ABSTRACT
This thesis is a contribution to the analysis of media representation through the use of critical discourse analysis of twelve English written articles by Russian and international media sources. The articles were chosen in relation to the unauthorised Pussy Riot protest in the Cathedral in Moscow back in February 2012, and the societal changes that have taken place thereafter. The analysed articles have been written and published between February 2012 and January 2014. The aim with the study is to see how media sources from different geographical backgrounds described the same events and news.

Kerstin Cielito Nathalie Martínez
Thesis in Religion in Peace and Conflict

June 2014
Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION .................................................................................................................................................. 3
   1.1. THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT, 1920-1997 ........... 4
   1.2. THE UNITY BETWEEN RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH AND RUSSIAN STATE .................. 5
   1.3. PUSSY RIOT AND THEIR BACKGROUND ......................................................................................... 6
   1.4. HOOLIGANISM MOTIVATED BY RELIGIOUS HATRED .................................................................... 7
   1.5. SOCIAL ACTIVISM AND MEDIA ........................................................................................................ 9
   1.6. RESEARCH QUESTION ....................................................................................................................... 11
   1.7. HYPOTHESIS ........................................................................................................................................ 11
   1.8. LIMITATIONS ......................................................................................................................................... 12

2. METHODOLOGY AND THEORY ...................................................................................................................... 14

3. REVIEW OF NEWS ARTICLES .................................................................................................................... 16

4. ANALYSIS ............................................................................................................................................................ 17
   4.1. FEBRUARY 2012 ................................................................................................................................. 18
   4.2. AUGUST 2012 .................................................................................................................................... 21
   4.3. OCTOBER 2012 ............................................................................................................................... 24
   4.4. MAY 2013 ............................................................................................................................................ 27
   4.5. JUNE 2013 ......................................................................................................................................... 29
   4.6. JANUARY 2014 .................................................................................................................................. 31
   4.7. GENERAL ANALYSIS ...................................................................................................................... 35

5. CONCLUSION ....................................................................................................................................................... 37

6. REFERENCES ....................................................................................................................................................... 38
   6.1. BOOKS ................................................................................................................................................ 38
   6.2. ONLINE SOURCES ............................................................................................................................ 39

Key words: Social conservatism, traditional values, discrimination, Russian Federation, Russia, Russian Orthodox Church, religion, media representation, Critical Discourse Analysis, Pussy Riot, hooliganism motivated by religious hatred, hooliganism, religious hatred, conflict
1. Introduction

Punk Prayer

Virgin Mary, Mother of God, banish Putin, banish Putin,
Virgin Mary, Mother of God, banish him, we pray thee!

Congregations genuflect,
Black robes brag gilt epaulettes,
Freedom's phantom's gone to heaven,
Gay Pride's chained and in detention.
KGB's chief saint descends
To guide the punks to prison vans.
Don't upset His Saintship, ladies,
Stick to making love and babies.
Crap, crap, this godliness crap!
Crap, crap, this holiness crap!

Virgin Mary, Mother of God.
Be a feminist, we pray thee,
Be a feminist, we pray thee.

Bless our festering bastard-boss.
Let black cars parade the Cross.
The Missionary's in class for cash.
Meet him there, and pay his stash.
Patriarch Gundy believes in Putin.
Better believe in God, you vermin!
Fight for rights, forget the rite –
Join our protest, Holy Virgin.

Virgin Mary, Mother of God, banish Putin, banish Putin,
Virgin Mary, Mother of God, we pray thee, banish him!

On the 21st of February 2012, a group of Russian activists, more known under the name Pussy Riot, carried out an unauthorised 30 seconds long performance in the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow. The performance consisted of the activists singing the song “Punk Prayer” and it was a protest against the open cooperation between the Russian government and the leaders of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Church officials interrupted the protest, soon thereafter three Pussy Riot members were arrested. Six months later the three arrested performers, Tolokonnikova, Alyokhina and Samutsevich, were charged with “hooliganism motivated by religious hatred”. Some Russians felt that the arrested women were being treated too harshly because of their desire to express their opposed opinion to the government, while others considered their actions a great offence not only to the church as an institution but foremost to the faith itself.

1.1. The Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian government, 1920-1997

When the Soviet Union came to power in the 1920s, the communist government wanted to replace religious beliefs with atheism, therefore the government propagated atheism, avoided religion and thereby the church, leading to a relationship between the state and the church which was not on friendly terms. After the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991, the relationship has not only improved greatly but also been intensified.

The 1990 Religious Freedom Act was passed, which openly supported religious freedom and allowed religious education and activities, gave religious organisations the right to own property and employ workers, exempting them from tax, and allowed new religious groups to emerge and to be accepted in the society on equal terms as already established religious groups. The Russian Orthodox Church considered the emergence of religious groups a threat because missionaries outside Russia could establish their organisations and beliefs in Russia and go against the Russian Orthodox Church’s whole-hearted support for religious nationalism and the “Russian Orthodox identity”.

In 1993, the World Russian People’s Council was founded as a branch of the Patriarchate in Moscow. The focus was set on the promotion of spiritual, cultural, economic and societal revival of Russia and its people as well as being a contribution to the strengthening of the state

---

5 Stoeckls, K., (2014) The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights, p.28, Routledge
6 Ibid, p.29
and of the Orthodox Church, improving the morality in the society would lead to a peaceful unification of the Russian people.\textsuperscript{7}

After the fall of the Soviet Union, the passing of the Religious Freedom Act and the creation of the World Russian People’s Council, the Russian Orthodox Church was still concerned by activities of the other Christian churches since they saw them as totalitarian sects. On the other hand, religious minorities disapproved the close cooperation between the Russian Orthodox Church and the government since they felt that the principle of equality in the 1990 Law was not being followed. These open discussions about Russia and the various religions led to the 1990 Law being revised and replaced in 1997 by the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations\textsuperscript{8} which consisted of a redefinition of the relationship of the state with religion, where religious pluralism became an accepted part of the Russian Federation. Even though there is an official statement that all religions are equal towards the state, it is clear that the Orthodox Church and the state of Russia, through the government, cooperate. Traditional religions such as Christianity, Islam, Buddhism and Judaism are respected, and religious minorities, are accepted if they manage to receive an official status, which can happen only after 15 years of activity within Russia.\textsuperscript{9}

1.2. The unity between Russian Orthodox Church and Russian State

In 2012, presidential elections were held and Vladimir Putin was elected President of the Russian Federation for the third time. Prior to the elections, the soon-to-be-President had a meeting with various religious leaders in the residence of the Patriarch of Moscow where he admitted that the state owed a debt to the religious organisations. Therefore he made the promises that he would strive for a quick renovation of the Russian Orthodox Church’s assets as well as making the Church more present in the media. In that way, Putin expressed that the Russian Orthodox Church would gain economical reliefs in exchange for continued support for him in the elections of 2012.\textsuperscript{10}

The government of the Russian Federation and the Russian Orthodox Church have developed a strong union because they share similar goals that they strive to achieve, but more than

\textsuperscript{7} Ibid, p.31
\textsuperscript{9} Stoeckls, K., (2014) The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights, p.30, Routledge
anything else because of the common values and initiatives\textsuperscript{11} that they share. This strong unity is expressed publicly through speeches, actions of solidarity, and open goodwill between President Vladimir Putin and Patriarch Kirill.

The unity has been expressed in public at various occasions. One of the times was back in February 2012 when Putin had set up a meeting with religious leaders and Patriarch Kirill called the time that Putin had been in power a “miracle of God”.\textsuperscript{12} A year later, Putin attended the celebration of the Patriarch Kirill’s fourth anniversary in that position within the Orthodox Church. Putin held a speech where he mentioned that the achievements of Russia have taken place because of “patriotism, faith and strength of spirit.”\textsuperscript{13} He also mentioned that the Russian Orthodox Church should have more control of Russian everyday life, which according to him consists of “fields as the support of family and motherhood, the upbringing and education of children, youth, social development, and to strengthen the patriotic spirit of the armed forces.”\textsuperscript{14} Putin’s speech confirms how religion is being re-introduced in the society and especially in the country’s political affairs. There has been a shift towards social conservatism in Russia, which in this paper stands for the preservation of traditional values.

1.3. Pussy Riot and their background

Russian social conservatism is presented in the news, by the religious and political leaders and by those who want to get their 15-minutes of fame under the spotlight. However it is interesting and somewhat surprising to learn that Russia has the world’s highest rate of abortions, that the divorce rate in Russia in 2010 was in the first place among the top ten countries regarding the highest divorce rate, while the United States were in 6\textsuperscript{th} place.\textsuperscript{15}

The activist group “Pussy Riot” was founded in 2011 and focused on staging unauthorized provocative performances in unusual public locations to promote particular themes, such as open opposition to Russian policies, and supporting feminism and LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) rights. The performance which made the activist group famous was

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Reuters, Church should have more control over Russian life: Putin, published 2013-02-01. Retrieved on http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/01/us-russia-putin-church-idUSBRE91016F20130201 Last accessed 2014-04-06
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
carried out by five Pussy Riot members inside the Cathedral of Moscow in 2012, to protest against the closer relationship between Patriarch Kirill and Vladimir Putin. The leader of the Orthodox Church had previously given his public support for Putin in the latter’s election campaign.

Two Pussy Riot members, Nadezhda Tolokonnikova and Yekaterina Samutsevich, had earlier been members of another performance group which went under the name Voina. The first performance that put Voina on the map was held in 2007 and consisted of activists throwing stray cats at the staff of a McDonald’s restaurant, while yelling “No to global fascism!” and “Death to fast food!”.

Another performance consisted of a male activist entering a supermarket dressed as a Russian Orthodox priest with a police officer hat on, who after some time in the store left with a cart full of unpaid groceries. Voina wanted, with this performance, to show the invulnerability of priests and police officers. The purpose of that movement was to create and perform provocative and politically charged works but in particular “to put an end to this filthy, authoritarian regime.”

A fraction of Voina members went to Ukraine, to help out with a performance by a Ukrainian activist. Tolokonnikova and her husband Verzilov had, according to Voina, turned in Volodarsky to the police, and stolen some of his property while the Ukrainian activist was in detention. In addition to this, Verzilov was also accused of having stolen Voina property with the purpose of promoting himself and the upcoming Moscow faction. So in 2009, Voina split up. Years later, when Pussy Riot went inside the Cathedral of Moscow for their political performance, they followed the same procedures as the ones used by Voina, by being prepared with cameras so that the performance could later be uploaded to the Internet and be accessible to the whole world.

1.4. Hooliganism motivated by religious hatred

The performance in February of 2012 divided Russia and caused protests nationally as well as

---

around the world for the right of free speech in Russia and particularly on behalf of the band. When the judge asked the three activists for an explanation to why they decided to offend a place that is sacred for many people, they responded that “Christ the Saviour Cathedral is not a church but a commercial enterprise because of businesses that operate there,” an explanation that was not accepted by the panel of three judges. The women elaborated that they opposed the support to Putin from the Patriarch Kirill. The arrested activists received a lot of support from the Western media and even from famous worldwide known artists.

The international media has presented a picture of Pussy Riot as being considered to be cool and courageous, mainly because they broke the general acceptance pattern of the Russian society and dared to stand against president Putin as well as the Orthodox Church. The society in Russia is by some people from the liberal West considered to be an autocracy, where if an individual goes against the social pressure and influence, they are seen as heroes and strong individuals who dare fight for their rights instead of simply accepting social atrocities. On the other hand, the reason to why the protest in the Cathedral offended Russian Orthodox believers as well as people of other beliefs and backgrounds, is because religion and in particular the Russian society is conservative. That such an event took place in a holy place can therefore be seen as harassment of that particular faith, as well as all of those people who consider a place of worship sacred. The Patriarch of Moscow and Russia has expressed that this act does not show bravery at all, it was nothing but an inappropriate action.

The charges against Tolokonnikova, Alyokhina and Samutsevich could have led to up to seven years in prison, the prosecutor wanted them to be sentenced to at least three years in prison. The three Pussy Riot members were found guilty of hooliganism motivated by religious hatred.

---


in August 2012. The prosecutors found the three sentenced women guilty of blasphemy. The sentenced prisoners made final statements expressing that they did not have any religious hate and that the performance was not against the Church and the religion itself, but it was a political performance and the activists had not wanted to offend the believers. Two of them, Tolokonnikova and Alyokhina, were sentenced to two years in labour prison for hooliganism, while Samutsevich was released because she had not been fully engaged in the performance of the Punk prayer in the Cathedral, being kicked out of the church shortly after entering. After the trial, political leaders, such as the US President Obama, celebrities, and individuals around the world, condemned the sentences. The criticism was directed towards Putin and how the Russian Federation had changed during his time in power, as well as against Patriarch Kirill because of the juridical sequence of events.

1.5. Social activism and media
We live in a technologically advanced society where we have improved communication tools which go well in hand with our current social patterns. These communication tools fit our needs for belonging and developing in groups. They also make efforts strong no matter if individuals are standing next to each other or miles apart. Pussy Riot decided to take collective action as a group, since they had a shared vision which consisted in trying to achieve change in their society.

Pussy Riot have spread their protests through two-way communication media, such as YouTube, to express their discontent with the ongoing politics in Russia. Two-way media stands for production and consumption of information as well as the transformation of information into knowledge, and consecutively leading into action. Information sharing forms awareness among individuals who decide to participate and receive information, collaborative production is dependent on shared creation of participants, and collective action creates shared

responsibility since each participant’s identity becomes a part of the group identity.30

The trial was not only a question of blasphemy and hooliganism but it also came to contain questions such as human rights, freedom of expression and equality between the genders. With the media support Pussy Riot got after their performance and by having a good PR strategy they managed to show how close the relationship between the ‘secular’ government of Putin and Russian Orthodox Church through Patriarch Kirill I, and in general how the Russian society works.

The sentenced Pussy Riot activists achieved their pre-set goals right after the protest in Moscow, also while on trial, as well as when they were sentenced. They explicitly showed by their performance, speeches and behaviour what kind of society they live in. According to Utbildningsradion (UR), a Swedish educational governmental news channel, the time in between the arrest of the activists up to the court date when their sentence arrived, demonstrated, that in the Russian society there is no gap between religious and government power.31

Ronnie D. Lipschutz wrote that effective political action can take place if activists have the ability of achieving political change. That can take place if they manage to convince people, individuals as well as groups, to join the cause for change, and to introduce that change as an ethical-political basis of any given society. By using systematic strategy to make a collectively action, that strategy has the potential to lead to effective change.32 Pussy Riot have managed to raise individual awareness and thereby they have also spread the knowledge of the political-religious situation in Russia, and they have managed to put international pressure into their attempt to achieve national change.

After the by now, well-known Pussy Riot performance, Putin has created and fortified the image of him being the father of the nation by working even closer with the Russian Orthodox Church, and the religious leaders are becoming even more involved in politics. For example, the Russian Orthodox Church lately called for a referendum on criminalising gay

In the perception of the Russian gay community, the population of the Russian Federation is more conservative than their western counterparts, which consecutively make homosexuals a target for the Kremlin.\(^{34}\)

### 1.6. Research question

Social activism in cooperation with media, has contributed to a wider knowledge of how the social situation is for opponents to the government in Russia. The objective of this study is to analyse structural relationships of power, control, dominance and discrimination, which are manifested in written discourse that is through the use of language. Since my aim is to get an accurate picture of how English written media sources have described events that took place between February 2012 and January 2014, the research question that we will try to respond throughout this paper is:

*How is the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and Vladimir Putin represented in English written media?*

### 1.7. Hypothesis

The topic is relevant and interesting because the Russian Federation is officially a secular state but president Putin is empowering the state religion through his speeches and actions, and thereby making the Russian Orthodox Church grow as a political force. It is important to analyse the portrayal of this intensifying relationship to draw conclusions on possible outcomes. Therefore, the aim of this study is to make an analysis based on news articles which show how the two leading forces in the Russian society, the government with Vladimir Putin in the lead and the Orthodox Church, are empowering each other and establishing norms in the Russian society by developing and enforcing specific politics based on Christian moral values.

My hypothesis is that the English written Russian news-sources will be pro-Putin and pro-Russian Orthodox Church compared with the sources written by international media who I

---

33 Mail Online, *Russia’s Orthodox Church, which is closely linked to Vladimir Putin, calls for referendum on criminalizing gay relationships*, published 2014-01-10. Retrieved on [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2537269/Russia-Orthodox-Church-closely-linked-Vladimir-Putin-calls-referendum-criminalising-gay-relationships.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2537269/Russia-Orthodox-Church-closely-linked-Vladimir-Putin-calls-referendum-criminalising-gay-relationships.html) Last accessed 2014-04-29

presume are more critical about various statements made by the two strong and powerful representatives, Putin and Kirill I, within the Russian society.

1.8. Limitations

The articles used in this study, have been written and published during the timeframe of January 2012 and February 2014 in various online newspapers; Russia Today and RIA Novosti will in this paper represent the Russian media voice while Reuters, Daily Mail, USA Today and The Telegraph represent the international media. The already named news agencies have different target audiences as readers. Here follows how they present themselves and what the target readers are according to statistics and/or my own understanding.

- Russia Today states in its website that it offers a Russian viewpoint on major issues as to “create news with an edge” and to provide an “alternative perspective on major global events.” The intended audience is the international readership interested in their point of view.

- RIA Novosti has the same goal as Russia Today, namely to “provide balanced and objective coverage of world events […] to offer international audiences the Russian perspective on the news.” The likely readers to this paper are international readers interested in a perspective different to western media.

- Reuters has it’s headquarter in the United Kingdom. In 2008, it went from being an independent company to becoming part of the Thomson Corporation. It promotes itself as a news agency that delivers critical information to its readers. Reuters wants to uphold journalistic objectivity, and since they promote themselves to businesses and educated professionals, our understanding is that the readership is within that range of group.

- Daily Mail was in 2011 the second most visited English-language newspaper website worldwide. It is based in the United Kingdom and the owners of the news site promote it as a site that creates “thought-provoking discussions” amongst its readers, which

according to statistics more than 50 percent are female, and 86 percent are aged 35 years or more.

- USA Today has a goal of making “the USA truly one nation,” and it considers itself to be a reflection of the US society. The target audience is clearly the American population. Over half of its readers are male (65 percent), the medium age is 50 and 33 percent are professionals.

- The Telegraph is the third most visited newspaper in the United Kingdom. 58 percent of the online readers are male and the average age is 39, compared to 53 percent men and average age 61 years to the printed version. This news agency directs its information to share the view of British journalism to its British readers, although it has a large number of American readers as well.

The readership target in the above online news agencies vary from each other, they are also all based in three different countries. There are Russian news agencies that are much more pro-state and other that are anti-Putin than the chosen agencies than the ones that in this study will represent the voice of Russia. So, a limitation to this study is that I will try to acquire an accurate picture of the domestic situation in Russia by looking at English written sources, since I unfortunately do not have the proficiency to understand media sources and articles written in Russian. A profound analysis of how similar or differently portrayed news are, cannot be done here.

A second limitation is that I will compare only two articles with each other. I have searched for articles published on the same day or about the same event. The analysis of the article will give a picture of the similarities or differences about the deeper meaning sent by the articles, but will not represent a comprehensive picture of the situation; it will only help to give a picture of a general image. The reason to why more articles were not chosen for the analysis is because of the timeframe, the word limitation but foremost because of lack of actual articles discussing the same issue.

---

2. Methodology and Theory

According to Denzin and Lincoln, qualitative research makes particular situations in the world visible through interpretation of natural settings. In this paper, I will combine open-ended narrative parts with observations and analysis of specific articles and I will use qualitative research by collecting a number of published news articles with the goal of making an in-depth analysis of them, through “systematic observations to reach understanding” since I want to understand the attitudes of written media, as well as the experiences of the Russian population. As any other research, qualitative method does have limitations, the biggest one being that the study can become dependent on my particular skills and therefore the analysis could be influenced by my opinions and thoughts. Therefore, I have tried to make this qualitative study by having a clearly stated and justified research question.

To pursue this study more precisely, I will do a discourse analysis to further understand and analyse written English articles from Russian and international news’ agencies. The discourse analysis which I will lean on, is more precisely Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), because it takes into consideration that language is an ideological tool, in the sense that language consists of a number of both unconscious and conscious ideas that are expressed through words and sentences, formulating a person’s or a group’s expectations, goals and actions in/of the society. In other words, CDA looks at both the spoken and written word and it focuses on how language in “media produces meaning that supports dominant interests and groups in society,” without being apparent.

Through the application of CDA, one can understand ideology construction and political positioning. CDA sees the written, formulated and pronounced language as a social practice where the context of the use of language is to be of importance to read between the lines, and in addition by understanding the written context it will also be possible to comprehend how situations can be angled depending on the author or situation at hand. Put in other words, as

Thomas N. Huckin describes it, CDA "tries to point out those features of a text[…] that appear to be textual manipulations serving non-democratic purposes."\(^{50}\)

The theoretical and methodological approach that will be used in the study will be Fairclough’s approach for CDA. It consists of three processes for analysis that are inter-related with each other and these are consecutively connected to three dimensions of discourse. CDA “places weight on the active role of discourse in constructing the social world.”\(^{51}\) Critical Discourse Analysis is profoundly interested in critically looking at social inequality that can be and is expressed through discourse,\(^{52}\) which is a reason to why this methodological and theoretical approach will be used in the continuation of the study.

The analysis will be carried out by looking at:

- The language, grammatical and visual features to see how people are described and represented through language and images.\(^{53}\)
- How individuals and groups are named and visually represented by the communicator to shape the way participants, events and circumstances are perceived.\(^{54}\)
- How people are portrayed as having an important role and being the receptor of the consequences from a specific action, how the representation of transitivity is carried on.\(^{55}\)

Fairclough’s approach for CDA has been chosen because it provides useful points to carry an analysis in this study, it focuses on text content, linguistics and the meaning behind the text. Since texts, no matter if they are blog entries, news articles or books, they are all connected to factors worth considering when doing an analysis; history and society. This approach is after all the “most developed theory and method for research”\(^{56}\) within the fields of culture, society and communication.

Discourse is the object of analysis and not the reality around and/or outside of the discourse.\(^{57}\)
Therefore, “analysis of media texts involve the analysis of their structure,”\(^{58}\) I will focus on what has been written as well as on pictures attached to the articles, to find patterns in the statements, read between the lines as well as across them.

The three tools that will be used to do the Critical Discourse Analysis are the following:

i. *Quoting verbs*: By looking close at the words selected to describe how a person somebody has spoken, we can realize how authors want to shape views and opinions by formulating a text so that the receptor of the text will make evaluations and be affected by, in this case, written representations. Quoting verbs are used to allocate that implicit information and make it visible.\(^{59}\)

ii. *Language and Identity*: A communicator can choose how to represent an individual or a group of people, and by the representation done the writer/communicator can therefore indicate not written nor articulated values, ideas and activities, making the readers and receptors attentive to specific aspects of the discourse.\(^{60}\)

iii. *Visual representation*: Images can tell more than what is written in the text, but it can also elaborate what the author of a particular text wanted to present. By analysing the visual representation, we can see what kind of discourse is communicated through pictures; our purpose is to understand what ideas and values are communicated through the images.\(^{61}\)

### 3. Review of news articles

To analyse these articles I have carried an article criterion sampling\(^{62}\) to ensure in a systematic way that readers see the analysis as credible and indicative. The purpose is to investigate in depth the representation of the same topic by different media sources, to identify variation and find similarities.


\(^{60}\) Ibid, p.77

\(^{61}\) Ibid, p.96-97

As mentioned above, I have decided to do a comparison and analysis of how the relationship between the two powers in the Russian Federation, them being the Russian Orthodox Church and the Putin government, are represented in the media. Instead of comparing various Russian news agencies and their articles, I have chosen to make a comparison of Russian and international news articles to get a better picture of how different the same news are presented to the public sphere. My focus has therefore been to have articles with the same topic written on the same date or with one day of difference.

I have chosen six pair of articles, which will be reviewed in chronological order. The two first articles to be analysed, were published on the 8th of February 2012 by Russia Today and Reuters, referring to a meeting between Putin and religious institutions previous to the presidential elections. The second pair of articles were published in August 2012, on the 17th by Russia Today and on the 18th by USA Today, concerning the statements made by the Russian Orthodox Church in relation to the Pussy Riot trial and the sentences of the three activists. The third pair of articles were published in October 2012, on the 4th by RIA Novosti and on the 5th by Reuters, in relation to the acceptable involvement of priests in politics. In May 21, 2013, the second draft for the anti-blasphemy law was passed, which both Russia Today and Reuters wrote about. In June 2013, the new law was passed by the Russian parliament’s Lower House, which was described by Russia Today on the 11th and by The Telegraph on the 12th. The last pair of articles to be analysed, were published on the 10th of January 2014 by Russia Today and the Daily Mail and they refer to a call for referendum on criminalising gay relationships.

4. Analysis

I will make the analysis of the six pair articles by following a general strategy; the articles will be carefully analysed in two stages. The first stage consists of getting a general comprehension of the text. The second stage consists of critically looking at the text to see features that could mislead the reader to get an understanding different from what is particularly stated between the lines. In the second stage, I will make use of the three tools mentioned above, namely quoting verbs, language and identity, and presupposition. If there are visual representations in the article, I will do an analysis of what kind of discourse is communicated through images, by responding to what sort of ideas and values are talked about through what is represented and by how it is represented.
4.1. February 2012

Russia Today ➔ http://rt.com/politics/putin-foreign-make-representatives-797/

1. The article relates to a meeting held in the cathedral of Moscow, between the, back then, presidential candidate Vladimir Putin with representatives of Russia’s traditional confessions. The representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church did express that “Christians are facing repressions all over the world” and that Putin should make a foreign policy direction to protect Christians, to which Putin assured he would. The patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church expressed that Putin was the “most likely winner of the presidential race”.

2. *Quoting verbs:* Out of six quoting verbs, there are five speech-reporting neutral verbs throughout the article; “…Church told him…”, “…cleric asked Putin…”, “…Putin answered.”, “…Kirill said at…”, “…the patriarch said.” These verbs express neutrality throughout the article, which means that the author has only reported what happened at the meeting between the religious leaders. There is also a directive metapropositional verb; “…also stressed that…” which expressed that the author did make an interpretation of the event, which appears to be a true report of the event.

*Language and Identity:* In this part of the CDA we look at how people are represented through language by drawing attention to certain parts of a person’s identity. This particular article uses a mix of Nomination and Functionalisation. The article starts with a nomination when describing that “Putin promises to…”, Putin is described simply by who he is, while who he is, is developed in the first paragraph by functionalization “Presidential candidate Vladimir Putin…”, describing the practical terms in which Putin was at that point of time, when he was a running for the presidential post. The mix between nomination (“When Putin met with…”, “The cleric asked Putin to…” and “…at the meeting that Putin was the most…” and functionalization (“The head of External Church Relations, Metropolita Illarion, said…”, ”The Russian prime minister also…” and “Head of the Russian Orthodox Church Patriarch Kirill…”) continues through the text. There are also aspects of collectivisations such as “…the representatives of Russia’s traditional confessions…”, and “…the representative of the Russian Orthodox Church told…” label a generic group with limited information on who the representatives are in the attempt to neutralize who exactly was involved during the meeting.
Use of honorifics is also used in the article, particularly when describing the official role of the Russian Orthodox Church, in “…Church Patriarch Kirill said at…”, a description of the leader being an important social actor because of his specialisation, he is within the text given higher authority compared to the back then candidate for the presidential election.

*Visual representation:* There is one picture in the article, showing Vladimir Putin sitting down, with a microphone in front of him, himself looking off-frame. The picture tells us to be objective with what is being presented in the article, at the same time as the closed-up angle states that Putin was in a vulnerable situation at the meeting, since he was not yet elected president. The angle in this picture connotes a close alignment with Putin and the article in general.

CDA: The article is written in a style were the reporter describes how the meeting went on and what was said, which makes the text neutral. By having a look at the visual representation, we get the message that Putin was the underdog during the meeting compared to the religious leader of the Orthodox Church.

**Reuters** → [http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/02/08/uk-russia-putin-religion-idUKTRE81722Y20120208](http://uk.reuters.com/article/2012/02/08/uk-russia-putin-religion-idUKTRE81722Y20120208)

1. The article narrates about a meeting between Putin and various religious leaders previous to the presidential elections. Some historical aspects are elaborated as a background to patriarch Kirill’s statement that there was a “miracle of God” that made a change by having Putin since he corrected the “crooked twist of our history.” Open support was expressed for Putin, not only by the patriarch but also by a mufti.

2. **Quoting verbs:** Already in the headline there is use of the directive metapropositional verb “…patriarch calls Putin…”, and the same verb is used two more times in the article. This verb shows from the start of the article that the author has made an interpretation of the meeting. In the second paragraph, the first sentence starts with “Putin wants support from spiritual figures…”, want being an assertive metapropositional verb that expresses Putin’s power and legitimacy in this particular situation. There is also use of a metalinguistic verb “…compared the period preceding…”, which expresses the sense that the author is not doing anything else than giving an objective report on what
happened. In the rest of the articles, there are various neutral structuring verbs, such as “Kirill told…”, “…Kirill said…”, “…told Putin…”, and “…said mufti Ravil…”. These speech-reporting verbs can express the author to be disengaged since it is less personalised, but in this particular situation it is most probable to be use in the sense of making the article more neutral than it can appear, at the same time as it expresses that the author is not making a judgemental analysis of the situation but simply reporting the meeting.

*Language and Identity:* The headline starts with a mix of functionalism and nomination, where functionalism is presented by the first part of the sentence with the official functionalised definition of the religious leader “Russian patriarch calls…” and is ended with the, to the reader more personal, nomination consisting of “…calls Putin era miracle of God” The involvement of some individuals is further mentioned by additional nominations such as “Putin wants support…”, “Putin has built…”, “Kirill told a…”, “Putin replaced…”, “Kirill called opposition…” “…Kirill said”, “Kirill’s speech…”, “…told Putin.”. As there are additional nominations in the article, there are also additional functionalization but not as many as there are nominations, to be more specific there is one more functionalization written as “…Russia’s chief rabbi, Berel Lazar, told…” which describes that the rabbi was not just rabbi but also the chief rabbi in Russia, making the position connote more legitimacy than with a shorter description.

Anonymisation of some religious leaders exist in the following quote “…attended by four muftis from…, a Buddhist lama, an Armenian bishop and representatives of Roman Catholics and other Christian churches.”, which clearly expresses that the author avoided specifying and develop a more detailed and coherent argument in relation to the overall story. Honorifics are used in the text in three separate parts showing a role with a specific degree of respect which consecutively gives a particular sort of authority; ”Patriarch Kirill, a bearded…”, “…said mufti Ravil…” and “Mufti Ismail…”

*Visual representation:* The picture shows Putin sitting around a table with several religious leaders in front and next to him. The meeting conditions seem to be quite amicable and there seems to be a humble smile on Putin’s face. He is sitting upright, looking slightly down. The picture gives the impression of him listening to some comment or question, and being vulnerable and dependent of these religious leaders’ support or lack thereof.
CDA: The article is written as a narrative report of the meeting between Putin and the Russian religious leaders, at the same time as the author does an analysis of what is wanted by Putin. However, in overall the article is neutral and it gives more authority to the religious leaders than to the back then presidential candidate. The picture that goes along with the article pushes the neutrality to the side and fortifies the amicable conditions of the meeting in which Putin was looking for political support.

4.2. August 2012


1. The article describes an appeal from the officials of the Russian Orthodox Church to the public authorities to show mercy on the three sentenced Pussy Riot members at the same time as the officials condemned the act of blasphemy. They also called for people, whose religious feelings had been hurt to “abstain from revenge or violence.”

2. Quoting verbs: The article starts with a neutral structuring verb, namely “…Church asks authorities…” and continues with yet three more neutral speech-reporting verbs “…Council said in…”, “…said the Orthodox Church.”, and “…they say the…”. In the text, there are also various metapropositional verbs such as one expressive “The Church condemned…”, one directive “…Pussy Riot manifested back…” and two directive verbs “Still, calls were made on…” and “…and called on…”. These metapropositional verbs express that there has been an interpretation done by the author about the appeal towards the public authorities to show mercy towards the sentenced activists. Even though it starts with a couple of neutral verbs, it finishes the article reporting how the appeal truly was.

Language and Identity: The headline contains a collectivisation in “…Church asks authorities to…” , it expresses a generic group which doesn’t necessarily bring us closer to who they are, since it is not elaborated what that generic group consists of it is not entirely humanised to the readers meaning that we don’t feel a social connection with that particular collectivisation. The article does contain yet another representation in the sense of collectivisation “Officials from Russia’s Orthodox Church have…”

The article also uses individualisation, by naming the sentenced activists by name; “Nadezhda Tolokonnikova, Maria Alyokhina and Ekaterina Samutsevich have each…”
Honorifics are used once in the text “Like President Vladimir Putin, the…” describing the important role he plays in this situation. The text continues talking about the president’s involvement during the meeting but with nominations instead; “Nevertheless, Putin ventured…” and “…banish Vladimir Putin, who…” making the reader relate to him on a personal level.

Visual representation: The article contains one picture representing Orthodox clergy carrying poles with crosses, in groups of three, standing stable in front of an Orthodox church, some of them smiling others being more serious. This picture tells that the church will not be harassed by hooliganism at the same time as the picture communicates that there is forgivingness if there is repentance amongst the sinners.

CDA: The article starts with a neutral report of the appeal for mercy from the Orthodox Church to the Pussy Riot activists, and finishes the text with the author’s interpretation and analysis of the appeal. There is a distance expressed between the church and the readers because of the formulation. The image in the article fortifies what the standpoint of the church presented in the article, namely that the Russian Orthodox Church does forgive sinners of their behaviour filled with disrespect towards not only the religion but also towards believers, but only after they are sentenced according to the law. Forgiveness is according to the paper not necessarily to forget about what has happened.

USA Today ⇒ http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/religion/story/2012-08-18/pussy-riot-russian-orthodox/57127796/1

1. The article refer to official TV appearances and statements were church representatives explain that the church has forgiven the three activists for the February 2012 protest in the Moscow cathedral, and ask the court for “mercy within the limits of law.” The article does also mention how the trial was seen by international celebrities and people around the world as well as it does an analysis of how Russia’s tolerance, or lack thereof, is expressed.

2. Quoting verbs: The article has a lot of neutral verbs; “…on Saturday asked for…”, “…counsellor, said on…,” “…said the…”, “…he said.”, “…is asking for…”, “…critics say its…”, “…also asked the authorities…”, “…and asked…”, “…the musician said.”, “…she said.” It does also contribute with various metapropositional verbs, them being
the following: “…Kozlov agreed…” – an assertive verb, “…they called on…” – a
directive verb, “…had urged strong…” – another directive verb, “…Putin, praising his
leadership…” – an expressive verb, “…and urged young…” – a third directive verb,
followed by a fourth with “…Church called the band’s stunt…” The metapropositional
verbs fortify that the reporting of the Church’s forgiveness of Pussy Riot and their urge
to show the activists mercy is genuine.

Language and Identity: “Russia’s top Orthodox clerics” describe statistics without
actually telling how many are in the top or who they are, which gives the impression of
scientific credibility. The article continues with the use of collectivisation in
“…Orthodox clerics on…” describing a generic group and since there is not much
information about the clerics it does not make the readers feel any connection with this
generic group. The text continues by using specification in the sense of “…the punk
band Pussy Riot…” expressing that Pussy Riot was not only an activist group but also
a punk band. Honorifics are used three times in the article; “…to be President Vladimir
Putin’s…”, “Archpriest Maxim…” and “…church, Patriarch Kirill, has…”

A nomination is used when describing the head of Moscow’s Sretensky Monastery
by “…said the cleric, who heads…” the article doesn’t provide a name but informs the
reader that the cleric is not as important as to be described with a full name. Another
nomination is visible in the beginning of the seventh paragraph, “Both clerics
supported…” describing the participants in terms of who they are but still not personal.
Additional nomination is used in the text “…support for Putin praising…” and
“…prank, Kirill himself…”

The article does also use individualisation, and goes one step further than the Russia
Today article by providing a description of the sentenced activists’ age: “Nadezha
Tolokoonikov, 22, Maria Alekhina, 24, and Yekaterina Samutsevich, 30, were…”
Moreover, there is use of both personalisation “Madonna called the…” and
impersonalisation “The church has…” The latter gives more weight to the following
statement, since it is not about a person’s opinion or behaviour but about an institution’s
action.

Visual representation: There is a picture representing Pussy Riot supporters, who are
wearing colourful balaclavas and holding signs with Cyrillic letters at the same time as
a man approaches them with his left arm up telling them to do something. The picture
does not have a relation with what is written in the article, more than the individuals in
the picture and the message of the article have a connection with the activist group Pussy
Riot. The people in the picture support the activists openly as well as various celebrities
around the world have done.

CDA: The description of the sentenced activists is more elaborated in the article from USA
Today than in the article published by Russia Today. In this article, the sentenced individuals
are therefore slightly more humanised by the indication of their age compared to no further
description of them in the previous article more than their names. The picture is somewhat
unnecessary, it doesn’t fortify the article in any other way than in showing that there is and was
support for the Pussy Riot movement in Russia as well as abroad.

4.3. October 2012


1. The article elaborates the new standpoint of the Russian Orthodox Church regarding
future clergy participation in elections where there are parties or candidates who have
politics that are against Russian Orthodox Church policies. The article does also
mention the current standpoint of previous involvements by priests as vote monitors.

2. Quoting verbs: This RIA Novosti article has only neutral structuring verbs, them being
as follows: “…spokesman said…”, “…Legoida said.”, and “…he said.” The use of these
speech-reporting verbs can appear as the reporter was not completely engaged in the
matter but could also relate to being a utterly neutral report of the Russian Orthodox
Church decision regarding having clergy running for political offices.

Language and Identity: The article contains use of collectivisation in the headline
“Russian Priests to take on Church Enemies in polls”, these above mentioned
collectivisations describe two generic groups. Another use of collectivisation can be
seen in the last paragraph, “No Orthodox Christian priests have…” Further down, there
is use of impersonalisation “The Russian Orthodox Church will…”, describing an
institution fortifying the following statement. With the following description“…are
anti-church parties or candidates running for…”, we can see yet another use of
collectivisation, that is a description of a not particularly specified group. Honorifics
have been removed in this article that can be seen in “…for office, a church spokesman
said…” which has led to a diminished authority by a describing the spokesman in a generic way.

*Visual representation:* The picture presented with the text represents a line of people about to vote in the presidential elections. The two individuals closest to the camera, seem to be soldiers, are involved in sealing their votes, one of them being in the actual process of voting procedure. Both are looking down and are close to the camera, which gives a sense of the people being exposed to new times and new challenges. The image wants to connote an idea of people from various backgrounds who would vote in the elections, and they could very well vote for the Orthodox clerics.

CDA: The article is straightforward and has a neutral standpoint throughout the text, elaborating that clergy will be able to run for political positions if that is necessary and only after approval from the Russian Orthodox Church’s leaders. The visual representation does represent and fortify that clergy will be able to be elected during the political elections.

**Reuters** → [http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/05/us-russia-church-elections-idUSBRE8941I720121005](http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/10/05/us-russia-church-elections-idUSBRE8941I720121005)

1. According to the article, the Russian Orthodox Church has established rules for clergy if they seek participation in elections, if there are forces who seek to struggle the church by using elective office. The text also elaborates the opinion of analysts and activists regarding this move by the Orthodox Church, which could lead to the church’s religion becoming a state religion.

2. **Quoting verbs:** The article has a variation of quoting verbs, beginning with “Analysts said…”, followed by the next paragraph which starts with “Right activists said…”. The text continues with “…Holy Synod reaffirmed…”, reaffirmed being an expressive metapropositional verb which endorses the statement done by church officials to have been told and therefore true. Five neutral structuring variations of the verb “to say” follow the metapropositional verb. The article does also contain a quoting verb, namely “…band members burst into…” which expressed how the Pussy Riot performance in the Cathedral went about, that it was not a quiet performance but something that surprised the faithful while they were in the middle of their prayers. “…punk prayer urging the Virgin…” contains a directive metapropositional verb which stresses the
interpretation of the performance and what the activists wanted to express as their message. The article then continues and ends with a three neutral verbs, such as “Krill has said...”, “…news agency quoted Lyudmila…” and “…she was quoted as…”

*Language and Identity:* This Reuters article has both impersonalisation and nomination in the headline as well as in the first sentence of the paragraph; “Russian church (impersonalisation) gives priests (nomination) freer…”, “The Russian Orthodox Church (impersonalisation) has established rules for priests (nomination) seeking…”. The use of a short version or the full version of a church gives the sentences some extra weight to the rest of the sentence and to the statement as a whole. The use of nomination expresses a personal level to individuals who happen to have the occupation of priests and now, if they belong to this Christian institution can feel that now have the support to be in politics. The article contains three honorifics; “…secular, a church representative was…”, “…Legoida, a church spokesman said…” and “…by Russian Orthodox Patriarch Kirill.” The two first quotes use of honorifics communicates that the authority of the church representative as well as of the church spokesman is lower than the one that the Patriarch has, the latter use of honorifics in contrast to the previous ones, expresses signals of an important social actor.

“…church, Vladimir Legoida, a church spokesman…” and “…not new, Legoida said, but…” shows us that here we have a personalisation of this spokesman who has connections to the church and even power to make statements, him being a spokesman after all. But his power cannot be compared to the impersonalisation seen above but also in the quote “…on Thursday, the church’s Holy Synod reaffirmed…”. This entity has more weight when presenting its reaffirmation or statement compared to an individual whom the readers know very little about, and most likely only by name.

The article does also feature suppression in the quote “…seeking to undermine traditional Russian values and halt…”, where the three underlined words appear to be completely natural and something that every individual should adapt to rather than to question it.

*Visual representation:* There is no visual representation in the article, to which the text could feel connected. On the other hand, the text gives the impression of carrying truthful information and a more serious and neutral impression.
CDA: The article emphasize on the religious institution’s decision on how and when clergy will be allowed to be politically involved and hold political positions. Compared to the previous article, this one does mention that the Church has a firm standpoint on that traditional Russian values have to be sustained. For that reason, the article becomes less neutral compared to the previous article.

4.4. May 2013


1. The article communicates that a second draft for an anti-blasphemy law has been passed. This draft is compared to the first draft a light version, where the proposed sentences for hurting religious feelings have been lowered. The article presents examples on how the arguments against this law are by quotes two opponent politicians.

2. Quoting verbs: The article has three speech-reported verbs; “…said Communist deputy…”, “…said Mikhail Markelov…” and “He said the…”! Additionally, there were four metapropositional verbs, one assertive: “…also noted that…” and three expressive: “…was unconvinced…”, “Others claimed that…” and “…experts claimed the…”! The neutral verbs were situated at the beginning and to the end of the article there were more verbs which indicated how the opinions regarding the anti-blasphemy law were amongst various political representatives.

Language and Identity: I have found use of collectivisation in “…bill, Russians would…”!, description the very generic group consisting of population in Russia, as well as in “Opponents of the…” describing the broad group in opposition to this suggested law. Honorifics were used as well in “…said Communist deputy Oleg Smolin, whose…” which expresses the particular importance that he plays as a social actor in the Duma. By the following underlined text “…aimed at the Russian Orthodox Church and…”, Russian Orthodox Church stands for the whole institution and not a particular individual or group within the church. The article does also contain use of nomination “…and Vladimir Putin…”, which makes us relate to the Russian president on a personal level.

Visual representation: This Russia Today article contains two pictures; one displays female believers standing in front and/or looking at the lighted candles. This picture
tells that if the anti-blasphemy law would not pass at a later instance, these believers’ religious feelings could get hurt. The second picture is a still image from the YouTube video showing the Pussy Riot activists in action protesting in Christ the Saviour Cathedral against the strengthened and open relation between the Russian Orthodox Church and Putin. This picture expresses that hooligans can look like the women in the still image, a picture that with the past events could make recall the hurt feelings after the protest.

CDA: The article is in the written context a neutral report of the, back then, newly passed second draft on the anti-blasphemy law. But when looked upon with the visual context, the analysis we get is that the article starts emphasizing on how religious individuals would be hurt by blasphemous behaviour if the law would not be passed in the third instance, and that the activists in that case would be the successful winner of this societal struggle.

Reuters → http://www.reuters.com/assets/print?aid=USBRE94K17020130521

1. The article describes how the Russian lawmakers have taken a step closer towards introducing jail terms for offending, and thereby hurting, religious feelings by approving a new draft of the bill. This new law would lead to jail time and fines. There are critics in Russia, and this is expressed by an activist. The article does also mention that the bill draft has its origins at the Pussy Riot protest in the Christ the Saviour Cathedral.

2. Quoting verbs: This article from Reuters contains four quoting verbs, two neutral and two metapropositional. The two speech-reporting verbs are within the following quotes “Critics say the bill…” and “Alexeyeva told the…” while the metapropositional in the text consist of an expressive verb “Kremlin critics fear…” and a directive verb in the form of “prayer urging the Virgin…”

Language and Identity: The article contains use of collectivisation “Russian lawmakers on…”, “Critics say…” and “Lawmakers in the State…” making the generic groups distant to the readers since we do not get the information on who they are or where they come from, aspects that would make us feel connected to these groups of individuals. “Putin has not spoken…” shows that the author used nomination, making Putin feel more personal by simply describing the president by his surname. Individualisation is
used in “…three, Yekaterina Samutsevich, was freed when a judge suspended her sentence on appeal. Maria Alyokhina has a parole hearing on Wednesday, and Nadezhda Tolokonnikova has been denied parole last month.” Even though the activists are only named, the elaborated description of their sentences’ fates, the three Pussy Riot members are brought closer to the readers and we can feel connected with them by relating to how it would be to be in their situation.

Visual representation: There is no visual representation in this article. This makes the reader emphasize on the written text and message instead of connoting the text with pictures.

CDA: The description of who is leading the process of the anti-blasphemy law, or lack thereof, expresses a neutrality in the article. The description of the three sentenced activists does fortify this neutrality.

4.5. June 2013
Russia Today → http://rt.com/politics/responsibility-insulting-feelings-believers-526/

1. The Russia Today article tells that the Lower House of the Russian parliament has passed the bill which criminalizes religious feelings insults by sentencing up to three years in prison, but those insults could also lead to fines and correctional work. The articles describes, in detail, what various ways of insulting religious feelings can lead to. The online magazine also brings the readers up-to-date that there are a number of people within the Russian society that oppose the secular state.

2. Quoting verbs: The article has two expressive metapositional verbs, one seen in “…has publicly accused…” and the other is “…Markelov, claim that it is…”. There is one neutral verb in “…Markelov told reporters”, as well as two transcript verbs which relates to previous statement in the article; “The MP added that…” and “He added that…”

Language and Identity: The headline start with the impersonalisation of the lower house of the Russian parliament by declaring that the “Duma approves criminalization…”, this expresses that the entity of the lower political house in Russia is pro-criminalization of insulting religious feelings, it gives more strength than if it would be written that a
person approves of the same. Instead it is an institution, which expresses more stable and fixed power. The article does also contain use of functionalisation, which can be seen in “…and the President.” “…and President Vladimir Putin personally.” “…the final reading MPs amended the draft…” and “The MP added…”. All the underlined words make the participants functionalised by the simple definition of what they do, which consecutively leads to the understanding that their occupation or profession is official at the same time as it reduces the individual to the a generic or assigned role.

**Visual representation:** The article has a picture of an Orthodox priest standing next to a fallen wooden cross. He is looking directly at the camera and because of that the readers can feel more connected with his hurt religious feelings and he seems to be vulnerable on that terrain. The picture make us support with his thoughts.

**CDA:** The article reports on the approval of the new law on a neutral level, which changes to be pro-Orthodox Church with the picture in the text, since the readers and viewers get to understand how the clergy in the picture is suffering by the cross vandalism and by hooliganism in general.

**The Telegraph** →

http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/russia/10113834/Russia-introduces-jail-terms-for-religious-ofenders.html

1. The article starts by informing that there is a new legislation which means that if there is clear disrespect of religious feelings of believers, in relation to public activities, that particular insult can lead to imprisonment up to three years. Then the article continues by notifying that a majority of MPs in the State Duma have also approved a law that will give fines for any sort of homosexual propaganda among minors. It continues by telling how the relationship between Putin and the Orthodox Church has improved, as well as elaborating what happened at a LGBT protest against the gay propaganda law, where people who are pro core traditional values pelted the protesters with eggs and sprayed urine on the activists, the latter being loaded into a bus and taken away while nothing happened to the aggressors.

2. **Quoting verbs:** Within the Telegraph article, there were three quoting verbs. “…a driver who declined to…”, “…and cheered as police…” and “He told The Daily Telegraph…”

30
The first mentioned quoting verb is assertive, the second is paralinguistic in the way that it shows the attitude of a supporter of the new law, and the third quoting verb is a neutral one.

Language and Identity: “A large majority of MPs in…”, use of aggregation makes the reader understand that there are statistics when in reality the author has only given the impression of having numbers and facts. Functionalisation is also used in the article in the following quotes “Under President Vladimir Putin…” and “…by Mr Putin, that…” elaborating on their legitimacy by making it sound official and decent. Use of collectivisation can be seen in “About 20 LGBT activists gathered…”, by the description of the generic LGBT activists formation. Moreover, there is also an interesting use of individualisation, where a supporter of the law was described not only by his first name but also by his age and profession “Maxim, 34, a driver who…” which by the detailed information can make the readers either feel sympathy or the contrary with that particular individual and the people aligned with him.

Visual representation: The picture used in this article is different from previous articles, since it has a visual representation of the three sentenced Pussy Riot activists sitting in their trial booth while they still were on trial. All of them are sitting in front of the camera, which makes the readers feel connected with the activists.

CDA: The article expresses the various feelings regarding the new legislation in Russia and the open disrespect of the anti-LGBT movement towards LGBT activists, where the latter are taken away while the first group is allowed to behave as they want without getting any retaliation by the police force.

4.6. January 2014


1. The Russian Orthodox Church has via their representative for relations with society, restated that male gay relations are a threat to the society but what the possible punishment to gay behaviour and actions should be decided by the people through a referendum. The suggestion came after a former priest tweeted a letter to Putin where he urged to “reinstate punishment for male homosexuality.” The majority of the critics towards this former priest’s social media letter has been directed to him as a person
and not in the same number towards the actual suggestion. On the other hand, critics towards male gay punishment are elaborated shortly in the article.

2. **Quoting verbs**: The headline of this article has a directive metapropositional verb in “…cleric seeks nationwide…” which expressed the author’s interpretation of this Russia Today article as what the Russian Orthodox Church’s cleric want to achieve after a referendum on criminalizing male homosexuality. There are a few neutral structuring verbs consisting of “…society has said in…”, “Chaplin said he…”, “…he asked to reinstate…”, “LGBT activists replied with…”, “…and asking the CEO…” and “…eventually told reporters…” All of the above mentioned neutral verbs tell what happened and who said what from a neutral point of view. The article does also contain a transcript verb twice “He added that…” and “…also called the former…” continuing on the same topic that was just previously mentioned. Thereafter, there are a number of metapropositional verbs, such as the assertive verbs “The cleric explained that…”, “…but also noted that…”, “…mobile retailer, tweeted an open letter”, “Kochetkov noted that…”, the expressive verbs in “Chaplin stated, suggesting…”, “He also doubted the effectiveness…”, “They argue they don’t…”, “…noting that he is…” and the directive verbs in the form of “…bluntly called Okhlobystin’s letter…”, “…also called the former…”. The article does also contain a prosodic verb “…blasted Okhlobystin”, which expresses the emotion carried by a person in opposition to the suggested referendum.

**Language and Identity**: The headline contains a genericisation “Top Russian cleric seeks…”, a description of a generic individual who is represented as a cleric who could very well be a leader within the Russian Orthodox Church. “Vsevolod Chaplin maintains that…” specifies a person’s personal view, which takes away weight that would have been given to fortify a statement if made by, given example, an institution. Honorifics are used in this article by “The head of the Russian Orthodox Church’s department for relation with society has said…” relating to a person with a high degree of respect and an official role within the Orthodox Church. Use of functionalization take place when participants are defined by what they do making their occupations sound official as in the following quotes “…letter to President Vladimir Putin, in…”, the CEO of the Apple corporation, Tim Cook, to…”, “MP Pavel Krasheninnikov, from…” and “The chairman of the Russian LGBT network, Igor Kochetkov, blasted…”
The article does contain use of nominations in “The cleric explained…”, “Chaplin said he…” and “Chaplin stated, suggesting…” as well as use of individualisation “…by former Orthodox priest, actor, scriptwriter, showman and would-be-politician, Ivan Okhlobystin.” The elaborate description of this person’s previous, current and future occupation makes readers understand and perhaps even feel more connected with his behaviour. “LGBT activists replied…” shows the use of collectivisation, describing a generic group of activists involved in rights for LGBT. The author of the article has also used aggregation in “…from various Russian politicians and public figures followed…”, by trying to give the impression that there is a specific number of people but without actually naming what that number would be.

Visual representation: There is one picture in the article and it shows a crowd of males walking towards a destination, which to us is situated off-frame, all them seem to be focused and some of them are chanting. On the left side of the picture, we can see an Orthodox Icon of Virgin Mary and baby Jesus, while on the right side, it is visible that a man is holding a poster with a picture of a young man. Below that picture, there is a text in red Cyrillic letters. From the text under the picture we can understand that the picture in the article was taken during an anti-gay demonstration.

CDA: The article presents both sides to the suggested referendum for punishment of male gay relations in Russia. In that sense, the written text has a neutral presentation. However, the picture promotes the pro-punishment movement by showing a picture of men protesting against homosexuality.

The Daily Mail ➔ [http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2537269/Russia-Orthodox-Church-closely-linked-Vladimir-Putin-calls-referendum-criminalising-gay-relationships.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2537269/Russia-Orthodox-Church-closely-linked-Vladimir-Putin-calls-referendum-criminalising-gay-relationships.html)

1. The Daily Mail article articulates that the Russian Orthodox Church demands a referendum on criminalising gay relationships, since according to the church’s spokesman the majority of the Russian population should decide how homosexuality should be handled by moral pressure, according to him Western values should not be implemented in Russian society. The opposition of this proposition believe that this would become a discrimination of minorities.
2. **Quoting verbs**: The Daily Mail article has a directive metapositional verb in the headline, “…Putin, calls for referendum…”, the article continues with other directive verbs in the form of “…Russia has demanded a national referendum…”, “…and urged a referendum…”, “He urged in an interview with pro-Kremlin…” The article does also contain one expressive verb “Chaplin recently accused Western…”, and a number of speech-reporting verbs “…said Vsevolod” and “…he said.” The article communicates from the very beginning the author’s interpretation of the call for referendum proposed by the Russian Orthodox Church.

**Language and Identity**: The headline contain use of nomination “…to Vladimir Putin, calls…”, defining the Russian political leader by his name putting him on a personal level with the readers. The article does contain use of impersonalisation “The Orthodox Church in Russia…” strengthening the demand made by the church, giving it extra weight by being an institution, use of aggregation is described in “…a number of participants and visitors are…” making the readers feel updated with statistics while they are not even there. Use of honorifics exist in the text “President Vladimir Putin – who…”, which does signal the importance of the subject while lack thereof in “The spokesman for the church, which…” makes the individual noted as a generic person with less or very little authority. The article does also contain use of nomination “…as close to Putin - said…”, “…close ties to Putin…”, and collectivisation “Two singers were…” with little information of whom they are or why they did what they did.

**Visual representation**: This article contains a total of five pictures. The first represents Patriarch Kirill, he seems to be concentrated and is looking up and out of the frame. When trying to connect with Kirill, we have to look up ourselves. This gives the impression that he is a powerful man in the Russian society. That he is looking away encourages the readers and viewers that we should be objective with what is written and presented. The second people presents a struggle between a male individual who is arrested and dragged away by Russian police forces at the same time as a female activist is trying to hold him back so that he can remain at site. This picture with the sentence “If we manage to do this through moral pressure, all the better.”, fortifies the impression that the Russian Orthodox Church can go to great lengths to re-enact Christian morality in their society, no matter if it is at the cost of individuals’ freedom and human rights. The third picture presents the Russian president looking away from the camera, and
being seated on a distance compared to where the picture was taken. Putin seems to be concerned about the situation. The combination of him looking off-frame and the distance between him and the readers makes us understand that he feels secure with his power and doesn’t bother to engage with us. This third picture encourages us yet again to take an objective stand with the article. The fourth picture shows a bus with people across a street, and two police cars close to the camera. This picture expresses no dialogue between the population and the two leading forces in Russia. The fifth and last picture shows two traffic police officers standing on a path next to a car lane, both of them looking off-frame and a bit worried about something happening on the other side of the street. There is no means to feel a connection with the police officers; the message sent by the picture is that police force follows what has been decided on the upper levels in the society. The police officers seem distant and not willing to help, even judgmental to changes.

CDA: The article relates to the suggested referendum on how to punish homosexual behaviour, where it describes the side which is for such a referendum and the side that is against it, and each side’s arguments. The high number of pictures in the article precise the opinion of the writer and gives a more Western view on how the situation in Russia is seen. The pictures promote the tough environment in which Russians are living, with a political leader who does not listen to the population but only to his own conviction and to the religious Orthodox leaders because of their open mutual support. This article is definitely critical on the ongoing situation in the Russian Federation.

4.7. General analysis
To understand how the articles’ point of view and message is presented we have to consider who their audiences is and what their main goal is. In the first article, there is a verb used in the headline by Russia Today that goes as follows: “Putin promises to protect Christianity worldwide”, which for the international reader means that Putin will take his responsibilities as a serious matter and will make changes happen. There is no vague statement on what the goal of the soon-to-be President is, it is a firm stand. Russia, even though it states that it is a secular country, this article expresses that Christianity comes before any other religion, and that the Orthodox Church is the most important religious institution in Russia.
The visual representation does affect the readers, so that we besides reading between the lines can add the visual message to the analysis. The international media analyzed in this paper presented pictures of an individual or a group of brave resisters and activists, to show the vulnerability that people live in. By presenting pictures of the Pussy Riot activists, readers can feel a connection with them and sympathize with their resistance, especially if they go against the Russian autocratic democracy and the social and influential patterns. The Russian news agencies used pictures of Orthodox priests to express how vulnerable they and their religion is to activist attacks and protests. Pictures of Putin are also used by Russian media, and they express a stable leader that will solve the situation no matter what.

Through qualitative research I have managed to collect, analyse and interpret data that cannot be put into numbers. By summarizing the Critical Discourse Analysis written above, I have noticed that the, in English written, Russian media are neutral in their written form but that the neutrality does change from article to article, and becomes slightly biased and pro-Orthodox Church and pro-social conservatism in particular when visual representation is included in the analysis. The English written sources from the international media try to present the news in the same neutral way as Russian media platforms does with the written form of the articles, but it is not as successful. The international media are more descriptive on e.g. individuals such as members of Pussy Riot in contrast to religious leaders. The varied use of pictures in the international articles do fortify the critical views of the ongoing processes in Russia.

The research question that was stated at the beginning of this study was:

How is the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and Vladimir Putin represented in English written media?

Although the relationship between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian president can be read and understood as being presented neutral, we can see that if we analyse the choice of wording and verb use, the two used Russian media platforms are not as neutral as first seen. My hypothesis was that the English written Russian news-sources would be pro-Putin and pro-Russian Orthodox Church compared with the sources written by international media. I did presume that the international media was going to be very critical to statements made by Russian political and religious leaders. My assumption has through this study been confirmed to be correct. I had expected to see that the Russian media platform would be pro-Putin and
pro-Orthodox Church in the text only. I did not have in mind how important and influential pictures attached to the articles could be, as it has exposed itself to be in this study.

5. Conclusion

The Russian Federation is by official statements a secular state. The presidential elections that took place in 2012 resulted in a third elective presidential period for Vladimir Putin but it also forced the government to deal with weakened legitimacy because of criticism from the opposition and international observers. There has been a developing relationship between the government, with Vladimir Putin in the lead, and the religious Orthodox institution, a relationships that is slowly but surely empowering the Russian Orthodox Church to become a state religion. There is no doubt that the Russian Orthodox Church is growing as a political force, in particular now that it has been approved that religious clergy can run for political positions when there are anti-religious political forces.

The aim of this study was to make an analysis of news articles to comprehend how the government with Vladimir Putin in the lead and the Orthodox Church, are cooperating, empowering each other and establishing norms in the Russian society by developing and enforcing specific politics based on Christian moral values. The Critical Discourse Analysis has indicated that there is a public and friendly relationship between the two leading forces in Russia. What varies is how that relationship is described in the media, depending on the geographical and cultural background of the media platforms. When international media describes a situation, it does so on a more critical basis compared to when Russian media describes the same situation.

It has become obvious that even though the political elites in Russia are stating that the country has a multi-confessional and multi-ethnic character, the news article show that the Russian Orthodox Church is working strongly in cooperation with the government for the revival of Orthodox values as traditional and national ones. There is no doubt that the government has a goal of strengthening the Russian population’s connection to Orthodoxy, but it is a fragile environment in which this situation is since it can lead to the association of ethnic identity with a particular religion, something that is already being feared by Russian as well as international human rights’ activists.
6. References

6.1. Books


Miller, T., (1997) Functional Approaches to Written Text: Classroom Applications, United States Information Agency


Stoeckls, K., (2014) The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights, Routledge


6.2. Online sources


Mail Online, *Russia’s Orthodox Church, which is closely linked to Vladimir Putin, calls for referendum on criminalizing gay relationships*, published 2014-01-10. Retrieved on: http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2537269/Russia-s-Orthodox-Church-closely-linked-Vladimir-Putin-calls-referendum-criminalising-gay-relationships.html


Ponsford, D., *Mail Online hits new record with 79m unique browsers*. Retrieved on http://www.pressgazette.co.uk/node/48335

Reuters, *Church should have more control over Russian life: Putin*. Retrieved on http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/02/01/us-russia-putin-church-idUSBRE91016F20130201


Santos, M., *Pussy Riot’s “Punk Prayer” shocked conservative Russia*, published 2013-11-13


Retrieved on http://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/oct/10/pussy-riot-member-freed-moscow


