Gender Stereotypes in Online News Headlines:

A Critical Discourse Analysis of Online News Headlines Around the Case of Ksenia Sobchak

by Olga Rabo

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Examiner: Temi Odumosu

Supervisor: Ilkin Mehrabov

Abstract

This thesis is a critical analysis of the discourses used in online news headlines to report two events that took place during 2018 Russian Presidential debates (on February 14, 2018 and March 14, 2018) and focused on Ksenia Sobchak, the only female presidential candidate of the 2018 election. By analyzing 52 headlines published in Russia's most popular and most read online news outlets, the purpose of this study is to investigate whether there are any gender stereotypes used by the journalists to create a particular representation of Sobchak, and to understand if, through this representation, a particular ideology is put forward. The framework used to carry out the research is based on Fairclough's critical discourse analysis method combined with a sociolinguistic approach influenced by Halliday. The application of this framework resulted in studying the three interrelated elements of discourse: *sociocultural practices*, which explore the role of women in the Russian political arena and put headlines under analysis into an immediate context; *discourse practices*, which focus on the peculiarities of online news production, particularly headlines; and *linguistic analysis* of the headlines themselves, in which lexical choice, quotation patterns, and transitivity analyses were performed. The analysis revealed that headlines include hidden gender stereotypes, which align with Russia's patriarchal ideology and which are used to represent Sobchak less favourably in comparison to her male opponents.

Keywords: online news headlines, critical discourse analysis, sociolinguistic approach, gender stereotypes, linguistic sexism, representation, Russian women in politics

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Introduction

Russia: one of the historically most patriarchal countries in the world (Gruber & Szołtysek, 2014), holding the most unequal sex ratio in the political arena (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2017, p. 282). According to a recent survey, Russians are growing colder to the idea that women should take part in politics, with 53% believing that the country should not have a woman as President and 34% not approving of women participating in politics whatsoever (a number that grew by 11% since 2016) (Sharkov, 2017). Female representation in Russian politics is scarce. In 2013, women made up only 13% of deputies in the Russian State Duma – 61 seats out of 450, according to Kiryukhina (2013) – while, as of spring 2018, the number has climbed by 2% only – 68 seats out of 450 (State Duma, 2018). Over the years, Russia has been among the lowest-ranked countries on the Political Empowerment Index (The Global Gender Gap Report, 2017, p. 282) and, while the situation is improving slowly, the conditions for females in Russian politics remain difficult.

However, during the 2018 presidential elections in Russia, the news headlines have been increasingly dominated by one name that, for once, was not of Vladimir Putin. Ksenia Sobchak, a Russian socialite turned opposition journalist, is the first female presidential candidate in over a decade. From the very beginning of the presidential race, she billed herself as the "candidate against all", prompting the Russian electorate to vote against the lack of choice[1] and protest against the fact that the presidential candidates remain the same over the course of elections (Sobchak, 2017).

The subject of this thesis is 'gender stereotypes'. However, it is not gender stereotypes of the sort that are overt and easily quantifiable, involving the poor representation of women in Russian politics. Instead, this study is concerned with the more subtle, covert, and insidious form of gendering in the news – particularly, in the headlines of the news. This thesis focuses on analyzing how a subtle, but no less injurious, form of gender

[1] Since 2014, it is not possible to vote "Against All" in Russia and protest against all candidates running (Chalabov, 2014).

stereotyping manifests itself through the domain of online newspaper headlines' discourses in the contemporary Russian society. By using critical discourse analysis, I demonstrate how news headlines can be used as media instruments to exercise ideological dominance in Russia. The primary reason why I decided to analyze headlines, rather than leads or bodies of the articles, lies in the fact that headlines serve as the first touchpoint in the process of construction a representation of a certain event, person, or a group of people. For headlines are not only the mechanisms used to attract readers (Kuiken, Schuth, Spitters & Marx, 2017), but often also the only content people consume in newspapers (Dor, 2003). It is noteworthy to emphasize that my interest in this study lies not in merely identifying examples of gender stereotypes in the online news headlines, but also in showing how these gender stereotypes are subtly embedded in a much larger, but less transparent, structure, where dominance and power masquerade themselves in naturalized discourse. I decided to focus on two events from Ksenia Sobchak's run for President, and, through analyzing these event-related discourses, examine the kind of representation being constructed of Sobchak by the Russian media. The aim is to explore whether the representation of her as a politician is infused with female gender stereotypes.

My research questions are:

1. How did the headlines in Russian online news represent Ksenia Sobchak during two presidential debates in 2018 Russian Presidential Elections?
2. Was Sobchak gender stereotyped through media representations in online news headlines, and if so, how did this feature in language?

With my previous academic background in philology, I expect this thesis to contribute to the field of media and communications by bringing forward the socio-linguistic approach to CDA, which is rarely utilized in CDA studies. I also expect to contribute to the field by analysing headlines exclusively, as most studies involving CDA focus on analysing fuller bodies of text (such as articles). Finally, I also hope to contribute to the field of representation of women in Russian politics, as little research has been done in this particular field.

1. Literature review

In the upcoming part of this Chapter, I will define stereotypes, as well as gender stereotypes; analyze how gender stereotypes are constructed universally, and in Russia, based on the manifested gender roles; and finally, look into the use of gender stereotypes in media, particularly within the field of political discourse.

1.1. Defining gender stereotypes

Stereotyping is an attempt to understand the world through grouping individuals that share the same characteristics, backgrounds, values, or beliefs, and representing the entire group of those individuals as a whole (McGarty, Yzerbut & Russel, 2002). Spears defines three guiding principles of stereotyping: 1) Stereotypes are aids to explanation; 2) Stereotypes are energy-saving devices, and 3) Stereotypes are shared group beliefs (Spears, 2002, p. 2). The first principle implies that stereotypes help the perceiver make sense of a situation; the second – that they reduce effort on the part of the perceiver; and, lastly, the third – that stereotypes are formed in line with the socially accepted views and norms of groups that the perceived belongs to (ibid.). In other words, it is easier on the brain to stereotype – the brain has limited perceptual and memory systems and, as a result, it categorizes information into fewer and simpler units that enable a more efficient processing of information (Martin & Halverson, 1981). Studies have also found that stereotypes are activated in the brain automatically (Devine, 1989): when the perceiver – whether it is a person with a low- or high-level of prejudice – is being in the presence of the perceived belonging to a stereotyped group, there is an unintentional activation of the stereotype happening in the mind of the perceiver.

When it comes to gender stereotypes, they appear to be extremely common. Gender stereotyping and labeling is acquired at a very young age. In fact, children (even as young as 3-year-olds) can already make gender stereotypes, for example associating female sex to domestic labour (Beverly, Leinbach & O'Boyle, 1992), or associating

mathematics as a “boy’s subject”, amongst other examples (Cvencek, Meltzoff & Greenwald, 2011).

Generally speaking, gender stereotypes are understood as “caricatures of femininity and masculinity in portrayals of women and men in relation to each other” (Macharia et al., 2015, p. 77). Gender stereotypes also depend on a set of social and cultural circumstances (Hermes, 2011, p. 4). In addition, gender stereotypes are based on culturally-shaped norms that are related to already established images of masculinity and femininity, the images that are characterized by patriarchy and divisions of space, labour, and source of knowledge (Connell, 2005; Gerami, 2005). Despite depending on the cultural surrounding, gender stereotypes are also found to be universal (Löckenhoff, 2014). While I say this, I rely on a study conducted by Löckenhoff (2014), in which, based on a sample collected from 26 nations, the following qualities, amongst others, were identified as associated with women, rather than men: “neuroticism”, “anxiety”, “agreeableness”, “conscientiousness” (not willing to take risks), “feelings-driven”, “altruism”, “compliance”, “modesty”, “tender-mindedness”, “order-loving”, “dutifulness”. At the same time, qualities like “assertiveness”, “straightforwardness”, and “competence” are associated with men, but not women (2014, p. 684). These findings also align with the study conducted by Deaux and Lewis (1984) that identified that women are universally believed to be “nurturant” and “less self-assertive”. The study, however, specifies that such notions are related to the role women play in society, rather than their inborn traits. Falk (2010) also identifies stereotypically masculine characteristics, such as “aggressive”, “analytical”, “ambitious”, “making decisions easily”, and stereotypically feminine characteristics, such as “compassionate and mothering”, “playful”, “childlike”, “yielding”, “soft-spoken”, “gullible”, “shy”, and “emotional”.

When it comes to gender stereotypes in Russia, Tikhonova (2002) identifies a persistence of many traditional gender stereotypes that are alive in contemporary Russian society. For example, “intelligence”, “physical strength”, and “ability to provide material security” are most favoured male characteristics, while the ideal qualities of a female are “attractive appearance”, “love for children” and “housekeeping

skills" (ibid.). In another study, White (2005) found that in Russia women are mostly associated with such values as "emotional", "maternal", "romantic", "sensitive', "illogical", "sentimental", kind", while descriptions like "strong", "logical", "persistent", "pragmatic", "rational", "dominant", "unemotional" and "one hundred per cent self-controlled" are attributed to males (2005, p. 136). Riabova (2008) also identifies traits seen as stereotypically masculine in Russia, such as "activism", "decisiveness", "confidence", "strength", "independence", "courage", and stereotypically feminine, such as "dependance", "weakness", "softness", "indecisiveness", and "family-oriented". To summarize the gender stereotypes reviewed and to contrast the qualities that are stereotypically assigned to men and women, the following table is provided:

Gender stereotypes in Russia	
Stereotypical male characteristics	Stereotypical female characteristics
strong	weak, soft
dominant	compliant, agreeable
logical, rational	illogical
rational	emotional, neurotic
breadwinner	housekeeper
assertive, decisive	not self-assertive, unconfident, indecisive
persistent	conscientious
competent	gullible
independent	dependent
active	passive
aggressive	victimized

Table 1: Gender stereotypes in Russia, based on White (2005), Tikhonova (2002), Riabova (2008), Falk (2010), and Löckenhoff (2014)

The female stereotypes reviewed in the table – weak, compliant and agreeable, illogical, emotional, housekeeper, unconfident and neurotic, conscientious, and attractive – are the kinds of stereotypes that I will be wary of when analyzing headlines in the empirical part of the thesis. In order to understand what such stereotypes are based on, in the next section I will review gender roles in contemporary Russia.

1.2. Gender roles in contemporary Russia

Hermes states that when we talk about gender stereotypes, it is crucial to understand that their make-up is based on a set of social and cultural circumstances (2011, p. 4). Gender stereotypes, he adds (ibid.), reflect culturally-shaped ideals of masculinity and femininity that have been normalized by society, where certain gender roles are exercised. It is thus natural to ask ourselves what the gender roles in contemporary Russia are. Uzlaner defines gender roles in Russia simply as "differentiated and unequal" (2016, p. 4), specifying that they go against the universal notion of gender equality. In her research on gender roles in contemporary Russia, White (2014, p. 450) finds that the Russian society's attitudes towards gender roles reveal the persistence of many traditional, old-fashioned values. One of the most striking examples is the belief that a role of the woman is to mother a child, and if a woman does not have children, she deserves pity. In Russia, the concept of a "woman" and "mother" are often equated, finds White (ibid.). Moreover, in Russian contemporary culture, which is now undergoing a turn to more "traditional values" (Uzlaner, 2016; Wilkinson, 2013; White, 2014), there is a strong belief that women should "return to the hearth" and that a "good thing for a young wife is to stay at home" (White, 2014, p. 451). This finding is consistent with a study by Abrosimova (2011) that identified that the majority of Russian women, or 63.8%, mainly associate their role in a society as a wife and a mother, while the minority, or 0.80%, see themselves being involved in politics.

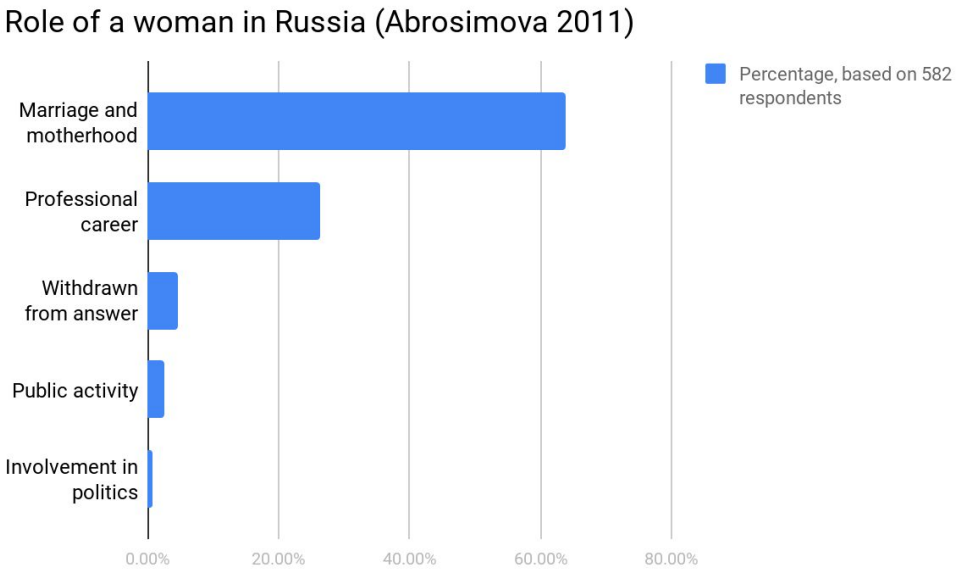

Figure 1: Social spheres prioritization by contemporary Russian women, based on Abrosimova (2011)

In the same study, Abrosimova discovered that 52% of Russian women see themselves as "successful women" if they are happy in their family or private life; only 30.7% responded that they see themselves as successful if they are successful at work, and, even less so, 3.2%, if they are successful in politics (2011, p. 236). When it comes to women's involvement in politics in Russia, another important finding reveals that the majority of Russian women (56.3%) believe that they are simply not accepted into a political arena, in comparison to men (Abrosimova, 2011, p. 237), as men have more "rights" to be involved in politics and it is not a "woman's role" to do so. This finding is consistent with the results of a more recent survey, in which the majority of Russians admit that they do not see woman as President and in which the number of those disapproving women's involvement in politics is growing dramatically (Sharkov, 2017). Such clear discrimination in female rights limits women's access to the resources of power, which, in Russia, belongs to the realm of men. Riabova underlines that women are viewed as different from the male norms in Russia, where masculinity is linked with power and public life, and thus the undertaking of a public role in a society, and femininity – with subordination and private sphere, and thus with undertaking a private, less visible role in a society (2011). Or, to put it another way: masculinity and its stereotypical characteristics ("activism", "decisiveness", "confidence", "strength", "independence", "courage", etc.) are linked with power and are evaluated higher than

femininity and its characteristics (such as “dependence”, “weakness”, “softness”, “indecisiveness”, “family-oriented”) in the “coordinate system of power” (Riabova, 2008, p. 214). Publicity and privacy is another factor considered to be stereotypically masculine or feminine, which ultimately defines the spheres of activity that men and women are “allowed” to engage in (Riabova, 2008). Public activities would include: foreign affairs, military affairs, and business, and they are stereotypically believed to be “men’s job”. Meanwhile, working in health, education or social sectors are seen as “women’s job”, as these sectors require less visible publicity. This also aligns with Falk’s conclusion that leadership is stereotypically associated with masculine characteristics and that the description of good leadership is composed from primarily masculine traits (2010), e.g. being “aggressive”, “analytical”, “ambitious”, “making decisions easily”, “willing to take a stand”, “dominant”, and “forceful”. However, the attributes seen as desirable in women are not associated with leadership at all: women are seen as “compassionate” and “mothering”, “childlike”, “playful”, “yielding”, “soft-spoken”, “gullible”, “shy”, and “emotional” (Falk, 2010, p. 53). Jamieson (1995) notes that such dichotomy in traits grew out of the philosophy of “separate fields”, agreeing with Riabova (2008) that masculine traits are associated with the public sphere of work and feminine traits with the private sphere.

These findings show that the role of a contemporary Russian woman is still rather traditional. Russian women are viewed and also view themselves through a prism of gender characteristics that are not associated with leadership, power and, thus, a notion of a good politician.

1.3. Gender stereotypes in media

Gender, politics and media interrelations have long been explored in the field of communications, with multiple studies providing valuable insights into the media representation of female politicians. Women are underrepresented in political discourse around the whole world, as they make up only 16% in political news stories in television, radio and print (Macharia et al., 2015, p.8). In Russia, female politicians are also underrepresented in the press, as numerical imbalance is striking the eye

(Balalueva, 2013, p. 141). However, when female politicians do receive press coverage, it is often through a lense of gender stereotypes. According to Macharia et al., there is a universal trend to portray women politicians in media as "helpless, hopeless victims", in contrast to images of "stoic, strong, authoritative male figures" (2015, p. 45). In fact, more than half (54%) of political news actually reinforce such gender stereotypes (Macharia, O'Connor & Ndangam, 2010, p. 41), while only 4% of political news stories in television, radio, and print clearly challenge gender stereotypes (Macharia et al., 2015, p. 11). In 2010, that number was 6% instead of 4%, meaning that there is a negative trend (Macharia, O'Connor & Ndangam, 2010, p. 28).

In Russia, journalists use gender stereotypes in a "hidden" way, e.g. idioms or expressions of patriarchal or sexist character, gender asymmetry of lexical and grammatical forms, etc. (Smirnova, 2010, p. 4). However, Johnson also identified frequent examples of more overt use of gender stereotypes in the representation of female politicians in Russia, when media portrays them as being kissed on the hand by their male counterparts, putting on makeup, etc. (Johnson, 2016, p. 651). Additionally, Raicheva-Stover & Ibroscheva (2014, p. 117) also show that "women [in Russia] are seldom covered as active participants in political life (and when they are, they are discussed as voters rather than as politicians)". In addition, even the quality press (re)produces common myths about women in politics (Voronova, 2011), such as, for example, "victimized" female politician (Ross, 2010). Russian media also sees gender as a personal characteristic, in the sense that Russian journalists use gender spotlighting and emphasizing the personal features of the female politicians (Voronova, 2014, p. 79) – an approach that many scholars deem to be responsible for creating a negative image around female politicians; an approach that is used by journalists due to an unawareness of their own cultural assumptions regarding the roles of men and women in the society (Braden, 1996; Falk 2010); and, finally, an approach that is used to seriously undermine the credibility of women politicians.

Research suggests that is it the media institution that is at fault in the process of political communication, and is actually responsible for producing gendered media representations and ignoring problems of gender imbalance in the political sphere

(Voronova, 2014, p. 15). According to scholars, such bias happens due to 1) "male-oriented" agenda of reported politics, where male chauvinism in the mass media is prevalent (van Dijk, 1995, p. 24); 2) media organizations that assume numerical domination of men in the political department (Macharia & Moriniere, 2012; Ross, 2002); and 3) individual cultural characteristics of the journalists with a gender-biased assumption that evolves into producing gendered representations of women in political media discourse (Voronova, 2014; Azhgikhina, 2006; Braden, 1996; Falk 2010; Macharia et al., 2015). Another important aspect when it comes to stereotyping women is the fact that the Russian political sphere is seen as a "closed club", where women have no access to, due to being considered "different" to the male norm:

> *How can women get to politics? The political sphere is blocked. There is a filter, all this "United Russia", so it is not a healthy democratic environment where everyone can compete on equal terms, but something like this, a strange quasi-scheme [...] It is very difficult to get there from street, if you want to uphold interests, if you try to make a political career. Who will take Chirikova*[2] *to Duma? No one! Even though she is a good candidate.* (Voronova, 2011, p. 77)

The Russian political arena, thus, is "not a healthy democratic environment" where politicians compete on equal terms and where the political system is open to new actors. A woman, culturally viewed as a quiet bystander, is seen to have very little potential to become an agent of change in the gender-boxed political system (Norris, 1997), such as the one in Russia. Therefore, a female politician normally stands outside of the system, outside of the institutional politics. And yet, giving the subordinating nature of the political logic in Russia, which aims to strengthen traditionalism and patriarchy (Temkina & Zdravomyslova, 2014), a political journalist deems it impossible to give female politicians space in their content, as they are not ready to become agents of change themselves (Voronova, 2014, p. 78). Hence, poor representation of female politicians.

[2] Yevgeniya Chirikova (1976) is a Russian environmental and political activist.

Vartanova, Smirnova & Frolova found that the problem of gender inequality in the political sphere is rarely raised in Russian journalism (2012). However, according to Russian journalists themselves, they are not at fault. They say, it is Russia's "historical development [that] determines current representation of women and men in the political sphere" (Voronova, 2014, p. 74). Thus, the lack of women in the Russian politics is linked with the "gender-as-difference" approach that dominates the Russian cultural context and also finds its reflection in the media. In an interview with Voronova (ibid.), one of the [male] journalists revealed:

> *In Russia this [i.e. female politicians] is, well, not exotic, but something uncommon. The society [...] is not yet ready to perceive female politicians seriously and view them as specialists [...] In Russia when female politicians are talked about, an image occurs, or more correctly, two images: either of somewhat marginal personas like Novodvorskaya[3], or of people who came to politics either just for interest, or reach their somewhat mercenary goals, but not seriously dealing with politics, not doing it professionally [...]. It is considered at least that men are more independent in making decisions, while a woman is just a standby, a person who supports all the plans, all the decisions of a male politician.* (Voronova, 2014, p. 74)

Smirnova (2010), however, points out that gender-free journalism starts with gender-free journalists. Her findings show that journalists often use gender stereotypes unconsciously in their discourse. Falk (2010) also suggests that there is a certain "media logic" that journalists follow when they report the news about female politicians. According to this logic, female politicians are first seen as female, and only then as politicians:

> *When a reporter or assignment editor approaches a race in which there is a woman candidate, the contest is viewed through the lens of gender. The*

[3] Valeriya Ilyinichna Novodvorskaya (1950 - 2014) was a Russian liberal politician, founder and chairwoman of the *Democratic Union* party (Demokraticheskij Soyuz).

> *reporters are likely to view any candidate qua woman. That is to say, the motivating force by which the reporter writes the story is one of gender. Once the notion of gender is activated in memory, reporters are more likely to write about what associate with gender, and in the case of women, that may mean emotions, families, and appearance.* (Falk, 2010, p. 74-75)

For this reason, many of the political campaigns of female candidates tend to focus on the masculine traits of the candidate (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993). More often than not, female candidates run based on gender-opposing stereotypes, as it predicts a higher likelihood of success than appearing to be a stereotypically woman. Falk (2010, p. 54) also concludes that "a female [political] candidate stereotyped as a typical feminine woman would most certainly lose electoral support because she would be seen to lack typical male traits and expertise in policy areas thought most necessary for effective national leadership". For this reason, in Russian political media discourse, the technique of "masculinisation" and "de-masculinisation" is used widely in media to either support or fight a candidate. In 2004 Presidential election, such technique was used to assign gender markers on candidates (masculine markers to the preferred candidates; "de-masculated" feminine markers to the opponents) in order to justify the legitimacy of power of the chosen candidates (Riabova, 2008, p. 214). Another common media practice, as discovered by Kahn (1996), is that when male candidates are reported, 72% of the time media covers their stereotypically masculine traits, despite the fact that male candidates themselves would only mention those traits 67% of the time. In contrast, stereotypically masculine traits are mentioned in only 41% of the time when it comes to female candidates, despite the fact that in the ads and campaigns of these female candidates the stereotypically masculine traits were presented 91% of the time. Thus, the media exaggerates masculinity (and therefore leadership abilities) of the male candidates, even if those candidates do not portray themselves as such, while female candidates are stripped of masculine characteristics, despite making an explicit attempt to characterize themselves as more masculine (and, therefore, more leader-like).

In summary, scholars around the world are united in the opinion that female politicians have a poor representation in the media discourse, and when they do appear there, they

are treated in a way that is dissimilar to their male opponents: there is spotlight on their gender, their physical appearance is often in focus of the story, and they are often shown as incompetent actors of the political process (Braden, 1996; Falk, 2010; Macharia et al., 2010; Kahn, 1996; Norris, 1997; Ross, 2002).

1.4. Understanding news headlines in the digital environment

The following section focuses on the processes involved in the production of headlines in online news, in order to understand how the news is created in the online environment.

1.4.1. Exploring the online news environment

It is believed that news is the most popular type of discourse, attracting more eyeballs than any kind of written text. According to Van Dijk (1986), "for most citizens, news is perhaps the type of written discourse with which they are confronted most frequently" (p. 156). In today's digital age, online news, not printed news, have a wider audience (Newman et al., 2017). As online news is easily accessible and often free, printed newspapers have been seeing a significant drop in readership and advertising revenue, as many publishers are moving faster than ever from print to digital (Newman, 2017, p. 4). Readers have changed the means of news consumption, preferring to stay updated online – but they have also changed their news consumption habits and now focus on individual items rather than reading whole newspapers (Cilizza, 2014; Konnikova 2014). This means that singular, individual headlines need to stand out more and more – which has also redefined the news production practices, where exaggeration and sensationalization is often used to develop the so-called "clickbait"[4] headlines (Chen, Conroy & Rubin, 2015). In order to compete for the audience's attention and secure profits from advertising, online news outlets often give preference to generalizations, simplifications, emotionalism, and sensationalism (Molek-Kozakowska, 2013, p. 173). Sensationalism is treated as a critical sign of declining quality for traditional ethical

[4] Clickbait refers to "content whose main purpose is to attract attention and encourage visitors to click on a link to a particular web page" (Chen, Conroy & Rubin, 2015).

journalistic values, such as truth and accuracy, independence, impartiality, humanity, and accountability (Chernow, 2017). These values are often overlooked to prioritize content that would be more eye-catching, more shareable, and, ultimately, drive more revenue (Kovach & Rosenstiel, 2014). Danchenko argues that in the Soviet Russia, there was no such thing as sensationalism, due to the fact that the Soviet newspaper language was marked by the need to recycle political dogmas (1998):

> "*... under communism, journalists tried to tread the safe ground of acknowledged doctrines and abstained from any urge to be original or inventive either in headlines or the main body of the text as the entire meaning of journalism was different: the task was not to inform but to promote communist ideology*." (Danchenko, 1998, p. 227)

It is only in the 1990s when journalists started to add personal touch to their headlines in an attempt of diversification and originality – which, in turn, led to the emergence of somewhat misleading headlines (Danchenko, 1998, p. 227).

1.4.2. The importance of headlines in the online news consumption process

In news discourse, it is the headlines that have the highest readership. According to Ungerer (2000, p. 48), "a headline describes the essence of a complicated news story in a few words. It informs quickly and accurately and arouses the reader's curiosity". More importantly, news headlines often direct the way readers comprehend a news text, as they are the markers that monitor people's attention, perception, and the reading process (van Dijk, 1988). Headlines are not only seen as the main mechanism to lure readers into opening the article (Kuiken, Schuth, Spitters & Marx, 2017), but also as the only critical opinion-shaping piece of content that the majority of readers consume. According to Dor (2013), many readers prefer scanning headlines instead of reading whole articles. Nir also adds that "for the modern newspaper reader, reading the headline of a news item replaces the reading of the whole story" (Nir, 1993, p. 24). This is particularly true in the world of news aggregation systems, such as Google or

Yandex, where reportedly 44% of visitors only scan headlines and never click through to read the articles (Wauters, 2010). Danchenko asserts that in Russia, around 80% of Russian readers pay attention only to the headlines (1998, p. 227). A more recent source also suggests that the majority of Russians only read headlines in the press ("Россияне мало читают газеты и не доверяют им" [Russians neither read nor trust newspapers], 2008). Additionally, Danchenko points out that headlines are "self-sufficient independent text that can stand and be analysed on its own, thus functioning as a mini-text capable of denoting essential information (1998, p. 226). Thus, when consumed in isolation, headlines can play a meaningful and influential role in shaping people's perception of the reported events.

1.4.3. Production of headlines

Conboy (2007) defines a headline as fulfilling the following three functions: 1) to provide a brief summary of the main news to the audience, 2) to attract attention to the pieces, and lastly, 3) to provide an initial indication of the content and style of the news values of the (online) newspaper. This view is shared by Thongkliang (as quoted in Thanomsak, 1999) who finds that the goal of the headlines is to 1) catch the attention, 2) present the main point of the news, 3) tell the importance of the news, and 4) express the identity of the publisher.

Conboy (2007, p. 26) also states that "the language of the news reinforces the ways things are" — this could not be more true for the headlines as well. Headlines reinforce the ways things are, in a way that is rarely found in other forms of text. Due to the limitations of space (especially in the online news environment where headlines need to remain within the length of 50-60 characters, otherwise they will be cut off by the search engines), the huge emphasis in the construction of headlines lies on the lexical choice that ensures that headlines, albeit short, still remain effective.

There are various linguistic devices used to ensure the effectiveness of headlines. Straumann (1935) was the pioneer of the headline field, as he was the first to classify headlines in terms of neutrals, nominals, verbals, and particles. Brisau (1969) went further by investigating the language complexity of headlines in a study where he

analyzed 3000 headlines and identified that only 264 examples – or less than 10% of headlines – contain two or more clauses, indicating that headlines strive for grammatical simplicity, rather than complexity, in their structure. Perhaps the most exhaustive and comprehensive study of headlines is offered by Mårdh (1980), who identified various linguistic features typical for a headline: the omission of articles, verbs, and auxiliaries (which come out of necessity for brevity); nominalisations; the widespread use of puns and wordplay; and the importance of word order, where the most important item is placed first. Van Dijk (1988) also contributed to the field of headline's study with his own analysis, in which he examined over 400 headlines and found that the authorities dominate the first position of the headline, supported with active verbs, while the disadvantaged, if mentioned first, are tended to be described with passive verbs. Van Dijk (1988) also points out the importance of syntactic signals, suggesting that the use of active and passive sentences and the position of the agent in headlines reveal the implicit stance the newspaper or the journalist holds towards that agent.

Finally, exaggeration and sensationalization appear to be prevalent characteristics of today's online news environment (Danchenko, 1998; Chen, Conroy & Rubin, 2015), which ultimately determines various stylistic devices utilized to produce a headline. For example, Molek-Kozakowska (2003, p. 191) points out the use of deixis (for the purpose of dramatizing events and reinforcing stereotypical representations), while Fowler (1991) mentions direct quotations used in the headlines as part of a sensationalization strategy. The use of provoking lexis is also seen as a technique to sensationalize and attract reader's attention to a headline (Blom & Hansen, 2015).

1.4.4. Critical discourse analysis of news headlines

There are numerous studies that employ critical discourse analysis to uncover gender stereotypes in news headlines. Sensales & Areni (2017), for example, studied 1688 headlines of Italian newspapers and identified that the headlines under analysis contain sexist language when reporting about female politicians. In particular, they identified that headlines utilize gender-biased grammatical forms to emphasize the non-belonging of females in politics (p. 515). In another study that involved analyzing 1244 headlines, Sensales, Areni, & Dal Secco (2017) also pointed out the use of the so-called "generic

masculine" (p. 464), a grammatical form where masculine is used to specify both genders and, thus, making women invisible. Additionally, the normalization and routinization of gender stereotypes in headlines was present (Sensales, Areni, & Dal Secco).

A number of other scholars also point out the pervasive use of sexism and gender stereotypes in news headlines (Meyer, 2014; Dragaš, 2012; Nayefl & El-Nashar, 2015), and have utilized critical discourse analysis to unveil those stereotypes. Some of the stereotypes unveiled include the representation of women as sexual objects and portraying them as physically and mentally inferior to men (Dragaš, 2012, p. 71-72). Nayefl & El-Nashar also identified that headlines prefer to report on male politicians, rather than female, but in cases when females are reported in the headlines various types of indirect linguistic sexism are employed (2015, p. 173). For example, words negative in meaning or used in a negative context are used to create a negative image of female politicians (ibid.). In their critical discourse analysis of headlines, Nayefl & El-Nashar also relied on a transitivity analysis, which showed that women are mostly represented as 'Goals' rather than 'Actors', i.e. being done to rather than doers, thus portraying women as passive and weak.

Global research has already shown that media plays an important role in hindering women's participation in politics (Bystrom, 2004; Bystrom, Robertson, & Banwart, 2001; Edwards, 2009; Falk, 2010; Jalalzai, 2006; Martìn Rojo, 2006; Ng, 2007; Smith, 1997). As headlines can play an important role in framing, shaping, ignoring, or presenting the female candidate to the public, they have the power to either encourage women to participate and engage in politics, or determine that they do not belong to the political sphere. As a result, a negative representation of female politicians in the news headlines could undermine the effects of women as role models for other women (Falk, 2010; Mandel, 1993).

Rhode (1995) notes that headlines directly reference culturally preferred ideologies about gender and sex. It is thus safe to state that in a patriarchal ideology like Russia with a strong division of gender roles, headlines *will* reflect that ideology, whether

overtly or covertly. Critical discourse analysis can contribute greatly to uncovering how a patriarchal ideology manifests itself through gender stereotypes employed in online news headlines.

2. Theoretical framework

The goal of this Chapter is to introduce key concepts which serve as a foundation for this thesis. Some of them – like gender or stereotypes – have already been mentioned in the previous section. As I established that gender stereotypes are based on culture and ideology, it is crucial to explore the ideology currently exercised in Russia. Representation is also a necessary notion to discuss, in order to understand how it is developed and applied in media.

2.1. Ideology

Van Dijk (2006) defines ideology as a system of beliefs that, in turn, define the social identity of a group, thus controlling and organizing its actions, aims, norms, and values. In this context, a "group" is meant as a social or professional collective that has developed and shares the same ideology, and not a merely cultural collective. For example, all Russian-language speakers belong to the same cultural community, but they might not share the same ideology. In the meantime, Russian-speaking journalists belong to a specific social and professional collective, and, as they recognize themselves to be a part of this group, they share a certain occupational ideology that defines the journalistic values being at the heart of their occupation: immediacy, objectivity, independence, and legitimacy (Deuze, 2005). Such occupational ideology might be dominated by various political or religious ideologies. Ideology is thus a system of abstract ideas that control and organize socially shared beliefs and attitudes (van Dijk, 2006). According to van Dijk (2006), ideologies are expressed, reproduced, acquired and confirmed through various social practices, of which the most important one is the practice of language. He states that it is through the practice of written and spoken language that members of a group can share their ideologically-framed opinions. However, the ideology conveyed in the language might not always be fully transparent, explicit, or easily recognizable. It is thus through the practice of discourse analysis, which puts discourse under a critical investigation, when an ideology hidden behind the sentences can rise to the surface (van Dijk, 2006).

For the purpose of this paper, it is mandatory to explore, albeit briefly, the political ideology in Russia. According to Kolesnikov (2015), the Russian public (or, at the very least, the majority) shares an increasingly conservative and nationalistic ideology, especially following the annexation of Crimea in March 2014. "Freedom of expression", he says, "has been significantly curtailed through a system of bans and strict forms of punishment, including criminal prosecution, which have both didactic and deterrent components. Pressure on democratic media outlets has also increased drastically" (Kolesnikov, 2014, p. 1). Indeed, the recent media laws in Russia extend the state control over mass-media. Independent coverage that goes against official Russian political policy leads to state pressure on the media outlet. The perfect example is Lenta.ru, one of the most read online news outlets in Russia, which, after publishing a pro-Crimea interview in March 2014, was first given an official warning by Roskomnadzor[5], followed by the forced replacement of an editor-in-chief with a more government-friendly one (Luhn, 2014). The Russian government owns the majority of newspapers and, either partially or in whole, all national television stations (Freedom of Press, 2012; Vartanova, 2018). In addition, Russia has one of the world's lowest ranks in the freedom of press category, holding 148th position out of 180 ("2018 World Press Freedom Index", 2018), and it's press is officially recognized as "not free" around the world (Freedom of Press, 2017):

> *The media environment in Russia, which serves as a model and patron for a number of neighboring countries, is marked by the use of a pliant judiciary to prosecute independent journalists; increased self-censorship by reporters; impunity for the physical harassment and murder of journalists; and continued state control or influence over almost all media outlets.* (Freedom of Press, 2011, p. 26)

[5] Rosskomnadzor, or The Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology and Mass Media, is the Russian federal executive body responsible for censorship in media and telecommunications.

In March 2016, Sergey Shoygu, the minister of Defence of Russia, admitted that the government sees the media as "yet another weapon, yet another unit of the Armed Forces", and that it is essential to make sure that this weapon does not end up in the hands of "the enemies" (Gavrilov, 2015). Coming back to the current state of ideology in Russia, Kolesnikov points out that Russian ideology is based on "deliberate recycling of archaic forms of mass consciousness, a phenomenon that can be termed the sanctification of unfreedom" (2014, p. 1). This new ideology is legitimized by constant references to the past, traditions, and historical events (ibid.), which support a rather conservative, patriarchal outlook on life. The neo-conservative "pro-family" and "anti-gender" forces, administered by the government that also owns the media, present challenges opposing to women's right and gender equality. The "anti-gender" movement with its traditional agenda has been vigorous in Russia in recent years. Since 2010, the country has been leading a UNHRC (United Nations Human Rights Council) campaign that puts forward the so-called "traditional values" as a legitimate consideration in the formation and implementation of human rights norms (Wilkinson, 2014, p. 363). In 2015, Vladimir Putin also approved a new National Security Strategy, which aims to preserve traditional Russian spiritual and moral values and fight those who strive to destabilize and destroy those values (FGSRF, 2015). One such "traditional Russian spiritual and moral value" is family (FGSRF, 2015, Paragraph 78) and respect for family (FGSRF, 2015, Paragraph 11). This ideology puts forward a "traditional value" of family, meaning the woman has the role of the mother and caregiver, and the man – as the provider. If we look at demographic statistics in Russia, it is possible to see the source of this emphasis on "traditional values". Between 1990 and 2001, the rates of registered marriages fell from 8.9% to 6.9% and fertility rates decreased from 1.89 children per woman to 1.25. Additionally, in 1900 an average of 15.7% of young women between 20 and 24 gave birth, in contrast to 2001 where the percentage slipped to 9.9% (White, 2005, p. 429). Whereas the Soviet ideology tended to promote the image of the "working wife *and* mother", now the official rhetoric promotes the image of the model housewife and a male breadwinner (ibid.).

Through such separation of gender roles, Russia demonstrates a strongly patriarchal ideology that is re-emphasized and reinforced by the government that constrains attempts to rethink gender roles in the country.

2.2. Representation

According to Durham and Kellner, the methods of textual analysis derive from understandings of text, narratives, and, above all, representation (2006). Fairclough (1995) also points out that, as our everyday lives become more pervasively textually mediated, people's lives are shaped by representations which are produced elsewhere. The politics of representations, he states, becomes increasingly important: Whose representations are these? Who gains what from them? What social relations do they draw people into? What are their ideological effects? What alternative representations are there? To answer these questions, let us first consult Hall and Hodkinson for their definitions of representation.

According to Hall, representation is "the process by which members of a culture use language to produce meaning" (1997, p. 61), implying that is it through words, and the value that we place on these words, that certain objects, people, events, or other happenings can be represented in a particular way and, thus, given a particular meaning. Stemming from this notion, these objects, people, events, or happenings do not carry any meaning in themselves, unless that meaning is constructed through the language used to describe or communicate them. The underlying foundation of representation theory is based on the Saussurean distinction between the "signifier" and the "signified", where the signifier implies the actual means of representation (e.g. words, semantic structure, etc.), and the signified – the very concept or meaning that is being represented and given across with the help of signifiers. When making the news, a particular use of "signifiers" can help journalists send a hidden message through the prism of a particular ideology and convey a specific representation of a current event or a person (in our case: Ksenia Sobchak) that is being reported in the news.

It is Fürsich (2010) who points out that representation is used to analyze and understand ideologies that are being communicated and normalized with the help of media messaging. This is the reason why it is important to examine the type of representation that Ksenia Sobchak receives and analyze why she is represented the way she is, in order to understand the ideology hidden behind it. Representation is also a key notion in understanding the relationship between media and society; it is not only that the media has the ability to shape the society through publishing a specific types of content, but also that society has the power to influence the media and find in it the reflection of its own beliefs. Both of these processes, according to Hodkinson (2001), coexist in the notion of representation. However, the power of media in the construction process of certain representation is undeniable. Hall views that media representations are the versions of reality that is achieved through the active processes of "selecting and presenting, structuring and shaping" (1982, p. 60). Media professionals always have a choice in how they present the news and people by selecting or ignoring the certain angles of presentation. When we consume a media text, e.g. a news headline that reports on a certain event or describes a certain person, we consume a representation that has been encoded by the media practitioner working for a certain outlet. For example, reading a headline that says: ""Базарная девка": Собчак в прямом эфире довела Жириновского до бешенства" (""Vulgar fishwife"": Sobchak drove Zhirinovsky into a frenzy on live TV") does not report facts or actual reality, but focuses our attention on Sobchak as being a "vulgar fishwife[6]" and emphasizes her inappropriate behaviour and difficult character, while ignoring the behaviour and the character of her opponent, Zhirinovsky. Such a headline can therefore influence society's opinion about the political candidates by choosing to focus on Sobchak's, rather than Zhirinovsky's, bad behaviour, leading the audience to believe that she is not a suitable option for President. Representations often contribute to the perpetuation of a particular ideology (e.g. in which a woman can not be a good politician), as they can direct the attention to or from certain public issues, often playing a crucial role that determines which problems will be tackled or ignored by society (Fürsich, 2010). Through such different representations of

[6] "Fishwife" is defined as "a vulgar, abusive woman" by Miriam-Webster Dictionary, or as a "loud, unpleasant woman" by Cambridge English Dictionary

facts and reality the media can play a defining role in how audiences understand public issues and tackle them (ibid.).

In summary, women are typically represented in Russia in accordance to the traditional and patriarchal ideology that is currently being exercised in Russia. This ideology finds its reflection in media in the form of women politicians' stereotypically feminine representation, or lack of women politicians representation in general. This representation of women sends a signal to society that women do not have a role to play in the public sphere, such as politics.

3. Analytical framework

3.1 Critical discourse analysis

To analyze the headlines and identify the hidden gender stereotypes, critical discourse analysis (CDA) has deemed to be the most appropriate method, because it aims to understand the power relations that language exercises in society. According to Fairclough (2001), relationships between the use of language and the exercise of power are often not apparent, and with the help of CDA it is possible to uncover them. He argues that CDA aims to investigate the "hidden determinants" in social relationship system and the "hidden effect" which they may have (Fairclough, 2001, p. 4).

Van Dijk, another prominent CDA scholar, points out that, in general, CDA is a method that attempts to uncover the relations between discourse, power, dominance, social inequality and the position of the discourse analyst in such social relationships (2006, p. 249). To illustrate further, one of the focuses of CDA is unveiling the role of discourse in the (re)production of dominance (ibid.). Van Dijk defined this as "the exercise of social power by elites, institutions, or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality" (2006, p. 250). This process of dominance reproduction may involve different modes of discourse power relations, such as direct or overt support, enactment, representation, legitimation, denial, mitigation, or concealment of dominance (p. 249). It is for this reason that CDA is often used as a principal method to reveal how power structures are constructed through discourse (Teo, 2000, p. 12). Specifically, CDA strives to identify structures, strategies or other properties of text play a role in these modes of reproduction of power. Ultimately, the success of CDA is measured by its effectiveness to contribute *change* through critical understanding of the relationship between those who abuse the power and those who are abused by it.

In order to analyze headlines from the perspective of such power relations, it is worth referring to the CDA model developed by Fairclough. Fairclough (1995) developed and

refined a three-dimensional framework to study discourse, mapping separate forms of analysis onto one another: *a language text*, whether it is spoken or written (i), *a discursive practice* (ii), and *a sociocultural practice* (iii). The first dimension deals with analysing the meaning of text, or, in the case of this thesis, headlines and their formal properties, such as clauses, verbal structures, etc.; the second is concerned with processes and practices of text production, distribution and consumption; whereas the final dimension covers the analysis of discursive events as instances of sociocultural practice, be it an "immediate situation, wider institution or organization, or a societal level" (1995, p. 97).

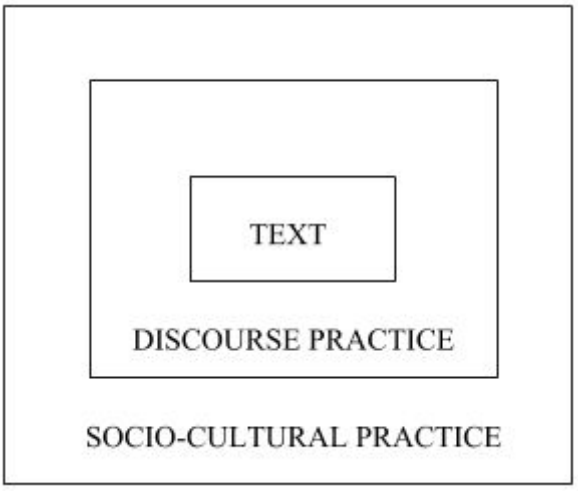

Figure 2: Fairclough's CDA framework (1995)

3.2 Sociolinguistic approach to CDA

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is rooted in *critical linguistics*, which is "a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced" (Teo, 2000, p. 11). Critical linguistics, as a term, was first introduced by Fowler, Kress, Hodge & Trew (1979), who claimed that discourse does not just reflect social processes, but also affirms and consolidates these processes, thus reproducing existing social structures (Teo, 2000, p. 11). Fairclough's (1992; 1995), as well as Wodak's (2002) and other CDA scholars', approach to CDA heavily relies on sociolinguistics — the study of language in a social context — and is heavily influenced by Halliday's systemic-functional linguistics, or SFL. The main characteristic of SFL is that it surgically looks at the text, premising

upon the idea that language is construed as "networks of interlocking *options*" where the meaning is directly dependent on what option within the system of language is chosen or not chosen (Halliday, 2014). As explained in the words of Teo (2000, p. 24), SFL is "a grammar of *meaning*, as it construes languages as a system of meanings realized through the *functions* that these grammatical options embody". Rooted in structural grammar, SFL focuses on the selection, categorization and ordering of meaning at a clausal level, rather than at a larger discoursal level. Such surgical, focused, micro-level approach offers a useful tool for CDA analysts – particularly in the case of analyzing headlines – as it helps to systematically uncover and interpret the underlying motivations of the text producers, as well as the prejudices that drive them (Teo, 2000, p. 24). By drawing upon the SFL approach for the text analysis dimension in CDA, it is exactly those underlying motivations, meanings, and prejudices hidden behind particular linguistic realizations at a clause and phrase levels that this thesis hopes to uncover. To do that, the analysis focuses on lexical choice, quotation patterns, and one particular aspect of Halliday's SFL that was found to be most revealing and explanatory when it comes to the type of ideological construction that are of interest to my study: transitivity.

3.2.1. Transitivity

Transitivity is a key component of Halliday's ideational metafunction of language that embodies the world of experience, perceptions and consciousness (Teo, 2000, p. 24) and are categorized into a specific set of process types. According to Halliday, our most powerful impression of experience is that it consists of a flow of events, or "goings-on" (2014, p. 213). Such a flow of events is "chunked into quanta of change by the grammar of the clause", where each quantum of change is modelled as a figure of happening, doing, behaving, sensing, saying, being, or existing (Halliday, p. 2014). All these figures consist of a *process*, which unfolds through time, of *participants*, which are being directly involved in the process, and, sometimes, also of *circumstances* of time, space, cause, and/or manner (ibid.). The following table serves as a clear illustration to further explain the process types, their meanings, and characteristic participants, such as Actor/Goal, Sayer/Target, etc.:

Process Type	Meaning	Primary participant	Secondary participant
Material	'doing', 'happening'	Actor	Goal
Behavioural	'behaving'	Behaver	-
Mental	'sensing', 'seeing', 'thinking', 'wanting', 'feeling'	Senser	Phenomenon
Verbal	'saying'	Sayer	Target
Relational	'being', 'attributing', 'identifying'	Carrier Token Identifier	Attribute, Value Identified
Existential	'existing'	Existent	-

Table 2: Process types, their meanings, and characteristic participants. Based on Halliday (2014)

By focusing on the identification of the process and participants, it is possible to reveal the linguistic order imposed on the way the content producers choose to convey "who does what to whom" based on how they experience, perceive, and thus, reproduce the events reported. In this respect, transitivity analysis helps to identify and establish the attribution of agency between the various participants in the text under analysis. Thus, in an attempt to explore how language represents reality depending on the way dominant/primary and subordinate/secondary agents are constructed, transitivity analysis has a lot to offer.

It is worth noting that Halliday not only distinguishes between verbal processes and participants, but also Circumstances. He names five main circumstances that accompany the "goings-on", complimenting the narrated flow of events with more

contextualization: Manner/Means (how), Time (when), Location (where), Cause/Purpose (why/what for), and Contingency/Concession (under what condition).

3.3. Brief summary of the approach

In order to implement the analysis of headlines and identify if there were any gender stereotypes used in Ksenia Sobchak's representation, the sociolinguistic approach to critical discourse analysis was followed. First, Event 1 and Event 2 were analyzed in broader context, connecting those situations to a wider set of social and cultural practices in Russia. It was also in this part where the discourse practices were touched upon. Then, the analysis of headlines themselves was carried out from three perspectives: lexical choice; quotation patterns; and verbal processes (transitivity). This will first provide a detailed analysis of the headlines with a more narrow linguistic overview, aiming to uncover the ideology hiding behind certain lexical and semantic structures of headlines.

4. Methodology

The aim of this Chapter is to illustrate the sample collection process, and also introduce methodological approach taken towards headlines' analysis.

4.1. Sample collection

The data collection is divided into two parts: the source of data (selecting newspapers) and the units of data (selecting headlines).

4.1.1 Selecting newspapers

For the analysis, the data consists of a selection of online news covering two events involving Ksenia Sobchak, particularly: 1) The second presidential debates on live TV, taking place on February 28, during which another candidate, Vladimir Zhirinovsky publicly insulted Sobchak who, in turn, threw water at her opponent; and 2) The third presidential debates, taking place on March 14, in which Sobchak was brought to tears on live TV and left the stage. Both of these events have quite a sensational and somewhat scandalous nature, that caught the eye of the media.

Before analyzing the headlines, it was necessary to identify the news outlets, from which I selected the headlines. To provide a more holistic and balanced approach to the analysis, the headlines were selected from both pro-government and oppositional media. Simonov & Rao (2017) identify 48 Russian-speaking news outlets, divided into international, independent, possibly influenced (oligarchic), government controlled, and Ukrainian subsets' categories:

International	Independent	Possibly Influenced	(oligarchic)	Government (controlled)	Ukrainian (subset)
bbc	newsru	bfm	fontanka	1tv	korrespondent
svoboda	newtimes	echo	gazeta	aif	liga
meduza	novayagazeta	interfax	lifenews	dni	unian
dw	rbc	mk	izvestia	ntv	
reuters	slon	znak	kommersant	rg	
	tvrain	ng	kp	ria	
	vedomosti	polit	lenta	rt	
	forbes	regnum		vesti	
	snob	ridus		vz	
	the-village	rosbalt		tass	
		sobesednik			
		utro			
		trud			

Table presents the simplified domain names; for example, 1tv stands for www.1tv.ru. Most domains have the www.*.ru structure, with some exceptions. Groups are created based on open information and interviews with media professionals.

Table 3: Russian-language online news media by the type of influencer, December 2014. Source: Simonov & Rao (2017)

There was one main criteria selected for choosing the mediums: circulation. The higher the circulation, the higher is the exposure to the headlines and, thus, their influence. To identify the online news sites with the highest amount of traffic in Russia, I used Alexa, a free-to-use service that provides statistics on web traffic data. The following table presents Russian online media outlets, based on Simonov & Rao (2017), with ranking numbers according to Alexa (2018):

International	Independent	Possibly Influenced	(oligarchic)	Government (controlled)	Ukrainian (subset)
bbc 316,583	newsru 8,187	bfm 755	fontanka 449	1tv 115	korrespondent ?
svoboda 476	newtimes 6,742	echo 78	gazeta 48	aif 131	liga ?
meduza 136	novayagazeta 529	interfax 203	lifenews 82	dni 584	unian ?
dw ?	rbc 25	mk 67	izvestia 125	ntv 176	
reuters ?	slon 2,748	znak 483	kommersant 108	rg 120	
	tvrain 470	ng 664	kp 41	ria 20	
	vedomosti 320	polit 5,609	lenta 29	rt 40	
	forbes 649	regnum 224		vesti 51	
	snob 756	ridus 1,452		vz 121	
	the-village 621	rosbalt 543		tass 83	
		sobesednik 1,286			
		utro 1,007			
		trud 4,324			

Table presents the simplified domain names; for example, 1tv stands for www.1tv.ru. Most domains have the www.*.ru structure, with some exceptions. Groups are created based on open information and interviews with media professionals.

Table 4: The ranking of the most circulated news outlets in Russia according to Alexa (Retrieved May 1, 2018). Based on Simonov & Rao (2017)

Based on the table above, 30 news outlets were selected: RIA (20), RBC (25), Lenta (29), RT (40), KP (41), Gazeta (48), Vesti (51), MK (67), Echo (78), Life.ru (82), Tass (83), Kommersant (108), 1tv (115), Rg (120), Vz (121), Izvestia (125), Aif (131), Meduza (136), Ntv (176), Interfax (203), Regnum (224), Vedomosti (320), Fontanka (449), TVrain (470), Svoboda (476), Znak (483), Novayagazeta (529), Rosbalt (543), Dni (584), and The-Village (621). Then, I consequently extracted the headlines.

4.1.2 Selecting headlines

Having selected media outlines for the study, it was necessary to decide upon the headlines to be analyzed. As previously mentioned, it was decided to focus on the two events around Ksenia Sobchak: the second presidential debate that took place on 28 February 2018 (hereafter referred to as Event 1), and the third debate that took place on 14 March 2018 (hereafter referred to as Event 2).

Headlines were filtered according to the date published. Only the first-published headlines were selected for the analysis (per outlet), due to the fact they were the first "breaking news" headlines and generated the most view counts. (See Appendix for a full list of collected headlines.) Although 60 headlines were expected, 8 headlines were missing as some news outlets did not cover Event 2. Additionally, 1tv did not cover either of the events. There were in total 52 headlines selected in total, in which 29 headlines were based on Event 1, and 23 headlines – on Event 2.

4.2. Limitations

In this critical investigation and interpretation of online news headlines, it was necessary to remain as impartial and objective as possible, relying on various academic sources to give structure and guidance to the analysis and its interpretations. However, my personal experience as a young Russian woman born and raised in a post-Soviet environment might have not only given me a better insight in understanding a Russian cultural context, but also somewhat biased my interpretations. This is the biggest and

most commonly recognized limitation of CDA in general. Due to the interpretative nature of CDA and the lack of explicit, structured, and unified approach (Morgan, 2010), the same data sample can be viewed through various interpretive lenses. Another potential bias is the preference to a sociolinguistic approach in CDA, rather than another approach, due to my previous academic background in languages and linguistics.

In addition, while Halliday's transitivity model has been previously used for analysing texts in languages other than English, like German (Stojičić and Momčilović 2016), French (Caffarel-Cayron and Rechniewski 2014) or even Japanese (Iwamoto 1995), it has not yet been used in Russian, which gave no prior examples to rely on.

Last but not least, the final limitation of this study is a limitation in CDA that does not allow proper examination of the news consumption patterns, as suggested by Fairclough in the second dimension of CDA, discursive practice. While it is possible to pull basic demographic data, such as gender or browsing location, from sites like Alexa or SimilarWeb, such data is not sufficient to understand *who* those people are, *what* their ideological outlook is, and *how* they consume the news. Collecting purely demographic data does not provide insights into the news consumption patterns of the audience, which a survey or set of interviews could shed light to. That is, however, outside the scope of this thesis.

5. Ethical considerations

Markham and Buchanan (2012) define three fundamental principles of any research ethics: respect for persons, justice, and beneficence. The researcher must respect and protect the privacy of the people taking part in the research, make sure that the benefits of the research are equally distributed, and, ultimately, aim at doing good (Collins, 2010). However, taking into consideration that no primary data has been used, i.e. no survey, questionnaires or interviews were carried out, there are no ethical considerations regarding the treatment of research participants. In addition to that, there are no ethical considerations recognized when it comes to collecting, analyzing, and displaying publicly available data on a public figure, which is the case in this thesis (CUREC, 2016, p. 6).

When it came to the collection of data, Internet research was used exclusively. As stated by Markham & Buchanan (2012, p. 4), Internet research implies "visual and textual analysis, semiotic analysis, content analysis, or other methods of analysis to study the web and/or internet-facilitated images, writings, and media forms". For Internet research of written texts, such as headlines, ethical issues may include ensuring authorized access to certain websites, collecting a recorded consent from the owner of the texts if copyright is applied, etc. To ensure that these aspects were not violated, I only collected headlines from public online news outlets that do not have a subscription wall and meticulously cited, referenced and provided direct links to all publications mentioned in this thesis. Another ethical issue tied to Internet-based research is reliability and availability of content. For this reason, the link to the headline, media outlet, and date accessed is included in the Appendix, in case the content is removed or modified.

6. Analysis of results

The following Chapter presents the analysis from the macro- and micro-perspectives. The macro-perspective puts Sobchak into a more contextual understanding of the overall presidential race, provides the unfolding of the events reported by the headlines under analysis, and, finally, analyzes headlines from the perspective of discourse practice. The micro-perspective presents the analysis of headlines from the point of view of lexical choice, use of quotations, and transitivity.

Before beginning the analysis of headlines, it is necessary to first describe the events that the headlines report to and provide the immediate context around them. I chose to focus on two events, which happened during the publicly televised presidential debates.

6.1. Describing the events under analysis

6.1.1. Unfolding of the Event 1

The first event took place on February 28, 2018, in which Ksenia Sobchak, Vladimir Zhirinovsky, and the other candidates took part of the second presidential debates. The incident began when Zhirinovsky started interrupting another candidate and became so emotional that neither the moderator, nor the other (male) candidates could calm him down. At this stage Sobchak stepped into the argument, addressed Zhirinovsky, and prompted him to calm down, to which he replied: “Shut up, you fool” (“Заткнись ты, дура”). The debates’ moderator unsuccessfully attempted to reprimand Zhirinovsky. Sobchak accused Zhirinovsky of being rude to her (“How dare you talk to me like this?” “Вы вообще как со мной разговариваете?”), repeating that he should calm down. Next, Zhirinovsky called Sobchak “a girl from the streets” (“девка с улицы”) telling her to “get lost” (“убирайся отсюда”), comparing her to dirt (“грязь”) and telling the moderator “to shut her up” (“пусть заткнется”). He then insulted another candidate. As the debates spiralled out of control, the moderator gave up on moderating. Finally, Sobchak tried to interject: “Stop this nonsense” (“Прекратите этот базар”). To that,

Zhirinovsky replied again: “Shut up, you fool, shut up” (“Заткнись, дура, заткнись”), and Sobchak doused him with water.

6.1.2. Unfolding of the Event 2

The second event took part during the next round of the presidential debates. While answering the moderator’s question, Sobchak was interrupted first by Zhirinovsky and then by other male opponents. All together, the candidates began to openly laugh at her. After finishing her answer amidst the interruptions, Sobchak took a moment to ask: “Friends, why are you interrupting only me here”? (“Друзья, почему вы здесь перебиваете только меня?”). Zhirinovsky and the other opponents began yelling at Sobchak and she complained to the moderator about the interruptions and indicated she would complain to CEK[7] as her opponents would not let her speak. In response, Zhirinovsky interrupted her again: “Bring her back to the kindergarten and put her on the pot, this little girl” (“В детский сад верните, на горшочек посадите, девочку”). Sobhak appealed to the moderator again, demanding to be given her time back and to stop Zhirinovsky’s insults. The moderator said he had no right to do so. Sobchak then asked the moderator “if he thinks it’s okay” that she was called a “whore and a dirty witch” by Zhirinovsky who also took her time during the debates. Again, the moderator replied that he had no right to stop this. This is when Sobchak started crying. Zhirinovsky pointed this out immediately (“Cry, cry, mommy will run to wipe your little nose”, “Заплачь, заплачь, мама прибежит, носик утрет”). Finally, another candidate was given the opportunity to answer his question. As he finished answering, Sobchak left the debates in tears.

Both of these events have generated widespread public attention, which was the primary reason why I chose to focus on headlines reporting to these particular events. It is through the prism of these two events that I conducted the macro- and micro analysis of the sampled headlines.

[7] CEK, or Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation, is a is the body responsible for conducting and overseeing federal and local elections in Russia.

6.2. Macro-perspective: socio-cultural and discourse practice

Previously in this thesis, I already talked about how, solely based on gender, women in Russia are generally reserved for work in non-public spheres (Abrosimova, 2011; Riabova, 2008) and labeled with gender stereotypes that associate women with non-leadership-like qualities (Falk, 2010). Numerous studies were referred to the lack of female representation both in the Russian political arena and the Russian media that represents women in politics as something "exotic" (Voronova, 2014) and does not treat female politicians equally in comparison to their male counterparts (Raicheva-Stover & Ibroscheva, 2014). Women politicians are not only seldomly covered by the press in Russia, but they are mostly discussed as voters, i.e. not politically active. There are also examples of idioms or expressions of sexist character and gendered assymetry in media portrayals of women politicians in Russia (Smirnova, 2010). Most importantly, the Russian press is found to be (re)producing common myths (Voronova, 2011), such as "victimized" female politicians (Ross, 2010), use gender spotlighting (Voronova, 2014), and, generally, use gender stereotypes when they report the news, whether consciously or unconsciously (Smirnova, 2010).

It is in this particular environment when Ksenia Sobchak, a TV personality often referred to as "Russian Paris Hilton", nominated herself as a Presidential candidate. Billing herself as the "candidate against all", her campaign encouraged the Russian electorate to vote against the lack of other choice by voting for her. As mentioned previously, the political sphere in Russia is "blocked" (Voronova, 2011, p. 77) and prominent positions are already occupied by politicians who have been in power for decades. Indeed, the rest of the presidential candidates in the 2018 elections have decades of presence on the political arena, with some having run for President several times:

Name of presidential candidate	**Age**	**Years of political activity**	**Presidential nominations**	**Vote share in the 2018 election**

Sergey Baburin	59	approx. 30	1	0,65%
Pavel Grudinin	57	approx. 30	1	11,77%
Maxim Suraykin	39	approx. 20	1	0,68%
Vladimir Zhirinovsky	72	approx. 30	6	5,65%
Vladimir Putin	65	approx. 30	4	76, 69%
Boris Titov	57	approx. 20	1	0.76%
Grigori Yavlinski	66	approx. 40.	3	1,05%
Ksenia Sobchak	36	approx. 5.	1	1,68%

Table 5: List of 2018 presidential candidates in Russia

By challenging the well-established political structure, publicly speaking out against Putin, and being the first female candidate in over a decade, Ksenia Sobchak has valuable significance in the 2018 elections. While there has indeed been a slight increase of women in Russian politics, it is not to say that the regime is feminist. In previous elections, women, including a ballerina, a rhythmic gymnast and a former Playboy model, have been recruited into the Russian politics to attract voters (Johnson, 2016, p. 651). It can be theorized that Sobchak, a former TV-host and a scandalous celebrity, had a similar role in the 2018 elections. During her campaign, Sobchak actively urged people to vote (Sobchak, 2017). As a result, the Presidential election of 2018 had a voter turnout of 67,54% ("Итоговая явка на выборах президента составила 67,54%" [Final turnout on the Presidential election was 67,54%], 2018), which is over 2% higher in comparison to the previous elections in 2012 ("Об определении результатов выборов Президента РФ" [About the result of election for President of the Russian Federation], 2012). While Sobchak's campaign may have had a mobilizing effect on voters, it has been widely speculated that her role in the elections was actually to undermine the opposition, in support of Vladimir Putin (Ermokhin, 2017; Ferris-Rotman, 2017; Ioffe, 2018). In addition, the type of representation that

Sobchak received in the media could also undermine women in politics. This is reflected in the framing that journalists use or avoid when describing the two events under analysis. Headlines such as “Оппоненты довели Собчак до слез во время публичных дебатов” (“Opponents brought Sobchak to tears during public debates”) (Headline 46) or “Собчак облила Жириновского водой во время дебатов” (“Sobchak doused Zhirinovsky with water during debates”) (Headline 1) clearly attribute to Sobchak’s lack of strength and inability to cope with emotions, rather than focus on the opponents’ misconduct during the debates. Thus, on the one hand, there was female represented during the elections, but from the other hand, the representation is implemented from a patriarchal ideological angle and does not depict the only female candidate in powerful, leader-like way.

The microstructure analysis of the sampled headlines is thus conducted through the lense of this sociocultural context. By breaking down the headlines into smaller components and looking at the lexical choice, quotation patterns, and syntactical elements used to construct the image of Sobchak, the aim is to reconstruct the patterns that emerged in the macro-scenario. The stereotypical view of women as weak and un-leader-like cannot but emerge in the way media outlets portray the two scandalous events from the presidential debates.

6.3. Micro-perspective: Textual analysis

This section gives an overview of the analysis of the selected headlines, relying on sociolinguistic approach to critical discourse analysis, previously presented in Chapter 3.2. The aim of this text analysis is to identify hidden gender stereotypes and ideologies that determine Sobchak’s specific representation by the media. Being aware of the type of gender stereotypes identified in Russia, the headlines are analyzed from three perspectives: the lexical choice, the quotation pattern, and the transitivity analysis.

6.3.1. Lexical choice

Scholars like del-Teso-Craviotto point out a connection between the use of specific vocabulary and the dominant gender ideology in discourse (2005). Discourse, she says,

is a powerful instrument when it comes to maintaining or challenging gender ideologies, which are largely sustained by particular uses of the lexicon. Even at a rather general level, when taking a closer look at the lexicon, there is an indication that the headlines of the newspapers under analysis are somewhat gendered. For the Event 2, in all headlines, there are two constantly used lemmas that describe a state of emotions, such as "слезы" ("tears") and "расплакаться" ("to burst into tears"). These lemmas are associated exclusively with Sobchak. In stark contrast, the lemma "довести" ("to get [something somewhere]", "to bring", "to finish"), associated with Sobchak's male opponent Zhirinovsky, indicates a sense of accomplishment, a certain kind of achievement and success. These lemmas contribute to creating a stereotypical concept of femininity which emphasizes women's investment in emotions – one of the gender stereotypes outlined previously in this thesis (see Chapters 1.1 and 1.2.). These lemmas also provide an indication of what might be ideologically important and crucial for the producers of the headlines, particularly because they are used recurrently across all headlines. Choosing to portray Sobchak in an emotional state, as opposed to her male opponent, reinforces patriarchal ideology which casts women in a helpless, defenseless position. This aligns with previously cited finding by Macharia, in which female politicians are portrayed as being helpless by the media, while male politicians – as strong and authoritative (2015, p. 45) (see Chapter 1.3).

The repetitive use of this linguistic strategy creates a powerful naturalizing effect that reinforces an idea that Sobchak is emotional *because* she is a woman (and *not* because her opponent was abusive), thus triggering sexist and gender-conforming assumptions that all women are emotional and men are not.

In Event 1, gender-specific lemmas that can not be attributed to a male but only to a female were found to be assigned to Sobchak: e.g. "баба" ("[vulgar] woman"[8]), "девка" ("fishwife"), "сука" (female "bitch"), and "дура" (female "fool").

[8] In Russian, it is the word "женщина" ("woman") which is a simple neutral description of gender, while the word "баба" ("baba") implies in itself vulgar, conflictive qualities carried by a female.

Headline 3:

Original:	Жириновский назвал Собчак “отвратительной **сукой**” и получил стакан воды в лицо
Translation:	Zhirinovsky called Sobchak a “disgusting **bitch**” and got a glass of water in his face

Headline 10:

Original:	Собчак облила Жириновского водой в ответ на "отвратительную **бабу**"
Translation:	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky in response to a “disgusting **bitch**”

Headline 18:

Original:	Жириновский угрожал преподавателю МГУ и назвал Собчак **дурой**
Translation:	Zhirinovsky threatens the MSU teacher and called Sobchak a **fool**

Headline 28:

Original:	"Базарная **девка**": Собчак в прямом эфире довела Жириновского до бешенства
Translation:	“A bazaar **fishwife**”: Sobchak brought Zhirinovsky to frenzy on air

This gender spotlighting finds its lexical expression in a more or less frequent use of the word “woman” and its appropriate synonyms. The choice of lexicon puts an emphasis on Sobchak’s gender and her attribution to the female kind. However, due to its negative connotation, this lexicon also creates a derogatory, pejorative overtone that belittles Sobchak in front of the other exclusively male presidential candidates and portrays her as morally and intellectually incapable to compete for Presidency. In stark contrast, in the case of Zhirinovsky, the lemma “politician” was used to describe him, emphasizing that he is, in fact, a real politician and Sobchak, in comparison, is not:

Headline 27:

Original:	Жириновский обругал Собчак на дебатах, а она в ответ вылила на **политика** стакан воды
Translation:	Zhirinovsky swore at Sobchak during debates, and she poured out a glass of water at the **politician**

Over-lexicalisation, a stylistic device used as a strategy to encode a certain ideology in news discourse (Fowler et al., 1979) was found when analyzing headlines for both Event 1 and 2. Over-lexicalisation appears when a plentitude of repetitive, quasi-synonymous terms are interwoven into the fabric of the news discourse, creating a

sense of "over-completeness" in the description of the participants (van Dijk, 1991). Fowler et al. (1979) draw out that those who are powerless are often over-lexicalized. As already shown in Event 1, the headlines under analysis repeatedly emphasize, through the use of different lexis, that Sobchak is a woman. This is not simply a piece of factual information, aimed to provide more details about the events, but rather an attempt to orient and navigate readers' perception of Sobchak in a particular way. Over-lexicalisation also draws attention to some derogatory characteristics of Sobchak in Event 1. There, the headlines portray her not *just* as a woman, but as "disgusting" and "conflictive" woman, thus evoking condemnation, not sympathy, for the role she took during the reported event. As a result, the over-lexicalisation fixates on Sobchak's inability to construct and articulate an identity *for* herself and *by* herself, as she is presented to the public as a caricature of a politician who is not only "female" and "emotional" but also vicious and immoral.

To summarize, the analysis of lexical choice indicates that the preferred vocabulary in the headlines contribute to the creation of a particular discourse of femininity that is found in the Russian ideology, in which women are incapable to play a leading role in politics.

6.3.2. Quotation patterns

A major characteristic of the newspaper discourse is its dependence on various sources of information that the news report itself is based on. For this very reason, quotes – either direct or indirect – are often interwoven into the fabric of the news discourse in order to give the latter a higher resemblance of "facticity". After all, "a quote from the newsmaker's own words renders it as incontrovertible fact" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 96). In media discourse, according to Scannell (cited in Teo, 2000, p. 18), quotations can – and are – used as a gate-keeping device that admits primarily those who are in the position of power and influence, shutting out the voice of those who are deemed by society as powerless or weak. The powerful are further empowered as their visibility is enhanced through quotation patterns, and their voice and, thus, their status is elevated. In the meantime, the systematic lack of quotations shuts down the opinions, perspectives, and visibility of the powerless, only disempowering them even further.

It is often the case that minorities – the poor, the young, the disadvantaged (like women in politics) – are silenced or hardly quoted, and denied a chance to be heard and understood from their own perspective. When they are quoted, it is often with suspicion or distance in news reports (Teo, 2000).

In the 52 headlines under analysis, there were 7 headlines only that used direct or indirect quotations taken either from Sobchak's or the other candidates' speech. In comparison, her male opponent, Zhirinovsky, is quoted 5 times, while Sobchak is only quoted twice. Such numeric disproportion disfavours Sobchak, as it gives more voice, and thus more power, to Zhirinovsky. The following table shows that Sobchak is quoted about one third of a time compared to her male opponent:

Source of quotes	Quotes	Head line No.	Quality exposed (Sobchak)	Quality exposed (Zhirinovsky
Sobchak	"Почему вы перебиваете здесь только меня?" (Why are you interrupting only me here?)	44	victim	-
	"Жириновский хамит мне постоянно" (Zhirinovsky is rude to me all the time)	34	-	rude
Zhirinovsky	"Мама прибежит, носик утрет" ("Mommy will come, [will] wipe your little nose")	52	weakness	-
	"базарная девка" ("foul-mouth fishwife")	28	emotionality	-
	"отвратительную бабу" ("disgusting broad")	10	vile character	-
	"отвратительной сукой" ("disgusting bitch")	3	vile character	-
	"дурой" ("fool")	18	lack of intelligence	-

Table 6. Quotation patterns of headlines under analysis

This table also demonstrates that it is the *kind* of quotes, not only their numeric representation, that also convey the *type* of voice given to the two political opponents. In all of five Zhirinovsky's quotes a clear pattern is seen which describes Sobchak in a very derogatory manner, attributing negative qualities to her that would either portray her weakness (e.g. Headline 5), lack of intelligence (e.g. Headline 18), emotionality (e.g. Headline 28), or simply a vile character (Headlines 3 and 10) – qualities that are not associated with a strong leader. Thus, not only is it the male opponent who is given more voice numerically, but he is also given the opportunity to discredit his female opponent. Sobchak is thus mostly represented from *his* point of view, not her own.

In the only two quotes of Sobchak herself, there is one quote – "Жириновский хамит мне постоянно" ("Zhirinovsky is rude to me all the time") – which represents Zhirinovsky from Sobchak's point of view: as a "rude man". The other quote by Sobchak – "Почему вы перебиваете здесь *только* меня?" ("Why are you interrupting *only* me here?") – emphasizes her victimization, which is a common example of stereotyping females in political media discourse (Macharia et al., 2015; Ross, 2010), as reviewed in Chapters 1.1 and 1.3 of this thesis.

Unarguably, what Zhirinovsky says about Sobchak is particularly derogatory, and yet the journalists seem to be interested in seeking only his opinions and perspectives on Sobchak, as if it is only him who has anything insightful or valuable to say about her. Sobchak is given less voice than her opponent, and this voice is a significantly weaker one – a choice made by the news reporters. Such quotation patterns are a powerful ideological tool that can effectively manipulate readers' perception and interpretation of people in the news reports. The choice of quotes associates Sobchak with particular gender stereotypes (weak, emotional, and unintelligent) referred to earlier in this paper (see Table 1 in Chapter 1.1). Denied a voice to challenge these stereotypes, the association of Sobchak as a "disgusting bitch" and a "fool" naturalizes over time, becoming immune to change.

6.3.3. Transitivity analysis

Up to this point, I examined the lexical strategies used in the headlines and how such strategies can be utilized to reinforce a particular ideology. Discursive strategies, such as silencing and over-lexicalisation, were found to be used to create a specific reality of events under analysis to reinforce a negative female stereotype of Sobchak. The following section of this thesis offers a transitivity analysis of the headlines, with the aim to reveal the embedded ideological structures encoded in grammatical choices made by headlines' producers.

When analyzing headlines around the Event 1, it was first identified: i) Whether the headlines were one-claused or two-claused, as that the verbal processes used in different clauses within one headline might be different and thus require an analysis to understand the relationship between the subjects of the clauses; ii) Then, verbal processes within each clause were identified; iii) Next, the primary and secondary participants in the clause were established, i.e. Actor/Goal, Sayer/Target, as explained in the Halliday's model of transitivity previously in this thesis; iv) Finally, Circumstances used in the clauses were identified – such as the Circumstance of Time (when the event took place), Location (where the event took place), Manner (how the event was realized), and Reason (why the event took place).

The Event 1 had 29 headlines under analysis, out of which 21 were single-clause headlines, which aligns with Brisau's theory that news headlines strive for simple syntactic structures (1969). Out of the 21 single-clause headlines, 16 were built upon a Material process, i.e. where an action of doing or happening was described, such as the word "облить" (to douse). In all of these 16 material headlines, Sobchak acted as a doer, where the headlines simply focused on her throwing water at Zhirinovsky. It is only in 4 headlines where an explanation is given to her actions, something that Halliday calls Circumstance of Reason (Halliday, 2015). I thus classified 16 headlines that did not include Circumstance of Reason as "simple", as they were the most simplistic headlines under analysis. Those headlines included 12 headlines in total. There were also 4 headlines built upon a Material process that did include the

Circumstance of Reason. The Circumstance of Reason includes an element that gives reason to the actor's doings, in this case - Sobchak's throwing water at Zhirinovsky. I argue that it is only the Circumstance of Reason that makes a significant semantic change in the headlines, as it gives broader context and furtner explanation to what motivated the participants to act in a certain fashion, fundamentally affecting the way the event is depicted and, thus, interpreted by the readers of the headlines.

Process: Material		
Type: Simple		
Headline No.	**Original**	**Translation**
Headline 1:	Собчак **облила** Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak **doused** Zhirinovsky with water during debates
Headline 4:	Собчак на дебатах **облила** Жириновского водой	Sobchak **doused** water at Zhirinovsky during debates
Headline 5:	Ксения Собчак **облила** водой Жириновского во время президентских дебатов	Ksenia Sobchak **doused** water at Zhirinovsky during presidential debates
Headline 6:	Собчак **облила** Жириновского водой в ходе дебатов	Sobchak **doused** water at Zhirinovsky during debates
Headline 7:	Собчак **окатила** Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak **watered** Zhirinovsky during debates
Headline 9:	Собчак **облила** Жириновского водой во время записи теледебатов	Sobchak **doused** water at Zhirinovsky during debates
Headline 12:	Собчак **остудила** Владимира Жириновского стаканом воды	Ksenia Sobchak **cooled** Vladimir Zhirinovsky with a glass of water
Headline 15:	Собчак **облила** Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak **doused** water at Zhirinovsky during debates
Headline 19:	Собчак **облила** Жириновского водой из стакана во время дебатов	Sobchak **poured** a glass of water at Zhirinovsky during debates

Headline 20:	Собчак **вылила** на Жириновского стакан воды в ходе дебатов	Sobchak **poured** out a glass of water at Zhirinovsky during debates
Headline 21:	Собчак **облила** Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak **doused** water at Zhirinovsky during debates
Headline 28:	“Базарная девка”: Собчак в прямом эфире **довела** Жириновского до бешенства	“A bazaar fishwife”: Sobchak **brought** Zhirinovsky to frenzy on air
Type: Circumstance of Reason		
Headline No.	**Original**	**Translation**
Headline 10:	Собчак облила Жириновского водой **в ответ на "отвратительную бабу"**	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky **in response to a “disgusting bitch”**
Headline 13:	Водные процедуры: Собчак во время дебатов облила водой Жириновского **в ответ на оскорбление**	Water procedures: Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky during debates **in response to an insult**
Headline 14:	Собчак **в ответ на оскорбление** облила водой Жириновского	Sobchak **in response to an insult** doused water at Zhirinovsky
Headline 16:	Собчак облила водой Жириновского, **оскорбившего ее** на теледебатах	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky, **who insulted her** during TV-debates

Table 7: The Event 1 headlines built upon material processes.

The remaining single-clause headlines on Event 1 were found to be based upon a Verbal process, i.e. when the main agent said something, instead of doing something. All verbal headlines, which were 5, had Zhirinovsky as an Actor:

Process: Verbal		
Type: Simple		
Headline No.	**Original**	**Translation**

Headline 2:	Жириновский нецензурно **оскорбил** Собчак на дебатах у Соловьева	Zhirinovsky obscenely **insulted** Sobchak on the Soloviev's debates
Headline 24:	Жириновский **обматерил** Собчак во время дебатов на канале "Россия 1"	Zhirinovsky **cussed** Sobchak **out** during debates on "Rossiya-1"
Headline 25:	Владимир Жириновский **обматерил** Ксению Собчак на предвыборных дебатах в эфире «России 1»	Vladimir Zhirinovsky **cussed** Ksenia Sobchak **out** during pre-electoral debates on air on "Rossiya-1"
Headline 26:	Жириновский **оскорбил** Собчак в эфире теледебатов на канале «Россия 1»	Zhirinovsky **insulted** Sobchak on air during TV-debates on "Rossiya-1"
Type: Circumstance of Reason		
Headline 29:	Жириновский обматерил **облившую его на теледебатах** Собчак	Zhirinovsky cussed out Sobchak **who had splashed water at him** during the debates

Table 8: The Event 1 headlines built upon verbal processes

As the old adage goes, "Actions speak louder than words". It is thus unsurprising that Sobchak, who *acted*, is held as more responsible for the process unfolded during Event 1 when compared to Zhirinovsky, who merely *said* something. This is clearly seen as we compare the tables which show that the majority of the single-clause headlines (over 76%) were built around a Material Process, which denotes action and has Sobchak as an Agent, or an active doer, while the rest (less than 24%) are built around a Verbal process, focusing on Zhirinovsky as a main Agent, or a sayer. Thus, Zhirinovsky is mostly depicted as a *non-doer,* whose part taken in the Event is less significant and less consequential. This is also marked in a comparative analysis of the processes related to the two participants, which reveals that most of the processes are attributed to Sobchak. If we look closer at the Material process-based headlines, we can see that it is only in a minority of cases – 4 headlines only – where Sobchak's actions are explained and justified, as the Circumstance of Reason is given: e.g., "Собчак в ответ на оскорбление облила водой Жириновского" ("Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky in response to an insult"). Here, we can clearly see the causality of the events: it was an

insult that was followed by the action, not the other way around. And yet still, when we look at the Verbal-process based headlines (which were only four), we also find an example where the causality is clearly manipulated, and it is presented as if Sobchak first doused water at Zhirinovsky and *because* of that he insulted her: e.g. "Жириновский обматерил облившую его на теледебатах Собчак" ("Zhirinovsky swore at Sobchak who had doused water at him on TV-debates"). Such pattern is repeated in double-clause headlines where in 25% of the headlines under analysis it is depicted that Sobchak first did a provocative action (doused water at her opponent) and only *then* he verbalized an insult, e.g.: "Собчак плеснула в Жириновского водой, тот ответил матом" ("Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky, he responded with swear-words"). Thus, through actively engaging Sobchak in the process of doing (Material) and manipulating the causality of events, Sobchak is depicted as being responsible for initiating and provoking the conflict.

	Type: Double-clause		
	Agent: Sobchak		
Processes'	**Headline No.**	**Original**	**Translation**
Material/ Verbal	Headline 8:	Собчак **окатила** Жириновского водой, а он **обругал** её матом	Sobchak **watered** Zhirinovsky, and he **insulted** her with profanities
	Headline 22:	Собчак **плеснула** в Жириновского водой, тот **ответил матом**	Sobchak splashed water at Zhirinovsky, he **cussed her out** her in response
	Agent: Zhirinovsky		
	Headline 3:	Жириновский **назвал** Собчак "отвратительной сукой" и **получил** стакан воды в лицо	Zhirinovsky **called** Sobchak a "disgusting bitch" and **got** a glass of water in his face
	Headline 11:	Жириновский в ходе теледебатов ненормативно **обругал** Собчак, а она **облила** его водой	Zhirinovsky **insulted** Sobchak with profanities during the TV debates, and she **doused**

			water at him
Verbal/ Material	Headline 17:	Жириновский **обругал** Собчак матом на дебатах. Собчак **облила** его водой	Zhirinovsky **insulted** Sobchak with profanities during debates. She **doused** water at him
	Headline 23:	Жириновский нецензурно **обругал** Собчак на дебатах у Соловьева. Она **облила** его водой	Zhirinovsky **insulted** Sobchak with profanities during debates. She **doused** water at him
	Headline 27:	Жириновский **обругал** Собчак на дебатах, а она в ответ **вылила** на политика стакан воды	Zhirinovsky **swore** at Sobchak during debates, and she **poured** out a glass of water at the politician
Verbal/ Verbal	Headline 18:	Жириновский **угрожал** преподавателю МГУ и **назвал** Собчак дурой	Zhirinovsky **threatened** the MSU teacher and **called** Sobchak a fool

Table 9: The Event 1 headlines (double-claused) built upon various processes

The Event 2 headlines tell another story.

For these headlines, I followed a similar procedure as described above for Event 1-based headlines: i) Firstly, I identified headlines constructed either from one or two clauses; ii) Then, the verbal processes were identified; iii) Afterwards, the event participants were identified, based on their primary or secondary function; iv) And finally, in the case of single-clause headlines, the type of verbal process was established based on whether passive or active voice was used in the headlines.

The Event 2 headlines chiefly focus on Sobchak being interrupted and insulted by Zhirinovsky during her talk, followed by the opponents engaging in another argument between each other, which resulted in Sobchak crying and leaving the TV studio. There were 23 headlines focusing on Event 2, out of which 16 headlines were based upon a Material process. From these 16 headlines, 14 headlines depict Sobchak as a Target, i.e.

somebody who was acted upon, rather than a doer. Moreover, 9 headlines out of 16 also use passive voice towards Sobchak, which depicts her opponents in a more active role that dominates Sobchak over and exposes her emotional instability. Both active and passive voice were used when: a) Zhirinovsky makes Sobchak cry ("Владимир Жириновский довёл Ксению Собчак до слез на дебатах") and b) Sobchak is brought to tears ("Собчак довели до слез во время дебатов"). In both cases, domination over Sobchak in (a) (where Zhirinovsky acts) and the passivization of Sobchak in (b) (where Sobchak is *acted upon*) considerably diminish Sobchak's significance and expose her shrinkage of power. In the case of Material headlines there were only two instances where Sobchak is depicted as an activer doer – yet, still through a prism of disadvantage, as she literally "left the TV-debates" ("покинула теледебаты"**)**, thus retreating before a more powerful opponent.

	Process: Material		
	Type: Passive voice		
	Headline No.	**Original**	**Translation**
Actor: opponents (implied) Target: Sobchak	Headline 30:	Собчак во время дебатов **довели до слез**	Sobchak **[was] brought to tears** during the debates
	Headline 31:	Собчак во время дебатов **довели до слез**	Sobchak **[was] brought to tears** during the debates
	Headline 32:	Собчак **довели до слез** на дебатах	Sobchak **[was] brought to tears** during the debates
	Headline 33:	Собчак **довели до слез** на предвыборных дебатах	Sobchak **[was] brought to tears** during pre-election debates
	Headline 35:	Собчак **довели до слез** на предвыборных дебатах	Sobchak **[was] brought to tear**s during pre-election debates
	Headline 40:	Ксению Собчак **довели до слез** во время дебатов	Ksenia Sobchak **[was] brought to tears** during the debates
	Headline 41:	Собчак на дебатах **довели до слез**	Sobchak **[was] brought to tears**

			during the debates
	Headline 42:	Собчак на дебатах **довели до слез**	Sobchak **[was] brought to tears** during the debates.
	Headline 49:	Ксению Собчак **довели до слез** на дебатах в эфире «России-1»	Ksenia Sobchak **[was] brought to tears** during debates on air on "Rossiya-1"
	Type: Active voice		
Actor: opponents Target: Sobchak	Headline 38:	Владимир Жириновский **довёл** Ксению Собчак до слез на дебатах	Vladimir Zhirinovsky **brought** Ksenia Sobchak **to tears** during the debates
	Headline 45:	Участники предвыборных теледебатов **довели** до слез Ксению Собчак	Participants of the pre-election debates **brought** Ksenia Sobchak **to tears**
	Headline 46:	Оппоненты **довели** Собчак до слез во время публичных дебатов	Opponents **brought** Sobchak **to tears** during the public debates
	Headline 48:	Шевченко и Жириновский **довели** Собчак до слез в прямом эфире	Shevchenko and Zhirinovsky **brought** Sobchak **to tears** on air
	Headline 52:	"Мама прибежит, носик утрет": Жириновский **довел** Собчак до слез	"Mommy will come, [will] wipe your little nose": Zhirinovsky **brought** Sobchak **to tears**
Actor: Sobchak	Headline 50:	Ксения Собчак **покинула** теледебаты в слезах	Ksenia Sobchak **left** TV-debates in tears
	Headline 44:	«Почему вы перебиваете здесь только меня?» Ксения Собчак **ушла** с дебатов в слезах	"Why are you interrupting only me here?" Ksenia Sobchak **left** the debates in tears

Table 10: The Event 2 headlines built upon material processes with a distinction between passive and active voices used

The transitivity analysis also reveals the presence of headlines based upon a Behavioural process. It was exclusively Sobchak who was assigned the role of the main

Behaver, e.g.: “Собчак расплакалась на дебатах” (“Sobchak burst into tears on debates”). Presenting the event based upon a behavioural process emphasizes the fact that Sobchak cannot get a hold of herself, as her emotions drive her behaviour.

	Process: Behavioural		
	Type: Single-clause		
	Headline No.	**Original**	**Translation**
	Headline 39:	Ксения Собчак **расплакалась** во время дебатов — видео	Ksenia Sobchak **burst into tears** during the debates — video
	Headline 47:	Собчак **расплакалась** на дебатах	Sobchak **burst into tears** during the debates
	Headline 51:	Собчак **расплакалась** в прямом эфире на предвыборных дебатах	Sobchak **burst into tears** on air during pre-electoral debates
Processes:	**Type: Double-clause**		
Behavioural/ Material	Headline 37:	Собчак **расплакалась** на дебатах и **покинула** студию	Sobchak **burst into tears** during the debates and left the studio
Behavioural/ Verbal	Headline 43:	**Слезы** Собчак и **брань** Жириновского. Яркие эмоции участников дебатов	Sobchak’s **tears** and Zhirinovsky’s **abuse**. Bright emotions of the debates’ participants
	Headline 34:	Собчак **расплакалась** на дебатах: «Жириновский хамит мне постоянно!»	Sobchak **burst into tears** during the debates: “Zhirinovsky is rude to me all the time!”
Behavioral/ Behavioral	Headline 36:	Ксения Собчак **расплакалась** на дебатах и **пожаловалась** в ЦИК	Ksenia Sobchak **burst into tears** during the debates and **complained** to the CEC

Table 11: The Event 2 headlines built upon a behavioural processes

It is notable that the order of events is often mis-presented. In headlines from Event 1, the length of the headlines (sometimes up to 84 characters) did not preclude including a Circumstance of Reason that attempted to either explain or manipulate the causality of the events. However, in the cases of the Event 2 headlines, which are significantly shorter (only about 30 characters), the Circumstance of Reason was largely omitted. In only three instances out of 23 direct quotes were provided to serve as Circumstance of Reason and provide an explanation to Sobchak's actions or behaviour (as to why she left the studio or burst into tears) and exemplify Zhirinovsky's misconduct. It could be possible that Circumstance of Reason was majorly omitted in Event 2 headlines in order to persuade the readers in Sobchak's emotional instability: by choosing not to emphasize Zhirinovsky's misbehaviour, but rather Sobchak's tears, Sobchak is presented as the one who behaves irrationally all the time. Failing to focus on Zhirinovsky's verbal abuse, the headlines' authors choose to focus on Sobchak's crying and construct a reality in which she cried without a reason, as if simply unable to handle the pressure of the debate.

All double-clause headlines that did not include the quotes denote Sobchak as behavioural: either she "cried' (Behavioural) and then "complained" (Behavioural), or "cried" (Behavioural) and then "left" the studio (Material). In all cases, it is the focus on behaviour that is transitively underlined.

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to understand the type of representation constructed for Ksenia Sobchak in the course of the events that unfolded on February 28 and March 14, 2018, and reveal any hidden gender stereotypes that contributed to that particular representation. Ksenia Sobchak, the first female Presidential candidate in over a decade in a country exercising traditional ideological values, was the case study for this research. This choice stemmed from the wide attention that the two analyzed events involving Sobchak received from the media. The two posed research questions, of how headlines in Russian online news represented Sobchak during two 2018 Russian presidential debates and of whether she was gender stereotyped through media representations, provide complex answers which this last Chapter of the thesis is devoted to.

The framework for the analysis included Fairclough's critical discourse analysis with a sociolinguistic approach, and resulted in an analysis of the three various levels of discourse: a) sociocultural practice, which provided a social and cultural context to the role of women in Russian politics and gave an overview to the immediate situations that the headlines under analysis reported to; b) discourse practice, which focused on understanding the producing of headlines in the online news environment; and c) textual analysis of the headlines themselves, in which I focused on the lexical choice, quotation patterns, and verbal processes. Such multi-dimensional approach to discourse analysis lies at the very heart of CDA and was conceived by scholars like Fairclough and Van Dijk whose interest lies in the discursive strategies used to enact, sustain, legitimate, and reproduce social inequalities (like gender inequalities) in the media.

The analysis of lexical choice revealed that Sobchak is depicted in the headlines as an unsuitable and weak participant in the presidential race. To begin with, gender spotlighting was identified in headlines around the Event 1, where the words used to depict Sobchak were often synonymous of the word "woman". Furthermore, Sobchak was depicted not only as a woman, but also as a woman with strongly negative

characteristics — “баба” (“[vulgar] woman”), “девка” (“fishwife”), “сука” (f. “bitch”), and “дура” (f. “fool”). This portrays Sobchak as being unintelligent and vile, and thus unable to compete for the position as President. In contrast, Sobchak’s main male opponent, Zhirinovsky, is described with the word “politician”, which may reflect an intention by the journalists to deny Sobchak an image of political competency.

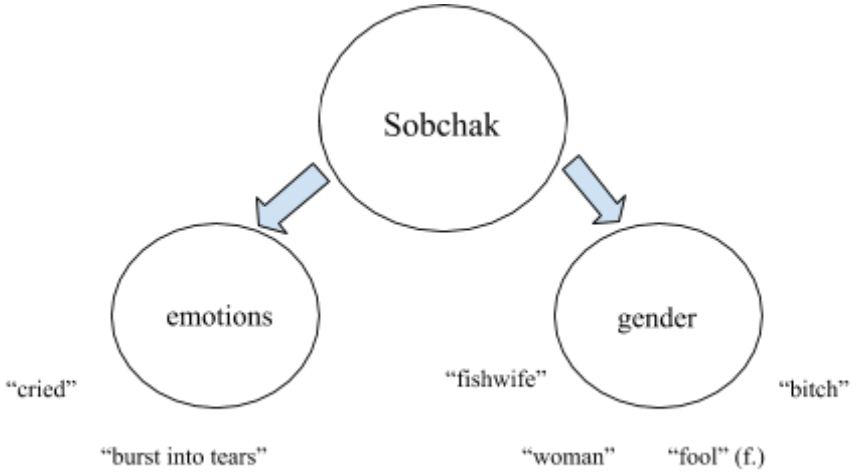

Figure 3: Lemmas used for the construction for Sobchak’s representation.

The repeated references to Sobchak’s gender and tears give the impression that being a woman is synonymous with emotionality and weakness. Such references emphasize the stereotypically female characteristics and can be seen the form of “de-masculinisation”, a stylistic device used in media to take away power from a political candidate (Riabova, 2008). However, when applying critical discourse analysis, it is necessary to look not only at the words that were used, but also at the words that were not. Whether conscious or unconscious, it was journalists’ decision to emphasize the words of emotions and gender when describing Sobchak, instead of pointing out how she defended herself or underlining the inappropriate behaviour of her male opponent.

The quotation patterns also reveal a disproportion between male authority and the female voice. The use of direct quotations in discourse, especially in headlines which are the first piece of text readers consume, can indicate who is given voice to speak up and is in a position of power. In comparison to her male opponent, Sobchak is notably silenced and her own perspective on the incident is mostly ignored. When the voice is given to her, it is used for victimization – an approach that is consistent with the gender

stereotype of woman being weak. Silencing Sobchak is symptomatic of patriarchal ideology and illustrates her powerlessness in comparison to her male opponent, who is is given a more significant portrayal through direct quotations and further has an opportunity to describe Sobchak from *his* perspective, over-lexicalising her in unpleasant descriptions. Unable to speak for herself, she is left at the mercy of her opponent who represents her as a "vile bitch".

Finally, the transitivity analysis around Event 1 showed Sobchak being represented as illogical, irrational, and emotional, as the explanation (Circumstance of Reason) for why she doused water at Zhirinovsky in the first place is omitted in most cases. Additionally, there are also clear cases of misrepresentation in some headlines, where the order of events is reversed, making Sobchak, not Zhirinovsky, the initiator of the scandal. As for Event 2 headlines, transitivity analysis also revealed an unequal distribution of agency exemplified by the multiple cases of passivization of Sobchak, where Zhirinovsky clearly shows dominance over Sobchak, as she is *acted upon* rather than acts herself. Such distribution of agency focuses on Sobchak's weaker position in comparison to her opponent.

In terms of underlying ideology, it became clear from analyzing the headlines that the majority of journalists focused on Sobchak's stereotypically feminine characteristics, such as weakness and emotionality, to align with Russia's patriarchal outlook. As such, a critique of discourse, in this case of online news headlines, inevitably becomes a critique of those responsible for the perpetuation of male dominance and, hence gender inequality in Russia in politics. After all, relationship between discourse and society is reciprocal: there is not just "top-down" element of dominance, but also "bottom-up" element of compliance, acceptance, and reproduction. If the Russian media keeps being compliant, accepting outdated traditional ideological values as they are, and reproducing gender stereotypes in political discourse, potentially even less women in Russia will be interested in partaking in politics. Media, standing at the crossroads of intersection of discourse and society, also has the power to resist, to challenge – instead of reinforcing and reproducing the dominance of the elites.

8. Further studies

While this thesis analyzes 52 headlines reporting two particular events during Sobchak's presidential campaign, future study could include a bigger pool of data, allowing to reach more diverse outcomes on the matter. An analysis of headlines overviewing the whole presidential campaign of Sobchak, from the beginning to the end, could potentially reveal more gender stereotypes used. If feminist or postcolonial perspectives were to be applied to the material under the analysis, the results could have displayed an even more explicit inequality when it comes to the troubled relationship issues of gender and power in the Russian politics. Future studies could also include a contrastive analysis between headlines of the same reported events covered by Russian right- and left-wing news outlets that could potentially reveal opposing ideologies. Additionally, comparing the Russian news discourse with the news discourse of international, foreign-language outlets (e.g. British or American), research could also show different results and reveal different ideologies. Another study could also include an examination of headlines' effect on the audience, by presenting gender-stereotyped and non-gender-stereotyped headlines to research participants and consequently asking them to associate gender characteristics with female politicians. Finally, it could be useful to survey the Russian public's attitude towards women partaking in politics, in order to investigate whether Sobchak's representation, constructed during the reporting of the analyzed events, affected that attitude either positively or negatively. It could also be beneficial to analyze audience's perception of Sobchak as a politician before and after the analyzed events, to fully understand the power of language used in online news headlines.

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10. Appendices

10.1 List of selected headlines by event and publication

News outlet	Headline	Translation (by author)	URL	No.
Event 1: 28 February, 2018				
RIA	Собчак облила Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak doused Zhirinovsky with water during debates	https://ria.ru/election2018_news/20180228/1515461140.html	1
RBC	Жириновский нецензурно оскорбил Собчак на дебатах у Соловьева	Zhirinovsky obscenely insulted Sobchak on the Soloviev's debates	https://www.rbc.ru/politics/28/02/2018/5a96a8cd9a79473e0a79a662	2
Lenta	Жириновский назвал Собчак "отвратительной сукой" и получил стакан воды в лицо	Zhirinovsky called Sobchak a "disgusting bitch" and got a glass of water in his face	https://lenta.ru/news/2018/02/28/sobchak/	3
RT	Собчак на дебатах облила Жириновского водой	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky during debates	https://russian.rt.com/russia/news/487383-sobchak-oblila-zhirinovskii-voda	4
KP	Ксения Собчак облила водой Жириновского во время президентских дебатов	Ksenia Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky during presidential debates	https://www.kp.ru/daily/26801.4/3835517/	5
Gazeta	Собчак облила	Sobchak doused water at	https://www.gazeta.r	6

	Жириновского водой в ходе дебатов	Zhirinovsky during debates	u/politics/news/2018/02/28/n_11226307.shtml	
Vesti	Собчак окатила Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak watered Zhirinovsky during debates	https://www.vesti.ru/videos/show/vid/746750/	7
MK	Собчак окатила Жириновского водой, а он обругал её матом	Sobchak watered Zhirinovsky, and he insulted her with profanities	http://www.mk.ru/politics/2018/02/28/sobchak-okatila-zhirinovskogo-vodoy-a-on-obrugal-eyo-matom.html	8
Echo	Собчак облила Жириновского водой во время записи теледебатов	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky during recording of TV debates	https://echo.msk.ru/blog/echomsk/2156772-echo/	9
Life.ru	Собчак облила Жириновского водой в ответ на "отвратительную бабу"	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky in response to a “disgusting bitch”	https://life.ru/t/%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B8/1093626/sobchak_oblila_zhirinovskogho_vodoi_v_otviet_na_otvratitielnuiu_babu	10
Tass	Жириновский в ходе теледебатов ненормативно обругал Собчак, а она облила его водой	Zhirinovsky insulted Sobchak with profanities during the TV debates, and she doused water at him	http://tass.ru/politika/4995804	11
Kommers	Ксения Собчак	Ksenia Sobchak cooled	https://www.kommer	12

ant	остудила Владимира Жириновского стаканом воды	Vladimir Zhirinovsky with a glass of water	sant.ru/doc/3560419	
RG	Водные процедуры: Собчак во время дебатов облила водой Жириновского в ответ на оскорбление	Water procedures: Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky during debates in response to an insult	https://rg.ru/2018/02/28/sobchak-vo-vremia-debatov-oblila-vodoj-zhirinovskogo-v-otvet-na-oskorblenie.html	13
Vz	Собчак в ответ на оскорбление облила водой Жириновского	Sobchak in response to an insult doused water at Zhirinovsky	https://vz.ru/news/2018/2/28/910433.html	14
Izvestia	Собчак облила Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky during debates	https://iz.ru/714574/2018-02-28/sobchak-oblila-zhirinovskogo-vodoi-vo-vremia-debatov	15
Aif	Собчак облила водой Жириновского, оскорбившего ее на теледебатах	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky, who insulted her during TV-debates	http://www.aif.ru/politics/russia/sobchak_vylila_na_zhirinovskogo_stakan_vody_vo_vremya_predvybornyh_debatov	16
Meduza	Жириновский обругал Собчак матом на дебатах. Собчак облила его водой	Zhirinovsky insulted Sobchak with profanities during debates. She doused water at him	https://meduza.io/video/2018/02/28/zhirinovskiy-obrugal-sobchak-matom-na-debatah-sobchak-oblila-ego-vodoy	17
Ntv	Жириновский угрожал преподавателю МГУ и	Zhirinovsky threatens the MSU teacher and called	http://www.ntv.ru/novosti/1986373/	18

	назвал Собчак дурой	Sobchak a fool		
Interfax	Собчак облила Жириновского водой из стакана во время дебатов	Sobchak poured a glass of water at Zhirinovsky during debates	http://www.interfax.ru/elections2018/601819	19
Regnum	Собчак вылила на Жириновского стакан воды в ходе дебатов	Sobchak poured out a glass of water at Zhirinovsky during debates	https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2385495.html	20
Vedomosti	Собчак облила Жириновского водой во время дебатов	Sobchak doused water at Zhirinovsky during debates	https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/2018/02/28/752295-sobchak-oblila-zhirinovskogo	21
Fontanka	Собчак плеснула в Жириновского водой, тот ответил матом	Sobchak splashed water at Zhirinovsky, he insulted her in response	https://www.fontanka.ru/2018/02/28/097/	22
TVrain	Жириновский нецензурно обругал Собчак на дебатах у Соловьева. Она облила его водой	Zhirinovsky insulted Sobchak with profanities during debates. She doused water at him	https://tvrain.ru/teleshow/videooftheday/zhirinovskij-458556/	23
Svoboda	Жириновский обматерил Собчак во время дебатов на канале "Россия 1"	Zhirinovsky cussed Sobchak out during debates on “Rossiya-1”	https://www.svoboda.org/a/29067841.html	24
Znak	Владимир Жириновский обматерил Ксению Собчак на предвыборных дебатах	Vladimir Zhirinovsky cussed Ksenia Sobchak out during pre-electoral debates on air on “Rossiya-1”	https://www.znak.com/2018-02-28/vladimir_zhirinovskiy_obmateril_kseniyu_sobchak_na_predvyborn	25

	в эфире «России 1»		yh_debatah_v_efire_rossii_1	
Novaya Gazeta	Жириновский оскорбил Собчак в эфире теледебатов на канале «Россия 1»	Zhirinovsky insulted Sobchak on air during TV-debates on “Rossiya-1”	https://www.novayagazeta.ru/news/2018/02/28/139864-zhirinovskiy-oskorbil-sobchak-v-efire-teledebatov-na-kanale-rossiya-1	26
Rosbalt	Жириновский обругал Собчак на дебатах, а она в ответ вылила на политика стакан воды	Zhirinovsky swore at Sobchak during debates, and she poured out a glass of water at the politician	https://www.rosbalt.ru/russia/2018/02/28/1685560.html	27
Dni	"Базарная девка": Собчак в прямом эфире довела Жириновского до бешенства	“A bazaar fishwife”: Sobchak brought Zhirinovsky to frenzy on air	https://dni.ru/society/2018/2/28/392329.html	28
The-Village	Жириновский обматерил облившую его на теледебатах Собчак	Zhirinovsky cussed out Sobchak who had splashed water at him during the debates	https://www.the-village.ru/village/city/news-city/303847-zhirinovskiy-vs-sobchak	29
Event 2: March 14, 2018				
RIA	Собчак во время дебатов довели до слез	Sobchak brought to tears during the debates	https://ria.ru/election2018/20180314/1516377988.html	30
RBC	Собчак во время дебатов довели до слез	Sobchak brought to tears during the debates	https://www.rbc.ru/politics/14/03/2018/5aa944cd9a79476df49b8120	31

Lenta	Собчак довели до слез на дебатах	Sobchak brought to tears during the debates	https://lenta.ru/news/2018/03/14/she_cries/	32
RT	Собчак довели до слез на предвыборных дебатах	Sobchak brought to tears during pre-election debates	https://russian.rt.com/russia/video/491803-sobchak-doveli-do-slyoz-na-debatah	33
KP	Собчак расплакалась на дебатах: «Жириновский хамит мне постоянно!»	Sobchak burst into tears during the debates: “Zhirinovsky is rude to me all the time!”	https://www.kp.ru/daily/26805/3841221/	34
Gazeta	Собчак довели до слез на предвыборных дебатах	Sobchak brought to tears during pre-election debates	https://www.gazeta.ru/politics/news/2018/03/14/n_11285035.shtml	35
Vesti	Ксения Собчак расплакалась на дебатах и пожаловалась в ЦИК	Ksenia Sobchak burst into tears during the debates and complained to the CEC	https://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=2995649	36
MK	Собчак расплакалась на дебатах и покинула студию	Sobchak burst into tears during the debates and left the studio	http://www.mk.ru/politics/2018/03/14/sobchak-rasplakalas-na-debatakh-i-pokinula-studiyu.html	37
Echo	Владимир Жириновский довёл Ксению Собчак до слез на дебатах	Vladimir Zhironovsky brought Ksenia Sobchak to tears during the debates	https://echo.msk.ru/blog/day_video/2165422-echo/	38
Life.ru	Ксения Собчак расплакалась во время дебатов — видео	Ksenia Sobchak burst into tears during the debates — video	https://life.ru/t/%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%BE%D1	39

			%81%D1%82%D0%B8/1097777/ksieniia_sobchak_rasplakalas_vo_vriemia_diebatov_—vidieo	
Tass	—	—	—	—
Kommersant	Ксению Собчак довели до слез во время дебатов	Ksenia Sobchak brought to tears during the debates	https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/3571341	40
RG	—	—	—	—
Vz	Собчак на дебатах довели до слез	Sobchak brought to tears during the debates	https://vz.ru/news/2018/3/14/912478.html	41
Izvestia	Собчак на дебатах довели до слез	Sobchak brought to tears during the debates	https://iz.ru/719967/2018-03-14/sobchak-na-debatakh-doveli-do-slez	42
Aif	Слезы Собчак и брань Жириновского. Яркие эмоции участников дебатов	Sobchak's tears and Zhirinovsky's abuse. Bright emotions of the debates' participants	http://www.aif.ru/politics/russia/slezy_sobchak_i_bran_zhirinovskogo_yarkie_emocii_uchastnikov_debatov	43
Meduza	«Почему вы перебиваете здесь только меня?» Ксения Собчак ушла с дебатов в слезах	"Why are you interrupting only me here?" Ksenia Sobchak left the debates in tears	https://meduza.io/news/2018/03/14/pochemu-vy-perebivaete-zdes-tolko-menya-kseniya-sobchak-ushla-s-debatov-v-slezah	44
Ntv	—	—	—	—
Interfax	Участники	Participants of the	http://www.interfax.r	45

	предвыборных теледебатов довели до слез Ксению Собчак	pre-election debates brought Ksenia Sobchak to tears	u/elections2018/603592	
Regnum	Оппоненты довели Собчак до слез во время публичных дебатов	Opponents brought Sobchak to tears during the public debates	https://regnum.ru/news/polit/2390386.html	46
Vedomosti	Собчак расплакалась на дебатах	Sobchak burst into tears during the debates	https://www.vedomosti.ru/politics/news/2018/03/14/753520-sobchak-rasplakalas-na-debatah	47
Fontanka	Шевченко и Жириновский довели Собчак до слез в прямом эфире	Shevchenko and Zhirinovsky brought Sobchak to tears on air	https://www.fontanka.ru/2018/03/14/129/	48
TVrain	Ксению Собчак довели до слез на дебатах в эфире «России-1»	Ksenia Sobchak brought to tears during debates on air on “Rossiya-1”	https://tvrain.ru/archive/?search_year=2018&search_month=3&search_day=14&query=%D1%81%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%87%D0%B0%D0%BA&type=&tab=All	49
Svoboda	—	—	—	—
Znak	Ксения Собчак покинула теледебаты в слезах	Ksenia Sobchak left TV-debates in tears	https://www.znak.com/2018-03-14/kseniya_sobchak_pokinula_teledebaty_v_slezah	50

Novaya Gazeta	—	—	—	—
Rosbalt	Собчак расплакалась в прямом эфире на предвыборных дебатах	Sobchak burst into tears on air during pre-electoral debates	https://www.rosbalt.ru/moscow/2018/03/14/1688382.html	51
Dni	"Мама прибежит, носик утрет": Жириновский довел Собчак до слез	“Mommy will come, [will] wipe your nose”: Zhirinovsky brought Sobchak to tears	https://dni.ru/society/2018/3/14/393342.html	52
The-Village	—	—	—	—

10.2 List of headlines under the transitivity analysis

10.2.1 Transitivity analysis of headlines based on Event 1

The given appendix provides a transitivity analysis of headlines, according to the primary or secondary participants (further abbreviated as Pt.), verbal processes (further abbreviated as Pr.), and circumstances of manner, time, or reason (further abbreviated as Circ.).

Headline 1:

Собчак Sobchak	облила doused	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой with water	во время дебатов. during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Cicr. Time

Headline 2:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	незензурно obscenely	оскорбил insulted	Собчак Sobchak	на дебатах during debates	у Соловьева. at Soloviev's.
Pt. Actor	Circ. Manner	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Goal	Cicr. Time	Circ. Location

Headline 3:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	назвал called	Собчак Sobchak	"отвратительной сукой" "a disgusting bitch"
Pt. Attributor	Pr. Relational (Attribution)	Pt. Carrier	Pt. Attribute
и and	получил got	стакан воды в лицо. a glass of water in his face.	

	Pr. Material	Circ. Manner

Headline 4:

Собчак Sobchak	на дебатах during debates	облила poured	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой. with water.
Pt. Actor	Circ. Time	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner

Headline 5:

Ксения Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	облила doused	водой water	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	во время президентских дебатов. during presidential debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Circ. Manner	Pt. Goal	Circ. Time

Headline 6:

Собчак Sobchak	облила doused	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой water	в ходе дебатов. during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Headline 7:

Собчак Sobchak	окатила drenched	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой with water	во время дебатов. during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Headline 8:

	Собчак Sobchak	окатила drenched	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой, with water,
	Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner
a and	он he	обругал insulted	её her	матом with profanities.
	Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Circ. Manner

Headline 9:

Собчак Sobchak	облила poured	Жириновског о Zhirinovsky	водой with water	во время записи теледебатов. during recording of TV debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (Action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Headline 10:

Собчак Sobchak	облила poured	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой with water	в ответ на "отвратительную бабу". in response to “disgusting bitch”.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (Action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Reason/Cause

Headline 11:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	в ходе теледебатов during TV debates	ненормативно un-normatively	обругал insulted	Собчак. Sobchak.

Pt. Sayer	Circ. Time	Circ. Manner	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target

Headline 12:

Ксения Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	Остудила cooled	Владимира Жириновского Vladimir Zhirinovsky	стаканом воды. with a glass of water.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goals	Circ. Manner

Headline 13:

Водные процедуры: Water procedures:	Собчак Sobchak	во время дебатов during debates	облила poured	водой with water	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	в ответ на оскорбление. in response to an insult.
	Pt. Actor	Circ. Time	Pr. Material (action)	Circ. Manner	Pt. Goal	Circ. Reason/Cause

Headline 14:

Собчак Sobchak	в ответ на оскорбление in response to an insult	облила poured	водой with water	Жириновского. Zhirinovsky.
Pt. Actor	Circ. Reason/Cause	Pr. Material (action)	Circ. Manner	Pt. Goal

Headline 15:

Собчак Sobchak	облила poured	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой with water	во время дебатов during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Headline 16:

Собчак Sobchak	облила poured	водой with water	Жириновского, Zhirinovsky	оскорбившего ее на теледебатах. who insulted her during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Circ. Manner	Pt. Goal	Circ. Cause

Headline 17:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	обругал cussed out	Собчак Sobchak	матом with profanities	на дебатах. during debates.
Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Собчак Sobchak	облила poured	его him	додой. with water.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner

Headline 18:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	угрожал threatened	преподавателю МГУ the MSU teacher	и and	назвал called	Собчак Sobchak	дурой. a fool.

Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target		Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Pt. Attribute

Headline 19:

Собчак Sobchak	облила poured	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой из стакана with a glass of water	во время дебатов. during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (Action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Headline 20:

Собчак Sobchak	вылила poured out	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	стакан воды a glass of water	в ходе дебатов. during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (Action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Headline 21:

Собчак Sobchak	облила poured	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	водой With water	во время дебатов. during debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (Action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Circ. Time

Headline 22:

Собчак Sobchak	плеснула Splashed	в Жириновского at Zhirinovsky	водой, water,	тот he	ответил answered	матом. with insults.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner	Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Circ. Manner

Headline 23:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	нецензурно obscenely	обругал cussed at	Собчак Sobchak	на дебатах у Соловьева. on debates at Soloviev's.
Pt. Sayer	Circ. Manner	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Circm. Location

Она She	облила poured	его him	водой. with water.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Goal	Circ. Manner

Headline 24:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	обматерил cussed out	Собчак Sobchak	во время дебатов during debates	на канале "Россия 1". on channel "Rossiya-1".
Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Circ. Time	Circ. Location

Headline 25:

Владимир Жириновский Vladimir Zhirinovsky	обматерил cussed out	Ксению Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	на предвыборных дебатах в эфире «России 1». at pre-electoral debates on air on "Rossiya-1".
Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Circ. Location

Headline 26:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	оскорбил insulted	Собчак Sobchak	в эфире теледебатов на канале «Россия 1». on air of TV-debates on "Rossiya-1".

Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Circ. Location

Headline 27:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	обругал swore at	Собчак Sobchak	на дебатах, during debates,
Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Circ. Location

а and	она she	в ответ in response	вылила на poured at	политика the politician	стакан воды. a glass of water.
	Pt. Actor	Circ. Reason/Cause	Pr. Material (action)	Pt. Target	Circ. Manner

Headline 28:

"Базарная девка": “A bazaar fishwife”:	Собчак Sobchak	в прямом эфире on air	довела brought	Жириновского Zhirinovsky	до бешенства to frenzy.
	Pt. Actor	Cirm. Location	Pr. Verbal	Pt. Target	Pr. Verbal

Headline 29:

Жириновский Zhirinovsky	обматерил cussed out	облившую его на теледебатах Собчак Sobchak who had splashed water at him during debates
Pt. Sayer	Pr. Verbal	Pt. + Cirm. Reason Target

10.2.2 Transitivity analysis of headlines based on Event 2

Headline 30:

Собчак Sobchak	во время дебатов during the debates	довели до слез. [was brought] to tears.
Pt. Goal	Circ. Time	Pr. Material (passive)

Headline 31:

Собчак Sobchak	во время дебатов during the debates	довели до слез. [was brought] to tears.
Pt. Goal	Circ. Time	Pr. Material (passive)

Headline 32:

Собчак Sobchak	довели до слез was brought to tears	на дебатах. on debates.
Pt. Goal	Pr. Material (passive)	Cirm. Location

Headline 33:

Собчак Sobchak	довели до слез was brought to tears	на предвыборных дебатах. on pre-electoral debates.
Pt. Goal	Pr. Material (passive)	Cirm. Location

Headline 34:

Собчак	расплакалась	на дебатах:	

Sobchak	burst into tears	on debates:	
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioral	Circ. Location	
«Жириновский хамит мне постоянно!» “Zhirinovsky is rude to me all the time!”			
[Direct quotation]			

Headline 35:

Собчак Sobchak	довели до слез was brought to tears	на предвыборных дебатах. on pre-electoral debates.
Pt. Goal	Pr. Material (passive)	Cirm. Location

Headline 36:

Собчак Sobchak	расплакалась burst into tears	на дебатах on debates:	и and	пожаловалась complained	В ЦИК. to CEC.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioral	Circ. Location		Pr. Verbal	Pt. Receiver

Headline 37:

Собчак Sobchak	расплакалась burst into tears	на дебатах on debates	и and	покинула left	студию. the studio.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Cirm. Location		Pr. Material (action)	Circ. Location

Headline 38:

Владимир Жириновский	довёл	Ксению Собчак	до слез	на дебатах.

Vladimir Zhirinovsky	brought	Ksenia Sobchak	to tears	on debates.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material...	Pt. Goal	...Pr. Material	Circ. Location

Headline 39:

Ксения Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	расплакалась burst into tears	во время дебатов during the debates	— видео. — video.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Cirm. Location	

Headline 40:

Ксению Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	довели до слез was brought to tears	во время дебатов. during the debates.
Pt. Goal	Pr. Material (passive)	Cirm. Time

Headline 41:

Собчак Sobchak	на дебатах on debates	довели до слез. was brought to tears.
Pt. Goal	Cirm. Location	Pr. Material (passive)

Headline 42:

Собчак Sobchak	на дебатах on debates	довели до слез. was brought to tears.
Pt. Goal	Cirm. Location	Pr. Material (passive)

Headline 43[9]:

Слезы Собчак Sobchak's tears	и and	брань Жириновского. Zhirinovsky's cusses.
—		—
Яркие эмоции Bright emotions		участников дебатов. of the debate's participants.
—		—

Headline 44:

"Почему "Why	вы you	перебиваете interrupt	здесь here	только меня?" only me?"
[Direct quotation]				
Ксения Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	ушла left	с дебатов debates	в слезах. in tears.	
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (Action)	Cirm. Location	Cirm. Manner	

Headline 45:

Участники предвыборных теледебатов Participants of pre-electoral debates	довели до слез brought to tears	Ксению Собчак. Ksenia Sobchak.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Pt. Goal

Headline 46:

Оппоненты Opponents	довели brought	Собчак Sobchak	до слез to tears	во время публичных дебатов.

[9] As headline 43 did not include any verbs, it was impossible to conduct a verbal transitivity analysis.

				during public debates.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Pt. Goal	Pr. Behavioural	Cirm. Time

Headline 47:

Ксения Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	расплакалась burst into tears	на дебатах. on debates.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Cirm. Location

Headline 48:

Шевченко и Жириновский Shevchenko and Zhirinovsky	довели brought	Собчак Sobchak	до слез to tears	в прямом эфире On air
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Pt. Goal	Pr. Behavioural	Cirm. Location

Headline 49:

Ксению Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	довели до слез was brought to tears	на дебатах в эфире «России-1». during debates on air on “Rossiya-1”.
Pt. Goal	Pr. Material (passive)	Cirm. Location

Headline 50:

Ксения Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	покинула left	теледебаты TV-debates	в слезах. in tears.
Pt. Actor	Pr. Material (Action)	Cirm. Location	Cirm. Manner

Headline 51:

Ксения Собчак Ksenia Sobchak	расплакалась burst into tears	в прямом эфире на предвыборных дебатах. on air at pre-electoral debates.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Cirm. Location

Headline 52:

“Мама “Mommy	прибежит will come,	носик will wipe your nose	утрет”. your little nose.”
[Direct quotation]			
Жириновский Zhirinovsky	довел brought	Собчак Sobchak	до слез. to tears.
Pt. Behaver	Pr. Behavioural	Pt. Goal	Pr. Behavioural