The coverage of *Russian-Ukrainian* Conflict in Mainstream Media of *UK*

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Abstract

This research article intends to find the role western media played in the conflict between *Russia* and *Ukraine*. For this reason, the research methodology opted would be qualitative content analysis. As a matter of fact, the stance of *Russian* and *Ukraine* bears pivot importance in the findings and the response of media on the stance is the main motive behind this research. Evidently, *UK* is the main party in this conflict as it has been supporting *Ukraine* openly and is one of the main members of *NATO* and *EU*. Undoubtedly, the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* are two prominent newspapers of *UK*, and have covered the conflict very closely but the role they played is to be determined that whether they contributed in escalation of the conflict or the de-escalation under the light of Peace Journalism

Theory, also if they followed *UK's* foreign policy under media conformity. Nevertheless, the conflict between *Russia* and *Ukraine* (west) is the off shoot of many blunders and miss-handled events of past and even present. That is, it all starts back in 1917, with the *Bolshevik* revolution and continues till date. Meanwhile, the recent triggered escalation of tension followed by full blown war between the two countries came out as a result of two main factors, First, being the main issue, the inclusion of *Ukraine* in *NATO* and *EU,* and second, the *Nord Stream 2* gas pipeline. To mention here, these would be the events to be the center of our focus throughout the research. In totality, *Guardian* is going with War / Violence approach while supporting *UK's* foreign policy and in contrast *Daily Mail* is adhered to Peace / Conflict Journalism while supporting *UK's* foreign policy as well.

Key Words: Conflict, *NATO, WARSAW Pact, Nord Stream II Pipeline, Guardian, Daily Mail,* Peace Journalism, Media Conformity.

1. Introduction

The long laid *Russian* and *Ukrainian* conflict of Geopolitics and ethnicity turned in to a full-blown war between the two countries when on February 24th, 2022, *Russian President Vladmir Putin* started Military

attacks and invasion on *Ukraine* While officially declaring and terming it as Special Military Operation to demilitarize *Ukraine.* (Vox, 2022, 0:04)

Without reservation, this war isn't the outcome of few days long dispute, it rather is the result of long delayed conflict and mishandled events of past. To mention here, in this war *Ukraine* has got the nominal support of *America* and *NATO* mainly in form of Indirect Military aid and the medical aid while on the other side *Russia* has got the back of *China.*

Indeed, the biggest military buildup in Europe since World War II resulted as *Russia's* invasion of *Ukraine*. (Bilefsky et al., 2022) Since *Russia* claims the credits of modern *Ukraine* and *Putin* is of the opinion that *Ukraine* pertains to *Russia,* and that they are one nation, not merely close neighbors. When in fact, *Ukraine* undoubtedly is a sovereign country with its unique linguistics, cultural and political structure. (Vox, 2022, 1:10) Despite the fact that two countries do share history, Ukraine has put up a valiant fight for its own identity. *Ukraine* remained the part of *Russian* empire in 18th and 19th centuries. However, The *Russian* Revolution in 1917 ended the *Russian* Empire, and a civil war broke out in the area. Consequently, shortly after briefly breaking free of *Russian* domination, one of the newly formed *Soviet Union's* first republics was *Ukraine*. (Vox, 2022, 1:50)

Evidently, *Soviet Union* brutally expanded its control in its neighboring regions. And by the end of World War II, it had also created a sphere of influence in almost half of th*e Europe.* While the west or more specifically the *United States of America* had its influence in other rest half of the *Europe*. As a result, essentially dividing *Europe*, making two world orders and marking the beginning of *Cold war*. This significant ideological gap between the two sides contributed to mistrust and hostility. For this reason, these spheres quickly became militarized alliance. Resultantly, The *US, UK, France, Canada*, and other allies establish the *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)* in 1949 with the pledge to defend one another from any foreign invasion.. Not only this but also, Later, the *WARSAW Pact Alliance* under *Soviet* leadership was created. *Europe* stayed in this state for a decade before one side ultimately fell, the disintegration of *USSR* (1989-1991). Republics like Ukraine started claiming independence from Soviet rule in late 1991. Because of this, 15 sovereign nations emerged from the dissolution of the Soviet Union, including a greatly weaker Russia. On the contrary, *NATO* was still going strong, in fact expanding. Till 2004 *NATO* reached the boarder of *Russia.* (Vox, 2022, 3:27)

What made *Ukraine* the prime target of *Russia*? Its urge to join the *NATO* and *EU. (Sabbagh et al., 2022)* Hence, it all sparked up back in

march, 2014 when first, Russia seized Ukraine's Crimean Peninsula, legalized and acknowledged it through a referendum. Then, insurgents backed by *Russia* took control of the *Donbas* regions of *Donetsk* and *Luhansk* and declared them independent of *Ukraine*. Over 14,000 people have died and approximately 2 million people have been displaced as a result of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia since then. (Vox, 2022, 5:05)

Undoubtedly, *UK* is the main party in the conflict as it has been supporting the *Ukraine* openly and also providing military and medical aid. And also, it's the main member of *NATO* and *EU*. The emphasis are the two main newspapers of *UK*, the *Daily Mail* which is mainly considered to be the *Right wing* and the *Guardian* which is mostly considered as *left wing. (Smith, 2017)*

1.1. Background

It all gets traced back to early 90s, when the *Russia* was under complete control of *Tsar Nicholas II*, mainly from the 1905 revolution, when the discounted poor after industrialization and being modernized protested for

the equal right and salaries like that of wealthy aristocrats. But *Nichollas* rather opened fire at them which caused a massacre. (Learn To Lead With Aisha, 2020, 6:00)

And then, *World War I,* when the *Russia* being *in Allied powers* went into the war against *Central Powers* led by *Germany.* (Learn To Lead With Ayesha, 2020, 10:36) That is, the *Russia's* ethnic sentiments towards *Serbia* and its alliance with the *Allied powers* that pushed it to the war. (Learn To Lead With Ayesha, 2020, 13:02) Indeed, the indulgence of *Russia* in *World War I* was a sheer failure, as it had to face brutal killings of 2 million *Russians* and harsh defeat.

Moreover, *Tsar* acquiring the personal control of the military, royal family and *Rasputin's* influence, rumors of his illicit relation with the royal family and last but not the least the food shortages and the growing political opposition resulted in the revolution of 1917 in the *Petrograd*, the capital of Imperial *Russia*. Unfortunately, *Nichollas II,* again repeated the same mistake of opening fire at the protestants by the army. However, this time many refused to open fire and instead joined the protest. (Simple History, 2017, 1:05) Indeed, this pressure ensured the end of *Nichollas's* autocracy and a new government was installed that was run by the *Petrograd Soviet* and the *Provisional Government*, two political groups. Still, due to its failure

to deliver on its pledge to provide land and food, the *Provisional Government* was not very well-liked. (Simple History, 2017, 1:40)

Resultantly, there came the *Bolshevik* Revolution. As a matter of fact, *Vladmir Lenin* and the *Bolsheviks* were influenced by the *karl Marx's* Marxist theory, though *Karl Marx* was a German Philosopher but *Russians* being more moderate adopted his theory before *Germans*. Without a doubt, The *Bolsheviks,* led by *Vladmir Lenin,* were a subset of the *Marxist Russian Democratic Party* that later evolved into *the Communist Party* of the *Soviet Union*. His simple catchphrase was "Peace, Bread, and Land" which appealed the people of *Soviet Petrograd.* Further, he also said that all powers belonged to the *Soviets,* implying that the powers would be seized in the name of the Soviet. (Simple History, 2017, 2:17)

Ergo, in November or according to *Julian* October 1917, against *Provisional Government the Bolsheviks* under *Lenin's* leadership launched a *Coup d'état,* they invaded winter palace and imprisoned the *Provisional Government,* taking over control of *Russia's* government. And, by signing "*The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk*," *Russia* ended the war with *Germany* after the *Bolshevik revolution.* (Simple History, 2017, 2:40)

However, during this course of Civil war *Ukraine* got independence from *Russian* rule for a very short period of time. Soon after *Soviet Union*

got stable it started massive expansion in its surrounding regions. (Vox, 2022, 1:45)

At the same time *World War II* broke in 1939, this war was between the *capitalist*, *communist* and the *Fascist* and *Nazis* ideologies. Undoubtedly, in the beginning *Germany* was roaring and over running the opponent armies but soon *USSR, US, UK* and *France* curbed this military mobilization and by the end of *World War II, USSR* had almost gained control over half of the *Europe* engulfing half of the *Germany* in it. While the rest half of the *Europe was under control of United States of America*, clearly creating two world orders and kick starting the era of *Cold war*. The *USSR* imposed a communist administration on their side, which they could easily manage. On the contrary, the west developed in to democracies with capitalist economies. Indeed, this sheer ideological divide developed a sense of insecurity among both the sides. (Vox, 2022, 2:21)

Hence, these tensions and distrust resulted into military alliances. Without wasting any time in 1949, *America* along with *UK, France, Canada* and other countries of *EU*, formed *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),* and made sure to defend one another against any outside invasion. (Vox, 2022, 2:37) Few years after *USSR* along with *Poland, Hungary* and other countries joined *Soviet*-led *WARSAW Pact alliance.* And to defend

themselves against the other, each side established an army. (Vox, 2022, 2:45)

Consequently, *Europe* remained this way for decades until the *USSR* finally disintegrated from 1989 to 1991. To mention here, one popular event of this time, "*The Fall of Berlin Wall 1989",* when the long-stood wall of *Berlin* that divided the *Germany* into two was brought to the earth.

Republics like *Ukraine* declared their independence from *Soviet* rule by the end of 1991. The *USSR* broke up into 15 sovereign nations, including *Kazakhstan*, *Uzbekistan*, *Turkmenistan*, *Ukraine*, *Belarus*, a significantly weaker *Russia* and other countries. At last, the long-ruled *Soviet* sphere of influence vanished as most of the countries over threw their communist governments. Not only this but also this was considered as the official end of *Cold War.* (Vox, 2022, 3:09)

In contrast, on the other side of *Europe*, the alliance was still strong and even growing. despite the verbal promise of non-expansion which is often claimed by *Russia* and rejected by *NATO.* And why not? *Poland, Hungary,* and the *Czech Republic* joined *NATO* in 1999. And again, seven more nations joined in 2004. As a result, *NATO* entered the former *Soviet Union's* area of influence and closer to *Russian* boarder leaving behind only three

post-*soviet* countries, *Belarus, Ukraine and Georgia.* While *Ukraine* and *Georgia* have been long wanting to join *NATO.* (Vox, 2022, 3:46)

Ukraine's urge to join *NATO* and *EU* is the foremost reason of *Russian* aggression towards itself. (Sabbagh et al., 2022) Added to that, *Russia's* recognition of the two self-declared republics prompted *Germany's* chancellor, *Olaf Scholz,* to halt the *Nord Stream 2* gas pipeline's certification procedure on February 22. (Sabbagh et al., 2022)

The 11 billion dollar pipeline, owned by *Russia's* state-backed energy company *Gazprom*, was first announced in 2015 and was constructed to transport gas from western *Siberia* to *Lubmin* in *Germany's* northeast, doubling the *Nord Stream 1 pipeline's* current capacity and providing inexpensive heating for 26 million *German* homes. *The most contentious energy project in Europe, Nord Stream 2, traveled along the Baltic Sea's bottom rather than via Ukraine, where gas has traditionally been transported. It was opposed by the EU, the US, and Ukraine on the grounds that it increased Europe's reliance on Russian energy, barred Ukraine from paying transit fees, and made it more susceptible to Russian invasion..* (Sabbagh et al., 2022)

1.2. Problem statement

In any case, *UK* is the main stake holder in the conflict as it has been openly condemning the *Russian* invasion on *Ukraine* as well as providing indirect Military and Medical aid. Not only this but also, it is the main and prominent member of *EU* and *NATO*. Adding to this, undoubtedly, the *Daily Mail* and the *Guardian* are two prominent newspapers of *UK*, and have covered the conflict very closely but the role they played is to be determined. Therefore, the emphasis is on *UK's* official stance on the whole scenario and whether the media contributed in escalation of the conflict or the de-escalation, also if it followed *UK's* foreign policy.

1.3. Significance

Perhaps there are no semblant researches conducted on this topic and hence this area needs to be discovered and analyzed in order to determine the current imbroglio of media role in *UK*.

1.4.Objectives

The focus of research will be on following objectives:

i. To contextualize traces of Peace Journalism Theory and Media Conformity Theory in the Op-ed of the *Guardian.*

ii. To analyze publications of the *Daily Mail* in light of Peace Journalism Theory and Media Conformity Theory.

iii. To find which newspaper followed *UK's* stance.

1.5. Research Questions

The questions based on above mentioned objectives will be:

i. How the *Guardian* have contributed to conflict escalation or de-escalation and if it followed *UK'*s foreign policy or not?

ii. How the *Daily Mail* have contributed to conflict escalation or de-escalation and if it followed the foreign policy of *UK or not?*

iii. Which of the two Newspapers have followed *UK'*s stance?

1.6. Limitations

No study is perfect or covers every angle that may be considered. Consequently, the following are the primary research limitations:

The lack of resources and the challenges in obtaining them. As a result, this study will not offer enough justifications for the opposing ideas (offered by authors, reviewers, and experts).

The time constraint, a very important factor to which we are bound, will ultimately limit the inquiry and the discussion of many hypotheses,

therefore the primary emphasis will be on responding to the already posed questions.

2. Literature Review

Russia's Stance

In any event, *Russia* have kept a very firm stance towards its Special Military Operation against *Ukraine*.

"I discussed the underlying threats that irresponsible Western politicians regularly, brutally, and unceremoniously generate for *Russia* each year as well as our top anxieties and concerns. I'm talking about how *NATO* is expanding to the east, bringing its military bases closer to the Russian border.

Despite all of that, we made yet another attempt in December 2021 to come to an understanding with the *US* and its allies over the fundamentals of *European* security and *NATO's* non-expansion. Our attempts were futile. The *US* hasn't modified its stance at all. It does not see the need to concur with *Russia* on a crucial issue for us. While pursuing its own goals, the *United States* is ignoring our interests." (Address by the *President* of the *Russian* Federation, 2022)

"The Russian President stressed that the Russian Armed Forces do not target or pose a threat to civilians or their property. Ukrainian nationalists are the threat, employing citizens as human shields, placing offensive weapons in residential areas on purpose, and escalating their shelling of Donbass cities." (Telephone Conversation with *President* of *France Emmanuel Macron,* 2022)

***UK's* stance**

In any case, *UK* has managed to adopt a very firm stance against the military invasion of *Russia* in *Ukraine.* Not only *UK* has condemned the *Russian* Military mobilization but it has continued to provide *Ukraine* with Military and health aid. Moreover, since the invasion, PM of *UK, Boris Johnson,* has continued to support *Ukrainian President Zelenskyy* as well as visited *Kyiv, Ukraine.*

"I applaud the bravery with which you are coping and the manner you have persisted in coping despite a savage assault on your liberties.

Putin keeps up his disgusting and illegal drive to seize and retain Ukrainian soil in the south and the east of your magnificent country.

The UK will use every legal means at our disposal to hold them accountable for these war crimes. Ukraine will be liberated." (*Prime Minister*'s Office, 10 Downing Street, 2022)

2.1. Theoretical Frame work

The theoretical framework of this research is based on Peace Journalism Theory and Media Conformity theory.

2.1.1. Peace Journalism Theory

When editors and reporters decide what to publish and how to report it, opportunities are created for society at large to think about and value non-violent answers to conflict. This is known as peace journalism. (*Jake Lynch*, 2005).

The original theory was coined by Johan Galtung as shown in the figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1	
Peace/conflict journalism	**War/violence journalism**
I. Peace/Conflict-oriented	**I. War/Violence-oriented**

• Explore conflict formation; x parties, y goals, z issues; general "win-win" orientation **• Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture** **• Making conflicts transparent** **• Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding** **• See conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity** **• Humanization of all sides; more so the worse the weapons** **• Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs** **• Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)**	**Focus on conflict arena, two parties, one goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation** **• Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone** **• Making wars opaque/secret** **• "Us-them" journalism, propaganda, voice, for "us"** **• See "them" as the problem, focus on who prevails in war** **• Dehumanization of "them"; more so the worse the weapon** **• Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting** **• Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)**

II. Truth-oriented	**II. Propaganda-oriented**
• Expose untruths on all sides **• Uncover all cover-ups**	**• Expose "their" untruths** **• Help "our" cover-ups/lies**
III. People-oriented	**III. Elite-oriented**
• Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged, children, giving voice to the voiceless **• Give name to all evil-doers** **• Focus on people peacemakers**	**• Focus on "our" suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece** **• Give name of their evil-doer** **• Focus on elite peacemakers**
IV. Solution-oriented	**IV. Victory-oriented**
• Peace = non-violence + creativity **• Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war** **• Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society** **• Aftermath: resolution, re-construction, reconciliation**	**• Peace = victory + ceasefire** **• Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand** **• Focus on treaty, institution the controlled society** **• Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up**

(Galtung, 2003)

2.1.2. Media Conformity Theory

Media Conformity Theory states that in times of war or conflict, media houses have to follow the foreign policy of their country.

There have been several researches conducted using Media Conformity Theory to determine whether the media houses of different countries acted according their foreign policies or gone against them during previous conflicts and wars. Indeed, the text of their literature review and findings is helpful in understanding Media Conformity Theory and is mentioned here.

According to *Fishman* (1980), under a democratic system, the media is free to operate without interference from the executive branch and to follow democratic principles. However, during the crisis, both the *US* and *UK* mass media typically followed the foreign policy of their respective governments. *Khan* (2007) contends that *American* mass media generally follow the foreign policy of their governments in his work titled "The image of *Pakistan* in prestige American newspaper editorials: A test of the media conformity theory." In his study, *Largio* (2004) makes the case that The *New York Times'* coverage of the *Iraq* War significantly shapes *US* foreign policy's attitude toward the conflict. Zheng (2006) investigated how three prestigious *US* newspapers covered the 2003 *Iraq* War and found that there was a high level of media homogeneity. (Khan & Safder, 2010)

It had been discovered that during an international crisis, the media in the US and UK typically followed their foreign policy guidelines (Bennet, 1993; Carpenter, 1995; Friel & Falk, 2004; Kumar, 2006; Reese & Lewis, 2009); and political leaders steered public opinion in line with their foreign policy positions by using mass media (Bennet, 1993; Carpenter, 1995; Friel & Falk, 2004; Kumar, 2006; Reese & Lewis, 2009). (Hill, 1996; Morgenthau, 1978). The US media used militaristic themes to support Bush's military policy from 9/11 to the invasion of Afghanistan. The "America Strikes Back" and "America's New War" frames were among them (Kellner, 2007). Kaufmann (2004) highlighted that during the 9/11 attacks, the mainstream media, newspapers, and magazines gave the Bush administration a platform to spread their assertions that Saddam. (Safdar et al., 2014)

In the case of the British press, earlier research argued that government sources impacted news agendas in addition to providing primary information about the subject (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994). In Britain, it was customary for the media to avoid criticizing the government during times of war. This technique was strictly followed during the 2003 war of Iraq; newspapers that took positions in opposition were muted. Even the politicians received criticism (Murray, Parry, Robinson, & Goddard, 2008).

According to Franks (2003), the British Army pressured the media to slant the facts in favor of war during the "War on Terror. (Safdar et al., 2014)

2.2. Hypothesis

The hypothesis based on the background and literature review of this research is that after application of qualitative data analysis of Newspapers of *UK*, it may be expected that the *Guardian* generally being considered as *Left-wing* newspaper of *UK* would staunchly be the representative of *UK'*s stance and peace oriented while the *Daily Mail* being considered right-wing might not be so good representative of *UK's* stance and war oriented.

3. Research Methodology / Design

To analyze the newspapers, qualitative content analysis is being employed, A comprehensive strategy, qualitative research incorporates discovery. Another definition of qualitative research is an unfolding model that takes place in a natural environment and allows the researcher to gain a high level of information via close involvement in the actual events. (Creswell, 1994).

Moreover, this research is designed to dig out the contributions and role played in either escalation or de-escalation of conflict under the light of Peace Journalism Theory. Furthermore, by incorporating Media Conformity

Theory it would be found out if the Newspapers remained in lined with *UK's* foreign policy or not.

3.1. Data Collection tools

Data was collected from the official websites of two newspapers, the *Guardian* and the *Daily Mail*.

3.2. Samples

The samples of research are:

i. The *Guardian.*

ii. The *Daily Mail.*

3.3. Units of analysis

First it was intended to only analyze the Op-eds of both the newspapers but lately it was discovered that Op-eds of the *Daily Mail* were not available on their website or anywhere else. For this reason, News, Articles and other articles of *the Daily Mail* and Editorials of the *Guardian* is used as unit of analysis.

3.4. Data analysis tools

Qualitative research analysis and the Peace Journalism Theory as well as Media Conformity Theory would also be used as data analysis tool to investigate the findings and deduce results.

4. Data analysis

Under this chapter the News, Articles and Editorial of Newspapers of *UK* would be analyzed.

4.1. The *Guardian*

Surprisingly the *Guardian* of *UK* had not published any opinion 10 to 15 days prior the *Russian* Military mobilization. But just 2 days before it came up with a very bold opinion opposing *Russia* and criticizing only *Putin'*s policies. Indeed, this reflects the reactive approach of guardian which in fact portrays a War / Violence journalism.

"Along with making ridiculous accusations against *Ukraine* for "genocide," Mr. *Putin* painted the nation as a *Russian* invention with no historical right to exist and chillingly warned that if *Kyiv* did not stop the violence *Moscow* accuses it of, "all responsibility for the possible continuation of the bloodshed will be entirely on the conscience of the regime ruling on the territory of *Ukraine*." He has advocated that *Kyiv* should give up its desire to join *NATO* and declare its neutrality as the best

course of action for ending the current conflict. Or else, were the unspoken words. He has expressed his intense displeasure with the fall of the Soviet Union and wants to restore *Russian* dominance in the area. His ire at *NATO's* growth is coupled with disdain for a weakened." (Editorial, 2022)

While, it is clear that in this Op-ed the *Guardian* has supported *UK's* foreign policy which reflects that it worked according Media Conformity Theory.

Without any exception the *Guardian* is just describing the one-sided story by portraying the conflict opaque and time and again condemning *Putin* and even using harsh words against him which clearly shows its war / violence journalism approach and its Elite-orientation.

"*Putin* is behaving obnoxiously. By obtaining what he desires at any cost to human life, he is endangering the global order. Tens of thousands of refugees are trying to enter eastern *Europe*, creating a humanitarian crisis.

A criminal error based on the notion that might makes right has been made by *Russia* in its attempt to impose a military solution to the political issue of *Ukraine*. Although Mr. *Putin* called the *Ukrainian* administration "a band of drug addicts and neo-Nazis," despite *Moscow's* claims to the contrary, it is clear that *Moscow* is not serious." (Editorial, 2022b)

And again, this editorial showed how *Guardian* is being the solely representative of *UK's* stance.

Despite the fact that *UK's* stance is staunch against *Russia,* but a newspaper has to be somewhat neutral, but the *Guardian* clearly has got no way to talk about the other side of the story or even the background of the conflict. When it come to the *Ukrainian* conflict guardian has not left a single chance of harshly thrashing *Russia,* meaningfully or un meaningfully which portrays its victory-orientation of war/ violence journalism.

"Even if conflict can be stopped, severe economic repercussions could lead to political upheaval soon. *African* and *Middle Eastern* nations are concerned about rising wheat costs. Despite pushing a *Sino-Russian* friendship with "no limitations," *China* chose to abstain from voting on the *UN security council* resolution condemning the war rather than veto it. Although it seeks to modify the international system rather than undermine it, it sees advantages in strengthening multipolarity and serving as a diversion for a *US* unfriendly to *Beijing*. Given that *Moscow* has a strong connection with both *Beijing* and *Islamabad*, New *Delhi* won't jeopardize it. *Mr. Putin* has also strengthened ties with *Turkey*, *Brazil*, and other nations." (Editorial, 2022c)

Interestingly, here *Guardian* intelligently cleared the stance of its country being in line with *Ukraine* and against *Russia* by bringing is the response of other countries on the conflict.

Again, *Guardian* targeted *China* for being the friend of *Russia* and targeted its statement where *China* condemned *NATO* of its expansion. Contrary, it never focused on how the expansion of *NATO* is a threat to *Russia* or how *EU* is supporting this expansion which clearly is its Propaganda-orientation of war / violence journalism.

"Not out of love, but out of convenience, the two parties have a relationship. In the past, the nations have both been allies and rivals. Similar to *Mr. Putin, Mr. Xi* also pursues domestic repression while pursuing a more assertive foreign policy, and both men support their regimes by emphasizing the greatness of their respective countries in history. The main factor that binds them together is their shared perception that the *US* and the wider west pose their greatest threat. While *China* may not have welcomed the invasion, it has consistently attributed the situation to *US* and *NATO* intrusion, criticized *Washington's Indo-Pacific* strategy as an effort to establish a regional version of *NATO*, and criticized "illegal" sanctions against *Russia*". (Editorial, 2022d)

Without any exception, the sheer ignorance of *Guardian* towards the consequences of expansion of *NATO* for *Russia* makes it clear how supportive approach is being used for *UK's* foreign policy.

This is how it is, when on one side *Guardian* left no soft corner for *Russia*, but for *Ukraine* it couldn't get less lenient and portrayed each of *Volodymyr Zelensky's* move as a face saver for *Ukraine* and its sovereignty while still portrayed *Putin* as villain which in itself shows its war / violence orientation.

"Volodymyr Zelensky, the president of Ukraine, has chosen a two-pronged approach to dealing with *Moscow*. While hardening his military position by requesting more *NATO* tanks, missiles, and even fighter fighters, he is softening his diplomatic position by telling *Russian* journalists that *Ukraine* might be neutral and compromise over the status of the eastern *Donbas* region as part of a peace settlement. *Mr. Zelensky* wants to preserve as much independence and sovereignty as he can. He merits our assistance. The discussions don't seem to be being taken as seriously by *Mr. Putin* as they are by *Ukraine*. This could be the reason behind *Mr. Zelensky's* request for a face-to-face meeting with *Mr. Putin*". (Editorial, 2022e)

Undoubtedly, *Guardian* followed the foot prints of *UK's* PM *Boris Johnson* by extending support to *Ukraine* and its president by supporting its

moves and strategies. Hence, pertaining itself as the representative of *UK's* foreign policy.

4.2. The *Daily Mail*

There are no Op-eds of *Daily Mail* available and not even authentic or relatable news or article, almost everything is vague.

Still, it is tried in best way possible to analyze the available and the most relatable news of *Daily Mail* to serve the purpose.

Perhaps after analyzing the available content, the *Daily Mail* seems to be more of pessimistic nature as it has not used any harsh words in its news. For this reason, it can be considered to have opted peace / conflict journalism approach.

"*Zelensky* applauds *Boris* for fending off the *Tories'* attempt at a coup, saying he is "extremely glad" that *Ukraine* has retained a "essential ally".

During the conflict with *Russia*, the two presidents developed a "bromance," frequently talking on the phone.

Mr. Johnson was one of the first world leaders to travel to *Kiev* when the crisis broke out, and the *UK* has been a significant source of finance and weapons." (Tapsfield, 2022)

Without any reservation, *Daily Mail* remained in line with the foreign policy of *UK* which is what Media Conformity requires from media during times of war or conflict.

Without any exception, *Daily Mail*, is appearing to be unbiased in its reporting and not reflecting any inclination towards any side and just describing facts while keeping objectivity intact which shows its Truth-orientation of Peace / conflict journalism.

"Furious *Russian* ambassador storms out of *UN* meeting as *EU* chief accuses *Putin* of sparking global food crisis by blockading *Ukraine's* ports.

Vassily Nebenzia got up and walked out of the summit in *New York* on Monday night after *EU* Council President *Charles Michel* accused *'Russia* alone' of being responsible for a looming global food crisis. He also accused *Russia* of stealing grain from areas its troops occupy 'while shifting the blame of others', calling this 'cowardly' and 'propaganda, pure and simple'.

The *Security Council* meeting was intended to center on sexual assault during the *Ukraine* War, however due to *Russia's* invasion and the After *EU* Council *President Charles Michel* claimed that "*Russia* alone" was to responsible for the looming global food catastrophe on Monday night, *Vassily Nebenzia* left the meeting in *New York.* Additionally, he called this "cowardly" and "clear and simple propaganda," accusing *Russia* of stealing

grain from areas where its forces are stationed while "transferring the burden of others." repercussions, such as worldwide food shortages and rising costs, were also raised." (Pleasance, 2022)

Despite, playing equal still it has not appeared to have gone against the foreign policy ok *UK*, which in fact is a great strategy.

Again, *Daily Mail* reflected peace orientation in its news when it made both the sides party in the news and not used any visible offensive remark for either of the sides.

"A *Ukrainian* shooter kills a *Russian* Wagner mercenary known as "The Executioner" for killing prisoners of war, dealing another blow to *Putin's* invasion.

On June 5, according to *Russian* media, a sniper opened fire on *Vladimir Andonov*, 44, an expert in sabotage and reconnaissance who belonged to the mysterious Wagner Group, near *Kharkiv*.

Russians referred to *Andonov* as "*Vakha*" or "the volunteer from Buryatia" after the region he was from, but Ukrainians referred to him as "the executioner" because of the killings he assisted in carrying out during Russia's initial invasion of their nation in 2014.

He was a member of a group that 'liberated' the *Donbas* village of *Logvinovo* in the early months of 2015; three *Ukrainian* inmates were later

discovered dead in a shallow grave, one of them having been shot in the eye." (Pleasance, 2022)

Though, keeping the peace journalism intact, *Daily Mail* has not even gone against Media Conformity. That is, it has not gone against *UK's* foreign policy.

It is evident that *Daily Mail* tried in best way possible to adhere to the peace journalism as it gave voice to the sufferers of both sides which even portrays its people orientation.

"*Russian* oligarch asks *EU* to release £225 million superyacht that was previously the subject of *Britain's* largest divorce settlement after it was impounded due to the conflict in *Ukraine.*

Farkhad Akhmedov, 66, has filed legal documents in *Brussels* seeking for the sanctions imposed on him due to the conflict in *Ukraine* to be repealed in order to obtain the return of the £225 million superyacht *MV Luna*, which is now being detained by *Germany*. The *EU* has sanctioned *Mr. Akhmedov* due to his connections to the *Russian* government, and *German* officials have refused to transfer it to him.

The *EU* claims that Mr. *Akhmedov*, who amassed his $1 billion fortune by owning stock in a *Siberian* gas business, receives assistance from the

Russian government while simultaneously funding *Vladimir Putin's* ongoing conflict.

However, according to court documents submitted on *Mr. Akhmedov's* behalf on Friday last week, he "is no longer working in the energy sector... and has not been for several years". (Pleasance, 2022a)

Even in this news where *Daily Mail* involved *EU*, but smoothly kept a way out from going against the foreign policy of *UK*.

5. Conclusion

After the qualitative content analysis of *The Guardian* and *The Daily Mail* under light of Peace Journalism Theory and Media Conformity Theory while considering the stance and foreign policy of *UK*, it can be deduced that the Hypothesis given before data analysis has been failed.

5.1. Results

As, according to the hypothesis, based on literature review and the background, considering it the right-wing, *The Guardian* was expected to follow peace journalism and Media Conformity by following *UK*'s stance and foreign policy. Though it did act upon Media Conformity by adhering

to *UK's* foreign policy and stance which was clearly evident in its Op-ed, but at no event it followed peace journalism. Rather, it bluntly used harsh statements, criticized and even referred *Putin as* thug. Furthermore, it at not level recalled the history to which all the current conflict is based. Deliberately, it only highlighted the violence to portray *Russia* as the only evil. While, portrayed *Ukraine* as innocent while completely ignoring its urge to be included in *NATO* against the will of *Russia*, which in fact is the root cause of all the fuzz.

Added, The *Daily Mail* turned completely opposite to what was predicted in hypothesis based on background and literature review considering it right-wing. Not as predicted, it did follow the stance and foreign policy of *UK* keeping up with media conformity while keeping peace journalism intact as well, again not as predicted. That is, in its news it remained decent while even referring to *Russian* aggression which reflected solution orientation. Not only this but also it uncovered both sides of the stories keeping conflict transparent. Last but not the least, even people orientation was coined in the new of *Daily Mail.*

5.2. Findings

In nutshell, these are the findings:

i. The *Guardian's* approach during *Ukrainian* conflict which is still not over yet, is War / Violence oriented journalism.

ii. The *Guardian* undoubtedly followed *UK's* stance and its foreign policy regarding *Ukrainian* conflict.

iii. In the on-going *Ukrainian* conflict *Daily Mail* is for sure following Peace / Conflict oriented Journalism.

iv. The *Daily Mail* without any doubt confined with the stance and foreign policy of *UK* referring to *Ukrainian* Conflict.

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