

## The extended checklist<sup>1</sup>

Escalation-oriented aspects:		De-escalation-oriented aspects:	
<b>1. Conceptualization of the (conflict-) situation</b>			
E 1	Polarization (or respectively support of war) & confrontationalist (or respectively military) logic	D 1	Query of polarization (or respectively warfare) & confrontationalist (or respectively military) logic
<b>E 1.1</b>	Zero-sum or at least <b>win-lose orientation</b> (construction of conflict as a <b>competitive process</b> ); conflict resolution is regarded as impossible; agreements are interpreted as "giving in"; compromise is devaluated	<b>D 1.1</b>	<b>Win-win orientation</b> (or at least query of win-lose) and/ or presentation of structures for possible cooperation (construction of the conflict as a <b>cooperative process</b> )
(I.1.2.a)	Announcement of and/or willingness for confrontationalist behavior on side of the respective party	(I.1.2 b)	Announcement of and/or willingness for cooperative behavior on side of the respective party
(I.1.3 a)	<b>Win-lose model:</b>  <b>Demands for or agreement with</b> - use of pressure (e.g. boycott, resistance) - relentlessness (e.g. denial of negotiation, denial of compromises, sticking to fixed positions) - military actions - escalation - "blackmail" (e.g. stressing the dependence of own peaceful or cooperative steps on good behavior of the opponent)  <b>as well as argumentation for</b> necessity effectivity morality appropriateness <b>of these things on side of the respective party</b>	(I.1.3 b)	<b>Query or refusal of win-lose model:</b>  <b>Rejecton of</b> - use of pressure (e.g. boycotts, resistance) - relentlessness (e.g. denial of negotiation, denial of compromises) - military actions - escalation - "blackmail" (e.g. stressing the dependence of own peaceful or cooperative steps on good behavior of the opponent)  <b>as well as argumentation against</b> necessity effectivity morality appropriateness <b>of these things on side of the respective party</b>
<b>E 1.2</b>	Emphasis on <b>military values</b>  e.g. - unconditional solidarity - heroism - braveness - downgrading of peaceful values - being aside reality - loyalty - refusal of cooperative values	<b>D 1.2</b>	<b>Cooperative values</b> and/or questioning of militarism and military values  e.g. - living together peacefully - non-violent conflict resolution - refusal of military values - renunciation of revenge
<b>E 1.3</b>	Designation of <b>(military) force as an appropriate means of conflict resolution</b> and/or downgrading of doubt in its appropriateness	<b>D 1.3</b>	Emphasis on <b>negative effects of (military) force</b> and/or questioning its appropriateness
<b>E 1.4</b>	Refutation, questioning or <b>downgrading of peaceful alternatives</b> ; focus on violence reduces the prospect of peace and/or obstacles to peace are emphasized or portrayed as overwhelming	<b>D 1.4</b>	Perspectives on, demands for and/or agreement with <b>peaceful alternatives</b>
(I.1.4 a)	<b>Query of or rejection of the win-win model</b>  <b>Rejection of</b> - peaceful/cooperative steps (negotiation, mediation, diplomatic or political steps) - making offers (compromise, making the first step, diplomatic acknowledgement..) - deescalation (renunciation of military actions in favour of economic measures)  <b>as well as argumentation against</b> necessity effectivity morality appropriateness <b>of these things on side of the respective party</b>	(I.1.4 b)	<b>Win-win model</b>  <b>Demands for:</b> - peaceful/cooperative steps (negotiation, mediation, diplomatic or political steps) - making offers (compromise, making the first step, diplomatic acknowledgement..) - deescalation (renunciation of military actions in favour of economic measures)  <b>as well as argumentation for</b> necessity effectivity morality appropriateness <b>of these things on side of the respective party</b>

Escalation-oriented aspects:		De-escalation-oriented aspects:	
<b>E 1.5</b>	Emphasis on <b>antagonism</b>	<b>D 1.5</b>	Emphasis on openness to <b>all-sides</b> or at least abandonment of dividing the protagonists into two camps
<b>E 1.6</b> (I.1.5 a)	<b>Query of democracy</b> Questioning, rejection or argumentation against - processes and principles of democracy (eg. questioning of democratic majority decisions) - constitutional principles - reign of law working off violation of human rights or war crimes	<b>D 1.6</b> (I.1.5 b)	<b>Support of democracy</b> Demands for, emphasis on and argumentation for - processes and principles of democracy (eg. democratic majority decisions) - constitutional principles - reign of law working off violation of human rights or war crimes

## 2. Evaluation of the war parties' rights and intentions

<b>E 2</b>	Antagonism	<b>D 2</b>	Balance
<b>E 2.1</b> (I.2.1 a)	<b>Demonization</b> of the opponent, denial of <b>his rights</b> and/or demonization of <b>his intentions</b>  <b>Denial of</b> - rights and/or "good intentions" - imputation of "bad intentions" (demonization of intentions) <b>critical evaluation</b> of intentions, <b>scepticism against</b> underlying intentions, or <b>imputation</b> of lack of seriousness of the intentions of the respective party	<b>D 2.1</b> (I.2.1 b)	Respecting of <b>opponent's rights</b> and/or unbiased description of <b>his intentions</b>  <b>Mentioning, unbiased depiction and or acknowledgement of</b> - rights and/or "good intentions" - denial of "bad" intentions <b>emphasis on the seriousness</b> of the intentions of the respective party
<b>E 2.2</b>	Idealization of one's <b>own rights and intentions</b>	<b>D 2.2</b>	Realistic and self-critical evaluation of one's <b>own rights and intentions</b>
<b>E 2.3</b> (I.2.2 a)	Denial of <b>common interests</b> or emphasis on incompatibility of interests, culture etc.  <b>Rejection or denial of</b> - common rights - common intentions - subordinate goals - possibilities of cooperation <b>of the opponent party (singular) or of the various parties (plural) or of their validity for the opponent party (singular)</b>	<b>D 2.3</b> (I.2.2 b)	Emphasis on <b>common interests</b> and/or description of the (concrete) benefits that both sides could gain from ending war and/or confrontation  <b>Unbiased depiction, mentioning of or emphasizing</b> - common rights - common intentions - subordinate goals - possibilities of cooperation <b>of the various parties (plural))</b>
<b>E 2.4</b> (I.2.3 a)	<b>Query of the readiness for democratic change in Serbia and Montenegro</b>  <b>Questioning of the readiness to</b> - overcome the Milosevic-Regime, - to build an independent judicative - to build a democratic administration - to install freedom of the press - to work off war crimes and violations of human rights - to prosecute (governmental) criminality	<b>D 2.4</b> (I.2.3 b)	<b>Mentioning or acknowledgement of for democratic change in Serbia and Montenegro</b>  <b>Mentioning or acknowledgement of the readiness to</b> - overcome the Milosevic-Regime, - to build an independent judicative - to build a democratic administration - to install freedom of the press - to work off war crimes and violations of human rights - to prosecute (governmental) criminality

<b>Escalation-oriented aspects:</b>	<b>De-escalation-oriented aspects:</b>
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### 3. Evaluation of the war parties' actions

E 3	Confrontation	D 3	Cooperation
<b>E 3.0</b> (I.1.1.a)	<p><b>Reports about</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- use of pressure (e.g. boycotts, resistance)</li> <li>- relentlessness (e.g. denial of negotiations, denial of compromises)</li> <li>- military actions</li> <li>- escalation</li> <li>- "blackmail" (e.g. making own peaceful or cooperative steps dependent on well-behavior of the opponent)</li> </ul> <p>or about</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ending of cooperative behavior (turning away from each other)</li> </ul> <p><b>on the side of the respective party</b></p>	<b>D 3.0</b> (I.1.1.b)	<p><b>Reports about</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- cooperative steps (openness to negotiation, offer of negotiations, withdrawal, concrete steps of supporting each other...)</li> <li>- making offers (compromise, making the first step, diplomatic acknowledgement..)</li> <li>- deescalation (e.g. renunciation of military actions in favour of economic measures)</li> </ul> <p>or about</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- ending of confrontative behavior</li> </ul> <p><b>on the side of the respective party</b></p>
<b>E 3.1</b> (I.3.1 a)	<p>Justification of one's <b>own side's actions</b> and underlining of one's own correctness</p> <p>-----</p> <p>demonstration of uniformity and /or downgrading differences within one's own party</p>	<b>D 3.1</b> (I.3.1 b)	<p>Self-critical evaluation of one's <b>own side's actions</b></p> <p>-----</p> <p>focus on plurality of behavioral options within one's own party</p>
<b>E 3.2</b> (I.3.1 b)	<p>Condemnation of the <b>opponent's actions</b></p> <p>-----</p> <p>disregarding of <b>plurality</b> on "their" side</p>	<b>D 3.2</b> (I.3.1 a)	<p>Less confrontative or unbiased evaluation of the <b>opponent's actions</b></p> <p>-----</p> <p>focus on <b>plurality</b> of "their" behavioral options</p>
<b>E 3.3</b> (I.3.3 a)	<p><b>Antagonistic behavior</b> is emphasized, possibilities for cooperation or <b>common gain</b> from ending the war are denied, cooperation between conflict parties is not taken serious and/or</p> <p>-----</p> <p>the role of <b>third parties</b> is interpreted more as <b>exerting</b> (moral, economic or military) <b>pressure</b> (win-lose) than as mediating (win-win)</p>	<b>D 3.3</b> (I.3.3 b)	<p>(Supporting) description of <b>cooperative behavior</b>, of possibilities for cooperation or <b>common gain</b> from ending the war and/or</p> <p>-----</p> <p>the role of <b>third parties</b> is interpreted as <b>mediating</b> (win-win) rather than exerting (moral, economic or military) pressure (win-lose)</p>
<b>E 3.4</b>	<b>Blocking</b> of the democratic and constitutional developments	<b>D 3.4</b>	<b>Support/fostering</b> of democratic and constitutional developments
<b>E 3.5</b> (I.3.4 a)	<p><b>Violation of democratic principles</b></p> <p>Actions of the respective party that violate</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- processes and principles of democracy (e.g. ignorance of democratic majority decisions or the results of elections etc.),</li> <li>- certain constitutional rights and/or</li> <li>- to the constitutional state in general</li> </ul>	<b>D 3.5</b> (I.3.4 b)	<p><b>Obeying to to democratic principles</b></p> <p>Actions of the respective party that support or obey</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- to processes and principles of democracy (e.g. to democratic majority decisions of the results of elections etc.),</li> <li>- to certain constitutional rights and/or</li> <li>- to the constitutional state in general</li> </ul>
<b>E 3.6</b> (I.3.5 a)	<b>Justification</b> or downgrading of of human rights violations or war crimes	<b>D 3.6</b> (I.3.5 b)	<b>Defense</b> of human rights and/or prosecution of war crimes
<b>E 3.7</b>	<b>Downgrading</b> of cooperative or democratic behaviour, defense of human rights and/or of prosecution of war crimes (eg. as being enforced by some party outside)	<b>D 3.7</b>	<b>Appreciation</b> of cooperative/democratic behaviour, defense of human rights and/or of the prosecution of war crimes

<b>Escalation-oriented aspects:</b>	<b>De-escalation-oriented aspects:</b>
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<b>4. Emotional involvement in the conflict</b>
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E 4	Destructive emotions	D 4	Constructive emotions
<b>E 4.1</b>	A focus on "their" viciousness and dangerousness & accentuation of "our" strength create a <b>balance between threat and confidence</b> which promotes willingness to engage in struggle (or war)	<b>D 4.1</b> (I.4.2 b)	Unbiased assessment of "their" intentions & behavior and emphasis on the price of victory <b>deconstruct threat and confidence</b> and promote "our" willingness for peace
<b>E 4.2</b> (I.4.4 a)	<b>Mistrust</b> of the opponent and/or neutral third parties who try to mediate in the conflict <b>is encouraged</b> (e.g. by depicting the party as untrustworthy, prone to violating treaties, etc.	<b>D 4.2</b>	Respect for "their" rights and unbiased assessment of "their" behavior <b>reduce mistrust</b>
<b>E 4.3</b> (I.3.2 a)	A focus on "their" atrocities and "our" justness transforms outrage at war into <b>outrage at the enemy</b>	<b>D 4.3</b> (I.3.2 b)	Empathy with both sides victims, emphasis on both sides casualties and unbiased evaluation of both sides behavior redirects <b>outrage at the war</b>
<b>E 4.4</b>  (I.4.1 a) (I.4.1 b)	Interpunctuation of the conflict, demonization of "their" intentions and/or justification of "our" behavior <b>jeopardize empathy</b> with "their" situation: if they behave well, they have nothing to fear  Interpunctuation of the conflict means that one Party ("their side") is depicted as the one who <b>attacks</b> , while the other ("our side") is only reacting to the aggression and accordingly in a situation of <b>defense</b> .	<b>D 4.4</b>	<b>Empathy</b> for "their" situation opens up a new perspective: if we can find a solution (together) that takes all sides' needs into account, reconciliation will become possible  Deconstruction of the interpunctuation of the conflict
<b>E 4.5</b> (I.4.4 a)	Denial of possibilities for cooperation and/or blaming the opponent for the failure of cooperation <b>jeopardizes rebuilding of trust</b>	<b>D 4.5</b> (I.4.4 b)	Emphasis on cooperative experiences (also from the past) <b>rebuilds trust</b>
<b>E 4.6</b> (I.4.3 a)	<b>Exaggeration of threat</b>  Reporting, how strongly the own side feels threatened by the other and/or how justified these feelings are	<b>D 4.6</b> (I.4.3 b)	<b>Reduction of threat</b>  Downgrading of exaggeration of threat to the own side and/or of the dangerousness of the opponent

<b>5. Social identification and personal entanglement (Distance / dehumanization vs. social identification)</b>
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E 5	Confrontative social commitment	D 5	Cooperative social commitment
<b>E 5.1</b>	Humanizes " <b>our</b> " <b>political or military leaders</b> and/or dehumanizes " <b>their</b> " <b>leaders</b>	<b>D 5.1</b>	Refrains from identification with <b>escalation-oriented</b> political or military leaders on all sides
<b>E 5.2</b>	Humanizes " <b>our</b> " <b>soldiers</b> and/or dehumanizes " <b>their</b> " <b>soldiers</b>	<b>D 5.2</b>	Refrains from identification with <b>military personnel</b> on all sides
<b>E 5.3</b>	Humanizes " <b>our</b> " <b>victims</b> and/or ignores or dehumanizes " <b>their</b> " <b>victims</b>	<b>D 5.3</b>	Humanizes or at least respects <b>victims of the war on all sides</b>
<b>E 5.4</b>	Humanizes " <b>our</b> " <b>civil population</b> for its loyalty and sacrifice and/or ignores or dehumanizes " <b>their</b> " civil population for its nationalism etc	<b>D 5.4</b>	Humanizes or at least <b>respects members of civil society</b> and/or refrains from identification with supporters of the war on all sides
<b>E 5.5</b>	Humanizes " <b>their</b> " <b>anti-war opposition</b> and/or ignores or dehumanizes " <b>our</b> " <b>anti-war opposition</b>	<b>D 5.5</b>	Humanizes or at least <b>respects those who strive for a peaceful conflict resolution on all sides</b>
<b>E 5.6</b>	<b>Devalorizes positive (emotional) reactions</b> to the prospect of peace	<b>D 5.6</b>	<b>Emphasizes positive (emotional) reactions</b> to the prospect of peace

<b>Escalation-oriented aspects:</b>	<b>De-escalation-oriented aspects:</b>
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<b>6. Motivational logic</b>
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E 6	Motivation for war and/or restrictions of democracy	D 6	Motivation for peace and/or democracy
<b>E 6.1</b>	<b>War as a bulwark against destruction</b> and/or peace as a risk	<b>D 6.1</b>	<b>Peace as an alternative to destruction</b> and/or war as a risk
<b>E 6.2</b>	<b>War as a bridge to a brighter future</b> and/or peace as a risk	<b>D 6.2</b>	<b>Peace as a bridge to a brighter future</b> and/or war as a risk
<b>E 6.3</b>	Democracy as a risk and/or <b>restrictions of democracy as a bulwark against destruction</b>	<b>D 6.3</b>	<b>Democracy as a bulwark against destruction</b> and/or restrictions of democracy as a risk
<b>E 6.4</b>	Democracy as a risk and/or <b>restrictions of democracy as a bridge to a brighter future</b>	<b>D 6.4</b>	<b>Democracy as a bridge to a brighter future</b> and/or restrictions of democracy as a risk

<b>7. Over-all direction of the article</b>
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E 7	Elite-oriented, propaganda orientation	D 7	People-oriented, truth orientation
<b>E 7.1</b>	Exposes the <b>untruthfulness of the "other"</b> and supports one's own side's lies and attempts to hush something up	<b>D 7.1</b>	Exposes the <b>untruthfulness on any side</b> and exposes any attempts to hush something up
<b>E 7.2</b>	Background reports, reports about culture, etc, which contribute to the <b>devaluation of the opponent</b> and/or create an enemy image	<b>D 7.2</b>	Background reports, reports about culture etc, which contribute to a <b>better understanding of the opponent</b>
<b>E 7.3</b>	"Voice to the <b>elites</b> "	<b>D 7.3</b>	"Voice to the <b>voiceless</b> "

<b>Aspects that are neither escalation-oriented nor de-escalation-oriented per se:</b>
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<b>8. Evaluation of the present overall situation and/or its prospects for the future</b>
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<b>A 8</b>	<b>Negative evaluation</b>	<b>B 8</b>	<b>Positive evaluation</b>
<b>A 8.1</b>	<b>Negative</b> evaluation concerning the present general <b>material situation</b> (cf. reconstruction)	<b>B 8.1</b>	<b>Positive</b> evaluation concerning the present general <b>material situation</b> (cf. reconstruction)
<b>A 8.2</b>	<b>Negative</b> evaluation concerning the present <b>ideological situation</b> (cf. reconciliation and democratization)	<b>B 8.2</b>	<b>Positive</b> evaluation concerning the present <b>ideological situation</b> (cf. reconciliation and democratization)
<b>A 8.3</b>	<b>Negative</b> evaluation concerning the <b>prospects</b> of the <b>material</b> development (cf. reconstruction)	<b>B 8.3</b>	<b>Positive</b> evaluation concerning the <b>prospects</b> of the <b>material</b> development (cf. reconstruction)
<b>A 8.4</b>	<b>Negative</b> evaluation concerning the <b>prospects</b> of the <b>ideological</b> development (cf. reconciliation and democratization)	<b>B 8.4</b>	<b>Positive</b> evaluation concerning the <b>prospects</b> of the <b>ideological</b> development (cf. reconciliation and democratization)

<b>Manipulative propaganda techniques:</b>
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<b>Harmonization of referential levels</b>	
1	Repetition of the same content on different referential levels
2	Circularity of the "proof"
<b>Double bind communication</b>	
1	Inherent contradictions
2	Emotional involvement with both contradictory messages
<b>Two-sided messages</b>	
1	Anticipation of criticism
2	Rejection of the anticipated information

**Notes:**

1 Numbers in brackets are cross references to the variables of the extended quantitative checklist.