

FRAMING ANALYSIS OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RUSSIA AND UKRAINE IN CHINA DAILY AND THE GUARDIAN

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Abstract. The China Daily and The Guardian were selected as the subjects of this study, and qualitative content analysis was used to examine how the Russia-Ukraine war was covered in the media between February 17 and March 16, 2022. 417 news stories about the war between Russia and Ukraine were collected for the study from the China Daily and The Guardian newspapers, and framing analyses were applied to each of these articles. According to the findings of the study, The Guardian primarily used the human-interest framework, while the China Daily primarily used the responsibility framework. Furthermore, the study found that over time, the interest of the China Daily in Russia-Ukraine conflict-related reports has decreased, while the decline at The Guardian has not been significant. Both China Daily and The Guardian relied on citations with government officials as their main sources of information when using the news source. This study describes how newspapers representing China and the West reported the Russia-Ukraine crisis in terms of differences in framing, reporting trends, and news source patterns between the China Daily and The Guardian in a content analysis of news coverage of the conflict in 2022. The study specifically examines China Daily and The Guardian as examples of East-West news media, examines their reporting frameworks, reporting trends, and news sourcing patterns, and then compiles a summary of the specific ways in which the East-West news media function in their coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Keywords: *news framing, conflict, Russia, Ukraine, China daily, the guardian*

Introduction

Russian troops, under the authorisation of its president, Vladimir Putin began a special military operation in Ukraine on 24th February 2022. At the same time, the president of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, announced that Kiev had decided to cut off relations with Russia, which led to an increase in the level of tension in Ukraine (Qi, 2022). The conflict that broke out between Russia and Ukraine may have its roots in a tumultuous historical background, the struggle for national identity, and the struggle for political power. The recent events have thrown light not just on Russia's relationship with Ukraine, but also on Russia's relationships to Europe (Averre and Wolczuk, 2016). According to Haukkala (2015), the evolution of Russian-European ties in the decades following the end of the Cold War may be roughly broken down into three distinct periods. The first phase, which lasted from 1992 to 1994, was characterized by a general sense of optimism and the establishment of cooperative structures. The second phase, which lasted from 1994 to 2000, was characterized by a period of greater tension. The beginning of the third period, which began in 2000 and is known as the Putin era, began on a more optimistic note; however, rather than leading to a genuine partnership, it turned into growing mutual disappointment and even disillusionment, which culminated in the conflict in Ukraine in 2014. The escalation of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is rooted in long-standing geopolitical tensions, particularly concerning the expansion of the European Union (EU) and NATO, which Russia perceives as a threat to its national

security (Kapoor, 2021). In response to EU sanctions, Russia imposed countersanctions, and tensions intensified as Russia demanded security guarantees, including Ukraine's exclusion from NATO and the withdrawal of NATO forces from post-1997 member states. These demands were rejected, exacerbating mistrust. Although the Minsk agreements aimed to reduce conflict, clashes persisted in the Donbass region (Ellyatt, 2021), and the build-up of Russian troops near Ukraine in 2021 further raised international alarm (Hua, 2022a).

In late 2021, Russia issued a list of contentious demands to defuse the crisis, which were dismissed by the West. On February 21, 2022, President Vladimir Putin officially recognized the independence of Donetsk and Luhansk and deployed troops under the pretext of peacekeeping (Osborn and Antonov, 2022). This marked a dramatic turning point, culminating in Russias full-scale invasion of Ukraine on February 24, 2022, under the guise of a special military operation (Qi, 2022). These events demonstrate that the war did not emerge in isolation but from a complex historical and geopolitical context involving regional security concerns, national interests, and broader international dynamics. This conflict has attracted global media attention. International news coverage plays a crucial role in shaping global understanding of the Russia-Ukraine war, as media organizations interpret events through different political and regional lenses. Due to varying political and economic contexts, news reporting even on major global conflicts is rarely entirely objective, and influential media outlets often shape public opinion at both the public and elite levels. Therefore, examining respected international news sources is essential for gaining a comprehensive view of the conflict. This study focuses on how internationally recognized media, which are widely trusted and have significant reach, present the war, acknowledging that their content selection and framing are shaped by political environments and audience expectations (IFJ, 2020). Given the need to include diverse global perspectives, both Eastern and Western media outlets are examined. China, as an emerging global power with expanding influence, is represented in this study by China Daily, the countrys leading English-language newspaper, which plays a key role in shaping Chinas image abroad (TWB, 2022; Hartig, 2017). Meanwhile, The Guardian is selected to represent the Western perspective due to its historical influence, large readership, and reputation as the UKs most widely read news publisher (GNM Press Office, 2020). By comparing these outlets, this study aims to uncover differences in framing, emphasis, and narrative surrounding the Russia-Ukraine war across geopolitical divides.

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has become a prominent global issue, receiving extensive coverage across international media platforms and drawing significant academic interest in the study of conflict reporting. Historically, conflict has been a central focus in media studies, with researchers often analyzing how wars are portrayed by news outlets in countries not directly involved in the conflict, as these outlets are presumed to offer more neutral perspectives. However, media reporting is rarely free from the influence of political, economic, and social contexts, which shape journalistic framing and editorial choices. As a result, the same event can be presented with markedly different narratives, depending on the media outlet's national or ideological affiliations. This divergence is evident in the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine war, particularly between Chinese and Western media. For example, while Al Jazeera reported the Bucha massacre with strong condemnation and graphic detail (Mirovalev, 2022), China's Xinhua provided a more reserved account and avoided directly blaming Russia (Hua, 2022b). Despite the high volume of coverage, there is still limited

scholarly work analyzing how this conflict has been framed by media in 2022. Therefore, a comparative qualitative study examining Chinese and Western English-language newspapers is needed to provide deeper insights into how geopolitical perspectives shape media narratives and influence public understanding of the war. The samples were taken from China Daily and The Guardian between the dates of 17 February 2022 and 16 March 2022, that is, between one week before the start of the conflict and the third week of the conflict. The dates range from one week before the conflict to the third week of the conflict. Examining news framing, reporting trends, and news sources are the three components that were investigated in order to provide responses to the concerns raised in this study. It aims to achieve the following objectives: (i) To investigate the similarities and differences of frame reporting between the China Daily and The Guardian; (ii) To examine the reporting trend between the China Daily and The Guardian; and (iii) To analysis the news sourcing patterns in the conflict reporting between the China Daily and The Guardian. This study contributes theoretically by linking Chinese and Western media systems through the lens of agenda-setting in conflict reporting, and practically by offering insights for improving news framing and reader understanding in future coverage of international conflicts like the Russia-Ukraine war.

Literature review

Russia-Ukraine conflict developments

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Ukraine was able to successfully restore its independence. Since the bloodless Orange Revolution of 2004, which reversed the illegal election of Russia's backed Viktor Yanukovich as president of Ukraine (Donahue and Krasnolutska, 2022), tensions have dominated ties between Moscow and Kiev. The Orange Revolution took place in Ukraine. During this time, thousands of people in Ukraine participated in demonstrations in favour of further integration with Europe. The pro-Western revolution that took place finally resulted in the interim administration signing a trade contract with the European Union (EU), which was seen as the initial step towards EU membership. When Viktor Yanukovich took office in 2010, he immediately decided to delay the deal that had been previously reached. A firefight between demonstrators and police officers in Kiev in February 2014 was the spark that set off the unrest in the city (Liu, 2019). Protests directed against the Ukrainian government occurred for a period as a result of the strong desire of Ukrainian citizens and the political movement in favor of a nationalist approach against the influence of Russia. In March of 2014, Russia completed the formal process of assuming control of the Crimean peninsula. After obtaining support from Russia, the separatists in eastern Ukraine eventually declared independence and respectively named their new nations the Donetsk People's Republic and the Luhansk People's Republic. Both republics are in eastern Ukraine. They initiated hostilities against Ukraine. A trilateral contact group on Ukraine consisting of Ukraine, Russia, and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) wrote the Minsk Agreements in 2014. This group met in 2014 to discuss the situation in Ukraine. The establishment of a cease-fire throughout the area was this group's primary objective. However, the agreement failed in putting an end to the conflict. Consequently, in 2015, Russia, Ukraine, France, and Germany signed a series of ceasefire agreements in the capital of

Belarus referred to as the Minsk II. These agreements were all intended to put an end to the conflict in Donbass. The negotiations for these accords took place in Minsk.

International news and conflicts

It is vital to look at the international news in order to examine the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine war in the media. This is because the international news will provide a more comprehensive view of the coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in the media. The obligation placed on international news organizations to deliver information to their audiences around the world. It is difficult to report an incident in a straightforward and essential manner in real life, even though the news must adhere to certain objective and real conditions. When reporting on major events, especially wars, the media in various regions and systems will choose the content and focus of their reports according to their characteristics, and the media cannot be completely independent of the political environment. This is because of the differences and demands of international political and economic environments. Peoples perspectives on other nations and locations throughout the world are influenced by the information that is communicated by the media, which in turn shapes public opinion. The more well-known the media organization, the greater the number of people who pay attention to the content that is broadcast; this includes those in high-level positions. The news that is presented by these heavyweight media outlets is more reputable and authoritative than that presented by other media outlets. As a result, this research will also choose respected and influential outlets from throughout the globe to investigate how they covered the war between Russia and Ukraine.

When choosing international news outlets, China is an important country to consider. This is because Chinas international position and economic power have skyrocketed in recent years, and that Chinas influence on the international stage is expanding. As the most populous and fastest-growing developing nation on the planet, China is at the epicenter of several significant regional and global development concerns. The primary channels via which China is expanding its sway on other developing countries are those of commerce, investment, and ideas (TWB, 2022). At the same time, the media in China has made an impression on a global scale. China's initiatives to expand its influence through global press unions and individual journalists have had a broad impact, according to a global survey conducted by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ). This survey measures China's global media influence by surveying global press unions in order to determine China's level of global media influence (IFJ, 2020). Many people who took part in the study conducted by the International Federation of Journalists (44%) felt that the role that China played in the media of their country was "good" and enjoyed a great deal of support. Given that the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is being investigated in this paper, which is an externally focused event that has captured a significant amount of public attention on a global scale, the primary focus of the investigation is on the English-language media, and the selection of English-language newspapers in China is an essential part of the investigation. Established in 1981, China Daily is currently the countrys most widely circulated English-language daily (Hartig, 2017). Because it is both one of the most important means by which China communicates with the outside world and an important window through which English-speaking readers both in China and around the world can gain a better understanding of China, the China Daily will serve as the focus of this investigation.

In order to acquire a more well-rounded understanding of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict, it is necessary to select English-language newspapers that are representative of the West in addition to selecting English-language newspapers from China, which are considered to be representative of the East. This is done in order to gain a more complete perspective on the topic. The Guardian was selected from the many English-language newspapers published in Western countries for this article because Britain has a strong presence in the history of journalism since it was one of the first countries to publish a regular newspaper. According to the most recent findings from PAMCo, The Guardian is the most frequently read news publisher in the UK. A record average of 35.6 million adults access The Guardian's digital and print forms each month, making The Guardian the most widely read news publisher in the UK (GNM Press Office, 2020). This paper uses qualitative analysis of the samples to analyze the reporting of the war between Russia and Ukraine by China Daily newspapers and The Guardian. The disparities in coverage between the West and China, which are geographically, economically, and culturally distinct from the UK, are revealed by comparing the coverage of the same event in two different newspapers. The time frame chosen was before and after the start of the war between Russia and Ukraine, it is also possible to visualize the progression of events in the war between Russia and Ukraine, which will be of assistance in the investigation of the issues that come later. The researchers decided to conduct their research during a period that spanned from one week prior to the start of the conflict to three weeks after it had begun.

The six defined generic frames are suggested by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000): the conflict, human-interest, economic impact, morality, responsibility, and nationalisation frames. This study will be analyzed according to five of these frameworks. The combination of this set of frames has also been applied by Godefroidt et al. (2016) to scrutinise four countries news articles of the Syrian conflict in a comparative content analysis. Fenton (2009) identified in a recent study of online news sources, there has been a tendency in the sources literature to move away from the either/or, binary power relationship between sources and journalists. Equally, the study of source structures, relationships and activities-in all their complexity-remains central to understanding news content. Thus, whether there is a diversity of sources in the news is a very pertinent research question. In the context of this study, the analysis of news content includes not only the generic framework but also the news sources.

Conflict news report and framing analysis

Several previous studies on conflict reporting and framing provide valuable context for analyzing media coverage of the Russia-Ukraine war. Aziz (2007) examined how The New York Times and the Associated Press covered the 2006 Israeli invasion of Lebanon, showing that even widely respected U.S. media exhibited pro-Israel bias through selective framing. His study emphasized that high-profile international conflicts tend to attract more scholarly attention and that the use of specific frames and sources significantly influences audience perception. Similarly, this study adopts a framing approach to examine how Chinese and Western media outlets portray the Russia-Ukraine conflict. Other relevant research includes Ismail (2021) analysis of the Arab Spring, which used a mixed-methods approach to compare Al-Jazeera Arabic and BBC Arabic. The findings highlighted ideological differences in how conflict is reported, underscoring the importance of media systems and their political contexts. Sreedharan (2009), focusing on the Kashmir conflict, combined content analysis with interviews to

explore media effects and agenda-setting. Though direct interviews are beyond the scope of this study, these approaches underline the importance of multi-method research and provide useful models for conflict media analysis. Petya and Yusuf (2012) examined framing in the Russian-Georgian war, identifying differences in how each side labeled the conflict: Russia as peace enforcement and Georgia as aggression. These conflicting narratives are echoed in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, where Russia describes its invasion as a special military operation. Liu (2019) study of media framing during the 2014 Ukraine crisis compared *The Moscow Times* and *The Guardian*, using a framework of generic, diagnostic, and prognostic frames. His research inspired this study's approach and demonstrated that even comparable newspapers can present vastly different narratives due to ideological leanings. Given the limited research on Chinese media coverage of the Russia-Ukraine war in 2022, this study seeks to address that gap by analyzing how *China Daily* and *The Guardian* frame the conflict. Building on established theoretical frameworks such as agenda-setting and media framing (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000), the study investigates how geopolitical narratives are constructed and disseminated. As China's global media influence grows, it is increasingly important to understand its role in international conflict reporting. This research ultimately contributes to broader discussions on media representation, bias, and the shaping of public perception in times of war.

China and the British media system and media ownership

The structure and ownership of media systems are deeply intertwined with a country's legal, political, and cultural frameworks, shaping how news is produced and framed (Hachten and Scotton, 2011; Siebert et al., 1963). Distinctions between Chinese and Western media reflect broader ideological differences: China's media, influenced by Soviet communist theory, functions as a state instrument for propaganda and control, while Western media, rooted in liberal theory, emphasizes press freedom and a marketplace of ideas (DeVito, 2000). These foundational differences affect how international conflicts are covered, with ownership structures further influencing consistency in framing. For instance, Baum and Zhukov (2019) found that newspapers under shared ownership displayed more uniform foreign policy coverage, demonstrating that both media systems and corporate structures can shape the framing of international conflict news. China's media system, rooted in the Soviet model of using mass media as a tool of the state and the Communist Party, has evolved into what scholars describe as "authoritarian liberalism"—a blend of political authoritarianism with limited economic liberalisation (Scalapino, 1989). While the government maintains strong control over news and current affairs to preserve political authority, market reforms have allowed for partial privatisation in less sensitive media sectors. This dual structure highlights the tension between state control and media marketisation in China. In contrast, Britain's media landscape is shaped by a long tradition of press freedom and a hybrid of free-market and public service models, reflecting liberal democratic values (Curran et al., 2009). However, even Western media is not entirely free from state influence or commercial pressures, as forms of censorship and power maintenance persist. Understanding these contrasting media environments is essential for analyzing how *China Daily* and *The Guardian* report on the Russia-Ukraine conflict, as differing media systems serve as the theoretical foundation for this comparative study.

News sources and peace journalism

Research on news sources highlights their central role in the construction of media narratives, particularly in framing political conflicts. Journalists often rely on authoritative or elite sources such as political leaders or government officials because they are seen as credible and offer timely, verifiable information (Lawrence, 2023; Cook, 2012; Bennett, 1990). This dependency not only influences the selection and emphasis of news content but also allows these sources to shape public interpretation of events. Understanding how different national media systems use sources helps reveal broader patterns in media framing and agenda-setting (Reich, 2009; Gans, 2004). In contrast, peace journalism seeks to move beyond traditional, conflict-driven narratives by focusing on the deeper causes of violence and presenting a more inclusive and solution-oriented perspective. It aims to make conflicts transparent by exploring all sides, highlighting the suffering of all parties, and reporting on peace initiatives and post-conflict developments (Lynch and McGoldrick, 2005; Hanitzsch, 2004). This study applies these ideas to examine how China Daily and The Guardian framed the Russia-Ukraine conflict in 2022, during a time when tensions escalated from near-war to full invasion, with repeated but failed peace efforts.

Agenda setting theory and framing theory

The agenda-setting theory explains how mass media influence public perception by selecting and emphasizing specific topics, thereby shaping the public's view of what is important. In the context of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, media coverage has presented a wide array of themes such as energy security, food shortages, and humanitarian issues that the public must navigate. As proposed by McCombs and Shaw, while the media may not dictate what people think, it strongly influences what people think about. This is particularly relevant to international news, where audiences often rely on media portrayals rather than firsthand knowledge, forming what Walter Lippmann termed a pseudo environment. Over time, the theory has evolved to include second-level agenda-setting, or attribute agenda-setting, which explores how different aspects of the same event are given varying degrees of emphasis, further shaping how the public thinks about issues. Closely linked to this is framing theory, which deals with how news stories are constructed to convey meaning. Framing goes beyond highlighting topics (as in agenda-setting) by influencing how those topics are presented and interpreted. Journalists make editorial choices such as the use of metaphors, imagery, and specific language to construct frames that guide audience understanding. Studies, such as those by Zhang (2022) as well as Lichtenstein et al. (2019), show that frames can significantly shape public perception, even influencing political attitudes and international viewpoints. In the case of the Russia-Ukraine war, examining frames used by different media such as China Daily and The Guardian can reveal how divergent narratives shape public consciousness. Therefore, understanding both agenda-setting and framing is crucial for analyzing how media from different cultural and political contexts portray the same conflict, potentially leading to varied global perceptions.

Materials and Methods

This study employs qualitative content analysis adopted from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). This analysis can be easily replicated to handle many samples, and it also offers the opportunity to check if it applies to other global themes. Both benefits are important considerations when conducting research. Purposive sampling is used to

marked the beginning of the Russia-Ukraine conflict, during which Russian President Vladimir Putin officially announced the launch of a special operation against Ukraine and included several key events which is from 17 February 16 March 2022. Two newspapers sampled are the China Daily and The Guardian. The UK has taken a clear stance in the Russia-Ukraine conflict, aligning with most Western countries in condemning Russias invasion and supporting Ukraine. In contrast, China has adopted a neutral position, reflecting a different foreign policy approach. Both nations have played roles in the conflict, though with differing perspectives and levels of involvement. This study focuses on English-language media, selecting China Daily and The Guardian as representative sources due to their international influence and relevance to a globally significant event. Coding: At the preliminary stage of coding the data in the present study, all the selected articles were summarized, and a database was generated (*Table 1*). Every single detail of the news articles, from expressions and choice of words to the descriptions and characters the story focuses on, was studied. This enables the researchers to identify the frame used in reporting Russian-Ukrainian conflict. A second coder was invited to ensure reliability in this study.

Table 1. Questionnaire for framing coding.

No.	Frame
Responsibility frame questions	
1	Does the story suggest that some level of government can alleviate the issue or problem?
2	Does the story suggest that some government is responsible for the issue or problem?
3	Does the story suggest that a group of people in society (oil and gas companies) are responsible for the issue or problem?
4	Does the story suggest that the problem requires urgent action?
5	Does the story suggest a solution (s)?
Conflict frame questions	
6	Does the story reflect disagreement between parties, individuals, groups, or countries?
7	Does the story suggest one party, group, individual, or country does reproach another?
8	Does the story refer to two sides of or more than two sides of the problem or issue?
9	Does the story refer to winners or losers?
Human interest frame questions	
10	Does the story provide a personal example or “human face” on the issue or problem?
11	Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue or problem?
12	Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, or caring, or sympathy or compassion?
13	Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?
Economic frame questions	
14	Does the story mention financial losses or gains, now or in the future?
15	Does the story mention the costs or degree of expenses involved?
16	Does the story refer to the economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?
Morality questions	
17	Does the story contain any moral message?
18	Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?
19	Does the story refer to morality, God, and other religious tenets?
News sources questions	
20	Does the news quote different news sources?
21	Does the news provide different views from news sources?
22	Does government official get quoted the most?

Results and Discussion

Similarities and differences of framing

To begin, there is a dearth of interest in morality news framing in both the China Daily and The Guardian, with 1.1% and 1.8% coverage, respectively, with no significant difference between the two media (*Table 2*). China Daily used the responsibility frame in 39 (43.3%) of the 90 articles in the study timeframe, while The Guardian used the human-interest frame more often, with 139 (42.5%) of the 327

articles. A closer look at the two newspapers reveals a clear difference in the use of the responsibility and human-interest frames. China Daily used the responsibility frame in 39 (43.3%) of the 90 articles in the study timeframe.

Table 2. *Distribution of the frames by the media (17.02.2022 – 16.03.2022)*

Category	China daily	The Guardian	Total
Human interest	19(21.1%)	139(42.5%)	158(37.9%)
Responsibility	39(43.4%)	57(17.4%)	96(23.1%)
Economic	21(23.3%)	60(18.4%)	81(19.4%)
Conflict	11(12.2%)	65(19.9%)	76(18.2%)
Morality	0(0%)	6(1.8%)	6(1.4%)
Total	90(100%)	327(100%)	417(100%)

Human interest

The human-interest framework was used the most often to describe the news, focusing on detailed stories of affected individuals or groups, according to an analysis of news articles published in China Daily and The Guardian. This was followed by anger at the war, the tragedy of displaced people, the food crisis caused by the war, and cultural and sporting aspects affected by the war, all of which were heavily covered. Wonderful stories frequently have plot elements like concerns of guilt and responsibility as well as bad attitudes, all of which have the potential to influence the reader’s psyche. There are 139 articles in The Guardian that use the human-interest paradigm. These articles include topics such as refugees, culture and sport, food, and more. For instance, on February 21st, a story was published that detailed the hardship of several Ukrainian residents who were forced to flee the country in search of safer footing. This interview took place before Russia made the official announcement that it was invading Ukraine. At the same time, evacuation notices had been issued for the Donetsk and Luhansk regions. However, the evacuation procedure did not go smoothly, as documented by this story:

“The leaders of the Russian proxy states in eastern Ukraine had filmed their evacuation announcements days before they were made public, according to video metadata. But for the women, children and others who were being evacuated the result was undeniably real and traumatic as they arrived by the hundreds into a region that appeared to be unprepared for the tide of evacuees. In the early chaos some said they felt like pawns in a larger game”

(The Guardian)

Similarly, the topic of refugees was seen to be vital by the China Daily and received a significant amount of attention. As a result of the declaration made on February 25 regarding a special military operation in Russia, China Daily pointed out that the region of Central Europe will be subject to an influx of refugees:

“Central European countries braced on Thursday to receive people fleeing from the tensions in Ukraine, with Poland setting up reception points on its border and Hungary planning to send troops to create a corridor for refugees”

(China Daily)

Both the China Daily and The Guardian expressed their sympathy for the refugees through detailed descriptions of the evacuation process. In addition to expressing sympathy for the plight of the refugees, the China Daily and The Guardian provided examples from other sources to highlight how individuals or groups have been affected by the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. For example, in culture:

“Millions of artworks and monuments are at risk from Russias military onslaught in Ukraine, with one museum already burned to the ground, the global arts organisation Getty has said. Ukrainian scholars are warning of an unfolding cultural catastrophe, Getty said in a statement from James Cuno , the president and chief executive officer of the J Paul Getty Trust”

(China Daily)

In addition to the impact on culture, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine has also had a negative impact on athletes, according to a story in The Guardian:

“The International Olympic Committees executive board has urged all international sports federations to relocate or cancel events currently planned in Russia or Belarus, and told them to exclude the athletes representing those countries too. It is a significant moment in Olympic history”

(The Guardian)

Responsibility

The responsibility framework is what the China Daily is most concerned with. The tales not only address the obligations of the government and other agencies, but they also include information that is obtained from the relevant government authorities. Important parts of this framework include the urgency of a problem, the remedies given by government departments and agencies, and the rapid action that is performed. This study finds that the use of the responsibility framework section in China Daily and The Guardian is consistent with their respective cultural and social contexts as well as the positions that they represent. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) argue that the way in which journalistic responsibility is constituted is influenced by the political culture and social context in which news is produced. As can be seen in *Table 2*, this framework is responsible for 43.4% of the coverage in China Daily and 17.4% of the coverage in The Guardian respectively. The China Daily is the publication that is most likely to reflect the efforts being made by all parties involved to find a solution to the problem that will be effective over the long run. The China Daily focused a disproportionate amount of its attention on pointing the finger of blame at the United States for its part in the conflict. According to the research conducted by Fang et al. (2022), the status of bilateral ties between the United States and China has been trending downward since the beginning of the Trump administration, indicating a significant decline in the quality of relations between the two nations. Therefore, the fact that the primary content of China Daily is a criticism of the United States may be related to this. For instance, the following news item from March 4 highlights the heightened emphasis being paid to the role that the United States plays in the crisis:

“With Iran among those nations identifying the United States actions as the root cause of the Ukraine crisis, experts said the European conflict stems from decades of provocative policies from the superpower and its Western allies”

(China Daily)

The aspect of the article in the China Daily newspaper that suggests the United States is responsible is also in the area of economic energy. The news clearly expresses that the worsening of the energy crisis and inflation is due to a series of bans by US President Joe Biden. This aspect of the article is what gives rise to the implication that the United States is responsible:

“US President Joe Biden on Tuesday banned imports of Russian crude oil in retaliation for Moscow’s military operation in Ukraine, a move that is expected to further increase surging oil prices in the US and add to inflation already at its fastest pace in 40 years”

(China Daily)

Except for the United States, the China Daily does not point the finger of blame at any government or social group for the commencement of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. The United States is the one exception to this rule. The majority of the coverage focused on news articles that offered potential solutions to the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, and these articles were the ones that were utilized the most among all of the frames:

“China urged the international community on Monday to facilitate peace talks between Russia and Ukraine to de-escalate the conflict between them and strive to avoid the occurrence of a massive humanitarian crisis in Ukraine. State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi called for calmness and rationality, instead of fueling and escalating the tensions, in resolving the current Ukraine crisis, when meeting the media on Monday in Beijing on the sidelines of the fifth session of the 13th National Peoples Congress”

(China Daily)

The article in The Guardian not only suggests that Russia is to blame for the beginning of the conflict in Russia and Ukraine, but it also suggests that the issue of refugees in the UK and the expense of living for the population must be resolved as quickly as possible:

“Ministers are considering a climbdown to allow Ukrainians with temporary visas to bring relatives to the UK after Ukrainians ambassador called for an easing of restrictions. Amid scenes of chaos and despair at a visa application centre in Poland, government insiders said Ukrainians in the UK on work and student visas might also be allowed to bring their relatives to the UK”

(The Guardian)

The Russian-Ukrainian conflict is having a direct influence on the economies of European countries, as is shown in several news stories about the difficulty people are having making ends meet and the rising cost of living:

“Food costs, gas and oil prices are a big factor in how much we pay for food, and if they continue to go up so will the cost of groceries. Fertilizer prices have surged on the back of rising gas prices and will mean farmers need to charge more for everything they produce. Cooking oil prices have already gone up, with one of the drivers being demand for the crops used to produce biodiesel”

(The Guardian)

An analysis of the content of the sample that fits the responsibility framework shows that the China Daily mainly sets the agenda for the European refugee problem, the energy issue and other challenges, while suggesting that the US is responsible for the outbreak of the Russia-Ukraine conflict in several ways and that China is acting as a mediator and an active solution provider in this conflict. It is possible that readers will then go on to read news articles that lead them to the conclusion that the United States is mostly to blame for this crisis. The Guardian has identified the urgent need to address issues such as refugees and the rising cost of living in the UK, the root cause of which is the outbreak of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, for which Russia is responsible. The main agenda item that has been set by The Guardian includes the urgent need to address these issues. China Daily and The Guardian have entirely different agendas and completely different effects on their readers.

Economic

The economic framework was placed in the middle of the range for all data sample sizes, and neither China Daily nor The Guardian utilized it as a focus framework in their respective publications. This paradigm takes into account concurrent challenges, economic losses, energy emergencies, and concerns that call for early intervention. Under this framework, losses and damages to property, infrastructure, settlements, and assets that occur in the public, regional, and government sectors are also reported. The future state of the economy and the dangers posed by the destruction created by the conflict are both discussed in the press. The economic repercussions of losses in the areas of agriculture, transportation, the financial sector, science and technology, and industry are reflected in this framework. In addition, Wu (2019) considers the possibility that international trade is a role in shaping foreign coverage. The economic framework was utilized in 60 of The Guardian's 327 stories (18.4%), but China Daily employed it in 21 of its 90 articles (23.3%). In terms of percentages, the difference was 4.9%, which was the smallest difference for any sort of framework other than the ethical framework. This suggests that the economic sphere is one that both of these publications are more interested in. When discussing matters pertaining to transportation, the China Daily makes significantly more use of the economic framework than does The Guardian:

“Increasing fuel costs and airspace closures due to the Ukraine conflict are expected to deal another blow to the global airline industry, which has yet to recover from huge losses resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, analysts said”

(China Daily)

Even though the rise in fuel prices as a result of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, which at the same time disrupted the regional transport of goods, served as the

jumping-off point for the article, the China Daily did not forget to indicate in the article the impact that the situation had on China:

“For Chinese e-commerce retailers involved in cross-border businesses, the situation is expected to cause temporary suspension of logistics or lengthen the time of shipping, which will lead to an increase in product returns by customers”
(China Daily)

Both The Guardian and China Daily extensively report on news content about the economics of their respective countries within the context of an economic framework. This is one of the ways in which the two newspapers are comparable to one another:

“The shock waves from the Russian invasion of Ukraine will cut UK living standards by £2,500 per household, lead to more persistent inflationary pressure and slow the economy to a standstill next year, economists fear”
(The Guardian)

The portion of The Guardian’s sample that is relevant to the economic framework makes it abundantly evident that the Russian-Ukrainian conflict is having a disproportionately negative impact on the energy sectors of the economies of the United Kingdom and other European nations. For example:

“Boris Johnson has said the UK may have to increase its domestic gas and oil production in order to wean itself off Russian resources, despite the opposition of climate campaigners and some scepticism in the cabinet. The prime minister said the UK was looking at increasing North Sea output, although critics say it would take two decades to ramp up significantly and would have little immediate effect on the impending rise in domestic energy bills”
(The Guardian)

In a sample that fits the economic framework, both China Daily and The Guardian are consistent in focusing first and foremost on the impact their economies have received as a result of the Russia-Ukraine conflict. However, while the agenda of China Daily’s news coverage of other countries is primarily focused on the impact on European countries and the United States, the agenda of The Guardian is set from a number of different perspectives to demonstrate that the conflict has had a significant impact on the economy of Russia.

Conflict

Conflict-related news frames concentrate on disagreements between governments, officials, and institutions, primarily on countries, institutions, or individuals condemning the damage caused by the Russia-Ukraine conflict. These frequently reported disagreements include international disagreements over what measures to take against Russia. The China Daily had a lower percentage of articles that framed the conflict as opposed to The Guardian, which had 19.9% of its articles frame the conflict. This difference reflects the level of controversy that exists among the key parties involved in the conflict. The China Daily’s analysis of the conflict is mostly conveyed in

its condemnation of the United States, its biological research facilities there, and its actions during the Russian-Ukrainian conflict:

“China accused the United States on Wednesday of fueling tensions and creating panic on the Ukraine issue, and urged all parties concerned to be responsible and work for peace”

(China Daily)

During the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, the United States and other Western countries have issued warnings that Russia could launch biological warfare, and Russia, for its part, has given a response that condemns US biological laboratories around the world. In addition, the United States has issued these warnings. This investigation discovered the same recurrent references to US biological laboratories in the China Daily, which may indicate that the China Daily takes a viewpoint on the issue that is comparable to that of the Russia:

“China firmly opposes any countrys research and development, possession or use of biological weapons and chemical weapons under any circumstances. Zhao urged the US to earnestly fulfill its international obligations and give a clear account of its bio-military activities at home and abroad”

(China Daily)

In addition, The Guardians coverage was more comprehensive than that of the China Daily, with criticism of Russia comprising a significant portion of the story. Despite this, there were still differences of opinion within the United Kingdom regarding the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, in addition to differences between other countries and Ukraine, which were not reflected in the China Daily:

“Priti Patel has been accused of presiding over chaos after Ukrainian refugees arriving in Calais were greeted by posters telling them to get their UK visas in Paris or Brussels, while her pledge to expand the visa scheme was contradicted by Downing Street”

(The Guardian, 2022)

Morality

Finally, ethical frameworks were only detected in the sample a very small number of times over the course of this time, and there were only minimal differences in this regard between the two countries. Whereas China Daily did not contain any examples of ethical framing, The Guardian contained six examples (which accounted for 1.8% of the total). Out of them, The Guardian reported one piece on religion in addition to the normal one on particular people or institutions suffering from moral dilemmas as a direct result of the attitude that it takes towards Russia:

“The Russian Orthodox church in Amsterdam has announced it is to split with the Moscow Patriarchate in the first known instance of a western-based church cutting ties over the invasion of Ukraine”

(The Guardian, 2022)

The preceding was derived from a frame analysis of a sample of 417 data articles, which was carried out after the completion of the frame coding questionnaire replies. In the following section, we will discuss in further depth the trends that each of these newspapers have observed in their coverage of the crisis between Russia and Ukraine.

Reporting trends

With regard to coverage trends, this study will look at *Table 3*. China Daily and The Guardian were responsible for 10% and 13.5% of the total coverage, respectively, during the study timeframe prior to the announcement that Russia would be conducting a special military operation. This was the least amount of coverage that either newspaper provided during this timeframe. However, after Russias announcement of a special military operation, there was a discernible shift in the medias coverage of the war between Russia and Ukraine. In particular, The Guardian and China Daily displayed a discernible increase in interest in reporting on the conflict. The number of related news reports in China Daily reached a maximum of 30 (33.4%) in the week when Russia officially announced the launch of the special military operation. However, the number of related news reports in China Daily gradually showed a decreasing trend in the following two weeks, dropping to 28.9% and 27.7%, respectively, which can be seen as evidence that China Dailys attention to the Russia-Ukraine conflict has gradually shown a decreasing trend.

Table 3. Number of weekly news reports in China Daily and The Guardian.

Category	2.17-2.23	2.24-3.2	3.3-3.9	3.10-3.16	Total
China daily	9(10%)	30(33.4%)	26(28.9%)	25(27.7%)	90
The Guardian	44(13.5%)	92(28.1%)	79(24.2%)	112(34.2%)	327

The importance of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict in the coverage of both the China Daily and The Guardian was reflected in the fluctuation of The Guardians coverage in the three weeks following the outbreak of the conflict. The China Dailys coverage of the conflict was relatively consistent throughout this time period. The seriousness of the confrontation was reflected in the coverage of both the China Daily and The Guardian, which led to a significant increase in the amount of coverage, which rose drastically from 44 (13.5%) to 92 (28.1%) the previous week. However, after that, there was a little decrease to 79 (24.2%) in the number of stories that were published in The Guardian in the week after the beginning of the conflict. This was due to the fact that fewer stories were written on the conflict. Following this, the number of stories grew to 112 (34.2%) for the week of March 10, which was the most it had been in the preceding four weeks. This was the highest it had been since the beginning of the previous four weeks. In circumstances like this, it is not enough to analyse data on the number of reports; as a result, this study will continue to analyse them in connection to the extant news structure. According to *Figure 1*, it is easy to see that the pattern of The Guardians use of the five reporting frames over the course of four weeks changes to some extent for each of the four frames, with the exception of the economic frame, which demonstrates a gradual increase in usage over time. In addition, it is easy to see that a peak in utilization occurred during the first week of the conflict in each of the frames, with the exception of the conflict frame, which only demonstrates a rise in utilization during the week of the conflict itself.

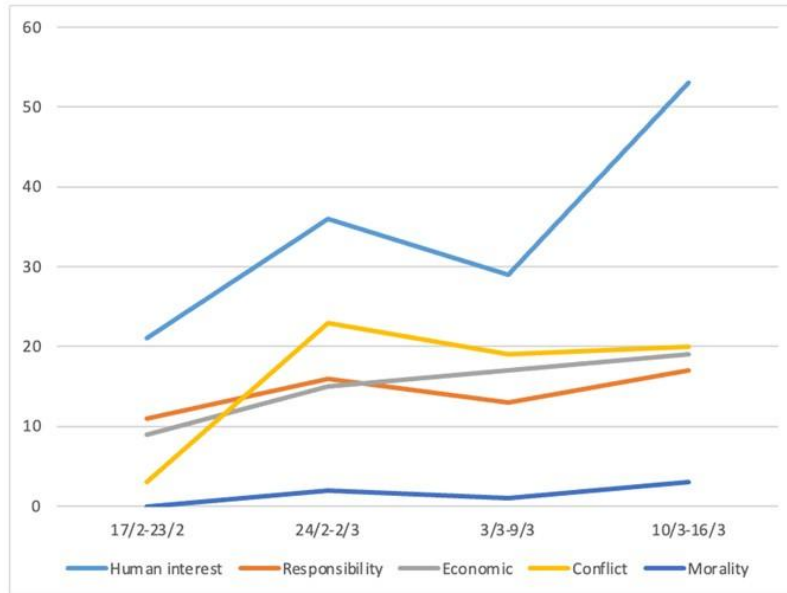


Figure 1. Number of weekly news frames in *The Guardian*.

The human-interest frame was the one that was utilized the most both before and after the conflict broke out, with the week of March 10 to March 16 having the highest number of occurrences out of the four weeks studied. As more time passed, the level of hostilities inside the conflict became more intense, and a greater proportion of the general populace was subsequently impacted by it. Since the 15th of March, Russian troops have captured major parts of Ukraine, including the Kherson Oblast, Bucha, and the Zaporizhzhia nuclear power plant. This has resulted in a significant number of casualties and increased the number of refugees who have fled to neighboring countries. The port city of Mariupol, located in southern Ukraine, has been the target of attacks by Russian troops. As of March 16th, the city has been surrounded by Russian troops for 15 days, and the situation is getting worse due to the lack of food, water, and electricity, among other things (Bloomberg News, 2022). This may be one of the reasons why *The Guardian* has been using the human-interest framework more frequently. Over the course of the one month that was analyzed in this study, there was a general upward trend in coverage of the responsibility frame, with only slight changes. As can be seen through the analysis of the overall frame in the previous section, *The Guardian's* main trend in the responsibility frame of more strongly implying Russian responsibility for the conflict issue did not change significantly, but during the coding process it was found that as the conflict continued, coverage began to imply that the issue required urgent action and that somehow the government could mitigate the issue:

*“Russia is likely to expand its confrontation with the west by pressuring Serbia into undermining the independence of Kosovo and other western Balkan countries, regional leaders have warned in interviews with *The Guardian*. They also called for the EU and Nato to speed up their approach to applications for membership from Balkan states and bolster defenses against Russian interference”*

(*The Guardian*)

In terms of the general trajectory of *China Daily's* reporting, it is evident from the declining number of weekly stories that *China Daily* is gradually becoming less

interested in reporting on the conflict that is occurring between Russia and Ukraine. As can be seen in *Figure 2*, the pattern in the use of the five news frames in the China Daily over a period of four weeks shows a clear change in the responsibility frame. This frame shows an increase from the first three weeks of the study time scope, but a sharp decline in the last week. This is in contrast to the human-interest frame, which reaches its highest point in the last week, from 10 to 16 March. As the situation between Russia and Ukraine continues to develop, this may need a shift of emphasis on the part of the Chinese newspaper.

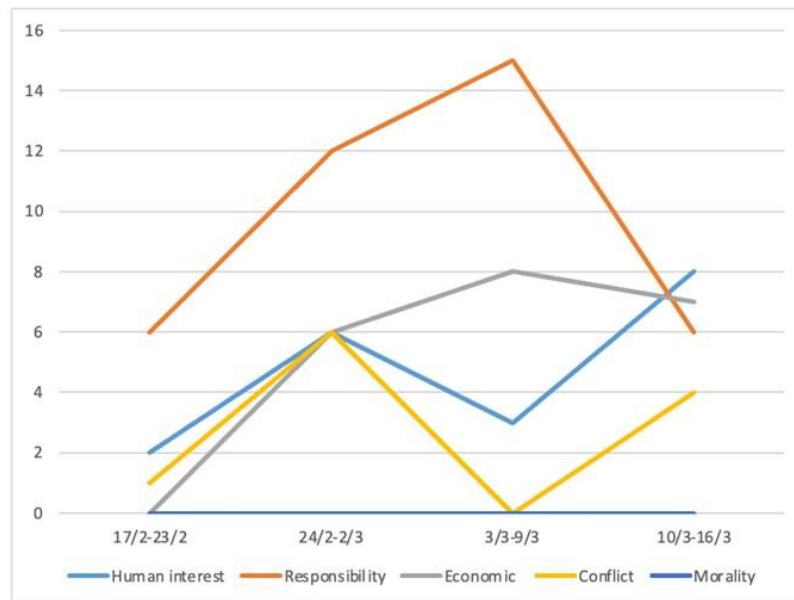


Figure 2. Number of weekly news frames in China Daily.

During the early stages of the conflict, the responsibility framework was utilized to a great extent by the China Daily. The newspaper published a number of articles in which China demanded an immediate end to the conflict and quoted relevant government officials offering potential solutions, such as the following examples:

“The situation in Ukraine is changing sharply and has evolved to a point that China does not wish to see and where it is not in the interests of any party, Zhang Jun, Chinas permanent representative to the UN, told an emergency special session of the UN General Assembly on Ukraine. Zhang stressed that the immediate priority is for all parties concerned to exercise necessary restraint and prevent a further worsening of the situation, while stepping up diplomatic efforts for a political solution”
(China Daily)

However, as the situation progressed, the war expanded farther and further, affecting an increasing number of people and organizations; the problem of humanitarian crises was brought up multiple times in publications like the China Daily, for instance:

“The central Ukrainian city of Dnipro was hit by three airstrikes from Russias military on Friday, in what is believed to be the first direct attack on the city. Emergency services in the city said the airstrikes killed at least one person. The threat to civilians from the conflict has kept international attention focused on

humanitarian corridors. Marking an expansion on this front, Moscow has agreed to open evacuation routes daily for civilians to reach Russia”

(China Daily)

According to The Guardian's findings, there is also a distinct variation in the conflict frame pattern. This peak occurred in the same week that the conflict was declared to have formally begun, which is in keeping with the trend that was reported by The Guardian. China Daily did not use economic framing in their coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict until the conflict officially broke out, and their use gradually increased after the conflict officially began, peaking in the week of March 3 to March 9, and then declining slightly but not significantly in the following week. The trend in the use of economic framing was relatively steady, but China Daily did not use economic framing in their coverage of the Russia-Ukraine conflict until the conflict officially broke out. This could be because the impact of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict on the Chinese economy has gradually become more apparent ever since the conflict officially began. For instance, China Daily has mentioned the volatility of the Chinese fertiliser market because of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. This is because of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

News source

In this study, the articles that identified news sources were individually coded using a framework coding questionnaire. There was a total sample size of 54 out of 90 articles in the China Daily and 206 out of 327 items in The Guardian that met the three questions. The number of news source patterns represented by the three questions in the China Daily and The Guardian is presented in *Table 4*, showing that both the China Daily and The Guardian had the highest number of such patterns in which government officials were cited more often, at 50% and 52.9%, respectively. The pattern of being able to provide a different view of the news source was the lowest in both, at 16.7% and 10.7%, respectively. The results of *Table 4* demonstrate that when reporting on the war between Russia and Ukraine, journalists frequently include the perspectives of government officials. Moges (2021), in his study of the sources of news reports in Ethiopian media, mentioned that when journalists encounter politically sensitive issues, they should either use government sources to report on them or ignore these issues because using the words of government officials would reduce the direct and indirect pressure that is placed on journalists. Neither the China Daily nor The Guardian are exempt from the effects of this circumstance, and the spokesperson for the Foreign Ministry is the source of the news that frequently appears in the China Daily:

“China always respects the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, and also understands Russias reasonable security concerns, as a complicated and special history lies behind the Ukraine issue, State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi told Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov on Thursday”

(China Daily)

Table 4. *The different news source of China Daily and The Guardian.*

Category	China daily	The Guardian
Cite different sources	18(33.3%)	75(36.4%)
Provide a different perspective	9(16.7%)	22(10.7%)

Cite government officials	27(50%)	109(52.9%)
Total	54	206

There are frequent references in The Guardian to leaders as well as government officials:

“Priti Patel, the [then UK’s] home secretary, claimed yesterday that there were ‘legal reasons’ for the time being taken, with officials trying to make sure sanctions were watertight against legal challenge. Cabinet sources insisted Britain had been going further than other countries on hitting banks and financial operations with sanctions, with more than 120 entities targeted to date. Asked whether more oligarchs would be blacklisted this week, a Foreign Office source said: We will be sanctioning more oligarchs over the coming weeks and months”

(The Guardian)

In addition to the common practice of referencing official sources provided by the government, both the China Daily and The Guardian regularly quote a variety of other sources in the articles that they publish. For instance, a story such as the one below was published in the China Daily:

“The presidents of Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia said in an open letter that they strongly believe that Ukraine deserves receiving an immediate EU accession perspective. German Foreign Minister Annalena Baerbock told a news conference in Berlin along with Slovenian counterpart Anze Logar. Everyone is aware, as the president of the (European) Commission emphasized yesterday, that joining the EU is not something that can be done in a few months, but that it involves an intensive and far-reaching transformation process”

(China Daily)

But the report ends by saying:

“Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky formally signed an application on Monday for his country to join the European Union, but the prospects for a quick accession are remote despite the support offered by several EU member states”

(China Daily, 2022)

A number of various sources, beginning with officials from the United Nations, are cited in an article published by The Guardian that provides a description of the evacuation of a large number of refugees from Ukraine:

“We have already seen reports of casualties and people starting to flee their homes to seek safety, said Filippo Grandi, the UN high commissioner for refugees. At the Luzhanka border crossing with Hungary in western Ukraine, hundreds of cars waited in a queue snaking back more than a mile from the border yesterday afternoon”

(The Guardian)

A member of the public on the scene waiting to be evacuated is then quoted as saying:

“One 19-year-old man from the town of Svyalava said he had left because he was scared of a Russian assault and of potentially being called up to the Ukrainian army. My brother lives in Hungary and Ill stay with him as long as it takes, he said”
(The Guardian)

According to Moges (2021), the degree of press freedom that exists in a country is a crucial aspect that plays a role in shaping the type of the relationship that exists between the sources of information and the journalists who report on them. Even if both China Daily and The Guardian reference sources from government officials as their preferred choice, the fraction of other news source patterns that are cited is still not trivial. This is because China Daily and The Guardian both cite sources from the government. The proportion of different news source patterns that are cited by China Daily and The Guardian, respectively, is 33.3% and 36.4%. For example, on February 22, before the official Russian invasion but before the escalating separatist fighting in eastern Ukraine, The Guardian described in an article the content of a video through which Russian television and Ukrainian intelligence agencies were quoted. Russian TV claims the man in the video is a Ukrainian saboteur, but Ukrainian intelligence accuses Russian TV of publishing fake news; in addition, the article quotes Elliot Higgins, founder of the investigative website Bellingcat, who agrees with Ukraine and cites more fake news produced by Russia; and finally, the UN is quoted as well. This article is one of the more typical examples of The Guardian citing different sources in one article. Both China Daily and The Guardian are more interested in the model of quoting government officials, and both China Daily and The Guardian lack news sources that offer a different perspective. The analysis shows that there is not much of a difference in the use of news source between China Daily and The Guardian.

Conclusion

Adding to previous framing research, the present study demonstrates that there are some notable differences in the way Russian-Ukrainian conflict news report in China Daily and The Guardian. As framing theory would predict, the differences in news framing identified herein are likely to impact citizen understanding of politics in general and the issues specific to this conflict. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) think the way in which journalistic responsibility is constituted is influenced by the political culture and social context in which news is produced. In the analysis of the responsibility frame, it was found that the China Daily was more interested in blaming the US for its role in the conflict than The Guardian. This is most likely since the China Daily represented the position of the Chinese government when reporting the story, combined with the social context of US-China relations at the time the news was generated. The responsibility framework is used rather frequently in China Daily, which gives the impression that the publication favors the serious depiction of news events. According to the findings of this study, which were based on the analysis of the responsibility framework, China Daily was more interested than The Guardian was in criticizing the United States from a variety of angles, such as in relation to economic sanctions. These findings are based on an examination of the responsibility framework. In addition to providing information

regarding the economy, the China Daily also reported that the United States was transferring advanced weapons to Ukraine. This information could easily lead readers to the conclusion that the United States was the driving force behind the ongoing escalation of the war. Fang et al. (2022) showed that, since the Trump era, US-China relations have deteriorated sharply, and there is a negative trend between the two countries regarding the state of bilateral relations.

The study also found that vivid and visual stories are more likely to generate emotions in readers, such as anger and sympathy. The refugee issue was mentioned more frequently as it directly affects the UK. The Guardian is more concerned with refugees than the China daily. Sreberny-Mohammadi et al. (1985) thinks that proximity is often considered to be the determining factor for foreign coverage. European countries, being geographically closer to Russia and Ukraine, are directly affected by a range of Russian-Ukrainian conflicts, including the refugee issue. However, China is geographically far away from the conflict, and its influence on China is more reflected in the economic frame, which is also the frame that China Daily uses most except the responsibility frame. Wu (2019) also mentions trade as a possible determinant of foreign coverage, as can be seen from the analysis of the economic frame in the last chapter, China Daily mentioned that the Russia-Ukraine conflict caused the fuel price to rise and also disrupted cargo transport in the region, which had a certain degree of impact on China's trade. Based on an analysis of the number of stories, this study also examines trends in coverage of specific news frames and finds that trends in news coverage are closely related to the course of the war. For example, the use of the conflict framework accounted for the largest proportion in the week after the official outbreak of the war. The responsibility framework, the economic framework, and the morality framework did not fluctuate significantly before and after the official outbreak of the war but showed an upward trend. The human-interest framework, on the other hand, showed the most obvious upward trend of the three frameworks. In addition to obvious differences, China Daily and The Guardian have similarities in the use of morality frame. This study does not find that they frequently use morality frame, this is consistent with Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) study. China Daily and The Guardian do not significantly differ in their news sourcing patterns, both relying more on official government quotes. The high reliance of journalists on government voices is indicative of the media freedom that prevails in a country (Moges, 2021).

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Conflict of interest

The authors confirm that there is no conflict of interest with any parties involved with the study.

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