

**Federal state budgetary educational institution of higher education
«THE RUSSIAN PRESIDENTIAL ACADEMY OF NATIONAL ECONOMY
AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION»
URAL INSTITUTE OF MANAGEMENT - branch of RANEPA**

as a manuscript



Fursov Kirill Konstantinovich

**POLITICAL MEDIA DISCOURSE OF HOSTILITY:
TOOL AND TECHNOLOGY OF INFORMATION CONFRONTATION**

Specialty: 5.5.2. – Political institutions, processes, technologies
(Political Science)

ABSTRACT

dissertation for an academic degree
Candidate of Political sciences

Scientific adviser:
Doctor of political sciences, professor
Rusakova Olga Fredovna

Yekaterinburg
2024

Relevance of the Dissertation Research. The increasing significance of mass media in modern politics is a noteworthy trend. Conflicts represent a persistent aspect of political relations, and in the context of escalating confrontations, research focused on information warfare has become critically important. Several factors underscore the necessity of examining these dynamics: first, there is a global trend in the prevalence of information warfare; second, the emergency of cyberspace as a new domain for media broadcasting; third, the development of innovative methods for informational and psychological influence on mass consciousness.

Political confrontation is manifested through the promotion of competing interests in the information environment. Media outlets can construct distorted representations of reality that shape information policy. Consequently, there is a growing interest in studying *the political media discourse of hostility*, a concept that is relatively new to political science. Currently, there is no widely accepted term that describes the informational confrontation among political actors in the media sphere. Existing concepts include *information warfare*, *agonistic discourse*, *discourse of intolerance*, *language of enmity*, *antagonistic discourse*, and *the image of the enemy*. Given the landscape, there is a pressing need to generalize these various concepts and develop a new one that accurately reflects the common features of political actors' confrontation within media discourse.

The political media discourse of hostility serves as a tool and technology in the ongoing struggle for power and influence. This requires a detailed description of its operational mechanism through the disclosure of its structural elements. Considering *the political media discourse of hostility* as a tool reveals the objectives of political actors, the strategies and tactics employed, the mechanisms of influence, and their overall effectiveness. Understanding these tools is essential for researchers and analysts to comprehend and interpret political practices. Additionally, it equips political subjects, media organizations, government agencies, and political consultants with the ability to apply these tools effectively, according to established principles to enhance their productivity. This research aims to contribute to the development of response strategies addressing national security issues. Russia has increasingly become

a target of information aggression from unfriendly states. *The political media discourse of hostility* has been weaponized by the political elites of Western countries, evident in the narratives propagated by the foreign press. Strategies have been employed to create a negative portrayal of Russia on the global stage, thereby influencing decision-making in international politics. Gaining insight into the dynamics of this political media discourse may contribute to the development of information protection technologies for Russia.

The political media discourse of hostility, particularly between unfriendly countries and Russia, is prominently reflected in the context of the military-political confrontation in Ukraine that began in 2014. The escalation of this political struggle culminated in Russia's declaration of a Special Military Operation in 2022.

Researchers have identified the deployment of manipulative technologies in the information space, as well as the specific linguistic strategies employed. From the perspective of Western media, the coverage of events in Ukraine has evolved into a large-scale information campaign utilizing new techniques that require thorough examination. Several key events have been selected to illustrate moments of heightened information confrontation: the Crimean crisis of 2014 regarding its transition to Russia, the conflict in Donbas in 2014 between Ukraine and the militias, and the information campaign surrounding Bucha in 2022. The objectives of political elites have facilitated the use of both diplomatic and military approaches. While pursuing a diplomatic resolution, the elites of unfriendly states have employed communicative strategies aimed at discrediting Russia. Conversely, during military confrontations efforts to demonize and dehumanize the Russian army have become prevalent.

The Degree of Development of the Problem. The political media discourse of hostility is examined through various theoretical directions. One area of focus is the theory of political media discourse, which has been advanced by several prominent foreign researchers, including T. A. van Dijk, M. MacDonald, D. Mathieson, Y. Stavarakakis, J. Torfing, N. Fairclough, D. Howarth, P. Chilton, K. Schaffner, and etc. In the realm of Russian scholarship, several authors have contributed significantly

to the theoretical and methodological exploration of political media discourse and its structural components. Notable figures in this field include A. N. Baranov, S. V. Volodenko, M. V. Gavrilova, M. V. Grechikhin, E. G. Gribov, T. G. Dobrosklonskaya, T. V. Dubrovskaya, E. G. Dyakova, M. V. Ilyin, V. I. Karasik, K. V. Kiuru, E. A. Kozhemyakin, A. G. Pastukhov, N. K. Radina, O. F. Rusakova, L. N. Timofeev, A. D. Trachtenberg, A. I. Chernykh, Yu. G. Chernyshev, A. P. Chudinov and etc.

The concept of *hostility discourse* has been explored extensively by authors such as L. M. Ermakova, V. A. Mishlanov, V. A. Salimovsky, M. A. Fadeicheva and etc. A substantive analysis of the concept of *language of hatred*, semantically related to *the discourse hostility*, is presented in the works of A. V. Gladilin, A. V. Eustafieva, G. Kozhevnikova, O. S. Korobkova, E. P. Sokolova and etc. Furthermore, the theory of *the enemy image* is reflected in the research of S. Akopov, E. Proshina, V. A. Achkasov, L. Gudkov¹, I. M. Dzyaloshinsky, Z. Zakhid, I. Noyman, V. Paleeva, L. P. Repina, A. S. Senyavsky, E. S. Senyavskaya, E. S. Khabrova, N. A. Ches, E. D. Shevatlokhov and etc. These authors not only highlight the manipulative nature of this *enemy image* but also emphasize the role of stereotypes in its construction.

The analysis of in-groups and out-groups, exemplified by the opposition of «us» versus «them» and «we» versus «they», has been the focus of works by O. F. Avtokhudinova, T. A. van Dijk, J. Surmond, A. V. Shipilov and etc. These authors have identified specific models of *hostile discourse*, including: *racist discourse* (T.A. van Dijk), *conflictual political discourse* (J. Surmond), and *discourse of political dehumanization* (E. Stetter, D. Williams, P. Robinson, R. Nair, etc.).

The study of aggressive speech acts characteristic of hostile discourse is conducted by proponents of the *intolerant discourse theory*, represented by I. V. Konovalenko, E. Y. Koltsova, E. Ponarin, D. Dubovsky, A. Tolkacheva, R. Akifyeva, E. E. Taratuta and etc. To denote the destructive orientation of the subject and the emotional function of language, A. A. Romanov and A. P. Kostiyev introduced

¹Recognized as a person with the status of a foreign agent in Russia.

the concept of *aggressive discourse*. Additionally, the concept of *agonistic discourse* has been the subject of specialized study of O. A. Baisha, V. V. Deshevova, O. F. Rusakova, E. I. Sheigal and others, where *agonism* is examined in the context of increasing conflictuality.

The media space of existence, characterized as the environment for the formation and functioning of *political hostility discourse*, serves as a domain for information warfare. The realm encompasses an institutional infrastructure and a sum of manipulative technologies aimed at conducting information operations to discredit political opponents. O.N. Basov identified these instrumental approaches to politics. The study of information warfare, particularly as it relates to conflict and *hostility discourse*, has been addressed by several authors, including: A. Achkasova, E. V. Brodovskaya, A. Yu. Dombrovskaya, R. V. Pyrma, G. Viren, S. V. Volodenko, A. Yu. Garbuznyak, S. G. Kara-Murza, T. P. Karpukhina, N. A. Kapen-Yartseva, S. L. Kushneruk, M. A. Kurochkina, V. A. Lisichkin, S. I. Makarenko, G. V. Marchenko, G. G. Pocheptsov, L. N. Sinelnikova, V. D. Solovey², L. A. Shelepin, N. E. Shonin, R. R. Yusupova and etc. According to D. P. Gavra, information warfare represents the most aggressive and inhumane form of information confrontation.

The technologies and methods of confrontation in the information-psychological war are examined in the works of O. E. Voronov, A. A. Kerimov, A. V. Manoylo, E. G. Ponomareva, A. S. Trushin and others. Additionally, O. N. Volodchenko, I. I. Kryzhanovskaya, I. P. Matveeva, L. V. Minaeva, A. V. Morozov, E. Yu. Nebrodovskaya-Mazur and I. V. Surma have dedicated their articles to detailing the activity of centers for information-psychological operations (CIPsO). These centers were engaged in strategic communication against Russia on social networks through the use of fake technologies and information leaks.

Significant attention to the issues of *ideologemes* and *mythologemes* in information warfare has been provided in the works of leading American political

²Recognized as a person with the status of a foreign agent in Russia.

scientist G. Lasswell and Russian researcher O. A. Kuzina. A. Yu. Garbuznyak focuses on analyzing media effects of information warfare, including agenda-setting, priming, and framing. S. A. Yakunin emphasizes interpretative technologies employed during the information war. O. A. Baisha highlights the significance of the boundaries of media discourse in the context of information struggle. The portrayal of Russia and its representation in *the political media discourse of hostility* has been examined by R. P. Bakanova and A. Yu. Khasanova, M. V. Zherebkin, E. I. Suleymanova.

The linguistic specificity of anti-Russian political discourse has been noted by A. I. Williams, E. G. Voskresenskaya, T. P. Karpukhina, N. A. Kapen-Yartseva, V. I. Ozyumenko, N. A. Ches and S. A. Yakunin.

The utilization of post-memory and post-truth discourse to diminish and discredit the historical and political image of Russia has been explored by several authors, including S. A. Zasorin, A. P. Korochevsky, E. G. Ponomaryova, V. M. Rusakov, O. F. Rusakova, etc.

Among the works dedicated to distinction between *antagonistic* and *agonal discourse*, N. Carpentier's study particularly stands out. In this work, the opposition is framed around the identification of the «other». In *antagonistic discourse*, the «other» is regarded as the enemy, with the objective being the destruction of that enemy. Conversely, in *agonal discourse*, the «other» is viewed as an opponent, and there exists a degree of tolerance towards them.

A number of works focused on the discourse analysis of foreign media sources related to the information war against Russia have explored the identification of stereotypes, *mythologems*, frames, and other structural components of political media discourse. These elements have been examined by authors such as N. G. Biryukova, O. N. Grigorenko, N. A. Stupnikova, A. I. Williams, E. G. Voskresenskaya, T. P. Karpukhina, N. A. Kapen-Yartseva, L. A. Kaufova, S. L. Kushneruk, M. A. Kurochkina, V. I. Ozyumenko, N. A. Ches, S. A. Yakunin and among others.

The problem of subjects in political media discourse has been addressed by representatives of European structuralism, including philosophers L. Althusser, R. Barthes, J. Baudrillard, J. Kristeva, J. Lacan, M. Pecheux, M. Foucault.

Additionally, the question of the subjectivity of intellectuals has been addressed by J. Benda, N. Bobbio, A. Gramsci, N. Chomsky.

The formation of structural elements within *hostile media discourse* has drawn from models developed by authors such as O. A. Baisha, T. A. van Dijk, Z. Zakhid, V. I. Ozyumenko, and D. D. Tsilyurik. The structure and technologies of political media discourse in international politics and armed conflicts have been highlighted in the works of T. V. Dubrovskaya, A.N. Marinovich and T. L. Oskolkova. The classification of manipulative technologies is discussed in the works of I. M. Dzyaloshinsky and O. V. Lange.

The foundation of the research was an analysis of publications from the foreign press, with a specific focus on genres of analytical journalism. The structure of analytical articles has been examined in the works of O. G. Grigoryeva, T. A. van Dijk, D. V. Derkach and M. R. Zheltukhina. The independence of the genre of *accusation* and its structure has been discussed by E. V. Lavrentyeva, T. I. Steksova and Ya. Yu. Khlopunov, who concluded that *accusation* can function as an independent genre, provided it adheres to certain structural characteristics and encompasses a large number of accusations. The genre of *journalistic investigation* has been addressed by A. A. Gulyaev, E. S. Zubarkina, Yu. A. Iskakov, K. A. Kirilin and A. D. Konstantinov, highlighting how journalistic investigation can create artificial hype and an accusatory bias surrounding events that are promoted by specific political interests.

Overall, it should be noted that a significant body of work has been accumulated to date, presenting various aspects of the study of political media discourse characterized by *hostility* and examining certain practices related to its implementation during information confrontation. However, a comprehensive structural-communicative study of *political media discourse of hostility* has yet to be conducted in either Russian or foreign academia. This research aims to provide a thorough examination of the identified problem by revealing the structural components of *political media discourse of hostility*, as well as analyzing political actors, genres of media discourse, the dynamics of in-groups and out-groups, acts of speech aggression,

manipulative technologies, stylistic means, and relevant English-language media sources.

The object of the study is *the discourse of hostility* within the context of information confrontation.

The subject of the study is the *political media discourse of hostility*, examined as both a tool and technology of information confrontation.

The aim of the dissertation research is to characterize *the political media discourse of hostility* from the perspective of a structural-communicative approach, using the conflict in Ukraine as a case study.

The stated aim has predetermined the following **research tasks**:

1) to conduct a comprehensive analysis of the concept of *political media discourse of hostility*, drawing on the concepts and theories developed throughout the history of socio-political thought and contemporary political science;

2) to examine the main theoretical approaches to studying *political media discourse of hostility*, emphasizing the characteristics and significance of the structural-communicative approach for this research;

3) to thoroughly reveal the technological toolkit of *political media discourse of hostility* as a primary instrument of information confrontation between the West and Russia;

4) to present an original methodology for applying the structural-communicative approach in the theoretical analysis of *political media discourse of hostility* in English-language media sources;

5) to develop and describe the structure of *political media discourse of hostility* as a tool of information confrontation against Russia, using examples from the Crimean crisis, the armed conflict in Donbas in 2014, and the events in the city of Bucha in 2022, as reported by English-language media.

The study is based on **the hypothesis** that *the political media discourse of hostility* represents a complexly structured communicative system that influences the interpretation of key events arising during the Ukrainian military-political conflict and

serves as a tool for the information confrontation between Western countries and Russia. The primary structural components of this system, utilized by political actors, include communicative strategies of opposing sides, discrediting, demonizing, and dehumanizing the opponent, a dichotomous framework of «us» versus «them», agonistic vocabulary, expressive stylistic devices, manipulative technologies, a hostile context, and non-verbal elements. The contemporary Western media campaign, which employs this *political discourse of hostility* in analyzing the military-political conflict in Ukraine, is characterized by regular and extensive propaganda efforts.

The Theoretical and Methodological Framework of the Study. To address the stated research tasks, the study employs a range of general scientific methods, including analysis, synthesis, induction, and deduction. The methodological basis of this research comprises a systemic approach, an instrumental approach, and an information-communicative approach. The systemic approach facilitates the understanding of *political media discourse of hostility* as a complexly structured system characterized by a specific set of principles and interrelations among its components. The instrumental approach assists in revealing the dependence of the structural elements of *political media discourse of hostility* on the objectives of political actors. Meanwhile, the information-communicative approach enables the presentation of *political media discourse of hostility* as a power resource that influences public opinion and political decision-making. Additionally, the method of structural-functional analysis, along with the methods and categories from political communication studies and a comparative approach, permits a thorough examination of the concepts associated with *hostility discourse* and the construction of a comprehensive conceptual model of *political media discourse of hostility*.

The foundation for developing the author's methodology for researching media sources is based on the discourse analysis model of media texts by E. A. Kozhemyakin. This model includes elements and levels of *political media discourse of hostility* that have been developed within the framework of the structural-communicative approach. Critical discourse analysis was employed to identify the structures of dominance associated with *hostility* in English-language media discourse. The manipulative-

technological approach facilitated the examination of the manipulative techniques used in *the political media discourse of hostility*. To achieve a clear understanding of these manipulative technologies, typological and classification methods were employed. The case-study method was applied to illustrate the informational influence and specific characteristics of *the political media discourse of hostility*, drawing on examples from the Crimean crisis and the armed conflict in Donbas in 2014, as well as the events in Bucha in 2022. Additionally, the method of media representation enabled the exploration of the images of political opponents as they are constructed in English-language media sources.

During the analysis of media sources, various methods were employed, including mediology, linguistics, journalism, and approaches related to narrative and genre. In this context, the method of mediology involves the monitoring and analysis of extensive databases, while the linguistic approach focuses on the application of lexical-semantic, stylistic, and metaphoric techniques within media texts. The study also examined methods utilized in journalism, such as agenda-setting, priming, framing, imprinting, media effects, among others. The narrative approach was practically valuable in analyzing media sources that covered situation in Bucha, where the stories of local residents were used. Auxiliary methods included statistical, terminological, and descriptive techniques. The statistical method facilitated the quantification of parameters within English-language media sources, such as audience metrics, manipulative technologies, and stylistic devices. The terminological method aided in the formulation of concepts related to *political media discourse of hostility* and information warfare. Finally, the descriptive method was used to elucidate the principles, elements, and functions inherent in *political media discourse of hostility*.

The empirical base of the study comprised the most influential political media sources representing the perspectives of the press in the USA and the UK regarding specific conflict events in Ukraine. A total of 73 online articles were selected from a database of 185 sources. The time frames for the analysis included February to March 2014 for the Crimean crisis; March to September 2014 for the war in Donbas; and April to May 2022 for the events in Bucha. To illustrate the distinctive features of media

discourse related to these events, 25 media texts were used for the Crimean crisis; 23 for the war in Donbas; and 25 for the Bucha incident. Influential online publications from the USA, such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *USA Today*, as well as UK sources like *The Guardian*, *The Financial Times*, *Daily Mail*, *The Independent* were considered in the analysis. Selection limitations were imposed due to the availability of paid subscriptions. The articles varied in length with a minimum character count of 1,500, a maximum is 31,000, and an average length ranging from 5,000 to 8,000 characters. The articles were categorized by genres of analytical journalism, resulting in 35 analytical articles, 35 accusatory texts, and 3 journalistic investigations.

The area of scientific research corresponds to the following directions outlined in the Passport of the Scientific Specialty 5.5.2. «Political Institutions, Processes, Technologies»:

4. Mechanisms and technologies of traditional and digital politics: forms and levels of organization.

29. Information processes and management of political communications: traditional mass media, social media, and networks.

30. Political technologies and the specifics of their application.

The scientific novelty of the research is characterized by the application of instrumental and structural-communicative approaches to analyze *the political media discourse of hostility*. This discourse is considered a primary tool in the informational confrontation between Western countries and Russia during the military-political conflict in Ukraine. The key components of this novelty are as follows:

1. A definition of the concept *political media discourse of hostility* is provided, and the main approaches to its study are delineated.

2. The operational mechanisms of *political media discourse of hostility* as a tool of informational confrontation are elucidated through its structure, functions, and technologies, utilizing a structural-communicative approach.

3. The influence of new technologies on *political media discourse of hostility*, particularly within the context of the military-political confrontation in Ukraine, is identified.

4. An original methodology for the structural-communicative analysis of *political media discourse of hostility* has been developed.

5. The mechanism and structure of *political media discourse of hostility* directed against Russia during the military-political confrontation in Ukraine are outlined.

6. New data obtained through the application of the author's methodology to the analysis of political media sources have been introduced into scientific discourse.

Key research findings presented for defense:

1. The concept of *political media discourse of hostility* has been introduced into scientific discourse, defined as a power resource in relation to the formation of political media images in the mass consciousness. This concept is based on a dichotomous model of «us» versus «them», employing manipulative technologies and expressive rhetorical techniques. *The political media discourse of hostility* serves as a complex technology of informational confrontation utilized by political actors. It encompasses communicative strategies from opposing sides, including discrediting, demonizing, and dehumanizing the adversary. Key components of this discourse involve the dichotomous model of «us» versus «them», an agonistic lexicon, expressive stylistic devices, manipulative technologies, a hostile context, and non-verbal elements.

2. A comprehensive study of the structural-communicative components of *the political media discourse of hostility* has been conducted, focusing on the analysis of materials from English-language media. The research established the global influence of English-language mass media on the news agenda, characterizing it as a targeted propaganda information campaign. The intricate communicative system surrounding the conflict in Ukraine is portrayed as a confrontation between the images of Russia and Donbas on one side and Ukraine and the West on the other. These dynamics are revealed at the structural level of *the political media discourse of hostility*.

3. *The political media discourse of hostility* serves as the primary tool for conducting informational confrontation, employing a range of techniques that facilitate the creation of a confrontational image of reality and influence decision-making against political opponents. This discourse relies on emotional resonance, political bias, and simplification of complex issues, which serve to undermine trust and promote violent practices. In the context of the military-political confrontation in Ukraine, *the political media discourse of hostility* has demonstrated significant flexibility. The specific set of elements and mechanism functioning within this discourse are influenced by the nature of events across the spectrum of «combat operations» to «diplomatic resolution», as well as the communicative strategies employed. Political-diplomatic pressure has led to the discrediting of Russia, while in conditions of military actions without diplomatic efforts, the discourse has focused on the demonization of Russia and the dehumanization of the Russian army.

4. As a tool for informational confrontation, *the political media discourse of hostility* constitutes a complex system of manipulative technologies aimed at discrediting the opponent's image in the mass political consciousness. This system encompasses traditional technologies – such as *labeling*, the construction of *enemy images*, and the promotion of stereotypes and political myths – and new technologies, which include agenda interpretations, priming, framing, and imprinting. Additionally, it involves *the discourse of fakes*, *post-memory*, and *post-truth* phenomena. The primary objective of these modern technologies is to advance the agenda of the interested party while establishing a hostile emotional backdrop.

The theoretical significance of the study lies in the systematization of existing approaches to understanding the essential characteristics of *political media discourse of hostility*. It aims to establish a theoretically coherent and comprehensive perspective on the role and importance of this discourse in executing the strategies and tasks of modern information confrontation between political forces of the West and Russia during the conflict in Ukraine. Furthermore, an original method of structural-communicative analysis of *political media discourse of hostility* has been developed. This method employs an instrumental approach to politics, enabling its repeated

application in examining contemporary Western media sources engaged in the confrontation with Russia.

The practical significance of the study lies in the applicability of its materials, results, definitions, and methods in developing educational courses in political science, journalism, diplomacy, and international relations. The technologies for employing *political media discourse of hostility* as a tool for information confrontation, discussed in this study, can be used by analysts and political scientists for agenda interpretation in mass media. Additionally, these materials can be of value to information services within state authorities and media organizations. Furthermore, the research findings may serve as the basis for specialized courses on political discourse analysis, information warfare strategies, and the resolution of political conflicts.

Approbation of the Results of the Dissertation Research.

The main provisions of this dissertation were discussed at a meeting of the Philosophy Department of the Institute of Philosophy and Law at the Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Additionally, the findings of the dissertation research were presented at various scientific and scientific-practical conferences, including: the VII Russian Philosophical Congress «Philosophy. Tolerance. Globalization. East and West - a dialogue of worldviews» (Ufa, BashSU, October 6-10, 2015), the All-Russian Scientific Conference «The Politics of National Memory: Theory, Practice, Discourse, dedicated to the 75th anniversary of the Great Victory» (Yekaterinburg, IP&L Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, October 7, 2020), the XIII International Scientific and Practical Conference «Development of Political Institutions and Processes: Foreign and Domestic Experience» (Omsk, Dostoevsky Omsk State University, June 10-14, 2022), the International Scientific and Practical Conference «Discourse of Modern Mass Media: In the Perspective of Theory, Social Practice, and Education» (Belgorod, National Research University «BelSU», October 5-7, 2022), the II All-Russian Scientific and Practical Conference «Culture and Nature of Political Power: Theory and Practice» (Yekaterinburg, Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education «Ural Federal University named after the first President of Russia Boris Yeltsin», April 14, 2023), «International

Scientific and Practical Conference «Discourse Studies and Media Critique of Mass Media» (Belgorod, National Research University «BelSU», October 5-7, 2023), International Scientific and Practical Conference «Discourse of Modern Mass Media in the Perspective of Theory, Social Practice, and Education» (Belgorod, National Research University «BelSU», October 7-9, 2024). These presentations facilitated valuable feedback and engagement with scholars and practitioners in the field, contributing to the refinement and dissemination of the research findings.

List of the Author's Scientific Publications.

Articles in publications recommended by the Academic Council of the Academy:

1. Fursov K.K. Modern mass-media on the events of Second World War events: structural analysis of the discourse of enmity // Discourse-P. 2020. No. 3(40). pp. 74–87;
2. Fursov K.K. Euromaidan media discourse: debates about lessons // Discourse-P. 2022. No. 1(19). pp. 165-174;
3. Fursov K.K. An impact of political media discourse of hostility on covering a Special Military Operation (SMO) // Discourse-P. 2024. No. 2(21). pp. 171-188.

Other publications by the author:

4. Fursov K.K. Category of hostility in political studies: discursive aspect // Philosophy. Tolerance. Globalization. East and West – a dialogue of worldviews: abstracts of reports of the VII Russian Philosophical Congress. – Vol. 2. 2015. pp. 353-354;
5. Fursov K.K. The discourse of hostility: the concept and modern practices // Discourse-P. 2015. No. 1(18). pp. 25-30;
6. Fursov K.K. The manifestation of the discourse of enmity in the genre of autobiography in the process of vertical political mobility // Discourse-P. 2015. No. 2(19). pp. 47-52;

7. Fursov K.K. The subjects of the political discourse of hatred in the space of mass media // Discourse-P. 2017. No. 2(27). pp. 146-153;
8. Fursov K.K. "The discourse of hostility" in mass media: modern trends // New science: experience, traditions, innovations. 2017. No. 5-2. pp. 23-27;
9. Fursov K.K. The discourse of hostility in mass media: the process of formation and structure of the theory // Society and Power. 2018. No. 5(73). pp. 46-56;
10. Fursov K.K. Communicative transformation of the political media discourse of enmity // Development of political institutions and processes: foreign and domestic experience: collection of scientific works of the XIII International practical scientific conference. Omsk, 2022. pp. 43-48;
11. Fursov K.K. Political media discourse of hostility and information provocation in Bucha 2022: a structural and communicative approach // Modern discourse analysis. 2022. No. 2(30). pp. 104-111;
12. Fursov K.K. An instrumental approach to the analysis of political media discourse of enmity on the example of the military-political conflict in Ukraine // Culture and nature of political power: theory and practice: collection of scientific works of the II All-Russian scientific-practical conference. Yekaterinburg, 2023. pp. 434-439;
13. Fursov K.K. Comparative analysis of the Russian and American political media discourse of hostility to cover of the battle for Soledar in the framework of the instrumental and structural-communicative approach // Discourse studies and media criticism of mass media: collection of articles of the IV International scientific and practical conference, October 5-7, 2023. Belgorod: Publishing House «BelSU» National Research University «BelSU». 2023. pp. 139-146.

Structure of the dissertation. The dissertation is structured as follows: an introduction, two chapters, conclusion and a list of references, comprising a total of 245 pages. The work also includes 9 tables and 11 figures. Chapter One consists of 3 paragraphs. Chapter Two comprises 4 paragraphs. The bibliography includes a total of 281 references, with 112 English-language sources.

In the introduction, the relevance of the dissertation topic is substantiated, the degree of its scientific development is analyzed, and key elements, including the object

and subject of research, as well as the goals and tasks, are defined; the research hypothesis is proposed. The introduction also outlines methodological foundations of the study, highlights its scientific novelty, discusses the materials from the source base, and details the theoretical and practical significance of the research. Information regarding the approval of the research is also included in this section.

In the first chapter, titled «Main Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Political Media Discourse of Hostility in Modern Science», various theoretical approaches to the concept of *political media discourse* are examined. This chapter highlights the distinctive features and properties of the instrumental and structural-communicative approaches to *political media discourse of hostility*. Additionally, it provides a comprehensive list of the most commonly employed technologies of information confrontation, along with an analysis of their roles in shaping political media discourse characterized by *hostility*.

In the second chapter, titled «The Structure of Contemporary Political Media Discourse of Hostility in the Information War Against Russia (Based on Materials from the English-Language Press) », the strategies of influence and the mechanism operating within *political media discourse of hostility* are explored, particularly in the context of military-political confrontation in Ukraine. It analyzes how a negative image of Russia is constructed through the use of expressive stylistic means and manipulation technologies prevalent in English-language media. The chapter also outlines the methodology employed for analyzing media sources, showcasing the adaptability of the selected case studies related to events ranging from «combat actions» to «diplomatic resolutions». It examines how these case studies are influenced by the communicative strategies inherent in English-language media discourse.

The conclusion synthesizes the main findings of the research conducted throughout the dissertation.