President Zelensky’s Twitter communication strategy
– A Content Analysis of digital diplomatic practices in relation to the Russian invasion of Ukraine

Karolína Skálová

Supervisor: Mikael Rundqvist
Examiner: Mariana S. Gustafsson
Abstract

This master’s thesis offers a contribution to the ongoing debate on the utilization of social media by a world leader. It focuses on the role of president Zelensky as a political leader and his online communication in relation to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. This study investigates the role of a diplomatic practice in an online environment. An abductive content analysis is used for this research. President Zelensky’s Twitter communication is divided into the categories of Political communication, Anti-Russia discourse and Leadership communication. Tweets of president Zelensky between February 24, 2022, and February 24, 2023, have been used as an empirical material employing the Twitter advanced search. The theoretical perspectives of Diplomacy and Media Ecology are therefore utilized to create an understanding of Zelensky’s communication. The results of the study reveal that president Zelensky incorporates in his Twitter communication different diplomatic concepts that are affected by the current Media Ecology, while traditional diplomatic negotiations are only reported on through his Twitter account, other aspects of modern diplomatic practices, namely Track II Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy are highlighted throughout the tweets.

**Keywords:** Twitter, digital diplomacy, content analysis, media ecology, world leader, Russian invasion of Ukraine, online communication
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACD</td>
<td>Anti-Russian Discourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IR</td>
<td>International Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LC</td>
<td>Leadership Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>Political Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Prime Minister</td>
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<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
<td>The United States of America</td>
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<tr>
<td>UA</td>
<td>Ukraine</td>
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<tr>
<td>UK</td>
<td>The United Kingdom</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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### Twitter accounts mentioned in the analysis

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Account</th>
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<tr>
<td>@Airbnb</td>
<td>Vacation rental company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@AlarKaris</td>
<td>President of Estonia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@alexanderdecroo</td>
<td>PM of Belgium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@AndrzejDuda</td>
<td>President of Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@antonioguterres</td>
<td>UN Secretary General</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@aplusk</td>
<td>Ashton Kutcher – actor/celebrity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@BorisJohnson</td>
<td>Prime minister of the United Kingdom (24.2.2022)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@elonmusk</td>
<td>CEO of Tesla Motors, CEO of Twitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@eucopresident</td>
<td>President of the European Council - Charles Michel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@flexport</td>
<td>Technology platform for global logistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@GitanasNauseda</td>
<td>President of Lithuania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@GlbIctzn</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@ignazio cassis</td>
<td>Foreign Minister of Switzerland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@jonasgahrstore</td>
<td>PM of Norway</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@jpmorgan</td>
<td>Investment banking company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@JustinTrudeau</td>
<td>PM of Canada</td>
</tr>
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<td>@kishida230</td>
<td>PM of Japan</td>
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<td>@KlausIohannis</td>
<td>President of Romania</td>
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<td>@kmitsotakis</td>
<td>PM of Greece</td>
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<td>@koninklijkhuis</td>
<td>Official account of the Royal House of the Netherlands</td>
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<td>technology company</td>
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<tr>
<td>@Microsoft</td>
<td>technology company</td>
</tr>
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<td>@MinPres</td>
<td>PM of the Netherlands – Mark Rutte</td>
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<td>PM of Israel</td>
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<td>@narendramodi</td>
<td>PM of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>@niinisto</td>
<td>President of Finland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@OlafScholz</td>
<td>Chancellor of Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@Oracle</td>
<td>computer software company</td>
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<td>@POTUS</td>
<td>Official account of the president of the United States Joe Biden</td>
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<td>PM of the Czech Republic – Petr Fiala</td>
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<td>@Paris2024</td>
<td>Official account of the 2024 Paris Olympic games</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@Pontifex</td>
<td>Official Twitter page of His Holiness Pope Francis</td>
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<tr>
<td>@presidentaz,@azpresident</td>
<td>President of the Republic of Azerbaijan - Ilham Aliyev</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@RishiSunak</td>
<td>PM of the UK (27.4.2023)</td>
</tr>
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<td>@RoyalFamily</td>
<td>Official account of the British Royal Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@RT Erdogan</td>
<td>President of Turkey</td>
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<tr>
<td>@SAP</td>
<td>software company</td>
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<td>@sec_council</td>
<td>UN Security Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@SOCARofficial</td>
<td>Official page of the State Oil Company of Azerbaijan</td>
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<tr>
<td>@TamimBinHamad</td>
<td>Amir of the State of Qatar</td>
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<td>@TokayevKZ</td>
<td>President of the Republic of Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>@UN</td>
<td>Official account of the United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@vonderleyen</td>
<td>President of the EU Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@Zourabichvili_S</td>
<td>President of Georgia - Salome Zourabichvili</td>
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1. Introduction

On February 24, 2022, Russia started an unprovoked invasion of Ukraine. That with time developed into a full-scale war. The importance of the use of digital platforms in conflicts, crises, and wars is growing (Human Rights Watch, 2022). “Never have so many images and videos of the suffering, injured, captured, mutilated and the dead, civilians and soldiers, been so immediately and easily available from a war zone” (Hoskins & Shchein, 2023). Social media platforms can be used to document human rights abuse, appeal to the international community for action, or governmental support, or action coordination, this is also the case for Ukraine. Russia previously attempted to invade or occupy territory that it has no legitimate right for, however, the digital exposure was limited. When a democratic country faces a threat from an authoritarian state whose strategic advantage appears to be rooted in traditional military and financial forms of power (Asmolov, 2022), the emergence of new ways of communication, through social media, equips politicians and high representatives with a new tool. As a consequence, collaborative, competitive, or conflictual interactions between state-to-state and state-to-non-state actors on the world stage are increasingly recognized as heavily, and in some cases exclusively, mediated through new communication technologies (Michelsen & Frost, 2017).

The importance of Internet and the World Wide Web has been debated before and its importance is now recognized in the academia. However, the use of social media as a diplomatic tool is a fairly new concept. The use of Facebook and Twitter as diplomatic tools was widely recognized after the Arab Spring (DiPLO, 2021). The aim of diplomatic practice remains unchanged in the protection and promotion of national interests (Kurbalija & Hone, 2021). However, the ways of execution used in diplomatic practice are changing. Networks became the main organizing structure of society in recent decades (Comunello & Anzera, 2012), the term ‘Networked society’ was defined by Castells (2004) as “a society whose social structure is made of networks powered by microelectronics-based information and communication technologies”. One must acknowledge the surrounding political environment when attempting to study the role media plays in politics (Wolfsfeld, et al., 2013). Since the governments have very few policy and legal tools to protect the interests of their citizens online, the official state involvement online becomes very limited. That is when digital diplomacy comes in. With a high exposure to the war online, the Ukrainian nation faces many challenges, and with social media in the mix it can be seen both as advantageous as well as disadvantageous.
This digital instrument is given to the hands of the whole world. This war is fought not only on the battlefield but also in the online world. Individuals are in so-called “personalized realities” (Hoskins & Shchein, 2023) while consuming content on an everyday basis. Ukrainian politicians and high officials recognized the “power” of social media and become active on digital platforms, mainly Twitter. Especially, the Ukrainian president himself decided to tweet about the war and share his standpoints online. This presents a new way of diplomacy challenged by the time of crisis. The emergence of micro-electronic devices enabled individuals to consume information as well as document the war (Hoskins & Shchein, 2023).

This master’s thesis offers a critical consideration of factors that may explain the role of digital platforms in conflicts, it aims to look at how the Ukrainian leader – president Volodymyr Zelensky harnesses the platform when his country is in a severe crisis where the sovereignty and democratic values are threatened. It might be insightful to analyze the different themes in Ukrainian digital diplomacy from the perspective of the country leader and tie them to the theoretical frameworks of Diplomacy and Media Ecology. This is a unique case that has not been previously studied at least within the same scope and method, conducting an analysis of the president’s online presence in wartime where the online communication is at forefront. While this study was in process a research article „Invasion of Ukraine: Frames and sentiments in Zelensky’s Twitter communication” by Stefan Nisch has been published in April 2023, which includes similarities to this current thesis (Nisch, 2023). This showcases the importance of the topic under study as well as its implications for future research. The interesting take here presents a different angle of looking at diplomacy since diplomacy serves as means for preventing conflict with negotiations and other measures common in this practice. However, this thesis is looking at the role of diplomacy in an already ongoing conflict – a war and not only diplomacy in the traditional sense but digital diplomacy as a new emerging concept and phenomenon in the field.

1.1 Research design

In this following section, the research design employed to address the research questions, highlighting the key considerations and decisions made during the design process will be presented. The thesis is divided into different sections to provide better cohesion and understanding of the analytical process of the Ukrainian leader and his communication practices on Twitter.
The thesis employs an Abductive approach that involves moving back and forth between the empirical material and theoretical framework that will lead to the classification and identification of themes. This will offer an interesting insight into the specifics of president Zelensky’s Twitter communication over a one-year timespan (24th of February 2022 – 24th of February 2023). Therefore, this thesis will unfold on a two-level basis. Firstly, an analysis of empirical material will be conducted to secondly, tie those findings to respective theoretical approaches of Diplomacy and Media Ecology.

The thesis will be structured in the following manner. Section 2 offers a context for the thesis and provides an insight into digital diplomacy and an introduction to this concept including its benefits and limitations. Section 3 provides a concise summary of the existing scholarly work and studies related to the use of Twitter as a strategic tool for communication. It showcases an overview of the key findings, theories, methodologies, and gaps in the literature. Section 4 will present the respective method used to guide the analysis, present ontological and epistemological positions and outline the overall strategy for conducting the research. Furthermore, this section briefly outlines the limitations and an alternative method. In section 5 theoretical frameworks and concepts will be introduced to provide an aiding element to the analysis. Section 6 consists of the categorization and thematization of president Zelensky’s Twitter communication while section 7 will connect findings from the analysis with the theoretical frameworks and concepts. In section 8 the thesis will present concluding remarks as well as suggestions for future research.

1.2 Research aim & Questions

The coverage of the war has been extensive by news media globally, and a big portion of attention has been put on the Ukrainian president Volodymyr Zelensky, who serves as a key figure in coordinating military efforts, seeking diplomatic solutions, and communicating with the Ukrainian people and the international community throughout this crisis.

High state officials, country leaders, and politicians play a leading role in political communication based on the position they have been elected to, they are in a position of power to influence society. Given legal and political structures in most countries, these ‘political leaders’ play specific roles in times of crisis. In particular, they are commonly authorized and responsible for a series of tasks, which includes informing and motivating society through mass communication mechanisms or mobilizing action beyond governmental jurisdiction (Andrews, 2020). People in positions of political leadership, therefore, hold peculiar authority and
responsibility, which makes political leadership crucial in times of crisis (Andrews, 2020). This is also the case for the Ukrainian country leader, president Zelensky, whose online presence was acknowledged with the start of the Russian invasion in February 2022 both through mass media and social media channels reporting on the situation. This granted Ukraine a competitive advantage when it comes to international support and legitimacy.

The aspect of crisis communication on social media could offer new insights into the conduct of modern diplomatic practice. While there has been a general recognition of the role of social media in political communication, there is a lack of comprehensive analysis that focuses specifically on Zelensky's tweets, their content, themes, and the implications they have on public opinion, international support, and diplomatic discourse. The lack of such a study is given by the recent onset of the crisis, which allows for an investigation of new research possibilities. This research aims to address this gap by examining the unique dynamics of Twitter communication practices of president Zelensky during the Russian invasion of Ukraine and its implications for diplomacy. The uniqueness of characterizing the influence of social media on president Zelensky’s communicative practices offers an insight into efforts of managing an ongoing crisis while being transparent in addressing Ukrainian citizens and the whole civil society online.

In order to reach the desired research aim, this thesis takes on the task of defining and investigating the online communicative practices of the Ukrainian leader, which will be initially done through abductive content analysis, that will aid the identification and division into specific categories and themes. To evaluate the outcomes connection between the findings from the analytical part and theoretical frameworks and concepts will be presented. The focus of the analysis is limited to the use of social media – Twitter as a platform for online crisis communication done by a political leader. This limitation will offer a more in detail analysis of a particular digital diplomacy impact on an international relations topic.

This thesis offers an aspect of investigating the diplomatic implications of president Zelensky's Twitter crisis communication, emphasizing the role of social media in shaping diplomatic discourse, and the effectiveness of Twitter as a tool for diplomatic communication.

The purpose of this master’s thesis is to offer a comprehensive perspective on crisis communication via Twitter, delineating its essential elements while offering a detailed insight into the role that modern technologies play on diplomatic practice and their effect on our understanding of crisis communication in the modern age. Hence, this study addresses the following research questions.
**RQ1:** What is the core content of president Zelensky's Twitter communication during the Russian invasion of Ukraine?

**RQ2:** How can Zelensky’s use of the social media platform Twitter be understood through the lens of a diplomatic and communicative practice?

The thesis does not aim to create a new concept of diplomacy or a new theoretical concept, it merely uses digital diplomacy as a concept of modern diplomatic practice to showcase its role in crisis communication by a country leader. The main concepts covered and examined are digital diplomacy, social media, online political communication, and the handling of a crisis. It is important to keep in mind that this thesis’s focus is not on the concept of digital war, and it does not aim to provide solutions for the conflict. Its focus is on the utilization of social media as a tool in diplomatic practice. Therefore, it serves to provide a contribution to already established concepts but offers a unique perspective on crisis communication through the lens of diplomatic practice.
2. The Emergence of Digital Diplomacy

2.1 Background

The way traditional diplomacy was practiced before the emergence of social media presented a challenge in the disassociation of governments and their leaders from the public. With the “era of social media” sharing information became more direct and effective. Digital diplomacy is derived from the need to explain and analyze the effects of social media on diplomatic practice (Gilboa, 2016). It helped to make diplomacy more democratized with the introduction of new voices. Before the modern modes of communication, most of the mediation would be done through diplomats. However, with the emergence of digitalization in diplomatic practice at the end of the twentieth century, the sharing of information became more transparent. Diplomats have no longer a monopoly on information or communication as political leaders and state officials are more involved in international relations affairs (Copeland, 2013). Nowadays, leaders and senior officials are just as likely to communicate directly with their counterparts in another country—by phone, email, text message, or increasingly, an encrypted chat service—rather than through their diplomats (Sharma, 2019).

The origin of digital diplomacy is mistakenly considered the ‘Arab Spring’. However, preceding the Arab Spring was the launch of Public Diplomacy 2.0 in 2008 by the US State Department (Glassman, 2008). Among other digital challenges it was supposed to help in combating Al-Qaida’s recruitment online (Rashica, 2019). In 2010 the WikiLeaks scandal happened, where over 250,000 diplomatic cables sent between US missions and Washington were released. This episode served as a “wake-up call” that emphasized the importance of online transparent communication, as well as rethinking existing working routines, tools, and procedures (Rashica, 2019). Later, social media was used by activists during the 2011 Arab Spring where the revolutionary wave caused a long process of socio-political transformation in multiple Arab countries. It can be recognized as the “social media revolution” in the volume of the use of social media in organizational matters and the spread of information (Comunello & Anzera, 2012). The role of social media is however viewed more as a tool than a direct cause of the revolution.

In the EU we can see the shift towards digitalization in 2014 when Italy holds the Presidency of the Council of the European Union and recognized its priorities within the implementation of digital aspects into the economic departments as well as public departments (EPRSauthor, 2014).
When it comes to the presence of state representatives on social media, the pioneer of Twitter communication is the Former Prime minister of Sweden Carl Bildt, who caught the world’s attention in 2012 by tweeting to the Foreign Minister of Bahrain Al Khalifa as he was unable to reach him through the traditional means of communication (Sandre, 2013). Later in 2013, Bildt used this platform to officially invite the British foreign secretary William Hague, who is also an active diplomatic player, for a state visit (Euronews, 2013). This can be marked as the beginning of where social media gets widely recognized as a tool to practice diplomacy, not only through official state or government accounts but through accounts of individual political representatives. Accounts that carry the name of the official or political leader can appear more approachable to the public compared to the official accounts of governments or embassies. The more the public knows about the politician the easier it gets to recognize their credibility and trustworthiness as political leaders. Social media is a new means of constructing and negotiating a politician’s image (Enli, 2017).

**Definition of Digital Diplomacy**

The definition of digital diplomacy has been difficult to recognize in academia, however, has to be addressed as it will be used later in the analysis.

Rashica (2019, p. 77) defines digital diplomacy as a new form of public diplomacy that uses the internet, ICTs, and social media as means of strengthening diplomatic relations. Dr. Ilan Manor a leading scholar whose focus is on the digitalization of diplomacy, distinguishes digital diplomacy that brought dialogical communication into the field, he defines digital diplomacy as “the use of social media by a state to achieve its foreign policy goals and manage its national image” (Manor & Segev, 2015). This master’s thesis will operate with those two definitions in mind when conducting analysis in the latter parts of the text.

**2.2 The benefits of Digital diplomacy**

Digital diplomacy has proven to be beneficial in several aspects. Firstly, its influence on international relations with the diversity of potential diplomatic actors including presidents, prime ministers, economists, lawyers, journalists, and NGOs (Eriksson & Giacomello, 2007) as well as the innovative approach when conducting diplomatic practice. These are indicators of increasing international interdependence (Rashica, 2019). Secondly, close contact and the ability to directly approach anyone around the world offers a powerful tool of communication, with geographical distance presenting less of an issue in a digitalized world. WikiLeaks
strengthen the importance of dialogical communication with the public (Cammaerts, 2013). Thirdly, adjustments to communicational practices are needed in the fast-paced world where new information emerges constantly. Fast and effective is the way to communicate on social media platforms, this has proven useful, especially in times of crisis (Björgvinsdóttir, 2016), this will be further elaborated on in the Previous research/Literature review section. A fourth benefit can be seen in the low levels of cost when it comes to practicing digital diplomacy, initial investment into digital tools can prove to be beneficial in the long run, therefore using social media in order to create public pressure to achieve a positive change with very little financial investment is favored by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs (MFAs) and governments. For example, Human Rights Watch used social media to expose abuses and point out responsible parties, as a way of multifaced advocacy (Stroehlein, 2017).

Lastly, digital diplomacy provides a beneficial tool, especially for smaller states, such as the case of Armenia, whose MFA quickly developed a targeted strategy to utilize social media platforms in its self-promotion and to “ensure the clarity and predictability of the country’s foreign policy” (Naghdalyan, 2019).

2.3 The risks and challenges

Digitalization in diplomacy does not only cover the use of social media in diplomatic practice. The “flattening effect” of digitalization complicates the process of foreign policy-making and diplomacy and its implementation for all states (Kathke & Nayyar, 2021-2022).

We are dealing with a „fragmented reality” that drives uncertainty in digitalization. The emergence of digital propaganda is a new concept that entered the international policy arena that makes countries diffuse fake news online and use social media for psychological manipulation. Manor points out the risk of using memes and images as a means of expressing an opinion related to a more complex geopolitical situation especially when it comes to the official accounts of leaders or governments (Manor & Huang, 2022). The danger is in the simplification of the crisis to a strictly black-and-white perspective, which then takes away the complexity of the problem and can create a very simplified view of the crisis and puts a false premise of the “good always wins” mentality.

The new way of practicing diplomacy, online, does not exist to replace the traditional ways of practice or communication, therefore finding a balance between different actors and tools is crucial. Clear and aimed strategies have to be implemented if the limited space for sharing information is to be used effectively. Therefore, comprising often an immensely complicated
situation into few characters, that are allowed on social media, presents a challenge that needs to be considered if users aim to target the right audience and reach their goals (Gilboa, 2016). Another aspect that needs to be taken into account is to which society is the message aimed for, the social media engagement by politicians can have a different outcome when reaching out to more egalitarian societies (Nordics) or more polarized ones (the U.S.).

2.4 Twitter as a tool of Digital diplomacy

In the timespan of 2008 to 2016 we can speak of the social media change. In 2012 the number of Facebook users increased as well as the popularity of Twitter. In 2016 social media started to be used as a platform for a direct source of news. According to Gilboa (2016), leaders and government agencies including embassies use Twitter to document their most significant daily activities, communicate with foreign and domestic audiences, answer questions and comments, and exchange views in open forums with their colleagues and counterparts. Several countries have recognized Twitter as a useful communication tool, either for their MFAs or political leaders. Brazil utilizes the social media platform for its capability to deliver simple and substantial messages to a wide audience and the possibility to directly interact with other leaders or governments. In their case, Twitter proved useful in the management of the Zika virus outbreak (Hagen, et al., 2020).

Twitter quickly got labeled as “the social media platform of world leaders” with 856 Twitter accounts belonging to heads of state and government, and foreign ministers in 178 countries, representing 92 percent of all UN member states, with a combined audience of 356 million followers in 2017 (Lufkens, 2017). Twitter is an elite-to-elite platform, that serves politicians and state officials to communicate in a more informal setting (Manor & Huang, 2022). Twitter positioned itself as the ultimate channel for digital diplomacy for world leaders and governments (Simunjak & Caliandro, 2019, p. 14). Turkish president Recep T. Erdogan harnessed social media to stop the attempted coup, he mobilized the wide public to go to the streets which resulted in massive public support all live-streamed on social media (Srivastava, 2016).
3. Previous Research & Literature Review

Since the early 1990s, the most important change to the political communication process has occurred through the rise of the Internet, particularly in postindustrial societies that are at the forefront of the information society such as the USA, Australia, and Sweden (Norris, 2001). This section of the thesis summarizes a selection of cases that focus on the use of social media by politicians to promote their interests and the interests of their countries. One of the most common communications tools to do so has been the social media platform Twitter. Gathering literature that has been written on the use of Twitter to address a certain geopolitical situation allows for identifying three most widespread topics, I. twiplomacy: the use of Twitter by world leaders for diplomatic practice, II. Electoral campaigns: the use of Twitter by politicians and/or high state officials to influence voters, III. Health-related crisis: Twitter used to address and inform the public.

Previously, politicians had been known for sending signals in a strategic way when it comes to electoral campaigns (Vavreck, 2001); (Biswas, et al., 2014); (Lassen & Brown, 2011) and the influence on voters through social media. Furthermore, Twitter has been used as a tool in different health crises (Zika virus, Ebola, COVID-19).

3.1 Twiplomacy

Former U.S. president Donald Trump is at the forefront of the twiplomacy discourse. His use of this platform was analyzed in several articles. The article by Šimunjak & Caliandro (2019) uses a digital method in combination with content and discourse analyses to further explore ex-presidents’ Trump behavior and diplomatic practices on Twitter. They argue that diplomacy does not have to be practiced only by diplomats, but political leaders are becoming increasingly important as negotiators and representatives in international relations. Furthermore, they identify what is a diplomatic language, while emphasizing four characteristics I. courteous and respectful, II. constructive and positive, III. balanced and moderate, IV. ambiguous.

Trump, however, does not follow any of these language characteristics and focuses more on an informal style of communicating. His style of communication was considered a diplomatic action which caused concerns. On the other hand, it was in line with Twitter use as tweets are considered more effective with a short straightforward message. When it comes to practicing diplomacy, one must consider both behavior and non-behavior as constituting a message (Simunjak & Caliandro, 2019). Conducting digital, content, and discourse analysis, their
findings show that Trump’s effect on traditional diplomacy practices was marginal, and no new diplomatic code was constructed.

3.2 Electoral campaigns and Twitter

Previously Twitter has been used to influence public opinion, according to Erpul (2023) Twitter can have an indirect effect on people’s attitudes and convictions since the users have the liberty to prioritize some ideas over others and therefore, can be persuaded to act upon them in real life. This can be the case in electoral contexts, with the implicit assumption that the content and nature of social media engagements can influence broader societal attitudes.

One such example was described by Enli (2017) in Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election. The article analyses the strategies used during the 2016 electoral campaigns in the US. It finds a distinct behavior on social media between the two presidential candidates (Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump). Common predominant is the transition from traditional news media to the use of social media as both candidates find social media to be beneficial for their campaigns. Social media replaced campaign websites as the parties’ and candidates’ main online information channels (Enli, 2017). The fluctuation between professional, unprofessional, formal, and informal communication presents a challenge for politicians and their campaigns as they have to be both highly skilled and flexible at the same time. In 2015 Hillary Clinton announced her presidential candidacy through Twitter instead of holding a press conference. Donald Trump was not an exception as he used his social media platforms to critique the traditional news media and accused them of spreading fake news. Many politicians decided to utilize Twitter to prevent their messages from getting “lost in translation” or to lower the risk of incorrect interpretation. By allowing Twitter users to retweet directly the main source, the reach of the original message compared to the effort put into it introduces a very efficient method of communication.

Enli (2017) points out the different approaches of professionalism vs. amateurism. While professionalism is based on background research, technical expertise, and a clear digital communication structure – associated with Clinton’s presence on social media, amateurism is more audience-oriented, and can result in an authentic engagement – Trump’s approach. In conclusion, both approaches appear to be beneficial, however, the context, targeted audience, and goal must be taken into consideration.
Larsson & Moe (2012) provide an analysis of how Twitter was used during the Swedish election in 2010 as well as identifying different user types, they used the approach of microblogging for this study. The findings emphasize the link between Twitter and mainstream media i.e., political debates or offline events that are televised get more attention and are a subject of conversations online. With the quantitative approach used for this analysis, the results showcase the broadening of a public debate using social media. The question that remains is to what extent Twitter serves as a new media that allows for the emergence of new actors and perspectives or if it only serves as a tool for already established societal actors (Larsson & Moe, 2012). This research indicates that the latter is true, that already established renowned actors use Twitter to further share their opinions in a new outlet.

To conclude, Larsson & Moe (2012) observed that Twitter serves more as a tool for disseminating information rather than engaging in a dialogue. Their study presents important findings that however do not support the optimistic discourse, of Twitter’s impact on democratic or disruptive potential as a new web tool (Larsson & Moe, 2012) as well as cannot provide a clear consensus if the use of Twitter has an effect on the election outcome, at least not used as a single variable. A key finding in these studies is that politicians are reluctant to engage in dialogue with voters on social media and that campaigns use social media primarily as an arena for political marketing.

Previous research on the use of Twitter in election campaigns varies from different methodological approaches to data selection and collection. This presents a challenge for the current discourse that lacks a common body of evidence. Jungherr’s article: Twitter use in electoral campaigns: A systematic literature review (2016) provides a critical discussion and evidence of the benefits and drawbacks of various research approaches that have been done on this topic. The review presents several findings that have been gathered using a coding method based on a systematic literature review the results show that Twitter has become increasingly incorporated as means for spreading the message about a political candidate (Jungherr, 2016), it has been shown that Twitter users participate and contribute to the political debate.

Twitter has proven to be a legitimate source of information and tweets are becoming more often associated with political communication offering a “hybrid media system” (Jungherr, 2016). The most common approaches for data collection are third-party tools, Twitter’s API data collection or manually gathering information from Twitter and copying information. Jungherr stresses the importance of both quantitative and qualitative methods, the selection of a suitable method has a great impact on the results of the study. Quantitative research allows for the detection of patterns in data, on the other hand, the qualitative approach establishes those
desired patterns. The qualitative method also enables a discussion of transformations in the practices of political actors (Jungherr, 2016).

Extensive research has been done at the early stages of Twitter’s establishment in politics, however, they lack a clear interconnectedness. Jungherr (2016) suggests improvements for future research, that should be made in the consolidation of methods of data collection and in the incorporation of new methods that developed due to the emergence of social media with the traditional ones. This shows the emergence of other aspects i.e., using Twitter as a policy instrument to influence the public more than for solely diplomatic purposes.

3.3 Twitter during health crises

Rufai’s and Bunce’s study (2020) World leaders’ usage of Twitter in response to the COVID-19 pandemic: a content analysis allowed for characterization of three main themes based on the “viral tweets”: I. Informative tweets that aim to share information or updates, II. Morale-boosting seeking morale-boosting or galvanization, III. Political aimed to raise a point of political debate. This study shows that during the COVID-19 crisis, most of the world leaders focused on informing the public. Important findings show that using Twitter helped in dismantling important information and proved to be an effective tool in times of crisis (Rufai & Bunce, 2020).

Hatcher’s article (2020) brings out another important aspect of the use of social media by high state officials, the one that can be contra-productive. Political elites affect public opinion on social media through the language they use. Hatcher points out the importance of social pressure and suggests that high public officials set the tone of debated topics. The main objective of this analysis is former US president Trump’s communication on social media on health-related issues. These types of messages are aimed to provoke and stir conversations in several health-related debates. Hatcher (2020) observes a pattern in Trump’s communication that suggests that his statements are highly politicized and focus mainly on the negative aspects of the topic debated, here in relation to COVID-19. Two models that leaders can follow are mentioned in this analysis. In the first one, the leader is not only the center of decision-making but also the media focus during the crisis, Trump has been associated with this approach. The second one suggests that decision-making and media efforts are delegated to the experts (Hatcher, 2020). These models are developed in relation to a health crisis, therefore in another situation or type of crisis, this model might not be applicable. The concluding remarks of this
article suggest that the way the high state official behaves and communicates most likely influences the behavior of citizens in a health crisis.

Twitter has been previously used in other cases of health crises. Such as the Zika virus (Hagen, et al., 2018) using the mixed-method approach of content analysis and network analysis. *Crisis Communications in the Age of Social Media: A Network Analysis of Zika-Related Tweets* provides further knowledge on crisis communication the structures and strategies within this practice. Their findings show that official actors and public-facing organizations are increasingly utilizing social media as a means of managing acute public health emergencies and crisis scenarios, the criteria of popularity, authority, and connectivity were used to identify influential actors within the social network.

Furthermore, Hagen et al. (2020) in *Social Media Use for Crisis and Emergency Risk Communications During the Zika Health Crisis* investigate how political leaders engage with the public through social media in times of crisis. The findings highlighted the role and importance of elected officials.

McInnes and Hornmoen (2018) examine the use of social media by public authorities during the Ebola outbreak 2014 - 2015, their focus is on crisis communication in Norway and the UK. They point out the importance of the use of social media by public authorities since it is known that citizens use social media as a source of information, news, and opinions. Norway comes out of this analysis as the one better prepared to manage crises with the support of social media, as they targeted both the general public as well as health professionals. In comparison, the UK did not facilitate Twitter to its full potential but merely as a secondary tool for informing the general public. The consensus is that the traditional paradigms of crisis communication are remaining at the forefront, with the authorities adopting social media only as a monitoring tool without the intention of fostering a dialogue with the public. Both UK and Norway failed to fully integrate Twitter as an interactive medium (McInnes & Hornmoen, 2018).

Conclusions that can be drawn based on the available literature show that Twitter served to political leaders and governments in previous cases mainly to influence public opinion i.e., in electoral campaigns. In crisis management, Twitter demonstrated its usefulness in more of a supporting role e.g., Coronavirus, Zika virus. These findings indicate that there have been attempts for the use Twitter as an instrument to promote diplomacy i.e., digital diplomacy.
4. Methodology

The method used to guide the analysis will be a qualitative descriptive method – Content Analysis. Content analysis is primarily used as a quantitative method using coding and statistics, to analyze qualitative data. As Lewis, Zamith & Hermida (2013) point out the structural features should be subjected to a quantitative/algorithmic method and sociocultural contexts need a thorough manual method. This thesis uses a qualitative content analysis with an emphasis on the sociocultural contexts with normative arguments that are reduced to a few aspects that are considered relevant. The content analysis is based on the following definition (Hseih & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278):

“Qualitative content analysis is defined as a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns.”

The main purpose of this research method is to analyze data, other methods used for this purpose can be ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology, and historical research (Hseih & Shannon, 2005). Content analysis will be performed on unstructured information, in this case, tweets made by Ukrainian president V. Zelensky as a high state representative – with a verified Twitter account. This method will provide a socio-contextual and detailed description and interpretation of a research topic (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016).

4.1 Empirical material

The data used for the analysis – virtual outputs when tested through Bryman’s criteria of data source for this particular method, those data can be “read” and were not produced specifically for the purpose of social research (Bryman, 2018), therefore can be used for further analysis.

According to Scott’s criteria on how to recognize a good quality document source (Bryman, 2018). The data studied will present sources that are adequately authentic as they are being produced by a high state representative. Due to the labels and checkmarks, one can easily establish the validity of the social media account. A grey checkmark on Twitter indicates that an account represents a government institution or official, or a multilateral organization. (Twitter, 2023). This research will be limited to the use of only the verified account of president Zelensky as a source of empirical data. The credibility aspect can be based on the quality of materials used for the previous research. However, due to the subjective nature of the interpretation of the utilized materials, it is challenging to determine whether the evidence is
free from error and distortion. As the data analyzed are of a predominantly naturalistic paradigm - making sense of human interactions, this aspect is not of such high relevance.

The criterion of representativeness can be addressed from two perspectives. Representativeness asks if “the evidence is a typical of its kind, and if not is the extent of its untypicality known?” (Bryman, 2018), the communication is typical for the social media platform it is produced on as the tweets produced by president Zelensky fulfill the usual criteria of length and straightforwardness. However, when looking at the evidence from the perspective of political communication or even a diplomatic one, the form is considered untypical for the same reasons it is considered typical social media communication. When it comes to the criteria of meaning the same reason as for representativeness can be brought forward. Based on the nature of the social media platform – Twitter sharing a concise and comprehensible message is part of the “posting guidelines” since each tweet can contain a maximum of 280 characters (Twitter, 2023). These criteria serve as a substitute for the determination of validity and reliability as they fit better for this research. The concept of validity and reliability will be elaborated on in the following parts of this chapter.

4.1.1 Advanced Twitter search

This method will serve to gather material, as the empirical data used for the analysis are large in volume, a tool to aid in compiling the desired material will be employed. Twitter’s advanced search allows to tailor search results to specific date ranges, people, phrases (Dorney, 2023). For the purpose of this master’s thesis, the advanced search will be utilized in several ways. First, to get a general overview and with a focus on a specific account, the username of president Zelensky - @ZelenskyyUa will be used in the “Accounts” field. Second, to specify the time range dates – 24 February 2022 – 24 February 2023 will be inserted in the “Dates” field. To specify and narrow down the search only “popular” tweets will be used. To identify popular, tweets with over 10,000 likes on president Zelensky’s tweets will be considered popular. The following search code has been used: (from:zelenskyyua) min_faves:10000 until:2023-02-24 since:2022-02-24 -filter:replies. Only tweets in English were used as that is the main language of communication for president Zelensky on Twitter – translations of the same tweets to a different language (most often the language of the country addressed) were excluded from the analysis. Similar tweets addressing identical accounts or individuals on the same day and with a little time difference conveying a similar message will be selected based on the popularity indicator – tweet with a higher number of likes will be included in the analysis.
4.2 Ontological and epistemological position

Ontological and epistemological views allow for shaping the approach to method and theory in social science (Marsh & Furlong, 2010). Ontology deals with the concept of being (Marsh & Furlong, 2010), Hay (2011) argues that when conducting an analysis examining identities, individuals, states, systems, or regimes they all come with a prior choice of ontological assumptions about the character, nature, and reality of such ontological entities. Regarding political science ontology deals with what is politically being and what exists politically and what comprises political reality (Hay, 2011).

Epistemology can be recognized as a theory of knowledge, in other words, it reflects the researcher’s position on what we can know about the world and how can we know it (Marsh & Furlong, 2010, pp. 18-19). The main epistemological concern is in distinguishing if the assumption of the findings is ‘real’. According to positivist assumptions, the world exists independently of our knowledge of it, an observation is used to test the hypothesized relationships between the social phenomena studied (Marsh & Furlong, 2010). They argue that the world is real and not socially constructed however, world is a broad term that consists of many variables some of them e.g., states, governments, and corporations are socially constructed, meaning that without a collective acknowledgment, these structures would not exist. Positivists also argue that the separation of normative and empirical questions is possible, and that social science should pursue only empirical ones (Marsh & Furlong, 2010).

However, I would argue that a complete separation of those two is not possible in social sciences. As it is highly dependent on the subject of the analysis, it would not be possible to classify or describe a concept without a certain degree of interpretation (Marsh & Furlong, 2010). These statements can be identified as a ‘post-positivist’ as they acknowledge the interdependence of theory and observation, and that normative and empirical questions cannot be always separated. The post-positivist approach can be still located under the foundationalist ontological perspective. Even though it does not have as a strong correlation as the traditionally positivist approach some aspects can be considered foundationalist in its nature. The foundationalist ontological position rests upon the claim that social life is built upon essential differences of being (Marsh & Furlong, 2010). Considering the topic of this research the epistemological assumptions relate to the ongoing conflict, suggest that the analyzed subject in this case, crisis communication of a world leader comes with given/ pre-determined realities. While the epistemological aspect emphasizes the acquirement of the knowledge, that can be interpreted subjectively depending on the method used for analyzing the empirical documents.
4.3 Abductive Content Analysis

This type of design suggests that no pre-determined categories will be used, but they will be derived from the data and based on chosen theories and concepts. The way of categorization process involves iteratively moving back and forth between the empirical material and the theoretical framework, constantly refining and revising the analysis based on new understandings that emerge from the interaction between the data and theory (Vila-Henninger, et al., 2022). It starts with an existing theoretical framework but allows for the exploration and generation of new insights that may not have been explicitly predicted by the theory (Vila-Henninger, et al., 2022).

In comparison, Abductive Content Analysis sits between the inductive and deductive approaches, as it combines aspects of both inductive and deductive reasoning. When coding in the inductive content approach, the starting point is an observation, with the aim of deriving themes (Hseih & Shannon, 2005). On the other hand, the deductive approach starts with theory or a concept in mind, which allows the researcher to test them against the pre-determined hypothesis (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). The empirical information is interpreted conceptually, i.e., it is attributed to concepts that help bundle and measure the data so that systematic patterns of variation may be identified (Héritier, 2008). The objective is to gain a new view of what is relevant in the empirical area of study by seeing it from the perspective of the actors involved (Héritier, 2008).

4.3.1 Categorization & finding themes

To achieve the desired outcome a description of the process of data categorization/theme finding is needed. Key characteristics of categories and themes are in the systematic process of coding, examining meaning, and provision of a description of the social reality (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016). The analysis while employing the abductive approach will begin with gathering samples that will be representative enough for the creation of categories. Furthermore, the rest of the empirical material will be coded into respective categories and identified themes. The process of coding, in other words, identification of categories and themes will support answering the research questions posed in this master’s thesis. What is the core content of Zelensky’s Twitter communication during the Russian invasion of Ukraine? and How can Zelensky’s use of the social media platform Twitter be understood through the lens of a diplomatic and communicative practice?
When conducting a content analysis, one must take into consideration that the empirical material used may involve multiple meanings and their identification requires the researcher’s efforts in the process of analysis (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016). Followed by an open categorization, the categories will be formulated based on the interpretation of the data used. Tweets from Ukrainian president Zelensky’s Twitter account (@ZelenskyyUa) will be analyzed and divided into different categories. Zelensky is considered an influential actor as a head of state as well as in terms of his communication practices.

To be able to successfully conduct the analysis, identification of the main differences between theme and category has to be made.

**Theme**
Themes have an implicit and an abstract level. They organize a group of repeating ideas, and enable answering the research question with codes that have a common point of reference. The theme is described as a thread of underlying meaning implicitly discovered at the interpretative level and elements of subjective understandings of participants (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016, p. 101). Each theme can consist of subthemes as a form of subdivision that supports uncovering patterns in the data.

**Category**
Category compared to a theme has an explicit content of a text. Same as with the theme it can consist of subcategories that help identify the meaning. Category can be used as a first step in the development of the theme to classify findings (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016). Category serves as a building stone for the later development of the themes.

4.3.2 The process of coding
Coding as the process of data reduction is an element of data organization in most qualitative approaches (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016). It supports breaking down the data into manageable sections and allows for a transition to the development of themes. Therefore, meanings are conveyed through the process of coding (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016). According to Vaismoradi et. al (2016), researchers recognize coding as one level of abstraction, because they use intuition to extract the meaning of data and present description and interpretation at a higher logical level. To make the process of coding as clear and understandable as possible the codes have to be reflected upon and compared with each other to showcase its distinction.
4.4 Validity and reliability

The knowledge that is used to support the validity of scientific claims must be empirical, relying on perceptions, experience, and observations (Héritier, 2008). Using a coding scheme in the analysis part will increase the validity of the study. Reliability is usually associate with quantitative research since it aims to explore if the results of the analysis are repeatable and generalizable (Bryman, 2012). Since this research is qualitative and exploratory in its nature, reaching high level of reliability is not the primary aim. Instead, the analysis intends to get a better understanding and explain a certain social media communication phenomenon that occurs i.e., the main themes communicated through social media platforms in a time of crisis generated by president Zelensky. In qualitative research the character of validity and reliability has to be viewed in relation to the methodological approach.

4.5 Limitations and alternative method

Due to the flexibility of the content analysis as a method and the lack of straightforward guidelines, this can present a challenge (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). The subjectiveness of the interpretation of data presents another aspect that could be potentially challenging for the reliability of the research. The qualitative method is in nature less standardized and framed, as compared to the quantitative approach. Without simple guidelines each inquiry is distinctive, and therefore, the process, as well as the conclusions of the analysis, are relying on the skills, knowledge, and abilities of the researcher (Elo & Kyngas, 2008). The quantitative approach relies on numerical aspects such as counting the frequency of words, compared with the qualitative approach which emphasizes themes that could lead to a higher level of abstraction and a correspondingly greater risk of measurement invalidity (Bryman, 2018). Another problem can be in the structure of the material as the data used for the analysis are authentic and not structured for analysis, the categories and patterns found might be overlapping, or the opposite there might be no similarities between the different data sources however, the first is more likely.

Another limitation can be the utilization of only one social media channel, therefore, including another social media platform such as Facebook could allow for comparison of analytical findings as well as expanding on the diplomatic discourse in crisis communication. President Zelensky’s mass media presence should not be viewed separately from his other diplomatic efforts. Mass media exposure is considered a part of the communication practice and the high-level of his presence suggests that it shouldn’t be viewed as secondary to the other
efforts in combating the invasion. However, due to the scope of this master’s thesis and to allow for a more in-depth analysis, the focus is on the single aspect of Zelensky’s efforts to manage the conflict, the social media platform Twitter. Since the study relies on publicly available tweets, they might not provide a comprehensive understanding of the decision-making processes or behind-the-scenes interactions, which can involve his initiatives offline such as physical presence at meetings, conferences, and visits to parliaments which is one of the key aspects that could potentially influence the outcomes of the Russian invasion. The research also primarily examines Zelensky's communication without directly considering the perspectives and responses of other key actors involved in the conflict, which limits the insight into diplomatic practice. Furthermore, the study's findings may be influenced by the dynamic nature of the conflict and the evolving communication strategies employed by President Zelensky over time.

Considering other possible ways of conducting this particular study, Discourse analysis can serve as a sufficient alternative method, since it focuses on the analysis of language and communication practices to understand how meaning is constructed and power relations are enacted (Traynor, 2004). By examining the discursive strategies, linguistic patterns, and rhetorical devices used in Zelensky's tweets, discourse analysis can provide insights into the underlying ideologies, framing, and persuasive techniques employed. Narrative theory emphasizes the role of storytelling and the construction of narratives in shaping our understanding of events and influencing public opinion (Brown, 2017). By examining the narrative structure, themes, and narrative strategies employed in Zelensky's tweets, narrative theory can shed light on how he frames the conflict and shapes the perception of Ukraine's position and the actions taken. The narrative theory could serve as an alternative for explaining the narratives of president Zelensky’s online communication and his diplomatic efforts. This alternative method and theory are posited as able to capture the reality of lives in context and to enable possibilities for social and political transformation (Hammack, 2011).
5. Theoretical Frameworks & Concepts

Using a suitable theoretical approach allows for better understanding, prediction, or explanation of phenomena, as well as addresses challenges in already existing knowledge, theory helps in explaining why the research problem studied exists (Abend, 2008). To achieve a certain level of reliability two theoretical perspectives will be implemented, the theoretical framework of Diplomacy that will aim to guide the understanding of the political behavior of the actor and the theory of Media Ecology that will aid the guidance of the technological landscape. With those in mind, I will try to explore and identify different communication practices based on the digital environment that are an attempt to affect/manage the ongoing crisis.

The theoretical concepts selected are in a complementary relationship (Héritier, 2008), to help explain the desired outcome. Media Ecology focuses on Twitter as an environment where politics happen and shape values and affect the behavior of individuals. While the theoretical concept of diplomacy focuses on good practices of conducting diplomacy and helps with identifying what is a good diplomatic practice and how can it be used in the digital environment.

I have decided not to include any International Relations theory from the traditional debate such as liberalism or realism due to its divergent nature. Using a traditional IR approach could provide misleading results and affect the outcomes of the analysis due to their rigid nature. While realism and liberalism could potentially introduce interesting insights into the topic in general, they would not aid in the analysis of this thesis.

5.1 Theorizing in Diplomacy

To define diplomacy there are two ways to approach this, diplomacy can be labeled as an array of socially organized and meaningful ways of doing things on the international stage, or, it can be conceived as a conceptual building block of a theoretical system (Pouliot & Cornut, 2015). Based on the latter definition three key components can be identified, I. diplomacy as a process (of claiming authority and jurisdiction); II. Diplomacy is relational (it operates at the interface between one’s polity and others); III. Diplomacy is political (involving both representation and governing) (Pouliot & Cornut, 2015). The emphasis in traditional diplomacy is on the governmental agents. However, with the changing nature the definition has expanded to include new actors e.g., states and non-state representatives.

This thesis takes on one of the less traditional fields of diplomacy i.e., digital diplomacy. When identifying different approaches to theorizing in diplomacy – critical, casual, constitutive, and normative, they all focus on generating why and how diplomacy works (Sharp,
This thesis takes on the explanatory/descriptive approach that serves to characterize the condition correlations and causes and focuses on explaining diplomatic outcomes and behavior based on cause-and-effect relationships. It aims to identify patterns and regularities in diplomatic interactions that might not be easily identified without deeper research or analysis (Sharp, 2017). There has been a shift from the traditional concept of diplomacy being only a state-to-state business towards more of an implementation of diplomatic elements into all aspects of international relations and human interactions (Sharp, 2017).

Diplomacy can be viewed as a practice-based theory, according to Pouliot & Cornut (2015) it is based on the following synergies. Firstly, the focus on concrete enactments of human performance, second, its relational and interactional perspective on international politics, third, the commitment to interdisciplinarity, in particular political science, history, anthropology, geography, and sociology, and lastly, the desire to build bridges between scholarship and actual practice. Sharp’s (2009, p. 7) definition of Diplomatic theory derives from “reconciling general diplomatic assumptions with the historically specific circumstances of the modern state system”. Diplomacy has been marginalized in the IR theory (Jonsson & Hall, 2005) with the lack of focus on theory-building in academia. Therefore, diplomacy and its theorizing are based on diplomatic practice that supports the creation of a diplomatic theory that would help with explaining events and phenomena in international relations.

This theoretical perspective will be used to identify ‘good diplomacy practice’ that will be further explored in the analytical part of this thesis. Since the theoretical framework of diplomacy tries to combine heavily path-dependent rituals with adaptive responses to technological change (Pouliot & Cornut, 2015), this process has been labeled as digital diplomacy.

5.1.1 Digital Diplomacy as a concept of modern diplomatic practice
The modern diplomatic practice leverages digital platforms and social media to reach wider audiences and shape public opinion. It allows leaders, diplomats, and citizens to share information, voice concerns, and mobilize support. Digital diplomacy is attractive for key authoritative figures and diplomatic agents to communicate their governments’ agenda and interests not only to the global public opinion but also to their constituents (Uysal & Schroeder, 2019). In other words, digital diplomacy’s core mission is persuading, influencing, and advocating. Nowadays, almost every Foreign Ministry, Ambassador, or world leader will employ one, or several social media platforms, to engage with their target audience and further their national diplomatic interests (Twiplomacy, 2018).
Digital diplomacy can be utilized within Track II Diplomacy which is based on a mutual relationship between theory and practice. This thesis will operate with the definition of Track II Diplomacy from 1981 by Joseph V. Montville, as an “unofficial and informal way of interacting with the aim of developing strategies, influencing public opinion, and organizing human or material resources to help resolve a conflict” (Jones, 2015). With the specificity of each case, the limitations of Track II Diplomacy lie in the difficulty of the generalizability of theoretical rules. This implies that Track II can also be in parallel with the official negotiations as well as developing alternatives to official negotiations. Track II diplomacy offers flexibility and a contemporary outlook on the circumstance of today’s world, therefore corresponds well with the case at hand.

The relationship between public diplomacy and digital diplomacy offers several important aspects, as public diplomacy targets foreign publics and non-state actors to influence public opinion, shape perceptions, and build relationships – this can also be called political advocacy. Political advocacy campaigns use public diplomacy to build foreign support for immediate policy objectives (Britannica, 2022). Public diplomacy aims to enhance a country's reputation, promote its policies, and create a favorable image abroad. It focuses on building bridges between people, fostering mutual understanding, and promoting cultural exchange. Furthermore, it can serve as a tool for rallying rapid state support from foreign audiences to support costly military alliance strategies (Szondi, 2009).

The difference between public diplomacy, and Track II diplomacy lies in their nature, participants, and objectives. Clarifying the main differences will allow for better identification of the outcomes of the analysis. Each form of diplomacy serves different purposes and engages different actors to achieve diplomatic objectives. For those reasons, both of those concepts will be further tied to the analysis to showcase their diverse nature in practice.

For digital diplomacy to be effective, it requires more than only having the requisite digital platforms—it entails using them strategically and effectively to advance a diplomatic agenda (Gilboa, 2016). For that reason, the practices of public or Track II Diplomacy have to be incorporated to reach desired outcomes. Digital diplomacy or presence on social media emphasizes authenticity and directness, as well as strategic and effective ways of conveying messages. The approaches towards these characteristics can vastly differ. When looking at some of the popular figures on social media – Looking at Donald Trump who uses social media, Twitter, more impulsively and can be associated with more of the approach of *amateurism* and does not fulfill the good diplomatic practice criteria.
Engaging with elements of world society can help states to enhance and legitimize their position in international society (Erpul, 2023), as in any other case no new concept comes without advantages and disadvantages. As Erpul (2023) claims, states can use technologies in favor of installing broader solidarity and promoting democratic values. Or on the other, there is no reason to expect that only benign ideologies will flourish since digital technologies are being used to e.g., mobilize violent actors.

This thesis is with the diplomatic approach that, especially in the case of digital diplomacy allows for the emergence of new actors and new technologies in the field without disregarding traditional diplomacy as an obsolete way of conducting diplomatic practice.

5.2 Media Ecology

To gain a better understanding and try to explain how social media can shape crisis communication online, theoretical approach of Media Ecology will be implemented. Media Ecology is a field of study that examines the relationship between media, communication technologies, and the environment in which they operate. It focuses on understanding how media technologies shape human perception, communication patterns, social interactions, and cultural practices. The theory of Media Ecology, proposed by Marshall McLuhan and further developed by Neil Postman and others, provides a framework for analyzing the impact of media on society (Milberry, 2017).

Media Ecology is expansive, inclusive, and multidisciplinary, it has deep roots in 20th-century economy, history, linguistics, sociology, and education research (Scolari, 2012). In Media Ecology ‘medium’ is within which human culture develops, in the sense of politics, ideologies, or social organizations (Milberry, 2017). Media Ecology can be defined as:

“Comprising a theory about the complex interplay between humans, technology, media, and the environment, with the aim of increasing awareness of mutual effects” (Milberry, 2017).

Media environments create boundaries that specify the limits of one's actions. According to Scolari (2012) in media environments, we are also assigned a role that we are “ pressed” to play. Media Ecology helps us to investigate the aspects of human behavior and identify what are the roles that we are pressured to play. The theory of Media Ecology suggests that media technologies are not just tools or vehicles of communication, but rather complex ecological systems that interact with and influence various aspects of human life. It views media as extensions of human senses, altering the way we perceive, think, and interact with the world. The relationship between Media Ecology, and politics can portray negative implications such
as the overall amount of quality, in-depth political analysis and debates are atrophying as the media landscape becomes dominated by a focus on celebrity, rumor, and attack (Norris, 2001).

Some of the more deterministic views from the communication scholars such as McLuhan or Postman emphasized the “medium being the message” meaning that the medium itself, rather than the content it carries, has a significant impact on individuals and society (Scolari, 2012). The characteristics, affordances, and biases of different media influence the way information is transmitted, received, and interpreted. However, as Scolari (2012) suggests the human-technology relationship is much more complex, and therefore it would be inadequate to place technology in the center of shaping social structures and cultural norms as a single variable. However, it is possible to see it as a part of a more complex schema. The theory explores the cultural and environmental implications of media technologies, but it does not determine them. Media Ecology highlights the interplay between media, technology, culture, and other social, and environmental factors.

The recent debate in academia focuses on the so-called hybrid Media Ecology which is a combination of older and newer media logics that dominates the creation and sharing of communication (Jackson, 2019). According to Jackson (2019), this poses challenges to conventional IR debates regarding actors and how their relationships can change depending on notions of adaptation and interdependence and concentrations and diffusion of power. Therefore, new media technologies have a higher level of influence on our perception of reality, cognitive processes, and modes of thinking. As Jackson (2019) points out, with shifting Media Ecology we need to interrogate if and when new media itself impacts the politics we study and practice and whether these structures might have implications for the questions we ask and how we look for the answers as it impacts how we conceptualize key IR elements e.g., agency, control, or power.

Overall, the theory of Media Ecology provides a framework for understanding the complex interactions between media technologies, society, and the environment. It helps analyze the effects of media on human perception, communication, social dynamics, and cultural change, highlighting the importance of studying media within their ecological contexts.

5.3 Theoretical concepts

In this section, several concepts will be introduced to serve as indicators in the following part of the analysis i.e., Political communication, Leadership communication, and Anti-Russian
discourse. Other concepts i.e., Participative war, Hybridity, and Strategic communication will serve to further develop and/ or support theoretical perspectives.

5.3.1 Political communication

Political communication is a concept that can be defined as an interactive process concerning the transmission of information among politicians, the news media, and the public (Norris, 2001). It is an overarching concept that covers communication from top-down – an institution to a citizen, horizontally – between political actors, and from the bottom to the top – public to the authorities. A fundamental shift happened in the 1990s with the move from television and radio towards the Internet, media audiences are now able to intervene in political stories with a degree of effectiveness that would have been unthinkable ten or twenty years ago (Norris, 2001).

Politicians have to broaden their focus if they seek to promote their messages and control their images. This is also the case for world leaders who began using social media for a wide variety of purposes. Often they rely on these tools to communicate with domestic audiences, either to provide information about the government’s daily agenda, to advertise new legislative proposals and executive decisions, or to influence online and offline public opinion, sometimes even by creating hashtags related to political issues promoted by the leader (Barberá & Zeitzoff, 2018). This new era makes it a much more dangerous territory for state actors as their reputations can be destroyed, messages can be debated and questioned and, rumors are spreading at a much faster pace (Gurevitch, et al., 2009). Producing polished and rehearsed text for public consumption online became almost impossible in the era of digital connectivity (Gurevitch, et al., 2009). This brought a higher level of vulnerability to political communication.

In relation to the Media Ecology, new tendencies in the political discourse emerge. However, the main debate is around the journalist and “tradition media” that have to suddenly deal with the inflation of new actors in the field. The new normal of political communication requires creating sincere, authentic personas capable of inspiring trust (Gurevitch, et al., 2009). Contemporary policy thinking has to be able to address the cultural and political reconfigurations rather than be solely focused on the revolutionization of technologies and media.
5.3.2 Leadership communication

A new type of political leadership is another factor seen as supporting synergy between the state and civil society, when the new generation of politicians were able to become digital influencers who catalyzed horizontal bottom-up war-related mobilization that addressed the external threat (Asmolov, 2022).

President Zelensky’s leadership during the Russian invasion of Ukraine won him global acclaim (Ray, 2023), this can be also described by the “rally-round-the-flag” effect that is used in political science and international relations and suggests that leaders gain a sudden boost in support and a feeling of patriotism in defending actions taken by the leader are higher in times of crisis or during wartime (Oneal & Bryan, 1995). Zelensky became the face of Ukrainian resistance, and his entertainment background and media savvy provided Ukraine with a considerable advantage in the information war (Ray, 2023). He demonstrated to be capable when it comes to gathering support and improving his public image, according to the Pew Research Survey (Poushter & Connaughton, 2022) U.S. citizens have a higher confidence in the Ukrainian president Zelensky (72%) than the U.S. president Biden (48%). Due to Zelensky’s real-time reporting on the ongoing crisis, he quickly became one of the most influential leaders in the world. To prove true leadership skills usually means to be able to manage several urgent and often disparate issues at once (Basiouny, 2022). This type of communication is based on the following core leadership crisis principles (Kaul, et al., 2020).

I. A realistic view of the current state with optimism for the future by making sure that the group has the support it requires both material (weapons, medical supplies) and psychological/ emotional support. These leaders also communicate the gravity of the challenge transparently and are humble enough to admit that they do not have all the answers. Doing so bolsters their credibility, allowing them to share an optimistic vision that is both reassuring and realistic.

II. Focus on mission and core values that are put to test in turbulent times, where effective leaders take this opportunity to reemphasize these values to motivate and galvanize those around them.

III. Decision-making in the setting of ambiguity where successful leaders cut through the clutter of conflicting data and opinions, identify the areas that need attention and allocate effort and resources accordingly. They quickly develop and communicate a point of view on the best path forward, providing a sense of direction. As the crisis evolves, the successful leader makes nimble and decisive moves and subscribes to an initiative strategy.
IV. **Engage with purpose and humility** the means of purposefully engaging with those around them and creating a sense of togetherness while being modest throughout those encounters.

V. **Looking outward** means that a good leader actively resists withdrawing inward, and instead looks for support and collaboration internationally and globally.

Several practices and characteristics that effective leaders embody during a time of crisis have been summarized. Even though the principles have been created in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, their universality allows for further application to other types of crises.

5.3.3 Anti-Russian discourse

The concept of Anti-Russian discourse focuses on a set of ideas and beliefs that are critical of the policies, actions, and values of the Russian government and its leaders. In political science terms, Anti-Russian discourse can be understood as a form of communication that seeks to shape public opinion and influence policy decisions related to Russia and its role in the international system. This, however, should not be mistaken for Anti-Russian sentiment or Russophobia which can be described as a general fear or dislike of Russia (Merriam-Webster, n.d.).

As a discourse, this takes a niche focus on the political aspect – the Russian government and its leaders. This type of discourse focuses on the values and principles that underpin democratic governance, human rights, and the rule of law. Anti-Russian discourse in this vein might criticize Russia's violations of international norms and treaties, such as its annexation of Crimea or its support for authoritarian regimes (Tsygankov & Fominykh, 2010). As a part of the discourse, the cultural and historical differences between Russia and other nations can be emphasized and the need for defending one's own identity against perceived Russian aggression or influence is highlighted. The reason for Anti-Russian tendencies within the Ukrainian population is deeply rooted in historical events and realities. However, the closest resentment can be identified with the 2014 Russian annexation of Crimea. Russia’s seizure of Crimea was the first time since World War II that a European state annexed the territory of another (Masters, 2023).¹

¹ Possibly excluding the case of Georgia
Anti-Russian discourse might emphasize the historical conflicts between Russia and neighboring states or criticize Russian propaganda and disinformation campaigns aimed at sowing division and undermining democratic values.

Further Westernization of Ukraine and EU-leaning tendencies had impacted the Russia-Ukraine relations and with continuous Russian threats related to Ukraine’s growing ties towards the NATO’s alliance Putin’s Russia is getting further away from regaining its former power and prestige (Masters, 2023). The continuous aggression posed by Russia on the Ukrainian people heightened the Westward leaning tendencies and steered the course toward the Anti-Russian discourse in Ukraine and the West.

5.3.4 Participative war

The concept of participative war emphasizes new opportunities for people to participate in an armed conflict through digital affordances (Asmolov, 2022) it enables a reality in which every war zone is transformed into a global battlefield. Participative war refers to the involvement of non-state actors, such as citizens and civil society, in war efforts. This can be considered as a dual function of digital mediation, whereby the same digital tools are used to construct a symbolic perception of a conflict and to initiate various forms of activity in relation to this conflict (Asmolov, 2022).

The war in Ukraine has demonstrated that cyberspace can also play a role in conducting a narrative-driven operation where the main targets are not the machines or networks but the minds of the people (Lange-Ionatamishvili & Svetoka, 2015). When a digital infrastructure becomes a core element of all aspects of warfare it becomes challenging to distinguish between online and offline forms of activity. However, it allows for the new forms of digitally mediated remote participation to make an impact on the offline battlefield (Asmolov, 2022).

The “CNN effect” explains how governments react and respond to international crises, wars, and other conflicts that are being extensively covered by the media (Gilboa, 2005). With extensive media coverage governments and political leaders are under pressure to re-direct attention toward the current discourse otherwise they can face unpopularity and disregard from their citizens. This also goes hand in hand with the Media Ecology theory that media serves as an environment that can compel governments to take action and respond to the crisis by providing aid as well as maintaining their morality status in the eyes of the public, they are pressured to be involved/participate in the conflict.
5.3.5 Hybridity

The ontological approach of hybridity is concerned with new ways of understanding political communication, it emphasizes complexity, interdependence, and transition (Chadwick, 2013). Hybridity refers to the blurring or merging of distinct categories or entities, resulting in the creation of new and complex phenomena that emphasizes the interconnectedness and fluidity of social, cultural, and political processes (Brants & Voltmer, 2011). Hybrid warfare, specifically, involves the combination of conventional military tactics with unconventional means, such as cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns, economic coercion, and political manipulation.

The concept of hybridity is used to get a better grasp of the relationship between media and politics. The notion of a hybrid system draws attention to change and flux, the passing of an older set of cultural and institutional norms, and the gradual emergence of new norms (Chadwick, 2013). It recognizes that the boundaries between different forms of conflict, warfare, and security are becoming increasingly blurred. Actor-network theory has been heavily dependent on the idea of hybridity, this concept posits that the world is based upon hybrid networks, and the socio-technological aspect creates a new level of allows for interdependent interaction in a whole new environment. This suggests that politicians and media are intertwined, politicians use media for publicity and to raise awareness and the media needs politicians as an authoritative source of information (Brants & Voltmer, 2011). The relationship between politics and media is influenced by several factors, credibility and transparency of the actors, alternations in public opinion, institutional shifts, new communication technologies, and particular cultural and political context in which political communication is situated (Brants & Voltmer, 2011).

5.3.6 Strategic communication

In the light of an ever-transforming global Media Ecology, and the proliferation of state and non-state political actors who are able effectively to intervene in this fluid communications space, this observation has rising salience for international relations as a whole (Michelsen & Frost, 2017). Strategic communication, within the field of international relations, refers to the deliberate and planned use of communication techniques and tools to shape perceptions, influence opinions, and achieve specific objectives in the realm of international politics and diplomacy. It is increasingly influenced by advancements in technology and the rise of digital media platforms. Social media, online news outlets, and other digital channels provide new avenues for reaching global audiences and engaging in public diplomacy efforts. Consequently,
strategic communication strategies in international relations often incorporate digital diplomacy, public relations, media engagement, and other communication tactics tailored to the digital age (Michelsen & Frost, 2017).

Strategic communication requires an understanding of cultural, linguistic, and political factors that influence communication dynamics in different contexts. It aims to influence the attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors of target audiences, whether they are domestic or international, governmental, or public (Thorson, 2018). Social media puts a “human face” on the official information and allows it to create an impression of a personal approach to the inquiries of the media and citizens. It involves the strategic management of information, messages, and narratives to advance a country’s interests, enhance its reputation, build relationships, and achieve desired outcomes. This mindset implies that communications are placed at the heart of a strategy (Thorson, 2018). It acknowledges that communication plays a crucial role in shaping the behavior, perceptions, and decisions of various actors. Such as the case of world leaders who adopt, use, and exercise control of mass media strategically (Barberá & Zeitzoff, 2018). It is used by governments, diplomats, and international organizations to effectively convey their positions, gain support, foster understanding, and achieve desired outcomes in the complex and competitive arena of global politics. It means that online activity is narrative-driven, and is communicated to different audiences through coordinated words, images, and deeds (Lange-Ionatamishvili & Svetoka, 2015).

In IR, strategic communication can serve a range of purposes. It can be employed to promote national interests, manage crises, build alliances and partnerships, negotiate agreements, counter propaganda, shape public opinion, and influence policy decisions. It goes beyond mere information dissemination and encompasses the strategic design and delivery of messages to achieve specific goals.
6. Analysis: The Categorization and Thematization of Tweets

The content analysis will be conducted using president Zelensky’s selection of tweets\(^2\) posted on his official Twitter account - [@ZelenskyyUa](https://twitter.com/ZelenskyyUa), analyzing tweets from the start of the Russian invasion on February 24, 2022, until February 24, 2023. Therefore, a whole year of tweets will be analyzed as a sample for deriving categories to identify president Zelensky’s communicative practices in relation to the Russian invasion. Conducting the analysis in the following manner will aid in answering the research questions, *What is the core content of Zelensky’s Twitter communication during the Russian invasion of Ukraine?* and *How can Zelensky’s use of the social media platform Twitter be understood through the lens of a diplomatic and communicative practice?*

The main categories that were identified are *Political communication (PC)* which focuses on targeting politicians, country leaders, and stakeholders in order to gain their support and inform them about the ongoing negotiations. The following is *Anti-Russian discourse (ARD)* with these kinds of tweets president Zelensky is urging actions to be taken against Russia, it can be in the form of sanctions, demonstration, or any other means to weaken Russia’s attempt to a successful invasion. As the invasion advances Zelensky’s leadership skills come to be more visible, therefore the last category that I deemed important for this analysis is *Leadership communication (LC)* which showcases Zelensky as the leading/main actor of the invasion to stress the importance of national unity and sovereignty, to reassure the public as well as evoking symbolic ways of support. The above-introduced categories will serve as guiding factors for the content analysis and will further aid the development of themes. Therefore, the analysis is conducted as a two-level approach that will begin with the identification of categories and will further develop into the thematization of the empirical material.

Firstly, tweets by president Zelensky from the first week of the invasion [24.2.-2.3.2022] have been used as a base for the identification of respective categories and themes. After the establishment of categories and themes, the remaining empirical material that was deemed significant to showcase the findings will be analyzed. Due to a high level of repetitiveness, only tweets that show a change of language or formulation or address new actors will be included in the analysis. Examples of such tweets are those that repeatedly show support to the same actors with no further specification of the concrete support. Since this thesis is qualitative in its nature

\(^2\) Emoticons of flags to characterize a country were included in the original tweets, as it is the known method when the limited character requirement on Twitter applies. However, in order to keep the analyzed material clear and structured and to avoid any confusions, the flag emoticons have been removed and when deemed necessary exchanged for the original name of the country.
the entirety of the data set does not have to be used to gain valid and reliable results. In Table 1, the three main categories and their respective themes that will further guide the analysis of president Zelensky’s tweets are presented.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Communication (PC)</th>
<th>Anti-Russian Discourse (ARD)</th>
<th>Leadership Communication (LC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negotiations w/ international partners</td>
<td>Taking actions against Russia (sanctions)</td>
<td>National reassurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign assistance: military, financial, humanitarian aid</td>
<td>Call for negotiations w/ Russia</td>
<td>Sense of unity and patriotism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional inclusion (EU, NATO, UN)</td>
<td>Historical event comparison (WW2)</td>
<td>Reporting from the warzone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Categorization and thematization of communicative practices

Table 1 is showcasing three categories with three themes in each that have been identified based on the empirical material. The category of political communication operates within the realm of politics and involves interactions between different political entities, such as states, governments, or international organizations. Therefore, includes the following themes, *Negotiations with international partners*, the theme of *Foreign assistance* that can be further divided into *military, financial, or humanitarian* forms of aid, and the theme of *Institutional inclusion* that involves mentions of the European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and United Nations (UN). The second category of Anti-Russian discourse aims to shape public opinion and influence policy decisions related to Russia and its role in the international system. It includes the following themes, *Taking actions against Russia*, mainly in the form of sanctions, *Call for negotiations with Russia*, and the theme of *Historical event comparison*. The leadership communication differentiates from the previous categories in its focus on providing updates on the situation in the conflict zone, expressing support for the Ukrainian armed forces, and highlighting the importance of national security and defense, as well as reassuring Ukrainian citizens. Viewing leadership communication as a category allows for the identification of themes within this category, *National reassurance, Sense of unity and patriotism*, and *Reporting from the warzone*. 
President Zelensky often uses tagging - “include their username, which creates a link to their profile and notifies them about the post” (Twitter, 2023), politicians and international leaders in his tweets, that could be perceived as a call for action and their engagement.

6.1 Category I. Political communication

| Negotiations w/ international partners | Foreign assistance: military, financial, humanitarian aid | Institutional inclusion (EU, NATO, UN) |

When talking about political communication in relation to digital diplomacy several themes can be identified. Firstly, political communication online can be used to “Negotiate with international partners” However as visible from the table below, the actual decisions and negotiations persist to happen behind closed doors, and only information that such negotiations are taking place is shared on social media.

I.m) “26.2.2022; Informed President of Georgia @Zourabichvili_S and Prime Minister of the Czech Republic @P_Fiala about the current situation. Concrete assistance was discussed. Grateful to our friends from Georgia and Czech Republic for their support.”

This tweet from February 26, 2022, (2 days after the start of the invasion), can be characterized as an expression of gratitude towards international partners and an acknowledgment of discussions held regarding concrete assistance. The theme of negotiations with international partners is evident in President Zelensky's mention of informing the President of Georgia, Salome Zourabichvili, and the Prime Minister of the Czech Republic, Petr Fiala, about the current situation. The tweet suggests that discussions focused on specific assistance or support provided by these countries. Overall, the tweet highlights the importance of collaboration and cooperation with international partners during the ongoing crisis caused by the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

A certain level of transparency can be observed as the tweets occasionally contain a mention of the content of the negotiations however, the details are few. This can be attributed to the fact that a limited number of characters per tweet (280) is allowed. Therefore, the wider public is presented with the process and to a certain degree the content of the negotiations as well as the result. However, traditional diplomatic tendencies are still at the forefront of political communication. This can be illustrated by the following tweet.
I. h) “26.2.2022; Spoke with Indian Prime Minister @narendramodi. Informed of the course of Ukraine repulsing Russian aggression. More than 100,000 invaders are on our land. They insidiously fire on residential buildings. Urged India to give us political support in the UN Security Council. Stop the aggressor together!”

This tweet clearly indicates that President Zelensky held a conversation with an international counterpart/ country official (the PM of India) and briefly mentions the content of those negotiations. President Zelensky straightforwardly presents his demands and tags the official Twitter account of the Indian Prime Minister. Therefore, this message is directly targeting the Prime Minister of India as well as informing the public that such negotiation took place. This can be described also as Strategic Communication which exhibits how formulating a message can be used to influence and reach certain political objectives. In other words, this type of message creates pressure by directly addressing politicians on social media platforms and asking for support as well as revealing their stances on the crisis.

Secondly, the theme of “Foreign assistance” has been identified, more specifically three different types of assistance military, financial and humanitarian aid. The initial theme name was “to gain Wester support”, however after a closer examination, the tweets showcased that President Zelensky negotiates with leaders and policy representatives from all over the world, for example with the Amir of Qatar

I.x) “2.3.2022; Discussed with @TamimBinHamad Russia's aggression against Ukraine and some bilateral issues over the phone. I am grateful for the unconditional support to Ukraine in such a difficult time.”

Or the president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Qasym-Jomart Toqayev

I.y) “2.3.2022; Conversation with @TokayevKZ has just ended. The difficult security situation in the region was discussed. We agreed to cooperate in humanitarian issues. We keep in touch.”

For that reason, the theme has been renamed to a more general term of Foreign Assistance, where the aim of calling for support remains the same, only broadening the scope of the targeted audience.

President Zelensky used Twitter to call for international support and assistance in addressing the humanitarian crisis in the conflict zone and supporting those affected by the conflict.

I.l) “26.2.2022; According to the results of my conversation with @azpresident, all @SOCARofficial gas stations in Ukraine have been instructed to provide fuel for ambulances and SES free of charge. At night we are waiting for a plane with medications from Azerbaijan.”

This tweet highlights the collaboration between Ukraine and Azerbaijan in response to the humanitarian issue as a consequence of the invasion. It focuses on the provision of essential
resources such as fuel and medication to support the work of medical professionals and emergency responders, which can be seen as a compassionate and socially responsible approach to governance.

A military aid type of messaging can be identified in the following tweet.

I.o) “27.2.2022; It was nice to learn that in addition to yesterday’s agreements, Belgium is sending us another 3,000 machine guns and 200 anti-tank grenade launchers. Thank you @alexanderdecroo for your leadership.”

This message highlights the fact that Belgium has agreed to send additional military equipment to Ukraine and expresses gratitude for the leadership of Belgian Prime Minister Alexander De Croo (@alexanderdecroo) in facilitating this agreement. By acknowledging the contribution of Belgium and expressing appreciation for its support, Zelensky aims to build positive relations with Belgium and further strengthen the efforts of international security support.

To expand the reach of those messages Zelensky used a hashtag which is a common practice in social media communication, to start a global social media campaign that would put pressure on governments and their leaders. Zelensky through the tweet instructed ordinary people to use the hashtag #ArmUkraineNow in order to pressure politicians into providing more military support to Ukraine. The original tweet includes a video that portrays ordinary individuals holding a sign or a piece of paper with this concrete hashtag. The content of the tweet states as follows I.bb):

“20.4.2022; Join millions of voices in a global social media campaign: #ArmUkraineNow

1. Post a picture with a sign saying #ArmUkraineNow
2. Call on your government to provide heavy weapons to Ukraine
3. Tag 3 friends and ask them to do the same

Stand with the Ukrainian people”

This showcases a different approach to achieving desired political objectives by creating public pressure, compared to directly addressing politicians themselves on social media which can be visible in Zelensky’s other tweets. President Zelensky proves to have a good understanding of strategic communication, especially in the social media environment.

An example of concrete financial aid can be observed in a tweet I. s):

“28.2.2022; Talked with Prime Minister of Japan @kishida230. Thanked for a strong support to Ukraine in countering aggression. Japan allocates $100 million to the already approved aid of $100 million, fully supports tough sanctions against Russia. Thank you! A truly global anti-war coalition works.”
In this message, president Zelensky directly addresses the Prime Minister of Japan and discloses the amount that has been provided by Japan to support Ukraine in countering the aggression.

Thirdly, the theme of “Institutional inclusion” poses pressure on international institutions to take action in supporting Ukraine in its efforts to counter Russian aggression. Three main organizations and/or institutions have been recognized in the tweets as crucial aspects of political communication, the EU, NATO, and the UN. President Zelensky addresses each organization in a specific and distinct manner, he is addressing the EU and NATO to hasten Ukraine’s push to join Western political blocs in relation to the war (Masters, 2023) this will be further elaborated on in the following part.

After the start of the invasion, president Zelensky requested his country’s immediate admission to the European Union. The same theme has been repeatedly part of his social media communication. Therefore, the tweets that are EU-related are mostly considering Ukraine’s membership in the European Union.

I.e) “26.2. 2022; It is a crucial moment to close the long-standing discussion once and for all and decide on Ukraine’s membership in the #EU. Discussed with @eucopresident further effective assistance and the heroic struggle of Ukrainians for their free future.”

In this tweet, Zelensky reports on negotiations that have been undergoing with the president of the EU Council, Charles Michel (@eucopresident). At this early stage in time (2 days after the beginning of the invasion) the question of Ukraine’s EU membership has been one of the first reoccurring themes in his Twitter communication. Zelensky takes a clear stand on continuing his efforts to lead Ukraine to complete membership status. This topic has been discussed with the main EU representatives such as the president of the EU Council as illustrated above or the president of the EU Commission Ursula von der Leyen:

I.q) “28.2.2022; Also had a phone conversation with @vonderleyen. Talked about concrete decisions on strengthening Ukraine's defense capabilities, macro-financial assistance and Ukraine's membership in the #EU.”

As well as mentioned during negotiations with other international partners, in those cases, president Zelensky expressed his appreciation to the supporters of Ukraine’s EU membership as well as reported on the ongoing discussion regarding other forms of assistance.

L.d) “26.2.2022; This is the beginning of a new page in the history of Ukraine & Italy. #MarioDraghi in a phone conversation supported Russia's disconnection from SWIFT, the provision of defense assistance. Ukraine must become part of the #EU”
In this tweet, Zelensky reports on a conversation between him and the former Italian Prime Minister Mario Draghi, this way he addresses not only the EU as a whole but individually including different member states in the discussion to strengthen his case for the accession. Similar tendencies can be identified in a tweet where president Zelensky expresses his gratitude to the president of Poland Andrzej Duda for the Polish continuous support as well as the support in Ukraine’s EU membership question.

I.n) “26.2.2022; In a phone conversation, I thanked @AndrzejDuda for his personal leadership in granting Ukraine membership in the #EU. The concrete daily assistance of Poland to our country is also invaluable. The Ukraine - Poland relationship is a common history and, I am sure, a common European future.”

The UN-related tweets are of a different nature compared to the EU-related ones, when Zelensky addresses the EU or mentions it in his tweets, he does so to create pressure towards Ukraine’s accession. While the UN mentions have more of a legal character with a focus on the process of resolutions being drafted and accepted as seen in the following examples. The goal is to bring back international peace and security and protect human rights as this is what the United Nations as a universal global organization is built upon.

I.d) “26.2. 2022; As Russia continues to attack Kyiv, the draft resolution is co-sponsored by an unprecedented number of UN Member States. This proves: the world is with us, the truth is with us, the victory will be ours (Ukrainian)!”

Tweets that are UN-themed include an aspect of an anti-Russian discourse and will be further elaborated on in the designated section.

Even though tweets about NATO are few they have been included in the analysis, due to Russia seeing the Swedish and Finish application to NATO as a provocation, similarly it views Ukraine’s attempt (Matthijs, 2022).

I.cc) “12.5. 2022; Had a phone conversation with President of Finland @niinisto. Commended the readiness of Finland to apply for NATO membership. We also discussed Ukraine's European integration. And Ukraine – Finland defense interaction.”

President Zelensky recognizes Russian president’s Putin disregard towards the Finnish, Swedish, and potentially Ukrainian NATO membership therefore, the theme of institutional inclusion is evident in President Zelensky’s acknowledgment of Finland’s preparedness to seek NATO membership. The tweet suggests that the phone conversation between President Zelensky and President Niinistö touched upon Finland's aspirations for closer institutional ties with NATO.
Overall, this section summarizes the political communication category and is capturing the essence of political reporting and informing about the situation while being sincere and authentic. Tweets that have been mentioned as examples in the text are gathered in Table 2. below. Together with other examples that were identified as being the most suitable representation of the given category and theme. Full categorization and thematization can be found in the Appendix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweets by @ZelenskyyUa</th>
<th>Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **lm)** 26.2.2022; Informed President of Georgia @Zourabichvili_S and Prime Minister of the Czech Republic @P_Fiala about the current situation. Concrete assistance was discussed. Grateful to our friends from Georgia and Czech Republic for their support. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance |
| **lh)** 26.2.2022; Spoke with Indian Prime Minister @narendramodi. Informed of the course of Ukraine repulsing Russian aggression. More than 100,000 invaders are on our land. They insidiously fire on residential buildings. Urged India to give us political support in the UN Security Council. Stop the aggressor together! | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Institutional inclusion - UN  
• Reporting from the warzone (LC) |
| **lx)** 2.3.2022; Discussed with @TamimBinHamad Russia's aggression against Ukraine and some bilateral issues over the phone. I am grateful for the unconditional support to Ukraine in such a difficult time. | • Negotiations w/ international partners |
| **ly)** 2.3.2022; Conversation with @TokayevKZ has just ended. The difficult security situation in the region was discussed. We agreed to cooperate in humanitarian issues. We keep in touch. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance – humanitarian aid |
| **ll)** 26.2.2022; According to the results of my conversation with @azpresident, all @SOCARofficial gas stations in Ukraine have been instructed to provide fuel for ambulances and SES free of charge. At night we are waiting for a plane with medications from Azerbaijan. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance – humanitarian aid  
• Reporting from the warzone (LC) |
| **lo)** 27.2.2022; It was nice to learn that in addition to yesterday's agreements, Belgium is sending us another 3,000 machine guns and 200 anti-tank grenade launchers. Thank you @alexanderdecroo for your leadership. | • Foreign assistance – military aid  
• Negotiations w/ international partners |
| **lbb)** 20.4.2022; Join millions of voices in a global social media campaign: #ArmUkraineNow 1. Post a picture with a sign saying #ArmUkraineNow 2. Call on your government to provide heavy weapons to Ukraine 3. Tag 3 friends and ask them to do the same Stand with the Ukrainian people. | • Foreign assistance – military aid |
6.2 Category II. Anti-Russian discourse

Table 2: Thematization of Political communication category

| Ln | 26.2.2022; In a phone conversation, I thanked @AndrzejDuda for his personal leadership in granting Ukraine membership in the #EU. The concrete daily assistance of Poland to our country is also invaluable. The Ukraine - Poland relationship is a common history and, I am sure, a common European future. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Institutional inclusion – EU |
| Ld | 26.2. 2022; As Russia continues to attack Kyiv, the draft resolution is co-sponsored by an unprecedented number of UN Member States. This proves: the world is with us, the truth is with us, the victory will be ours (Ukrainian)! | • Institutional inclusion – UN  
• National reassurance (LC) |
| Lcc | 12.5. 2022; Had a phone conversation with President of Finland @niinisto. Commended the readiness of Finland to apply for NATO membership. We also discussed Ukraine's European integration. And Ukraine – Finland defense interaction. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Institutional inclusion – EU, NATO |

The category of anti-Russian discourse comes from the concept explained in the section above. We can observe a more assertive and more urgent type of messages, that are directly aimed at international partners, the broader public as well as the aggressor and call for concrete actions

| Taking actions against Russia (sanctions) | Call for negotiations w/ Russia | Historical event comparison (WW2) |
against Russia. The theme of taking actions against Russia can be characterized as a call for international support to counter Russian aggression. In relation to the data used the main focus is on posing sanctions on Russia and expressing gratitude to those who have already done that. Sanctions are seen as a way to put pressure on Russia to change its behavior and deter further aggression towards Ukraine. The sanctions can include restrictions on trade, investment, and financial transactions, as well as visa bans and asset freezes for individuals and entities deemed responsible for the aggression. This can be visible in the following tweet.

II.n) “27.2.2022; Talked to the Portuguese President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. Thanked for the closed sky for Russian planes, support for the decision to disconnect Russia from SWIFT and concrete defense assistance. Portugal provided weapons, individual protection means & other equipment to Ukraine. Together - stronger.”

With this message president Zelensky gives concrete examples of anti-Russian actions where he expresses his gratitude to the president of Portugal Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. He highlights the importance of international cooperation by listing the aid that has been provided to Ukraine. This action could be seen as a tactical step to raise awareness of the situation in the international community and prompt other countries to take action to support Ukraine. Zelensky argues that sanctions are necessary to uphold the rule of law and to prevent further destabilization in the region. Therefore, this tweet is not directly aimed at Portugal or its president (also the absence of tagging) but more as a push for other international partners, otherwise known as the CNN effect – forcing governments to redirect their attention to the current crisis.

Other than expressing gratitude, president Zelensky is calling for actions against Russia, which is the clear distinction between foreign assistance from Political communication where the call is for aid and support of Ukraine while in this case, the emphasis is on taking measures to stop Russia from continuing the invasion. This can be portrayed by the following tweet.

II.m) “27.2.2022; Ukraine has submitted its application against Russia to the ICJ. Russia must be held accountable for manipulating the notion of genocide to justify aggression. We request an urgent decision ordering Russia to cease military activity now and expect trials to start next week.”

This section carries similarities with the category of Political communication where negotiations w/ international partners are included as one of the themes. However, the reason for the distinction is in the concrete actions that is president Zelensky demanding against Russia compared to the tweets that have more of a diplomatic nature when it comes to the negotiations to provide direct support to Ukraine.
This can be concerned with pointing out values and principles that underpin democratic governance, human rights, and the rule of law as well as the cultural aspects and everyday life that had been impacted by the invasion. We can for example see that in Zelensky’s messages calling for banning Russian athletes from the Olympic games in Paris 2024, there is more of a hidden meaning and a symbolic gesture, that however can still have political consequences and is seen as a part of the sanctions against Russia (IOC News, 2023).

II.cc) “2.2. 2023; I thank Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania & Poland for the principled position. The IOC’s attempt to return athletes from RF & Belarus to the Olympics is a legitimization of the criminal aggression against Ukraine. We won’t allow sport to be used against humanity & for war propaganda!”

Part of this tweet is also an attempt to counter Russian propaganda, president Zelensky warns that allowing Russian athletes to be part of the Olympic games would mean spreading the war propaganda and supporting Russian actions.

There has been an attempt from president Zelensky to call for negotiations with Russia, even though it has been identified rarely, it remains significant to the analysis due to its content. The call for negotiating considers multilateral negotiations between Ukraine with the support of its partners and Russia. The so-called anti-war or anti-Putin coalition consists of all states and their representatives who showed support to Ukraine and condemned Russia’s actions, the main aim of this coalition is to find common ground with Russia and stop the invasion in other words “put Russia at the negotiating table” (see below). The coalition that Zelensky refers to is not an official gathering of states, it is mainly a turn of phrase to address all states who are against the war. This tweet is the first attempt to label such states.

II. e) “25.2.2022; We defend our freedom, our land. We need effective international assistance. Discussed this with @AndrzejDuda. Appealed to the Bucharest Nine for defense aid, sanctions, pressure on the aggressor. Together we have to put Russia at the negotiating table. We need anti-war coalition.”

The phrase “anti-war or anti-Putin coalition” occurs in a series of other tweets that address international partners and is tied to negotiations that are showcasing the building of a global alliance.

I.k) “26.2.2022; Talked to Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Thanked @MinPres for the decisions made in support of Ukraine in the defense and security sphere. The anti-war coalition is working!”

I.a) “25.2.2022; Sweden provides military, technical and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Grateful to @SwedishPM for her effective support. Building an anti-Putin coalition together!”
Therefore, even though those tweets have been categorized under Political communication, due to the mention of negotiations with international partners the anti-war, anti-Putin coalition labels show a strong correlation with the Anti-Russia discourse category as well. Furthermore, Zelensky ties the coalition together with the UN resolutions that are being passed at the General Assembly that show the results of voting for each state.

**II.r** “2/2 Destructive results of the vote in the UN for the aggressor convincingly show that a global anti-Putin coalition has been formed and is functioning. The world is with us. The truth is on our side. Victory will be ours [Ukrainian]!”

To strengthen his argument Zelensky attached the results of the voting, therefore the public can clearly identify how individual countries voted. This tweet also includes characterization of Political communication more specifically the theme of *institutional inclusion*, as well as leadership communication, which will be further discussed in the next part of the analysis.

The *historical event comparison* has been identified as the next theme in the category of anti-Russian discourse, this theme serves to remind the audience of events that are resonating with the world to this day. The content of those messages is comparing tragic events from the past to the current Russian invasion of Ukraine. As per the following tweet.

**II.p** “1.3.2022; To the world: what is the point of saying «never again» for 80 years, if the world stays silent when a bomb drops on the same site of Babyn Yar? At least 5 killed. History repeating…”

In this tweet president Zelensky reminds the massacre carried out by Nazi Germany’s forces during its campaign against the Soviet Union in World War II. at the ravine in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv (Berenbaum, 2023). Giving the Russian invasion into a historical comparison context means that both Ukrainian citizens and the international community can empathize with the situation. Reminding of previous treacherous acts can be a helpful tool to shape public opinion and convey the seriousness of the current situation. Therefore, when president Zelensky refers to historical events such as the Nazi invasion of Ukraine during WW2 he is trying to convey the severity of the current conflict and the threat that Russia poses to Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Another aspect of historical comparison is the connectivity between anniversaries of historical events and the current situation. This can be observed in Zelensky’s tweet about the 9/11 terrorist attack in New York.

**II.z** “11.9.2022; Today we pay tribute to the victims of 9/11. It is one of the most tragic days in the history of the U.S. & the world. Facing missile attacks daily, Ukraine knows well what terrorism is and sincerely sympathizes with the American people. Terrorism is an evil that has no place in the modern world!”
By drawing parallels to past conflicts, President Zelensky appeals to the shared values of the international community and tries to evoke a sense of solidarity and support for Ukraine's struggle against Russian aggression. Historical event comparisons can also serve as a warning to other nations that may face similar threats to highlight the importance of defending international norms and values.

This category presents themes that are aimed to shape public opinion and influence policy decisions related to Russia and its role in the international system. Thematization of those examples can be located in Table 3, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweets by @ZelenskyyUa</th>
<th>Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>II.n)</strong> 27.2.2022; Talked to the Portuguese President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. Thanked for the closed sky for Russian planes, support for the decision to disconnect Russia from SWIFT and concrete defense assistance. Portugal provided weapons, individual protection means &amp; other equipment to Ukraine. Together - stronger.</td>
<td>• Taking actions against Russia  • Negotiations w/ international partners (PC)  • Foreign assistance – Military aid (PC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II.o)</strong> 27.2.2022; Ukraine has submitted its application against Russia to the ICJ. Russia must be held accountable for manipulating the notion of genocide to justify aggression. We request an urgent decision ordering Russia to cease military activity now and expect trials to start next week.</td>
<td>• Taking actions against Russia  • Call for negotiations w/ Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II.cc)</strong> 2.2.2023; I thank Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania &amp; Poland for the principled position. The IOC's attempt to return athletes from RF &amp; Belarus to the Olympics is a legitimization of the criminal aggression against Ukraine. We won't allow sport to be used against humanity &amp; for war propaganda!</td>
<td>• Taking actions against Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II.e)</strong> 25.2.2022; We defend our freedom, our land. We need effective international assistance. Discussed this with @AndrzejDuda. Appealed to the Bucharest Nine for defense aid, sanctions, pressure on the aggressor. Together we have to put Russia at the negotiating table. We need anti-war coalition.</td>
<td>• Taking actions against Russia  • Call for negotiations w/ Russia  • Sense of unity and patriotism (LC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I.l)</strong> 26.2.2022; Talked to Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Thanked @MinPres for the decisions made in support of Ukraine in the defense and security sphere. The anti-war coalition is working!</td>
<td>• Negotiations w/ international partners  • Foreign assistance  • Call for negotiations w/ Russia (ARD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I.a)</strong> 25.2.2022; Sweden provides military, technical and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Grateful to @SwedishPM for her effective support. Building an anti-Putin coalition together!</td>
<td>• Foreign assistance – financial, military  • Negotiations w/ international partners  • Call for negotiations w/ Russia (ARD)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The third category, the category of leadership communication identifies recurring themes that are addressing the Ukrainian nation, e.g., its citizens as well as Ukrainian armed forces fighting at the front, the international community, and influential characters such as The British Royal family. The theme of national reassurance was identified through the content of the messages, stressing that Ukraine will not give up its sovereignty and fight for democratic values.

III.p) “14.4. 2022; They’ve been trying to destroy us for 50 days, but the Ukrainian people are heroically resisting. We fear nothing, we know what we’re fighting for. We are brave enough to put an end to evil. Stop feeding the Russian military machine. Help Ukraine with weapons. Then peace & good will win faster.”

By emphasizing the strength and determination of the Ukrainian people and their armed forces, President Zelensky sought to reassure the public that their country was capable of withstanding the threat posed by Russia. President Zelensky used his Twitter account to reassure Ukrainians that the government was taking steps to defend the country and protect its citizens as well as calling for international support and cooperation. Zelensky provides visionary leadership by emphasizing heroic resistance and conveys a commitment to a specific outcome - the end of evil and the triumph of peace and goodwill.
III.gg) “24.2.2023; On February 24, millions of us made a choice. Not a white flag, but the blue and yellow one. Not fleeing but facing. Resisting & fighting. It was a year of pain, sorrow, faith, and unity. And this year, we remained invincible. We know that 2023 will be the year of our victory!”

Exactly a year after the beginning of the invasion, Zelensky turns to the nation once again, to remind to inspire and motivate the audience by highlighting the resilience and determination of the Ukrainian people, it emphasizes the choice to face the challenges instead of surrendering, and the commitment to resistance and fighting. Zelensky tries to evoke emotions such as pride, unity, and hope. It acknowledges the pain and sorrow experienced throughout the year but emphasizes faith and unity as driving forces that have made Ukraine "invincible." The tweet projects a vision of victory and a positive outlook for the future. It declares that 2023 will be the year of Ukraine's victory, instilling optimism, and confidence in the audience. The reference to the blue and yellow flag represents the national identity and symbolizes the choice to stand strong in the face of adversity. It reinforces a sense of pride and loyalty to Ukraine. While Zelensky does not explicitly state, the tweet implicitly encourages continued resilience and unity, suggesting that by staying strong and united, victory can be achieved.

Another aspect of leadership communication can be viewed through the “rally-round-the-flag” effect, which refers to a phenomenon in which public support for a leader or government increases during times of national crisis or external threat. The rally effect typically leads to a temporary surge in popularity and support for the government or leader involved in managing the crisis. To unite people when facing a common threat can be seen in Zelensky’s attempts on Twitter in a symbolic way of messaging. Zelensky may leverage his tweets to raise awareness about the situation in Ukraine, the impact of the invasion, and the need for international attention and support. By bringing attention to the conflict and its consequences, he aims to garner sympathy and understanding from the international community. This theme has been identified as Sense of unity and patriotism and can be identified in the following tweet, where president Zelensky expresses gratitude to His All-Holiness Bartholomew, acknowledging the conversation and highlighting the value of his words. This conveys a sense of appreciation and recognition for the support emphasized.

III.g) “27.2.2022: Thank you for the warm conversation, Your All-Holiness #Bartholomew. Your words are like hands that hold us up in this difficult time. Ukrainians feel the spiritual support and strength of your prayers. We hope for the soonest peace.”

This characterization underscores the importance of spiritual unity and national solidarity during challenging times, reinforcing the patriotic sentiments of the Ukrainian people.
As not only support in the form of military, financial, or humanitarian aid is asked for, Zelensky acknowledges the importance of emotional support as well. Symbolic support in Zelensky's tweets refers to expressions, gestures, or actions that signify solidarity, encouragement, or endorsement without necessarily involving direct material or tangible assistance. It entails using symbolic language, imagery, or references to convey support and convey a sense of alliance or empathy. Therefore, we can assume that Zelensky’s tweets are meant as a direct reaction to an action or public verbal support. As presented in the following tweet, where president Zelensky expresses gratitude to the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge for their support during the crucial time when Ukraine is confronting Russia's invasion. This conveys a sense of appreciation and acknowledgment for their solidarity and standing by Ukraine.

III.h) “1.3.2022; Olena and I are grateful to the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge @RoyalFamily that at this crucial time, when Ukraine is courageously opposing Russia's invasion, they stand by our country and support our brave citizens. Good will triumph.”

By mentioning the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, who are prominent members of the British Royal Family, the tweet highlights the symbolic support they provide to Ukraine. Their support is seen as a representation of a larger international community standing together with Ukraine in the face of the invasion. It conveys a sense of solidarity between Ukraine and the British Royal Family, fostering a collective spirit of resilience and determination. The tweet ends on a positive note, expressing the belief that "good will triumph." This reflects the underlying theme of patriotism and unity, suggesting that Ukraine's courageous efforts, supported by the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, will ultimately prevail over the aggression and lead to a positive outcome.

It showcases elements of leadership communication by acknowledging and appreciating the support of influential leaders, emphasizing their role in supporting brave citizens, leveraging symbolic representation, and inspiring optimism.

Compared to the category of Political communication where a direct request for assistance is present, in the leadership category the messages are expressing gratefulness for support that is more symbolic this can be a condemnation of the invasion by other heads of state or influential figures. Even though the content of the messages is more symbolic e.g., expressing gratitude for a verbal support, which some could consider less effective when combating an invasion, it sends a direct message not only to the public but also to mass media outlets and policy actors about the political stances other nations and their leaders are taking.
The theme of *reporting from the warzone* has been recognized in the category of leadership communication as it aims to emotionally appeal to the reader by using language that conveys a sense of urgency and desperation.

**III.j** “9.3.2022; Mariupol. Direct strike of Russian troops at the maternity hospital. People, children are under the wreckage. Atrocity! How much longer will the world be an accomplice ignoring terror? Close the sky right now! Stop the killings! You have power but you seem to be losing humanity.”

This language is designed to evoke an emotional response from the audience and to encourage them to take action. Through those types of tweets as the conflict with Russia escalated, President Zelensky turns to the Ukrainian public to keep them informed about the situation on the ground, enabling them to make informed decisions about their safety and well-being. Addressed in the following tweet.

**III.q** “1.5. 2022; Evacuation of civilians from Azovstal began. The 1st group of about 100 people is already heading to the controlled area. Tomorrow we’ll meet them in Zaporizhzhia. Grateful to our team! Now they, together with #UN, are working on the evacuation of other civilians from the plant.”

This way Zelensky efficiently provides updates from the frontlines, including information about military operations, casualties, and humanitarian aid efforts.

In the context of Zelensky's tweets during the Russian invasion of Ukraine, symbolic support may manifest in various ways one of them is utilizing symbolic imagery. Zelensky incorporates symbolic imagery, such as photos of destroyed Ukrainian cities or videos that include national symbols or show footage of war-damaged areas, in his tweets to reinforce a sense of national identity and unity. These symbols can evoke emotions, generate empathy, and rally support for Ukraine's cause. An example of such a tweet is showcased in Image 1. Where president Zelensky strengthens the emotional appeal by including a photo of the destroyed Ukrainian city, Kherson.
Symbolic support serves to create a sense of solidarity, empathy, and shared values among the audience. While it may not involve direct material assistance, it plays a crucial role in shaping perceptions, generating public opinion, and fostering international support for Ukraine's position during the invasion.

Overall, most of the messages fall into more than just one category and can be characterized by several themes within one or more categories. This has been observed as an attempt to reach as many readers as possible by tackling several issues at once and sending a message to more than just one type of audience. The common indicator for the thematization of those particular messages lies in their symbolism. This, however, does not mean that the effect of the messages should be seen as less important or disregarded for a lesser impact. It merely shows another aspect of achieving the desired outcome, the end of the invasion and peace in Ukraine. Zelensky’s leadership communication involves elements such as reflecting a sense of vision, emotional appeal, call for action – general, assertiveness and defiance – portraying Ukraine as a strong and determined actor in the conflict and, simplicity and directness – that allows for easy comprehension and facilitates the dissemination of the intended message.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweets by @ZelenskyyUa</th>
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| **III.p** 14.4.2022; They’ve been trying to destroy us for 50 days, but the Ukrainian people are heroically resisting. We fear nothing, we know what we’re fighting for. We are brave enough to put an end to evil. Stop feeding the Russian military machine. Help Ukraine with weapons. Then peace & good will win faster. | • National reassurance  
• Sense of unity and patriotism |
| **III.gg** 24.2.2023; On February 24, millions of us made a choice. Not a white flag, but the blue and yellow one. Not fleeing but facing. Resisting & fighting. It was a year of pain, sorrow, faith, and unity. And this year, we remained invincible. We know that 2023 will be the year of our victory! | • Sense of unity and patriotism  
• National reassurance |
| **III.g** 27.2.2022; Thank you for the warm conversation, Your All-Holiness #Bartholomew. Your words are like hands that hold us up in this difficult time. Ukrainians feel the spiritual support and strength of your prayers. We hope for the soonest peace. | • National reassurance  
• Sense of unity and patriotism |
| **III.h** 1.3.2022; Olena and I are grateful to the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge @RoyalFamily that at this crucial time, when Ukraine is courageously opposing Russia's invasion, they stand by our country and support our brave citizens. Good will triumph. | • Sense of unity, patriotism |
| **III.j** 9.3.2022; Mariupol. Direct strike of Russian troops at the maternity hospital. People, children are under the wreckage. Atrocity! How much longer will the world be an accomplice ignoring terror? Close the sky right now! Stop the killings! You have power but you seem to be losing humanity. | • Reporting from the warzone |
| **III.q** 1.5.2022; Evacuation of civilians from Azovstal began. The 1st group of about 100 people is already heading to the controlled area. Tomorrow we’ll meet them in Zaporizhzhia. Grateful to our team! Now they, together with #UN, are working on the evacuation of other civilians from the plant. | • Reporting from the warzone  
• Sense of unity and patriotism |

*Table 4: Thematization of Leadership communication category*
7. Connecting Theories & Concepts to the Findings

This section of the thesis aims to identify the intentions of the communicator with the support of the Diplomatic theoretical approach and Media Ecology (Simunjak & Caliandro, 2019). Zelensky’s presence online was characterized by content analysis, where categories and themes were identified. Furthermore, the theoretical framework will be tied to the findings presented in the previous chapter.

7.1 Diplomacy

In order to gain a better understanding of president Zelensky’s communicative practices this part of the thesis will focus on the relation to the diplomatic theoretical framework. Connecting the tweets of president Zelensky with the three key aspects of diplomacy we can observe that firstly, diplomacy is a process of claiming authority and jurisdiction. President Zelensky uses language that positions him clearly into a leadership role which implies that his diplomatic efforts aim to assert and establish control, influence, or jurisdiction over certain matters or areas in this case, Ukraine seeks to claim authority over its internationally recognized borders and assert its rights as an independent nation. It suggests that president Zelensky conducts traditional diplomatic processes, such as negotiations with international partners through which he can assert the rights, interests, and authority in the international arena. However, the respective negotiations have not been directly conducted through Twitter, as only reporting on the content of those negotiations was mentioned.

Secondly, diplomacy is considered relational, therefore it operates at the interface between one’s polity and others. In other words, diplomacy is fundamentally about managing and navigating relationships between different political entities or states. In relation to the case of Ukraine, Zelensky’s communication on Twitter involves appealing to the international community and international organizations for intervention. It highlights the interactive nature of diplomacy. We can observe that Zelensky’s tweets are mainly based on relationship building. It includes various diplomatic practices, such as negotiations, and dialogues aimed at fostering understanding, resolving conflicts, building trust, and advancing shared interests. Zelensky utilizes the fact that diplomacy operates as a means to mediate differences between one’s own polity (Ukraine) and others. With his messages he seeks to find common ground and facilitate agreements based on shared values and historical or cultural similarities i.e., the theme of Historical event comparison (ARD), or the theme Sense of unity and patriotism (LC), those examples come from different categories which supports the claim that the relationship building
aspect is not necessarily tied only to one part/ category of his communication but is a reoccurring pattern.

Thirdly, diplomacy is inherently political, which means it has a dual role of representation and governing. That can be seen through the fact that it deals with matters of governance, power, and decision-making. It operates within the realm of politics and involves interactions between different political entities, such as states, governments, or international organizations. Diplomatic activities are driven by political objectives, interests, and strategies aimed at advancing national interests and influencing international affairs. This can be clearly identified in Zelensky’s tweets. Ukraine seeks to claim the authority and jurisdiction of these bodies to address the aggression by Russia, including calling for sanctions, peacekeeping forces, or diplomatic pressure to halt the invasion. Diplomacy involves the representation of a country or political entity in the international arena. President Zelensky takes on the role of a diplomat when representing his country on Twitter. He is conveying his government's positions, policies, and priorities to foreign counterparts. Zelensky speaks on behalf of the country and advocates for its interests, concerns, and values in diplomatic engagements. Representation in diplomacy is crucial for asserting a state's authority and ensuring its voice is heard on the global stage.

By combining representation and governing, as portrayed by the identification of the different categories i.e., Political communication, Anti-Russian discourse, and Leadership communication, diplomacy allows president Zelensky to influence and shape the international order. It enables him to project Ukrainian values as well as democratic values in general, secure alliances, that would initially support the achievement of peace, negotiate treaties, and pursue collective action to address the crisis.

7.1.1 Traditional or modern diplomacy?

To make sense of Zelensky’s communicative practices, this sub-chapter will clarify what type/model of diplomacy can be identified within the messages. The comparison will be based on Szondi’s (2009) characterization of both traditional and modern diplomacy, those aspects then will be further compared with the case at hand.

Traditional diplomacy refers to the long-established practices and methods of conducting diplomatic relations between states. It is characterized by face-to-face interactions, formal protocols, and a focus on bilateral negotiations. On the other hand, modern diplomacy reflects the changing nature of global politics, advancements in technology, and evolving diplomatic practices. It adapts to the contemporary international landscape and employs new tools and methods to achieve diplomatic objectives. This confirms the findings that were presented in the
analysis, that even though president Zelensky uses Twitter to communicate political objectives when it comes to the negotiations, they remain face-to-face with his counterparts. A combination of those negotiations can be observed, on the one hand, president Zelensky conducts negotiations behind “closed doors”, mostly over the phone or later in the invasion with official visits. On the other hand, he utilizes Twitter as a tool for digital diplomacy mainly to engage with global audiences and shape public opinion. Through those dual efforts, Zelensky gives the incentive to influence those negotiations that happen privately in a public area. This indicates that Zelensky leverages new approaches to traditional practice and therefore his efforts cannot be labeled traditional or modern diplomacy but more of a hybrid of those two. Zelensky's communication on Twitter can be seen as a mix of traditional diplomacy and modern diplomacy.

Since traditional diplomacy typically involves official diplomatic channels, private negotiations, and interactions between governments. It focuses on formal diplomacy conducted by diplomats and government officials. While Zelensky's tweets may not fully embody traditional diplomacy in its traditional sense, he still utilizes Twitter as a platform to share updates on diplomatic engagements, express official positions, and communicate with other world leaders. Modern diplomacy refers to the efforts of governments to engage with and influence foreign public opinion. It involves direct communication with citizens, non-state actors, and international audiences.

Zelensky's tweets can be seen as a form of public diplomacy, as he directly addresses the public, both domestic and international, to shape narratives, garner support, and raise awareness about the Russian invasion of Ukraine. By using Twitter, he can reach a wide audience, engage in conversations, and potentially mobilize public opinion in favor of Ukraine's cause.

Based on the definition of a concept within the diplomatic theory, Track II diplomacy is another form of diplomacy that this thesis operates with as the “unofficial and informal way of interacting with the aim of developing strategies, influencing public opinion, and organizing human or material resources to help resolve a conflict”. Within the Modern practice of diplomacy, president Zelensky's tweets can incorporate aspects from both Track II diplomacy and public diplomacy. The tweets reflect elements of Track II diplomacy as they involve reaching out to international actors, influential figures, or organizations in an unofficial capacity to engage in dialogue, seek support, or foster understanding. These interactions can contribute to behind-the-scenes diplomatic efforts and bridge-building initiatives.
When evaluating the relationship between public diplomacy and the content of president Zelensky's tweets, they encompass elements of public diplomacy as they aim to inform, persuade, or rally support from international audiences. By using Twitter as a public platform, Zelensky can communicate directly with the global public, share information about Ukraine's perspective on the Russian invasion, and mobilize public opinion in favor of Ukraine's cause.

An important aspect that is evident from the analysis is the intertwining nature of Zelensky’s tweets. To reach the desired outcome, Zelensky’s messages have usually multiple purposes. Therefore, the tweet has to be constructed in such a manner that is accessible and understandable by the overall Twitter community, the Ukrainian nation as well as international counterparts.

Based on the analytical findings we can see that while Zelensky's tweets may incorporate aspects of Track II and public diplomacy, they do not replace formal diplomatic channels or negotiations. Instead, they can complement traditional diplomatic efforts by engaging a broader audience, facilitating public discourse, and influencing perceptions and opinions.

7.2 Media Ecology

According to this theory, the medium itself has an impact, to a certain degree, on how information is conveyed and received. Analyzing Zelensky's use of Twitter as a medium, we can examine how the characteristics of this platform, such as its limited character count and real-time nature, shape the content and style of his tweets and could potentially explain why the negotiations are not conducted through the platform. It helps us understand how the medium influences the message being communicated. Therefore, Twitter’s interactivity, and global reach, shape his communication strategies and enables him to engage with a wide audience during the crisis. In the case of Zelensky's tweets, we can explore how the use of Twitter as a tool for communication impacts the dynamics of the conflict. Based on the analysis of the tweets we can observe that his goal in the social media environment is a rapid dissemination of information, engagement with a global audience, and posing a public pressure. The participatory culture that is characteristic of social media has the potential for online mobilization and collective action. This can be observed in Zelensky’s tweets mainly in the category of leadership communication, by articulating a vision, evoking emotions, calling for action, demonstrating assertiveness, and delivering a clear and direct message.

Firstly, the choice of media comes with a specific way of communication, this can be observed previously in E.g., Donald Trump’s use of Twitter (as presented in Chapter 3.
Previous Research & Literature Review), with the emphasis on unconventional and authentic ways of conveying political messages. Trump's tweets covered a wide range of topics, including domestic issues, policy announcements, personal opinions, and criticism of opponents. He often used Twitter as a platform to communicate his policy positions and engage in political battles. While both Zelensky and Trump used Twitter to engage with international actors, their approaches differed. Trump's interactions were often direct and sometimes confrontational, publicly calling out foreign leaders or criticizing international organizations. Zelensky, on the other hand, typically expresses gratitude for the support received from international figures and organizations, emphasizing unity and cooperation. It's worth noting that both leaders utilized Twitter as a direct communication tool, bypassing traditional media channels to directly address their audiences. However, the content, tone, and diplomatic aspects of their tweets differed, reflecting their distinct leadership styles, priorities, and communication strategies.

In general terms, new configurations of actors, new information technologies, and new political functions are, indeed, transforming diplomacy, but in ways that prolong established ways of doing things (Pouliot & Cornut, 2015) politicians have to adapt the way they convey messages with the public through the social media such as Twitter.

In the case of president Zelensky, his use of Twitter demonstrates how political leaders can leverage social media platforms within the evolving media ecosystem. Twitter serves as a medium that enables direct, unfiltered communication between leaders and their followers, bypassing traditional media gatekeepers. This direct access allows leaders to shape their narratives, engage with their supporters, and communicate their messages without intermediaries. From a Media Ecology perspective, Zelensky’s Twitter presence can be seen as an example of the shifting media landscape, characterized by decentralized, participatory, and interactive communication. Social media platforms like Twitter provide an alternative information space where leaders can directly engage with their audiences, mobilize support, and influence public opinion.

Additionally, Media Ecology also encompasses the interplay between media technologies and their impact on society, culture, and power dynamics. The use of Twitter by Zelensky reflects the increasing influence and reach of digital media platforms in shaping political discourse and public opinion. The tweets can rapidly spread, reach a global audience, and contribute to the formation of online communities and discussions.

Overall, the relationship between Zelensky's Twitter presence and Media Ecology highlights the evolving nature of political communication in the digital age. It underscores the ways in
which social media platforms have become integral components of the media ecosystem, influencing how leaders communicate, shape narratives and engage with their followers.

7.3 Other theoretical concepts

The concepts of participative war, hybridity, and strategic communication will be connected to Zelensky's Twitter presence in the context of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

Participative war refers to the involvement of non-state actors, such as citizens and civil society, in war efforts. Zelensky's Twitter presence during the invasion reflects a participative war dynamic as he actively engaged with the Ukrainian people, conveying messages of unity, resilience, and resistance. As a double function of digital mediation, Zelensky aimed to rally public support, as well as to mobilize the population and foster a sense of collective action in the face of aggression. Thereby, the same digital tools are used to construct a symbolic perception of a conflict as well as sought to initiate various forms of activity related to the conflict. By using Twitter as a platform, Zelensky enabled direct communication between the government and the citizens, providing updates on the situation, sharing messages of resilience and unity, and calling for collective action. Through his tweets, Zelensky sought to foster a sense of participation and empowerment among the Ukrainian people. He encouraged them to stay informed, be vigilant, and actively contribute to the defense efforts. Zelensky utilized hashtags such as #ArmUkraineNow and #StandWithUkraine to mobilize online activism and encourage citizens to voice their support, share information, and advocate for international intervention.

Zelensky aimed to foster a sense of ownership, unity, and resilience among the Ukrainian people, allowing them to actively participate in the defense of their country and contribute to the broader strategic goals of deterring the aggression. Moreover, president Zelensky's tweets facilitated a participatory information environment, where the public had access to real-time updates, news, and government statements this allowed for the creation of a collective narrative in which the Ukrainian public played an active role. The concept of participative war recognizes that conflicts are not solely fought on the battlefield but also in the realm of information and public perception. Zelensky's tweeting during the invasion exemplifies how leaders can harness participatory platforms like Twitter.

Hybridity refers to the blurring or merging of distinct categories or entities, resulting in the creation of new and complex phenomena that emphasizes the interconnectedness and fluidity of social, cultural, and political processes. It recognizes that the boundaries between different
forms of conflict, warfare, and security are becoming increasingly blurred. Hybrid warfare, specifically, involves the combination of conventional military tactics with unconventional means, such as cyberattacks, disinformation campaigns, economic coercion, and political manipulation (Chadwick, 2013). Zelensky's Twitter presence can be seen as a response to the hybrid nature of the conflict. His strategic use of social media aimed to counter disinformation, provide accurate updates on the situation, and shape the narrative about Ukraine's position and the aggression it faced. By leveraging Twitter, Zelensky attempted to maintain informational control and counter the hybrid tactics employed by the adversary.

As an ontological approach, hybridity acknowledges that the nature of warfare and security threats is no longer limited to traditional state-to-state conflicts (Chadwick, 2013). It recognizes the impact of non-state actors, technological advancements, information dissemination, and transnational networks, which shape the dynamics of contemporary conflicts. Within tweets posted by president Zelensky hybridity highlights the multifaceted nature of the conflict. It recognizes the convergence of different dimensions, including military, informational, psychological, and societal aspects.

Furthermore, it underscores the need for adaptive and flexible responses to contemporary security challenges. It emphasizes the understanding that traditional models and frameworks may be insufficient to capture the complexities of hybrid conflicts. Instead, it calls for a holistic and multidimensional understanding of security that considers the interplay of various actors, tactics, and technologies.

Strategic communication refers to the deliberate use of communication techniques to achieve specific objectives. Zelensky's tweets during the invasion can be seen as a form of strategic communication, where he strategically crafted messages to influence domestic and international audiences. His tweets aimed to convey a sense of determination, seek international support, rally support from the Ukrainian people, and counter Russian propaganda. By leveraging Twitter's reach and immediacy, Zelensky employed strategic communication to shape perceptions, manage public opinion, and advance Ukraine's interests.

The concept of Strategic communication recognizes the importance of effective communication. It acknowledges that communication plays a crucial role in shaping the behavior, perceptions, and decisions of various actors. It goes beyond mere information dissemination and encompasses the strategic design and delivery of messages to achieve specific goals. World leaders also adopt social media strategically in response to the unrest. They are becoming equally sophisticated as protestors in their use of social media and see it as
an as an important platform for shaping their own narrative about unrest (Barberá & Zeitzoff, 2018).

Zelensky's tweets during the invasion demonstrated several key elements of strategic communication. They were carefully crafted to convey a sense of unity, resilience, and determination among the Ukrainian people. He aimed to rally support, both domestically and internationally, by emphasizing the heroism and resistance of the Ukrainian population in the face of aggression. The tweets of Ukrainian president also sought to shape the perception of the conflict and Ukraine's position within the international community. He strategically highlighted the illegitimacy of the Russian invasion, condemned the aggressor, and called for international solidarity and assistance. By framing the conflict in moral terms and emphasizing Ukraine's defense against aggression, Zelensky aimed to generate empathy, understanding, and support from the global audience.

Zelensky's utilization of Twitter during the invasion allowed him to directly engage with international leaders, leveraging the platform for diplomatic purposes. He tagged and addressed world leaders in his tweets, appealing for political support, condemnation of Russia's actions, and calls for international intervention. In this way, Zelensky's tweeting about the conflict can be seen as a form of strategic communication that aimed to achieve specific objectives in the realm of international relations. It allows him to shape narratives, mobilize support, exert diplomatic pressure, and maintain a public presence amidst a complex and rapidly evolving conflict.

Overall, Zelensky's strategic use of Twitter during the invasion demonstrated how social media platforms can be harnessed as powerful tools for strategic communication in the field of international relations, enabling leaders to directly engage with global audiences, shape narratives, and advance their country's interests in times of crisis.
8. **Concluding Remarks and Suggestions for Future Research**

The research conducted in this master’s thesis takes on the task of analyzing the communicative practices of president Zelensky on Twitter in relation to the Russian invasion of Ukraine. Abductive content analysis has been conducted to provide a socio-contextual and detailed description and interpretation of a research topic (Vaismoradi, et al., 2016). Tweeting of president Zelensky during the invasion can be seen as a form of a digital diplomatic practice. An interesting aspect that has been observed is firstly the mixed nature of different modern diplomatic practices, such as Track II diplomacy as well as public diplomacy. Secondly, even though president Zelensky reports on the negotiations on his Twitter account, the negotiations with international partners are conducted privately away from the online platforms, in an official form. Therefore, an aspect of traditional diplomacy persists in times of crisis. Modern diplomacy recognizes the power of digital communication and social media platforms in shaping public opinion, mobilizing support, and disseminating information. For that reason, it indicates the effectiveness of this tool for president Zelensky’s crisis management.

The content analysis identified three different categories with each consisting of three different themes, through his Twitter account president Zelensky directly communicates with both domestic and international audiences, including political leaders, the media, and the general public. He conveys his government's stance, expresses concerns, seeks international solidarity, and provides updates on the situation in Ukraine.

Furthermore, the support from theoretical frameworks was used to aid the clarification of the communication practices of the Ukrainian leader. The theoretical framework of Diplomacy offered insight into the identification of diplomatic practices, with the main objective of distinguishing different ways of diplomatic conduct. The theory of Media Ecology served to explain the relationship between the social media platform and how it affects Zelensky’s behavior online. It allowed us to uncover that behavior in fact, had been adapted based on the social media platform in order to reach desired objectives. Zelensky uses Twitter multi-purposely as a means of diplomatic communication, and strategic communication - highlighting Ukraine's perspective as well as generating awareness about the ongoing crisis. By leveraging Twitter as a diplomatic tool, president Zelensky can exert influence, create a sense of urgency, and shape the perception of the conflict in the international community.

Overall, Zelensky's tweeting during the Russian invasion can be seen as a diplomatic practice that utilizes modern communication channels to engage with various stakeholders, raise awareness, shape public opinion, and advance Ukraine's diplomatic objectives. It showcases
the evolving nature of diplomacy in the digital age and the importance of strategic
communication in international affairs.

Based on the research findings a possible path for future work could focus on analyzing the
long-term effects of Zelensky’s Twitter communication during the Russian invasion of Ukraine.
This could involve studying public sentiment, policy changes, and the influence of social media
discourse on public opinion and foreign relations. For example, with the emphasis on the
alignment between the tweets of president Zelensky and subsequent policy actions, such as
diplomatic initiatives, military strategies, or humanitarian efforts. Considering the fact that the
conflict is ongoing, possible outcomes are merely speculative, and in relation to the evolving
nature of social media and its impact on political communication, there is ample opportunity
for further exploration and analysis in future research.
References


Twitter, 2023. *How to Tweet*. [Online] Available at: https://help.twitter.com/en/using-twitter/how-to-tweet#:~:text=Type%20your%20Tweet%20(up%20to%20140%20characters),in%20your%20Tweet%20in%20the%20navigation%20bar.&text=You%20can%20include%20up%20to%204%20photos%2C%20a%20GIF%2C%20or%20a%20video%20in%20your%20Tweet.&text=Select%20the%20Tweet%20you%20want%20to%20post%20by%20clicking%20the%20 Plaintiff%20had%20been%20arrested%20in%20August%202012. [Accessed April 2023].


## Appendix: Complete Categorization and Thematization of Tweets

### Thematization of Category I. Political Communication:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweets by @ZelenskyyUa</th>
<th>Themes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **I. a)** 25.2.2022; Sweden provides military, technical and humanitarian assistance to Ukraine. Grateful to @SwedishPM for her effective support. Building an anti-Putin coalition together! | • Foreign assistance – financial, military  
• Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia (ARD) |
| **I. b)** 26.2.2022; I just talked with a real friend of Ukraine - President of Poland @AndrzejDuda. I am personally grateful to him, to the Polish people, for their effective concrete help in such a difficult time. Together Ukraine and Poland are stronger. Thank you | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance |
| **I. c)** 26.2.2022; Ukraine is fighting the invader with weapons in hands, defending its freedom and European future. Discussed with @vonderleyen effective assistance to our country from European Union in this heroic struggle. I believe that the #EU also chooses Ukraine. | • Negotiations w/international partners  
• Foreign assistance  
• Institutional inclusion - EU |
| **I. d)** 26.2. 2022; As Russia continues to attack Kyiv, the draft resolution is co-sponsored by an unprecedented number of UN Member States. This proves: the world is with us, the truth is with us, the victory will be ours (Ukrainian)! | • Institutional inclusion – UN  
• National reassurance (LC) |
| **I. e)** 26.2. 2022; It is a crucial moment to close the long-standing discussion once and for all and decide on Ukraine's membership in the #EU. Discussed with @eucopresident further effective assistance and the heroic struggle of Ukrainians for their free future. | • Institutional inclusion – EU  
• Negotiations w/international partners  
• Sense of unity and patriotism (LC) |
| **I. f)** 26.2.2022; This is the beginning of a new page in the history of Ukraine & Italy. #MarioDraghi in a phone conversation supported Russia's disconnection from SWIFT, the provision of defense assistance. Ukraine must become part of the #EU. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Institutional inclusion – EU  
• Foreign assistance  
• Call for actions against Russia (ARD) |
| **I. g)** 26.2.2022; I'm getting support calls. Spoke with President of Switzerland @ignaziocassis and Prime Minister of Greece @kmitosotakis. Thank you for the decisions on concrete assistance to Ukraine! | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance |
| I. h | 26.2.2022; Spoke with Indian Prime Minister @narendramodi. Informed of the course of Ukraine repulsing Russian aggression. More than 100,000 invaders are on our land. They insidiously fire on residential buildings. Urged India to give us political support in the UN Security Council. Stop the aggressor together! | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Institutional inclusion - UN  
• Reporting from the warzone (LC) |
| I. i | 26.2.2022; I thank my friend Mr. President of Turkey @RTErdogan and the people of Turkey for their strong support. The ban on the passage of Russian warships to the Black Sea and significant military and humanitarian support for Ukraine are extremely important today. The people of Ukraine will never forget that! | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance – humanitarian  
• Call for actions against Russia (ARD) |
| I. j | 26.2.2022; I continue negotiations with international partners. Had a conversation with the President of Azerbaijan @presidentaz. We appreciate the humanitarian aid and medicines provided. Thank you for your support to Ukraine | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance - humanitarian |
| I. k | 26.2.2022; Talked to Prime Minister of the Netherlands. Thanked @MinPres for the decisions made in support of Ukraine in the defense and security sphere. The anti-war coalition is working! | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia (ARD) |
| I. l | 26.2.2022; According to the results of my conversation with @azpresident, all @SOCAROfficial gas stations in Ukraine have been instructed to provide fuel for ambulances and SES free of charge. At night we are waiting for a plane with medications from Azerbaijan. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance – humanitarian aid  
• Reporting from the warzone (LC) |
| I. m | 26.2.2022; Informed President of Georgia @Zourabichvili_S and Prime Minister of the Czech Republic @P_Fiala about the current situation. Concrete assistance was discussed. Grateful to our friends from Georgia and Czech Republic for their support. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance |
| I. n | 26.2.2022; In a phone conversation, I thanked @AndrzejDuda for his personal leadership in granting Ukraine membership in the #EU. The concrete daily assistance of Poland to our country is also invaluable. The Ukraine - Poland relationship is a common history and, I am sure, a common European future. | • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Institutional inclusion – EU |
| I. o | 27.2.2022; It was nice to learn that in addition to yesterday's agreements, Belgium is sending us another 3,000 machine guns and 200 anti-tank grenade launchers. Thank you @alexanderdecroo for your leadership. | • Foreign assistance – military aid  
• Negotiations w/ international partners |

3 (26.2.2022) “Turkey is currently denying that it has made a decision to close the Bosphorus and Dardanelles straits to Russian warships.” from:  [https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/russia-ukraine-war-turkey-denies-closing-black-sea-russian-warships](https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/russia-ukraine-war-turkey-denies-closing-black-sea-russian-warships)
<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Topics</th>
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</table>
| I. p) | 27.2.2022 | We keep in touch with loyal friends constantly. I spoke with @GitanasNauseda about the current military situation, international efforts to force the aggressor to peace and Ukraine's membership in the #EU. Thank you, Gitanas, for your continued support. |  • Institutional inclusion – EU  
• Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia (ARD) |
| I. q) | 28.2.2022 | Also had a phone conversation with @vonderleyen. Talked about concrete decisions on strengthening Ukraine's defense capabilities, macro-financial assistance and Ukraine's membership in the #EU. |  • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance – financial aid  
• Institutional inclusion – EU |
| I. r) | 28.2.2022 | I am grateful to Romania for its significant contribution to the defense capabilities of our country. I am grateful to @KlausIohannis for supporting Ukraine's membership in the European Union. We feel the political and defense support of our partners. |  • Negotiations w/international partners  
• Foreign assistance – military aid  
• Institutional inclusion – EU |
| I. s) | 28.2.2022 | Talked with Prime Minister of Japan @kishida230. Thanked for a strong support to Ukraine in countering aggression. Japan allocates $100 million to the already approved aid of $100 million, fully supports tough sanctions against Russia. Thank you! A truly global anti-war coalition works. |  • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance – financial aid  
• Taking actions against Russia (ARD) |
| I. t) | 2.3.2022  | Continued dialogue with the Prime Minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte @MinPres. Informed how Ukraine repels the aggressor. Proved the facts of Russian systematic crimes against the civilian population. Expressed gratitude for the significant defense assistance. Together we oppose aggression! |  • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance  
• Sense of unity and patriotism (LC) |
| I. u) | 2.3.2022  | Coordinated actions with UK’s Prime Minister @BorisJohnson. Reported on the course of Ukraine’s defense and the latest crimes of Russia against the civilian population. We are grateful for the UK’s continued significant assistance in combating aggression. Together with partners we defend Ukraine! |  • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance  
• Sense of unity and patriotism (LC) |
| I. v) | 2.3.2022  | Had a phone conversation with the Israel’s Prime Minister @naftalibennett about Russian aggression. |  • Negotiations w/ international partners |
| I. w) | 2.3.2022  | I’m in constant contact with our trusted friend @eucopresident. We discussed the current situation on the battlefield and diplomatic efforts. Waiting for the positive signals about Ukraine's membership in the #EU. |  • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Institutional inclusion – EU |
| I. x) | 2.3.2022  | Discussed with @TamimBinHamad Russia's aggression against Ukraine and some bilateral issues over the phone. I am grateful for the unconditional support to Ukraine in such a difficult time. |  • Negotiations w/ international partners |
| I. y) | 2.3.2022  | Conversation with @TokayevKZ has just ended. The difficult security situation in the region was discussed. We agreed to cooperate in humanitarian issues. We keep in touch. |  • Negotiations w/ international partners  
• Foreign assistance – humanitarian aid |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Tags</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.3.2022;</td>
<td>Grateful to <a href="https://twitter.com/vonderleyen">@vonderleyen</a> for an important decision to give immediately residency rights in the EU to Ukrainians flowing to Europe because of Russian aggression. The first tranche of EUR 500 million provided by EU would help Ukrainians to ensure decent living conditions.</td>
<td>Negotiations w/ international partners, Foreign assistance – humanitarian aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3.2022;</td>
<td>Talked to <a href="https://twitter.com/elonmusk">@elonmusk</a>. I’m grateful to him for supporting Ukraine with words and deeds. Next week we will receive another batch of Starlink systems for destroyed cities. Discussed possible space projects. But I’ll talk about this after the war.</td>
<td>Negotiations w/international partners, Foreign assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.4.2022;</td>
<td>Join millions of voices in a global social media campaign: #ArmUkraineNow 1. Post a picture with a sign saying #ArmUkraineNow 2. Call on your government to provide heavy weapons to Ukraine 3. Tag 3 friends and ask them to do the same Stand with the Ukrainian people.</td>
<td>Foreign assistance – military aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5. 2022;</td>
<td>Had a phone conversation with President of Finland @niinisto. Commended the readiness of Finland to apply for NATO membership. We also discussed Ukraine's European integration. And Ukraine – Finland defense interaction.</td>
<td>Negotiations w/ international partners, Institutional inclusion – EU, NATO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.5. 2022;</td>
<td>I praise the U.S. Senate's approval of the Additional Ukraine Supplemental Appropriations Act of 2022. $ 40 billion is a significant U.S. contribution to the restoration of peace and security in Ukraine, Europe and the world. We look forward to the signing of the law by @POTUS.</td>
<td>Foreign assistance – financial aid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2. 2023;</td>
<td>Speaking with @RishiSunak. I thanked for start training Ukrainian crews on Challengers. We talked about further expanding the capabilities of the Ukrainian army, all-round support for Ukraine in the short &amp; long term. I emphasized: representatives of the aggressor have no place at @Paris2024</td>
<td>Negotiations w/ international partners, Foreign assistance – military aid, Taking actions against Russia (ARD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2. 2023;</td>
<td>Had a key meeting with @jpmorgan senior members, took part in the investment summit online. We discussed the creation of a platform for involving private capital to rebuild Ukraine. Post-war long-term growth steps were discussed. We agreed on cooperation.</td>
<td>Does not fulfill the criteria less then 10K likes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2. 2023;</td>
<td>Historic. Timely. Brave. I welcomed @POTUS in Kyiv as Russian full-scale aggression approaches its one-year mark. I am thankful to the U.S. for standing with Ukraine and for our strong partnership. We are determined to work together to ensure Ukraine’s victory.</td>
<td>Negotiations w/ international partners, Sense of unity and patriotism (LC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.2. 2023;</td>
<td>I took part in the meeting of the G7 leaders. In the first part I thanked the partners for their help during this year. In the second, I presented our priorities to the partners in detail. I am sure that we are able to make progress in the implementation of each of the priorities</td>
<td>Negotiations w/ international partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thematization of Category II. Anti-Russian Discourse:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tweets by @ZelenskyyUa</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Themes</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **II. a)** 24.2.2022; Talked to @POTUS, @OlafScholz, @eucopresident, @AndrzejDuda, @BorisJohnson. Urge to stop Putin, war against Ukraine & the world immediately! Building an anti-Putin coalition. Immediate sanctions, defense & financial support to Ukraine! Close the airspace! The world must force Russia into peace | • Taking actions against Russia  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia  
• Negotiations w/ international partners (PC) |
| **II. b)** 24.2.2022; Phone conversation with @JustinTrudeau Today there is a full-scale war throughout Ukraine! We demand the immediate imposition of additional tough sanctions against Russia. Now, more than ever, we need concrete support! I count on leadership of Canada in this process! | • Taking actions against Russia  
• Negotiations w/international partners (PC) |
| **II. c)** 24.2.2022; We have severed diplomatic relations with Russia. For all those who have not yet lost their conscience in Russia, it is time to go out and protest against the war with Ukraine. | • Taking actions against Russia |
| **II. d)** 24.2.2022; A package of additional tough sanctions against Russia from the EU is approaching. Discussed all the details with @EmmanuelMacron. We demand the disconnection of Russia from SWIFT, the introduction of a no-fly zone over Ukraine and other effective steps to stop the aggressor. | • Taking actions against Russia  
• Negotiations w/ international partners (PC) |
| **II. e)** 25.2.2022; We defend our freedom, our land. We need effective international assistance. Discussed this with @AndrzejDuda. Appealed to the Bucharest Nine for defense aid, sanctions, pressure on the aggressor. Together we have to put Russia at the negotiating table. We need anti-war coalition. | • Taking actions against Russia  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia  
• Sense of unity and patriotism (LC) |
| **II. f)** 25.2.2022; Held talks with the British PM @BorisJohnson. Reported on the course of Ukraine’s defense and insidious attacks on Kyiv by the aggressor. Today Ukraine needs the support of partners more than ever. We demand effective counteraction to the Russian Federation. Sanctions must be further strengthened. | • Taking actions against Russia  
• Negotiations w/ international partners (PC) |
| **II. g)** 25.2.2022; Not all possibilities for sanctions have been exhausted yet. The pressure on Russia must increase. Said this to @Vonderleyen. I am grateful to the President for her decision on additional financial assistance | • Taking actions against Russia  
• Negotiations w/ international partners (PC)  
• Foreign assistance – financial (PC) |
| **II. h)** 25.2.2022; Strengthening sanctions, concrete defense assistance and an anti-war coalition have just been discussed with @POTUS. Grateful to the United States for the strong support to Ukraine! | • Taking actions against Russia  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia  
• Foreign assistance – military (PC) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II. i) 26.2.2022; Grateful to all members of the UN Security Council who voted to stop Russian treacherous attack on Ukraine &amp; UN Charter. The veto of Russia is a bloodstain on its plaque in the Security Council, the map of Europe &amp; the world. Anti-war coalition must act immediately!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia  
• Sense of unity and patriotism (LC) |
| II. j) 26.2.2022; As Russia continues to attack Kyiv, the draft resolution is co-sponsored by an unprecedented number of UN Member States. This proves: the world is with us, the truth is with us, the victory will be ours Ukraine! |
| • Addressing politicians/heads of states  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia |
| II. k) 26.2.2022; The largest demonstration in the modern history of Estonia took place in support of Ukraine. I am grateful to the Estonian people and @AlarKaris for their solidarity in these difficult times. Mr. President, our vyshyvanka suits you. [includes photos from the demonstration] |
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Sense of unity and patriotism (LC) |
| II. l) 26.2.2022; To deprive the aggressor country of the right to vote in the UN Security Council, to qualify Russia's actions & statements as genocide of Ukrainian people, to help with the delivery of corpses of Russian soldiers. Talked about it in a conversation with the #UN Secretary General @antonioguterres |
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia  
• Institutional inclusion – UN (PC) |
| II. m) 27.2.2022; Ukraine has submitted its application against Russia to the ICJ. Russia must be held accountable for manipulating the notion of genocide to justify aggression. We request an urgent decision ordering Russia to cease military activity now and expect trials to start next week. |
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia |
| II. n) 27.2.2022; Talked to the Portuguese President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa. Thanked for the closed sky for Russian planes, support for the decision to disconnect Russia from SWIFT and concrete defense assistance. Portugal provided weapons, individual protection means & other equipment to Ukraine. Together - stronger. |
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Negotiations w/ international partners (PC)  
• Foreign assistance – Military aid (PC) |
| II. o) 1.3.2022; Just had a conversation with @POTUS. The American leadership on anti-Russian sanctions and defense assistance to Ukraine was discussed. We must stop the aggressor as soon as possible. Thank you for your support! |
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Call for negotiations w/ Russia  
• Negotiations w/international partners (PC)  
• Foreign assistance – military aid (PC) |
| II. p) 1.3.2022; To the world: what is the point of saying «never again» for 80 years, if the world stays silent when a bomb drops on the same site of Babyn Yar? At least 5 killed. History repeating… |
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Historical event comparison |
| II. q) 2.3.2022; Thanked Norwegian PM @jonasgahrstore for a strong defense support to Ukraine in the fight against Russian aggression. Noted the strong sanctions imposed by Norway. Reported on the course of Ukrainian defense & the aggressor's crimes against civilians. We continue joint work, including @sec_council. |
| • Taking actions against Russia  
• Foreign assistance (PC) |
II. r) 2.3.2022; 1/2 I praise the approval by the #UN GA with an unprecedented majority of votes of the resolution with a strong demand to Russia to immediately stop the treacherous attack on Ukraine. I’m grateful to everyone & every state that voted in favor. You have chosen the right side of history. 2/2 Destructive results of the vote in the UN for the aggressor convincingly show that a global anti-Putin coalition has been formed and is functioning. The world is with us. The truth is on our side. Victory will be ours [Ukrainian]!

- Taking actions against Russia
- Call for negotiations w/ Russia
- Sense of unity and patriotism (LC)
- Institutional inclusion – UN (PC)

II. s) 2.3.2022; Talked to @JustinTrudeau. Thanked him for the leadership in imposing anti-Russian sanctions. Stressed the need to expand restrictive measures. The bombing of civilians in Ukraine must be stopped immediately.

- Taking actions against Russia

II. t) 13.3.2022; Now can be no 'half' decisions or 'halftones'! There is only black and white, good or evil! You are either for peace or support the bloody Russian aggressor to kill Ukrainian children and women. @Microsoft, @Oracle, @SAP, stop supporting your products in Russia, stop the war!

- Taking actions against Russia
- Sense of unity and patriotism (LC)

II. u) 15.3.2022; Thread 1/2 All trade with Russia must be stopped! So that it can't sponsor the killing of our children. Ukrainians all over the world! Contact politicians, talk to journalists, put pressure on business to leave the Russian market. So that their dollars & euros aren’t paid for our blood. 2/2 The price for this war against Ukraine must be extremely painful for Russia. This pressure is a task for all Ukrainians at home & abroad, as well as for all friends & partners of our country. Everyone in the world must take a moral stand. Not only the state, but also companies.

- Taking actions against Russia
- Sense of unity and patriotism (LC)

II. v) 16.3.2022; Ukraine gained a complete victory in its case against Russia at the International Court of Justice. The ICJ ordered to immediately stop the invasion. The order is binding under international law. Russia must comply immediately. Ignoring the order will isolate Russia even further.

- Taking actions against Russia

II. w) 11.9.2022; Today we pay tribute to the victims of 9/11. It is one of the most tragic days in the history of the U.S. & the world. Facing missile attacks daily, Ukraine knows well what terrorism is and sincerely sympathizes with the American people. Terrorism is an evil that has no place in the modern world!

- Historical event comparison
- Sense of unity and patriotism (LC)

II. x) 3.10.2022; [poll with 2.431.641 votes in total] Which @elonmusk do you like more? One who supports Ukraine: 78,8 % One who supports Russia: 21,2 %

- Taking actions against Russia

II. y) 12.10.2022; Grateful to 143 states that supported historic #UNGA resolution "Territorial integrity of Ukraine: defending the principles of the UN Charter". The world had its say - RF’s attempt at annexation is worthless & will never be recognized by free nations. Ukraine will return all its lands.

- Taking actions against Russia
- Sense of unity and patriotism (LC)
| II. z) 14.11. 2022; From the liberation victory in Kherson to the diplomatic victory in New York – the UN General Assembly has just given the green light to the creation of a compensation mechanism for Russian crimes in Ukraine. The aggressor will pay for what he did! | • Taking actions against Russia |
| II. aa) 27.1. 2023; We know how often tyrannies try to use sports for their ideological interests. It is obvious that any neutral flag of Russian athletes is stained with blood. I invite Mr. Bach to Bakhmut. So that he could see with his own eyes that neutrality does not exist. | • Taking actions against Russia |
| II. bb) 2.2. 2023; I thank Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania & Poland for the principled position. The IOC’s attempt to return athletes from RF & Belarus to the Olympics is a legitimization of the criminal aggression against Ukraine. We won't allow sport to be used against humanity & for war propaganda! | • Taking actions against Russia |
| II. cc) 8.2. 2023; Against the backdrop of continued Russian aggression and devastating war crimes, the IOC is “exploring ways” to permit Russian athletes to participate in the Paris Olympics. We urge partners to join our marathon of honesty, counter these efforts, and protect the Olympic Charter. | • Taking actions against Russia |
| II. dd) 22.2. 2023; @UN General Assembly ESS resumed its work & will address issue of comprehensive, just & lasting peace consistent with the UN Charter principles of sovereign equality & territorial integrity. We urge every responsible Member State to support resolution tomorrow. | • Taking actions against Russia • Sense of unity and patriotism (LC) |
**Thematization of Category III. Leadership Communication:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tweets by @ZelenskyyUa</th>
<th>Themes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. a)</strong> 24.2.2022; We will give weapons to anyone who wants to defend the country. Be ready to support Ukraine in the squares of our cities.</td>
<td>• Sense of unity and patriotism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **III. b)** 24.2.2022; Russia treacherously attacked our state in the morning, as Nazi Germany did in #2WW years. As of today, our countries are on different sides of world history. Russia has embarked on a path of evil, but Ukraine is defending itself & won't give up its freedom no matter what Moscow thinks. | • National reassurance  
• Sense of unity and patriotism  
• Historical event comparison (ARD) |
| **III. c)** 24.2.2022; Russian occupation forces are trying to seize the #Chornobyl_NPP. Our defenders are giving their lives so that the tragedy of 1986 will not be repeated. Reported this to @SwedishPM. This is a declaration of war against the whole of Europe. | • Sense of unity and patriotism  
• Historical event comparison (ARD)  
• Negotiations w/ international partners (PC) |
| **III. d)** 25.2.2022; Today at 10:30 am at the entrances to Chernihiv, Hostomel and Melitopol there were heavy fighting. People died. Next time I'll try to move the war schedule to talk to #MarioDraghi at a specific time. Meanwhile, Ukraine continues to fight for its people. | • National reassurance  
• Sense of unity and patriotism  
• Reporting form the warzone |
| **III. e)** 25.2.2022; Incredible Georgian people who understand that friends must be supported! Grateful to everyone in Tbilisi and other cities who came out in support of Ukraine and against the war. Indeed, there are times when citizens are not the Government, but better the Government. | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| **III. f)** 26.2.2022; Thanked Pope Francis @Pontifex for praying for peace in Ukraine and a ceasefire. The Ukrainian people feel the spiritual support of His Holiness. | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| **III. g)** 27.2.2022; Thank you for the warm conversation, Your All-Holiness #Bartholomew. Your words are like hands that hold us up in this difficult time. Ukrainians feel the spiritual support and strength of your prayers. We hope for the soonest peace. | • National reassurance  
• Sense of unity and patriotism |
| **III. h)** 1.3.2022; Olena and I are grateful to the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge @RoyalFamily that at this crucial time, when Ukraine is courageously opposing Russia’s invasion, they stand by our country and support our brave citizens. Good will triumph. | • Sense of unity, patriotism |
| **III. i)** 1.3.2022; Olena and I are sincerely grateful to Their Majesties King Willem-Alexander and Queen Máxima @koninklijkhuis for their warm words of support to the people of Ukraine. We resist the invasive aggression. Today, more than ever, it is important for us to feel that we are not alone. | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. j) 9.3.2022; Mariupol. Direct strike of Russian troops at the maternity hospital. People, children are under the wreckage. Atrocity! How much longer will the world be an accomplice ignoring terror? Close the sky right now! Stop the killings! You have power but you seem to be losing humanity. | • Reporting from the warzone |
| III. k) 13.3.2022; War is not only a military opposition on UA land. It is also a fierce battle in the informational space. I want to thank @Meta and other platforms that have an active position that help and stand side by side with the Ukrainians. | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. l) 14.3.2022; I extend my heartfelt condolences to the family of Brent Renaud who lost his life while documenting the ruthlessness & evil inflicted upon Ukrainian people by Russia. May Brent’s life & sacrifice inspire the world to stand up in fight for the forces of light against forces of darkness. | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. m) 20.3.2022; @aplusk & Mila Kunis were among the first to respond to our grief. They have already raised $35 million & are sending it to @flexport & @Airbnb to help Ukrainian refugees. Grateful for their support. Impressed by their determination. They inspire the world. #StandWithUkraine | • Sense of unity and patriotism • Foreign assistance – financial aid (PC) |
| III. n) 30.3. 2022; I appeal to Ukraine’s friends all around the world to join campaign #StandUpForUkraine and support online event “Social Media Rally” on April 9. Your help will contribute to our joint victory. Grateful to @vonderleyen, @JustinTrudeau, @GlblCtzn for leadership and support. | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. o) 31.3.2022; High time to finally discard the outdated Soviet spelling of our cities and adopt the correct Ukrainian form. Grateful to Japan and @kishida230 for already doing so and encourage others to follow. #KyivNotKiev | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. p) 14.4. 2022; They’ve been trying to destroy us for 50 days, but the Ukrainian people are heroically resisting. We fear nothing, we know what we’re fighting for. We are brave enough to put an end to evil. Stop feeding the Russian military machine. Help Ukraine with weapons. Then peace & good will win faster. | • National reassurance • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. q) 1.5. 2022; Evacuation of civilians from Azovstal began. The 1st group of about 100 people is already heading to the controlled area. Tomorrow we’ll meet them in Zaporizhzhia. Grateful to our team! Now they, together with #UN, are working on the evacuation of other civilians from the plant. | • Reporting from the warzone • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. r) 20.5. 2022; 42 states took Ukraine’s side in the case against Russia at the International Court of Justice and intend to join the proceedings. Grateful to partners who chose the right side of history. The side of truth, international law, and justice. Together, we'll hold Russia accountable. | • Sense of unity and patriotism • Taking actions against Russia (ARD) |
| III. s) 2.9. 2022; “Freedom” [191,4K likes] | • Sense of unity and patriotism |
| III. t) 11.9. 2022; A total blackout in the Kharkiv & Donetsk regions, a partial one in the Zaporizhzhia, Dnipropetrovsk & Sumy regions. RF terrorists remain terrorists & attack critical infrastructure. No military facilities, the goal is to deprive people of light & heat. #RussiaIsATerroristState | • Reporting from the warzone |
| III. u) 16.9. 2022; Russia is a terrorist country. I don't know why the world is slow to recognize it. We liberated Izium. Over 400 graves were found in the forest next to it. How many tortured Ukrainians are there is unknown. How many more of our people must die so that all finally figured it out? | • Reporting from the warzone • Taking actions against Russia (ARD) |
| III. v) 22.9. 2022;1/3 We returned 215 people from Russian captivity: 188 defenders of #Azovstal and Mariupol. 108 Azov warriors, national guards, marines, border guards, policemen, territorial defense, Security Service employees. They’re safe now. We remember and try to save everyone. 2/3 According to our agreements with @RTErdogan, the five released Azov commanders will be in comfortable conditions in Turkey until the end of the war. They will be able to see their families. I sincerely thank President Erdoğan for his leading role in liberating our people. | • Reporting from the warzone • Foreign assistance – humanitarian aid (PC) |
| III. w) 15.11. 2022; Heard reports on the restoration of Ukraine’s electricity supply. About 10 million Ukrainians were disconnected after the terrorist attack. Supply to 8 million consumers has already been restored. Power engineers and repairmen will work all night. Thanks to everyone! | • Reporting from the warzone • National reassurance |
| III. x) 19.11.2022; Thank you, @RishiSunak. With friends like you by our side, we are confident in our victory. Both of our nations know what it means to stand up for freedom [official state visit of UA by the UK’s PM] | • Sense of unity and patriotism • National reassurance • Negotiations w/ international partners (PC) |
| III. y) 22.12. 2022; I thank @POTUS for the warm welcome and I deeply appreciate all the support of the U.S. and the American people. I am confident that together we will be able to secure a better, prosperous and free future for both of our nations. Ukraine’s victory will also be America’s victory. [official state visit by president Zelensky to the U.S.] | • Sense of unity and patriotism • National reassurance • Negotiations w/international partners (PC) • Foreign assistance (PC) |
| III. z) 24.12. 2022; This is not sensitive content – it's the real life of Ukrainians. Kherson. On the eve of Christmas, in the central part of the city. It's terror, it's killing for the sake of intimidation and pleasure. The world must see what absolute evil we are fighting against. #russiasaiterroriststate [tweet includes pictures from the Kherson, city in the UA, after being attacked] | • Reporting from the warzone |
| III. aa) 31.12.2022; We don't know for sure what new 2023 will bring us. I want to wish all of us one thing – victory. And that's the main thing. Glory to Ukraine! Happy New Year! | • Sense of unity and patriotism  
• National reassurance |
| --- | --- |
| III. bb) 29. 1. 2023; 6 months ago, Russia carried out a horrific terrorist attack in Olenivka. We won't allow this crime to be forgotten, we remember every killed Ukrainian warrior. And we're working to punish all those responsible for their deaths. The perpetrators will be found and brought to justice. The insidious mass murder in Olenivka will be one of the charges at the international tribunal against Russian aggressor. Russia will lose this war. Evil and meanness always lose. We must bring all Ukrainians home from Russian captivity. We are working for this. | • Reporting from the warzone  
• Sense of unity and patriotism  
• National reassurance  
• Taking actions against Russia (ARD) |
| III. cc) 14.1. 2023; Eternal memory to all whose lives were taken by the Russian terror! The world must stop evil. Debris clearance in Dnipro continues. All services are working. We're fighting for every person, every life. We'll find everyone involved in terror. Everyone will bear responsibility. Utmost | • Reporting from the warzone  
• Sense of unity and patriotism  
• National reassurance  
• Taking actions against Russia (ARD) |
| III. dd) 1.2. 2023; Kramatorsk. Russian terrorists have hit the city with a ballistic missile leading to civilian casualties. Some people are still under the rubble. No goal other than terror. The only way to stop Russian terrorism is to defeat it. By tanks. Fighter jets. Long-range missiles. | • Reporting from the warzone  
• Taking actions against Russia (ARD) |
| III. ee) 2.2. 2023; We've been standing against evil for almost a year. We're united as we haven't been for years. We're brave – our warriors have hit evil on the battlefield. Did it happen only due to the efforts of people? Or were our prayers heard by God? I've said it at #NationalPrayerBreakfast | • Sense of unity and patriotism  
• National reassurance |
| III. ff) 21.2.2023; Russia is heavily shelling Kherson. Missiles against people, residential buildings, pharmacies, markets, vehicle parks... To defeat Russian invaders on Ukrainian land is to save both Ukraine & other nations in Europe, which Russia wants to conquer, from terror. Terror must lose! | • Reporting from the warzone |
| III. gg) 24.2.2023; On February 24, millions of us made a choice. Not a white flag, but the blue and yellow one. Not fleeing but facing. Resisting & fighting. It was a year of pain, sorrow, faith, and unity. And this year, we remained invincible. We know that 2023 will be the year of our victory! | • Sense of unity and patriotism  
• National reassurance |