

The Brazilian Media's Reaction and Coverage of the War in Ukraine from 25th February to 15th September 2022

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The Brazilian media have reacted to the 2022 war in Ukraine with a deeply critical eye on Russia. Domestically, the Bolsonaro Administration's reaction has been also the target of fierce criticism, mainly because the war has provoked in Brazil strong negative economic effects, namely the increase of the inflation and the drop of the national GDP, as well as the protection President Bolsonaro has given to the agribusiness. This article aims to investigate how the Brazilian media has covered the war in Ukraine through the content analysis of three Brazilian daily newspapers during the period of 25th of February to 15th of September 2022, as well as the political implications this war has had on Brazil. Interestingly, two conclusions that arise are that all newspapers condemned the invasion of Ukraine and they have also been criticizing President Bolsonaro's political behaviour, especially towards the sector of the agribusiness. Two interesting conclusions since these three newspapers cover a wide range of the Brazilian political ideology.

Keywords: Brazilian media, Russia, Ukraine, war, invasion, newspapers, agribusiness

Introduction

Russia's invasion of Ukraine (24th of February 2022) caused a shockwave that left no region in the world untouched as international surprise led to various reactions by national governments of different political and ideological inclinations. As such, Latin America was no exception. The region has been fertile terrain for Russian diplomatic and military engagement over the past two decades, and several countries have found Russia a credible partner and supplier of a wide range of goods and services (Kramer et al., 2022).

In the case of Brazil, the reaction of the Bolsonaro Administration was very different from that of the mainstream media. Indeed, the former President showed mild support for Russia, while the traditional media violently condemned the invasion and has since followed the United States (US) stance on the Ukraine war.

Not only ideological reasons explained Bolsonaro's viewpoint, but fundamentally the fact that war had provided a new excuse for the previous President to protect the sector of the agribusiness, which has strong ties with Russia.

For this analysis, there have been chosen the three newspapers with the largest national circulation and that together cover the entire Brazilian national political and ideological spectrum: *Folha de São Paulo*, *O Estado de São Paulo*

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(or just *O Estadão*), and *O Globo*. The first two are from the state of São Paulo and the last one from Rio de Janeiro.

According to the Communication Verifier Institute (CVI, 2022), in 2020, these newspapers were the ones with the largest circulation in Brazil, that is, of printed and digital subscriptions, with *Folha* taking the lead with a total average of 343,522 copies, followed by *O Globo* with 341,738 and, at some distance, *O Estado* with 233,315. Far behind in fourth place came *Super Notícia*, from Minas Gerais, with an average of 138,796 copies, and in fifth place came *Zero Hora*, from Rio Grande do Sul, with 125,037.

Moreover, *Folha de São Paulo* has a non-partisan and pluralist political orientation, although its news coverage of the governments of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995-2002), Lula (2003-2010), Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016), and Michel Temer (2016-2018) has earned the newspaper several accusations of being oppositionist during each of these administrations. *O Globo* comes across as politically conservative, while *O Estado de São Paulo* is also politically conservative but economically liberal, representing, in Brazil, the neoliberal thought. Nevertheless, this newspaper has recently adopted more liberal positions in the social and political spheres, defending, for example, the legalization of abortion in the country and adopting a critical position towards former Presidents George W. Bush and Nicolas Sarkozy, besides having supported the candidacy of the centre-left former President of Chile Michelle Bachellet. These newspapers represent the mainstream Brazilian public opinion, excluding the extreme right and the extreme left, whose supporters read the mainstream newspapers. All of them have their own websites, which are very popular, and *O Globo* even has its own TV broadcasting station, which is widely viewed.

Therefore, the starting point of this investigation is the question of how have the three main Brazilian newspapers covered the war of Ukraine and what political implications have this war had between 25th of February and 15th of September 2022?

The deadline results from the first day after the invasion and its end is due to a methodological issue, the ending of the period for delivering this article.

In theoretical terms, this study is analysed within the framework of the social constructivism inside symbolic interactionism, as a comprehensive theory in the phenomenological strand of sociology (Schutz, 1972) integrated in postmodern thought (Berger & Luckmann, 2016; Moscovici, 2001), which demonstrates the lack of impartiality of the media within the outline of the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 2016). More particularly, the theoretical approach bases on media representations within the social symbols (Moscovici, 2001). This means that media operate within a social system in which the values of *Good* and *Evil* serve as limits in the construction of interpretation. That is why it is expected that the Brazilian newspapers under analysis offer the same perspective on the Ukrainian war – after all, they share the same Western values. Therefore, they do not mirror reality since journalistic objectivity is already seen as a myth. What the media do is representations of facts based on the socio-cultural, political-economic, and historical values of the societies in which they are embedded. The notion of objectivity has been replaced by that of honesty, in such a way that the

media cannot be objective, but must be honest, that is, report the facts as journalists understand them.

Accordingly, the methodological option followed in this research adopts a post-positivist character that seeks to merge discursive elements with political practices to discover the different faces of reality – understood as "*constructed rather than natural, because its material dimension is real only to the extent that it is associated with the meanings ascribed to it by ideas shared by social actors*" (Patrício, 2019, pp. 339-340).

Therefore, the method used is content analysis, which aims to produce new understandings about phenomena and discourses. Phenomenology considers that the presence of the individual is the fundamental experience, and that all knowledge comes from the reality experienced by the subject. It concludes that this reality is constructed from the different viewpoints and questionings of individuals, and highlights the importance of language, which besides being the form of expression of the different perceptions of phenomena and the revelation of constructed realities is at the centre of the subject's construction of reality, from which comes the importance of discourse (Hartley, 2013).

Considering this, the aim of this research is to analyse how the three main Brazilian newspapers have covered the war in Ukraine and simultaneously assess whether this war has served as an excuse for the Bolsonaro Administration to protect the agribusiness, a sector that has strong ties with Russia.

To do so, this article is divided into two great chapters. The first is dedicated to the approach of the questions of the constructions of reality within which the media representations gain relevance. The second perspectives the content analysis of the front-pages, editorials, and simple news of the three newspapers chosen to be the foundations of this article.

Sociology of Knowledge

Based on the theoretical framework stated in the introduction, it can be affirmed that news are social constructions of reality and *socialisation* only happens when the individual perceives the stimulus, that is, the stimulus only becomes real when it is interpreted by a symbolic system of meaning and, therefore, assimilated (Bergen & Luckmann, 2016).

Media Representations

In the media, the observation of ontological reality is unavailable to the professional – the journalist – because of his primary quality as a human being. It is impossible for him to transcribe faithfully the facts extracted from reality but rather to reconstruct them through perception – understood as a process of deconstruction –, cognitive organisation, and discursive expression. The media end up being subjective, because of the subjectivity that characterises the journalist-individual (Morin, 1984).

Hence, social representations and their importance in communication processes resurface and can be justified through the processes of "*objectification*" and "*anchoring*" (Hartley, 2013, p. 115).

"*Objectification*" refers to the way in which the constituent elements of representation are organised and the route through which these elements acquire materiality and become expressions of a reality assumed as natural. "*Anchoring*" leads back to the process of assimilation of new objects in function of items already integrated by the cognitive system of journalist-individuals. This means that the knowledge acquired by previous experiences are the networks of meanings – anchors – that enable meaning to be attributed to new knowledge, behaviours, people, groups, etc. They thus constitute a code of interpretation that gives shape to the unknown, to the unforeseen (Hartley, 2013, pp. 115-116).

Through objectification and anchoring, journalist-individuals make reality intelligible and for it to become comprehensible it must be contextualised and framed, which forces them into a subjective action of interpretation. However, journalistic news as a discourse of apprehension and expression of a real world are not a reflection of totally objective ontological reality but rather a social construction.

Media as Reality Makers

As an alternative to the objective approach, constructivist media theory emerges focusing on the processes of selection and interpretation that embody representation and for which news are constructions (Halloran et al., 1970; Cohen & Young, 1981; Molotch & Lester, 2017; Schlesinger, 1992; 1993; Hall et al., 2013).

Rather than reflecting society, the media construct and shape events by providing information that substitutes real referents for others. Thus, media affect the way individuals think, believe, and act by constructing the collective imaginary (Anderson, 2021), that is, which holds the community together and helps a people define themselves as a culture as opposed to *outsiders*, those who express indifference towards the media-constructed event. Simultaneously, media also transform events. The mere fact that someone has a camera directed at him/her changes his/her behaviour, therefore changing the event (O' Shaughnessy, 2016).

Indeed, the facts are shredded by the media and because of a work of decontextualization they are never the ones that emerged from reality. In tendency, and in a rigorous information such as the one the three Brazilian newspapers under analysis have provided about the war in Ukraine, the facts are only like those that occurred. The angle, the ordering, and the hierarchy of the facts always produce a distortion. Decontextualization is always followed by a re-contextualisation operated by someone who was at the scene of the event on behalf of someone else – either the public or the journalist himself who receives the agency's takes. That is why it is said that there is *first-hand news*, *second-hand news*, *third-hand news* and so on (Fontcuberta, 1999).

The important thing to remember is that the objective and impartial view of reality deserves a great deal of scepticism. All media representations come from

individuals, who by their characteristic of being human present different ideologies, beliefs, and the characteristic of the social group to which they belong. Therefore, the veracity represented is evaluated according to the proximity of the journalist-individual's vision to the belief system, that is, the frame of references in which he/she is enclosed and thus within which his/her community sees and understands the world. This is the reason why the journalist-individual represents constructs of the mediated reality. In this sense, the news cover, select, and divulge themes considered of interest or importance for the individuals of that community. They present themselves to that community as a reflection of the interests and values of the journalist-individual and not as a pure reflection of the events themselves (Tuchman, 1978).

This means that the *agenda-setting* of the media makes it explicit that the media, in disseminating symbolic content present individuals with a list of the issues on which they consider it important to have an opinion. This is the *news making*, that is, the conception of mediated reality (Wolf, 2001).

The hundreds of events from around the world that arrive daily in the newsrooms of newspapers do not all become public (Cruz, 2014), rather it is necessary to do informative selection work based on notability criteria built into media style books. To this work, Wolf (2001) presents the evaluative topics in the definition of the media agenda: the importance of the event, its interest, availability, product, criteria relative to the audience, criteria relative to the competition, and criteria relative to the media.

The war in Ukraine satisfies these criteria in *Folha de São Paulo*, *O Globo*, and *O Estado de São Paulo*. It was reported every day from February to September 2022, but at the beginning, the event made the headlines of the three newspapers and by the end of the period, it made up news of lesser relevance given the durability and lack of novelty of the event. Indeed, for the symbolic representation of the news object the journalist-individual condenses the event and focuses his attention only on the aspects he considers to be the most important of that event, that is, the salient aspects of the event in a process of *highlighting* so that everything that does not seem important, new, or dramatic is left out (Cruz, 2014).

For all the above, it can be stated that journalism is a hermeneutic activity (Cornu, 1999). Firstly, because current events are characterized by an opacity that gives them multiple meanings allowing various interpretations of reality, which leads agenda-setting to limit the work of journalists because it restricts their view. Secondly, because the technical differences used by journalists influence what they look for. Thirdly and finally, because any journalistic interpretation of reality requires a subject of interpretation on the object interpreted and this interpretation cannot overcome the cultural and ideological differences of the subject of interpretation.

This means that the value of objectivity itself can never be fully satisfied. Therefore, journalistic objectivity in the absolute sense is an illusion, which does not mean that information professionals do not have it as a reference. The desire for objectivity on the part of the journalist is essential.

Analysis of the Newspapers – Content Analysis

Front-Pages

The three Brazilian newspapers under analysis have not been favourable to the war in Ukraine despite Brazil being a member of BRICS. This informal group has not provided considerable historical, cultural, religious, nor economic ties between Brazil and Russia. Moreover, this war is not of great interest to the Brazilian public opinion since there are no strong ties between Brazil and Russia nor Ukraine. The Brazilian public opinion's interest in this war is extremely related to the economic effects the war has provoked worldwide and in Brazil, namely the inflation and the drop of the nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), as well as the protection former President Bolsonaro gave to the agribusiness. Besides, Bolsonaro had gone to greet Putin a few days before the invasion in veiled support of the Russian position, which earned him criticism from the national media.

For all three newspapers, the beginning of Russia's military action in Ukraine was the cover story of February 24th 2022, highlighted by *Folha de São Paulo* (2022a) and *O Globo* (2022a), which announced that Putin had ordered the military action in the neighbouring country after the escalation of tension in Eastern Europe, and a small note by *O Estado de São Paulo*, which reported that Ukraine gathered troops and asked for weapons, while China criticized the US sanctions (*O Estado de São Paulo*, 2022a).

On the following day, 25th February, the war in Ukraine was the front-page of all three newspapers, which reported it with great prominence and impressive large images to draw readers' attention.

If in *Folha de São Paulo* the event was the front-page of the newspaper from February 25 to March 9, in *O Globo* the same happened from February 25 to March 12, being the one of the three newspapers that made the Ukrainian war its front-page for longer, since *O Estadão* only made the event its front-page from February 25 to March 6.

Indeed, on March 10, *Folha* was already sharing the front-page with another article (*Folha de São Paulo*, 2022c), which means that it was giving it less relevance due to its lack of novelty. In *O Globo*, the cover was divided with other articles from March 13, and on March 16 the event was no longer included on the cover at all. The war in Ukraine was moved to the so-called "world", a section in which Brazilian newspapers divide the news to cover international events. On the front-page of *O Globo* that day were several articles highlighting the defence of a tax on fuel by the Minister of Mines and Energy (*O Globo*, 2022b). Meanwhile, *Folha* of 11th March also featured another story on the front-page: the increase in the price of petrol, which threatened the economy while news about the war in Ukraine moved to the *world* section (*Folha de São Paulo*, 2022b). Nevertheless, a story that made the front page of that newspaper still on March was related to agribusiness and to former President Bolsonaro's initiatives with Putin (*Folha*, 2022d). In *O Estadão*, the front-page was divided between the war in Ukraine and other articles much earlier on 7th March (*O Estado de São Paulo*, 2022b), while the

following day the war in Ukraine was no longer on the front-page of this newspaper, rather in section *world* (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022c).

This means that in the period under study the war in Ukraine was covered by *Folha de São Paulo* daily, that is 203 times. From that total, 14 issues related to the war had been covered on the front-page which, in all cases included a picture or more attracting the interest of the readers. The rest of the times, the event has been covered as a simple news. *O Globo* has also dealt with the war in Ukraine daily, this is 203 times. From that total, 19 issues related to the war had been covered on the front-page also including a picture to attract the interest of the readers. Likewise, the rest of the times the event has been covered as a simple news integrated in the section *world*. *O Estadão* has also covered the war in Ukraine daily that is 203 times. Nevertheless, the frequency with which this event has appeared on the front-page has been significantly lower compared to the other newspapers only 11 times.

Editorials

It is also interesting to consider that the three newspapers taken for analysis have a broader global perspective in all their themes when compared to others. Hence, they provide their readers with editorials on the war in Ukraine, which give a more informative international assessment of the issue.

Indeed, *Folha de São Paulo* presents three editorials in the period pre-invasion all of which about the visit Bolsonaro did to Russia to greet Putin and his reasons (Folha de São Paulo, 2022h). The first of 15th January mentions that the Toronto Star's centre-left editorial questioned the reason for the former Brazilian government's *sudden* change of position attributing it to the recognition of its failure. The second editorial entitled "*Brazil goes to war*" is from 12th February (Folha de São Paulo, 2022h) and on 22nd February *Folha* launched the editorial "*Joe Biden's sanctions make Rubble and Moscow Stock Exchange rise*" (Folha de São Paulo, 2022g), while in the period under study only five editorials were launched, all of them in March (Folha de São Paulo, 2022f).

All the editorials that *O Globo* launched fell within the period under study. The first of them, from 22nd May and entitled "*War in Ukraine Brings Agricultural Opportunity to Brazil*" (O Globo, 2022h) is concerned with Brazilian interests. Exactly one month later in June *O Globo* published an editorial (O Globo, 2022g) clearly adopting a Western perspective on the approach to the war, "*The West Should Agree on Its Goals in Ukraine*". On the 25th of August, another editorial was launched, "*Effects of Ukraine's War Will Continue to Be Felt*" (O Globo, 2022f) in which it is mentioned that Russia discards the diplomatic solution to the conflict with high human, economic, and geopolitical costs. By the 1st and 15th of September, *O Globo* published two editorials (O Globo, 2022d, e) entitled "*Successful Ukrainian Counteroffensive Changes Putin's Perspective on the War*", and "*Expansion of the Ukrainian War is a Scenario that Doesn't Interest Anyone*" considering the retaking of territories by Ukraine. From the newspaper's point of view, this fact has redrawn the map of the conflict and imposed a political and diplomatic dilemma on Russia. This view was amply reinforced by the *Folha de*

São Paulo news item "*Current phase of Ukraine war should make Xi rethink alliance with Putin*" published in September, according to which the Chinese leader might have doubts about his relationship with Putin because of the Ukrainian advances in the war (Folha de São Paulo, 2002e). Already outside the period under study, but very close, on the 19th of September, *O Globo* published a very interesting editorial on the war in Ukraine. It was "*Liberalism is the main target of Russian aggression against Ukraine*" (O Globo, 2022c) and refers that the conflict had opposed liberal democracies to Putin's *illiberalism* dealing, therefore, with a war of antagonistic values, which will define the future of humankind.

Immediately after the invasion, *O Estadão* launched an editorial in its February 25th edition (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022f) related to Brazilian interests, which mentioned that Russian military action in Ukraine affected world markets and according to the newspaper the price of a barrel of oil had exceeded US\$ 100 and the Stock Exchanges had closed the 24th in low. The Brazilian B3 had fallen to 0.37% and the Dollar had rose 2.02% against the Real to R\$ 5.10. For the Brazilian economists, the conflict should increase inflation and slow down Brazil's GDP. Two other editorials published in the same edition of *O Estado de São Paulo* were "*Russia exhibits its new military power*" (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022d) and "*The West must show how much Putin has stumbled*" (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022e). In the February 26th edition, the newspaper published two interesting editorials, the first by Paul Krugman and the second by Fareed Zakaria (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022g, h).

In its February 28th edition, *O Estadão* once again defended Brazilian interests in the editorial "*Food prices should rise in Brazil as effect of the conflict*" (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022 i) mentioning that the higher cost of commodities such as wheat and corn produced in Russia and Ukraine was causing a negative impact on Brazilian inflation. This theme was returned to in the March 3rd edition, with another cover story (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022k) referring again that the conflict had caused the rise in oil, wheat, and corn prices just a week after it began. Still, in this issue there was space for an editorial by William Wack (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022l), although in the March 1st issue there was an editorial on "*Putin's three big mistakes so far*" (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022j).

In the March 4th issue, two very pertinent editorials took up once again national interests. The first by Fernando Gabeira (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022m) and the second by Eliane Cantanhede (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022n). Pedro Doria came with a third editorial: "*Zelenski is a social media Churchill*" (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022o).

Lastly, the March 6th issue similarly featured editorials on the war in Ukraine, all of which also related to the defence of Brazilian interests affected by this war. In this scope, it is worth considering Eliane Cantanhede's editorial (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022p) criticizing the former President's stance towards the conflict, J.B. Guzzo questioning whether "*Could Brazil have done something different in Ukraine?*" (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022q) and Celso Ning "*War increases uncertainty in the economy*" (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022r).

The proliferation of editorials in the three newspapers analysed shows that all of them have a broad global perspective in the entirety of their themes since editorials provide a more informative international approach of the war in Ukraine.

Simple News

Considering that the three newspapers published an average of four news items on the subject and covered the war in Ukraine between the 25th of February and the 15th of September, it is perceptible that they have editors who consider that the subject is relevant enough for the Brazilian public to have an opinion on that. Because of this event, somehow the three newspapers stopped publishing about other national and international information to be able to publish about the war in Ukraine.

Furthermore, the narrative that the three newspapers constructed is a representation of reality very close to each other since of the 203 times they covered the war in Ukraine in the period considered all news items followed the same narrative pattern through the processes of objectification and anchoring (Hartley, 2013, p. 115). This means that these news became intelligible and comprehensible reality because they were recontextualised and framed, which forced them into a subjective action of interpretation as a discourse of social construction.

Despite the similar content, each newspaper used titles, stories, and images that they probably believed would grab readers' attention more.

On the other hand, in all three newspapers expressions such as "*West*", "*military aid to Ukraine*", "*unity of the international community vis-à-vis Russia*", "*sanctions against Russia*", "*less dependence on Russian gas*", "*companies leaving Russia*", "*Russian crimes against humanity*" and most recently "*Ukrainian counter-offensive*" abound, which clearly demonstrates that the three newspapers under analysis adopt the Western point of view as they share Western values and are integrated into Western society.

More particularly the whole newspapers echo mostly the US stance, while expressing an anti-Russian attitude. Indeed, they totally and unequivocally criticized Russia for the invasion of Ukraine and continue to criticize Russia's and especially Putin's actions towards Ukraine. On the other hand, they praise Zelensky, even comparing him to Churchill in an editorial already mentioned (O Estado de São Paulo, 2022o). Notwithstanding, the Estado de São Paulo published a story on March 12 calling attention to the beginning of the post-American era, due to the growing challenge to the legitimacy of US leadership. According to the report, this contestation is occurring on the part of states such as Russia or China, or on the part of self-styled states or other powers, such as the Islamic State (O Estado de São Paulo, 2002s).

Likewise, *Folha*, *O Globo*, and *O Estadão* were prolix in the period under study in expressions such as "*increase in the price of oil*", "*increase in inflation in Brazil*", "*increase in the price of corn and wheat*", as well as in "*defence of the interests of agribusiness*" pointing to former President Bolsonaro's use of war as an excuse to defend this sector. This seems normal as the war in Ukraine is too

distant from Brazil, so it seems natural that the country should be concerned about the effects that such a distant event has on its citizens.

Also, for that reason, in the full coverage of the issue, the Russian-Ukraine conflict has been more neutral and less controversial than other areas of political conflict in Brazil. Undeniably, the three newspapers analysed draw their readership from a wide ideological spectrum with little ambiguous opinions about the war since all of them share Western values and with these values, they build their own narratives about the war in Ukraine.

Indeed, they all have shared a US stance about the war while have also demonstrated a national interest approach on the issue especially about the effects of the war on the country's inflation, the drop of its GDP, and the former President's stance on the defence of the agribusiness.

Final Remarks

Through what has been said above it is possible to state that journalist-individuals from *Folha*, *O Globo*, and *O Estadão* have not been able to transcribe faithfully the facts extracted from the war in Ukraine but rather to reconstruct them through their perceptions, cognitive organisations, and discursive expressions. This means that all three newspapers analyses are subjective, because their journalists are subjective as well (Morin, 1984).

Indeed, through the processes of objectification and anchoring the journalist-individuals from the three newspapers have perceptions that are based on a framework of values.

This set of values is present in all journalistic tasks about the war in Ukraine: selecting the event of the war in Ukraine and not another, understanding only some aspects of that event, conferring a certain ordering to the selected elements, giving them the form of news, choosing the words to give it public visibility. It becomes evident the constructivist media theory, which focus on the processes of selection and interpretation that embody representation and for which news are constructions, like what happens on the front-pages, editorials, and simple news of *Folha*, *O Globo*, and *O Estadão*.

Rather than reflecting the war in Ukraine the three newspapers construct and shape that event by providing information that substitutes real references for others. Thus, these newspapers affect the way individuals think, believe, and act by constructing the collective imaginary (Anderson, 2021), that is, which holds the community together and helps the Brazilian people define themselves as a culture as opposed to *outsiders*, those who express indifference towards the media-constructed event.

In this sense, this article has answered its starting question since the main Brazilian newspapers have covered the war in Ukraine through their front-pages, editorials, and simple news as constructions of reality according to the Western values. They share amongst them those Western values and they are integrated in the Western society. Therefore, besides being constructions of reality, they clearly adopt a US and Western stance, while criticizing the Russian point of view.

Furthermore, the three newspapers show undoubtedly an anti-Bolsonaro stand since the former President had shown a veiled support for Russia and the war had provoked in Brazil strong negative economic effects, namely the increase of the inflation and the drop of the national GDP, as well as the protection former President Bolsonaro paid to the sector of the agribusiness. Besides, it is interesting to note the three newspapers have strongly condemned the Russian invasion of Ukraine, while criticizing Bolsonaro's political behaviour towards the agribusiness. Two interesting conclusions since the three newspapers analysed are the ones with the biggest Brazilian circulation and cover a wide range of the national political ideology.

Considering this, the aim of this research has also been reached now that it has been analysed how *Folha*, *O Globo*, and *O Estadão* have looked at the war in Ukraine and it has been concluded that this war has served as an excuse for Bolsonaro to protect the agribusiness, a sector that has strong traditional ties with Russia.

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