder at der fundet retoriske mønstre at artiklerne fokuserer på aktører i forhandlinger frem for stater. Det var yderligere fundet retoriske mønstre igennem liberal internationalisme at NATO enstemmig gerne vil give Ukraine et NATO medlemskab, men at det er NATOs regler og normer der forhindrer NATO i at give Ukraine et formelt medlemskab. Dog var det også fundet at NATO øger Ukraines sikkerhed igennem militære hjælp selvom Ukraine ikke er del af NATO.

På baggrund af analysen kan det konkluderes at det er muligt at finde liberal internationalisme og realisme perspektiver i artiklerne fra The Guardian og The Daily Mail, dog er begreberne og de teoretiske forståelser implicit fundet i artiklerne. Hvilket gør at de retoriske konstruktioner i artiklerne fokuserer på at reflektere kompleksiteten der er internationale relationer, igennem begivenhedsbeskrivelser.

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1.0 Introduction

Tabloids are common methods for people to get their news on events, local politics, state politics, and international politics. The focus of this thesis is within a sliver of international politics and how two news agencies create and manifest a discourse depicting international political events relating to Ukraine's possible membership in The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation during an ongoing war. The idea of studying tabloids has become an important part of the social sciences because scholars such as Zaller have argued that tabloids can influence readers' opinions on topics an article is covering (Zaller, 1992, p. 22 & 58). The notion readers' opinions can change through an article's discourse is highly intriguing because if tabloids can change readers' opinions, this means tabloids carry a political power through the narrative constructed in the articles. However, the construction of the article's narrative is not done by tabloids, but by journalists employed by the tabloids. These journalists should work under the notion of publishing articles as objectively as possible. Nonetheless, objective writing has been proven difficult to achieve since journalists cannot completely remove themselves from an article, this means that an article will contain content reflecting the journalist's political position on the article's topic (Roselle et al., 2014, pp. 79-80; Davis, 2009, p. 215). Therefore, journalists have the possibility to convey their political beliefs to readers. Whereby, the reader's opinion can change position concerning international events or political situations. This can for instance be shown in Russia where evidence among 1.562 news reports and articles on the special military operation launched on the 22nd of February 2022 by Russia (Brusylovska & Maksymenko, 2023, p. 232). These news reports and articles had the important duty to convince Russia's citizens of the importance of liberating Kyiv from nazis terrorising the population, a Ukrainian population Moscow argued was waiting to rejoin Russia for salvation and reunification (Brusylovska & Maksymenko, 2023, p. 232). This brings up the issue that tabloids have been used to gain the support of people for the politicians' agenda as part of a propaganda machine. However, this is not the first instance Russia uses military power on Ukraine or political power for Russia's foreign policy agenda (Mearsheimer, 2014, pp. 2-3). Russia has previously attempted to use political and military force to prevent Ukraine from achieving membership in NATO and The European Union (Moore, 2023, p. 374; Onuch, 2015, p. 27). More information on the international political conflict between Ukraine and Russia can be found in section 2.0. But this means Ukraine's sovereign right to choose of military defence alliance and intergovernmental organisation is taken away from Ukraine and her citizens by a foreign state. Thereby, Russia's actions towards Ukraine are infringing Ukraine's sovereign

right as sovereignty has been understood in Europe since the Westphalian sovereign model (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011). Thus, this war has opened the opportunity to identify an international relations problem because the foreign political interest of both nations has collided and led to war, within the European continent. One of the main issues is Ukraine's desire to join NATO as a military defence alliance which is being opposed by Russia. This has led to support for Ukraine by NATO countries in terms of war supplies and humanitarian aid (Dunfed, 2023, p. 113). Therefore, this thesis argues for investigating how a single European nation and NATO member depicts Ukraine's process for NATO membership in two tabloids. And so, England's two tabloids The Guardian and The Daily Mail have been chosen to investigate how they convey the events surrounding Ukraine's possible NATO membership. This choice is because the Tabloids have the possibility to change the reader's opinion regarding England and the United Kingdom should continue aiding Ukraine and support a Ukrainian possible NATO membership as a nation in war and a nation whose sovereignty is being infringed on by Russia. Therefore, this thesis argues that a problem Has been identified among tabloids and how they convey international political relations, and sovereignty between Russia, Ukraine, and NATO. Thereby, creating a possibility to shift The Guardian's and The Daily Mail's readers' opinions based on how these two tabloids convey their narrative constructions through the language used in the two tabloids' articles.

To investigate this proposed problem, this thesis has created a theoretical lens focusing on liberal internationalism, realism, sovereignty, and language. These theories will be employed with two analytical methods. The first is *corpus analyses* to create a preliminary investigation focusing on the language used within the chosen articles based on a selected keyword to investigate how the journalist uses these keywords to create a certain meaning through the language used. The second is document analysis to extend the analytical field within the articles chosen beyond a keyword immediately surrounding to include a text meaning in a passage. Thus, using these two analytical methods and an inductive exploratory analysis to find patterns that explain phenomena regarding the following problem formulation.

1.1 Problem Formulation

How does the rhetoric in The Guardian and The Daily Mail's articles convey Ukraine's process for NATO membership from a realism and liberal internationalism perspective as a sovereign state in war?

2.0 Background Ukraine Between Two Possible World Powers

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization has seen several expansions since and before the end of the Cold War between the West and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Hooft, 2020, p. 532). From a historical perspective, the relationship between NATO and Russia has been difficult before and after the collapse of the USSA's Warsaw pact from the early discussions surrounding East Germany's membership in NATO (Shiffrinson, 2003, p. 105). The difficulties originate from the perspective of military perspective and NATO influence in the eastern countries of Europe, where Russia through Gorbachev wanted NATO to not employ military forces in east Germany. However, the discussion on German unification and the possibility of East Germany joining NATO was viewed as an inevitability (Lévesque, 1999, pp. 157-158). Nevertheless, the interesting component of this paper is not the East German NATO enlargement, but what is called "The myth of a No NATO enlargement with earlier Warsaw Pact members", which originated from the discussion Between NATO and the Warsaw Pact during the debate about unification of Germany and East Germany's introduction into NATO (Kramer, 2009, p. 39 & 41). This is because a Russian myth stipulates that an agreement was made that NATO will not expand into East Europe thereby lessening Russia's sphere of influence. To help counterbalance Russia's sphere of influence and include Russia's geopolitical concerns Russia was given the possibility to have delegations in NATO. Whereby, Russia gained a say but not a vote or veto right (Zubok, 2023, p. 150). Furthermore, in 1993 and signed in 1994 a new NATO program was established called *Partners for Peace* shortened to PFP (Chinchilla & Poast, 2023, p. 350). This program included earlier USSR member states including Russia and Ukraine, where PFP aimed to establish a medium between its members to establish security, stability, and peace between non-NATO members and NATO members (Chinchilla & Poast, pp. 350-352). The PFP program were also part of the Budapest Memorandum in 1994, where Ukraine agreed to give up a sizable nuclear weapon starting packed that it had inherited from the fall of the Warsaw Pact, these nuclear weapons were given up for the purpose of not being viewed as a Nuclear threat, increase Ukraine's good faith on the international scene, to receive defensive insurance, ensure sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence between the signatories (Budjeryn & Umland, 2021, pp. 178, 182, & 187). Therefore, from the perspective of the Budapest Memorandum can it be understood the signatories have reinstated the norms that originated from the *Treaty of Westphalia* and given Ukraine's desire for sovereignty and political freedom (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011).

In 2008 at the Bucharest summit were USA's president G.W. Bush ready to hand Ukraine and Georgia their map with the political and social structural goals they had to achieve before gaining NATO membership. However, France and Germany opposed the plan of giving Ukraine and Georgia their maps out of fear of Russia's reaction to NATO having a direct border with the old surviving enemy from the Cold War (Mearsheimer, 2014, p. 2). While these two nations were denied their NATO map and attempted to achieve membership in their desired defence alliance. Nevertheless, the Summit made a statement containing the following Declaration "These countries will become members of NATO" (Mearsheimer, 2014, p. 3). But during the third quarter of 2008, Russia decided to launch its invasion of Georgia since "Putin sought to keep Georgia weak and divided – and out of NATO" (Mearsheimer, 2014, p. 3).

In 2014 the Maiden revolution occurred in Ukraine where Ukrainian citizens took to the streets in protest over Ukraine's government's negligence in their duties to join NATO & The European Union as promised in the 2010 presidential election. However, influence from Russia ensured that the Ukraine government did not fulfil their promise (Onuch, 2015, p. 27). In 2014 Russia invaded and annexed Crimean (Moore, 2023, p. 374), These two cases can be used to strongly argue that Russia is not fulfilling the Budapest Memorandum concerning sovereignty, territorial integrity, and political independence, but that Russia is engaging in its foreign political agenda. This approach by Russia was again shown on the 22nd of February 2022, when Russia fully invaded Ukraine under the label of a special military operation (Shiffrinson, 2003, p. 105). This strongly suggests that Russia's approach to the memorandum is forgone for what is described as self-preservation due to Russia do not desire Ukraine to become a member of the European Union and NATO thereby bringing NATO close to the Russian border which is viewed in Russia as a security risk (Marten, 2023, p. 237).

There have been three large common denominators within these two pages where NATO and NATO's member states unwilling to extend the necessary aid in the form of a membership to Ukraine, the extent of proper defensive measures in case of an attack on Ukraine's sovereignty, or a membership has been blocked by fear of possible the consequences by member states. Therefore, it can be argued that the 29 years Ukraine has sought safety through international relations with the West. However, for stated reasons, the West has been withholding Ukraine the full defensive commitment as a NATO membership. Where Ukraine will become Protected by NATO's Article 5, in case of an Attack from a hostile adversary or granted military aid both in the form of supplies but also personnel on the ground from the West. These are the types of help Ukraine sought after from the 1994 Budapest memorandum. Ukraine gave up its nuclear

stater package for sovereign recognition, good international standing among other nations, and military aid in case of invasion. As Mearsheimer has argued the Western nations and NATO have promised but not delivered, while Russia has seen weaknesses and exploited this repeated trend by the Western nations and NATO (Mearsheimer, 2014, pp. 1-2).

3.0 Theory

3.1 International Relations Theory

International relations theory is not a general theory, but it is multiple theories that attempts to explains how international relations and political actors can view the world across borders. Thus, international relations theory should be understood to explain the actions between political actors within a globalised world. Within this thesis the two chosen international relation theories are Liberal internationalism and Realism, these will be used to help explain the following five subjects: How does states interpretate international forces? How can states rationalise political interaction across the nations border? How does states interpret sovereignty? How dose states conceptualise power? And how does states interact and understand NGO, IGO, and military alliances? These five subjects resonate with the international relations theories purpose within the problem formulation and reflected into the two following sub sections.

3.1.1 Liberal Internationalism

Liberal internationalism views the international arena as something that should be controlled through a *juridical system* with a judge and jury system (Dunne, 2020, p. 105). This system is consisting of three definitive articles, where states focus is on the individual decision on international topics such as war and trade, where the state's population have the right to decide if the state should engage in a taxing endeavour as war (Dunne, 2020, p. 106). This is concentrated on the second article, where states have the right to choose the state's means of defensive security and offensive decisions based on a state's population's decision. Whereby, the notion of global league or a *Pacific federation* can be used to determine a state's peace by operating on objective reality, where the Pacific federation can navigate between states to secure peace through a juridical system (Dunne, 2020, p. 106). Lastly, the third definitive article argues that pacific federation exists through the interest of the world's populations, whereby, the federation principles of operation is an "unwritten code of political and international right, transforming it into a universal right of humanity" (Dunne, 2020, p. 106). These three definitive articles' principles can be argued to have focus on a given nation's

sovereignty through the Democratic process of election, where the states retrain a sovereign right, but this right is reduced through the Pacific federation and its juridical system with is a focus on international rights and right of humanity. Whereas, the three principles, it is argued to reduce a state's sovereignty. However, as a principle of the pacific federation can be argued to reduce sovereign rights due to the state is subject to an international juridical system. These three principles can thus be understood as the state operate on a democratic system, where the state as a representation of its citizens has the right to engage in international interaction as war, trade, aid and so on. However, while the state can engage in these acts the state is also subject to an international pacific federation that can broker peach through law between the two states.

Liberal internationalism employs the idea of peace achieved through law occurs through Liberal internationalism practices institutionalism. Whereby, states participate in a pacific federation, that has the purpose to make and enforce common rules that all member states should abide by (Dunne, 2020, pp. 107-108). Taking Liberal internationalism and institutionalism into consideration it can be interpreted that participating stats have sovereignty within their given borders, but these states agree to a set of rules they must abide by on the international scene. These rules have been achieved through a democratic system and enforced through a juridical system (Dunne, 2020, pp. 108-109). Where, state's whose actions violate these rules will be placed before a judge and jury. Where Liberal internationalism can be represented by NATO, the European Union, and the United Nations in a normative perspective. Normative is being used because states within the UN are not equal due to the five nations among the security council has veto right over decisions, and the US and her allies conducted military operations in the middle east during the 2000's despite the UN's opposition to these military operations did the operations continue without much in terms of consequences from the UN (Dunne, 2020, p. 109). Therefore, it can be argued that this pacific federation is ideally suppose enforce rules states have agreed on through a judge and jury system. Whereby, the pacific federation is an attempt create order above the state level in a chaotic world.

It has been argued that the current version of Liberal internationalism is called 2.0 since Liberal internationalism 1.0 failed leading up to the second world war after the League of Nations could not control Nazi Germany (Ikenberry, 2009, pp. 76 & 78). However, Liberal internationalism 2.0 is based on a Western-oriented security and economic system built on cooperative security (Ikenberry, 2009, p. 76). The idea of Westphalian sovereignty has changed regarding nations' security and economics, while sovereignty remains a core aspect of Liberal

internationalism. However, changes have occurred in intergovernmental organisations facilitating the possibility that “governments would bargain, consult, and coordinate their policies with other governments” (Ikenberry, 2009, p. 77). Whereby, a government becomes influenced by other governments through international institutions. Their sovereignty is reduced through participation in new institutions where states can be influenced by other states (Ikenberry, 2009, p. 77). Europe and the Western world saw a shift where the USA gained a hegemony on the question of security and economics, where security through the USA “winning” the Cold War and economic hegemony by the American dollar being the world’s reserve currency (Ikenberry, 2009, p. 77). This means that there is a correlation between Liberal internationalism 2.0 and the three definitive articles explained in the first paragraph of this section. Whereby, Liberal internationalism focus on “treaty-based rules and norms.” (Ikenberry, 2009, p. 78). These states agree to these rules and norms. However, these rules and norms are not laws but processes and mechanisms to create a functional world, where the agreed upon processes and mechanisms are institutional parameters within a normative structure (Ikenberry, 2009, p. 78). This means that states interaction between each other occurs through agreed upon processes and mechanisms. Thereby, an institution is creating a form for order between the states. This indicates Liberal internationalism view rules and norms to guide states through a chaotic world, where actors on the global stage attempt to get their desires fulfilled at the expense of other states. Where, rules and norms become a common mechanism or process facilitating interactions between states. Thus, creating an equilibrium among raging political interests.

3.1.2 Realism

Realism has seen multiple versions of itself over the years, where this thesis will focus on neorealism, offensive realism, and neoclassical Realism as the chosen versions of realism. The reason for this is all three still have a place in the academic debate and deserve consideration (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, pp. 135-136).

This section will start with a series of central and important terms that are sheared denominators for alle three version of realism. The term *anarchy* is the idea of international political interaction create a chaotic whirlpool that are international political relations. Anarchy is a chaotic whirlpool which means that the political forces above the state's level clash with one another as they attempt to achieve their political desire within the international arena (Korvela, 2018, p. 35; Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 135). Anarchy occurs when states attempt to exercise policies outside their borders. *Statism* is a term used when a state exercise policy within or

outside the state to achieve a desired purpose, where the state is established when a collective of people have given consent to the state thus legitimised the state's sovereignty within the state's border (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 135). Thereby, statism becomes an attempt to ensure the state's own *survival* and exercise *power* through policies within the state's borders or within the international political arena of anarchy (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 135). Survival and power are two terms used as consequences of each other, where power is in terms of one state's military power and political power concerning another state through calculated and analysed means (Guzzini, 2013, p. 115; Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 135). The difference between these two is complex, but military power refers to the functional power a state can use to attack another nation or defend itself from an attacking state hence the state's pursuit of one does not entail the loss of the other (Guzzini, 2013, pp. 115-116). These power terms can also help ensure the state's survival because a state with sufficient power can repeal attackers or detour an adversary from undesirable political decision-making (Guzzini, 2013, p. 117; Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 135). The actions states commit within anarchy are called *self-help* if the actions are committed for the state's survival (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 135). Within, the traditional sense of realism does not entrust itself to other states or international institutions because states unlike their civilians cannot dial for global law enforcement when facing imminent danger from other states since the reality among realists is states attempt to Ensure their survival in a whirlpool of anarchy, politics, and desires. *Self-help* in terms of survival is also where states will find the desire to join defence alliances like NATO by *bandwagon* with other states to counterbalance a third state's attempt at regional or global hegemony. Thereby, bandwagon increases the states' chances of survival by combining their defensive and offensive power to increase their survival (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 140). However, in turn, joining defence alliances, intergovernmental organisations and non-intergovernmental organisations means states are willing to adopt rules and norms to increase their chances for survival (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 140).

Structural realism currently has two active branches of theories, the first one is neorealism by Waltz and the second is offensive realism by Mearsheimer. Neorealism originally argued that international politics is a struggle between states there is exercising statism to gain power through means of "security competition, inter-state conflict, and difficulties of achieving international cooperation" (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). This contributed to the international arena that contains international politics was in a constant state of anarchy (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). Anarchy was constructed due to the absence of three important

elements states utilise statism to achieve which are *organising principles*, *differentiation of units*, and *distribution of capabilities* (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). Where, organising principles come in two forms, the first one is anarchy and the other one is a lack of an international hierarchy among states that can create order (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). The differentiation of units deals with what kind of state statism is being used, whereby the question arises is the state similar or how does it differ from the state attempting to engage in international politics (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137)? This means states within similar political structure, laws, and how statism is conducted matter. However, concepts as democracy or totalitarianism does not matter for the differentiation of unit, this is because the important aspect is how states conduct statism. Lastly, the distribution of capabilities is to be considered the only independent variable hence the two others are dependent variables, when analysing international politics from the structural realism perspective or if states aim to conduct statism through structural realism (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). This independent variable is focused on “war and peace, alliance politics, and the balance of power” (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). These variables are used to calculate how much power states have and rank different states concerning this power level (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). This take on power is due to structural realism views power to achieve survival since survival is the highest aim for statecraft (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). Thus, states will use means such as alliance, trade, cooperation and so on to increase the states own possibility of survival (Ripsman et al., 2016, p. 18). While the prospects of how neorealism view anarchy and that it emphasises the importance power, self-help. statism are important variables for the theory. However, this thesis is not constructed to consider these aspects of neorealism. Conversely, the emphasise on the importance of survival and anarchy in reflection of how the state can survive. Thereby, focusing on defensive power for survival and committing to the prospects of survival through defence it does mean, that neorealism considers the important shared themes from realism theory to be focused on defensive and survival.

Offensive realism differs in a few ways from neorealism. This is because Mearsheimer argues for states are power maximisers compared to security maximisers as Waltz argued (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). Whereby, states must increase their power to ensure their survival due to states cannot rely on Aid from other actors, within the anarchy of the international political arena or the intentions exercised by other states (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). Therefore, power maximisation becomes a principle that allows a state to self-help and achieve the state’s survival or possibility to achieve political goals within the international political arena (Harald,

2022, p. 1882). While power maximisation is the aim of offensive realism for survival. It can be argued the goal of any state, from an offensive realism perspective, is unachievable since it will be impossible for any state to achieve *global hegemony* over the international system. However, another recognised goal is regional hegemony (Harald, 2022, p. 1876; Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 137). Comparison between neorealism and offensive realism is a good method to understand how these two differs, which is on the lines of how statism and self-help is conducted since neorealism conduct these two based on defensive measures for survival. However, offensive realism base statism and self-help on the idea of offensive measures to ensure survival, where power is exercised over other states to ensure the power exercisers desires is ensured. Consequently, this means the term power is viewed in terms of possibility to use military power to enforce the states will if political pressure failed to achieve its desired goals.

Neoclassical realism as the third and final version of realism covered in this thesis, argues from the position of *distribution of power* as an explanatory variable for states to explain why states behave in a certain manner (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 138). However, Neoclassical realism argue for different type of actors within realm of the international politics by adding “individual- and domestic-level factors into their explanations of world politics” (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 138). It is argued that international politics also must include the idea and will of individual actors and domestic changes within a state’s borders “as an intervening variable between the distribution of power and foreign policy behaviour” (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 138). This can take the form of a certain increase in volunteers for conscription after a national level election or an increase in a certain political ideology during an election season. These two examples can influence the power level of a given state through a change in individual actors’ behaviour which will change how other states view and attempt to evaluate that state in terms of power level (Rose, 1998, p. 158). This is detrimental due to neoclassical realism, where states and anarchy can affect more when the states as individual’s agenda and movements within the domestic sphere of influence can influence power and security calculations. This means that individual or groups raise their influence on a point where they have political power for instance Bill Gates on computers or first wave feminism where women organised to gain a right to vote and property right thereby gain political power. However, the distribution of power should not be seen as Waltz’s idea of units, where states become comparable to each other, but states are viewed as different within neoclassical realism because states can achieve power through utilising the state’s resource capacities, from areas the state

control, for the purpose to maximise the potential state power and state survival in response to another state (Dunne & Schmidt, 2020, p. 138; Ripsman et al., 2016, p. 24). This is understood as a state must be viewed as dynamic power and survival maximisers (Rose, 1998, p. 165), but also unique through the means of maximising since not two states can be equal in their proficiency in maximising a resource nor contain an equal amount of resource. Thus, neoclassical realism does not rely on independent variables and two dependent variables for its measurement of another state, but neoclassical realism does rely on intermediate variables in its calculations. Where the two other realism added focus on defensive and offensive power as means of surviving anarchy. However, this is not case with Neoclassical realism due to the acknowledgement of states differs in proficiency within different fields as the idea of power or can be translated into defensive and offensive power. Whereby, power becomes dynamic and problematic to calculated due to the additional viables, but neoclassical realism also adds the idea of individuals and groups becomes political influencers on the state level and within the international anarchy. Consequently, this means it is no longer only states that has influence within anarchy, but individual agenda becomes influential.

Table 1*International Relation Matrix.*

	Sovereignty	Power	States interpretation of international political environment	States interaction with the international environment	States interact with IGO, NGO, and alliances
Liberal internationalism	Nations maintain a sovereign right within their borders.	The use of power is based on the population's decision if the state should embark on a costly military campaign.	Cooperation through institutions and judicial system.	States are free to interact within the international environment as they follow a set of agreed norms and rules if not disagreement is resolved through a international judicial system.	States participate in its NGO, IGO, and alliances processes while following norms and rules.
Structural realism	States are viewed as sovereign as per the Westphalian sovereignty model.	States view power as a defensive measure for survival of the state.	states view the international arena as dangerous anarchy towards the state due to other states intent is unclear.	States interact freely within the international arena and conduct statism and self-help for the state's survival.	States join IGO, NGO and alliances as measure to increase the state's chance to survive.
Offensive realism	States are viewed as sovereign as per the Westphalian sovereignty model.	States view power in an offensive misuser as military and political power to ensure the states intent on other states.	States view the international arena as anarchy, where states compete for power.	States interact freely within the international arena to conduct statism and self-help to by enforcing its political intent on other states and attempt to gain a hegemony.	States join IGO, NGO, and alliances rebalances the current power balance as a bandwagon process to ensure survival.
Neoclassical realism	States are viewed as sovereign as per the Westphalian sovereignty model.	Power is both offensive and defensive, but the important part is proficiency a state can must gain an advantage over other states.	States view the international arena as dynamic anarchy, where states, individuals and organisations compete to achieve their desired goal within the international arena.	States interact freely within the international arena with multiple actors to attempt to achieve the state's goal or ensure the states survival.	States join IGO, NGO, and alliances as they desire due to the organisations and the states act as dynamic actors.

Note. Table 1. The table give a summary of how each of the different international relations theories chosen reflects the idea of Sovereignty, Power, States interpretation of international political environment, States interaction with the international environment, and States interact with NGO, IGO, and alliances.

3.2 Sovereignty, Rules, and Norms From an International Perspective

Rules and norms from treaties are difficult subject to consider due to some of these treaties are referred to as agreements instigating rules, conditions, and norms, but treaties are also used as reference points for large destructive events in history (Carvalho et al., 2011, p. 755). This usage is partly correct but also false due to a case as The Great War did not end with the Treaty of Versailles, but the Treaty of Versailles is the condition for the end of The War to End All Wars alongside a series of different treaties (Carvalho et al., 2011, pp. 755-756). However, the end to The Great War was the armistice of November 11 there formerly ended fighting at 11:00 hour on the 11 day of the 11 month within the year 1918. But how does an armistice differ from the treaty? This can be answered by an armistice is signed by ranked military personnel thus Ensure temporary peace, whereas a treaty is signed by diplomats and politicians to ensure a longer-term peace between fighting states or at least 20 years in this case (Litvin, 2018, pp. 16-17 and 19-21). It can be argued for treaty ensures peace but not for the immediate conflict, but for the time afterwards the immediate conflict have ceased fire. So why is this important for sovereignty in a European Westphalian context? The Westphalian sovereignty model came into existence after one of Europe's bloodiest wars as a treaty was signed by most states in existence at the time. As these states took part in the bloodshed during the 17th-century's conflict that was the Thirty Years War. However, states that remained neutral during the conflict also signed the Treaty of Westphalia (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, pp. 110-111). What did this treaty contain for states since the treaty was not only for the warring states, but also for states from all corners of Europe, that had an interest in signing the Treaty of Westphalia? This was because the treaty included a new model of sovereignty stipulating that a state has the right to exercise power within the state's borders without outside interference, states have religious rights to be independent of the various versions of religions and the state may choose its religion without outside interference, and states may choose military alliance of own will, and the default state among states is henceforth a state of peace unless otherwise have been announce between two states (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011). These changes in international relations between European states are significant as norms and rules between states. However, the significance of these norms and rules, became the foundation for how states operate independently and internationally. Nonetheless, this can also mean that the Treaty of Westphalia is directly and indirectly an important part of how the current global society interact

with international norms and rules alongside the political mechanism of the sovereign states through global and national level (Stirk, 2005, p. 168).

3.2.1 The Treaty of Westphalia

From the international level. The Treaty of Westphalia stipulates in Article I, that a universal peace must be found among participants of the Thirty Years' War or those whom it may be concerned or interested (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 75). This is a peace bond among the states as the default situation (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 75). Where article CXXIII stipulates if states in the international arena or among each other feel their sovereign rights and borders disrupted by an opposing state, they must an attempt be made to this dispute within a juridical court before warfare is viewed as a viable option for settlement (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 109). Thus, an argument can be made from a view of the original treaty a natural state between nations should be that of peace compared to the destructive force that is war. Furthermore, it can be argued that after the destruction during the Thirty Years' War, an attempt to avoid war was created by having states agree on a norm to settle disputes in a juridical setting.

The sovereignty perspective of Westphalia is written so sovereignty in its originally agreed state in article LXIII that states have been freed from interference committed by the holy Roman Empire as a statecraft and regional matter (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, pp. 91-92). In the article, LXIV is the idea of sovereignty extended from statecraft and regional but is made to contain the following aspects of sovereignty “Prerogatives, Libertys, Privileges, free exercise of Territorial Right,” (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 92). Where, the exercise of territorial rights and the question of how sovereignty and security LXV is addressed as states have the right to raise armies and retrain the right to declare war on another state if so desired since the state maintains its right to “the making or interpreting of Laws, the declaring of Wars, imposing of Taxes, levying or quartering of Soldiers” (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 92). However, this is also the article where the idea of alliances becomes notable within the Treaty of Westphalia since the state is left to choose how to protect itself and contract cross-border alliances for self-defined purposes (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 92). The LXVII article stipulates that states and free towns under the Holy Roman Empire should have the same sovereign rights as states outside the Holy Roman Empire, thus granting the citizens within these areas of religion a sovereign right that partly split the idea of statecraft from religion (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 93). The last article used from the Treaty of Westphalia in Regret to Sovereignty is article LXX is concerning trade, whereby area Commerce where cities

and trade routes were granted to authority to change trade partners based on cities and states' desires compared to prior religious restrictions, from the Holy Roman empire (Treaty of Westphalia, 2011, p. 94). Westphalia sovereignty can thus from these articles and their content be argued to form a foundation on which states got to pick and decide their direction may it be within statecraft, foreign affairs, religion, security, trade, war, and law interpretation. These seven points in their flesh-out version creates a clear definition of what a European idea of sovereignty had to consisted of, after a war in which destruction in human lives will not be seen on the European continent until the Second World War (Daudin, 2017; Britannica, 2023).

3.3 Power and Language

3.3.1 Language as Social Practice in Discourse

Why is language important to consider and what does it mean when language is part of a social practice and the discourse constructed inside a complex system of relation that is society? Language allows us to formulate questions to guide our perception of life and social practices as what is going on now, what has happened in the past, and where are we going. These questions form a part of language as a social practice, which can be argued to imply the following three aspects of language. “Firstly, that language is a part of society, and not somehow external to it. Secondly, language is a social process. And thirdly, that language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other (non-linguistic) parts of society” (Fairclough, 2014, pp. 55-56). The first aspects can be extended to. Language can thus be argued to be an important aspect of society, where language is structured into a social practice, norms, and expectations of social interaction with other people across a society that shares the same language thus language is an internal part of society. Whereby, language becomes conventionalised by practising it, through a twofold linguistic phenomenon of verbal and literary exchanges between people (Fairclough, 2014, p. 56). However, language can also be determined as a social phenomenon where people share their opinions through reflection and expression of the perceived world (Fairclough, 2014, p. 56). Therefore, language can be understood to be practice under norms and expectations, where the practices and norms are conventionalist if they are practised. Consequently, a norm and practice change hence how a topic is communicated if a new practice begins, this means that in tabloids a topic can change from positive descriptions to negative if a new practice becomes established.

The second aspect. Language as a social practice is placed in *differentiates discourse* originated from text, where written and speech can be determined as a text. Whereby, the text is a fully released utterance or text that has been produced (Fairclough, 2014, p. 57). The discourse

process is an understanding of how the text language has been processed through social interactions (Fairclough, 2014, p. 57). This is done by the *process of production* and *process of interpretation*, where the process of production can be understood as the social process a text has been produced in. On the other hand, the process of interpretation is where the text is identified as a resource for understanding (Fairclough, 2014, p. 57). This can be explained by properties from the production of the text, that allows the reader to find *traces* in the text to guide the reader to understand the condition a text was produced under. Whereby, the interpretation is based on *cues* that allow the reader to contextualise and interplay the text between the text's properties and the preestablished knowledge the reader have from the world called *members resources* (Fairclough, 2014, p. 57). Thereby, it is important that the analysis reflect the traces and conditions that a text has been produced under because these conditions will allow the reader to connect the text to a larger meaning. Additionally, traces will allow the reader to connect the text to the readers preestablished knowledge and a larger social setting to thus contextualise the text to the readers world view.

The third aspect introduces how the text level can be understood as textual discourse from a social perspective and practices by explaining the means of its production and how this production creates traces that the people use to interpret the text as cues for their interplay with the reader's preexisting knowledge of the world or *member resources* (Fairclough, 2014, p. 57). Thus, a text becomes an interaction between the text as an interaction device with traces and cues that trigger resources inside the reader to create an understanding of the text discourse. Member resources are socially transmitted through an individual's society as a means of common knowledge that is expected of people to have internalized. This comes into play as the *social condition of production* and the *social condition of interpretation* (Fairclough, 2014, p. 57). Where the reader has both social elements developed in a social society as the member resources, but in this case social condition of production occurs in three levels a social situation where the discord is situated, a social institution level where the discourse can be understood in a border situation, and finally in complete perspective that the reader have access to (Fairclough, 2014, pp. 57-58). Where the social condition of interpretation work contextualises text and constructs traces and cues in line with member resources to create an understanding through the different levels of social conditions of production thus making a cohesive and progressive understanding of the discourse in front of the reader (Fairclough, 2014, p. 58). Therefore, it can be reasoned that discursive language usage uses social condition which is specified as "social conditions of production, and social conditions of interpretation"

(Fairclough, 2014, p. 58). Where, language and power understand discourse as a practice that is layered with a text or speech as the core from which processes of production and interpretation are used to trigger traces and cues within member resources. Consequently, the member resources allow the audience to begin to create a discursive connection between the core and society, which will trigger the social condition of production and - interpretation. Whereby the discursive connection between the three social levels constructs a situational, institutional, and finally perspective level. Thus, allowing the audience to connect a text or speech to their full capacity of discursive social practices. This multi-levelled structure becomes a key argument for Fairclough and critical language studies approach to social practices and how language use becomes determined in discourse and effectively used within society as a discursive hierarchy (Fairclough, 2014, p. 71).

3.3.2 Language as Power in Discourse

The introduction section to this thesis made an argument, that media discourse can change audience's preestablished ideas and opinions through Zaller's theory and narrative construction in newspapers through Roselle, Miskimmon, and Oo'loughlin articles. However, how does language contain power within articles and how does discourse exercise power through the interaction with the reader?

Within critical language studies is it argued that language's power manifests itself in one of three ways through the idea of *constraints*, whereby constraints are divided into *contents*, *relations*, and *subjects* (Fairclough, 2014, p. 75). These three forms of constraints in the language have their structural effect on the reader, where contents have a *knowledge and beliefs* structural effect, relations have a *social relationship* effect, and subjects have a *social identities* effect (Fairclough, 2014, pp. 75 & 99). Where three constraints and their structural effects are viewed as mechanisms that facilitates power, these mechanisms can manifest in one of three methods. The first of three mechanisms can be used in discord due to language can be utilised in a manner, where there is no alternative to contest the stated statement thus the statement must be accepted (Fairclough, 2014, p. 99). the second mechanism can be used is where, language can be structured in a manner where the exercise of power is hidden thus composing an *inculcation* in the language employed (Fairclough, 2014, p. 99). Finally, third mechanism language can be coordinated in a manner where the rational choice of acceptance is made through communication and debate (Fairclough, 2014, p. 99).

These three mechanisms of coordinating the language can be used for different purposes, the inculcation can be employed to motivate and re-create norms within a discourse to its natural state. Thereby, inculcation becomes a power mechanism, where the power-holder preserve a current power distribution through language discourse (Fairclough, 2014, p. 99). This can be understood as discourse can maintain its power through inculcation as a repeat of a language structure within a text means that the language structure will be less likely to be contested to a degree where the discourse and the language will change. Thereby, the language structure is changing the status quo of the discourse. Thus, a discourse can be viewed in terms of power through repeated exposure to the language and means of communication. However, this also means that the reader who is exposed to this repeated discourse through the language and different means of communication will begin to accept the discourse as true unless the discourse is being contested by other discursive forces.

3.3.3 Common Sense and Ideology in Discourse

Common sense is related to the *coherence* within the discourse and is part of how the discourse is interpreted. Coherence is viewed to understand how texts are linked together and how texts are linked to the larger world outside the narrative and its themes (Fairclough, 2014, p. 102). Coherence connection between texts is accomplished by the reader via two components. The first is, a text the reader must figure out how texts connect through coherence thematic similarities, secondly, these connections are important in situating a text within the context of the world by the reader is comparing the text's coherence connection to the reader's references to the world through the readers' members resources (Fairclough, 2014, p. 102). This means that connection made in the text does not originate in the text, but they are information pieces that are being interpreted alongside a set of implicit assumptions and expectations that a reader already has created (Fairclough, 2014, p. 102). Therefore, people create for themselves a preestablished set of understanding and expectations based on an individual's implicit understanding of the world that the reader attempts to place over a text to help create a coherent connection to the text.

Common-sense and ideology are not inherently connected but effect each other because ideology is a part of the individual's social and political life thus ideology can turn a topic into common-sense for the reader instead of identifying the topic as ideological (Fairclough, 2014, pp. 107 & 126). Whereby, *naturalization* occurs in the text leading the reader not to identify the ideological cues but understand the cues as common-sensical (Fairclough, 2014, p. 126). Thereby, obscuring the cues and the ideology's view on society as common-sense, this is an

effective means of ideology changing how the world is viewed by changing the readers member resources (Fairclough, 2014, p. 126). This means readers will have different common-sense positions and take them for granted when viewing reality through ideology (Fairclough, 2014, p. 107). This can be taken to mean that ideology view of the world also becomes a mean to understand different discourse as common sense for the individual, since the individual already have ideological perceptions of the world. However, ideology is also problematic as it changes how individuals view the world and politics in its fundamental aspect. Therefore, it also means that ideology can overshadow opposing ideas to the point where the earlier discourse cannot be contested, and people can change views will not change their views because of an overwhelming reliance on an ideology. However, if that's not the case a discourse held by a person can be contested and changed (Fairclough, 2014, p. 109). Nonetheless, an individual can also possess a divided ideology belief system, where the individual use different ideologies from different social systems, arenas, and interest (Fairclough, 2014, p. 110). Where it has been argued in critical language studies that the acquisition of additional ideology can occur in schools, where a nation's kids will develop a set of ideologies that are placed in a common ground institution. While institutions can develop a set of common ground ideology individuals also develop ideology from other areas of life thereby creating their understanding of the world by combining these ideologies (Fairclough, 2014, p. 110). This means that the individual can employ multiple sets of ideology and coherence interpretation of a text, but this is based on the ground, that an individual can identify and contest the institutional power in a text thus the individual uses multiple interpretation strategies to identify the text (Fairclough, 2014, p. 110). But where does this ideology come from besides the social arena, ideology also includes common sense and the struggle there is between ideology and common sense (Fairclough, 2014, p. 110). So, ideology takes an odd position in language and power theory, but it is meant to be understood as a collection of meaning systems, whereby the individual can store it linguistic, social, and political meaning of the world which the individual can draw onto create and interpret the world through different means as discussed earlier (Fairclough, 2014, p. 115). Common sense can be understood as an ideological point of view where an understanding of something in common sense is based on schemes that easily can be drawn on as a definition in the Oxford Dictionary (Fairclough, 2014, p. 115). Whereby, these dictionary definitions will become so common for the individual that they will be hard to displace and have effect power within the person's schemes to the point that they gain an ideology effect which is called *naturalization* (Fairclough, 2014, p. 115).

4.0 Method

4.1 Design

The thesis uses a *cross-section* design due to the fact it is chosen not to investigate if there is a change or development over time as longitudinal research would accomplish (Bryman, 2016, pp. 53 & 59). However, the thesis aims to investigate and find evidence for how written language is used as a static component of communication as a tabloid's rhetoric is depicting events through language from a dynamic world to a reader. However, the thesis recognises this as problematic since language and world events can be viewed as dynamic, but the thesis is going to analyse them as static because it is not desired to look for changes but patterns in language use. A static treatment of the data has been chosen since the thesis collects data from the 22nd of February 2022 to the 12th of October 2023, thus from the start of the war to the 12th of October 2023. Where the 12th of October 2023 has been chosen due to an article in The Guardian where NATO's general secretary Jens Stoltenberg in an interview on the 28th of September 2023 mentioned NATO has prepared ammunition manufacturing contracts for its member nations and Ukraine thus indicating strong ties to NATO (Slawson et al., 2023). Thereby, locking the data collected within a period where previous events and future event development will not be considered, where the exception is section 2 (Bryman, 2016, p. 56; de Vaus, 2001, p. 50). And so, the collated data will not be treated as published over time but as a collated number of documents from two different sources that contain a language and event(s) belonging to a singular overall event containing multiple actors.

The data collated will be used in a singular *revelatory case study* with two comparative data sources (de Vaus, 2001, p. 63). The revelatory Case study has been chosen since The Guardian and The Daily Mail as data sources are arguably comparable, but it is not desired to compare the two tabloids because the aim is to investigate, how these two tabloids utilise language to convey events from a theoretical perspective. Where the data will be used to investigate as single collected unit of data depicting the events connected to Ukraine's attempt to join NATO during a war, which allows for a unique research opportunity (de Vaus, 2001, p. 61). This means the case study's structure and approach allow the thesis to investigation two unique entities that can be analysed as a single unit, which can be investigated for rhetoric patterns used by a tabloid's journalists. Thereby, this thesis investigates how the two tabloids create linguistic rhetoric corresponding to how Liberal internationalism and realism(s) views international politics and events as normative theories. Subsequently, the idea of "how" The Guardian and The Daily Mail convey these events in their articles as two different sources

which are known as being political oppositions frame and convey this event is viewed as the important factor (de Vaus, 2001, pp. 50-51; Newman et al., 2022, p. 38). This also means that the data used for this thesis represent tabloids associated with left and right political spectrum. Thus, it can be argued this thesis external validation comes from the data collected is representative of the English tabloids because The Guardians and The Daily Mail's political affiliations can be viewed as representative of English tabloids (Newman et al., 2022, p. 38). Consequently, this thesis results can be extended to wider amount of English tabloids, but an argument for further external validation outside England require research into other nations tabloids.

This thesis combines *deductive* design and *inductive* design. Where the deductive design is from a fundamental interest in international politics and how international politics or interactions have meant for sovereignty and how language is used to depict international politics and interactions through theory (de Vaus, 2001, pp. 6-7; Bryman, 2016, p. 21). Additionally, this thesis employ *inductive* components within the thesis since the focus is on European ideas of sovereignty, the Russian-Ukrainian war from the 22nd of February 2022, and how two tabloids use language in their articles is based on subjective interest. Thereby, inductive design is part of the problem formulation construction. And so, how Liberal internationalism, realism, and sovereignty are at work in the language used by the two tabloids when covering this event is the deductive part of the problem formulation (de Vaus, 2001, pp. 5-6; Bryman, 2016, p. 23). This means that the theoretical considerations of this thesis are deductive, while the themes and ideas for where the data gathering came from are inductive. Therefore, this thesis uses both deductive and inductive approaches to construct its design from identifying a problem area to choosing theoretical tools. Thereby, placing the problem formulation in an overlapping dimension between inductive and deductive method. However, the thesis does not aim to be theory testing or theory generating. Consequently, the thesis's is using an inductive *explorative* analytical approach to the analyses because the aim of the thesis is to investigate rhetorical patterns used in the articles (Andersen, 2019, p. 36). Whereby, the investigation focuses on the linguistic phenomena used by journalists to describe Ukraine's possible NATO membership in relation to the four theories as terms to understand how the articles describe the events between Ukraine and NATO from an established academic position (Andersen, 2019, p. 66). This means the problem formulation is not viewed to have a concrete answer, but this thesis investigates connections between the problem formulation and data by using the theories as means to view the real world (Andersen, 2019, p. 66). Hence, the

investigation aims to find patterns that can cast light on the problem formulation for further research since this area of research can be regarded as less researched to be unknown (Andersen, 2019, p. 66). Subsequently, this means the thesis purpose is to find connection between the problem formulation and the data by investigating rhetorical patterns as linguistic phenomena that can be used for later research.

4.2 Data Gathering

As stated in the introduction it has been decided to use two different tabloids from England. Respectively *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*. This is to limit the number of articles used within this thesis, but also to investigate how the two tabloids depict a possible Ukrainian NATO membership differently to their readers. A second reason for choosing *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* is they are recognised as oppositions to each other within England's political system, where *The Guardian* is recognised as a left-wing tabloid compared to *The Daily Mail* is recognised as a right-wing tabloid (Newman et al, 2022, pp. 38-40). However, why is it recognised as important if a tabloid is left or right-wing? It is argued that right and left winged tabloids will correspond to Liberal internationalism and Realism due to left-wing policies normatively Favouring cooperation among nations and the right-wing favours a strong independent state (Heywood, 2013, pp. 32, 35 and 183). Nonetheless, the political position of the two tabloids is to generalise the data as a representation for English tabloids (Bryman, 2016, p. 42). However, due to two tabloids are a low number to make an actual representation of a nation's tabloids. Consequently, the thesis is acknowledging that this case study is potentially small, but a *moderatum* generalisation of English tabloids can be considered fruitful, thus findings based on this thesis's data pool can be used as recognisable features in English tabloids.

The topic search method has been chosen instead of the *focused search method*, this is because the focused search method does not include the notion that journalists can use synonyms for words, that are being searched for. Therefore, the focused search method can through its strict conditions in the selection process have articles slip through the progress thus allowing for important data for the thesis (Ingemann et al., 2018, pp. 82-83; Lynggaard, 2020, pp. 191-192). This also means that the chosen search method is less strict in its method, but the topic search method uses keywords that are not necessarily theory-bound, but these keywords are bound to the themes of the thesis thereby allowing for a larger array of useable terms (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 83). In this thesis, the following primary keywords is chosen and must be present in each article: *Ukraine* and *NATO membership*. Where the following keywords are not a must

but are understood as informative for this thesis: *NATO enlargement, sovereignty, international relations, NATO ally, and Russia-Ukrainian war*. However, it has been decided to create a series of conditions each article has to fulfil in a selection process before a given article is considered usable (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 83). It has been a common practice to construct these conditions through seven criteria, where the first three criteria are background information and will not receive much consideration later (Ingemann et al., 2018, p.89). This is because these three criteria deal with the author, the context of the articles, and how the reader is. This thesis uses multiple articles from the two tabloids, this is an important since the articles are authored by journalists, where the context is within the Russian-Ukrainian war from the 22nd of February 2022 to the 12th of October 2023. The third criterion, it can be expected that these articles are written for the interested reader in global events, the war in general, and readers seeking multiple perspectives on events related to the European security question. Thus, from this criterion it can be argued that the background information perspective can only generate two conditions, where the first is the author, which must be a journalist or freelancer, second is the time dimension. Whereby, the article must be released between the 22nd of February 2022 and the 12th of October 2023. The fourth criterion deals with authentication of the article, where the article author must be taken into consideration with the focus on why the author has written the article and if the author has a bias (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 97). However, this is viewed as unproblematic since it deals with the idea of a reliable author. This is because the reader of The Guardian trusts the tabloid with 48% of respondents indicating trust, but The Daily Mail is found a less trusted tabloid with only 23% of respondents indicating trust (Newman et al., 2022, p. 63). While The Daily Mail's trust level among its readers it still manages to draw in many readers thus it can be argued that people do find The Daily Mail reliable. Therefore, both tabloids can be viewed as trustworthy for this thesis objective. This must also directly link to the author thus allowing the author to identify as a reliable journalist. Nonetheless, it should be argued that by considering political bias are journalists unable to be completely objective (Davis, 2009, p. 215). Therefore, bias cannot be completely removed. However, news agencies do attempt to be as non-biased as possible (Roselle et al., 2014, pp. 79-80). Hence, political bias will be considered due to the data sources, it is not considered a large threat to this thesis. The fifth criterion deals with the chosen articles if they can be used to investigate the problem formation and if the article is reliable (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 99). The chosen articles must go through a series of conditions as the keywords, source, and time dimension in a selection process to remove articles that are deemed unsuitable for this thesis or unable to find a possible answer to the problem formulation will be removed from the

gathered data. As for the articles' reliability, a suitable answer has been provided earlier in this section. The sixth criterion is if the articles can be used in terms of representativeness and if the articles' explanatory possibilities can be used in terms of the problem formulation (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 101). These two terms are not viewed as important due to the representativeness in the article due to the desire to investigate how the articles portray a possible Ukrainian membership in NATO. Therefore, representativeness is important since each article should be able to represent itself and its tabloid. The seventh criterion is to consider the readability, language, and content of the articles. It is expected that these articles are readable since they are written by professional journalists thus that will not be a problem. In the case of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* it must be expected that language used that belongs to a specialist's field of international politics and war can occur within the articles. Therefore, passages can be confusing for first-time readers. Consequently, during the analysis it must be considered what the author's intent in terms of the specialist's language use is. But, in case of grammatical errors such passages are not brought into the analysis because it is not feasible to properly argue for what the journalist's linguistic intent was.

This means that the data selection process uses five conditions based on the seven criteria first is the author is a journalist? The second is the article in question published within the chosen time dimension, third does the article uses one or more of the chosen keywords? Fourth is the article published by one of the three chosen sources? And fifth does the article use proper grammar?

It's a digital version of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* that will be used, this means the articles are available on the World Wide Web. However, it also means that the articles can be subject to change from the publisher's side or updated as known (Bryman, 2016, pp. 555-556). This means that the following process has been chosen. Whereby, the article will be frozen in time by being converted to a text document through manual data mining, thus the following things will be converted to text *title, author, release date, publisher, and main and sub-text bodies*. This is done to freeze the articles so they cannot be updated by any means and a preserved version will be used for analysis. Whereby, an additional piece of information will be added to these documents which is the date on which the article is frozen for transparency. It is chosen that the data gathering happen over three days from the 23rd of October 2023 to the 24th of October 2023, this is because the data gathering has been chosen to be as connected as possible and must be after the 12th of October 2023. Furthermore, this process is also necessary

for converting the articles into a corpus for the corpus analysis as will be covered in section 4.4.

4.3 Document Analysis

Document analysis section is not going to cover data gathering component due to it was used to create the conditions for this thesis data gathering in section 4.2. Therefore, this section will only cover the chosen analytical approach from document analysis. The analytical approach will be conducted in the classical content analysis method, where the analysis will investigate the texts' *manifest* and *latent* analysis (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 107). Manifest analysis will focus on the articles' apparent meaning from the written word without an external consideration, but latent analysis is an analysis of the articles' contextual meaning and message to the reader that the article wants the reader to receive (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 107). This means that the analysis of the articles will include the article's border meaning from in of articles written context. Thereby, allowing the events portrayed to become the centre of the analysis without connecting the article's meaning to external events or context. While the latent means that the external context and meaning will be included after the manifest analysis, this means that the articles will have to be included in a broader context and series of world events. Where, this thesis context the articles will be connected to each other, Russian-Ukrainian war, NATO action regarding the war, Ukraine's possible membership in NATO, and NATO member states are blurring the lines between separated state and NATO member in their action related to this war. This means the document analysis will investigate the articles in a border sense, compared to what the corpus analysis will. Consequently, this also means that segments from the chosen articles will be investigated compared to the close investigation of surrounding words of a keyword or broad contextual analysis will manage. Where the analysis focus is on the manifest part of the data found in the articles to investigate for meaning and rhetoric patterns. And so, the analysis focus becomes an investigation of rhetoric by analysing the apparent meaning and the text's segments context without considering external elements outside the text segments chosen.

This thesis as argued before is theory driven. Therefore, the analytical strategy for this document analysis and corpus analysis will be based on the *themes* and *indicates* approach, this is because the theory driven approach in this thesis (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 107). Where the themes and indicators will come from the theories in the theory section. Thereby, the theories will be used on the data as themes and indicates in the analysis (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 108). Themes is meant as thematic areas that the theories are working within (Lynggaard,

2020, p. 194). Where indicators are the measurement instrument from the theory, that have explanatory power and can be used as a lens on an article to find evidence for change or means of understanding an event described (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 195). Therefore, indicators will be established from the theories. However, this can be problematic to accomplish since not all theories use terms, that is a well-defined to reflect reality in a positive manner. And so, these terms contain a normative perspective of the world compared to a functional operative approach a positive theory will use to define a term (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 195). Hence, its recognised by academics that an inductive approach to help define a term to a functional state. This is for the purpose to create a definition that bound to theory's implied meaning of the term. Thereby, the indicator(s) will have an operative meaning constructed on the normative theory's understanding of the world by giving the indicator definitions that is with the realm of the theory's arguments and world view (Lynggaard, 2020, p. 195; Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 108).

The analytical process is a *systematic coding analysis*, where the coding process is a *thematic coding process* using NVivo, this means that the individual theory will be broken down into codes called themes, where these themes have indicators belonging to them (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 112). Article will therefore be code once or multiple times depending on the content of the article matches with indicators of a thematic code, this match is based on the latent content. Thereby, an article will be able to represent multiple themes or theories because different indicators depend on a text's latent content (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 112). This thesis will use its theories' terms as themes and indicator is defined as how the terms are understood within the theory, this means themes and indicators have a deductive perspective, where the codes are a given theories term, this depends on the theories is called *close codes* (Ingemann et al., 2018, p. 112).

4.3.1 Themes and Indications

The themes and indications are constructed based on their individual theory, where themes are taken from the theories terms, this is done since it is these terms theories use these terms as ideas to describe the world and add measures events the world on a normative or positive level (Bryman, 2016, pp. 18-19). It is this different between normative and positive theories that makes the chosen themes and indications approach problematic because liberal internationalism, realism(s), and sovereignty theories are highly normative in their description of the world. Consequently, this normativity must be dealt which to makes the terms useful and give each term definitive indicators, while some indicators does reappear as in the three

realism theories have each reappearing theme received additional unique indicators that has to be considered when coding text segments to that theme. Therefore, it should not be understood as the thesis's themes and indicators origins from theory a positive sense, but the theories have been used to give the theories themes indicators based on the individual theories context and the meaning used in relation to the theme. Thereby, it can be said the indicators are constructed to remain close to the theory as possible. However, a considerable problem can occur as a replication problem since another individual can interpreted the theories terms' context differently compared to the interpretation represented in the theory section thus it can be chosen to identify other indicators to a theory's themes (Bryman, 2016, p. 41).

4.3.1.1 Liberal Internalise.

Theme: Juridical system state level.

Indicators: war, vote, civilian right of decision, rule within the states borders, and sovereignty.

Theme: pacific federation.

Indicators: international rights, right of humanity, Reduction of sovereignty through global pressure, and peace through law.

Theme rules and norms.

Indicators: common practices, treaty-based processes, processes of conduct, mechanisms, and reduction of a chaotic world.

4.3.1.2 Neorealism.

Theme: Anarchy.

Indicators: International interactions, foreign policies, strife, cooperation, states seek power over other states, states compete, and states attempt to achieve hegemony.

Theme: statism.

Indicators: showering, state rules, citizen decision, attempting to ensure survival of the state and people and attempting to use power outside the states borders, calculated in international actions, and the state is security maxiseris.

Theme: survival.

Indicators: defensive capabilities in terms of firepower used to protect, political influence to deter undesirable political decisions from other states, law enforcement, firefighters,

healthcare, states calculate survival risk, states enter military alliances to raise survival chance, trade, and use of soft power.

Theme: power.

Indicators: defensive capabilities, offensive capabilities in terms of firepower as bombs, vehicles, and guns, political power on the international stage towards other, and military power, power is used to ensure survival, power is objectively calculated and compared, and power is a deterrent for possible attackers.

Theme: self-help.

Indicators: international trade, rules, military conscription, international military alliances, participation in NGOs, and participation in IGOs, and bandwagon, and calculated risk and reward behaviour.

4.3.1.3 Offensive Realism.

Theme: Anarchy.

Indicators: International interactions, foreign policies, strife, cooperation, state aim for global hegemony, states compete for power, anarchy is viewed as competitive, and states cannot rely on other states for help.

Theme: statism.

Indicators: showering, state rules, citizen decision, attempting to ensure survival of the state and people and attempting to use power outside the states borders, states attempt to maximise their power, and state compete for regional and global hegemon.

Theme: survival.

Indicators: defensive capabilities in terms of firepower used to protect, political influence to deter undesirable political decisions from other states, law enforcement, firefighters, healthcare, survival through offensive power, survival is a matter of the state since help from other states cannot be expected.

Theme: power.

Indicators: defensive capabilities, offensive capabilities in terms of firepower as bombs, vehicles, and guns, political power on the international stage towards other, military power, power maximiser, and use of power as a tool to achieve political goals.

Theme: self-help.

Indicators: international trade, rules, military conscription, international military alliances, participation in NGOs, and participation in IGOs, bandwagon, states see power as means to help themselves, states join NGO, IGO, and military alliance to of set power balances into their Favour, and the principle of power maximising is so the state self-help.

4.3.1.4 Neoclassical Realism.

Theme: Anarchy.

Indicators: International interactions, foreign policies, strife, cooperation, individual actors, anarchy can affect civilians, and anarchy is no longer part of international world, but anarchy has become part of life inside the state.

Theme: statism.

Indicators: showering, state rules, citizen decision, attempting to ensure survival of the state and people and attempting to use power outside the states borders, multi variable analytical, shift the population behaviour, resource capable, focus on how to use internal resources to maximise power and survival, focus on the state and civilian proficiency.

Theme: survival.

Indicators: defensive capabilities in terms of firepower used to protect, political influence to deter undesirable political decisions from other states, law enforcement, firefighters, healthcare, use of resource for survival, dynamic survival strategies, reliance on civilian capability, focus on creating proficient survival mechanisms.

Theme: power.

Indicators: defensive capabilities, offensive capabilities in terms of firepower as bombs, vehicles, and guns, political power on the international stage towards other, military power, power maximising within areas the state have proficiency, power changes dynamically, power is evaluated, power is calculated and evaluated, and is not equally calculated among states but differs because a state can be proficient in an aspect that make that aspect more powerful.

Theme: self-help.

Indicators: international trade, rules, military conscription, international military alliances, participation in NGOs, and participation in IGOs, bandwagon, states use their citizens for self-

help. states use dynamic changes in actors to increase influence, and states use it proficiency in different area to create its own advantage over other states.

4.3.1.5 Westphalia Sovereignty Model.

Theme: peace.

Indicator: international arena, states, warfare, borders, destruction, norm, and juridical curt between states.

Theme: Sovereignty

Indicator: statecraft is free from interference, territorial rights, declare war, create laws, taxes, raising armies, choose allies, religious freedom, and freedom to choose trade partners.

4.4 Corpus Analysis

Corpus analysis originates from the linguistic field as part of literary stylistics, where the importance of corpus analysis is a method to investigate linguistic phenomena by investigating description and literary applications used in a corpus composed of the author's style of writing (Mahlberg, 2014, p. 379). This is accomplished through a corpus that is constructed with machine-readable text that has been composed by an author(s), which becomes a representation of the language in use (Brezina & Gablasova, 2017, p. 1). This is important to consider due to this thesis will construct one specialised corpus, where the corpora will represent both tabloids chosen for this thesis. Hence, it has been decided to investigate language used to depict Ukraine's process for NATO membership in the articles as an united entity. Among sociolinguistics has it been argued that corpora analysis can be a fruitful endeavour for the social sciences since it allows for large-scale analysis of real language use (De Beaugrande, 1993, p. 131). Corpus analysis investigate how language is employed to create certain effects in the reader through rhetorical tools (De Beaugrande, 1993, p. 132). However, corpus analyses should not be taken as a golden analytical tool, but as a tool that works within the boundaries of the language and the text(s), where the analysis is within the intimate pattens used of a keyword the analysis focus on inside the data used in the corpus analyses (Baker, et al., 2008, p. 296). For this thesis it is chosen to use AntConc as the software to construct a specialised corpus and conduct the collocation analysis and concordance analysis as the two chosen qualitative analytical tools. It is important to note that this corpus analysis is qualitative and does not use advanced quantitative measurers, that AntConc can provide. This is done to find repeated patterns among a keyword and its associated words. Thereby, being able to find rhetorical patterns of repeated words closely related to the keyword thus the thesis investigates

how a keyword becomes modified to create meaning (Mahlberg, 2014, p. 380). Keywords are a word that is being investigated and theorists to have specific phenomenon closely related to the keyword within a certain text or a dominant discourse, where a singular word is treated in a particular manner by the author (Brezina & Gablasova, 2017, p. 9). It is from a keyword a pattern is set to emerge within a certain range to the left and right side of the keyword, where a five word's word span to the left and the right of the keyword has been chosen for the collocation analysis and ten word's word span for the concordance analysis (Mahlberg, 2014, p. 380).

The keywords used for the corpus analysis in this thesis are the words chosen as conditions for accepting a news article in section 4.2. And the terms found from the theories. These terms correspond to the theme codes used for the document analysis coding processes see section 4.3.1. Thereby, the two methods will be employing a deductive investigation of the data from a theoretical perspective, but the corpus analysis will also have an inductive component from the condition words. This has been chosen since the condition words from section 4.2. are already used as gatekeepers for data gathering. Therefore, the condition words have significance to this thesis as they reflect the international political event that this being investigated. However, this approach is also recognised as problematic because the use of condition - and theme words as keywords means there is an uncertainty, that the concordance and collocation analysis will not find any result when using the selected theme and condition words as keywords. Therefore, the condition and theory terms word that had results will be presented in section 4.5 alongside how many times the keyword appeared or had different collocations.

The word span to the left and right has been decided to be five words to keep an established practice going for the collocation analyse and ten words word span for concordance, but also due to the border of the word span in the collocation analyse the more likely the words found in the analysis do not affect the keyword but another word. This is also why that if a full stop is used within this concordance word span will the words before or after depending on the location of the full stop to the keyword be removed. This is because a full stop indicates a new sentence and if that sentence does not contain the keyword will it mean that sentence does not affect the keyword.

Collocation is used to find a systematic occurrence word closely related to a chosen keyword that is being investigated (Brezina & Gablasova, 2017, p. 6). This is done to identify building

blocks within the language that indicate a phenomenon associated with the chosen keyword (Brezina & Gablasova, 2017, pp. 6-7). The collocation analysis uses the terms *Collocate*, *frequency left*, *frequency right*, *frequency left & right*, *rank*, and *range*. Where the term collocate is a word found in close relation to the keyword. The frequency left and frequency right indicate how many times the collocated word appears on the left of right side of the keyword across the corpus's data. Frequency left & right indicates the total amount times a collated word appears in frequency left and frequency right. The rank is collocated' numerical hierarchical based on the numerical value of term frequency left & right. The range is the amount of articles a certain collocate word appears in. This means that collocation analysis can be used to find evidence for frequently used patterns by identifying words as building blocks that create meaning between the collocated word and the keyword (Brezina & Gablasova, 2017, pp. 6-7). Thereby, this thesis can investigate if patterns have been established between the keyword and the collocated words across a large spectrum of articles. In so doing, collocation analysis can find evidence of how the keyword is repeatedly used in the texts alongside another word. Consequently, this means repeated words found by the collocation analysis can offer an insight to the rhetoric a keyword used in within the specialised corpus.

The concordance uses a keyword as a hit indicator and depicts the word span's words to the left and right under the title of *left context* and *right context*. This allows for an analysis of what is happening in the immediate area of the keyword and investigates the type of word class and the meaning that these word classes add to the keyword through modification in their intended position by the author (Mahlberg, 2014, pp. 381-382; Brezina & Gablasova, 2017, p. 6). Furthermore, the concordance makes it possible to investigate the keyword concerning what the reader experience when reading the narrative a keyword appears in by removing the written elements outside the chosen word span of the keyword, this means only the keyword and the elements affecting the keyword is used in the analysis (Mahlberg, 2014, p. 383). Thereby, it can be interpreted what the meaning of keyword is by contextualising the keyword to the area of the text that is effecting the keyword. Thus, the analysis will define the keyword through contextualisation of the narrative surrounding the keyword (Brezina & Gablasova, 2017, pp. 7 and 12-13). Consequently, concordance analysis can be used to investigate writing style and language pattens employed used around a keyword. Hence, Concordance can be used find evidence of how a keyword is used to create a pattern to create a rhetoric.

4.5 Data Presentation

The data gathering process for this thesis found and froze 162 articles from The Guardian and 58 articles from The Daily Mirror. Among these articles was found during the coding process, that 2 articles from The Guardian and 9 articles from The Daily Mail had to be removed from the thesis data pool because they did not fulfil the five criteria that was constructed for this thesis. Consequently, this means that a total of 160 articles from The Guardian and 49 articles from The Daily mail, which means a total of 209 articles have been coded and used to generate a custom corpus.

This means the custom corpus consist of 209 articles which contains a word token count of 9.12.135 words across 25.719 different types of words.

The collection analysis found 235 collocations across the 10 keywords. Where *Ukraine* has 231 unique collocations, *NATO member* has 23 unique collocations, *NATO ally* has 13 unique collocations, *Rules* has 37 unique collocations, *Norms* has 16 unique collocations, *Anarchy* has 6 unique collocations, *Survival* has 20 unique collocations, *Power* has 81 unique collocations, *Peace* has 84 unique collocations, and *Sovereignty* has 24 unique collocations (Appendix one).

The concordance analysis found 11.695 individual concordance across the 10 keywords. Where *Ukraine* has 10.288 concordances, *NATO member* has 131 concordances, *NATO ally* has 9 concordances, *Rules* has 74, *Norms* has 11 concordances, *Anarchy* has 1 concordance, *Survival* has 20 concordances, *Power* has 506 concordances, *Peace* has 616 concordances, and *Sovereignty* has 39 concordances (Appendix two).

The 209 articles were used to be coded within five theories. The five theories had a total of 20 themes, where across these 20 themes was there 4754 codes from the initial coding phase. This code value contains duplicates codes, which means a theme under a theory can contain the same passage of text as another theme, this occurs due to passage of text can trigger multiple indicators at the same time. Therefore, will the passage be coded multiple times and recognised as a duplicate, where the following two metrics does not include duplicate codes.

Table 2*Initial Code of Theories Matrix.*

	Westphalia Sovereignty Model	Liberal Internationalism	Neorealism	Offensive Realism	Neoclassical Realism
Westphalia Sovereignty Model	136	20	120	94	83
Liberal Internationalism	20	118	109	96	103
Neorealism	120	109	446	367	341
Offensive Realism	94	367	96	389	321
Neoclassical Realism	83	341	103	321	357

Note. Table 2 shows how many codes there have been assigned to each theory before a revisited of each theme to ensure that codes fulfil the themes' indications. However, duplicated codes between a theory's themes are not counted (Appendix three).

Table two show how many codes there is within a single theory and how many codes a single theory shares with another theory. In table two it can be seen the Westphalia Sovereignty Model contain unique 136 codes, 20 codes are sheared with Liberal Internationalism, 120 codes with Neorealism, 94 codes with Offensive Realism, and 83 with Neoclassical Realism. Liberal Internationalism contains 118 unique codes, 109 codes are sheared Neorealism, 96 codes with Offensive Neoclassical realism, and 103 with Neoclassical Realism. Neorealism contains 446 unique codes, Neorealism shares 367 codes with Offensive Realism, and 341 codes with Neoclassical Realism. Offensive Realism contain 321 unique codes and Neoclassical Realism shares 321 codes with Neoclassical realism. Lastly neoclassical realism contains 357 unique codes (Appendix three).

Table 3*Codes After Revisiting.*

	Westphalia Sovereignty Model	Liberal Internationalism	Neorealism	Offensive Realism	Neoclassical Realism
Westphalia Sovereignty Model	136	22	129	103	91
Liberal Internationalism	22	115	110	97	102
Neorealism	129	110	459	381	355
Offensive Realism	103	97	381	400	336
Neoclassical Realism	91	102	355	336	370

Note. Table 3 shows how many individual codes there have been assigned to each theory after a revisited of each theme to ensure that codes fulfil the themes' indications. However, duplicated codes between a theory's themes are not counted (Appendix three).

Table three show the amount of codes within a single theory and the theory's themes in addition to how many codes is sheared between the theories and their themes. In table three it can be seen the Westphalia Sovereignty Model contain unique 136 codes, 22 codes are sheared with Liberal Internationalism, 129 codes with Neorealism, 103 codes with Offensive Realism, and 91 with Neoclassical Realism. Liberal Internationalism contains 115 unique codes, 110 codes are sheared Neorealism, 97 codes with Offensive Neoclassical realism, and 102 with Neoclassical Realism. Neorealism contains 459 unique codes, Neorealism shares 381 codes with Offensive Realism, and 355 codes with Neoclassical Realism. Offensive Realism contain 400 unique codes and Neoclassical Realism shares 336 codes with Neoclassical realism. Lastly neoclassical realism contains 370 unique codes (Appendix three).

4.6 Analyses Strategy

The exploratory analysis will start with the corpus analyses, where the collocation analysis will use relevant keywords to investigate what word types and meaning is used to modify the keyword within the five words' word span to the left and right for collocation analyse and ten words word span for concordance analysis. This is for the purpose to start the analysis from

and smallest thinkable unit and investigate how journalist modify a keyword across all articles in the specialised corpus without any of the context. Thereby, the keyword and modifiers become the focus. This allows the rest of analysis to draw on this information for further reference but also to investigate if there are rhetoric patterns within all the articles without a notion of context. Thereby, the analysis is focusing on words used as modifiers and commonly placed close to the keyword. Afterward, the analysis will zoom out and take the smallest amount of context into consideration by contextualise the keywords in their left and right sided ten word's word span through the concordance analysis. In so doing, the smallest part of the context will be investigated and the smallest meaning of context will be used to find indications of how the journalist modify the keyword in an intended order to create a rhetorical structure and patterns when using the keyword. However, this is where the first analytical problem will become apparent because the collocation and the concordance will take up a significant amount of space there will only be used a maximum of five Collocation and concordance analysis per keyword, where the remaining analysis can be found in "*Appendix one Collocation*" and "*Appendix two Concordance*". The collocation analysis and concordance analysis in section 5.1 will contain data that is relevant to the problem formulation found using the keywords presented in section 4.5, but the remaining analysis from the specialised corpus can be found in appendix one and appendix two as proof of conduct and for reference. This is to avoid investigating patterns that does not contain value for this analysis and remove grammatical words from the collocation analysis as: is, are, he, it, them, and she. This is because these words do not carry meaning outside a larger context as a result these words will not be used in the collocation analysis. Subsequently, this means some keywords from section 4.5 will not appear in the analysis because these keywords did not have any collocated words or text segments that was in relation to the problem formulation. The concordance analysis will go through a similar process as the collocation, but, as for the concordance analysis, the five most different but common patterns will be used. This decision is so the analysis investigates a wide area of the articles used. Where the Concordance text segments are judged by context and thematic terms used by the theories to ensure relevance to the problem formulation. Thereby, making the decision of which concordances used in the analysis a deductive decision.

The document analysis will afterward take place. Thereby, the exploratory analysis will be able to broaden the scope and the context of the articles collated from The Guardian and The Daily Mail. This will be accomplished by the articles will be coded into the theoretical themes and the indicators each theme has. Whereby, the codes will be used in the analysis to structure the

analysis by the means using the codes to investigate the articles manifests meanings as the close context into the latent meaning thus investigate how the rhetorical indication create a larger context of the events conveyed in the article. Thereby, the thesis has a theoretical approach throughout the document analysis by using the codes as the keywords have been used in the corpus analysis. As a proof of conduct, will the “*Appendix three Codes*” as a NVivo file. In that way, the process of coding and how the themes and indicators will be visible within the analysis section be visible and process and follow the strategy from section 4.3.

The final analysis on language and power is going to be conducted on evidence from the corpus analysis and document analysis. Where the purpose is to investigate how the evidence reflect language used as a potential source of influence on the reader. Thereby, the linguistic practices will be analysed to investigate how the language has been used to exorcise power by modifying the language in certain ways for a purpose of depicting world events for the tabloid’s readers.

The three appendices will be used as reference in the analysis section. Therefore, the analysis section will not refer to individual authors but to appendices the data can be found in. This is viewed as non-problematic because the frozen articles contain all the necessary information as a headline, author, date, and publication name. Which can be found in appendix three because they include all articles used from The Guardian and The Daily mail.

5.0 Analyses

5.1 Corpus Analysis

The corpus analysis is split into two sections corresponding to where each keyword originates from. The corpus analysis is constructed so the collocation analysis will be conducted before the concordance analysis. This structure is chosen so the analysis can move from smallest unit taken into consideration to text segments. However, since not all collocation or concordance analysis had results that could be linked to the problem formulation it has meant theses analysis have been removed. Therefore, it is important to note the following collocation analysis for NATO ally, rules, norms, survival power, anarchy, sovereignty, and peace has been removed and concordance analysis using the following keyword survival, power, anarchy, norms, rules, and Sovereignty has been removed.

5.1.1 Condition Words

Table 4

Collocation Based on the Keyword Ukraine.

Collocate	Frequency left	Frequency right	Frequency left & right	Rank	Range
NATO	126	257	384	20	150
Join	16	136	152	44	92
Membership	41	74	115	64	58

Note. (Appendix one).

It can be argued *NATO* occurs in multiple patten with Ukraine since *NATO* is the 20th most frequent word within a proximity to Ukraine across 150 articles. Whereby, it can be argued *NATO* is an agent conducting an action towards Ukraine with a left frequency of 126 with a reoccurring pattern being “NATO membership for Ukraine” and “Nato had supported Ukraine over ” (Appendix two). These two examples can be seen repeated but the second one in multiple forms, but the meaning remaining the same. Subsequently, these patterns suggest a rhetoric where interaction between NATO and Ukraine is consistent within the data. However, it can be argued that a more frequent pattern is Ukraine is conducting action towards *NATO* with a frequency on 257. Subsequently, these frequency numbers suggest the articles create a rhetoric describing a high interaction between *NATO* and Ukraine.

Join can be argued to be used as verb to denote an action committee by an agent, where a pattern can be argued to be Ukraine wants to *join* something. This argument is based on the high right frequency of 136 occurrences, where Ukraine can be an agent as in the following example “Ukraine is going to join NATO” (Appendix two). This suggests a possibility Ukraine and join is used as an agent and verb formation, where NATO would be the object because the high right frequency of 136 and the range of 92 articles. However, the left frequency of 16 is problematic but a pattern can be suggested as *join* occurs in separate sentences as “Ukraine to join NATO, he said “Ukraine” (Appendix two). Where Ukraine appeared twice, once in an active sentence and once where the Collocation analysis includes collections because *join* was within the specified five words word span, or *join* is used to modify another word as “join the war in Ukraine” (appendix two). Hence, 16 left frequencies are problematic to find evidence for a patten among the articles.

Membership can be argued to be present in both an active sentence and passive sentence structure thus used to construct patterns, where the aim is to convey a NATO *membership* to Ukraine. This means that there is a right frequency of 74 times where *membership* is used to denote what Ukraine wants from NATO, with different patterns as “Ukraine’s membership of NATO”, “Ukraine’s eventual membership to the military alliance”, and “Ukraine’s NATO membership.” (Appendix two). These patterns do also carry alterations, but these patterns suggest a common denominator as Ukraine is associated with NATO and seeking membership. However, on the left side are 41 occurrences where passive construction as “NATO membership for Ukraine”, or sentence where Ukraine is the recipient “ NATO membership plan for Ukraine” (Appendix two). Thus, it can be suggested from the data sample in this corpus analysis that Ukraine is used in rhetorical construction of linguistic pattens, where Ukraine is both the active agent and passive recipient when Ukraine and *membership* is used within a five words word span.

Table 5

Concordance Based on the Keyword Ukraine.

Left Context	Keyword	Right Context
embattled nation “for as long as necessary” and met with	Ukraine’	s president Volodymyr Zelenskiy at the Nato summit in
pm GMT Zelenskiy urges Nato to impose no-fly zone	Ukraine	s president Volodymyr Zelenskiy says Russia must stop bombing
. On Friday he formally applied for	Ukraine	to join Nato as soon as possible.
is 'de facto already part of Nato's security space'	Ukraine’	s defence minister, Oleksii Reznikov, has tweeted again about
to his counterparts from G7 and Nato nations to fulfil	Ukraine'	s request for sufficient weapons to counter Russian forces.

Note. (Appendix two).

It can be argued these five-concordance analysis that there is a neorealist perspective in text segments, where the text segments connect Ukraine with NATO, Zelenskiy, bombing, and security are concepts connected to survival and defensive power, which is the focus of neorealism. Therefore, an argument can be constructed from these five-text section will give a reader the notion of neorealism from Ukraine aiming to strengthen its likelihood for survival by attempting to join NATO. This is suggested to ensure survival through statism and self-help as Ukraine is devoted to actively seek out NATO for weapons, help and a “*no-fly zone*”, where the reader will interpretate this as Ukraine is using statism by seeking help as means for survival. Therefore, there is evidence implying that a reader will experience a text depicting Ukraine within a neorealist idea of the world. However, while a neorealist depiction is dominant within these concordances it can also be argued a for neoclassical realism is being depicted as Zelenskiy and Reznikov are mentioned as important actors. This can be argued since these three actors are political individuals that is attempting to achieve NATO’s help or membership by interacting with anarchy that is the international arena. Consequently, it can be suggested that Ukraine is being depicted in a manner, where the aim is to convey Ukraine as state aim to secure its survival as a neorealist state there employ neoclassical tactics within the anarchy of the international arena. Furthermore, it can be reasoned that tabloids in this case attempt to establish a norm and expectation in the reader that Ukraine as a state in a war want

to protect its citizens and sovereign borders from Russian attack by appealing for NATO help and NATO membership. Whereby, the journalist creates narrative cues in the immediate context surrounding the keyword Ukraine. Thus, these analyses suggest these five text segments interact with central ideas from neorealism and neoclassical realism by using core ideas from these two realism(s) to create cues in the text to convey an image of war, defence, survival, and help in the reader.

Table 6

Collocation Based on the keywords NATO Membership.

Collocate	Frequency left	Frequency right	Frequency left & right	Rank	Range
Ukraine	35	20	55	1	37
Biden	4	5	9	5	7
Pursuit	9	0	9	5	3
Exchange	6	2	8	7	5

Note. (Appendix two).

In table 4 there was found evidence suggesting Ukraine will form patterns with *NATO membership*, when researching Ukraine as a keyword, but using NATO membership as keyword the range of articles have been reduced from 58 to 37, this indicates *NATO* as modifier to *membership* have removed account where “eventual membership to the military” (Appendix two). This indicates the addition of *NATO* as modifiers *membership which suggest* Ukraine is used in the same pattern as previously argued, but in this case the patterns are more concrete since the journalist is unable to use synonyms for *NATO*.

Biden can be argued to be used as an agent that have interactive possibility over *NATO membership* since it is a proper noun and have a frequency of 4 on the left side of the keyword. Which suggests *Biden* appears in active sentences as seen in “Biden was withholding Nato membership” and Biden unsurprisingly ruled out Nato membership” (appendix two). However, *Biden* have a higher right frequency of 5 which suggest another pattern is also actively used as “Nato Membership but Biden” and “Nato membership for Ukraine, something Biden” (Appendix two). These examples do not indicate passive sentence structure but introduction of a new clause using comma or a conjunction linking two clauses together. Thereby, indicating *Biden* is used in multiple ways across the 9 articles it appeared proximity to *NATO membership*.

Pursuit is a verb which is used by an agent to accomplish something. Therefore, it can be suggested that *pursuit* is placed between a subject and object within a sentence because *Pursuit* is only found left of *NATO membership* which a frequency of 9. Consequently, it can be suggested the object is *NATO membership* as “Ukraine’s past pursuit of Nato membership” and “Ukraine’s pursuit of Nato membership” (Appendix two). Whereby, it is evident in this corpus’s data that the agent is Ukraine in its possessive form and *pursuit* is placed in a pattern indicating Ukraine’s political goals for a NATO membership as a verb.

Exchange is used in a pattern indicating trade where X is given for Y, this also means exchange is used in its norm form. This can be suggested since *exchange* have a higher frequency on the left side of *NATO membership* with 6 occurrences, where all six times is used in the following format “territory to Russia in exchange for Nato membership” (Appendix two). *Exchange* also has a frequency of 2 on the right side of *NATO membership* as in “Nato membership in exchange for its withdrawal” (Appendix two). These two formats are the only ones occurring a total of 8 times within this collocation analysis. Thereby, suggesting the Pattern of using *exchange* as a trade indicator when located close to *NATO membership*.

Table 7

Concordance Based on the keywords NATO Membership.

Left Context	Keyword	Right Context
He has called the possibility of	Nato membership	for Ukraine a "red line".
who said all the west’s “dodging and weaving” about	Nato membership	for Ukraine “had ended only in slaughter”.
Ukraine could give up territory to Russia in exchange for	Nato membership	and an end to the war.
make sure our determination to help Ukraine to victory, and	Nato membership,	is better understood. Time to double-down on
Full	Nato membership	gives members the protection umbrella of Nato’s

Note. (Appendix two).

NATO membership can be argued to take the form of liberal internationalism but also realisms term self-help due to all five concordances analysis are on the topic of a Ukrainian NATO membership. Where the Liberal internationalism components comes from Ukraine’s desire to

join NATO as pacific federation there have a series of norms and rules Ukraine as “Nato membership gives members the protection umbrella of Nato” (Appendix two). This protection is component Ukraine wants and previously argued for. However, it is also the norms and rules that comes into play, as text segments argue for “give up territory to Russia in exchange for Nato membership and an end to the war” (Appendix two) since it is part NATO rules that states in state of war cannot join NATO. Hence, an argument can be made by NATO and NATO members have employed the notion of neoclassical realism self-help and statism by “dodging and weaving” (Appendix two). This is because NATO aim is to create security and not start a war with Russia. Whereas the Ukrainian membership is called Putin’s red line thus as NATO avoiding this red line is conducting self-help and statism by actively avoiding the topic of a concrete Ukrainian NATO membership thereby attempting to secure a larger peace. However, NATO is also conducting another type of self-help and statism as “our determination to help Ukraine to victory, and Nato membership” (Appendix two). Thereby, there are evidence the articles conveys the notion that NATO and NATO members are sending other types of help to Ukraine thus adding textual cues to the articles that NATO want to help Ukraine, but membership is a risk it does not want to take. Consequently, there is found evidence in this analysis for a topic as NATO Membership employing idea from both liberal internationalism and neoclassical realism since the texts are conveying process within NATO and actions done by NATO to secure NATO’s interest within Russian-Ukraine war. As a result, it can be suggested that these text segment can be used to create cues in the reader that reflects the problems NATO is facing on the topic of a Ukrainian NATO membership. However, it is also evident that the cues indicate NATO is willing to support Ukraine’s defence. Thereby, it can be suggested that this analysis has found evidence that journalist use cues that reflect liberal international and neoclassical realism.

Table 8

Concordance Based on the keywords NATO Ally.

Left Context	Keyword	Right Context
Kirby said Ukraine needed to make reforms “necessary for any	Nato ally	to become a member ... political reforms, economic reforms,

Note. (Appendix two).

It can be argued from this text section that the idea of NATO membership from a NATO ally as Ukraine can be suggested to have a neoclassical realism notion from Kirby indicating

individual interacting with Ukraine on a global setting from Kirby's actions. Whereby, Kirby can imply a notion of neoclassical statism and anarchy as an individual interacting with matters of the international arena. Subsequently, it can be analysed Kirby adds to the anarchy by introducing his ideas of the changes Ukraine need to make before Ukraine can transit from "Nato ally to become a member" (Appendix two). Consequently, this means the exercise of neoclassical realism's statism by an individual in relation to describe what norms and rules Ukraine must achieve and practice before becoming a member. Therefore, this text segments suggest the build on cues containing to the topic of Ukraine aim to transform from NATO ally to NATO member and where Ukraine differs from the expectations of how a NATO states conduct statism due to the focus on reforms in this text segment.

5.1.2 Sovereignty

Table 9

Concordance Based on the keyword Peace.

Left Context	Keyword	Right Context
of Nato has said only Kyiv can decide conditions for	peace	talks with Russia following a territory row.
Russia, which has suggested a 15-point	peace	plan that includes Kyiv renouncing ambitions to join Nato,
controversy by suggesting that Ukraine could "give up territory" for	peace	and Nato membership.
by key Nato aide are not policy and path to	peace	is to support Ukraine militarily Body Nato's secretary
says Ukraine must join Nato for sake of long-term	peace	Boris Johnson has called for Ukraine to be admitted

Note. (Appendix two).

It can be argued peace in Ukraine have been linked to NATO and a Proposed Ukrainian NATO membership. However, it is also evident Russia does not want Ukraine to join NATO as "Russia... peace plan that includes Kyiv renouncing ambition to join Nato" (Appendix two). Consequently, it can be suggested that a "long-term peace" is connected to Ukraine's future as the topic of NATO membership has been connected from a neoclassical realistic position as Boris Johnson can be viewed as an expert explaining his position on Ukraine's possibility for peace. And so, Johnson is using neoclassical realism's statism and anarchy as he expresses his

position on the topic. This means Johnson is pulling on certain strings within the whirlpool that is anarchy of international politics. While Johnson is using NATO as a rhetoric neorealism survival tool because Johnson is not adding other elements to ensure Ukraine can achieve peace over a prolonged period without NATO since he states “Ukraine must join Nato for sake of long-term peace” (Appendix two). Therefore, it can be suggested NATO is used as the neorealism term survival as a NATO membership will also increase Ukraine defensive power leading to a Ukraine having a higher possibility to survival in the future. This idea that NATO helps with defensive power is implied as “Nato aide ... path to peace is to support Ukraine militarily” (Appendix two). Thereby, NATO becomes an actor in terms of neorealism as states seeks to protect themselves and peace can be found if a member is part of a large military alliance as neorealism’s self-help term. It can further be suggested from this analysis Ukrainian peace is rhetorically placed in dualistic as Russia is interfering with Ukraine’s sovereign right to decide military alliance. Consequently, Russia is using an offensive statism and anarchy because Russia is forcing its political desires onto Ukraine as states forcing its policies on a foreign state and if these political desires is not fulfilled war is the means for Russia’s to achieve its foreign political ambitions “Russia, ... 15-point peace plan that includes Kyiv renouncing ambitions to join Nato” (Appendix two). On the other hand, NATO have argued for supporting Ukraine and that a Ukraine is to decide its future choice of military alliance on its own. Thereby, it can be suggested that NATO is arguing for Ukraine is a sovereign state and Ukraine must make its own decisions as “NATO has said only Kyiv can decide conditions for peace” (Appendix two). However, that suggestion and argument must be taken in consideration as NATO is suppling Ukraine with military equipment. Hence, NATO is helping and providing itself as support for Ukraine. Consequently, it can be suggested NATO is also using statism but, in this case, neoclassical statism and anarchy as NATO through its help is cooperating with Ukraine. Thereby, NATO is interfering with Ukraine and making changes to a conflict between two nations thus adding to the anarchy of political intent that is Ukraine. Subsequently, while that suggestion can be argued as it is important to note NATO is emphasising Ukraine’s sovereignty, while Russia is Imposing its political will on Ukraine.

A suggestion from this analysis journalist writing about peace and Ukraine’s relationship to NATO are using cues that empathies political intent between nations, individual actors, and intergovernmental organisations. This can be suggested since this concordance analysis indicate Ukraine’s process for peace is debated and contested regarding what is best for Ukraine or the political desire of Russia and NATO separately. Therefore, it is suggested the

cues in these article's text segments create a notion of multiple actors interfering with Ukraine and the decision of a NATO membership is not just Ukraine, but a topic of international discussion and intent.

5.2 Border Context Analysis

The Border context section will start with an analysis of NATO's interaction with Ukraine, whereby rhetorical description of Ukraine's attempt for NATO membership will be investigated from NATO's Perspective. Afterward, a realism analysis will be conducted on a investigate of the rhetorical description of Ukraine's attempt to join NATO and how actors within the international arena create anarchy in this progress. Lastly, this analysis will investigate Ukraine as a Westphalian model sovereign State regarding sovereignty and peace.

5.2.1 Liberal Internationalism

"UKRAINE last night dramatically applied for Nato membership after Vladimir Putin claimed four of its occupied territories as part of Russia" (Appendix three). As an international institution it is important for Ukraine to apply for membership, this is because Ukraine must apply to the rules and norms within the military alliance, alongside make a formal request to NATO's juridical system. Whereby, other NATO members must decide if Ukraine can join the pacific federation to achieve access to benefits. Therefore, the first part of this sentence can be analysed to inform the reader that Ukraine have decided to apply to NATO. And so, this part of the text contains cues that indicate a formal process for membership in NATO, but also an event has occurred that led to Ukraine's NATO membership application. Afterward will the reader learn it was a reaction to Russia claiming four Ukrainian occupied regions belongs to Russia. Hence it can be argued that the second part of quoted text contains cues suggesting a textual rhetoric, where NATO becomes Ukraine's desired defensive military alliance because Russia is attempting to claim Ukrainian sovereign territory.

While NATO have committed itself to the formal process. NATO have also been open about it support to Ukraine as NATO's General secretary "Stoltenberg said. "We must not let up in supporting Ukraine, even if the costs are high, not only for military support, also because of rising energy and food prices" (Appendix three). This can indicate that NATO already wants to help Ukraine as part of the NATO's norms and rules which dealing with the European security question, but also having strong political and cooperative ties to Ukraine as a member of NATO's Partners for peace program. Thereby, it can be analysed NATO as is willing to finance Ukraine with suppliers for the war effort, but also send the signal to NATO member

states that this is a financial endeavour NATO support. Hence, it can be argued NATO is creating a norm among NATO's member states to help with war offered by directly endorse and contribute to Ukraine in protecting its own borders. This also means it can be suggested the article is using Stoltenberg's quote to create cues in the reader that this is war that NATO want support and cost of this support is deemed justified by NATO. Therefore, an argument can be made that readers from a liberal international perspective that readers will make coherence connections that since NATO is supportive of Ukraine's defensive war effort so should their state be in support as an argument can be made a reader of The Guardian and The Daily Mail have preprogrammed ideologies supporting NATO's decision as means to security maximising the reader's own state.

"The Nato secretary general, Jens Stoltenberg, has said all member countries have agreed that Ukraine will eventually join the transatlantic military alliance once the war is over, ahead of a meeting of western defence ministers discussing further military aid for Kyiv" (Appendix three).

The above quote indicates NATO as a pacific federation has undergone a unanimous democratic decision as part of the rules and norms within NATO, that Ukraine will become part of the military alliance after the war. Furthermore, it is indicated NATO is engaging with supplying Ukraine with military equipment. Hence, an argument can be made those lines between NATO member and valuable NATO partner becomes blurred and different in Ukraine's situation is a title and access to the benefits of the NATO's charter. Therefore, it can be analysed and argued for all NATO member states have agreed that Ukraine will become a member after the war with Russia has ended and this has meant for Ukraine, that Ukraine is slowly being included into NATO's functions and the rules and norms governing NATO's member states. It is from this analysis an argument can be made in relation to the cues and the readers interpretation of the text because this is a full sentence can the reader interpret it as "all member countries" also agree to NATO should join its member countries in sending Ukraine military aid as part of the agreement. Thereby, the reader can create coherence from the written cues to context that indicate Ukraine have become the battlefield between Russia and NATO since NATO is approaching a role where it is supporting Ukraine with military aid.

"A senior Nato official has apologised after saying that Ukraine could give up territory to Russia in exchange for Nato membership and an end to the war" (Appendix three). This analysis has previously investigated Ukraine NATO membership status as been approved on

the condition that a NATO membership can first be granted to Ukraine after the war. However, a NATO official had to apologise for making an argument for the possibility of cutting the war short and giving up territory to Russia in exchange for NATO membership. Therefore, an argument and sound analysis can be made that a NATO officials apologise for stating Ukraine should trade its citizens, sovereign right for territorial integrity, and political freedom form foreign interference for a NATO membership, while these three things are part of the reason Ukraine want a NATO membership. Hence, an analysis can argue NATO official statement is against the reasons for why Ukraine seeks NATO membership. This is important since it indicate that NATO's official is not necessarily in concordance with NATO's official agenda concerning Ukraine. And so, an argument can be constructed that NATO as a pacific federation has division within it concerning Ukraine and how to deal with Russia. Consequently, it can be analysed that from a language perspective this article can give readers cues that it is still a debated question on how to fast track Ukraine into NATO and how to deal with Russia without causing an escalation. Thereby, it can be argued readers can interpret this sentence as NATO is still debating how to approach Ukrainian NATO membership and if Russia is willing to exchange territory for Ukrainian NATO membership. This has the possibility to create coherence context in the reader to a context where Russia is fighting against Ukraine becoming a NATO member as one of Putin's Red lines as this thesis have touched on before.

5.2.2 *Anarchy*

From an anarchy perspective an argument can be constructed that Ukraine pursuit for NATO membership have not been a process between Ukraine and NATO. But a process influenced by states and international actors, where Boris Johnson, Oleksii Reznikov, and Jens Stoltenberg have previously been mentioned as actors attempting to conduct statism within the sliver of international anarchy that is Ukraine's attempt to join NATO. However, this process has a historical perspective as NATO and Russia shares a history of conflicting interests "Vladimir Putin warned very specifically against further expansion of Nato. Just a year later, President George W. Bush announced that he wanted Ukraine to join Nato, wholly aware that his action would infuriate Moscow" (Appendix Three). Consequently, this conflict of interests has been part of Russia's reasons for starting the 2022 war in Ukraine. Thus, it can be suggested the articles depict Russia as using offensive realism tactics for imposing Russians foreign policies on its neighbouring state as a military interfering can imply the use of offensive realism's power, statism, and self-help. This can be reasoned because Russia is using its offensive military power to help itself to achieve Russia's foreign policies. Subsequently, these actions

imply Ukraine's attempt for a NATO membership is relying on Russia's position to interfere with Ukraine to intervene in Ukraine's process for NATO membership. Conversely, this must be taken in the light of George W. Bush arguing from a position of representing a NATO state that Bush want Ukraine to achieve NATO membership with is a sentiment also described by western leaders.

"Western leaders are using it to discuss support for Ukraine during its conflict with Russia and how to handle Kyiv's wish to join the military alliance. But they are refusing to put a date on when the country can join over fears it could escalate the war" (Appendix Three).

Whereby, it can be analysed that the Ukraine's possibility to join NATO is suggested to be relying on interference and the agenda within difference states thus indicating anarchy as states are attempting to achieve their foreign political goal. And so, it can be argued that Ukraine is losing its sovereign right to choose a military alliance, where the loss of sovereign rights comes from the mass interference as Russia, western leaders, and Ukraine are attempting to securing their political agenda. This can suggest the tabloids are depicting a situation where anarchy is manifested as states, individuals, and organisations attempts to achieve their political goals. Consequently, in Ukraine's case the NATO membership is a question that include the position of multiple NATO member state that must give their support to Ukraine before Ukraine can become a NATO member. However, even if NATO member states have agreed Ukraine will be accepted a problem is giving Ukraine a formal date for becoming a member has been postpone due to it will mean an intercontinental war between Russia and NATO since article 5 will trigger if Ukraine joins NATO therefore NATO "are refusing to put a date on when the country can join over fears it could escalate the war" (Appendix three). This Indicate NATO does not have a desire to escalate the War in Ukraine into an intercontinental war. However, the text segments do suggest NATO wants Ukraine to join the military alliance. Subsequently, the tabloids are also implying the rules and norms of NATO are the reason Ukraine cannot join NATO because Ukraine is in state of war which will trigger article 5. However, the tabloids also indicate that "There is no doubt that Ukraine deserves membership of Nato," Erdogan said" (Appendix three). This does suggest that it can be analysed the tabloids are constructing a rhetoric where Ukraine is placed in anarchic situation as political desires are at conflict because of the war between Ukraine and Russia. This can imply that war is a tool for Russia to enforce Russian foreign political aspirations on Ukraine as offensive realism will suggest offensive power to be. Thereby, the literary cues can be suggested to be multiple conflicts of interest when it had come to Ukraine's aspiration for security because the anarchy unleashed

by Russia is driving Ukraine closer to NATO. However, NATO's political desire is not to escalate the war beyond Ukraine's borders, while wanting Ukraine as a member state due to Ukraine have proven itself. These cues suggest a form of manifest perspective where Ukraine's process for NATO membership is to secure its survival while Ukraine's attempt at self-help for its security and survival is being contested as multiple international actors are attempting to exercise statism and power for their political gain.

5.2.3 Statism and Self-help

It was suggested in the anarchy analysis the rhetoric used in the tabloids indicates NATO does want Ukraine as a member state. However, the war is the reason for NATO does not provide Ukraine with a formal date for Ukraine's NATO Membership. This can be investigated in the light that Russia's war against Ukraine has made NATO a more influential intergovernmental organisation as NATO have seen states seeking membership.

"just as an aside, too bad Vladimir, you brought it on yourself," she said, referring to the fact that Nato is growing post-invasion.... "We always said, 'People are not forced to join Nato. People choose and want to join Nato,'" she added. Ukraine also aspires to become a member of the western defense organization" (Appendix three).

This means that while Russia has used statism in Ukraine by starting the war to avoid NATO's sphere of influence expanding closer to the Russian borders, which has meant Russia made a bandwagon effect among some of Russia's neighbouring states. This can be argued for since the text segments suggest neorealism statism perspective of states seeking NATO membership to increase the states' chance for survival, which in these cases means states are seeking NATO membership is as a response to Russian aggression. Where Ukraine can be suggested to view NATO as a solution for Russian aggression as Ukraine's aspirations for membership are suggesting NATO is viewed as means of survival. Thereby, the processes of seeking NATO membership becomes an act of neorealism's self-help and statism as it prior have been argued from text segments within this analysis that Ukraine have actively exercised statism to become a NATO member to increase its chances for safety and survival. However, it is this safety and survival that are at the core of Ukraine's peace talks with Russia as suggested by Ukraine is Willingly to considering abandon its aspiration for NATO membership if it's means "security guarantees" as "Officials acting as mediators between Russia and Ukraine said there had been a 'convergence' on key issues. These include Ukraine abandoning its bid to join Nato, 'demilitarising' in exchange for security guarantees" (Appendix three). Whereby, this suggest

rhetoric used by Ukraine in interacting with other states or NATO relies on neorealism's notion that it is in states nature to seek security of its sovereign borders and citizens. Subsequently, it is evident Ukraine is willing to give up its NATO membership ambition and demilitarisation for security guarantees from Russia within these articles. Thereby, an analysis would imply that Ukraine's aim not necessarily achieving safety as a NATO member through bandwagon alongside other NATO states. However, it is suggested that Ukraine is willing as a neorealism state to employ self-help and statism with Russia if it means the securing a security for Ukraine's border and the survival of Ukraine's citizens. On the contrary, it can also be suggested that Ukraine is seeking the membership with a full understanding that "Ukraine cannot join Nato when at war", which implies Ukraine's prime minister is depicted to understand the consequences NATO faces if NATO allowed Ukraine to join the military alliance. However, while the Prime Minister is depicted to understand NATO predicament it has been shown that Zelensky keep pursuing a NATO membership as

"Zelenskiy said that while it was "understandable that Ukraine cannot join Nato when at war", it would have been ideal if there had been an invitation for Kyiv to join the alliance at some point in the future. He said an invitation would have been a signal that Nato was serious about membership" (Appendix three).

The quote above can be analysed to suggest Zelenskiy as a representation of Ukraine wants NATO to also show Ukraine that NATO is serious of a Ukrainian NATO membership, while explaining that Ukraine do understand why it cannot join NATO in a state of war. This can suggest a rhetoric where Ukraine does understand its current situation. However, NATO and NATO members states does agree that Ukraine deserve its NATO membership, which is sentiment Ukraine is depicted to describe as frustrating because NATO will not give Ukraine a date for a proposed NATO membership. Consequently, this can be argued to indicate that Ukraine from a rhetorically perspective most see the war end before Ukraine can join NATO while NATO's members agree that Ukraine has proven itself as a worthy member of the military alliance. However, Ukraine have previously sought a NATO membership and indicate the 2022 Russian invasion would not have occurred "If we were a Nato member, a war wouldn't have started," he said. "If Nato members are ready to see us in the alliance, do it immediately because people are dying on a daily basis" (Appendix three). This implies Ukraine have been using neorealism's bandwagon ideas for the purpose to increase Ukraine's security by joining NATO as a defensive military alliance that can help increase Ukraine's survival. Therefore, it can be reasoned that Ukraine has attempted to join NATO's sphere of influence and security

to distance itself from Russia and for the purpose to decrease Russia's sphere of influence to Ukraine. Consequently, it is suggested Ukraine has previously been conducting neorealism's statism to deter Russia from invading Ukraine by aspiring to join NATO to create self-help through the act of statism by having NATO as a defensive alliance. Hence, Ukraine's argument, "If we were a Nato member, a war wouldn't have started", indicates the articles suggests that a Ukrainian belief is the 2022 invasion could have been avoided if Ukraine had been granted NATO membership earlier.

Rhetoric cues have through the analysis above presented a Ukraine that has been depicted in the tabloids to attempt to join NATO, while exercise of Ukrainian statism has been depicted as fruitful since NATO member states agree Ukraine have earned its place in NATO. There are clear rhetoric indication showing NATO does not desire to give Ukraine a date for membership because the rules and norms within NATO that could mean an intercontinental war between Russia and NATO. However, NATO does desire Ukraine as a NATO member. Lastly the tabloids create cues indicating Ukraine view NATO as a means of ending Russia's sphere of influence and Ukraine has been in pursuit of a NATO membership before the 2022 invasion. Thereby, the Tabloids suggest Ukraine's view of NATO is a means of achieving peace, which was a point also made Johnson that a peace in Ukraine will come when Ukraine has access to security offered by NATO.

5.2.4 Survival and Power

As argued in the previous section tabloids have indicated that Ukraine view NATO as a means of defensive power and as means to increase Ukraine's survival "Zelenskiy added that if Ukraine "were a Nato member, a war wouldn't have started"" (Appendix three). while Ukraine through this quote indicates NATO to be a means to it survival and increase in Ukraine's defensive power, this does also suggest rhetorically that Zelenskiy project the reason for the 2022 Russian invasion is because NATO did not invite to be a NATO member. This also indicate that Ukraine focus is on the survival idea of realism as Zelenskiy in this quote indicate prevention of the war and not using NATO to fight back against Russia. Subsequently, this suggest NATO is a Ukrainian means of survival. However, it is also notably that the war has changed Ukraine to become potent in NATO offensive technology, equipment, and tactics as means to employ self-help for Ukraine's survival as NATO and NATO member states have supplied Ukraine with military hardware and training as discussed in section 5.1.1. Consequently, this has meant Ukraine is becoming adept at using NATO's style of equipment

and tactics while receiving training from NATO member states and Ukraine describes a change in the country that is drawing Ukraine closer to NATO member states.

“De facto, we have already made our way to Nato. De facto, we have already proven compatibility with alliance standards. They are real for Ukraine – real on the battlefield and in all aspects of our interaction,” he said. “We trust each other, we help each other, and we protect each other. This is the alliance. De facto. Today, Ukraine is applying to make it de jure” (Appendix three).

This change is suggested to have help Ukraine to survive but also grow closer to NATO and NATO’s member states. This is important to note that Ukraine through the war have faced a “de facto” reality that have meant Ukraine most adapt to NATO’s rules and norms for military engagements as military organisation it is not a member of. Subsequently, this can suggest that while NATO does avoid giving Ukraine a date for membership, that NATO and Ukraine are growing close as NATO and NATO members participate in training Ukraine's soldiers and supply military aid to Ukraine. Therefore, NATO is becoming the military organisation Ukraine envision NATO to be since NATO is suppling Ukraine with additional defensive power subsequently increase Ukraine’s potential for survival as the aim of neorealism reason for bandwagon. This does also imply the reason for why “de jure” is used in the quote since the foreign term will add empathic to Ukraine’s decision to join NATO as NATO supplies the elements Ukraine want even if Ukraine does not have access to security guarantees that comes with membership.

This analysis suggest that rhetorical cues have been constructed in the articles to give readers the notion of the roles Ukraine think NATO can have for Ukraine and the reason for why Ukraine is pursuing a NATO membership while Ukraine is in a state of war. This can be argued since the cues indicate Ukraine has through the war been given help by NATO, which has increased the connection between Ukraine and NATO’s member states, while providing Ukraine with the necessities to increase Ukraine’s survival and defensive power, while not being a NATO member.

5.2.5 Sovereignty and Peace

A Westphalian sovereign state is a state that can decide its own laws, trading partners, political aspiration, and military alliances. This is because Westphalia treaty hence the Westphalian sovereignty model was constructed with the idea that the natural state between was peace and if conflict was emerging an attempt must be made to settle in an international court. However,

as Russia invaded for among other things interfering with Ukraine's pursuit of NATO membership under the masquerade of a Russian intent of denazify Ukraine and liberate a silence majority that want Ukraine to return to Russian rule see section 1.1. Therefore, it can be indicated that Russia fundamentally is breaking with the norms established in the Westphalian sovereignty model as the language in the following quote suggest.

“Putin's ideological goal, it appears, is to eliminate Ukraine, a country he thinks does not exist. Ironically his invasion has had the opposite effect. Support for Nato membership and the EU has grown. 94% identify themselves as Ukrainian citizens, up from 76% in 2021” (Appendix three).

This quote suggest that Russian's invasion is an ideological war fathered by Vladimir Putin to remove Ukraine and seize Ukraine's sovereign right. However, The Russian invasion of Ukraine have had the opposite effect since it is indicated that a 18% increase among Ukraine citizens identify as Ukrainians because the Russian invasion have tightened Ukrainians together. Subsequently, Putin's ideology has also meant that Ukrainian and Ukraine's citizens have increased their desire to join NATO and the EU. Thereby, indicating the war is forcing Ukrainians further west towards NATO and the EU. This corresponds with quote “People are not forced to join Nato. People choose and want to join Nato” (Appendix three). Hence, it can be suggested that Russia is pushing Ukraine towards NATO as an unwanted consequence of the invasion, while Ukraine's citizens identity has been strengthened. Consequently, this implies Ukraine has seen a rise from its citizens that corresponds with a strengthened sovereign Ukraine because sovereignty is not granted to a state by acknowledgement of foreign state alone. However, it is also the citizens that is granting sovereignty and legitimacy to a state in perspective of the Westphalian sovereignty model. This perspective of Ukraine's unity can be argued to rhetorically be represented as “Volodymyr Zelenskiy, has said Kyiv will liberate all of its territory including Crimea. On Friday he formally applied for Ukraine to join Nato as soon as possible” (Appendix three). Whereby, it can be implied that Ukraine's government as represented by Zelenskiy aim to “liberate all of its territory” including what was lost in 2016. This suggest Ukrainians government has an interest to uphold its territorial integrity that was captured in the 2022 investigation by Russia but also the territory annexed in 2016. Thereby, restoring and protecting Ukraine as a sovereign nation. Additionally, this also implies neorealism idea of defensive approach to statism, self-help and power are vital component of how Ukraine views sovereignty and how Ukraine want to maintain its sovereignty. This can be suggested from previous analysis in this thesis where Ukraine's ambition for NATO

membership has rhetoric indications of neorealism bandwagon and desire for Ukraine to have access to the increased survival and defensive power a NATO membership can offer. Subsequently, this must be taken into consideration that the war has progressed NATO and Ukraine's partnership has grown and it was analysed in the previous section that Ukraine is move closer to NATO as an intergovernmental organisation that has aid Ukraine with weapons and other military equipment that Ukraine uses to regain its territorial integrity. However, while Ukraine has been aiming for NATO membership Ukraine has also be willing to engage Russia in peace talk, where Ukraine has been willing to become neutral state between NATO and Russia by abandoning Ukraine's NATO membership ambition for security guarantees as "Zelenskiy has said that Ukraine is ready to discuss a "neutral status" with Russia , presumably one that would preclude the country from joining Nato, in exchange for security guarantees from attack in the future" (Appendix Three). This indicates that Ukraine's aim is to seek the survival of its citizens as defensive oriented state, but also Ukraine is willing to abandon its sovereign right to choose military alliance if it means the war between Russia and Ukraine will end in addition to Ukraine seeks security guarantees. Whereby, it can be suggested the essential element in peace is to maintain sovereignty, survival of Ukraine's citizens, and a means of security guarantees. These three points can be argued to be reflected in the reasons found for why Ukraine wants to join NATO. Consequently, this suggests Ukraine in a state of war want to secure the safety and survival of Ukraine's citizens, while maintaining its sovereign right depends on the condition that Ukraine can get security guarantees. However, this idea that Ukraine aim is the secure the safety and survival of Ukraine's citizens has also become a topic for western allies as suggestions of compromise and exchange have emerged regarding territorial integrity for a NATO membership as seen in the following quote.

"But some western allies have suggested Ukraine will have to compromise. In August a senior Nato aide, Stian Jenssen, prompted fury in Kyiv when he said Ukraine might have to give up some land to Russia , in return for peace and Nato membership" (Appendix three).

This approach by "some western allies" and Jenssen as a prospect for peace can be argued to misrepresented Ukraine's relation to Russia, NATO, and Ukraine's citizens as the suggestion is not representative of Ukraine's desire for territorial integrity and survival of the Ukraine's citizens because exchange territory to Russia does also mean that Ukraine's government is willing to hand over Ukrainians in the process for NATO membership. This is suggested throughout the analysis that Ukraine's ambition is to protect and seek defensive means to ensure security and sovereignty for its citizens by engaging the international arena and seeking

aid from NATO and NATO member states. Therefore, an exchange of territory subsequently Ukrainians for a NATO membership is not prospect for peace Ukraine wants or have indicated interested in from the data used in this analysis. Thus, this analysis suggest Ukraine aim for peace is through neorealism defensive maximising strategy where the Ukraine's aim is to secure peace by increasing Ukraine's chances for survival where two approaches have been found to be of interest for defensive maximising, where the first is NATO and the second is peace through an agreement including security guarantees.

This mean from a rhetorically perspective that the journalist on the question of Ukrainian sovereignty and peace in the conflict between Russia and Ukraine creates cues that indicate Ukraine is viewing the conflict from neorealism perspective and desires to defensive maximising. Subsequently, it has been suggested through this analyses that Ukraine is being depicted as the idea constituted in the Westphalian sovereignty model as the articles used in the analysis refer to a possible NATO membership as a decision Ukraine must make and conflict for peace is relies on territorial integrity, security guarantees, and right to choose without international interference. Therefore, it can be implied the data from tabloids used in this thesis uses cues to create rhetoric indicating Ukraine as a neorealism state that attempt to secure its sovereign right within a war with Russia.

6.0 Discussion

The discussion section is used to discuss and reflect on results, theoretical, and methodical concerns found during the writing of this thesis.

6.1 Exploratory Patterns and Language Depictions

From the exploratory analyses, it can be argued that the corpus analysis's collocation analyses found a series of repeated patterns within the analyses that can be related to the problem formulation for instance NATO, join, and membership all occurred with a high frequency of the keyword Ukraine across the articles while the analysis had short word span to work with. This can be understood as there is a frequent interaction between these words and these words are used to form patterns hence rhetoric patterns between Ukraine and NATO does exist in the data alongside frequent use of join and membership. However, it was also an indication that due to corpus analyses do not discriminate since cases were found that did not link the collocated word "membership" to the keyword Ukraine, but "membership" was used in another clause. Conversely, the collocation analysis also suggested that two worded keywords could help reduce the number of instances of ambiguity within the analyses. This means that two worded keywords lead the investigation to find patterns that do not include as many synonyms or suggest patterns across two clauses that must be interpreted. Thereby, the researcher must add meaning to data that is not explicitly written. Hence, by using two keywords the meaning of patterns emerges more directly. Furthermore, it can be argued that from a collocation perspective it was only possible to find patterns indicating that Ukraine had a causality with NATO within this corpus. However, if the analysis extends to NATO with the additional word membership a rhetorical pattern emerged that denoted ideas as exchange and negotiation between Ukraine and NATO. Consequently, this can be argued to mean that a pattern existent within the data collected from the 22nd of February 2022 to the 12th of October 2023 that a Ukrainian possible NATO membership from a five words word span incorporate ideas of negotiation between actors for the NATO membership.

The concordance analyses on the other hand added a small amount of context to the keyword where it was suggested from the analyses that a pattern was found of rhetoric description that a phenomenon indicating Ukraine sought NATO membership for security reason and NATO was viewed to achieve sovereignty. Thereby, indicating neorealism patterns was used in the rhetoric between Ukraine and NATO. This is indicated as patterns were found indicating NATO supplying weapons to Ukraine which can be viewed as neorealism as the weapons are

implied to be used for defence and regain of Ukraine's lost territory. Consequently, a problem can be found since an exploratory analysis cannot determine if weapons are offensive or defensive due to the weapons' nature or what offensive or defensive means in a defensive war. Therefore, it was chosen from the patterns found in the articles that Russia invaded Ukraine hence Ukraine can be argued to be in a defensive position. However, this is based on an interpretation of the events being depicted in the concordance analysis and later in the document analysis, but the results are arguably problematic due to the interpretation that was made. Therefore, it can be suggested that further investing into the rhetoric about Ukraine receiving military hardware from NATO and NATO's member States is important to determine how to analyse these the patterns meaning because the meaning change depending on how the text is interpreted.

A trend found in the concordance analysis and document analysis was the amount of actors conducting statism which is important to consider due to neoclassical realism unlike neorealism and offensive realism includes actors as important figures within international relations. This means the analyses suggests that it was also important to consider who Jens Stoltenberg, Volodymyr Zelenskyj, and Vladimir Putin are viewed in the research field. This is because their word and actions carry meaning for neoclassical realism since it no longer just states that interact in international relations, but individuals and specialist has become important for how international interactions. Thereby, an argument has been made that rhetoric patterns within Ukraine's process for possible NATO membership have to consider who the speaker is if a neoclassical realism approach is chosen.

It was suggested in the document analysis that a rhetorical pattern indicates Ukraine is described as a neorealism state since this thesis argues from the data that Ukraine seeks NATO membership to achieve security, peace, and sovereignty within Ukraine's borders. Thereby, neorealism became the realism with the most results among the thematic codes. But it is also indicated in Table 2 in section 4.5 that neorealism had a large amount of codes shared among the other realisms which indicates the interpretation of patterns within the data could be more dispersed in the analyses section. However, while codes were shared between theories there were differences between neorealism which had 446 codes and offensive realism had 367 which means there are 79 codes different. Therefore, it can also be argued there is an overlap, but the patterns indicate that Ukraine is described as a state closely related to neorealism.

Lastly, it was also indicated from liberal internationalism analyses that patterns indicate NATO was postponing Ukraine's membership as a security means to avoid escalation of the war. Consequently, there were also found patterns within the data that NATO is supplying military hardware to Ukraine and asking NATO's member states to do the same. Thereby, the rhetoric used indicates that NATO cannot let Ukraine join during the war, but NATO is willing to help Ukraine defend itself. Subsequently, this opens for possibility to research the role NATO has in this war between Russia and Ukraine and what it means that NATO refuses to give Ukraine a date for membership even though patterns suggest that NATO's member states agree Ukraine should become a NATO member.

6.2 Anarchy a Catch All Term

During the coding process, it became apparent that anarchy became the largest thematic code among the nine codes used in the data coding process. This can be seen as neorealism's anarchy had 402 codes across 197 articles, offensive realism's anarchy had 369 codes across 187, and neoclassical realism's anarchy had 363 codes across 184 articles (Appendix three). The three kinds of realism had a total amount of 1.134 codes across the 209 articles used for this thesis's data. These numbers do not account for codes that are repeated between each type of realism as the representation of data in section 4.5. However, that is not considered problematic, what is considered problematic and worth debating is anarchy as a term within realism theories is a very specific catch all term. Whereby, it is meant that anarchy has common denominators between the three realisms that anarchy is the interaction between states. However, within the context of neorealism anarchy becomes a defensive focused term, where international interaction focuses on how states can maximise survival and defence, offensive realism on the other is anarchy is viewed in terms of offensive power as States attempt to achieve regional or world hegemony, and neoclassical realism added the idea that organisations, firms, and individuals can influence the international arena and attempt to commit statism in addition to states attempting influence the international arena. Consequently, it can be argued these three types of anarchy have their niche that they branch into, but at the core of three realism anarchy have a meaning of interaction across borders. Therefore, this thesis had issues in attempting to create individual indicators for the theoretical term anarchy. Consequently, attempting to give for instance neorealism's anarchy its own set of indicators to find a larger amount of unique codes for neorealism's anarchy resulted in a misrepresentation of anarchy as a theoretical term shared among the three theories. This misrepresentation was decided against as it was decided the thesis should maintain a measurement validity concerning how theories were represented

in the literature and how it could function as a measurement tool when using the theme and indicator method for organising the data concerning theories terms. However, this can also be indicated as problematic concerning measurement validity because the two international relation theories used are normative. And so, the theories describe a way the world is to function, but not as the world functions as positive theories would. Therefore, it was chosen to use the meaning of individual realism theory to construct the indicators used for anarchy in addition to shared indicators. This was also advised as a methodical process due to normative theories can be troublesome to change into analytical tools used to analyse real world events since real world events do not necessarily adhere to normative ideas (Lynggaard, 2020, p. 195). Consequently, an argument against this approach can be that indicators suffer reliability issues as the indicators rely on how the author interprets the theory during the theme and indicator construction process. This is a criticism worth considering because it criticises an approach that might include the use of an author's fantasy in constructing the indicator since the approach relies on the interpretation of the theory. However, this is why this thesis has attempted to make the theories as operational as possible by acknowledging a term like anarchy has a broad amount of meaning shared between the three types of realism. In addition to focus on how neorealism differs from offensive realism and neoclassical realism. Thereby, identifying unique aspects through focus on differences that could be added to previously established functions anarchy had among common meanings used in realism theories. Consequently, it was chosen to create Table 1 for further transparency to give readers an idea of how anarchy is interpreted within this thesis thus making how the theories are interpreted more transparent and focus processes and reflections behind the method used. Thereby, this thesis is attempting to mitigate such criticism through transparency and explaining the process the theory and the method sections used. As for the discussion that anarchy is a catch all term because of how the indications were constructed a reason can be found that anarchy in its definitions is a widely encompassing term (Kissane, 2014, p. 249). Thus, the difference in the number of codes arguably relies on the method for data collection this thesis was using and the themes within this data. Neorealism was favoured because the data collection process had a focus on Ukraine which is in a defensive war as the analysis suggests. In addition, NATO is the other focus of the data collocation process since the purpose of this thesis was to investigate the rhetoric used by two tabloids in conveying the events of Ukraine's process for NATO membership while at war. Therefore, the analysis depicting Ukraine as a neorealism state is not incorrect since Ukraine is engaged in a defensive war and asking for or receiving military aid to defend citizens and views NATO as a security guarantee arguably favouring a neorealism anarchy term.

However, offensive realism also saw a high code count since Russia has been depicted as using offensive power since Russia invaded Ukraine while weapons and military systems are hard to define as offensive and defensive, which is why a cross between Neorealism and offensive realism codes were likely to occur during the coding process. Lastly, neoclassical realism can be argued to have a high count due to states, organisations, and individuals acting within the international arena will trigger an anarchy indicator under neoclassical realism. Therefore, anarchy was shown to have a high code count across all three themes. Consequently, this should be expected since international relations theories are the study of interactions across international borders hence a term as anarchy would be viewed as a catch all term.

6.3 Sovereignty and NATO

Sovereignty is an interesting component in this thesis due to sovereignty's importance for states as an authority that has power within its borders. It was argued in the analysis section that Ukraine's sovereignty has been restricted as Russia is attempting to enforce its foreign political will on Ukraine by ensuring NATO cannot expand further east with Ukrainian NATO membership. There is indication for from rhetoric employed when covering Russia's reasons for the war in the articles and from section 2.0 to suggest Russia influenced Ukraine's sovereignty. However, this debate is concerning whether NATO as an intergovernmental organisation can interfere with states' sovereignty because the analysis indicated that the process and intent of NATO could interfere with the Westphalian sovereignty model. Krasner in an article has argued that norms and rules within international organisations can have an interference effect on sovereignty. This is because norms and rules interact with how states interact with each other regarding how they practice policies and trade (Krasner, 2001, pp. 24-26). Hence, Krasner argues member states of international organisation reduces their sovereignty as they follow the organisation's norms and rules which can be against the desired outcome or approach a state is attempting to conduct (Krasner, 2001, p. 26). Krasner further argues Westphalian sovereignty model is organised hypocrisy since the system is a mutual sovereignty system within a world of asymmetric power, where there is a lack of an authoritative institution that would enforce international disputes in a legal setting (Krasner, 1999, pp. 40-41). The organised hypocrisy arises from states having equal sovereign rights from the Westphalian sovereignty model, but states are asymmetric in rules, powers, and territory hence states in the Westphalian sovereignty model are not equal since one state has more power than another state (Krasner, 1999, pp. 40-41). Krasner argues states in the Westphalian sovereignty model can fall victim to four types of violations, where the two first

conventions & contracting are self-inflicted as violation of sovereignty through invitation (Krasner, 1999, pp. 40-41). However, Krasner argues that sovereign states are involuntarily affected by *coercion* and *imposition* through intervention, where coercion is when a state is worse off from political interaction with other states and imposition is when a ruler is faced with military actions or is unable to ensure international sovereign recognition (Krasner, 1999, p. 41). Where norms from intergovernmental organisation and interactions become organised hypocrisy due to norms does not act as mutually consistent, while the power between states is asymmetric, and rules within the international system cannot include all circumstances (Krasner, 1999, p. 42). The perspective of this thesis, it can be argued that Krasner's view on Westphalian sovereignty and intergovernmental organisations reflects several of the elements this analysis has found indications for. Hence, it can be argued that NATO is reducing Ukraine's sovereignty as a membership date is not being provided as NATO is following the rules and norms established in the intergovernmental organisation even if NATO's member states approve of Ukrainian membership. While it can be argued that NATO's roles and norms do interfere with Ukraine's sovereignty a valid argument can suggest that these rules and norms there denies Ukraine membership is also a validation of NATO's position as a defensive military alliance because the best way to provide security for NATO's members is to avoid war. Therefore, a reflection on the analysis will reason that NATO is interfering with Ukraine's sovereignty through NATO's rules and norms. However, it is also important to emphasise evidence from an analysis suggests NATO is conducting organised hypocrisy through its norms. So why is it that NATO is conducting organised hypocrisy? Indications from the analysis showed NATO is supplying weapons and other military hardware to Ukraine as defensive aid. This suggests NATO is helping Ukraine maintain sovereignty against a foe that is conducting military intervention to control Ukraine's political ambitions within Ukraine's borders and on the international stage. Hence, this suggests NATO is making Ukraine a stage of anarchy as two states fight for sovereign control over territory in Ukraine. This indicates that the aid Ukraine receives from NATO and NATO is suggesting its member states should help Ukraine are the reasons NATO can be described as organised hypocrisy. Consequently, NATO's rules and norms are the reasons for Ukraine cannot join NATO and receive security guarantees from NATO. However, NATO supplying weapon systems and military hardware to Ukraine means NATO is directly involved in strengthening and interfering with Ukraine's security as a non-NATO member. Subsequently, this interference is creating further asymmetric power imbalances between Ukraine and Russia. Thereby, NATO is directly involved in helping Ukraine in attempting to regain control over Ukrainian territory controlled

by Russia, which means NATO's aid is strengthening Ukraine's sovereignty by supplying tools to take back lost territory and secure controlled territory. This means NATO is strengthening Ukraine's sovereignty by conducting organised hypocrisy as NATO is providing military systems to a non-NATO state to help regain and secure territory and lessen Ukraine's sovereignty by using NATO's rules and norms to avoid giving Ukraine a date for membership.

6.4 Normative Theory and Positive Analyses

Normative theory and positive analyses were briefly discussed in section 6.1. This is viewed as problematic in this thesis since all four theories used are normative in nature since they describe an image of how the world should be functioning, unlike positive theories there describe how the functions. This is a problem when using four normative theories to investigate real world events and how these events are rhetorically described in *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail*. While it is recognised as a problem it is not because the theory cannot be made operational for a positive analysis, but it is a matter of how the theories are made operational in a methodical manner. This is because normative theory's relation to reality reflects how reality should function. However, the positive analyses investigate real world events work in an endeavour to understand how certain events in the world could occur and how the events can be understood. After all, it cannot be expected for a journalist to think their articles would be included in a document analysis or corpus analysis. Therefore, these articles are not written to reflect something like international relation theory, but the articles are written in a manner that reflects the events in the real world. This means articles can become the data source for investigating real world events, but if it is desired to use normative theories and the terms they employ as analytical lenses when they must be made operational. The focus on making normative theories operational is because the terms are reflective of the theories' ideal world but not necessarily reflective of the real world. Therefore, it is important to clarify for the reader how these terms are to be understood in the normative theory and how they become translated into operational terms. In this thesis case, it was through the theme and indicate method, that each term was used as a theme. This meant a theme would contain a term's measures, description, and thematic areas of operation from the term's theory. Therefore, the process of transforming a term into an operational theme will consider the context and meaning of the normative theory a term is originating from. This is in of itself not problematic since the term will contain its intended meanings and functions. However, the problematic component of this method of operational terms is constructing the indicators belonging to a theme. This is because normative theories do not necessarily provide indicators which allows finding areas within a

text that can be analysed using the indicator. Therefore, an indicator can be constructed as indicated in sections 4.3 and 6.1 since it can be necessary to be innovative in this process. Indicators are used as a measuring lens to find areas in the text where the theme can be employed to explain an event or explain a change that has been depicted. Consequently, innovation does not mean inventing indicators from nowhere, but the author must construct indicators from the theory's central meaning, a theories idea of the world, and the context a term is placed. This means that indicators are constructed to be true to the theory where a term originated. However, why is this important and how can it be done to ensure good methodological practice? The methodological practice and the transformation of normative terms into analytical lenses that can be used on positive data must be considered in terms of the problem formulation a thesis is using. This can be argued since the problem formulation is on one hand directing the thesis approach and on the other being changed depending on the possibilities available to investigate a possible answer for the problem formulation. This thesis's problem formulation is constructed deductively and inductively, where the thesis inductive approach appears in the theme of the thesis because of an interest in "Ukraine's process for NATO membership". The problem formulation is also deductive due to an interest in the theories and how they assume the world functions. However, the important part was the relationship between the deductive and inductive approaches from the problem formulation because that also framed how the indicators from the themes and indicators method came to be constructed. This means the theories had to be given indicators that matched the theories' intent and reflected the field that is being investigated. Therefore, the indicators had something to be tailored towards. Consequently, this means that from an inductive approach it was already known that terms such as membership, NATO, Ukraine, war, Russia, sovereignty, and peach was part of the data. It became apparent that these words and abstract ideas of the events related to Ukraine's attempt for NATO membership must be reflected in the indicators. Subsequently, it is within these reflections an indicator can be used as a tool to analyse positive data and the theory is open to reflect real-world events by considering the theory's elements into reality. However, this can also be criticised as it can be argued to require a dual approach between theory and data to construct these indicators which can be argued to need an analysis before giving a theme's indicator a meaning. However, another approach is transparency in the method section to describe why a certain approach has been conducted. Subsequently, this thesis chose to aim for transparency in the consideration that was required to construct the indicators through details in sections 4.3 and 4.3.1. The sections were designed to inform the reader of the reflections considered as to why the indicators were made in the manner they

were. Thereby, each indicator should reflect its theory while being suitable to use in positive analyses to find the answer to the problem formulation.

6.5 Corpus Analyses Within the Social Sciences

Corpus analyses has in this thesis shown that rhetoric patterns can be found in the language used by journalists from analysing words that had a frequent appearance together to larger text segments. Whereby, it can be suggested that linguistic patterns using the words NATO and Ukraine relate to words indicating membership, negotiation, and war. Therefore, it could from a corpus analysis be argued that there is a clear connection between Ukraine's possible NATO membership, while also rhetorically indicating that Ukrainian pursuit of NATO membership is troubled by negotiations. This means that there are indications for it is possible to analyse these articles from a liberal internationalism and realism perspective as the thesis's problem formulation aimed to do.

While the corpus analyses have been a fruitful endeavour for this thesis is Corpus analyses not commonly found in social sciences, where one of the common types of corpus analyses is found in Fairclough's critical discourse studies. Fairclough argues that corpus analyses could be used for preliminary analyses before the main analysis as Fairclough argues that Corpus analyses are a linguistic tool that quantifies words concerning a keyword. Thereby, he argues corpus analysis removes the larger context and transform language into numbers. Consequently, Fairclough does not argue for a method that can be equal to the established method in the social sciences because corpus analyses do not use real language but frequencies and text segments that is emulating the language (Fairclough, 2015, pp. 20-21). However, Pollach argues that Corpus analyses as a method that can be a fruitful endeavour for social sciences since it allows for quantifies texts and identify patterns used in the language. This can be done on a single keyword, multiple or expressions keyword to research border patterns that furthermore can be compared to other corpus to engage in comparative language studies (Pollach, 2012, p. 280). Consequently, Pollach argues that corpus analysis is a desirable method for social sciences by comparing corpus analysis to content analysis since corpus analysis allows for insight into a large amount of text quantitatively and qualitatively that can be used in positive studies with the purpose of analyse real language usage (Pollach, 2012, p. 281). Lastly, Kutter argues from a position that Corpus analysis can be important for the social sciences as Pollach, but Pollach argues that interpretation and analysis of a corpus must be conducted through theories to understand the output of the corpus analysis (Kutter, 2018, pp. 183-184). This is because Kutter emphasises corpus analyses as tools that open for large

amounts of data but to be fruitful this data must be understood through theory (Kutter, 2018, p. 184).

It must be emphasised that Fairclough does not argue against using corpus analyses but argues that it is a limited tool. However, as Pollach argues corpus analysis is a tool whose result depends on the purpose due to it being a method to investigate patterns in large amount of data and the method using keyword must be done for a purpose. Furthermore, Pollach also argue that Corpus analysis can be used to investigate positive trends among language users focusing on real language as in articles from media sources or investigate if politicians' rhetoric is reflected in citizens' language use. However, while corpus analysis can be useful as Pollach suggests it should be considered that corpus analyses should not be conducted for conducting corpus analysis but should be used as a method with a designed methodological purpose that includes theoretical considerations to proper function. Consequently, it can be argued that Fairclough cut short corpus analyses for social sciences, but his considerations reflect causation over optimism. This is why this thesis chose to use document analyses alongside corpus analysis since corpus analysis has to be tested for the social sciences as a method on its own. Therefore, it can be argued causation is necessary but as Pollach and Kutter argue corpus analyses as a method can be fruitful for the social sciences because corpus analysis can further open for investigation of real language in a quantitative and close contextual manner to find patterns used in politics and by civilians.

7.0 Conclusion

This thesis sought to investigate the rhetoric regarding Ukraine's possible NATO membership through a research design that combined The Guardian and The Daily Mail's articles in a case study to find linguistic patterns that can answer the following problem formulation:

How does the rhetoric in The Guardian and The Daily Mail's articles convey Ukraine's process for NATO membership from a realism and liberal internationalism perspective as a sovereign state in war?

The collocation analyses found indication that NATO and Ukraine were placed within proximity of each other in a large amount of cases, where Ukraine was found to be in the active pursuit of NATO membership which indicated both words join and pursuit was actively used. Furthermore, it was found in the collocation that NATO membership and Ukraine were in proximity to words indicating negotiation between Ukraine and NATO. Therefore, it can be argued from the collocation analyses that the two tabloids use rhetoric patterns to describe the active pursuit of NATO membership from Ukraine and this pursuit is suggested to contain patterns indicating that negotiation between NATO and Ukraine is ongoing. The concordance analyses found the indication that the article depicts a pattern, where Ukraine's pursuit of NATO and NATO membership for defensive and security reasons as neorealism suggests. However, another pattern was found while neorealism defensive and security concerns were found as the reason for interactions it was also found patterns that indicate the tabloids included specialist actors as the means for these interactions between Ukraine and NATO. Therefore, patterns have been found that neoclassical behaviour is described as the articles do not just describe the events of Ukraine as a state that interacts with NATO as an intergovernmental organisation. Still, multiple actors are described to conduct interaction across international borders. Hence, neoclassical realism patterns and rhetoric indicated the articles actively mentioned actors as conducting political action or appearing as negotiators. Therefore, it can be suggested based on these patterns a research area within news articles could investigate how journalists rhetorically switch between neorealism and neoclassical realism when describing Ukraine's interaction with NATO.

The document analyses found rhetorical patterns that indicate Liberal internationalism's juridical system approved Ukraine as a NATO member because NATO's member states have approved of NATO inviting Ukraine to become a NATO member. However, there are also patterns indicating that it is NATO's rules and norms that cause NATO not to give Ukraine a

date for membership. However, it is also indicated that NATO's norm and rules are the reason why Ukraine aim for membership since patterns suggest Ukraine view NATO to increase the security and survival of Ukraine's people. This means that NATO is rhetorically framed as a means for survival and security as Ukraine's aspiration to join NATO is indicated as a vital step towards securing its stability and sovereignty. Consequently, NATO membership for Ukraine will mean an increase in defensive power which means other states will be less inclined to use military power against Ukraine. Hence, The tabloids frame Ukraine's NATO ambition as neorealist.

Patterns were found that anarchy was not unusual as a neoclassical realism term because it was found when Ukrainian NATO membership was mentioned it was done by specialised individual actors that sought to achieve a political goal. This could be Putin referring to a Ukrainian NATO membership as the redline Russia will not tolerate or Zelensky, Johnson, Erdogan, or Stoltenberg's discussion of Ukraine's possible membership in NATO as a means for Ukraine to achieve peace. Therefore, it can be argued that rhetoric indication has been found that Ukrainian NATO membership is a widely discussed topic where different state actors and specialists attempt to achieve their agenda.

There was found rhetoric indicating patterns that NATO membership for Ukraine is to secure Ukraine's sovereignty, protect its citizens, and maintain territorial integrity, while this is the case it was also found that Ukraine's overall aim is to achieve security guarantee. Additionally, there was also found rhetoric patterns between Ukraine and Russia during peace talks where Ukraine was willing to abandon its ambitions for NATO membership if it meant a security guarantee so Ukraine could protect its borders, and citizens, and have political independence. As a result, it is indicated by the two tabloid Ukraine is depicted linguistically in terms of the Westphalian sovereignty model as Ukraine seeks to protect its citizens, seeks political independence, and maintain territorial integrity.

This thesis has thus found evidence that The Guardian and The Daily Mail have indirectly used a linguistic depiction of Ukraine's possible NATO membership that relies on central terms found in Liberal internationalism as the articles refer to NATO Juridical system, rules, and norms. This is done while the articles also reflect neorealism and neoclassical realism to explain why Ukraine seeks NATO members and how Ukraine and international actors, organisations, and states interact across borders.

8.0 Reference

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