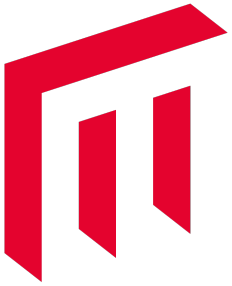

MALMÖ UNIVERSITET

War in the WANA, Crisis at the Pump

Economic Framing and War Journalism in *tagesschau*'s Coverage of Israeli Military Conduct

A Critical Peace Frame Analysis

Jette Paulina Kruse

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Supervisor: Kristian Steiner

Pick the topic you like: the Middle East, international terrorism, […], whatever it is – the picture of the world that's presented to the public has only the remotest relation to reality. The truth of the matter is buried under edifice after edifice of lies upon lies. It's all been a marvellous success from the point of view in deterring the threat of democracy, achieved under conditions of freedom, which is extremely interesting. It's not like a totalitarian state, where it's done by force. These achievements are under conditions of freedom.
– Noam Chomsky (2002)

Abstract

News media play a central role in shaping the public understanding of armed conflict. As Germany's most-watched, most-trusted broadcast, *tagesschau* reaches almost ten million viewers daily. This thesis investigates how *tagesschau* frames Israeli military conduct in the context of the regional WANA conflict, and to what extent this coverage aligns with Peace Journalism criteria.

The analysis reveals a dominant frame of economic consequences, present across all analysed broadcasts: Israeli military actions are primarily rendered through their impact on German energy prices and consumer welfare. Lexical asymmetries are systematic: Iran's government is delegitimised through language not applied to Israeli or US actors. The term "catastrophe" is applied to petrol prices before it is applied to emerging humanitarian crises. Iranian and Lebanese voices appear rarely, Palestinian voices are absent. An overall strong tendency towards War Journalism is identified.

These findings are produced through Critical Peace Frame Analysis (CPFA), an original framework combining Framing Theory (Entman, 1993; 2007), Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 1995), and the concept of Peace Journalism (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Galtung, 1986; 1998; 2015; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005). Using abductive coding, the framework is applied to 32 *tagesschau* 20:00 broadcast transcripts from February 28 to March 31, 2026.

Keywords: Framing Theory, CDA, Peace Journalism, WANA, tagesschau, German public broadcasting, economic frame

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I. Abbreviations

AI	Artificial Intelligence
AJE	Al Jazeeera English
ARD	Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland [Main channel of German Broadcasting]
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNN	Cable News Network
CPFA	Critical Peace Frame Analysis
DAX	Deutscher Aktienindex [German stock index]
EU	European Union
Hamas	Ḥarakat al-muqāwama al-islāmiyya (Islamic Resistance Movement)
IRGC	Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps [Sepah-e Pasdaran-e Enqelab-e Eslami]
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
JCPOA	Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
ÖRR	Öffentlich-rechtlicher Rundfunk [public service broadcasting]
PJ	Peace Journalism
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
US/USA	United States/United States of America
WANA	West Asia and Northern Africa
WJ	War Journalism
WWII	Second World War

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1. Introduction

News plays a vital role in forming public understanding of global politics. In Germany, since October 7, 2023, the conflicts in the West Asia and North Africa (WANA) region are polarising the public discourse. Therefore, a close examination of how Germans are being informed by news media and a critical assessment of it can shape an understanding of how news influences public opinion. The findings also provide insights on how news can be improved in order to have a positive impact on German political discourse.

1.1 Thesis Aim

The aim of this thesis is to contribute to an understanding of how the most popular and trusted news broadcast *tagesschau* (original spelling; therefore used throughout the thesis) portrays conflicts in the WANA region and how Israel is mentioned in March 2026. The overarching question this thesis aims to answer is: *How does* tagesschau *frame Israeli military conduct in the context of the regional WANA conflict, and to what extent does this coverage align with peace journalism principles?*

In order to answer this question, this thesis applies a combined framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Framing Theory, and Peace Journalism. This framework, which I call Critical Peace Frame Analysis (CPFA) throughout this thesis, allows a critical analysis of the news reporting, as well as a normative classification of the findings with the help of Peace Journalism. The operational questions posed by the CPFA framework are:

- *How are Israel's actions framed in* tagesschau *news segments?*
- *How do linguistic features enact the frames created in* tagesschau *news segments?*
- *To what extent does the* tagesschau *meet the criteria of Peace Journalism?*

These three operational questions enable a detailed analysis of Germany's most important news broadcast that reaches millions of viewers every day.

1.2 Relevance to Peace and Conflict Studies

An understanding of discourse is an important aspect for the field of Peace and Conflict Studies. Analysing how conflicts are portrayed, how the public makes sense of current events, can contribute to peace-oriented improvements. Since discourse not only shapes public opinion, but also influences how political interventions are made, it is a starting point to call governments, in the case of this study the German government, for a peaceful contribution to conflict resolution.

1.3 Thesis Structure

The thesis is structured into seven chapters, beginning with a section on background necessary for the understanding of this particular topic and context. A chapter on previous research in the field of discourse analysis outlines work that has been conducted on war reporting and the specific context of the WANA region. Additionally, it presents research specific to German media coverage of Israel and the WANA region. Chapter four is dedicated to introducing the three theoretical inspirations that form what I call the CPFA framework. The framework is then operationalised in Chapter five. This chapter also explains and justifies the corpus for the analysis, the *tagesschau*, and addresses limitations of the approach. The analysis of the material can be found in Chapter six, the findings of the analysis will be discussed in Chapter seven.

This study focuses on news from March 2026 and contributes to an understanding of the most recent state of the news. While the selected timeframe is contemporary, developments happen almost daily. Any events and news coverages after March 2026 are not included, even if they would be revealing for the aim of this thesis.

2. Background

This chapter provides background information to help the reader understand the context in which this study is situated. It outlines Israeli military actions in the WANA region between February 28 and March 31, as well as provides insights on the German media-landscape. Furthermore, the chapter briefly addresses the relationship between Germany and Israel.

2.1 Israeli Military Conduct in the WANA Region in March 2026

Before I begin with providing background information on the ongoing conflict in the WANA region, I would like to acknowledge that it is an impossible feat to briefly summarise the events of the conflicts in the region, current or in the past. I merely attempt to summarise the most important recent events, as of March 2026, that are necessary to understand the thesis at hand. I assume that my readership has the foundational knowledge required to place this thesis into the context of ongoing conflict(s) in the WANA region, as it is a highly discussed conflict within Peace and Conflict Studies, and Global Political Studies in general. The scope of this thesis allows for a more precise and selective summary of events, as it is concerned with the conflict and its news coverage in *tagesschau* over the course of March 2026.

On February 28, Israel and the US launched attacks on Iran, hitting mostly government and military targets, and killing the supreme leader of Iran, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei (Ahn & Chutel, 2026). On the same day, an airstrike hit an Iranian school, killing at least 175 civilians, most of them children (Ahn & Chutel, 2026). Iran responded by attacking Israeli and US military bases in the WANA region, including bases in Qatar, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

The death of the Iranian supreme leader has sparked hope of a change of leadership in Iran for many Iranians (Shams & Gholami, 2026). The Iranian republic is a religious dictatorship in practice, silencing dissent through imprisonment, torture, flogging, or execution (Utrikespolitiska institutet, n.d.). Iran is suspected to work on the development of nuclear weapons, a programme that is regulated by the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) to ensure the exclusively peaceful application of the nuclear programme (Council of the European Union, 2025). The oppressive Iranian government and the suspected development of nuclear weapons are named as the reasons for the Israeli-US attack on Iran.

Throughout March, the Strait of Hormuz, a critically important trade route for oil, gas, and other resources under Iranian control, has been blocked and ships were attacked. Some attacks were claimed by Iran.

On March 1, the conflict expanded to Lebanon, due to attacks on Israel by the Hezbollah. Since then, Israel has been expanding its military operations in Lebanon, with the aim of destroying the Hezbollah. On March 3, Israel deployed white phosphorus over a residential area in a southern Lebanese city (Human Rights Watch, 2026).

Although a ceasefire agreement was signed in October 2025, Israel has continued with attacks in Gaza and the West Bank, continued blocking access to aid into Palestinian Territories (Humaid, 2026). The Government Media Office in Gaza has documented more than 2,073 violations of the ceasefire agreements between October 2025 and March 2026, including Israeli air strikes, gunfire, and aggressions (Humaid, 2026).

The conflict in the WANA region continues and events unfold on a daily basis. The scope of this thesis does not cover any events and their coverage in the news after March 31.

2.2 The German Media-Landscape

Freedom of speech and press are a fundamental right, according to the German constitution (Vesting, 2024). According to Article §5 of the *Grundgesetz* (English: constitution), freedom of press and the access to information is protected and not subject to censorship (Steinlein, 2023; Vesting, 2024).

Based on this, the German media-landscape is diverse and news outlets on every side of the political spectrum are present (Medienkompass.org, n.d.). News papers, radio, and television broadcasts with different degrees of reputability, sensationalism, and partisanship (Medienkompass.org) are accessible to the public. The media-landscape consists of both private outlets, and outlets that are supported by German legislation (Kamps, 2024). Overall, 46 per cent of Germans trust the media (Kaiser, 2026b).

According to visualisation of the German media-landscape by a German political think tank, the *öffentlich-rechtlicher Rundfunk* (*ÖRR*; public service broadcasting) provides the most trustworthy news in Germany (polisphere, 2017). The *ÖRR* is enshrined into the German constitution (Wissenschaftliche Dienste des Deutschen Bundestages, 2016) and therefore a vital element of the right to freedom of speech and press. Broadcasting outlets of the *ÖRR* are funded by the *Rundfunkgebühr* (English: broadcast licensing fee), a fee of 18,36 € every German household has to pay monthly (Rundfunkbeitrag, 2026). The *Arbeitsgemeinschaft der öffentlich-rechtlichen Rundfunkanstalten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, short *ARD*, is the main channel of German Broadcasting and provides the most-watched news broadcast, the *tagesschau*. Every day at 20:00, about 9.59 million Germans watch *tagesschau* (Kaiser, 2026a; Norddeutscher Rundfunk, 2024) and 65 per cent of the viewers trust the broadcast (Bocksch, 2025).

2.3 The Germany-Israel Relationship

For the context of this study, it is important to briefly discuss the relationship between Germany and Israel. A consequence of the atrocities Germany committed against Jews in WWII, Germany has made attempts of reparations (German: *Wiedergutmachung*), and in March 2008, former German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared the safety of the state of Israel as part of Germany's *ratio status* (German: *Staatsräson*) (Schneider, 2025).

The German Minister of the Interior, Alexander Dobrindt, has emphasised the importance of the Israeli-German cooperation, and uttered concerns about rising antisemitism after October 7, 2023 (Bundesministerium des Innern, 2025). The issue of antisemitism is especially important to bring up, since critique of Israel and Israeli military conduct is often perceived as antisemitic in Germany (Würdemann, 2024).

3. Previous Research

If the goal is to gain a deeper understanding of the discourse on Israel in Germany as of early 2026, it is crucial to place this thesis in the context of previous work on news on war in general, as well as in the context of the WANA region, and German news reporting on the WANA region. The aim of this research is linked to works that apply Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in war reporting, as well as critical analysis specifically applied in the context of Germany. Galtung's concept of Peace Journalism and Entman's Framing support the analytical approach, therefore research including these theories is important to understand how these approaches have been previously applied. The review of previous research chapter is separated into the more broad application of CDA, Peace Journalism, and Framing in war reporting in general, and covering the WANA region. Lastly, as this thesis focuses on the German *tagesschau*, literature on German news and the discourse on Israel and Palestine is crucial to review.

3.1 Studies of News on War in General

Discourse and news media analyses have been previously conducted in a variety of contexts around the world. The focus was on examining language in news coverage of various conflicts and biased reporting. Most of these studies have utilised content analysis, specifically CDA, or the concept of Peace Journalism.

For instance, Selimi and Zejnullahu (2023), researched the narrative and language of Western Balkan online media on the Russia-Ukraine war. They analysed 20,272 news items from six Western Balkan countries between February and October 2022. They found that fake news and misinformation were a widespread issue, and headlines were predominantly sensationalist (Selimi & Zejnullahu, 2023). Most articles were found to be one-sided, the content aligning with the political stance of each respective state (Selimi & Zejnullahu). They concluded that most of the analysed articles align with Galtung's (1998) definition of War Journalism, due to the sensationalist headlines and use of language typical for War Journalism ("aggression", "invasion", "attack", etc.), and the media preference to focus on negative, dramatic news (Selimi & Zejnullahu).

Nigatu (2023) applied a theoretical framework based on CDA to the *Beku* newspaper's coverages the war between Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) and the central government in Ethiopia to identify how the warring parties have been respectively defined as in- and out-groups to continue power relations. Nigatu concluded that the newspaper, through a dehumanising language appointed the TPLF, legitimised the violence exerted by the government, the in-group. Part of this analysis was also the visual representation of the conflict, which found an

overt presence of war in the analysed newspaper editions (Nigatu, pp. 7-13), which leads Nigatu to argue that a visual saturation underlined and reinforced the in-group/out-group divide and legitimised war further (Nigatu, p. 13).

3.2 Studies of News on Israel and Palestine

Two different comparative studies have focused on CNN and Al Jazeera's, and BBC and Al Jazeera English's (AJE) reporting on the Israel-Palestine war. Bashir et al. (2025) found that CNN and Al Jazeera have framed the same issues in fundamentally different ways. While CNN exhibited an *institutional bias*, using official state and United Nation (UN) sources, Al Jazeera exhibited an *emotional bias*, centring civilians in their reporting and utilising emotionally charged language (Bashir et al., 2025). The researchers concluded that these differences reflect on the ideology, geopolitical affiliations, and audiences of each news outlet, emphasising that the context of each outlet influences the content and form of its coverage. El Damanhoury et al. (2025) focused their study on BBC and AJE and applied a mixed method approach, combining qualitative and quantitative CDA. Although the quantitative analysis concluded to no significant differences between BBC and AJE, the qualitative research found AJE had a more balanced approach, while BBC avoided language framing Israel's actions as genocide, ethnic cleansing, or war crimes.

Bhowmik and Fisher (2023) applied Peace Journalism to CNN's coverage on Israel and Palestine in May 2023. In the twelve days that were analysed, CNN news coverage was predominantly War Journalism, by focusing on Israeli elite voices, largely ignoring the Palestinian perspective, and the lack of historical context of the conflict.

The Media Bias Meter compared media bias within eight different Western media (mediabiasmeter.com). The Tech for Palestine initiative compared 54,449 articles published between October 7, 2023, and August 2025, and found distortions in the narrative on the Gaza genocide (Media Bias Meter, 2025). The initiative found a pattern of structural bias in 'Western media's Gaza coverage' (Media Bias Meter), which, they argue, distorts public understanding of the conflict and amplifies stereotypes about Israel and Palestine.

3.3 The German News Coverage of Israel and Palestine

As this thesis focuses on the news coverage on Israel and the WANA region in Germany, what follows is a summary of previous research conducted on media coverage on Gaza and Israel in German news.

Marcel Wegner's *Orientalism and the Discourse on Israel/Palestine: A Discourse Analysis of the Representation of the Israel-Palestine Conflict in Germany after October 7th* analysed German broadcasting debate shows and how the events of October 7 were represented in them. The central theoretical

framework of this Master's thesis is Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), in combination with discourse analysis and theory. Wegner found three aspects that were central in the debate shows and the portrayal of October 7. First, he identifies how Orientalism plays a significant role in how Palestinians, and the Hamas, are framed in the discourse, with language being dehumanising and false information about the alleged "barbaric nature" of Palestinians being spread and discussed. In contrast, Israel is portrayed as a righteous, Western, and democratic state, acting in self-defence (Wegner, 2024). Secondly, Wegner underlines how knowledge production is heavily shaped and influenced by Israel and Zionist ideology, neglecting to provide information on the history of the conflict and Palestinian existing before 1948 (Wegner, pp. 44-52). Lastly, Wegner argues that Germany's support of Israel stems from "German Exceptionalism", a notion of German moral superiority. As a result of attempted restoration after the WWII, German elites attempt to lecture about antisemitism, taking a moral high-ground, while overlooking Germany's own moral contradictions (Wegner, p. 54). Wegner argues that Zionism and *German Exceptionalism* are mutually reinforcing each other and shape discourse in Germany, the result being a narrative delegitimising Palestine and legitimising Israel's breaking of international humanitarian law (IHL; Wegner, p. 58). This insightful research provides insight on the dichotomy of how Israel and Palestine are portrayed in contrast to each other. The application of Said's *Orientalism* uncovers themes of framing and identifies differences in how Israel and Palestine are portrayed, Israel as a part of the West, and Palestine the oriental, inferior Other. For this research, the portrayal of Israel as superior and righteous is applied to a wider context within the WANA region, not solely on Palestinian territory.

Fabian Goldmann, a German author and journalist, published extensive research on German media and the genocide in Gaza in February 2026. In the book *Staatsräsonfunk*, Goldmann analyses how German newspapers and news broadcasters take the role of propagandists for Israel, and the methods they utilise to trivialise, justify, or silence the actions of Israel (Goldmann, 2026). For this book, Goldmann took a scrutinising look at the wording of German news, how events are presented and framed, and who gets to speak in interviews. While this extensive research shows how German news work and are complicit in justifying Israel's breaking of IHL and human rights, it leaves room for a more theoretical analysis and classification. Although not an academic work, *Staatsräsonfunk* is a suitable practitioner-researcher source to build upon.

The previous research supports the aim of this thesis, as it identifies an ongoing need for critical approaches to news and how media cover conflicts, especially in the context of Israel and Gaza. This need provides a foundation for this thesis, as a continued research and attempt to identify points of improvement. Furthermore, the previous research in the German context underlines that German news needs to be subject of scrutiny in order to suggest improvements to news reporting in regards to Israel.

4. Analytical Approach

In order to answer the research questions and examine *tagesschau*'s coverage of ongoing conflict in the WANA region, the analytical approach is a combination of three theoretical approaches: CDA, Framing Theory, and Peace Journalism. These three approaches will be presented in this chapter and inspire the extensive and comprehensive framework that I have developed for this thesis, which I call Critical Peace Frame Analysis (CPFA). This framework will be presented in section 4.4.2.

4.1 Framing Theory

Robert Entman (1993; 2007) defines the process of framing the following way:

> To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

Frames serve four functions: problem definition, the diagnosis of causes, making moral judgements, and suggesting solutions, while not all four functions are necessarily present in a frame. The problem definition identifies an event or action and its consequences, the diagnosis of the event includes identifying who is responsible (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Moral judgement evaluates the consequences and actors, and the solution recommendation justifies or offers a remedy to the consequences, predicting likely outcomes of the solution (Entman, p. 52) Identifying these functions within a present frame provides insights into what information is made salient and raise the importance of the framed information (Entman, 1993, p. 53; Entman, 2007, p. 164). Furthermore, Entman argues that what is being omitted in news is as important to analyse as what is being made salient (Entman, 1993, p. 53). The analysis of frames also exposes what information is not included and makes silences visible.

Framing theory facilitates the examination of how *tagesschau* constructs events and Israel's actions, for example through indicating responsibility, implying moral judgements, and suggesting and justifying responses.

4.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

CDA focuses on power relations within discourse. According to Fairclough (1992; 1995), power is understood as asymmetry in how people participate in discourse,

and unequal control over how information is produced (Fairclough, 1992, p. 19). Powerful groups remain powerful by naturalising their ideologies in discourse. This presupposition, as Fairclough calls it, of meaning and background knowledge are often implicit and go unnoticed by consumers of news, which makes them effective (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2).

CDA also focuses on the context in which news are produced and the discourse surrounding it (Fairclough, 1992; Fairclough, 1995, pp. 1-2), which will not be a relevant aspect of this analysis, as it focuses solely on the broadcast itself as the final product of the news production.

Fairclough's approach to textual analysis includes four levels of textual analysis on CDA. The first level addresses lexicalisation, claiming that the choice of words is never neutral. Vocabulary has ideological implications, for example in the description of actors as "terrorists" or "resistance fighters" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 75). Examining lexical choices can provide insight on underlying ideology. Secondly, grammar is subject to analysis in CDA. It analyses to what extent active or passive voice is used, how assertive news are represented, how certainty, obligation and possibility are expressed, and if nominalisation is used (Fairclough, 1992, p. 27). Nominalisation is the process of turning actions or events into nouns, a process that removes agency and responsibility from actors (Fairclough, 1992, p. 27). It is also common that hedging is used to minimise certainty of a statement or information. Oxford Lifelong Learning defines hedging as 'the use of cautious language [in academic writing] to manage the strength of a claim.' (Oxford Lifelong Learning, 2025) Including the term hedging in the context of this thesis can reveal specific use of language to remove agency from actors or make actors passive. Cohesion and text structure are two textual elements of CDA (Fairclough, 1992, p. 75), which will not be focus of this thesis, since lexical choices and grammar provide a compelling picture as is.

Fairclough also suggests three levels of discursive practice to CDA, force of utterances, coherence and intertextuality (Fairclough, 1995, p. 134), which go beyond the scope of this analysis' focus on the broadcast itself.

Taking a critical look at language generates a better understanding of how the frames in news broadcasting are enacted through linguistic choices.

4.3 Peace Journalism

The Peace Journalism model is based on Johan Galtung's work on the importance of media in promoting peace (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Galtung, 1986; 1998; 2015) and developed by Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick (2005). This model scrutinises news reporting to assess if news focuses on and promote war, or if news contributes to peace (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, pp. xvii-xvii). Peace Journalism provides a normative framework for what reporting on conflict should look like.

In *Peace Journalism* (2005), Lynch and McGoldrick present a dichotomy that defines both Peace and War Journalism (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 6). Based on this, a clear set of characteristics of Peace Journalism can be defined:

Peace Journalism is oriented towards peace, truth, people, and solutions (Lynch & McGoldrick, p. 6). War Journalism is therefore focused on the opposite of what Peace Journalism ideally covers.

For this study, the dichotomy provides a comparative lens. It helps to assess whether the analysed material meets the criteria of Peace or War Journalism, and enables suggestions on how to potentially improve news coverage.

Critique of Peace Journalism has focused on the idealistic nature of the model. Critics argue that Peace Journalism contradicts the idea of objective journalism by promoting peace, rather than focusing on facts (Loyn, 2007). Previous research on news, especially in the West, has concluded that War Journalism neglects objectivity 'as journalists prioritise national interests, patriotism, censorship, and even propaganda.' (Bhowmik and Fisher, 2023) Therefore, Peace Journalism is an adequate lens to examine the material of this study in order to answer the question: *To what extent does the tagesschau meet the criteria of Peace Journalism?*

Lastly, Lynch and McGoldrick state that Peace Journalism 'create[s] opportunities for society at large to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict' (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 5; Galtung, 1998), which underlines the importance of scrutinising existing news coverage and identifying potential patterns that require improvement.

Peace Journalism provides a vital step to this analysis, as it constitutes a normative dimension that makes this study not only descriptive but suggests improvements to the current state of news reporting.

4.4 Critical Peace Frame Analysis

CDA, Framing Theory, and Peace Journalism inspire the analytical approach and theoretical framework for this thesis, which I call *Critical Peace Frame Analysis*, short CPFA. In the following, I elaborate how the theories complement each other and address how conceptual overlaps are managed within CPFA, as well as how critiques of theories are navigated in this framework. Finally, the specific approach of CPFA will be presented.

4.4.1 Filling Theoretical Gaps with CPFA

Both Framing Theory and CDA examine saliences and silences within discourse. Framing, an empirical approach, takes a look at what news stories are selected and how a problem is represented in the news. CDA adds an analytical dimension to the study of discourse by focusing on specific language that is used to enact these frames, as well as underlying power structures and beneficiaries of it. The two theories overlap in focusing on what is being said and what is left unsaid, Entman calls it salience (1993, p. 52) and Fairclough calls it foregrounding (1992, p. 184), but Entman's theory operates at the level of whole segments, the overall narrative, while CDA adds the textual dimension to further how frames are created. Therefore, combining the empirical and analytical approaches results in a

more comprehensive picture of how frames function and how they are communicated.

Peace Journalism is a normative theory and establishes what constitutes War Journalism and how Peace Journalism should be. This element of the analytical approach is not descriptive but provides avenues of improvement. Although Galtung and Ruge discuss why events become news stories (1965, p. 65), which is similar to Framing, this is not included in this thesis, as it is concerned with news that were already published and is focused on the construction of news, rather than the selection process.

4.4.2 The Three Dimensions of CPFA

The combination of Framing Theory, CDA, and Peace Journalism results in a three-dimensional approach. These dimensions will guide the analysis and pose three separate operational questions.

On the first dimension, Framing is used to analyse news segments or stories and asks the question: *How are Israel's actions framed in* tagesschau *news segments?* The dimension identifies problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and suggested solutions are detected. It is an empirical step, which detects recurring patterns in how the conflict and events are portrayed to the viewers, what is chosen to be emphasised, or to be excluded from news segments. The Framing dimension looks at what is being said, as well as what is being left out. Information can be left out partially, for example by being mentioned only on few occasions, or left out entirely.

The second dimension examines the language used in each relevant news segment and poses the operational question: *How do linguistic features enact the frames created in* tagesschau *news segments?* In the first dimension, frames are identified. In the second dimension, an analytical lens is used to identify patterns in the language used. Patterns include specific words and with whom or what they are associated, naming of actors, nominalisations, hedging, implied meanings or ideologies, as well as the voice certain actors are given.

The third dimension evaluates the news segments in regards to Peace Journalism characteristics. The operational question therefore is: *To what extent does the* tagesschau *meet the criteria of Peace Journalism?* This level constitutes a more normative approach for the analysis. This dimension measures the overall news segments in regards to their orientation towards Peace or War Journalism. Based on Galtung and Ruge's (1965; Galtung, 1986; 1998; 2015), and Lynch and McGoldrick's (2005) work, four different characteristics of Peace Journalism were established, as well as the opposite of each characteristics for War Journalism. The orientation of each broadcast is given a score, in order to get an overview of the degree of Peace Journalism. A score of 1 indicates that the news can be considered Peace Journalism, the score 0 describes a mix of both Peace and War Journalism. If the broadcast is considered War Journalism, it receives a score of -1.

These three dimensions are the foundation of the thesis' codebook, which will be explained in the following chapter.

5. Operationalisation

This chapter is dedicated to the methodological design of the study, material selection, and the coding approach. Furthermore, the theoretical framework CPFA is operationalised to outline the analytical procedure applied to the selected material.

5.1 Material Collection

To complete this study, the required material are news segment scripts by the selected outlet, *tagesschau*. The material used in this thesis is the prime-time news broadcasts by the German *ARD*, the *tagesschau*. As elaborated in chapter 2.2, the *tagesschau* is the most watched news broadcast and is representative of mainstream news in Germany. Furthermore, the *ARD* is enshrined into the German constitution, making it a vital element of the right to freedom of speech and access to information, which obliges the *tagesschau* to a certain standard of journalism (Vesting, 2024).

Material will be collected from February 28, 2026, the day of the US-Israeli attack on Iran, until 31 March 2026. This time frame was selected in order to reflect what the discourse on the war consisted of the first month after the US-Israeli attack. Considering this conflict is highly contemporary, this timeframe, for the sake of making material processable, poses a limitation to the analysis' findings. New developments occur every day, developments which can not be included into this thesis, even though it would serve the research aim to examine the most recent news.

32 archived *tagesschau* 20:00 editions make up the corpus of this analysis. The archive of broadcasts is publicly accessible online. Each broadcast is transcribed, based on the provided closed captions (CC), which are created by Norddeutscher Rundfunk (NDR). The transcripts have been labelled T01 through T32 for simplification, an overview of dates and labels of the transcripts can be found in Appendix I.

The *tagesschau* covers a variety of topics, a lot of them not relevant for the scope of this research. Relevant segments are identified in an initial screening. Included were all segments discussing the current events in the WANA region, or segments mentioning involved parties of the conflict. Any other segments will be noted but excluded from the main analysis.

The analysis does not include images or audio of the broadcasts. The CDA dimension of the analytical approach is concerned with linguistic features of discourse (Fairclough, 1992; 1995), not with visual or auditory elements.

5.2 Research Design and Approach

The approach of this study is mainly qualitative, as it is concerned with the construction of meaning through discourse and specifically language. The qualitative approach will be supported by a coding framework that includes linguistic elements. This coding framework is presented in Appendix II.

The establishment of the coding framework follows abductive reasoning, a hybrid approach between the top-down deductive and bottom-up inductive approach (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012). Abductive coding moves between these two approaches, starting with categories derived from CDA, Framing, and Peace Journalism, while remaining open to patterns deriving from the material. When unexpected linguistic elements emerge, they are added to the coding framework and applied to the entire material, leading to a second, and final, analysis of all transcripts. Abductive reasoning enables an honest approach to the material, as it neither claims to be purely inductive nor entirely deductive and lets the material shape the analytical approach and coding (Timmermans & Tavory, 2012).

5.3 Abductive Coding

This section elaborates on three phases of developing a coding framework, based on the abductive reasoning elaborated previously.

In the first phase, an initial codebook is derived from the three theoretical inspirations of CPFA.

The Framing codes are focused on how problems are defined, what is framed as cause for events, how events are morally evaluated, and which potential solutions are presented. Based on the problem definition function, several frames have been added to the codebook: security, legal, military, humanitarian, escalation. Casual agency frames are: Israel/US, Iran/enemy, shared responsibility, structural, or obscure attribution. The moral evaluation frames includes legitimisation, delegitimisation, neutral, binary, and victimhood. The suggested solutions frames that are added to the codebook were military intervention, diplomatic negotiations, change of government, international assistance, or no suggested solutions. Lastly, the codebook includes codes to identify frames that were absent: civilian perspectives, historical or legal context, and actors.

CDA provides a more detailed code, focusing on linguistic choices. This part of the coding framework focuses on how actors are described (e.g. passive/active), how actors and events are named, the level of certainty or hedging in the description, taken-for granted assumptions and knowledge, and nominalisation (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 25-30).

Lastly, Galtung's concept of Peace Journalism constitutes a nominal aspect of the coding framework. The codebook includes peace-, truth- people-, and solution-orientation of the news segments (Galtung, 1998; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005, p. 29).

The material is read intensively. Any linguistic elements or patterns that are not captured by the initial codebook are noted and considered as additional codes.

The initial codebook is then being revised. Based on findings from the previous step, analytically significant codes are added to the codebook. The revised codebook will be applied in a second reading of the material and constitutes the foundation of the analysis.

To ensure transparency, the changes and additions to the code are documented and elaborated. The codebook revisions are marked blue in Appendix II, and briefly explained.

5.3.1 Emerging Patterns

A pattern that emerged in the initial reading of the material was the dominant presence of the topic of oil, energy prices and economic consequences of the conflict. Therefore, the fourth dimension OIL was added to the codebook, in order to capture the frames and patterns that the initial codebook did not cover. The OIL dimension presented itself as analytically significant, leading to a detailed examination of this dimension in chapter 6.3.

5.3.2 Coding Process

The developed code is manually applied to all 32 transcripts.. Additionally, a the codebook was fed into Claude AI software, which was programmed to apply the code to the transcripts. I then compare the results of my own findings with the findings of Claude AI, in order to ensure a level of coding reliability.

To establish intracoder reliability, the transcripts were read twice across the course of two weeks and any discrepancies investigated.

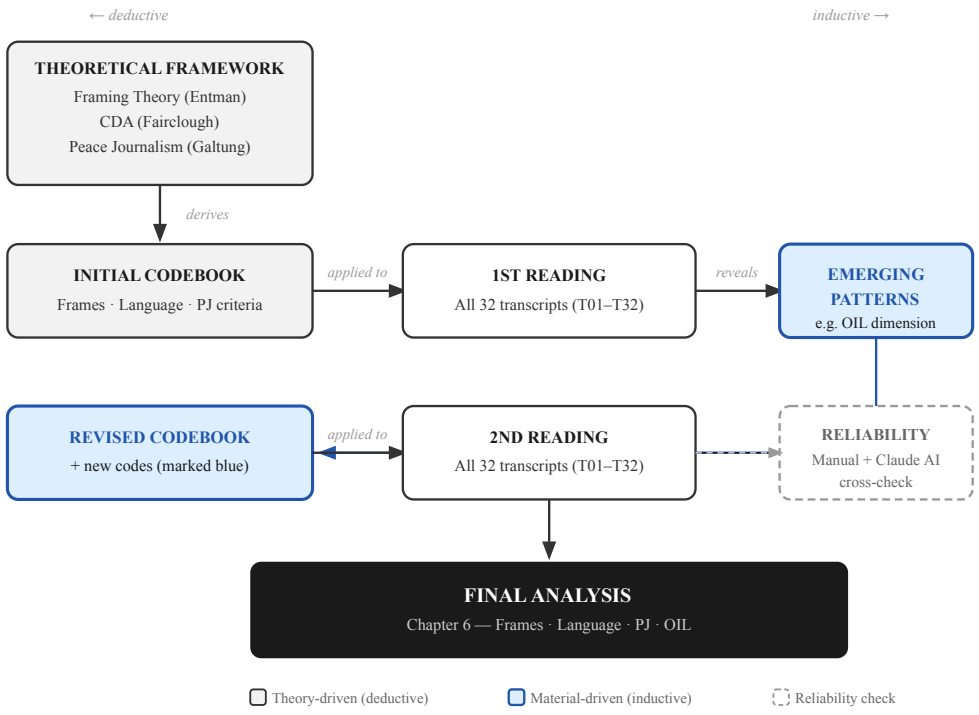

Figure 1: Abductive Coding Process

5.4 Limitations and Reflections

Some choices made for the design of this study impose limitations to the scope of this study. In the following, these are addressed and reflected upon.

Choosing *tagesschau* as the single outlet for this study limits the generalisability for the wider German news-landscape. Nonetheless, the high ratings (Kaiser, 2026a) and the level of trust viewers have in *tagesschau* (Bocksch, 2025; Kaiser, 2026b) legitimates an analysis of this specific news outlet.

Limiting the analysis to transcripts excludes visual and audio aspects of the broadcasts, which have a significant impact on broadcast news (Fairclough, 1992, pp. 210-211; 1995, p. 5). This limitation was a deliberate choice in order to focus on language exclusively. It is acknowledged, however, that the inclusion of visual and audio would provide a fuller picture of the discourse.

The collected material is limited to a timeframe of approximately a month, which makes detections of long-term patterns inaccessible. The findings of the analysis are specific to the selected period and events.

Since the coding framework is developed abductively, the codebook evolved throughout the analytical process. The changes made are documented and are, for the sake of transparency, accessible in the Appendix II.

CDA and Peace Journalism are theoretical frameworks that carry normative premises and are critical, they are therefore not neutral. Researcher positionality is important to address, especially when CDA is applied (Fairclough, 1992, p. 240). Hence, it is necessary to note my personal critical stance toward German news-landscape in general and in particular *tagesschau* news. In my opinion *tagesschau* has a responsibility to work with high journalistic standards and provide thoroughly researched news coverage to the German public.

Lastly, I want to point out that I conduct the analysis of the material in my native language German. My results are translated into English, a process that involves interpretative choices (Twinn, 1997). Any translated examples represent my own rendering of the original German.

6. Analysis

This chapter analyses the findings from the coding of 32 *tagesschau* transcripts, providing examples of the most relevant observations. The transcripts will be referred to as T01-T32.

Based on the three dimensions of the CPFA, the analysis is structured into three sections, each dedicated specifically to the findings of the individual dimensions.

Through the abductive approach, a fourth analytical dimension emerged, which focuses on the general topic of the conflict as an oil crisis. The fourth analytical dimension will be analysed before the normative analysis with Peace Journalism as theory.

6.1 Frames Within *tagesschau* News Segments

This chapter is dedicated to the findings of the Framing dimension and follows Entman's four Framing functions problem definition, causal attribution, moral evaluation, and suggested solutions (1993; 2007). Furthermore, a fifth code captures what is omitted or silenced by the present frames, Fairclough's (1992; 1995) assumptions that silences and omissions are as telling about the discourse and power relations as the things that are being said. The structure is based on the identified frames from within the transcripts.

6.1.1 The Security and Military Operation Frames

The most prominent problem definition is the *security frame*, present in all 32 transcripts. The conflict is primarily framed as a threat to the financial and economic security of Germany. Additionally, the news cover how German tourists in the WANA region or travelling through it are affected by the increasing attacks (T03; T04; T06).

Throughout the material, the attack of the US and Israel on Iran makes up a consistent *military operation frame*. From March 1 onwards, the conflict is referred to as 'Iran-war', officially declaring it a security issue. Due to its frequent occurrence, the term 'Iran-war' will be used throughout the analysis to refer to the conflict.

Events and developments are often framed as military operational events, for example in T01 'Since the morning, Israel's Air Force is flying aerial attacks on Iran', in T22 'Israel's army advances in Lebanon', or as explicitly operational description and highlighted military intensity in T10. In T16, a correspondent states that the Israeli army has its own aims in Lebanon, the destruction of the Hezbollah, which poses a security threat to the state of Israel.

6.1.2 The Humanitarian Frame

A *humanitarian frame* appears only a few days after the beginning of the Iran-war. The first mention is on March 6:

> A humanitarian disaster is looming. According to the UNHCR, 100,000 people are said to have been displaced in the first few days of the war in Lebanon. (T07)

The most detailed description of humanitarian suffering appears in T12, when a Lebanese man is described as carrying his daughter, her pyjamas covered in blood. In all 32 transcripts, the frame of a humanitarian crisis appears seldom.

6.1.3 The Domestic Consequences Frame

Prominent is the *domestic consequences frame*. From T01 onwards, the negative effects of the Iran-war on Germany, Europe and the global economy are the most dominantly named consequence.

> Terror threat, economy, petrol prices – it's about consequences for Germany. (T02)

This quote captures how the consequences for Germany overshadow the consequences for people living in the WANA region. In T17, T21, and T22, the almost identical wording of 'the consequences of the Iran-war can also be sensed by us' is used to frame the Iran-war as consequential to Germany. Throughout the material, domestic consequences become a more frequent and prominent frame, most of them concerning petrol prices. The dimension of the topic oil will be further discussed in chapter 6.3.

Air travel is not directly a domestic consequence, but it affects German tourist with flights through the WANA region. The broadcast on March 2 starts with the following words:

> The planes stay on the ground. Tens of thousands of travellers from Germany have been stuck in the Gulf-Region for days. With the beginning of the war against Iran, many countries restricted their air spaces. (T03)

The segment is dedicated to discussing how Germans travelling via the major airports in the WANA region have been negatively affected by the conflict in the region, focusing on how tourists may be evacuated from the region and thereby overshadowing the consequences for the local population, environment, and economics.

6.1.4 The Infrastructure Warfare Frame

Due to the prominent topic of oil, *infrastructure warfare* emerges as a *frame*. 'The Iran-war has intensified through attacks on the energy supply infrastructure' (T20) defines energy and infrastructure as a defining arena of the war.

Iran is positioned as the cause of the war. The suspected breach of the JCPOA and the refusal to negotiate Iran's nuclear programme with the US and other parties is presented as triggering factor to the US-Israeli attack on February 28.

> As of Thursday, the US and Iran had been holding talks in Geneva. Apparently, Tehran was not prepared to abandon its nuclear programme, as US President Trump said afterwards. (T01)

Furthermore, Iran is framed as an active agent of economic harm, by referring to the blockade of the Strait of Hormuz (T23).

Israel, and the US, on the other hand are not often framed as cause for the conflict. Their responsibility is present, but contextualised: 'The humanitarian situation in Lebanon is getting more tense' acknowledges the consequences of Israeli military conduct, without explicitly attributing responsibility.

6.1.5 The Moral Evaluation Frame

A reoccurring pattern of a moral evaluation frame is the quotation of Trump and Netanyahu. For instance, a speech by Netanyahu is cited in which he states that the aim of the attacks on Iran is to free the citizens of Iran from 'tyranny' (T11), and that targets of air raids are the 'terror-regime'. Netanyahu is also cited in the context of military conduct in Lebanon, framing the attacks on Lebanon as targeted destruction of the 'terrorist-infrastructure' (T22). While these are not direct quotes of the *tagesschau*, the repetition and the lack of contextualisation of the statements and terms aid to legitimise the military conduct against 'terrorism' and 'terror-regimes'.

Israel's military conduct is rarely delegitimised and is usually vague and mostly happens through citing politicians. Friedrich Merz' critique of Israel is cited, which itself frames the attack on Iran as a 'dilemma', and not a breach of IHL (T17). A more critical citation of Merz is directed towards Trump and the US military, not towards Israel or Netanyahu (T29). In T22, a correspondent compared the military conduct in Lebanon to the genocide in Gaza, a rare explicit critique of Israel's military operation in Lebanon.

6.1.6 The Government Change in Iran Frame

The fourth function of frames, solution recommendation, has one persistent frame across the news segments: *the government change in Iran frame*. In T01, the *tagesschau* states the 'regime' change as the aim of the US-Israeli attack and as cause of war. Merz is cited in T04, agreeing with Trump on the aim 'getting rid of the regime in Teheran'. Furthermore, Netanyahu's aim of 'destroying' the regime is cited (T12).

Diplomatic solutions for the Iran-war are suggested delayed in the news coverage: There are three scenarios: a negotiated settlement, an escalation, or a suspense.' (T23) This is a statement by a tagesschau correspondent in Washington

D.C. on March 22. In regards to the military operations in Lebanon, a correspondent from Beirut reported the following:

> [A solution] could have looked like this: there are five military posts that the Israeli army has held for the past 18 months. They could have withdrawn to those positions and handed over new ones to the Lebanese army. The whole process could have been monitored by UN peacekeeping forces. Then peace negotiations could have begun. Presumably, Hezbollah would not have agreed to this. Nor would the Israeli government. Today, the Israeli Foreign Minister rejected talks with Lebanon. (T23)

6.1.7 The Diplomatic Solution Frame

A *diplomatic solution frame* is portrayed as contracted and hopeless and not further discussed. In general, diplomatic solutions and attempts by mediators, for example Oman (T24), remain understated in the news segments. The notion of no possible solution is dominant with citations of Trump saying the war is over 'when I feel like it' (T10), or Netanyahu's assessment the attacks last for 'as long as it takes' (T01).

6.1.8 Omissions

Lastly, I turn to what is silenced or omitted by the dominant frames. The genocide and destruction in Gaza is used for comparisons with Lebanon (T6; T7; T17; T23), but any military operation in Gaza or the Palestinian Territories ongoing or prior to February 28 remains unmentioned.

Any historical context is absent from the news segments. Legal context is given at few occasions, although missing in the context of the first US-Israeli attack on Iran. T01 and T02 do not discuss whether the attack on Iran has any legal implications or justification. The UN Charta is mentioned for the first time in on March 3:

> Is the war against Iran covered by international law?
>
> Critics say: No, the US and Israel are violating the United Nations Charter. According to the Charter, the territorial integrity and independence of a state must be protected. German politicians emphasise that international law is of paramount importance. At the same time, they point out that the mullah regime brutally oppresses its own people and has spread terror throughout the world. Before his departure, Chancellor Merz described the situation surrounding the attack on Iran as a dilemma under international law. (T04)

While this segment clearly addresses that the attack on Iran was unlawful, it quickly continues to legitimise the attack by pointing to a suppressive Iranian regime and 'terror'. Any critique of Israeli, and US, military conduct is contextualised in order to legitimate it.

None of the 32 transcripts contain information on tensions between the US, Israel and Iran, the Iran's nuclear deal and the JCPOA, Israeli operations in Gaza

since October 7 2023 or before, or a general history of the WANA region. This absence is striking, as it portrays the current events and the Iran-war as singular events and not in a complex political context.

On March 30, a brief segment about the changed legislation the death penalty for Palestinians is broadcasted. It opens with ‘it is now easier to impose the death penalty in Israel.’ (T31) The translation to English fails to capture the trivial, casual character of the German original. The segment briefly elaborates on the changes of Israeli law and mentions that the death penalty laws only apply to Palestinian “terrorists”. Critique uttered by Israeli politicians and human rights organisations is mentioned in short. There is no comment by the *tagesschau* directly or a detailed explanation as to why the legislation is opposed. This topic is not mentioned in other segments within the analysed material, which can be due to the news appearing towards the end of the analysed timeframe.

An information, that has been widely discussed by the international community but is not mentioned in any news segments within the 32 analysed broadcasts is the use of white phosphorus in southern Lebanon by the Israeli army. Human Rights Watch has confirmed this information and declared the attack on civilians as a breach of IHL. The absence of this information from *tagesschau* news coverage is concerning, as it does not address illegal military conduct in order to question the legitimacy of the Israeli military operations.

6.2 Language Matters

This part of the analysis turns to the language that enacts the before mentioned frames. The analysis includes naming and labelling of actors, transitivity, the degree of certainty expressed, presuppositions, nominalisations, and vocabulary. Lastly, through the abductive approach to the material, an additional level of analysis has emerged and is focused on the hierarchy of civilian voices.

6.2.1 Delegitimisation

The transcripts show a systematic use of delegitimising labels for Israel’s and US opponents. The Iranian government is referred to as ‘mullah regime’ throughout the material, a term that is both used within citations and on an editorial narrator level. Goldmann (2026) has stated that the term is factually incorrect and delegitimises the Iranian governing body by assigning it a religious character (223). This accentuation of religion in a government is absent when describing the Israeli government. The Iranian government is continuously label ‘regime’, a term not used to describe the Israeli or US government. The Iranian military forces are often labelled ‘revolutionary guard’ (T01-T29). Although the term revolutionary guard is not incorrect and the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) and the Iranian Army both exert power in Iran (Alfoneh, 2011), the term carries ideological connotations and is in contrast to the neutral labels of ‘Israel’s army’ and ‘US armed forces’.

The Hezbollah is labelled ‘Hezbollah militia’ all through the transcripts, a choice of naming that delegitimises the Hezbollah. In T05, T07, T09, and T17, the news segments add ‘Iran-loyal’ to the description of the Hezbollah, embedding the Hezbollah with the Israeli enemy Iran. Other actors within the WANA region, for example the Houthi, are labelled as ‘rebels’, implying a certain unlawfulness of the movement.

6.2.2 Scare-Quotes

A pattern that has appeared as analytically relevant in the iterative reading of the transcripts is the use of scare-quotes. In T03, the Iranian advisory body is placed in scare-quotes, which is repeated in T07. The use of scare-quotes implies that the *tagesschau* does not recognise the legitimacy of the advisory body, nor any statements of it.

6.2.3 Asymmetric Agency

In regards to transitivity, there is a pattern of asymmetric agency. Israel and US are often portrayed as active agents by stating that ‘Israel and the US have attacked Iran from the air’ (T01), or ‘Israel is advancing in Lebanon and calls 250,000 civilians to leave their homes’ (T17). The first example actively constructs the initiation of military action, the second portrays the displacement of civilians as a military procedure. On the other hand, in T12 the news portray civilians as passive and state that ‘more than 700,000 people in Lebanon have already fled’, without mentioning the cause for their fleeing. In another case, when reporting on the bombing of a school in Iran on February 28, ‘children were allegedly killed’ and adding ‘this cannot be confirmed’ (T01), making the victims passive while not revealing the active agent. Other passages of the transcripts also passivise the harm of Iranian civilians. In T09, the civilian casualties of US-Israeli attacks are described as ‘uninvolved’ people, depersonalising the Iranian victims.

On March 31, the *tagesschau* describes Israel’s military conduct in Iran and states Israel’s army wants to intensify attacks (T32), making them an active agent in their military operations. The military conduct in Lebanon is described as follows:

> [The Israeli army] plans to make the border region in southern Lebanon, where they fight against the Iran-allied Hezbollah, inhabitable. The return of 600,000 citizens of Lebanon back to the region south of the river Litani is outright prohibited until the security of Israeli citizens in the north of Israel is guaranteed. All houses in Lebanese villages close to the border will be destroyed. (T32)

The segment is clear in describing the actions of the Israeli military, making them active agents in the conflict. Meanwhile, the 600,000 Lebanese citizens are passive subjects to Israel’s decision that they are not allowed to return to their homes.

6.2.4 Hedging

Through hedging, the degree of certainty of information varies, depending on the source of the information. In the case of the bombing of an Iranian school in T01, hedging signals low certainty of the validity of the information. In the transcripts after February 28, this information is not confirmed. Israeli and German sources are subject to little to no hedging. For example, 'Due to a strike West of Jerusalem several people died.' (T02) The information is presented as certain. 'Israel's army says they warned the [Lebanese] civilians' (T11) before an attack, an information that is not challenged and a source that is clearly attributed. In contrast, the statement 'an NGO has reported there were more than 1,200 civilians killed [in Iran]' (T11), is vague and does not name the NGO specifically. The information is limited to one sentence.

6.2.5 Presuppositions

Fairclough's CDA includes a focus on presuppositions (1992, p. 120-122). A news segment on the German Foreign Minister Wadephul cites the minister: 'This is about the security and the existence of the state of Israel. We share this interest' (T11) This statement has the embedded presupposition of the existential right for Israel to exist and legitimises any military response. Israel's right to exist is a common attitude in Germany and is usually uncontested.

6.2.6 Nominalisation

Nominalisation of military conduct occurs in some parts of the news segments, for example with 'the consequences of the war' (T02), 'the destruction' (T12), or 'the displacement' (T17). By nominalising the consequences of war, they are distanced from specific causes, nominalised destruction and displacement of civilians in Lebanon removes the cause of destruction, in this case the Israeli army and its operations. Nominalisation is mostly used to avoid naming Israeli military conduct as cause, while Iran or Hezbollah are named as cause for destruction in Israel or the blockade of the Strait of Hormuz in all news segments.

On March 3, the *tagesschau* described the Israeli army's advances in Lebanon as 'stage' (T04), a term that seems to spectacularise the military conduct and turn it into something more harmless than war.

6.2.7 Civilian Voice Hierarchy

Within the news segments on the WANA region or the consequences of the conflict, a hierarchy of civilian voices can be seen. The most voice have German consumers and tourists. In T02, for instance, German tourists in Dubai are interviewed on how the conflict in the WANA region impacts their travel plans and their sense of safety. As the reports continue, the segments cover the effects of the blockage of the Strait of Hormuz and rising petrol prices and living expenses. On several occasions (T03, T04, T10), people are interviewed and given space to express their opinions and emotions. All interviewees are named and presented in a specific context.

Lebanese civilians rank on second place in the voice hierarchy. The first Lebanese civilian is interviewed in T05: ‘The people are war-weary. I miss safety, our routines, normal life. It is worse than the last time. The suffering repeats itself.’ While Lebanese civilians get a voice, the individuals remain unnamed in the transcripts.

Israeli civilians appear on three different occasions, with first and last name mentioned. Two of them are interviewed and asked to show their realities (T07, T22), while the third one is received by the German foreign Minister and her suffering is explained by the editorial voice-over (T11).

An Iranian family in Germany is briefly interviewed in a segment on the ‘Persian holiday Nouruz’ (T21). The segment is humanising, but it also provides no political perspective of Iranian’s, while underlining the safety and security the family has in diaspora in Germany:

> ‘[Eid al-Fitr] is all about gratitude. We live in a democratic, free society. We have no financial worries. We don’t have to worry about whether we have electricity, water or food. We’re wrapping presents whilst bombs are falling in the Middle East.’ For this Iranian family, celebrating today is a sign of solidarity with the oppressed people of Iran. ‘We’re celebrating differently this year. This year, we stand behind them and say: we are your voice when you have no voice.’ (T21)

Iranian civilians living in Iran are nearly absent from news segments. Two people, both only named with their first name, are interviewed briefly (T20, T26). These two are the only substantive segments on Iranian civilians.

Palestinian civilians are completely absent throughout all 32 transcripts, even though the suffering in Gaza and the West Bank continues.

6.2.8 The Pattern of Power

To summarise the analysis of language, a pattern of language favouring and legitimising Israeli military conduct, government and civilians emerges and continues in all news segments, all while hedging and delegitimising Iranian, Lebanese, Palestinian militaries, governments, groups, and civilians, as well as voices coming from the WANA region in general. This pattern shows signs of underlying power hierarchies, favouring and legitimising Israel, the US, and Germany, while making actors and civilians in the WANA regions invisible or delegitimising them.

6.3 It’s an Oil Crisis!

The probably most distinct pattern within the 32 transcripts is the focus on oil, petrol and energy. Therefore, the dimension OIL was added to the codebook, in order to analyse various aspects of how the narrative of the Iran-war as oil and economic crisis. The topic of economic consequences of the conflict is being discussed from February 28. The OIL dimension consists of several frames.

6.3.1 The Petrol and Energy Consumers Frame

The most segments present the conflict in a *Petrol and energy consumer frame*. They focus on the consequences for the German consumers, primarily in regards to petrol prices. On March 2, a longer segment is dedicated to German civilians buying petrol for their cars, emphasising the effects of higher prices (T03). The interviewees describe the increasing prices as catastrophe (T03, T04), and 'rip-off' (T10), emotionalising the consequences of the Iran-war for German civilians. Although it seems logical to point out the effects of the conflict on Germany, the focus on the suffering of Germans overshadows the suffering of people in the WANA region.

6.3.2 The Market and Financial Frame

Another frame is the *market and financial frame*. It portrays the conflict in terms of its negative impact on oil and energy prices, the global economy, and stock markets (T01, T 03, T09, T20). The Iran-war is quantified in oil price terms (T09), the stock index DAX is used as a war index (T09).

> Iran is also launching attacks. The Islamic Republic has targeted Qatar's largest liquefied natural gas plant and, according to Qatar, caused significant damage to it. These images are said to show an impact in Saudi Arabia – near an oil facility. This marks a new level of escalation, and we are seeing the effects on the markets. The price of oil has risen by over 13 per cent since yesterday evening. (T20)

This quote clearly frames the attacks on a gas plant in Qatar in terms of its effects on the market price of oil, without mentioning the consequences for infrastructure and civilians in Qatar. Furthermore, the use of 'new level of escalation', a term with spectacularising effect.

6.3.3 The Petrol-Price Policy Responses Frame

As the dimension of OIL is largely focused on Germany, a *petrol-price policy responses frame* emerges, aimed at minimising the consequences of the Iran-war for German consumers and the economy.

> Since the war in the Middle East began, petrol prices have only moved one way: up. Now the government wants to do something about it. (T12)

This is opening statement of the *tagesschau* on March 11 frames the conflict in the WANA region exclusively as an economic issue in Germany that requires political responses. The political response is limited to Germany, no news segment within this broadcast mentions interventions in the WANA region.

6.3.4 Omitting Human Suffering

Attacks on oil and gas facilities are primarily reported as consequential for infrastructure and economic markets, not human suffering. In T15, the Island

Kharg is described as ‘heart of the Iranian oil industry’, in T20, the oil and gas plants in Kuwait are called ‘The economic back-bone of the region.’ There is no mention of a human equivalent, silencing the human suffering and consequences for civilians entirely.

While it seems logical for a German news broadcast to cover the effects on Germany and inform viewers about important regional issues, namely rising petrol prices and new policies, it dehumanises the consequences of the conflict. The strong presence of the economic frames diverts the attention from the destruction of local infrastructure in the WANA region, the ecological impact of attacks on oil and gas infrastructure, and the human suffering that is caused by military actions.

6.4 Is This Peace Journalism?

The final dimension of this analysis is dedicated to establishing whether the broadcasts and news segments can be seen as Peace Journalism and War Journalism.

6.4.1 Peace or War Orientation?

To get an overview, the following table assesses whether each broadcast is Peace or War oriented. Peace-orientation is assigned a rating of 1, or partially peace-oriented broadcasts are rated 0. Segments that are war-oriented receive a rating of -1.

Transcript number	Date	Peace-Orientation Rating
T01	28.02	-1
T02	01.03	-1
T03	02.03	-1
T04	03.03	0
T05	04.03	-1
T06	05.03	-1
T07	06.03	-1
T06	07.03	-1
T09	08.03	-1
T10	09.03	-1
T11	10.03	-1
T12	11.03	-1
T13	12.03	-1
T14	13.03	-1
T15	14.03	-1
T16	15.03	-1
T17	16.03	-1

T18	17.03	-1
T19	18.03	-1
T20	19.03	-1
T21	20.03	0
T22	21.03	0
T23	22.03	-1
T24	23.03	0
T25	24.03	-1
T26	25.03	0
T27	26.03	-1
T28	27.03	-1
T29	28.03	0
T30	29.03	0
T31	30.03	0
T32	31.03	0

Figure 2: Peace- or War-Orientation by Transcript

The table shows that the segments in each broadcast are either partially or completely war-oriented. The first broadcast from February 28 is focused on military operations, not providing any peace-oriented frame of the events (T01). A day later, the news segments assume the continuation of the Iran-war, again not exploring peace (T02). This pattern continues through most broadcasts, with some exceptions. On March 3, a political debate is cited, which introduces the debate on whether the Israeli-Us attack on Iran was in accordance with IHL (T04). Later on in the news coverage, the German Federal President Steinmeier is cited, as he explicitly questions that the attack on the Iran was in accordance with IHL (T25). Other than a few exceptions, the main corpus of the material is dominated by a focus on war and its continuation.

6.4.2 Truth or Propaganda Orientation?

In regards to truth or propaganda orientation, the persisting asymmetry of hedging, delegitimising, dehumanising, or silencing non-Israeli or non-Western information, which has been elaborated in chapters 6.1 and 6.2, leads to the conclusion that the news coverage is not truth-oriented. In T20, an exception to this can be found: ‘In times of war a lot of fake videos and photos circulate’ is a Peace Journalism statement, that notes false information is a risk in times of conflict. On the other hand, a similar classification is made in T01, stating that the attack on a school in Iran on February 28 can not be confirmed. Although this is a potential attempt to avoid the spread of false information and emphasising the need for confirmation, it seems more to serve the purpose of discrediting the information.

The before mentioned withheld information on Israel’s use of white phosphorus in Lebanon confirms the overall propaganda-orientation.

6.4.3 People or Elite Orientation?

The majority of the news sections are elite-oriented, citing mostly elite sources, such as presidents and ministers from Israel, the US, Germany, and Iran. Notable are the exceptions that include interviews of civilians in Germany (e.g. T03, T04, T07, T12), Israel (T07, T11, T22), Iran (T20, T26), and Lebanon (T06, T08), they are nevertheless overpowered by the amount of elite voices. Palestinian voices, both elite and civilian, are absent in all 32 *tagesschau* transcripts, although conflicts and suffering continue in the analysed timeframe.

6.4.4 Solution or Continuation Orientation?

Solutions to end the Iran-war are seldomly present. In T24, a tagesschau correspondent in Washington D.C. presents three possible scenarios, one of them being negotiations between the conflicting parties. A ‘peace-plan’ is reported on March 25, but Iran’s rejection of it is mentioned and suggests a continuation of the Iran-war (T26). Friedrich Merz is cited ‘what Trump is doing there, that’s not de-escalation’ (T29) criticising the absence of a solution without providing a solution himself. Overall, the dominant narrative in the broadcasts is a continuation of the conflict without hope for a peaceful resolution of the Iran-war.

7. Discussion

The discussion of the analysis' findings returns to the overarching research questions, as well as the three operational questions that are based on the CPFA. Furthermore, the findings are contextualised with previous research and explore the thesis' contribution to the field. Lastly, I reflect on my analytical approach, operationalisation and potential for future research.

7.1 How are Israel's actions framed in *tagesschau* news segments?

As stated in the analysis, the most prominent frames were focused on the conflict as a security issue, mostly threatening Germans and German economy.

The *tagesschau* predominantly portrays the events in regards to the military operations, discussing targets of attacks, destruction of infrastructure, and incorporates military statements, mostly citing the Israeli or US army or government officials.

The OIL dimension, which occurred as analytically significant in the iterative reading of the material, adds insightful frames to the analysis. In every transcript, the economic consequences of the conflict, especially the impact on the petrol prices for German consumers, have been a focal point of the broadcasts. While it makes sense for a German news broadcast to discuss domestic issues, the extent to which this topic took over in the news segments affected how the conflict was framed. The conflict is increasingly defined through attacks on the energy infrastructure in WANA rather than attacks on civilians, creating an *infrastructure warfare* frame which prioritises infrastructure over human suffering. The overt presence of the OIL dimension frames overshadowed the humanitarian consequences of the Iran-war, making frames of the conflict as detrimental to the civilians, economy, infrastructure, and daily life in the WANA either minimal or invisible.

Israel's military conduct specifically was often framed as a joint attack with the US. Since the February 28 attack on Iran and following military operations were conducted by Israel and the US together, it is not incorrect to frame both states together, but Israel's military operations in Lebanon, and especially in Gaza, played a minor role in the news segments. Most news segments focused on the conflict between Israel, the US and Iran, attacks were mostly covered in brief. News, such as the white phosphorus attack on March 3, were missing from the news segments. Any military operations or attacks in Gaza and the West Bank were omitted throughout the month of March. This observation is cause for concern, as it creates the impression the genocide in Gaza and continuous settler

violence in the West Bank have come to an end, an impression that is factually false.

The absence of a historical context does not enable viewers of the *tagesschau* to inform a deeper understanding of the conflict and how it came to be.

An event that does not necessarily count as military conduct, rather as a legal or policy frame, is the Israeli government's decision to create a death penalty law that targets Palestinian citizens specifically is mentioned only briefly. This decision is framed as a policy issue mostly, any critique of it is briefly mentioned and underexposed in the broadcast. The *tagesschau* refrains from making a more critical assessment of the matter and does not provide further context to enable viewers to form a critical opinion of this new law.

Through a focus on the joint military operation of Israel and the US, a dominant *economic consequences frame*, omissions of events in Gaza, and minimal presence of a *humanitarian consequences frame*, *tagesschau* generally frames Israel as a reasonable actor in a regional war.

7.2 How do linguistic features enact the frames created in *tagesschau* news segments?

The analysis of the language within the broadcasts' transcripts showed clear patterns of (de)legitimisation of actors and actions, assigning agency asymmetrically, hedging, and creating civilian voice hierarchies.

Opponents of Israel, and the US, are consistently labelled with delegitimising terms, such as "mullah-regime", "rebels", "militia", "terrorist", or the labelling of Hezbollah as "Iran-loyal". These terms function to make the "enemy" a legitimate target. The use of scare-quotes to label the Iranian advisory body signals an obscured editorial non-recognition of the advisory body. Israeli and US military and governments are not subject to delegitimising labels and are referred to by their official names or labels.

Asymmetries were found in how agency was made active or passive, and in the degree of certainty in which information was presented. Israel and the US were often portrayed as active agents, at least in regards to attacks on Iran and in the description of military goals, while victims of their attacks and military operations were passivised. Most notably, the report on the displacement of over 700,000 civilians in Lebanon makes Lebanese civilians passive, while obscuring the cause of their displacement: Israel's military operations in Southern Lebanon. The nominalisation of military consequences removed Israel as active agent in the conflict with Lebanon, obscuring their responsibility for civilian casualties, destruction, and displacement of Lebanese citizens. In contrast, Hezbollah is named specifically as attacker in Israel. Hedging is predominantly used when information from Iranian or NGO sources is cited, in contrast Israeli and German sources are cited with a higher level of certainty.

The broadcast showed a clear hierarchy of civilian voices, placing German consumers and tourist at the top of the hierarchy by naming them and interviewing several Germans. Israeli civilians are named with first and last names, their suffering is humanised in the segments they appear in. Lebanese and Iranian civilians are named by first name only and appear only briefly on few occasions. Palestinian civilians are entirely absent throughout all 32 broadcasts.

In cumulation, the linguistic choices show a persistent pattern of legitimising and humanising Israel, the US, and Germany, while it delegitimises opposing actors in the WANA region. This pattern reveals an underlying power hierarchy that operates through the editorial level of the broadcasts.

7.3 To what extent does the *tagesschau* meet the criteria of Peace Journalism?

The findings of the analysis suggest a clear answer to the question whether *tagesschau* broadcasts meet the criteria of Peace Journalism: No. With few exceptions, the news segments on the conflict in the WANA region are war-, propaganda-, elite, and continuation-oriented. Any attempts of Peace Journalism are overwhelmed by the overly-present War Journalism.

7.4 How does *tagesschau* frame Israeli military conduct in the context of the regional WANA conflict, and to what extent does this coverage align with peace journalism principles?

tagesschau frames the WANA conflict in March 2026 through an economic lens. German domestic consequences are prioritised, while humanitarian dimensions are marginalised. Israeli military conduct is primarily framed as a joint operation with the US. Economic and security narratives serve to legitimise the use of military force against Iran and in Lebanon. Linguistic choices support the legitimisation of Israeli and US military operations, while undermining the legitimacy of their opponents and passivising Israel and the US as causes for human suffering. The absence of Palestinian voices and events in Palestinian Territories, the omission of the white phosphorus attack in Lebanon, and the missing historical or legal context (in earlier broadcasts) reinforces a narrow framing of the conflict which presents the Iran-war as a decontextualised and singular event.

The 32 broadcasts that were analysed align with War Journalism. The findings suggest that *tagesschau*, Germany's most-watched and -trusted news broadcast contributes to the reproduction of elite-oriented, conflict-continuation tendencies.

The news coverage has implications for German public discourse. *tagesschau* reaches almost ten million viewers daily. A continuous economic

framing of the WANA conflict and the omission of civilian, especially Palestinian, suffering, as well as any historical context can potentially structurally shape a public understanding that deprioritises humanitarian concerns and reinforces existing power structures. This is precisely what the Peace Journalism model identifies as requiring a normative interference.

7.5 Contributions to Previous Research

Overall, this thesis confirms the findings of previous research. Bhowmik & Fisher (2023) and El Damanhoury et al. (2025) have found tendencies in Western media that journalism tends to be elite-oriented and frames conflicts as security issues. In the German context, Wegner (2024) and Goldmann (2026) have identified patterns of power hierarchies and a strong 'Us vs. Them' narratives in German news media. This status quo continues in the time period analysed in this thesis.

What this thesis contributes to previous research is the economic dimension of the analysis. The overshadowing topic of economic consequences of conflict in the news is cause for further examination of how, and why, economics are discussed in order to divert attention away from humanitarian issues.

Furthermore, the combination of Framing Theory, CDA, and Peace Journalism provided an analytical approach that encapsulates previous approaches into one framework and thus enabling a more detailed analysis of what was individually analysed in previous research. The combined approaches complemented each other in a way that provided a deeper understanding of news frames and how they are linguistically enabled, as well as adding a normative-evaluative dimension through the Peace Journalism model.

7.6 Final Reflections

I acknowledge that the choices I made in regards to the timeframe, material, theories, and operationalisation had an influence on the results of my analysis and their interpretation. The focus on only textual elements of a single news broadcast limits the generalisability of my findings, as well as a visual analysis of the news segments. Images are powerful and impact how information is perceived and an analysis thereof present an interesting research endeavour for future analysis.

Applying the codebook manually leaves margins for error, which was attempted to be addressed by applying the codebook twice on two separate occasions. Applying the codebook with Claude AI instead of generally used coding softwares can be justified by stating that the coding process was carefully coded and followed a similar logic as conventional coding softwares in social sciences.

The implications of the dominant focus on economics' effect on viewers moral evaluation of the conflict were not included in this research. Applying theories such as Albert Bandura's (2016) moral disengagement can gain insight on how this type of War Journalism affects how people's morals. It would be

interesting to combine findings from discourse analysis, such as this thesis, with the development of violence in Germany against people from the WANA region, people supporting, for example, Palestinians, and Jewish citizens in Germany, in order to investigate any correlation between discourse and violence in the German context.

A comparative study of news outlets with different political orientations can be an interesting future research aimed at identifying different patterns, language, and potentially different levels of Peace Journalism.

Finally, I want to address my positionality. I have mentioned previously that I hold *tagesschau,* due to its anchors in the constitution and significance to the freedom of speech and access to information*,* to a high standard. I believe it is the responsibility of any *ÖRR* news outlet, but especially *tagesschau*, to provide unbiased information and contribute to a more peace-oriented journalism. As a German, it is in my interest that the German public has access to information that enables them, and me, to make up an informed opinion.

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Appendix I: Transcript Overview

Date	Transcript Name
28.02.2026	T01
01.03.2026	T02
02.03.2026	T03
03.03.2026	T04
04.03.2026	T05
05.03.2026	T06
06.03.2026	T07
07.03.2026	T08
08.03.2026	T09
09.03.2026	T10
10.03.2026	T11
11.03.2026	T12
12.03.2026	T13
13.03.2026	T14
14.03.2026	T15
15.03.2026	T16
16.03.2026	T17
17.03.2026	T18
18.03.2026	T19
19.03.2026	T20
20.03.2026	T21
21.03.2026	T22
22.03.2026	T23
23.03.2026	T24
24.03.2026	T25
25.03.2026	T26

Date	Transcript Name
26.03.2026	T27
27.03.2026	T28
28.03.2026	T29
29.03.2026	T30
30.03.2026	T31
31.03.2026	T32

Appendix II: Initial & Revised Codebook

Dimension	Theory	Research Question	Unit of Analysis
D1: Framing	Entman (1993)	How are Israel's actions framed in *tagesschau* news segments?	News segment/story
D2: Language	Fairclough CDA (1992; 1995)	How do linguistic features enact the frames created in *tagesschau* news segments?	Sentences, words, grammatical choices
D3: Peace Journalism	Galtung; Lynch & McGoldrick (2005)	To what extent does the *tagesschau* meet the criteria of Peace Journalism?	News segment/story
D4: OIL	No Theory; Addition through observed pattern/ dimension	How does *tagesschau* frame the conflict as an oil crisis? (Most analytically significant new pattern; crosses D1 and D2; warrants standalone status)	News segment/story

Code	Label	Description	Comments for Added Codes
F1-a	Security frame	Event framed primarily as a matter of national/regional security	
F1-b	Legal/ normative frame	Event framed in relation to international law, legitimacy, or norms	
F1-c	Military/ strategic frame	Event framed in terms of military logic, objectives, or operations	
F1-d	Humanitarian frame	Event framed in terms of civilian suffering or humanitarian impact	
F1-e	Escalation frame	Event framed as part of a wider, escalating conflict	
F1-f	Domestic Consequence Frame	Recurring "Folgen für Deutschland" structure	Frame not captured by F1-a–F1-e; connected to D4

F1-g	Infrastructure Warfare Frame	War defined through attacks on energy systems, not populations	New frame that emerged in initial reading; reoccurring and therefore relevant; connected to D4
F2-a	Israel/USA as agent	Responsibility attributed explicitly to Israel and/or the US	
F2-b	Iran/enemy as agent	Responsibility attributed explicitly to Iran or opposing actors	
F2-c	Shared/diffuse responsibility	Responsibility distributed across multiple actors	
F2-d	Structural/ contextual cause	Causation attributed to systemic factors (e.g. nuclear standoff, geopolitics)	
F2-e	Obscured/ absent attribution	No clear causal agent named; responsibility is absent or ambiguous	
F3-a	Legitimising frame	Actions of one actor framed as justified, defensive, or proportionate	
F3-b	Delegitimising frame	Actions framed as unlawful, disproportionate, or morally problematic	
F3-c	Neutral/ balanced frame	No clear moral loading; reporting presented as factual without evaluation	
F3-d	Binary/ oppositional frame	Conflict framed in morally binary terms (e.g. democracy vs. dictatorship)	
F3-e	Victimhood frame	One actor consistently framed as victim, another as aggressor	
F4-a	Military solution implied	Resolution framed in terms of military objectives or victory	
F4-b	Diplomatic solution implied	Negotiation, ceasefire, or political dialogue suggested	
F4-c	Regime change as solution	Overthrow of a government presented as a resolution path	
F4-d	No solution presented	No treatment recommendation is offered; conflict framed as ongoing or unresolvable	

F4-e	International/ institutional solution	Role of international organisations (UN, EU, etc.) presented as relevant	
F5-a	Civilian perspective absent	No civilian voices or experiences on a particular side included	
F5-b	Historical context absent	No contextualisation of events in longer historical trajectory	
F5-c	Legal context absent	No reference to international law, despite legally relevant events	
F5-d	Alternative narrative absent	Only one interpretation of events is presented	
F5-e	Actor absent	A key party to the conflict is not mentioned or given voice	
L1-a	Official/neutral naming	Actor referred to by official title or neutral designation	
L1-b	Legitimising label	Label that confers authority or moral standing (“Verteidigung”, “Streitkräfte”)	
L1-c	Delegitimising label	Label that undermines authority or moral standing (“Regime”, “Diktatur”, “Terroristen”)	
L1-d	Humanising description	Actor described in terms that foreground human experience	
L1-e	Dehumanising description	Actor described in ways that reduce or deny humanity	
L1-f	Scare-Quote Illegitimation	“Führungsrat” pattern: institutional delegitimation via typography	Reoccurring deligimitimising label for actors
L1-g	Direct Quote Label Contamination	“Terrorregime” adopted into narrative register from actor quotes	Direct quotes from elites adopted into news segments without further comments or reflections
L2-a	Active; agency attributed	Actor explicitly named as subject performing action (“[actor] greift an”)	
L2-b	Passive; agent named	Passive with agent stated (“wurde von Israel angegriffen”)	

L2-c	Passive; agent absent	Passive without agent (“wurden Gebäude zerstört”), responsibility obscured	
L2-d	Nominalization (see L5)	Action turned into a noun, fully removing agency	
L3-a	Asserted as fact	Claim presented without qualification: “Israel hat angegriffen”	
L3-b	Attributed to source	Claim attributed to a named source: “laut israelischen Medien”	
L3-c	Hedged / uncertain	Claim explicitly qualified: “sollen", “angeblich”, “mutmaßlich”	
L3-d	Unverifiable / contested	Claim flagged as unable to be verified: “lässt sich nicht bestätigen”	
L3-e	Contradicted	Claim explicitly countered by another claim within the same segment	
L4-a	Right to self-defence assumed	Language presupposes that a military action is legitimate self-defence	
L4-b	Threat/enmity assumed	Language presupposes that one actor poses an inherent threat	
L4-c	Statehood/ legitimacy assumed	Language assumes the political legitimacy of one actor over another	
L4-d	Cause-effect assumed	Language embeds a causal chain without stating it explicitly	
L4-e	Other ideological presupposition	Note any other taken-for-granted assumption not captured above	
L5-a	Nominalised action; actor absent	Verb-derived noun without actor (“der Beschuss”, “die Zerstörung”)	
L5-b	Nominalised action; actor retained	Noun form but actor still named (“der israelische Angriff”)	
L5-c	Process turned into static state	Event described as a condition rather than an action in progress	
L6-a	Militarised vocabulary	Technical military language that normalises or depoliticises violence	
L6-b	Emotive language — legitimising	Emotionally positive terms for one actor (“Freiheit”, “Hoffnungsträger”)	

L6-c	Emotive language — delegitimising	Emotionally negative terms for opposing actor (“bösartige Diktatur”, “Mullah-Regime”)	
L6-d	Neutral/ technocratic language	Bureaucratic or distancing language that reduces emotional salience	
L7 (new code)	Civilian Voice Hierarchy	Civilian voice volume and humanisation varies systematically by nationality	Structural corpus-level pattern; observation added to codebook
OIL-1	Petrol/energy consumer frame	German consumers at petrol stations as the face of war's consequences; includes direct quotes from named individuals	Added because of new OIL dimension
OIL-2	Market/ financial frame	Stock markets, oil price movements, DAX performance as metrics of the war's severity	Added because of new OIL dimension
OIL-3	Supply chain frame	Logistics, industrial supply chains, chemical sector, fertiliser prices framed as primary war consequences	Added because of new OIL dimension
OIL-4	Policy response frame	Government or EU policy responses to energy price rises (petrol price law, oil reserve release, sanctions debates) treated as the political response to war	Added because of new OIL dimension
OIL-5	Hormuz/trade route frame	The Strait of Hormuz framed as primarily an economic bottleneck, not a military conflict zone or humanitarian concern	Added because of new OIL dimension
OIL-6	Infrastructure warfare to economic loss	Attacks on oil or gas facilities reported primarily through their effect on global or European energy markets	Added because of new OIL dimension
Rating	**Label**	**Meaning**	
1	Peace/PJ-oriented	Segment clearly meets this PJ criterion	
0	Mixed / unclear	Segment partially meets criterion, or is ambiguous	
-1	War/WJ-oriented	Segment clearly does not meet criterion (War Journalism pattern)	
Code	**Label**	**Description**	

PJ1	Peace vs. War Orientation	Does the segment focus on peace, de-escalation, and non-violent resolution or on combat, military operations, and escalation as the primary narrative?	
PJ2	Truth vs. Propaganda Orientation	Is the segment oriented towards factual truth-seeking, checking all sides' claims or does it reproduce the propaganda or talking points of one party without reflection?	
PJ3	People vs. Elite Orientation	Does the segment give voice to ordinary people (civilians, refugees, victims) or does it focus on political and military elites?	
PJ4	Solution vs. Continuation Orientation	Does the segment offer or explore any path toward resolution, or does it present the conflict as inevitable, ongoing, and irresolvable?	