



Image of the EU and Eastern Partnership countries on Russian TV

HYBRID WARFARE ANALYTICAL GROUP



UKRAINE CRISIS
media center



Preface

- Russia considers itself in a perpetual state of information warfare, while the West does not
- Russia's fake news and troll factories are already notoriously known. However, our research suggests to measure *narratives* as key elements of Russian propaganda
- Russian media fundamentally changed the whole paradigm of news: facts and events are used to support the already prepared narratives
- Once established narratives are supported by fake news in smaller part, but mainly by deliberately manipulated interpretation of real events

Fake news example

On 14 November 2017 Russian Defense Ministry claimed it had “**irrefutable evidences**” the US is helping ISIS in the Middle East – and back up its claim by posting screenshots from a mobile video game.



Narrative example

The West tries to overtake
Russia, but fails

“Musk is breathing down our neck”
member of parliament Pavel Dorokhin

“Musk failed to outdo heavy rockets of USSR”
magazine Vzgliad.ru

“Musk’s fall has started: media calculated his losses”
state news agency RIA Novosti

“It was needed to improve business. It’s widely known that Tesla’s business is doing very bad. It’s a very good trick” Communication director of state agency ROSCOSMOS



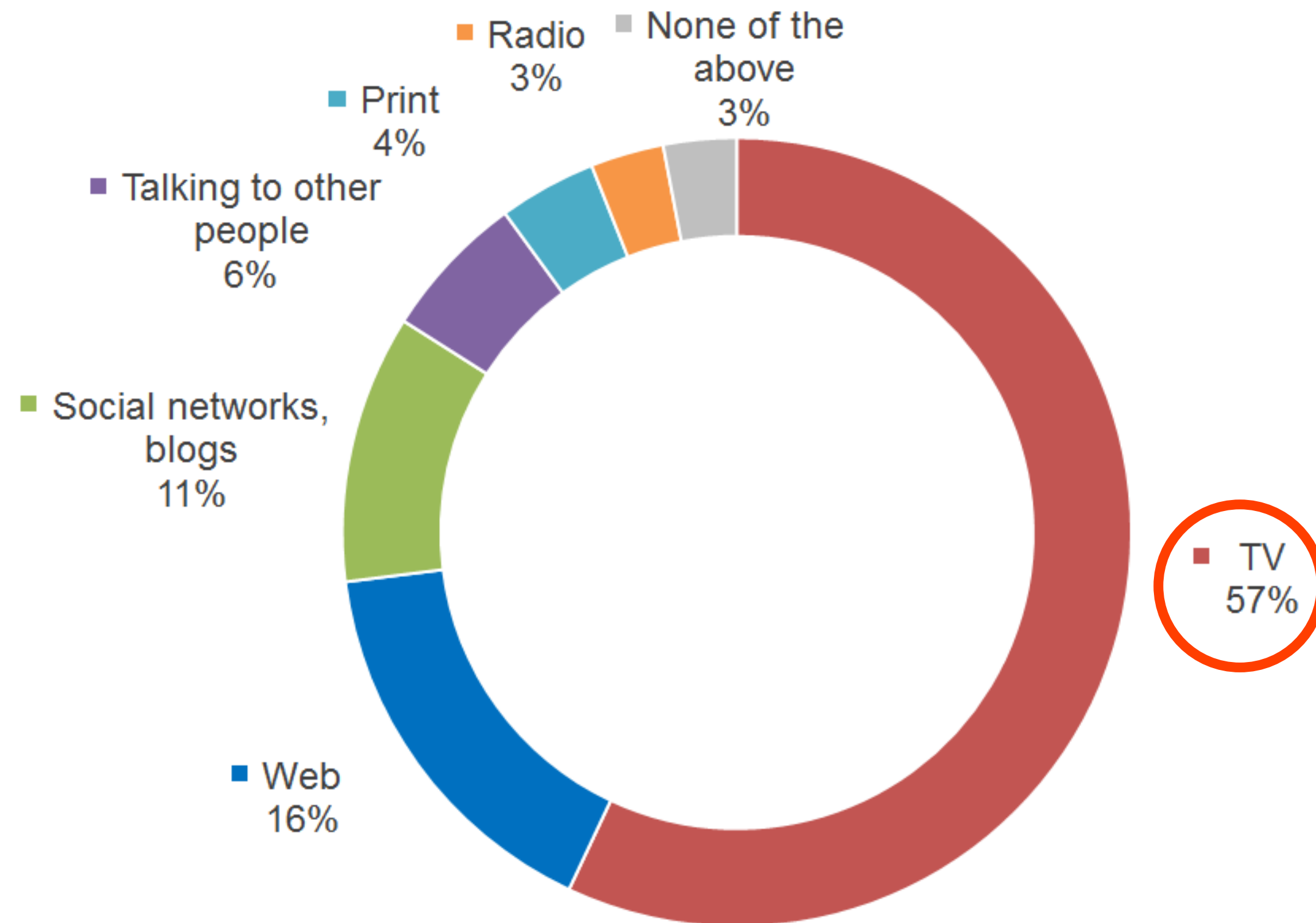
Agenda

1. Methodology
2. TV landscape in Russia
3. Key findings of the research
4. Description of 6 narratives with quotes
5. Narratives for Baltic states
6. Narratives for countries of Eastern Partnership
7. Conclusions

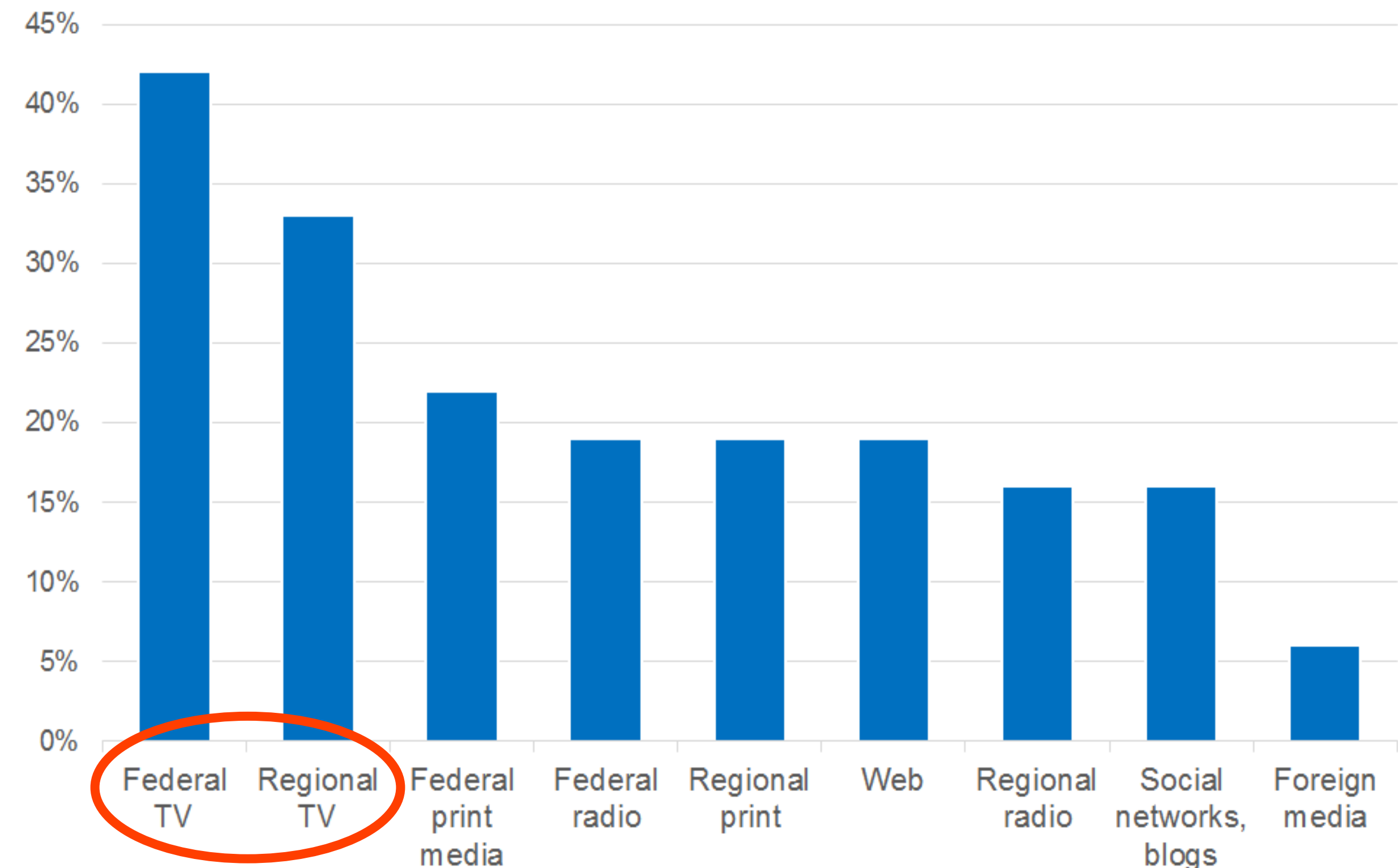
Methodology

- Period of the analysis: July 1, 2014 – December 31, 2017 – 3,5 years
- Media which were analyzed: news casts & talk-shows of three Russian TV channels
 - **Channel One** – News (Новости), Sunday Time (Воскресное время), Time (Время)
 - **NTV** – Today (Сегодня), Majority (Большинство)
 - **Russia-1** – News (Вести), News of the week (Вести недели), News on Saturday (Вести в субботу), Evening with Vladimir Solovyov (Вечер с Владимиром Соловьевым)
- All news were converted into text, which then was automatically filtered by mentions of keywords related to the researched 38 countries
- The filtered data was categorized by automated algorithm for negative/neutral/positive
- Then all negative data, **22'711 mentions**, were verified by humans and coded in order to add such attributes as topic and sub-topic

TV is by far the most influential media in Russia

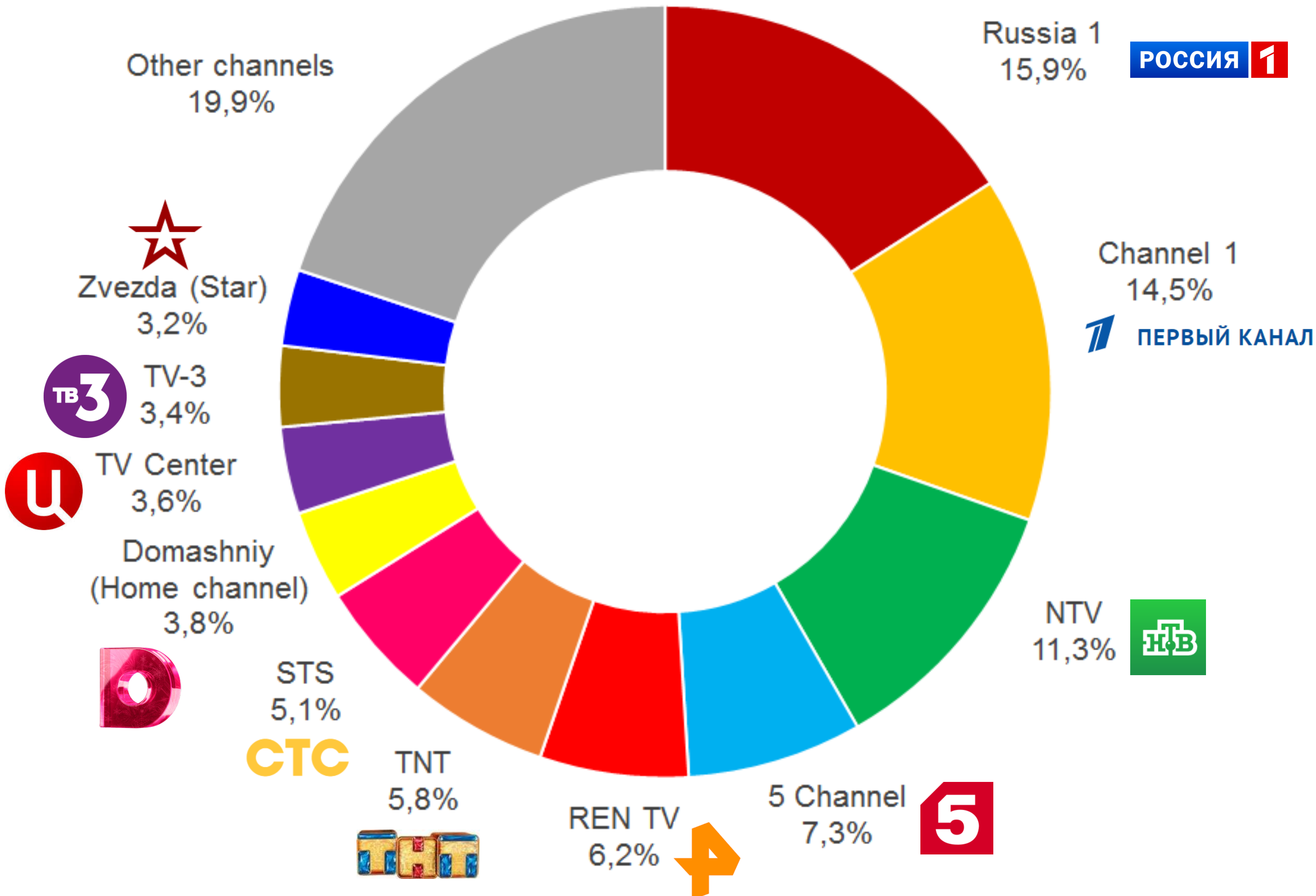


What media are main news source for you?



Do you trust the following media (% of «Yes»)

Share of TV channels



- Russia 1, Channel One and NTV have up to 42% of total audience share in 2017
- Zvezda, the channel of Ministry of Defense, is 11th with share of more than 3%

Source: Mediascope by TNS
Russia, 2017. People 18+

There are 3 main TV channels in Russia

90% of Russians watch news programs on TV

Majority get news on top three channels:

- Channel One Russia (72%)
- Russia-1 (46%)
- NTV (40%)

Average daily time of watching TV in Russia is 4.2 hours



Kremlin has full control of all three top channels



Russian Television and Radio
Broadcasting Company

100% Russian government



Yuriy Kovalchuk, Russian
businessman and one of
the closest Putin's proxies;
under U.S. and EU
sanction since 2014



Federal Agency for State Property
Management
Subdivision of Russian Ministry of
Economic Development

National Media Group

Key owner – Yuriy Kovalchuk

ORT-KB, Ltd

Property of Roman Abramovich, one of
the richest Russian businessmen

JSC Gazprom-media

Key owners – state company Gazprom
and Yuriy Kovalchuk companies

Information from outside Russia has tiny chances to be heard

- 5% of Russians speak English language (the most popular foreign language)
- 6% of Russians prefer to get information from foreign sources
- 7% of Russians travelled outside of the territory of former USSR in 2016



Fragment of the TV show "Evening with Vladimir Solovyov", Russia 1

TV influence over public agenda

- TOP TV channels are the main instrument of shaping public opinion
- By analyzing their news and key informational programs one can understand agenda and values of Russian society
- The researched TV channels are fairly mainstream and compared to other Russian media care a little more about journalistic standards



Vladimir Solovyov, Russian TV and radio host



Vladimir Putin and Vladimir Solovyov

Objects of the research

- 28 EU member-countries (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, UK)
- 5 members of Eastern Partnership (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova). Ukraine is not included.
- 4 non-EU European countries: Montenegro, Norway, Serbia, Switzerland
- EU is included in the capacity of a country unit for the purpose of this report



FACT

18 DAILY negative

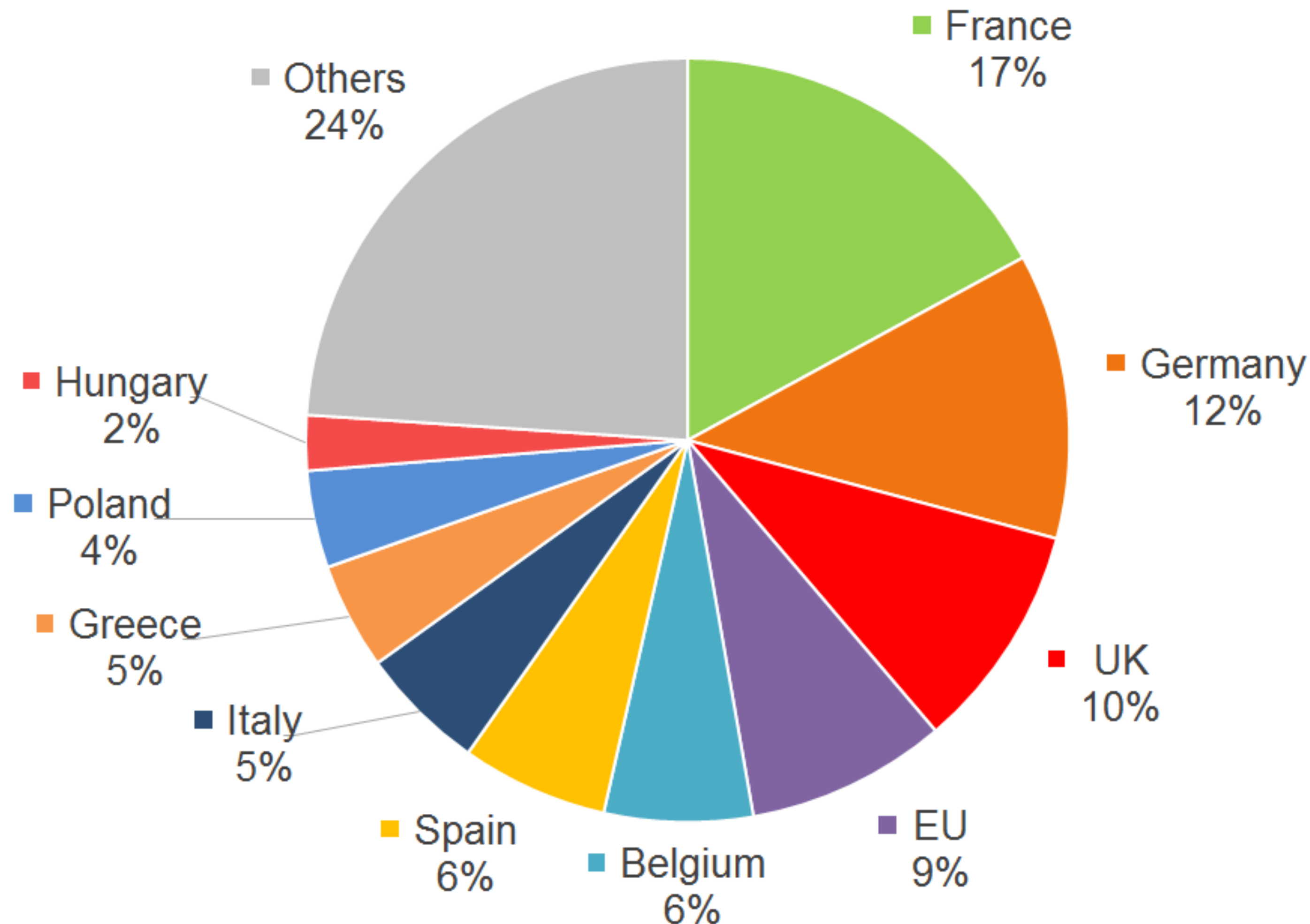
news about the explored
countries during last three years
on top three channels



In comparison, **Coca Cola** brand
had

6 ADS DAILY
on same top three channels

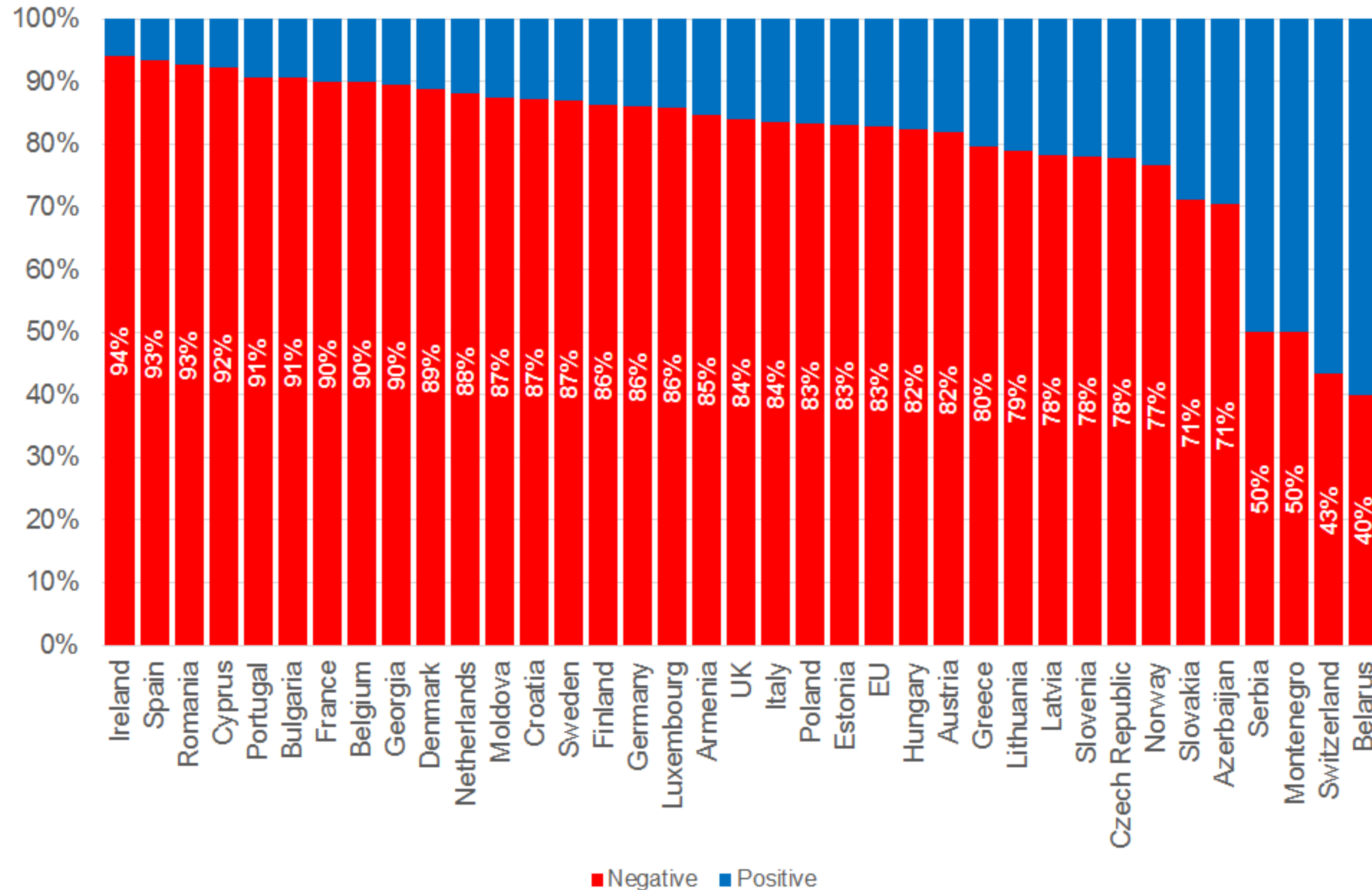
Top 10 countries* by negative news



Top three largest countries by population get the biggest share of all negative news

* - EU - although not a country, is included in this report in the capacity of a country unit

Positive to negative news ratio

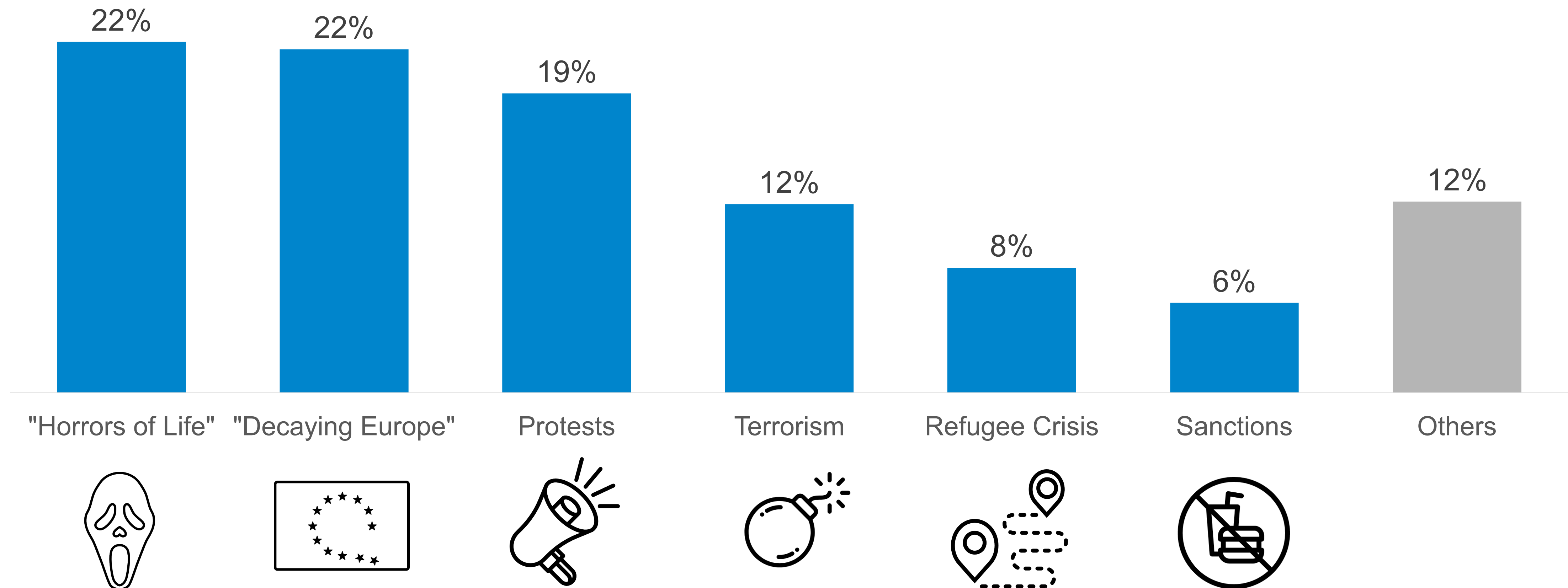


The average ratio of negative to positive news is 85%/15%

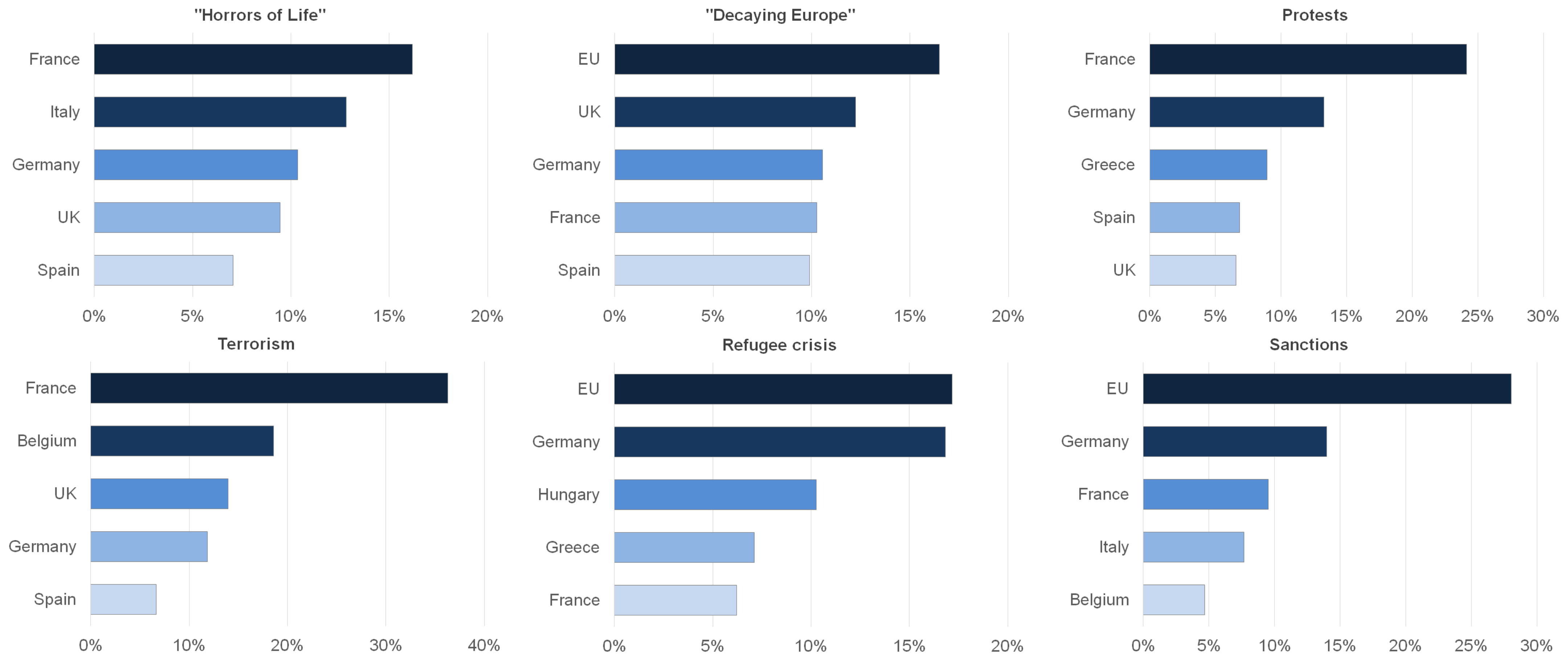
However there are few countries that Russian TV covers positively: Serbia, Montenegro, Belarus and Switzerland

There are 6 main narratives

- 88% of all negative coverage may be divided into six main narratives

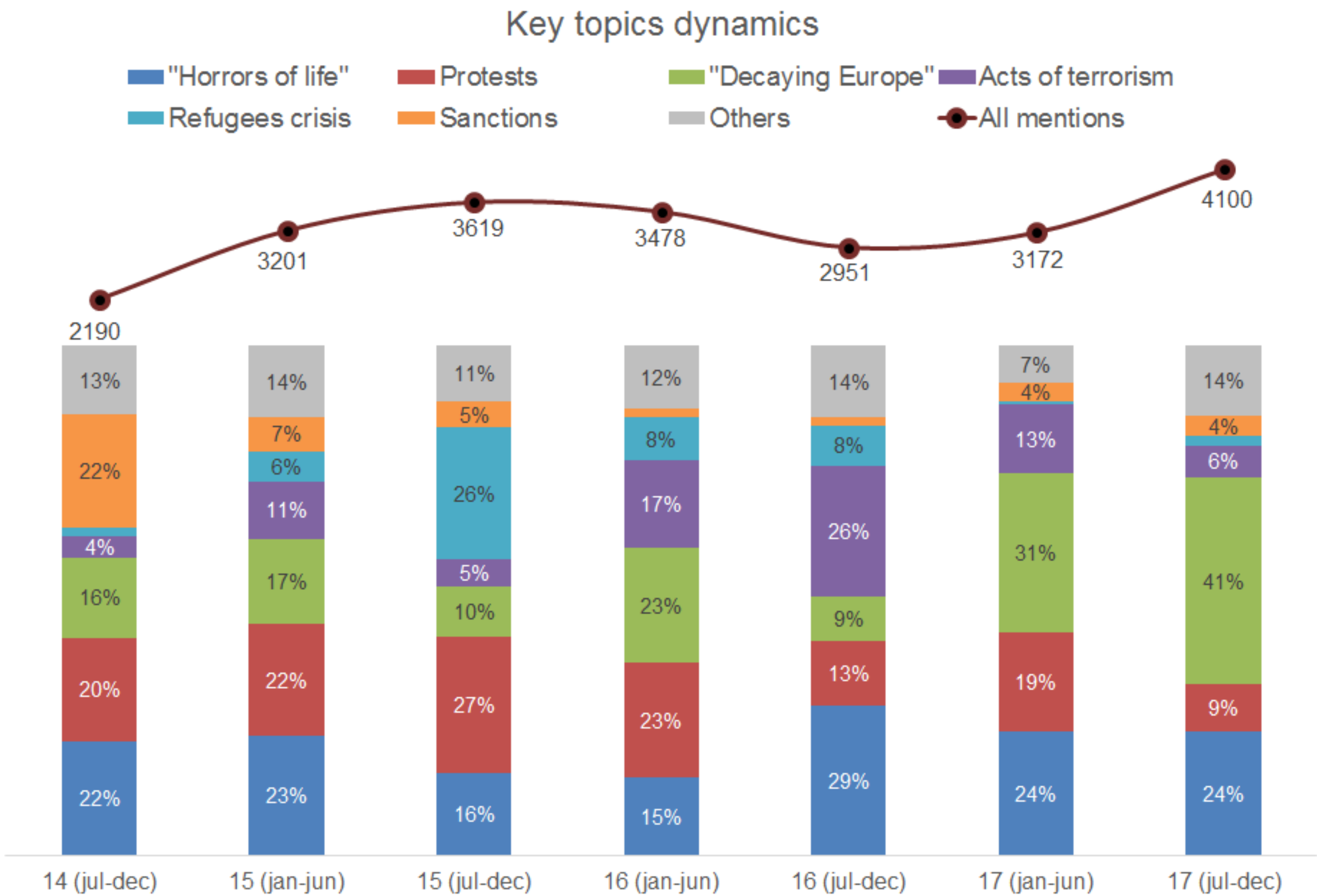


Top five countries by narrative



- France is depicted as incapable to deal with terrorism, protests and is generally dangerous to live in
- Germany and the EU are associated with "Refugee crisis" and "Sanctions"

Key narratives' dynamics by half-year periods



Quantity of negative news has increased by 87% from July'14 to December'17

“Decaying Europe” was the most growing narrative in 2HY 2017

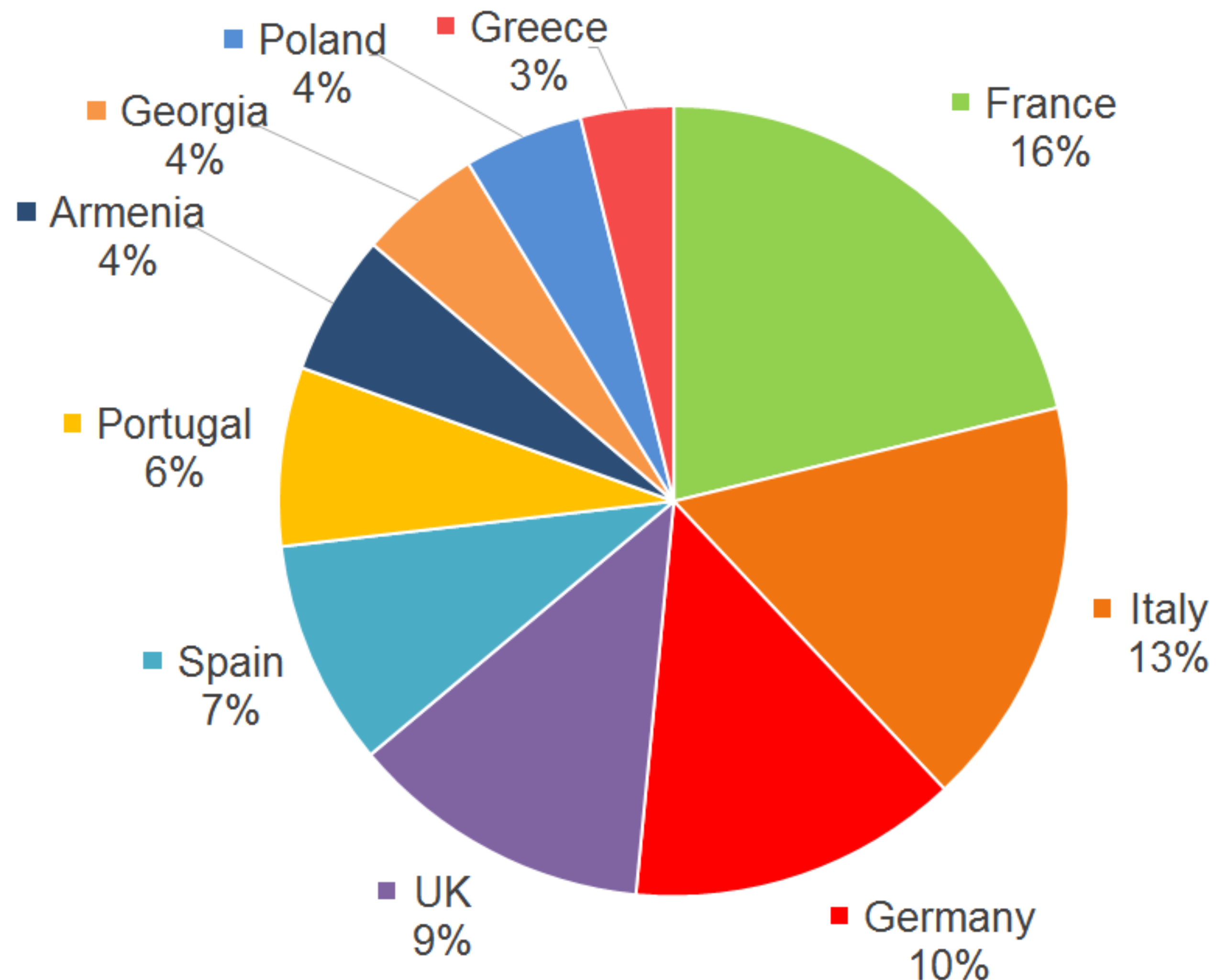
Constant big share of the narrative “Horrors of Life” in order to support perception of “dangerous” life in Europe

Total amount of negative news, share

Narrative #1 – "Horrors of Life" in Europe

- Daily life in Europe is shown as very insecure, danger comes unexpectedly but constantly from different sides. Most popular are natural disasters, technogenic disasters and accidents, crimes
- Authorities are often depicted as incapable of managing challenges or the ones who use double-standards in favor of the rich & powerful
- Most of this narrative is based on tiny scale events, which might be worth covering only by local media, if any
- In the end, that creates a story of hard, unstable and dangerous life in Europe on a daily basis, because Europe deserves it. Even reports of “endless” natural disasters in Europe prompt Russian viewer to assume that Mother Nature doesn’t like Europe

“Horrors of Life” by countries



- Top 5 countries are the Top 5 EU countries by population
- This narrative is constantly promoted
- According to Levada-Center survey 70% of Russians didn't want to travel abroad in 2015 due to alleged insecurity outside Russia

“Horrors of Life” in quotation

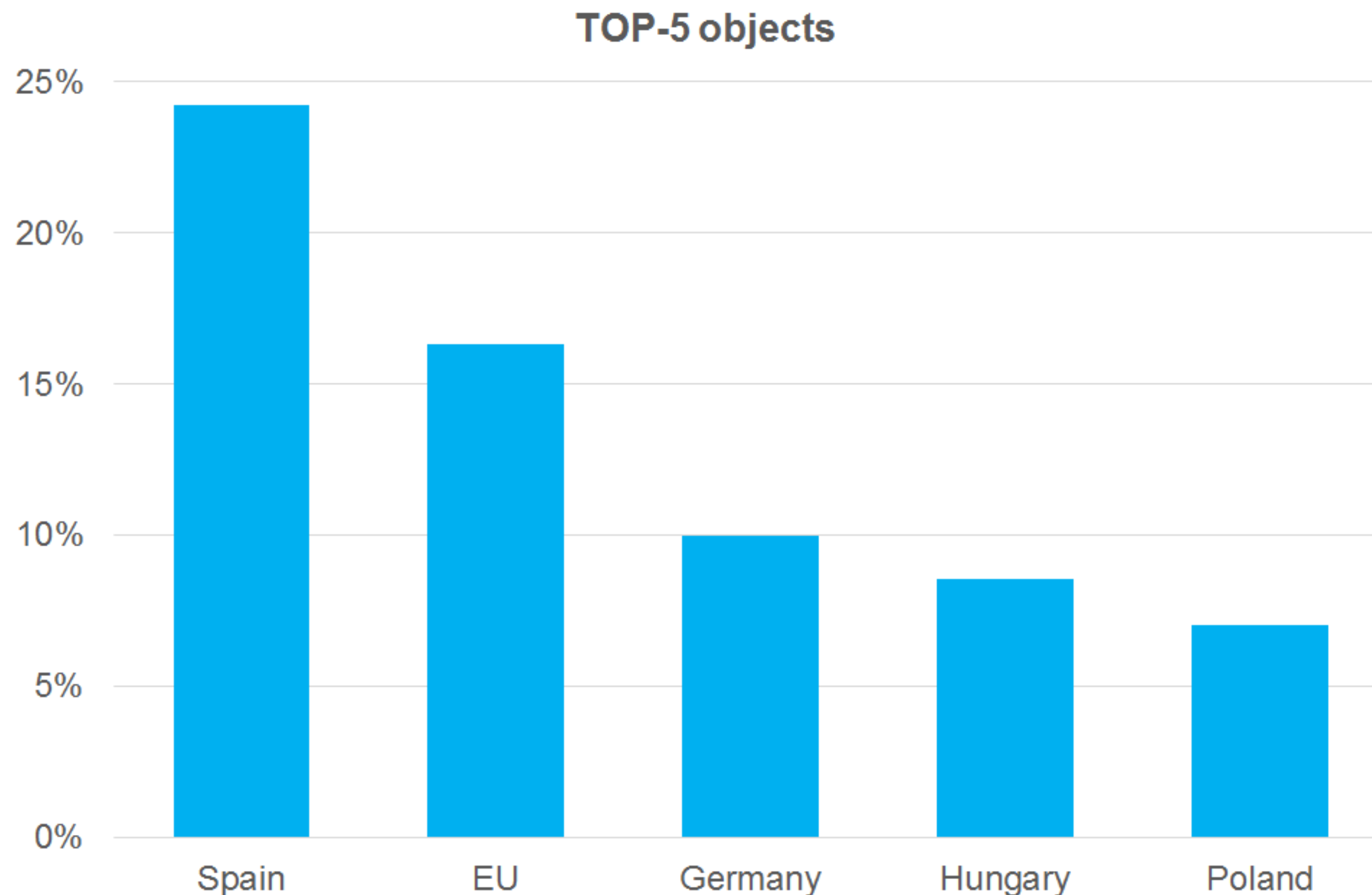
“В итальянском Наполи объявлен траур. Там трагедией закончилась простая ссора из-за бельевой веревки. 48-летний мужчина, медик, поспорив с женой брата из-за того, где должны сушиться постиранные вещи, взялся за пистолет. Убил сначала ее, потом уже из охотничьего ружья открыл огонь с балкона и застрелил брата и соседа-полицейского, которые пытались вмешаться.”

“The mourning in Italian Naples. A simple quarrel over the clothes line led to a tragedy. 48-year-old man, a medic, arguing with his brother's wife as to where the washed clothes should dry, took his gun. He killed her first, then opened fire from the balcony and shot his brother and neighbor, a policeman, who tried to intervene.” - *Channel One, 16 May 2015 and same story on NTV channel*

Narrative #2 – «Decaying Europe»

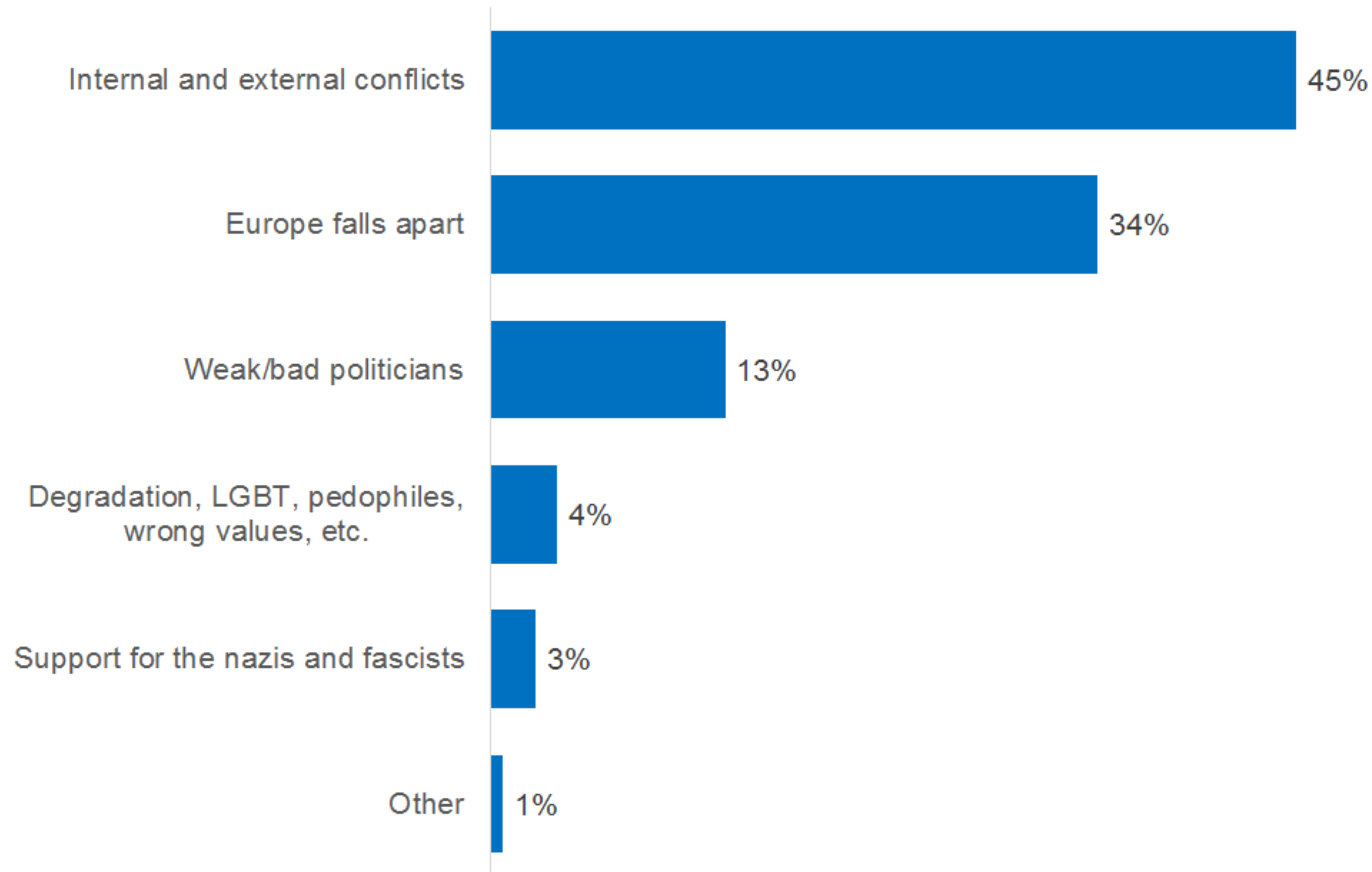
- More than 70% of this narrative is built around message that Europe falls apart and is full of internal conflicts in all spheres: policy, economy, justice, moral values.
- The idea of a united Europe based on shared values is depicted as unrealistic (Catalonia and Brexit are used as a proof). In Russian media reality there are strong and important European countries that infringe upon other weak countries.
- The societies within countries themselves are divided about European values. Europeans are depicted as people with weak and declining morale. Therefore, hypocrisy, unjust, biased media, puppet politicians, pedophilism, neo-nazism – all have been showcased as commonplace in the EU. Homosexuality continues to be a part of it.
- This narrative forms the opinion that Russia has to be aggressive not to let Europe to impose its values on Russia.

“Decaying Europe” narrative during 2nd half of 2017



- “Decaying Europe” was the most growing narrative during Jul-Dec 2017
- Spain was the leader by mentions because of Catalonia crisis
- Government crisis in Germany was interpreted as one of main signs of “Decaying Europe”
- Hungary is Top-5 due to claims to Ukraine over its new educational law

“Decaying Europe”



Main focus of this narrative is on growing and inevitable European disintegration

“Decaying Europe” in quotes

“Все разговоры о Европе разных скоростей сразу окажутся тем, чем являются на самом деле - тщетной попыткой скрыть полную неспособность Единой Европы к самосохранению”

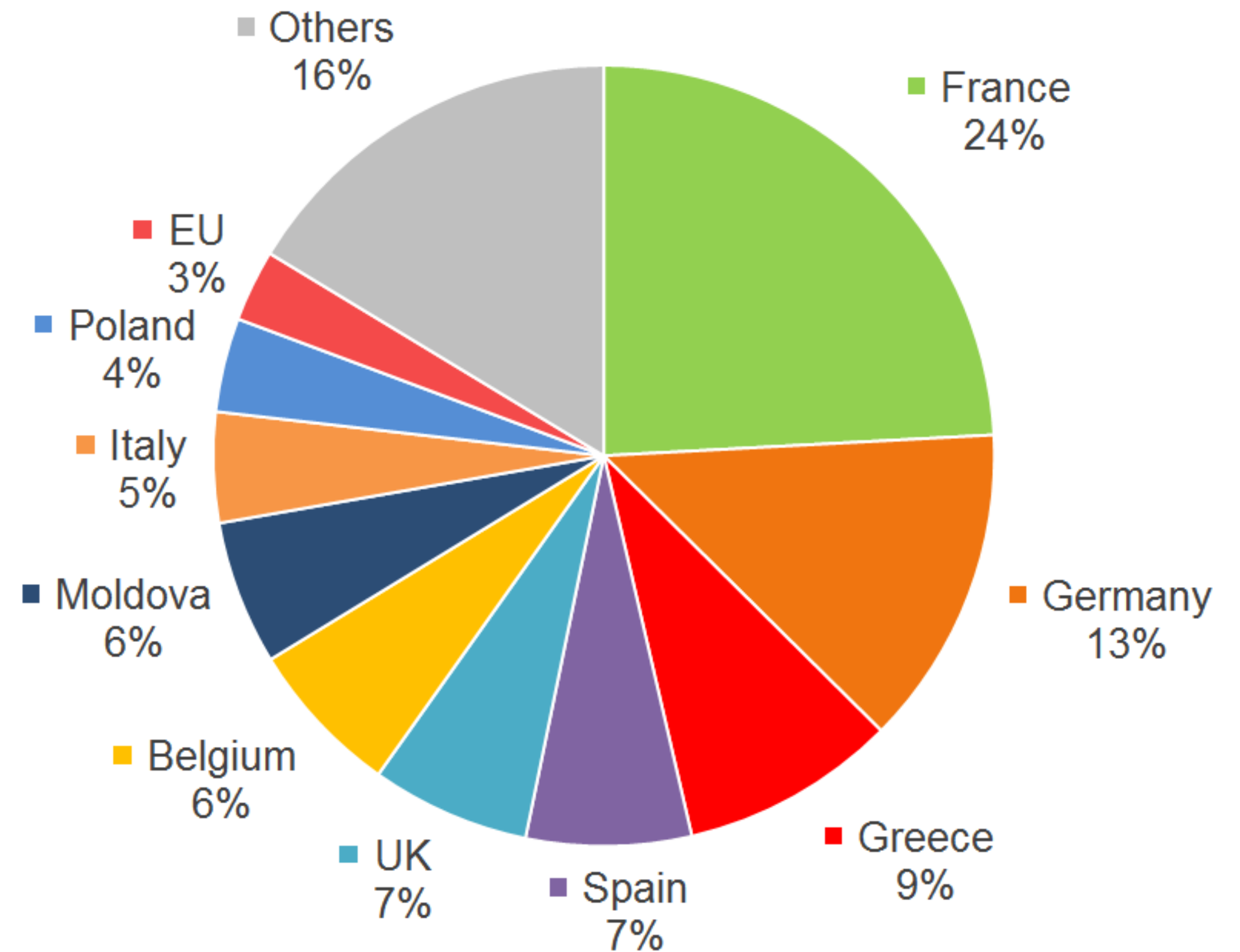
"All the talks about Europe in different gears will immediately turn out to be what they really are - a vain attempt to hide the total inability of the United Europe to self-preserve" *Channel One, 19 March 2017*

“Почему голос Германии и Франции звучит в еврозоне весомее других? Потому что все союзы, и валютные, и визовые, и политические замыкаются именно на них. Это кошельки Европы. Именно они получали основную выгоду, когда европейское пространство расширялось”

"Why the voices of Germany and France sound louder than others in the eurozone? Because they remain at the head of all the unions, whether it is currency, visa, or policy ones. They are the [proverbial] wallets of Europe. It was them who benefited the most when the European space expanded" *Russia 1, 7 July 2015*

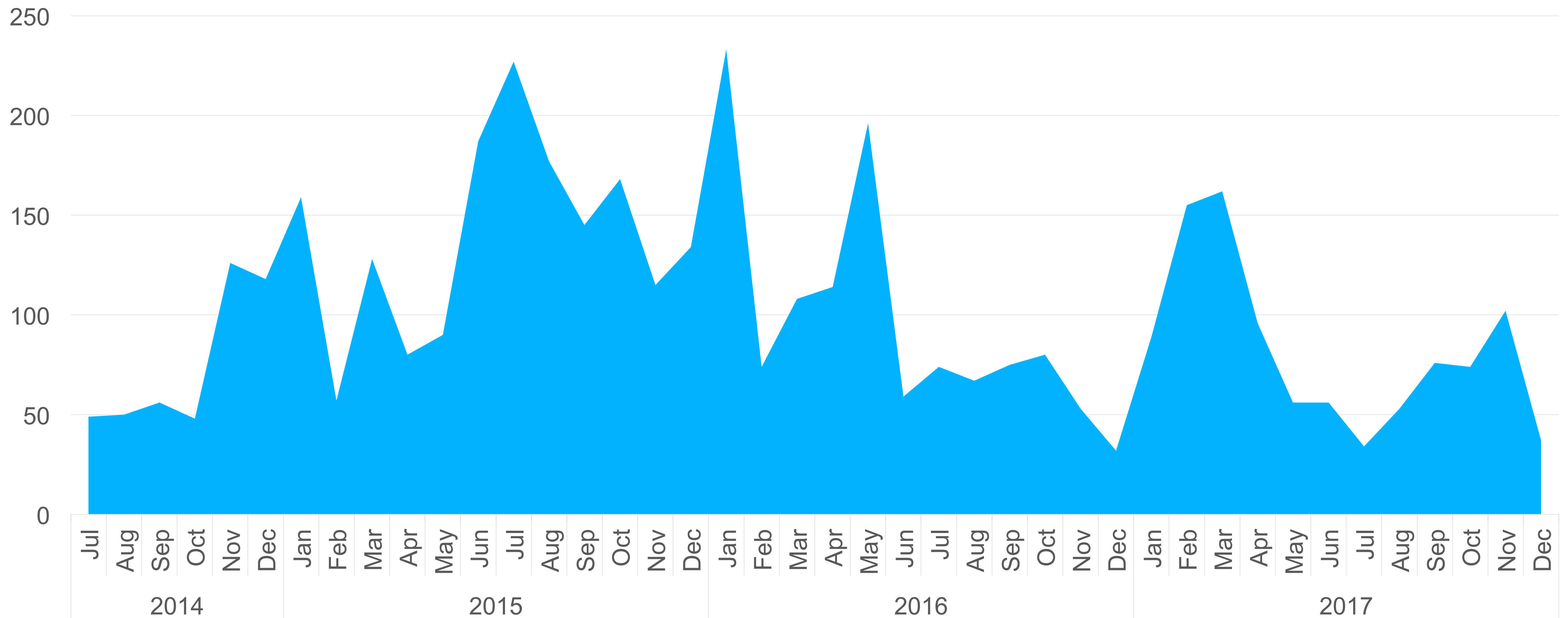
Narrative #3 – "Protests in Europe"

- Similarly to Narrative #1, "Protests in Europe" are constantly pushed by the Russian media as a regular phenomena
- Europe is not united, hardly ever was, and has clear trend to fall apart
- There are plenty chronic flaws in economy, policy and security, which leave common Europeans no choice but to protest
- Russian top TV channels use all opportunities during the prime time to cover any types of protest in European countries like protests of janitors, air pilots, environmentalists, nurses, sailors, gas station employees, etc



“Protests in Europe” by months

The narrative of “Protests in Europe” never disappear from top Russian TV channels



“Protests in Europe” quotes

“Париж превращается в большую помойку. Пока объявившие забастовку ее уборщики штурмуют кабинеты чиновников.”

“Paris is turning into a big dump. While juniors who announced the strike are storming the offices of the officials.” *Channel One, 10 September 2015*

“В Амстердаме тысячи людей собрались в центре города, главные улицы заполнили тракторы. Там прошел массовый митинг голландских фермеров против торгового соглашения между Евросоюзом и Канадой “

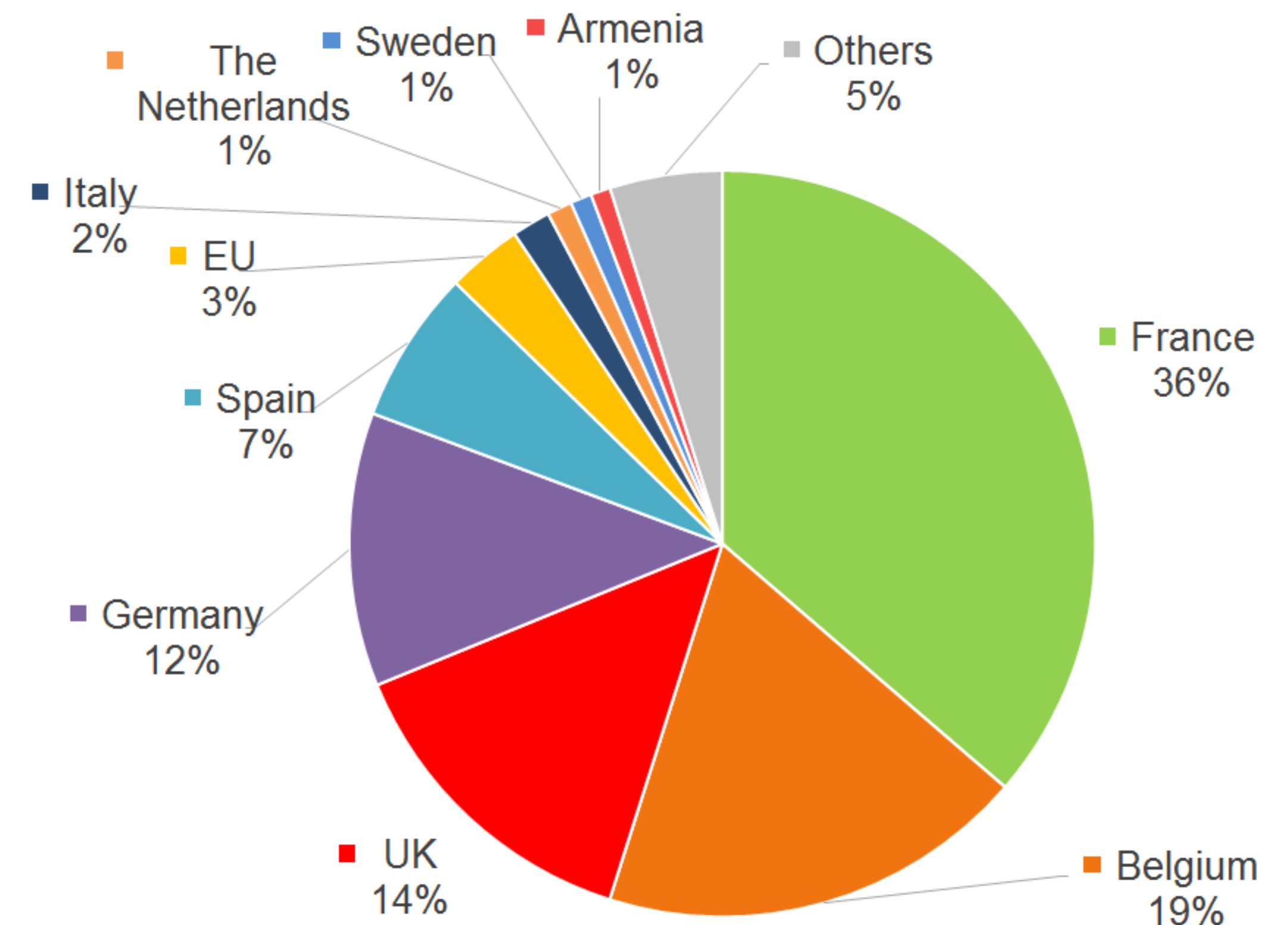
“In Amsterdam, thousands of people gathered in the center of the city. The main streets were flooded with tractors. There was a mass strike of Dutch farmers against the trade agreement between the European Union and Canada.” – Channel One, 23 October 2016

“Центр Брюсселя заволокло белым дымом. Европейские фермеры засыпали евроквартал сухим молоком. Так они выразили недовольство аграрной политикой, которую проводит Европейская комиссия.”

“Brussels downtown was covered with white smoke. European farmers covered one city block with dry milk. This way they expressed their dissatisfaction with the agrarian policy carried out by the European Commission.” *Channel One, 24 January 2017*

Narrative #4 – "Terrorism"

- Though there were several terrorist attacks in Europe during the researched period, Russian media creates narrative that Europe is under never-ending terrorist attack
- For this purpose Russian media cover each and every terrorist act, sometimes interpreting even criminal episodes as terrorism
- Security and special forces of the EU are depicted as weak and incapable of anticipating threat and protecting their citizens
- Another part of this narrative is that there could be less terrorism in the EU, if only it were to cooperate with Russia on its terms



“Terrorism” in quotation

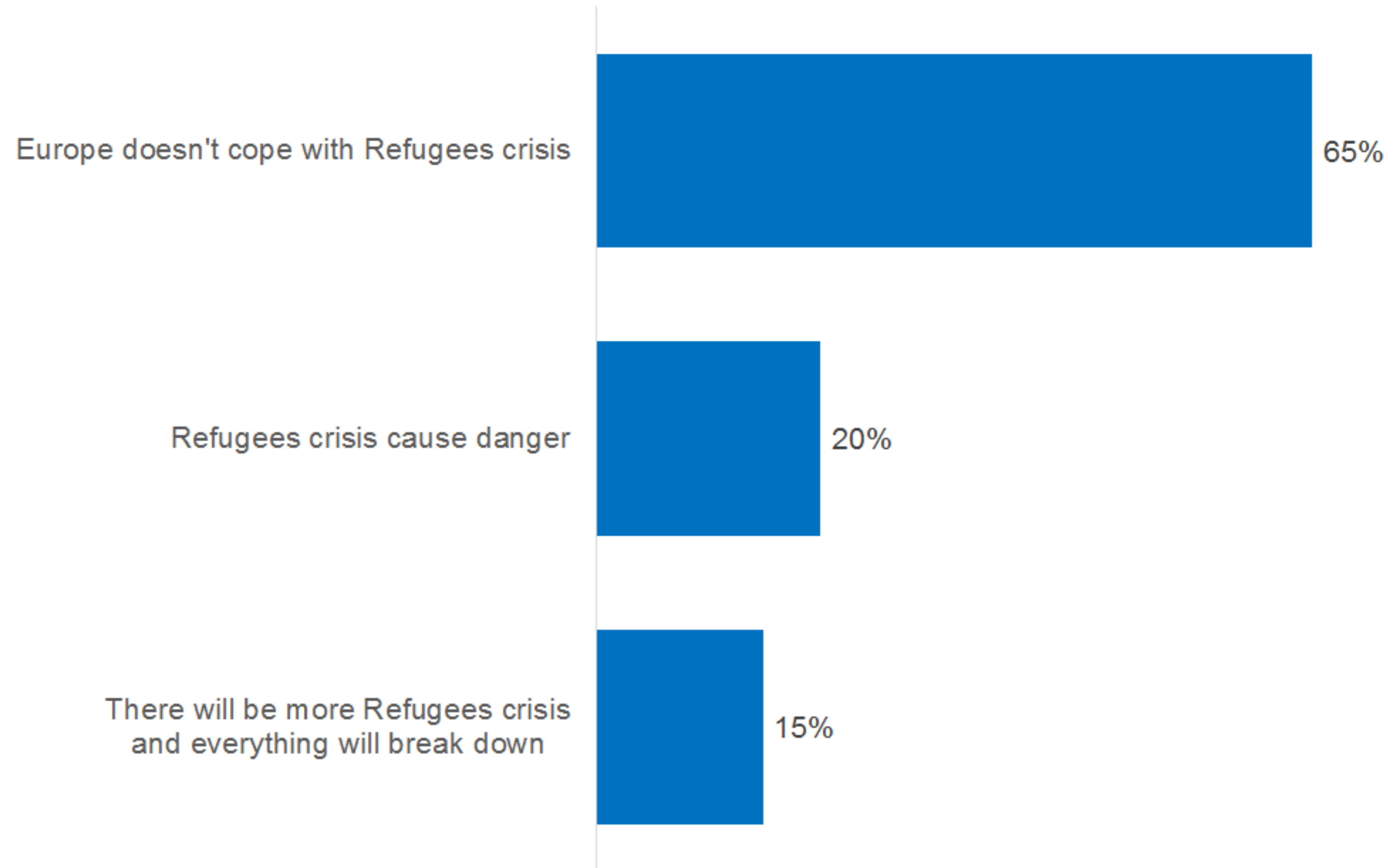
«Хаотичное движение полицейских, которые не вполне знали куда бежать, вряд ли можно считать высоким профессионализмом. Как и штурм здания типографии, в котором скрывались братья Куаши, расстрелявшие редакцию журнала Charlie Hebdo»

"The chaotic movement of the police, who did not quite know where to run, can hardly be considered as high professionalism. As well as storming of the printing house, the hiding place of the Kouachi brothers who shot the editorial office of the journal Charlie Hebdo" *Channel One, 18 January 2015*

Narrative #5 – "Refugee crisis"

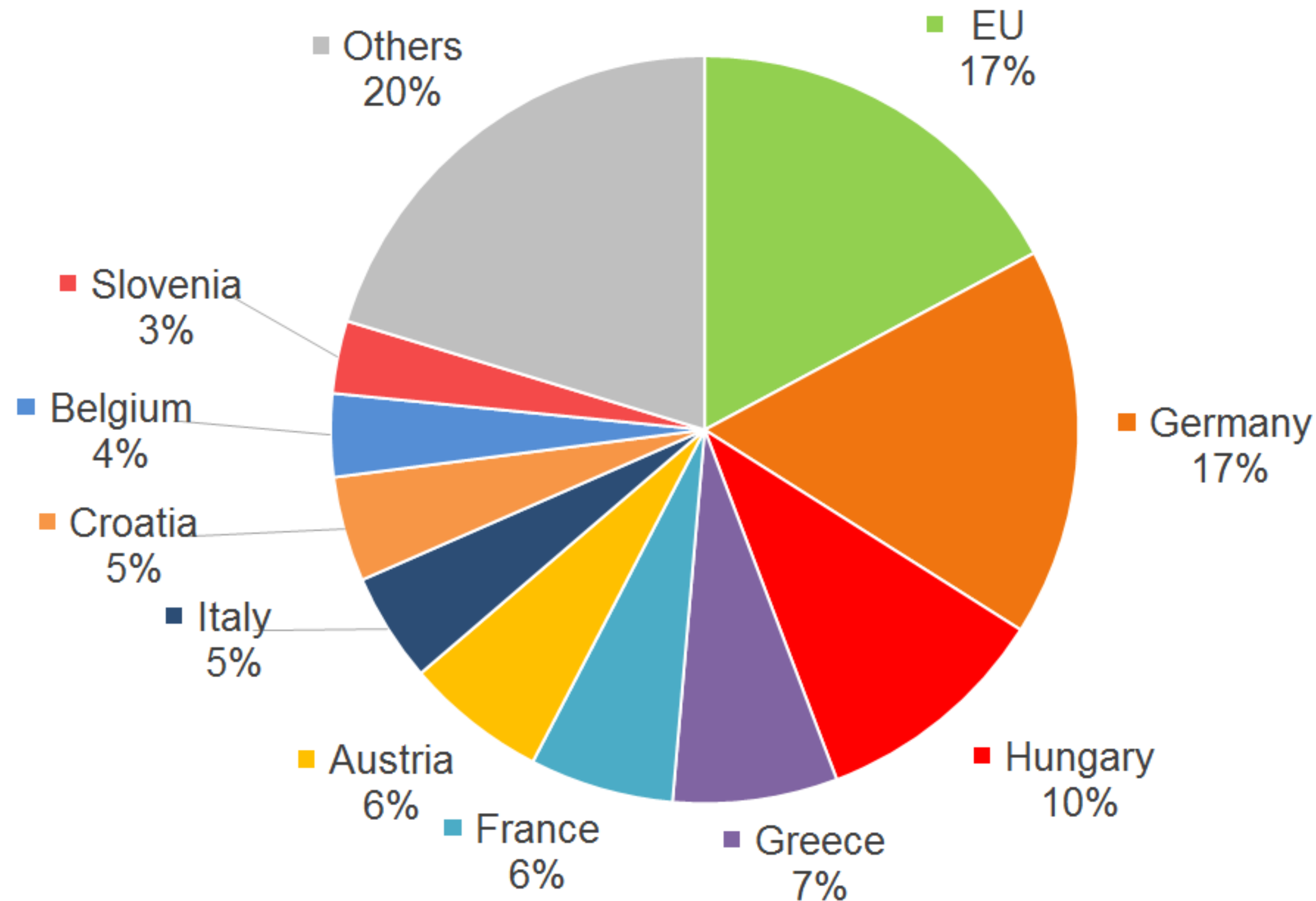
- In this narrative Russian media blame Europe for refugee crisis, since it supported the U.S. when it initiated the war in Syria
- Also Russian media blame Europe that it inspired Syrian people to immigrate, but later realized that refugees were a burden
- The way refugees have been handled in the EU had created an unprecedented crisis. Refugees are kept in horrible inhuman conditions in the EU countries.
- Russian media create picture that hundred thousands and millions of dangerous hungry people are already overwhelming the EU and push locals away

“Refugee crisis”



Key message of this narrative is that Europe has failed the refugees

“Refugee Crisis” by countries



This narrative is mainly associated with Germany and the EU

Total share of this narrative has significantly decreased comparing to 2015

“Refugee Crisis” in quotation

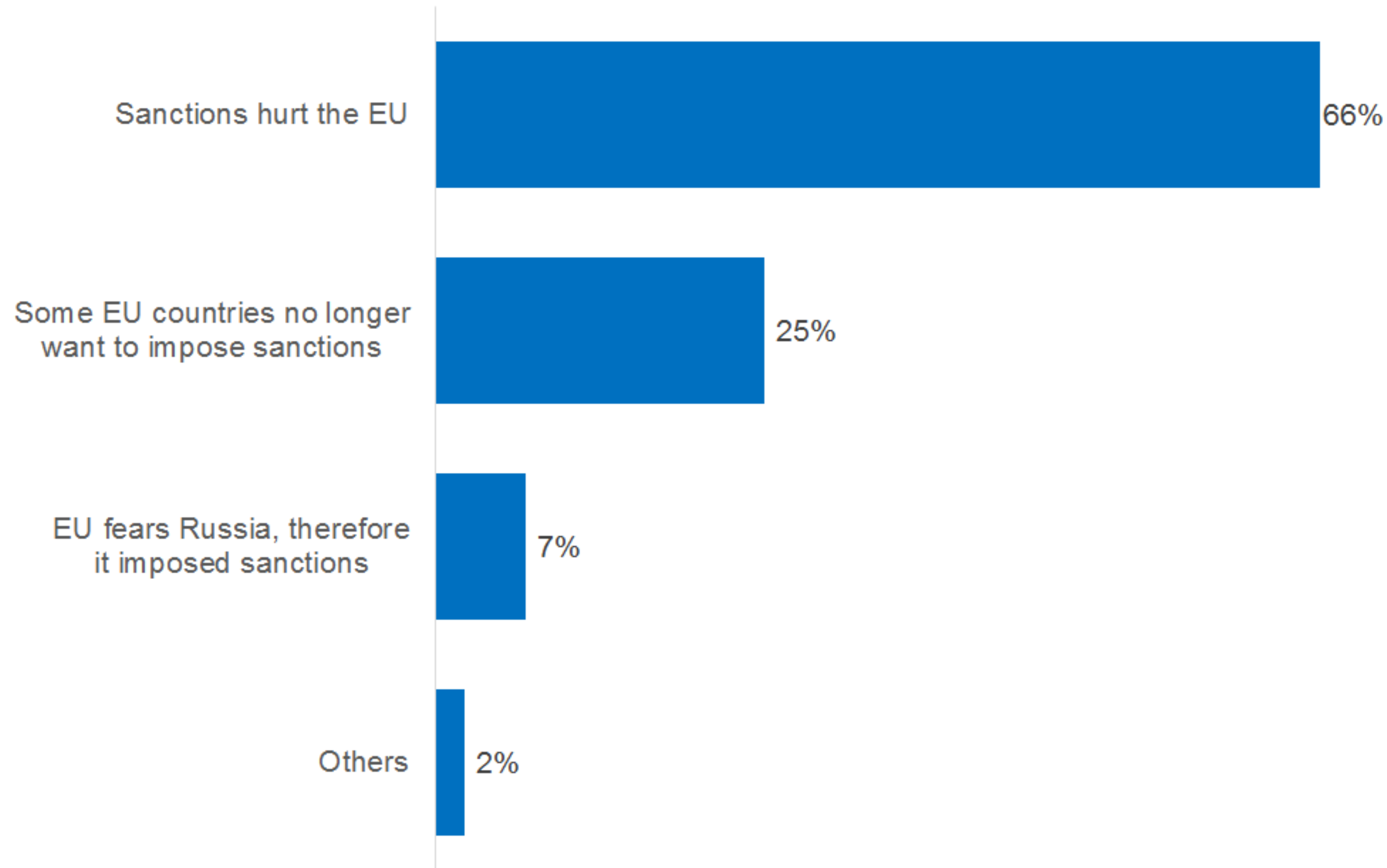
"Число мигрантов в Европе, особенно в Австрии и Германии, возросло настолько, что стало ясно, что кто-то стимулирует и поддерживает этот поток. Судя по всему, это те же силы, что поддерживали Арабскую весну или украинскую революцию"

"The number of migrants in Europe, especially in Austria and Germany, has grown so much that it became clear that someone is stimulating and supporting this flow. Apparently, these are the same forces that supported the Arab Spring or the Ukrainian Revolution" *Channel One, 9 June 2015*

Narrative #6 – "Sanctions"

- The key message of this narrative is that sanctions imposed against Russia together with Russian counter-sanctions hurt the EU so much, that more and more countries wish to remove them to give themselves a chance to survive. However the U.S. doesn't let them
- This narrative is also used to highlight the strength of Russia. Often it is supported by very disputable examples from history, all depicting Europe as a cruel power that for centuries tried to seize Russia, but always failed
- Russians are also described as people who do not need all that European welfare, because they have higher moral compass
- World War Two is often used as an example of Russia's strength despite technological advancement of Europe. For instance, the narrative is supported by saying "We can do it again" meaning that Russia is able to save (seize) Europe again as in WW2

“Sanctions”



Key message of this narrative is that sanctions hurt the EU much more than they hurt Russia

“Sanctions” in quotation


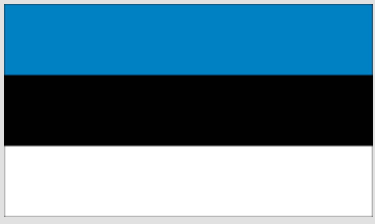

“Даже Ангела Меркель на днях призналась, что продление санкций далось им тяжело. В ЕС обнаружился серьезный конфликт интересов. Но противников все-таки убедили: голосовать солидарно с партнерами из США”

"Even Angela Merkel recently confessed that it was hard for Germany to prolong the sanctions. The EU is facing a serious conflict of interest. But opponents were convinced to vote in solidarity with partners from the United States" *Russia 1, 21 July 2015*

Particular narratives: The Baltic States

- Revival of the Nazism
- NATO uses the Baltic States as training polygons
- Infringement upon the Russian-speaking / Russophobia
- Baltics' governments are rewriting the history and demonizing USSR

Impact of Russian TV on Baltic countries

Country		Share of Russian TV*	Evaluated channels	Share of adults who understand Russian language well enough to watch TV news**
	Latvia	Not less than 30%	NTV Mir Baltic, PBK, Pjatnica International, REN TV Baltic, RTR Planeta Baltija, CTC Baltija, TNT, TNT4 International, 3+	47%
	Estonia	Not less than 20%	NTV Mir, PBK, Ren TV Estonia, RTR Planeta, CTC, TNT, 3+	44%
	Lithuania	Not less than 5%	NTV Mir Lietuva, PBK, REN Lietuva	70%

* According to local TV measurement results, 2017 (January - June)

** Special Eurobarometer 386 by Eurocomission, 2012

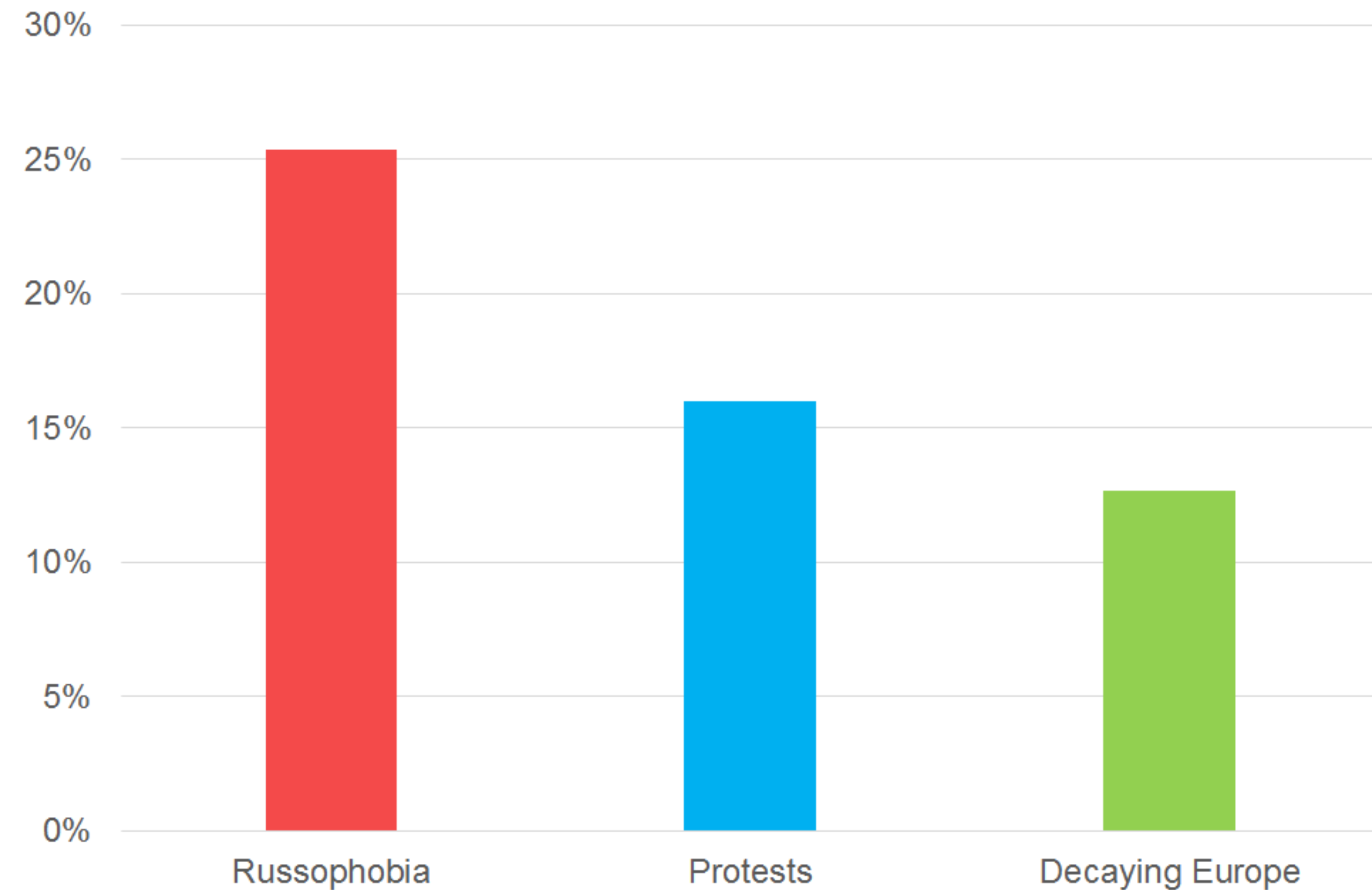
Estonia



- Ratio negative to positive news: 83% / 17%

“В Эстонии назревает скандал на расовой почве. Жители столичного Таллина оскорбляют и даже нападают на темнокожих военнослужащих НАТО.”

“A scandal on racial grounds is emerging in Estonia. Residents of Tallinn are insulting and even attacking black NATO soldiers.”
Channel One, 29 October 2015



Latvia

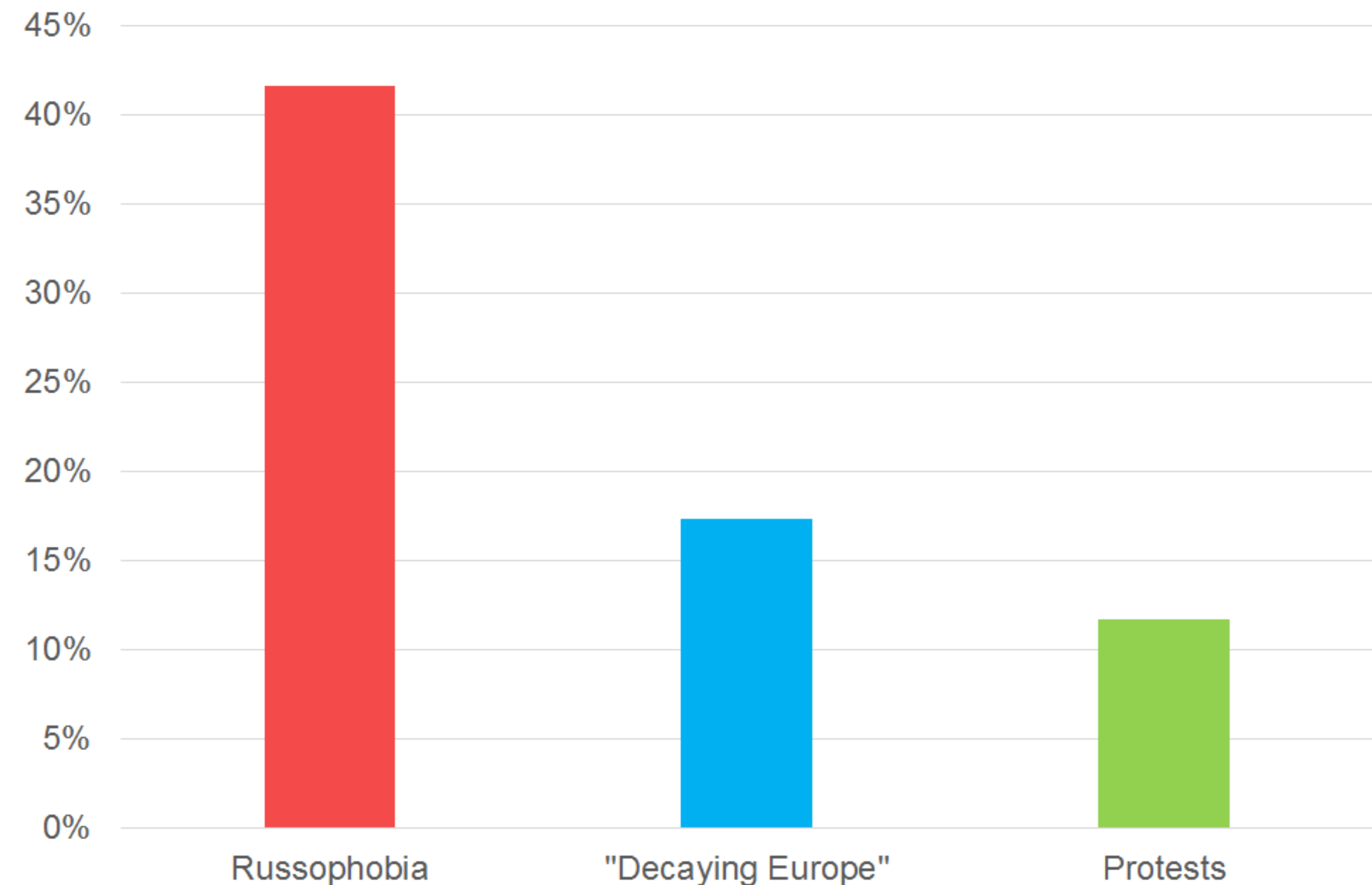


- Ratio negative to positive news: 78% / 22%

“Заигрывание с нацизмом и попытки стереть постыдные факты из истории, становятся приметой современной политической жизни Европы. Свежий пример предоставила Латвия.”

“Flirting with Nazism and attempts to erase shameful facts from history are becoming a sign of modern political life in Europe. The latest example was provided by Latvia.”

Russia 1, 22 January 2015

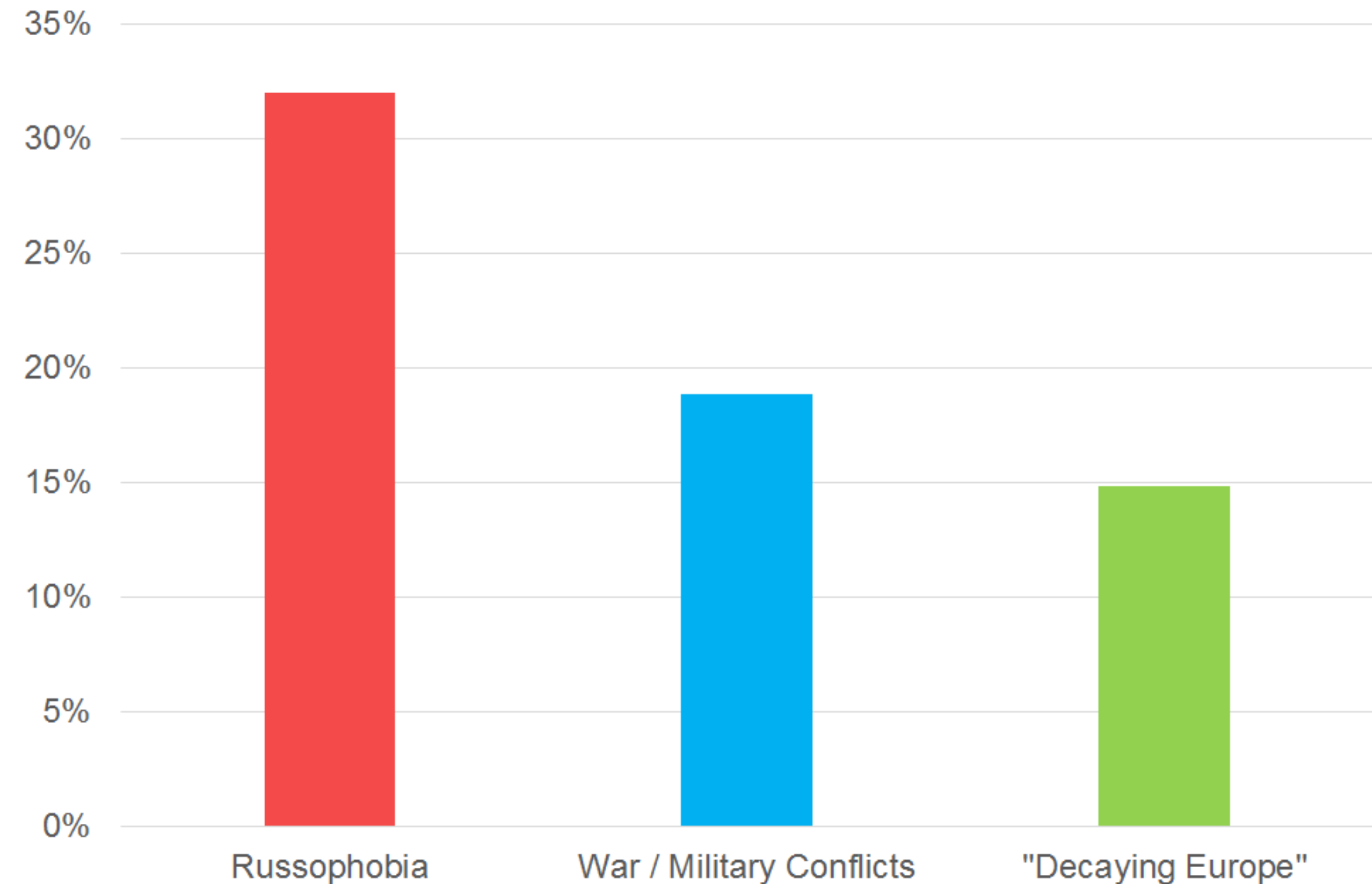


Lithuania



- Ratio negative to positive news: 79% / 21%

"Military vehicles are driving directly under the civilian windows. One either forgot or considered it unnecessary to warn that NATO's military NATO would conduct exercises in the residential sector. Later in the Ministry of Defense of Lithuania, they made it clear with whom they were preparing to fight. A resident of Vilnius, Yuri Zaitsev, shows an instruction downloaded from the Internet, which was issued by the Lithuanian military department. It is entitled "What do we know about resistance? A guide to action." In the pictures - Russian equipment and ammunition with a detailed description. The authors explain to residents how to behave in case of an invasion by Russia. " Channel One, 27 November 2016



Joint narratives for the EU countries

- The whole Europe suffers from sanctions against Russia. Sanctions against Russia were imposed by the United States and are beneficial only to them
- European politicians are afraid to argue with the U.S.
- There is an erosion of moral values: same sex marriages, incest, pedophilia
- Deliberate destruction of history
- Europe is a place of constant protests, strikes and terrorism
- Even the weather punishes Europe for the wrong way of life

Particular narratives: Nordic countries

- Norway and Finland steal Russian children
- Gender equality leads to erosion of moral values (Sweden)
- Refugees are killing Swedes
- Cruel treatment of animals (Denmark)

Impact of Russian TV on Eastern Partnership countries

Country		Share of Russian TV*	Share of adults who understand Russian language**
	Belarus	Up to 50%	100%
	Moldova	Not less than 30%	95%
	Georgia	From 10% to 20% by different evaluations	89%
	Armenia		87%
	Azerbaijan		77%

* Local TV measurement bases and evaluation from local media experts (there is an essential part of unmeasured satellite view in the Caucasus countries)

** "Eurasia Monitor" research by "Heritage of Eurasia" fund, 2007

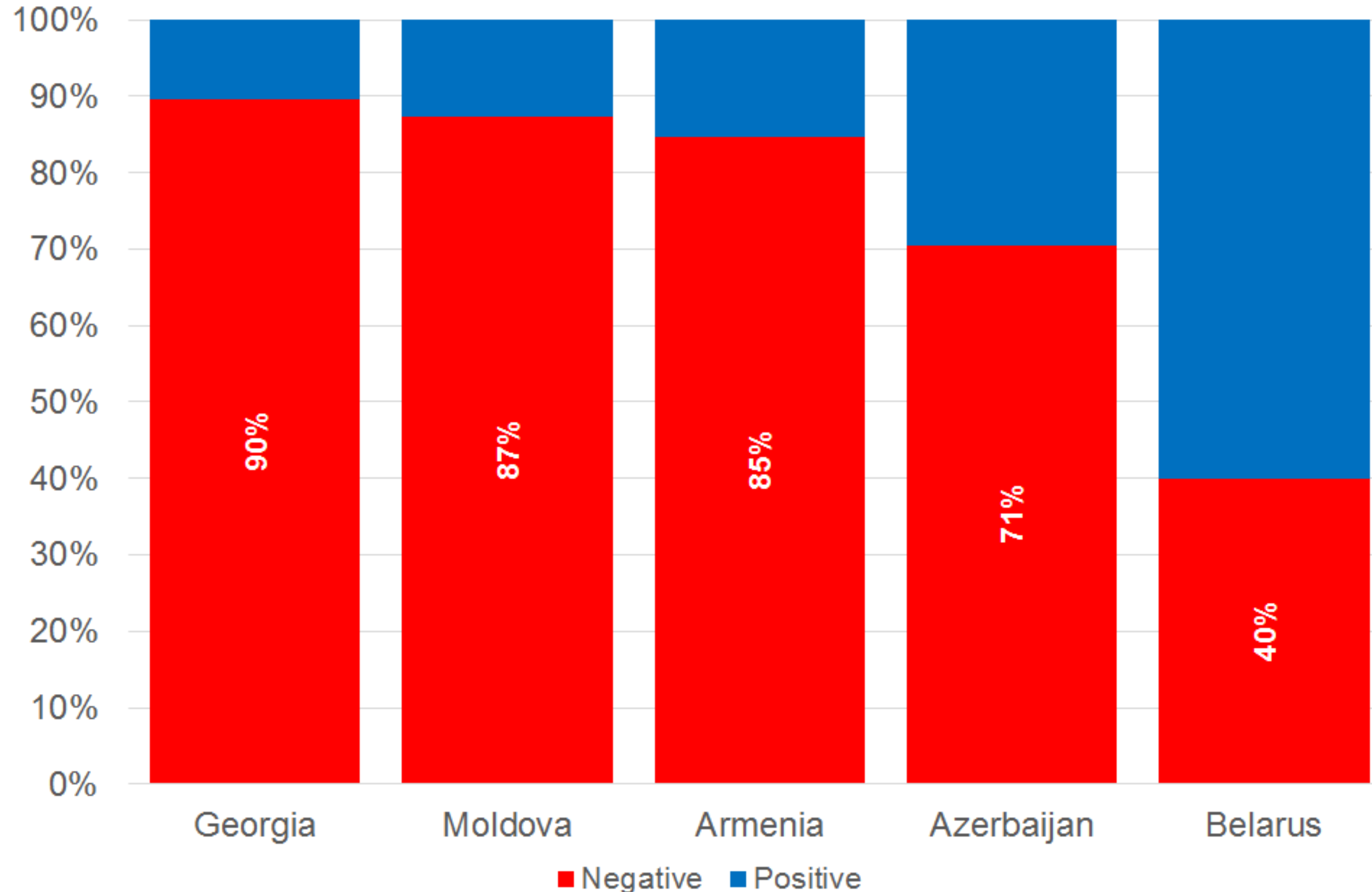
Russian Social media Vkontakte usage

Country	Share
Russia	63%
Ukraine <i>(before the ban of RU social media in Ukraine in 2017)</i>	54%
Belarus	49%
Moldova	21%
Armenia	18%
Latvia	16%
Estonia	15,6%
Georgia	9%
Azerbaijan	8%
Lithuania	4,7%

Although Vkontakte is a copy of Facebook, it attracts audience by free (pirate) video & music

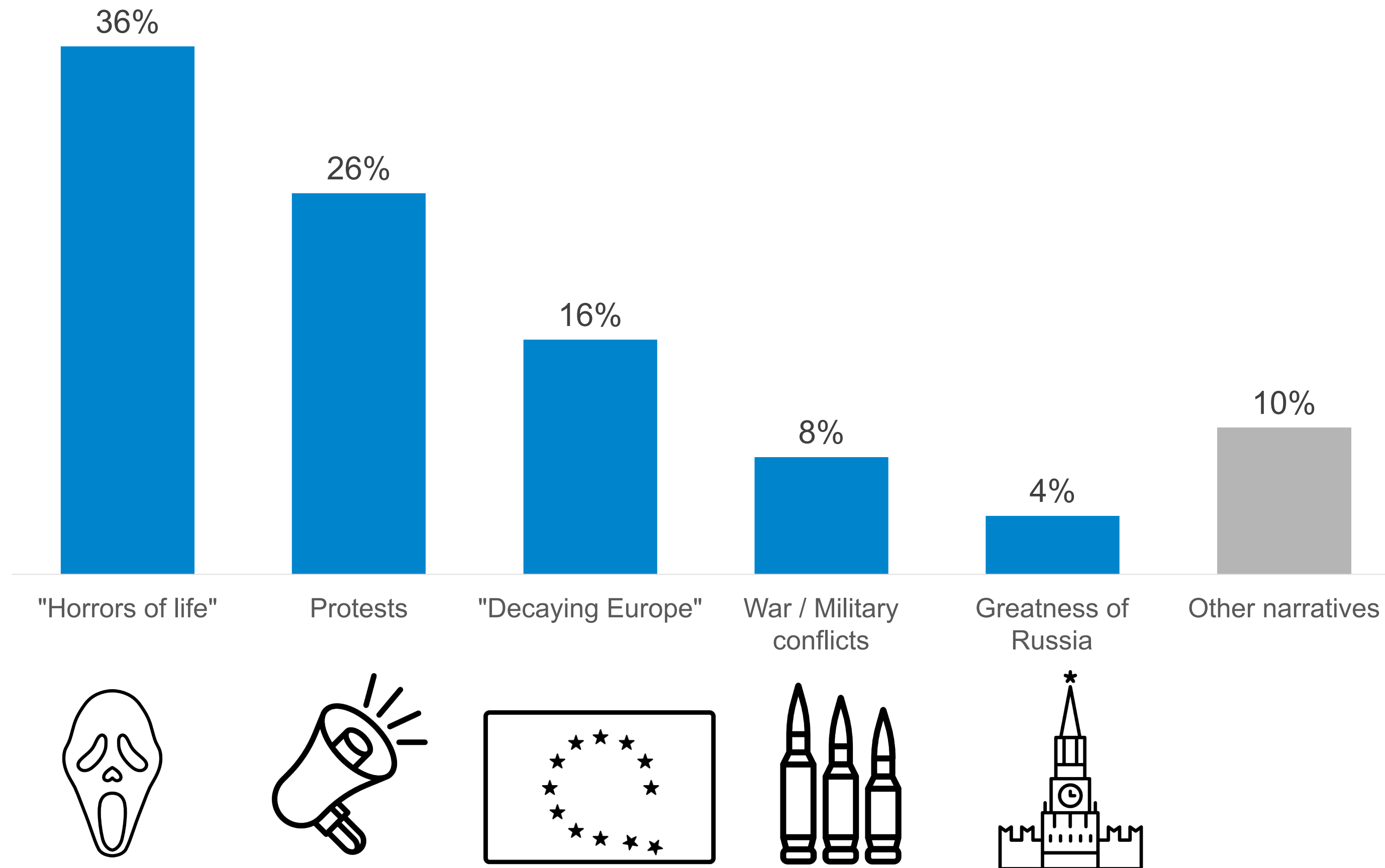
In Ukraine it was used by Russian intelligence for gathering personal information against Ukrainian soldiers and for military recruiting

Ratio of positive to negative news



- On average, more than once per day top Russian TV channels are giving negative coverage about EP countries

Narratives for Eastern Partnership countries (1)



- Two new narratives: War Conflicts and Greatness of Russia
- A common narrative for all countries is the positioning of Russia as a patron, the “elder brother” for smaller countries. Some "brothers" are more obedient, some – like Georgia and Moldova – less. However, it is clear that these countries will be able to overcome the crisis only in partnership with Russia. Russian media constantly show their unconditional dependence on Russia.

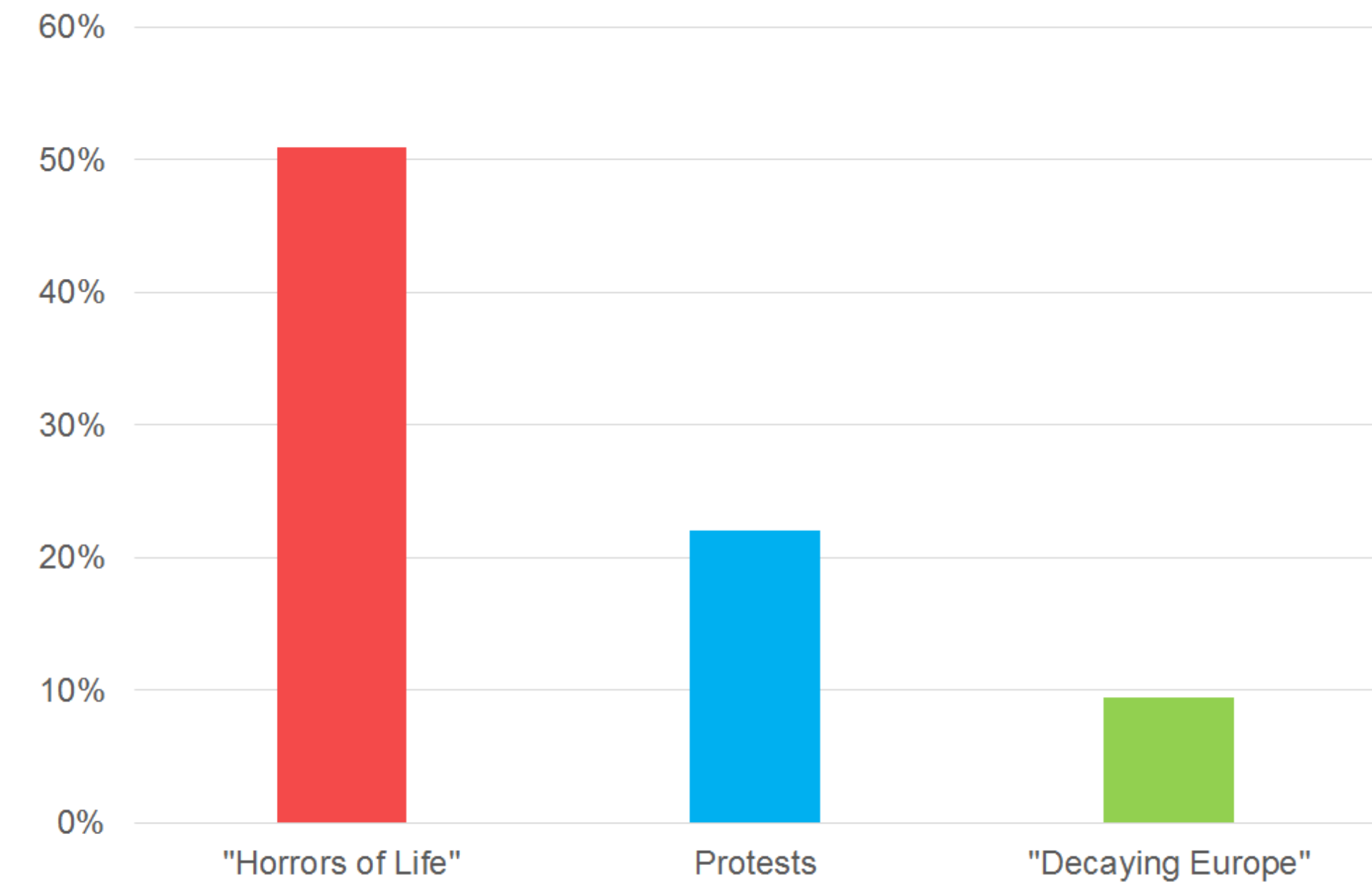
Narratives for the Eastern Partnership countries (2)

- According to Russian media European Union is not worth partnering for EP countries, because it is a decaying power with terrorism, immigrants, protests, horrific daily life and erosion of moral values
- Independent countries of Eastern Partnership suffer from protests, outcomes of military conflicts and instability (all except from Belarus)
- Russia is a great country with great history and being part of it is very beneficial for EP countries.

Armenia



- Armenia controls Nagorny Karabakh region that is internationally recognized as part of Azerbaijan. That is a reason of long-term conflict between two countries
- Russia is ally of Armenia and has its military base on the territory of Armenia
- Armenia does not have direct border with Russia – only through the territory of Georgia or Azerbaijan
- Russian language is not very much widespread in daily communication of locals
- Protests in Armenia of 2015 were widely covered by Russian media



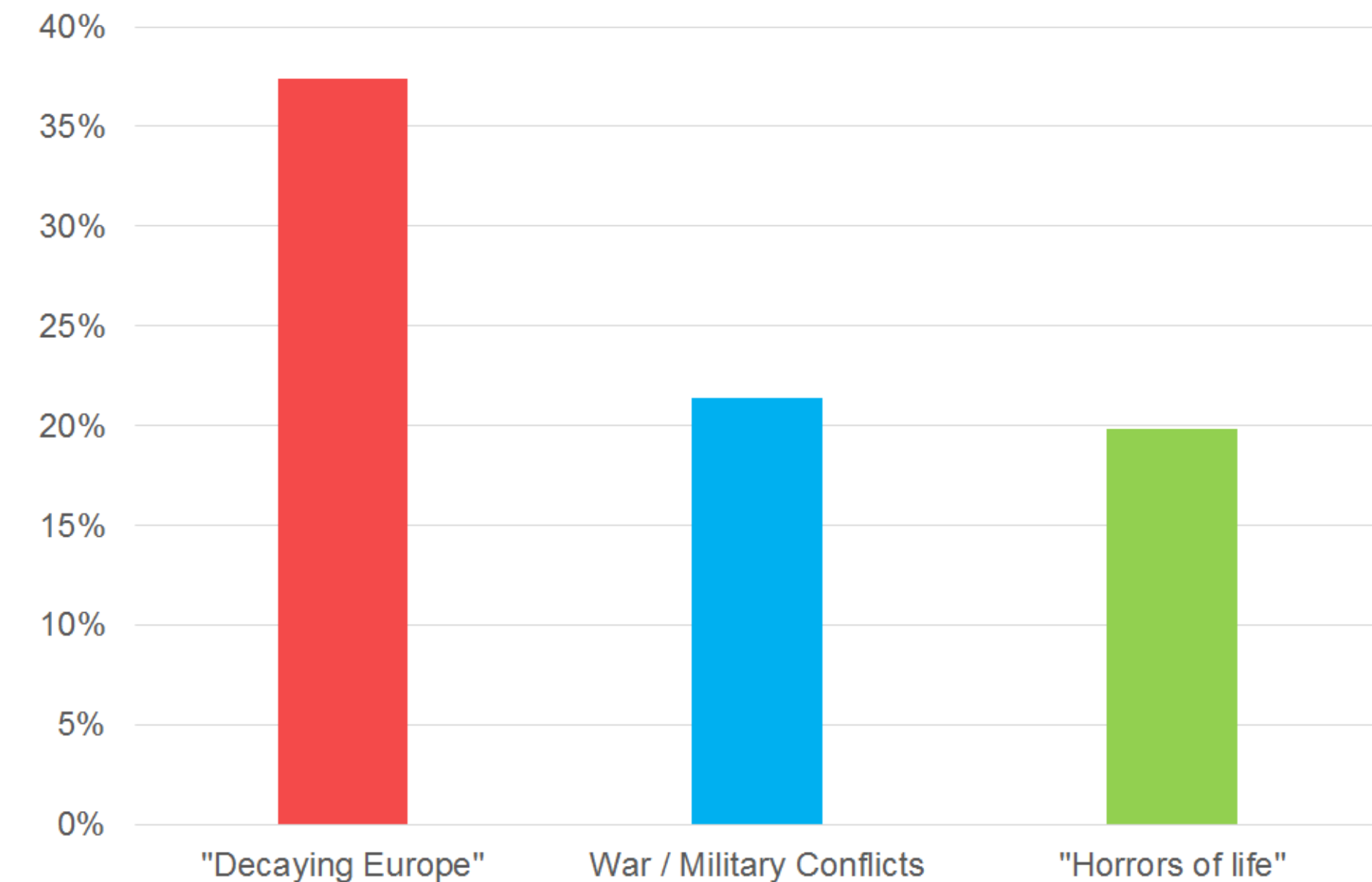
"The day before, some Armenian political experts assumed that the activity on Baghramyan Av was not spontaneous, but could have been arranged by activists of public organizations, including those financed from abroad"

Channel One, 25 June 2015

Azerbaijan



- The most populated country and the only Muslim culture country in Caucasus
- It enjoys significant level of independence from Moscow. Azerbaijan's ally is Turkey
- Almost 50-70% of local budget revenues are related to oil sector
- Russian language is not very widespread in daily communication



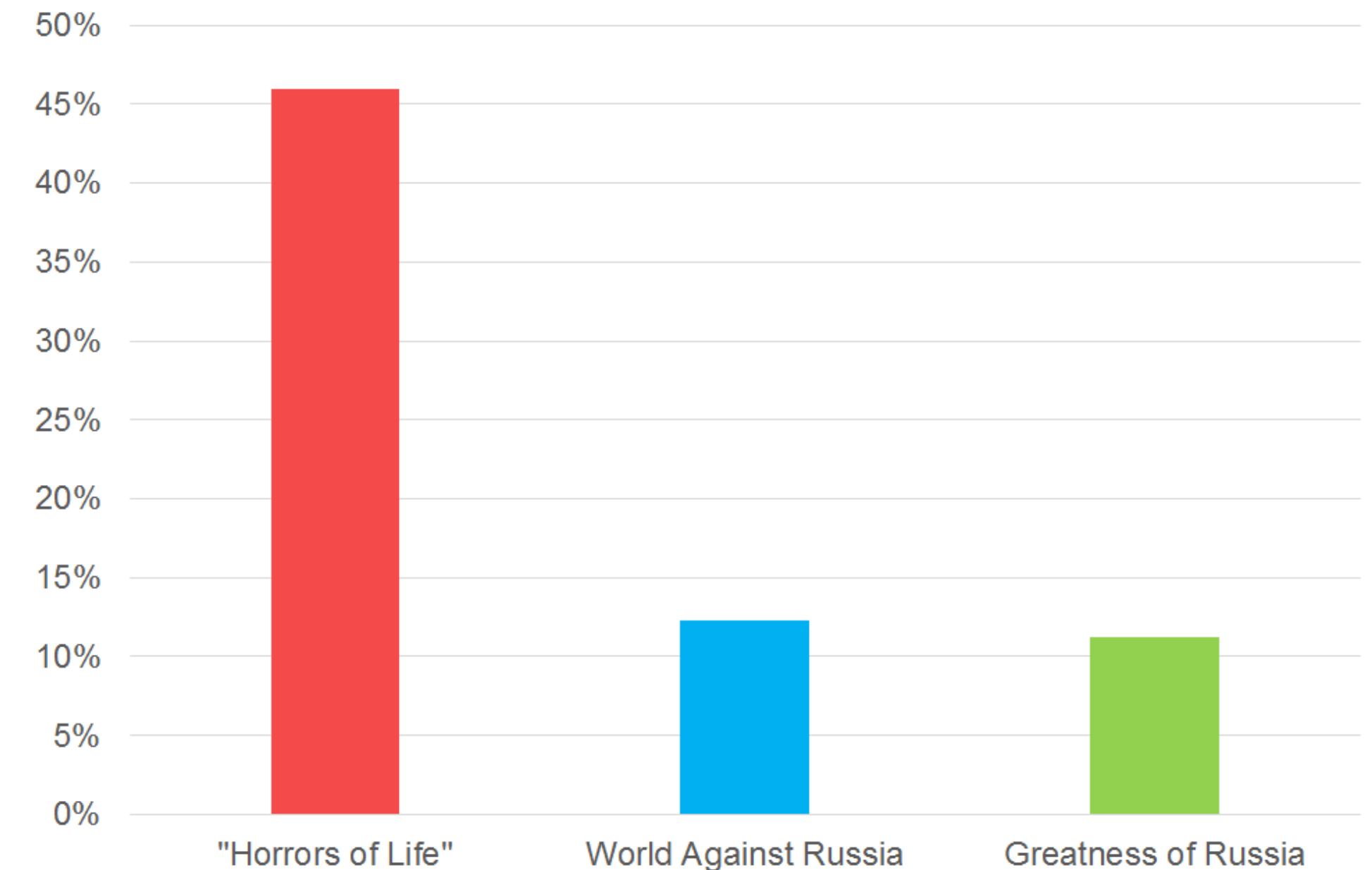
“Early last week, the fighting on the contact line between the Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh could turn into a protracted, bloody war. Thanks to the immediate measures taken by Russia, this did not happen.”

Russia 1, 10 April 2016

Belarus



- Belarus has the most positive image within Europe in Russian media
- Russian language is by far #1 daily language of local population
- Belarus is perceived by Russians as part of Russian nation
- Belarus and Russia have legally established Union State since 2000. It however has not been fully implemented



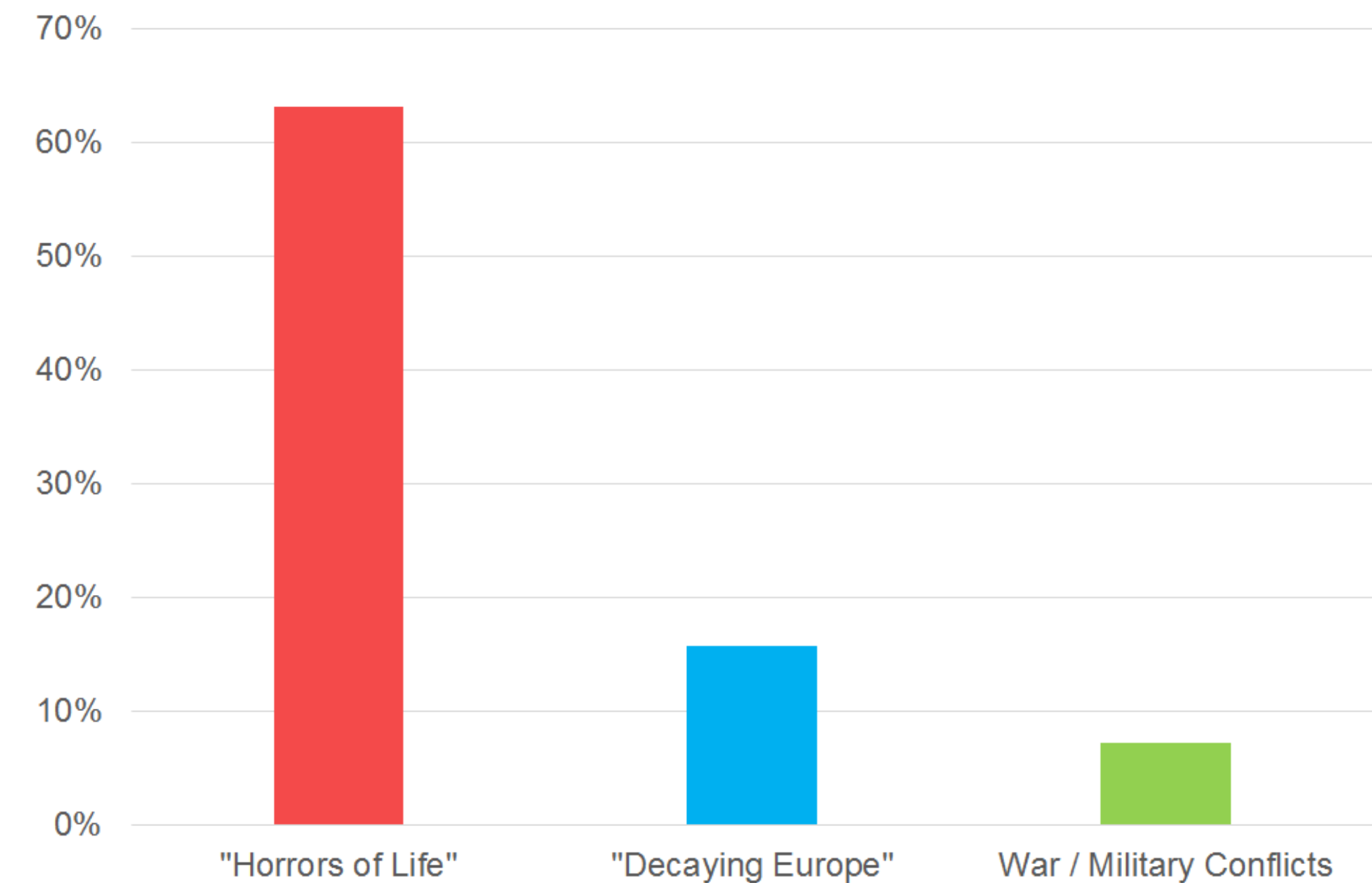
"The tough crackdown on the demonstration against police arbitrariness in Paris and the detention of protesters in Rome and the Netherlands will be one of the topics of TV show "Evening with Vladimir Solovyov" Why have none of these cases been criticized by politicians from the EU and the U.S., while in Russia or Belarus, any police action during public event causes a stream of preaching from the West? What is it – the traditional policy of double standards or the testing of new political technologies?"

Russia 1, 28 March 2017

Georgia



- Georgia was a focus country to undermine by Russia since 2003 which resulted in 8 days war in August 2008
- Orthodox Church maintains tremendous influence in Georgia
- There's a big split between generations: older people have more ties with Russia and know Russian language better, whilst younger generation is more focused on English and the West
- Military conflicts in Abkhazia and South Ossetia are presented as a civil war inside Georgia



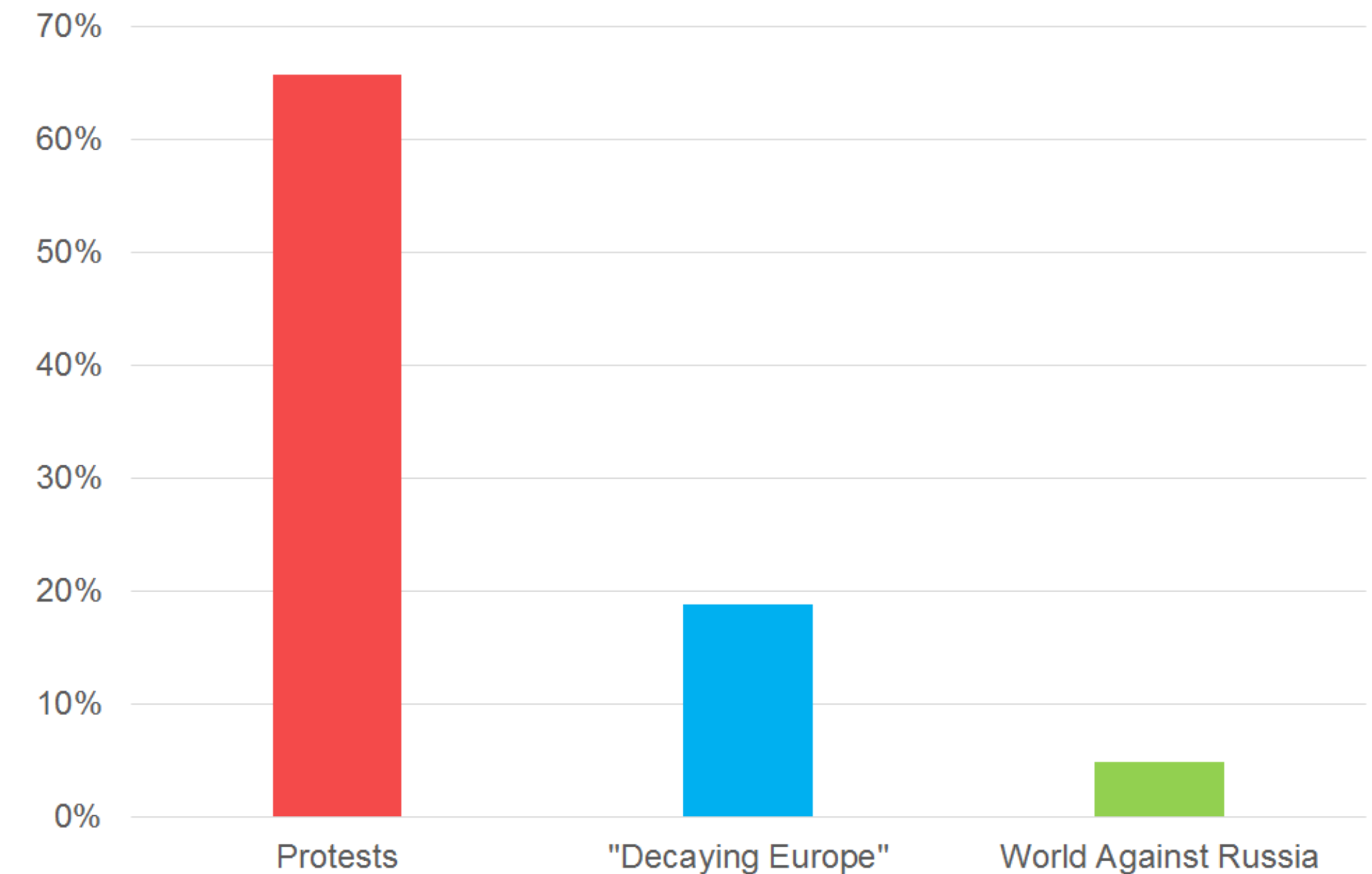
‘Georgian television has launched a TV series about Saakashvili's presidency. It runs after 11 pm as an "18+" [TV-MA rating] programming. The authors warn: the show is not for the faint-hearted. Smuggling of drugs, trafficking of human organs, incitement to suicide – these are just a few crimes in which, according to scenario, representatives of the former Georgian government are involved».

Channel One, 30 September 2016

Moldova



- First EP country to sign Association Agreement with the EU
- Most coverage is about protests and instability of Moldova
- Russian language is used by 15% of population in daily life
- For the first time Moldova experienced politically motivated sanctions against its exports to Russia back in 2006
- The country has strong ties with neighboring Romania
- Russia has no direct border with Moldova; however Moscow keeps its military base on Moldova's territory in Transnistria region that is not controlled by Government forces



“In the East there is Russia, which does not impose itself, but is always hospitable. Where the sun sets there is Europe. The western course, which is rather trendy than popular, gave the republic a vague promise. Europeans are reluctant to let anyone enter their home, but they don't want to let go of this political card. This is where Moldova stands now – at the crossroads.” Russia 24, 4 June 2017

Threats

Russian media put tremendous resources within these narratives to:

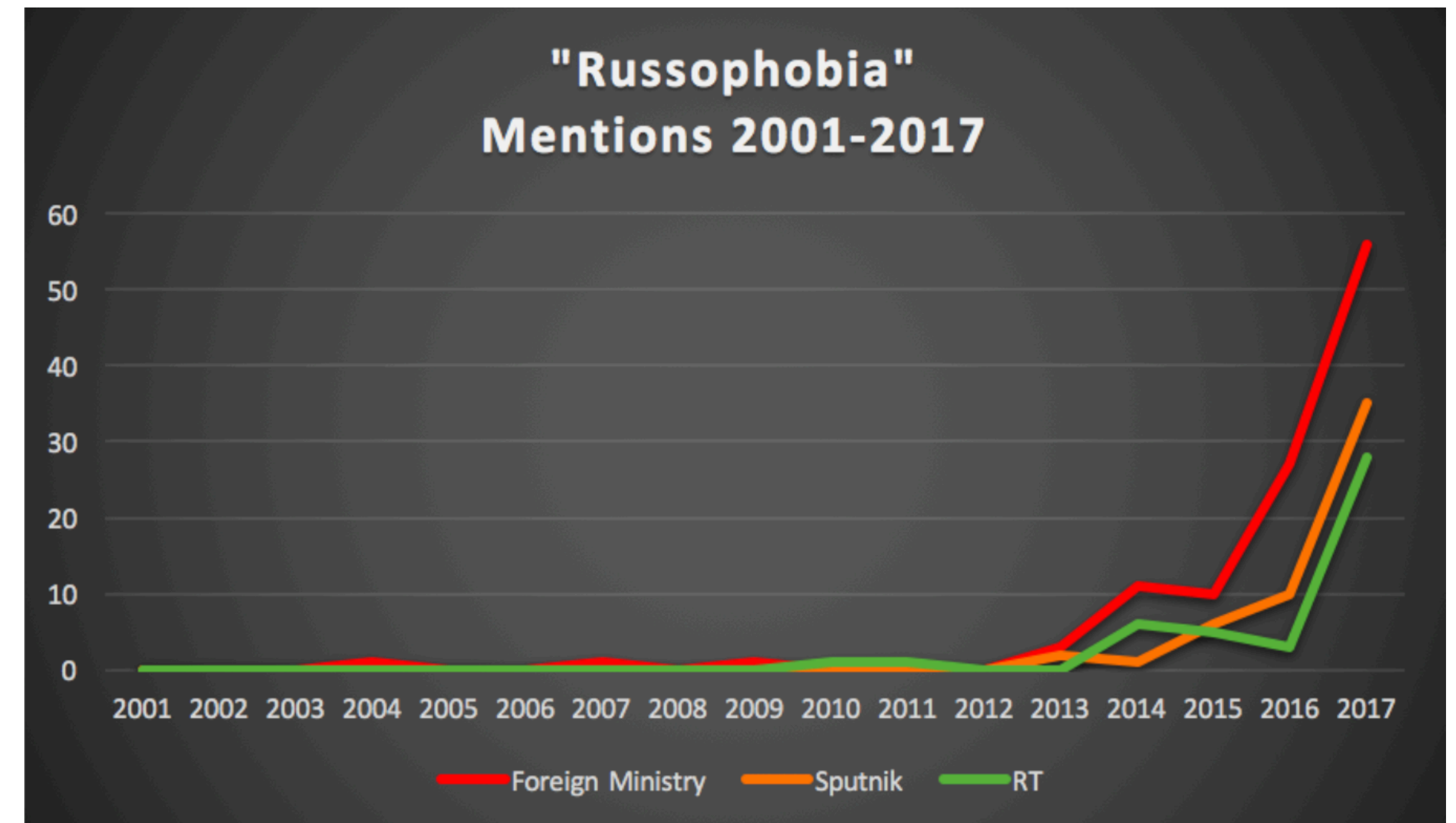
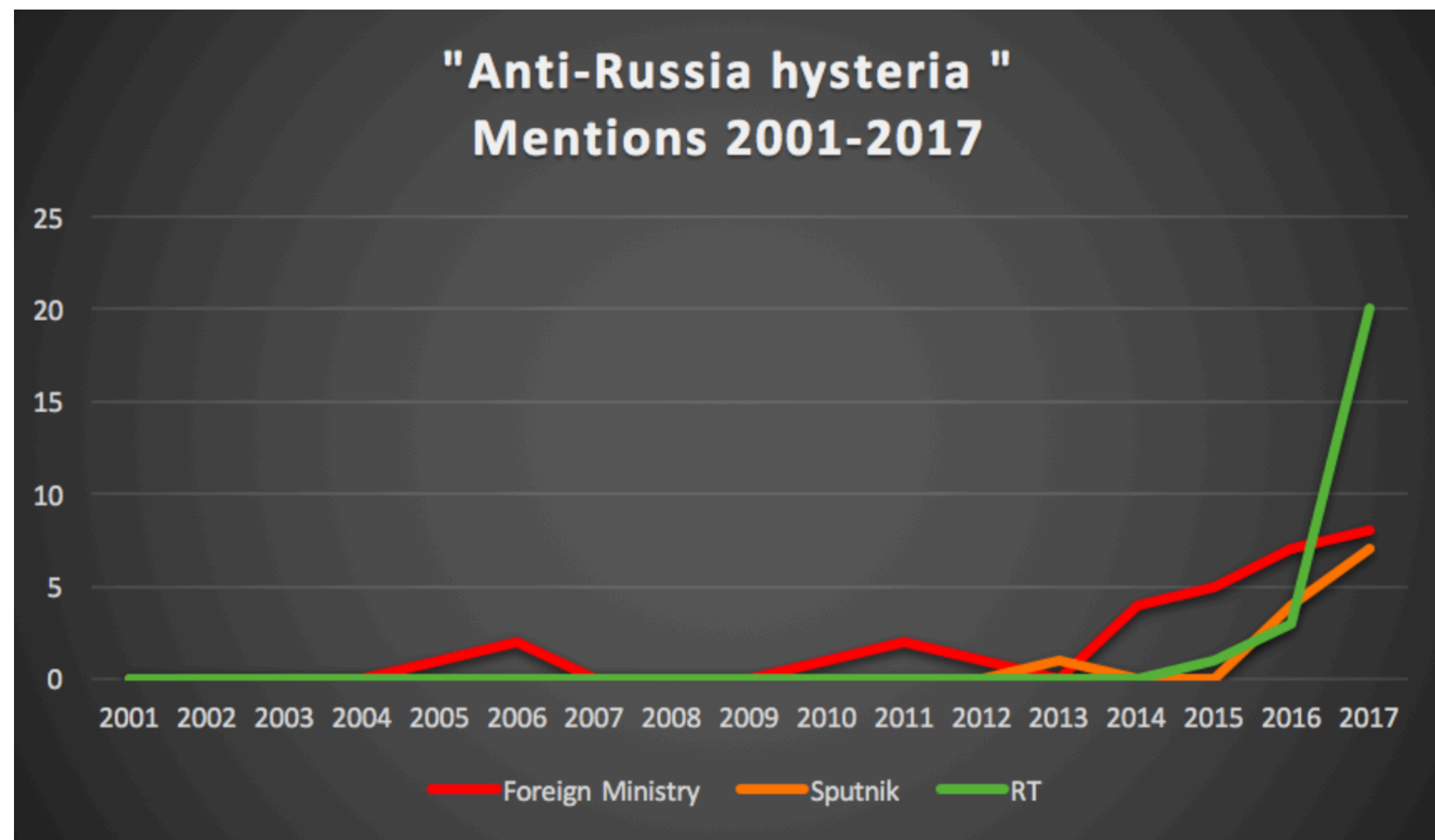
1. Convince the Russian population never to accept European liberal values, neither today nor tomorrow
2. Get Russian population ready for potential conflicts with the West and feel right and motivated to take over the weak and divided Europe
3. Increase awareness that if Russia isn't resistant, Europe will impose their "toxic" values



*On screen: "If we don't, then they will... us"
Dmitry Kiselyov, "Vesti Nedeli" program, Russia 1*

What is Kremlin's reply?

Admit nothing. Deny everything. Make counter accusations



"The prospects for our relations with the European Union remain hostage to the Russophobic policy pursued by a narrow group of countries within the EU, which, in effect, is acting in the interests of the United States, not Europe."

Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, December 2017

Conclusions

- Emphasis in Russian news programs is intended to dehumanize an average European. He/She is depicted as strange, depraved, unfair. Therefore the European way of life comes as a threat, and public opinion is being prepared for the fact that Russia has the right to bring order in Europe
- Distinct feature of Russian news is that a viewer virtually never gets a pure fact about an event, but always an interpretation, an already formed opinion. Head of Russian news agency Mr. Kiselyov openly declares that “Time for neutral journalism has gone”



Dmitry Kiselyov, “Vesti Nedeli” program

Conclusions

- The opposing point of view in Russian talk shows is usually imitated or presented nominally. This function is performed by the same people who are regularly humiliated, ridiculed, and sometimes even beaten in the studio. The task of these people is to showcase the other side as stupid, unfair, ridiculous. With such background the Russian mainstream narratives look more convincing, consistent and meaningful



Yakub Korejba, Michael Bohm, Vyacheslav Kovtun - regular contributors as oppositionists in Russian talk shows

Conclusions

- International events in the Russian news programs have an abnormally large share. Events in Europe, the U.S. and Ukraine may occupy up to 90% of the entire program in some TV releases. This draws public attention from internal issues and unites population against the West, as an enemy
- Formally independent channels, which are supposed to compete for the content, have same news agenda. They regularly present news on different minor events in similar wording. Therefore, there is little doubt in the supervision from the top
- General emphasis on top national channels has a consistently expressed emotional color – aggressiveness, contempt, preachy tone for Europeans

Recommendations

- Raise the awareness of policy makers, national governments and international institutions to the objects and goals of disinformation in Russian domestic media, in particular:
 - Identify who is depicted as potential enemy / friend (though there are few)
 - Study trends for particular countries; analyze differences; learn lessons from the Balkans, Georgia, Ukraine, Moldova, Baltic states
 - Pay attention to dehumanization of Western (liberal) values, including democracy, freedom of speech and rule of law. Adjust bilateral policy accordingly
- Compare and assess differences in internal Kremlin's rhetoric toward the West vs. official diplomatic messages. Consider the implications of double-standards for international affairs and sustainable future of democracy and security in the region, around the world
- Develop national and EU policies that would explicitly name Russia's manipulations as a threat to bilateral long-term potential understanding with Western democracies, and make any improvement conditional on Russia bringing its internal communications in accordance with the image of a civilized nation it is trying to project in international relations

Recommendations

- Formulate / update definition of disinformation (propaganda) and hostile language. Make it adequate to the challenge of the ever more creative Kremlin's efforts.
- Change / adopt national and EU legislation accordingly
- Do not let the Russian Media abroad enjoy preferences of free media, since they are not
 - Prove it legally
 - Scrutinize budgeting sources
 - Inform / educate population about their manipulations
 - Ban them

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Thank you for your attention!

HYBRID WARFARE ANALYTICAL GROUP



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