

Image of Ukraine on Russian TV



ESTONIAN CENTER
OF EASTERN
PARTNERSHIP

**HYBRID
WARFARE
ANALYTICAL
GROUP**



Preface

- Russia's fake news and troll factories are already notoriously known, however, our research suggests analyzing *narratives* as key elements of Russian propaganda
- Russian media fundamentally changed the whole paradigm of news: facts and events are used to support the pre-prepared narratives
- Once established narratives are supported by fake news in smaller part, but mainly by a deliberately manipulated interpretation of real events

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



Methodology

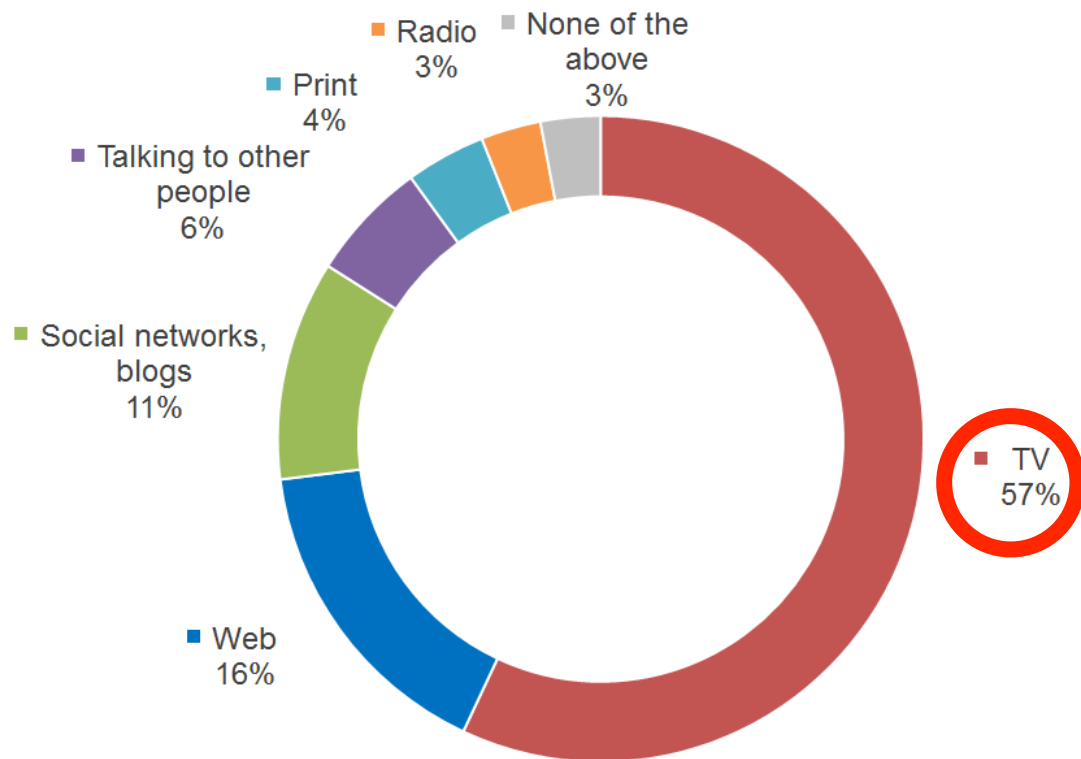
Media Channels analyzed: News Broadcasts of three Russian TV channels

- **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)
- Keywords: Ukraine, Ukrainians, Ukrainian Government, Kyiv Government
 - Period of the analysis: July 1, 2014 – December 31, 2017 – 3,5 years

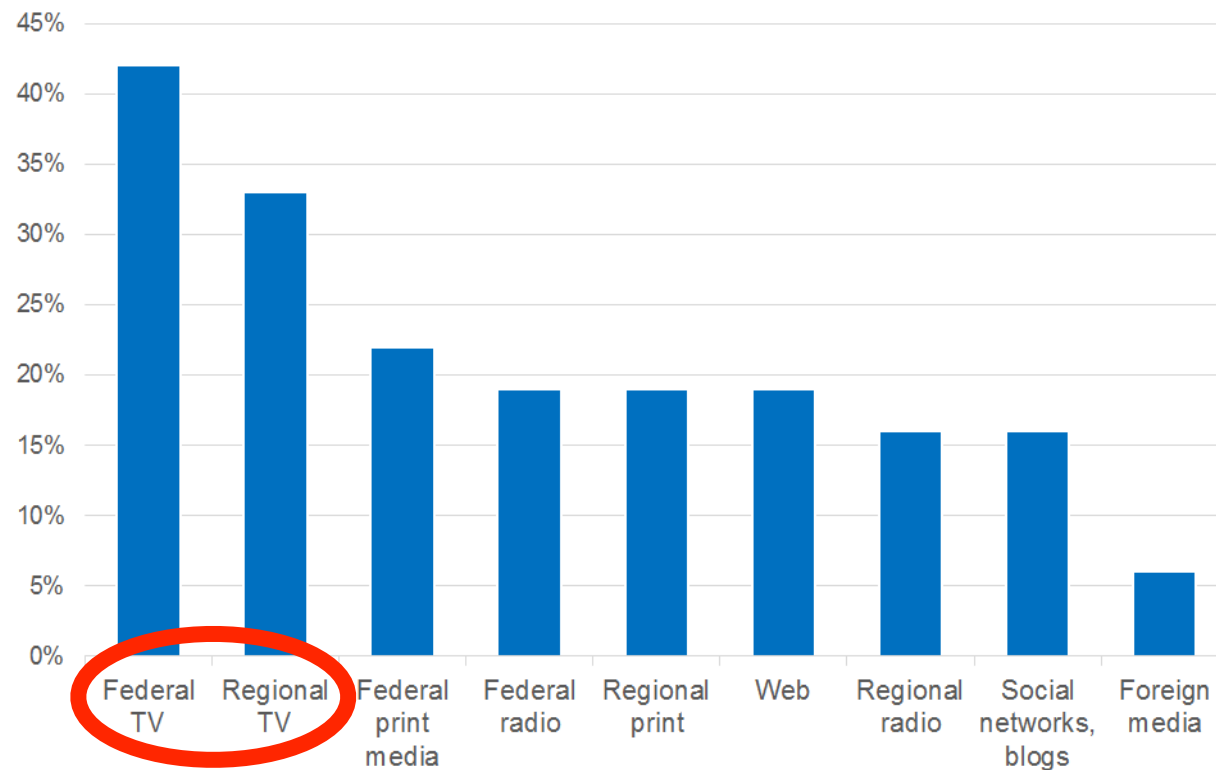
All news content was converted into text, which was then automatically filtered by mentions of keywords. The filtered data was categorized by an automated algorithm categorized as negative/neutral/positive. Then all negative data, **15,4K mentions**, was verified by humans and coded in order to add attributes such as topic and sub-topic

Ukraine is by far the most mentioned country of Europe. Actually Ukraine has 70% of the coverage of all other European countries combined

TV is by far the most influential media in Russia

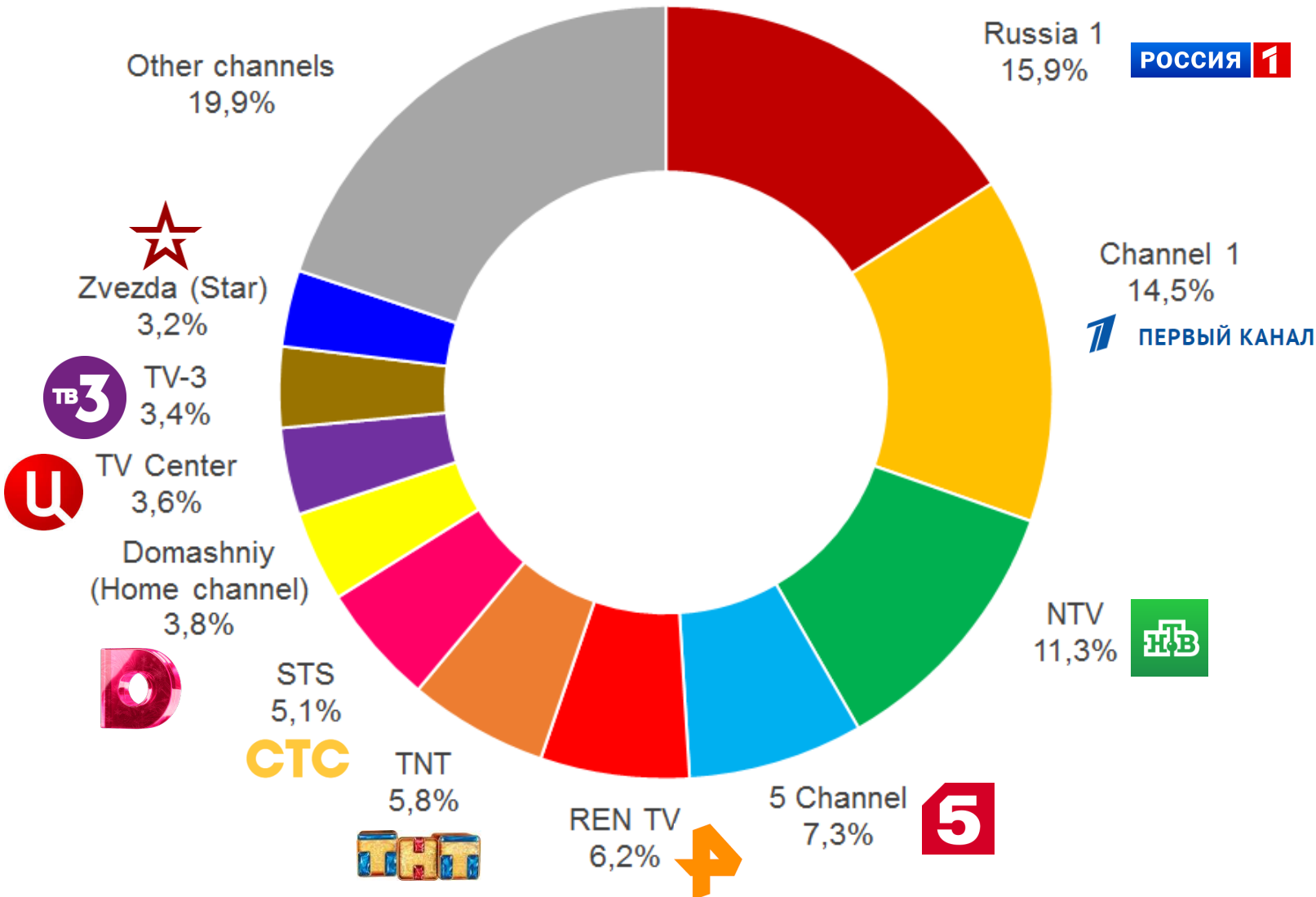


What form of media is your main news source?



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%

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



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

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

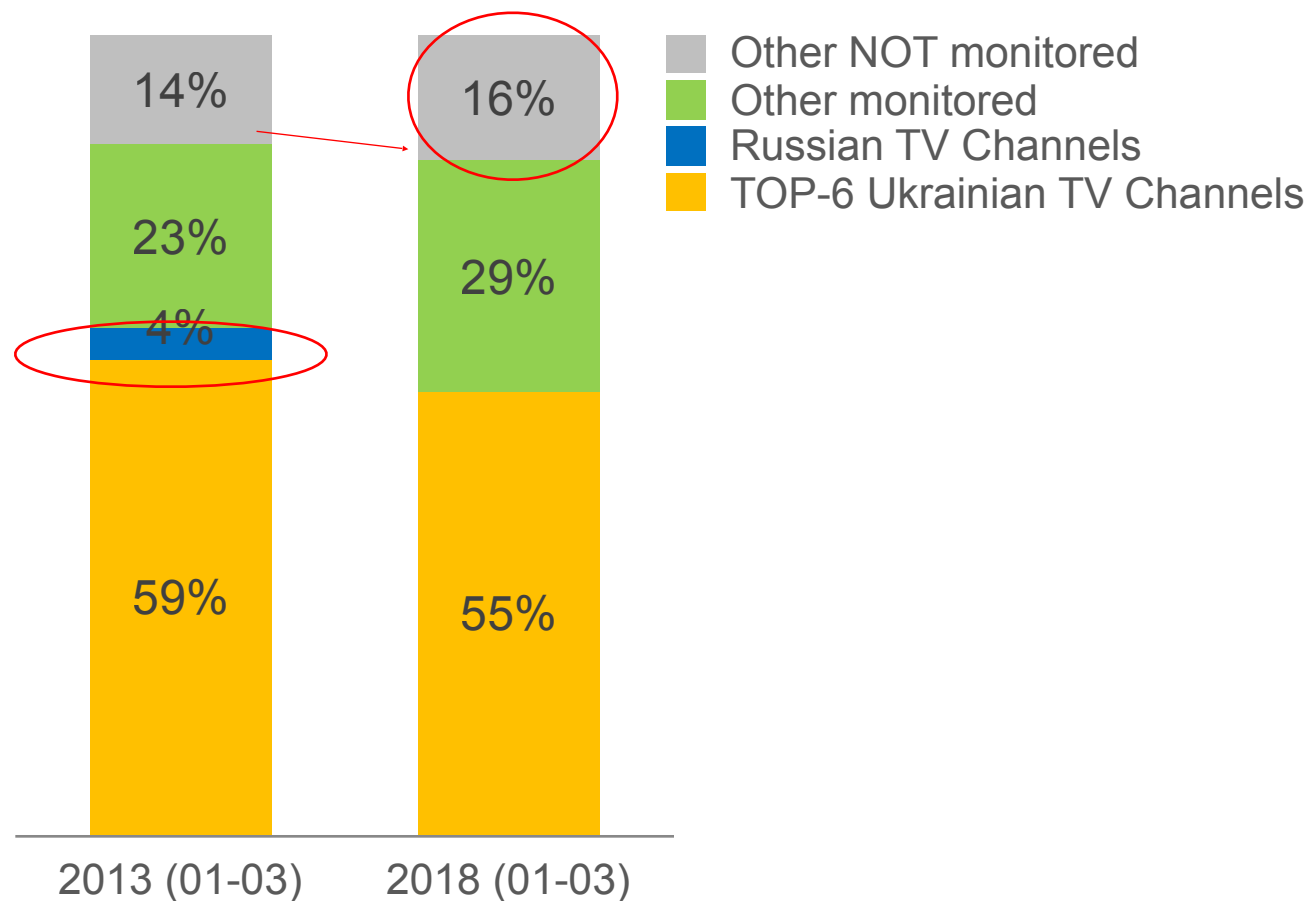
Information from outside Russia has a minimal chance of being heard

- 5% of Russians speak the 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



[Sources: Media consumption in Russia survey by Deloitte, 2017; Kommersant.ru](#)

TV coverage in Ukraine 2013 vs 2018



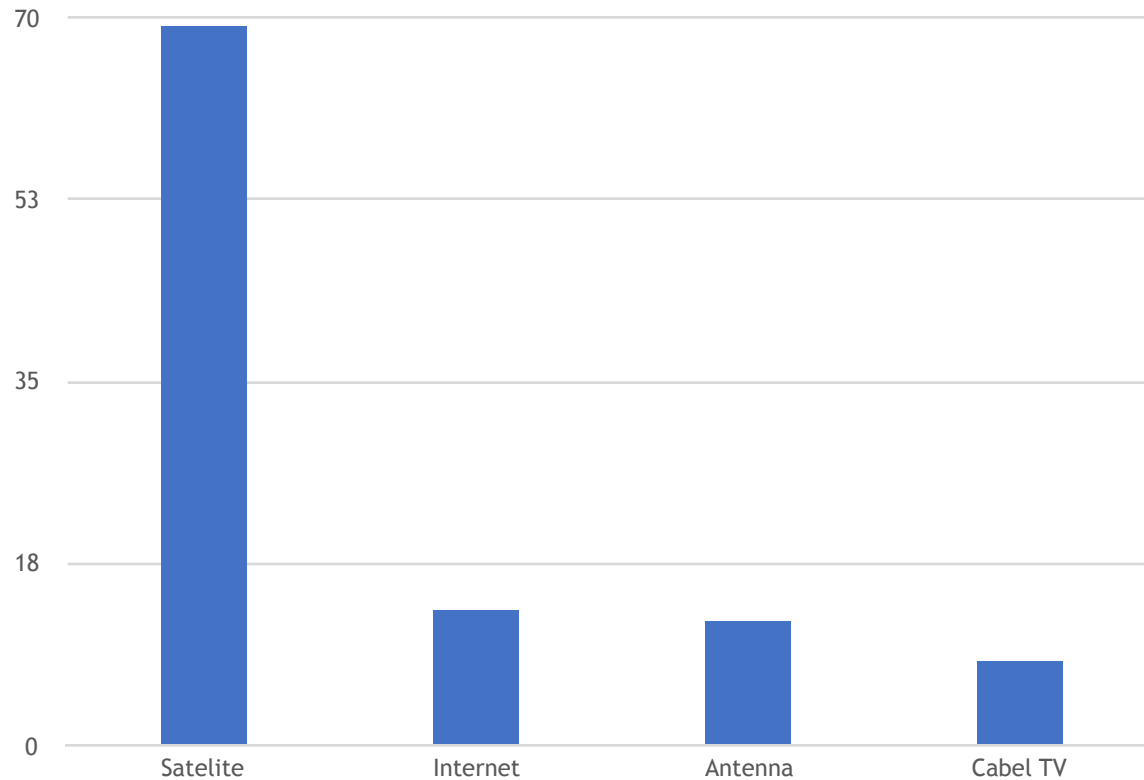
Since Jan 1, 2018 providers of media monitoring stopped receiving data on TV consumption from temporary occupied territories of Donetsk and Luhansk regions. We can not see ratings of Russian TV through official databases. In 2013 Russian TV channels covered 4% of Ukrainian audience. It doesn't mean people don't watch Russian TV anymore. 16% of what's being viewed is not covered by official ratings.

Ukrainians 18+, all Ukraine

Sources: GfK Ukraine, Jan-Mar 2013

Nielsen Ukraine, Jan-Mar 2018




2-3MM Ukrainians still get news from Russian media



Source: survey by KIIS for Detector of media , March 2018

- 86% of Ukrainians get information through Ukrainian TV channels
- **5% get information through Russian TV (11% in the East of the country)**
- There's probability of self-censorship of part of respondents during sociology surveys

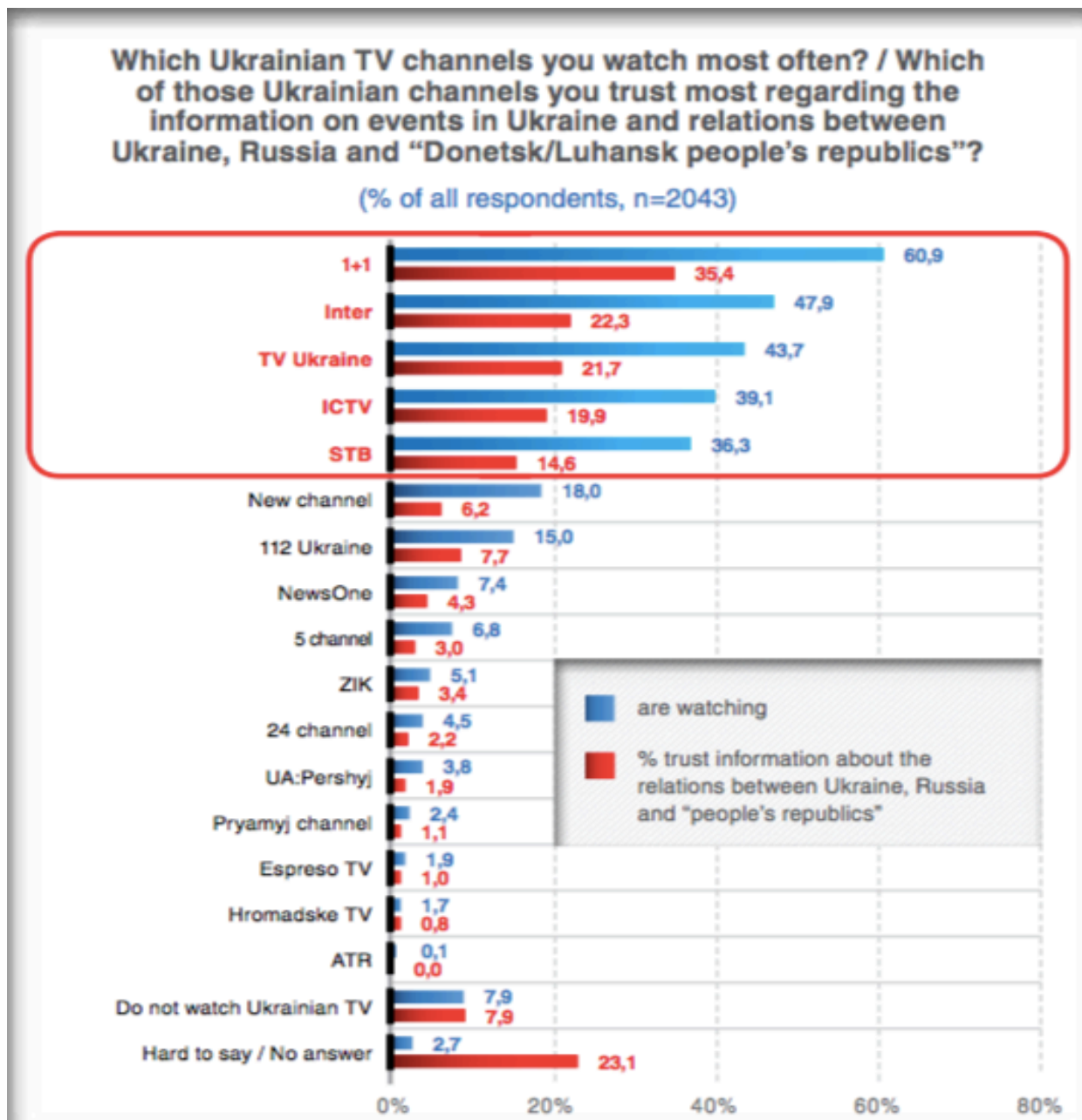
Influence of Russian TV in Eastern Partnership countries

	Country	Share of Russian TV *	Share of adults who understand Russian language * *
	Belarus	Up to 50%	100%
	Ukraine	From 1% to 5%	99%
	Moldova	Not less than 30%	95%
	Georgia		89%
	Armenia	From 10% to 20% by different evaluations	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

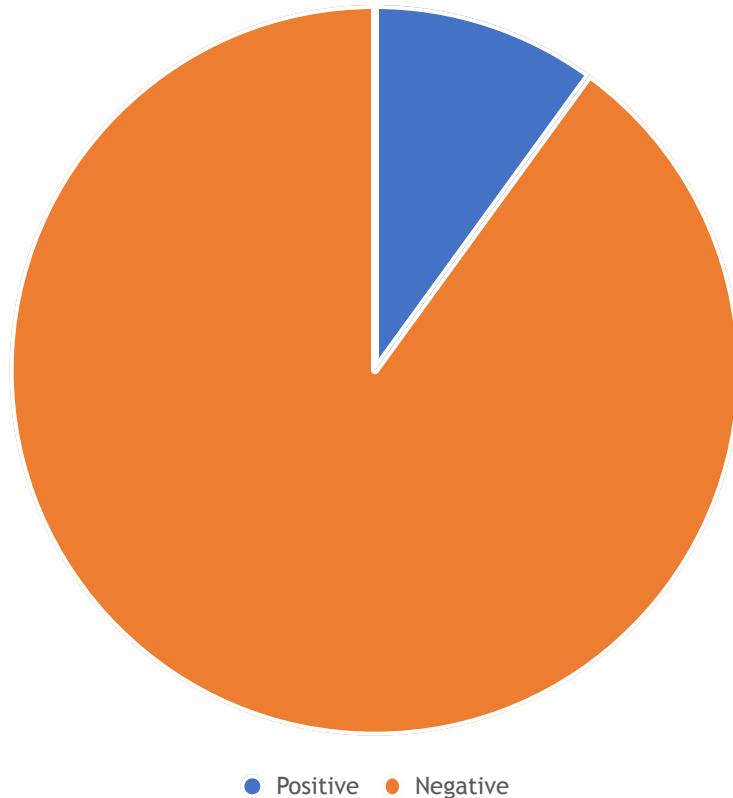
Trust to Ukrainian TV channels



TOP 15 TV channels

Source: survey by KIIS for Detector of media , March 2018

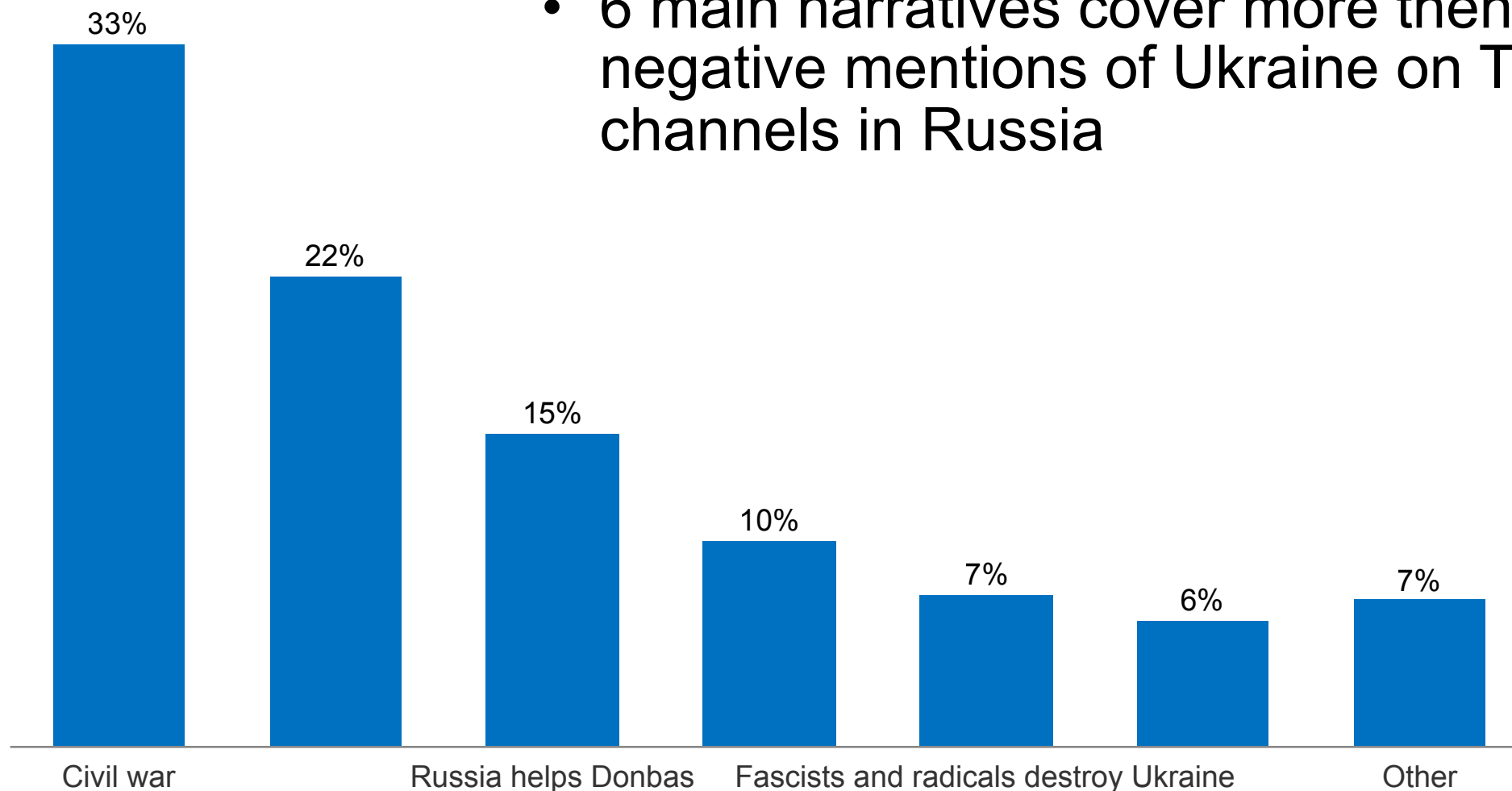
Negative to positive news in the second half-year 2017



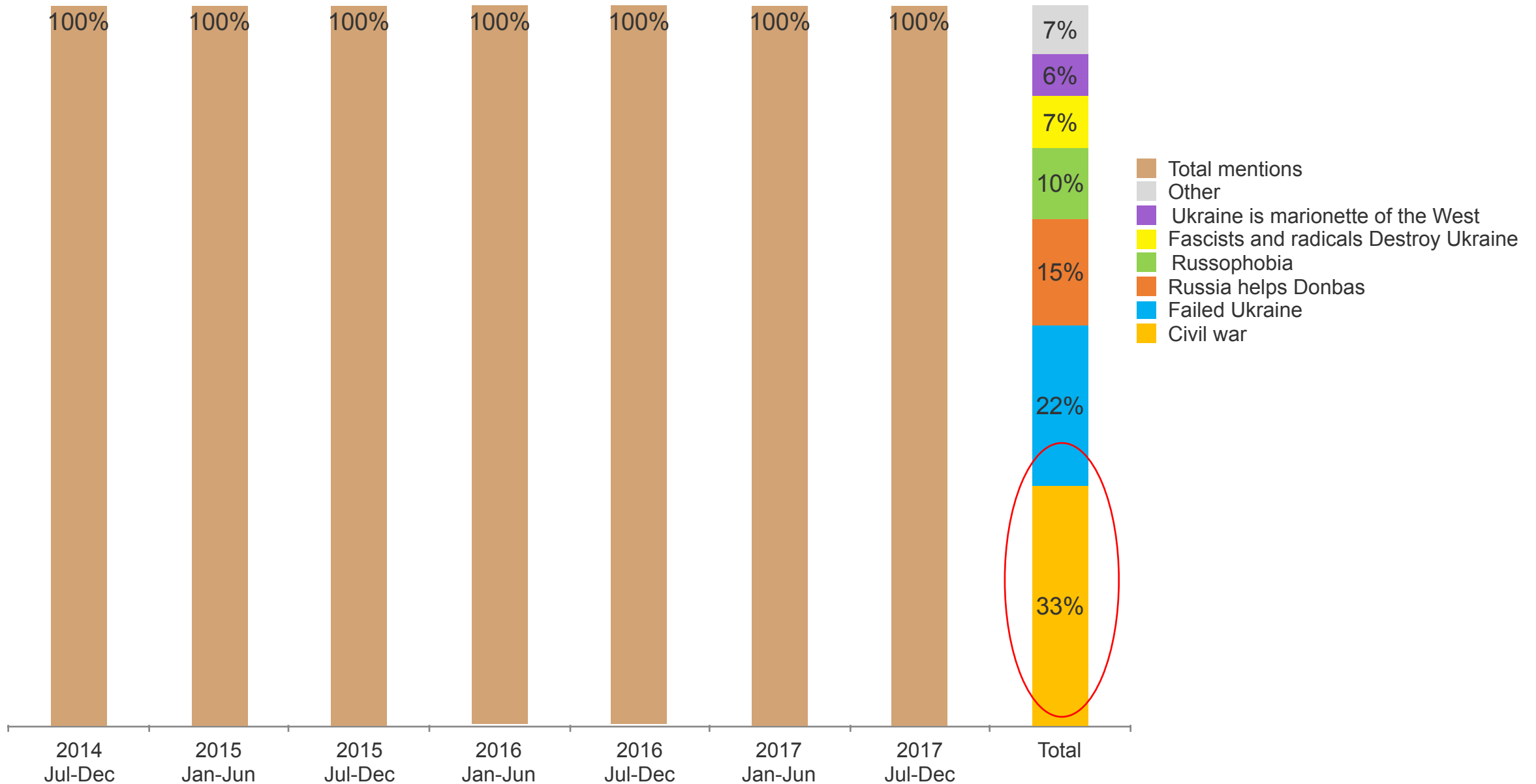
- There are 10 negative to 1 positive news about Ukraine on Russian TV

Main narratives

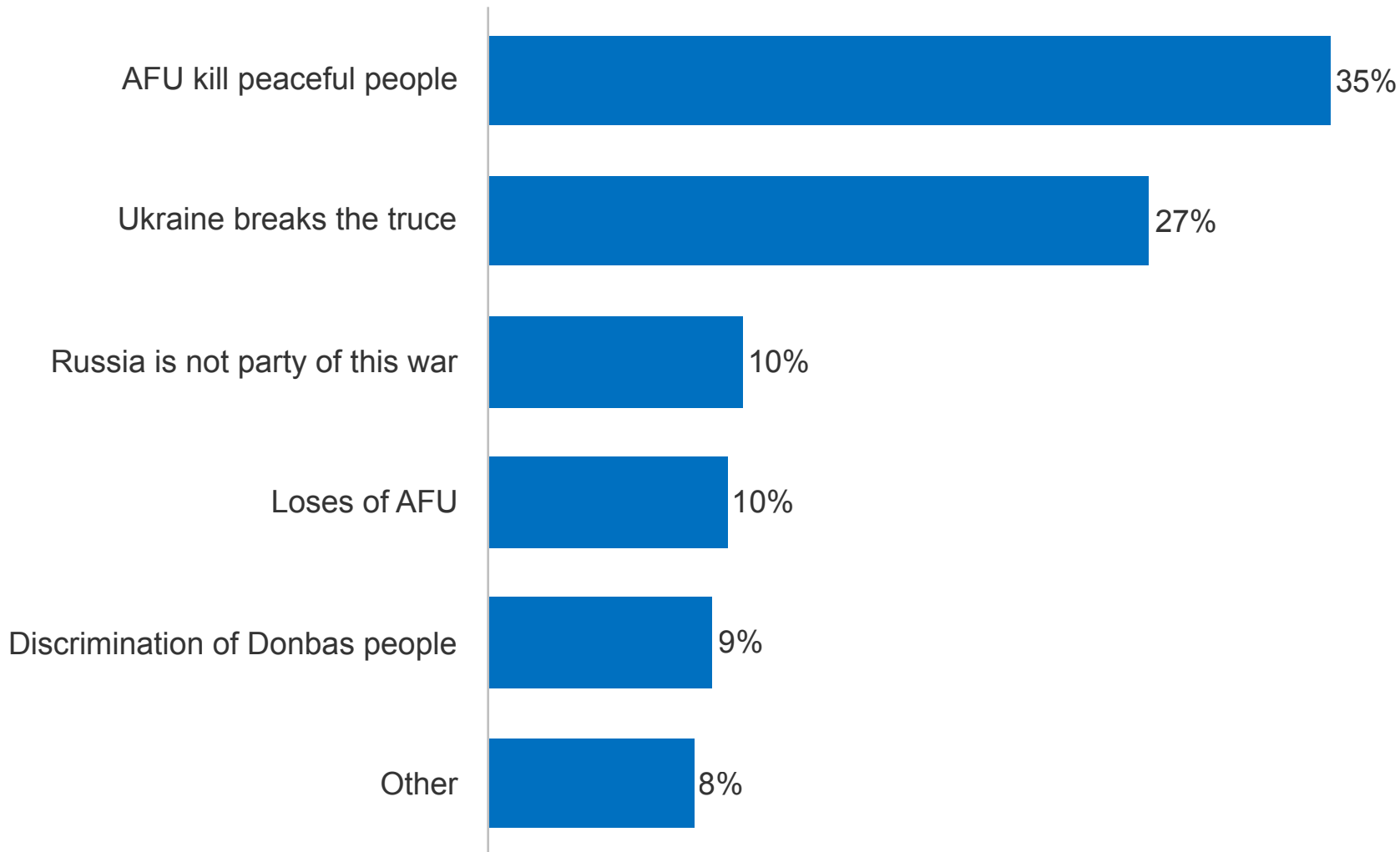
- 6 main narratives cover more than 90% of negative mentions of Ukraine on TOP-3 TV channels in Russia



Mentions dynamics every 6 months



Narrative №1: Civil war in Ukraine



Delegitimizing central Government institutions , especially Armed Forces of Ukraine, who according to Russians:

1. Kill civil population
2. Breach of the piece treaty
3. Have tremendous military loses

It is also important that 3d biggest focus is on justification that Russia did not attack Ukraine

"Civil war in Ukraine" in quotation

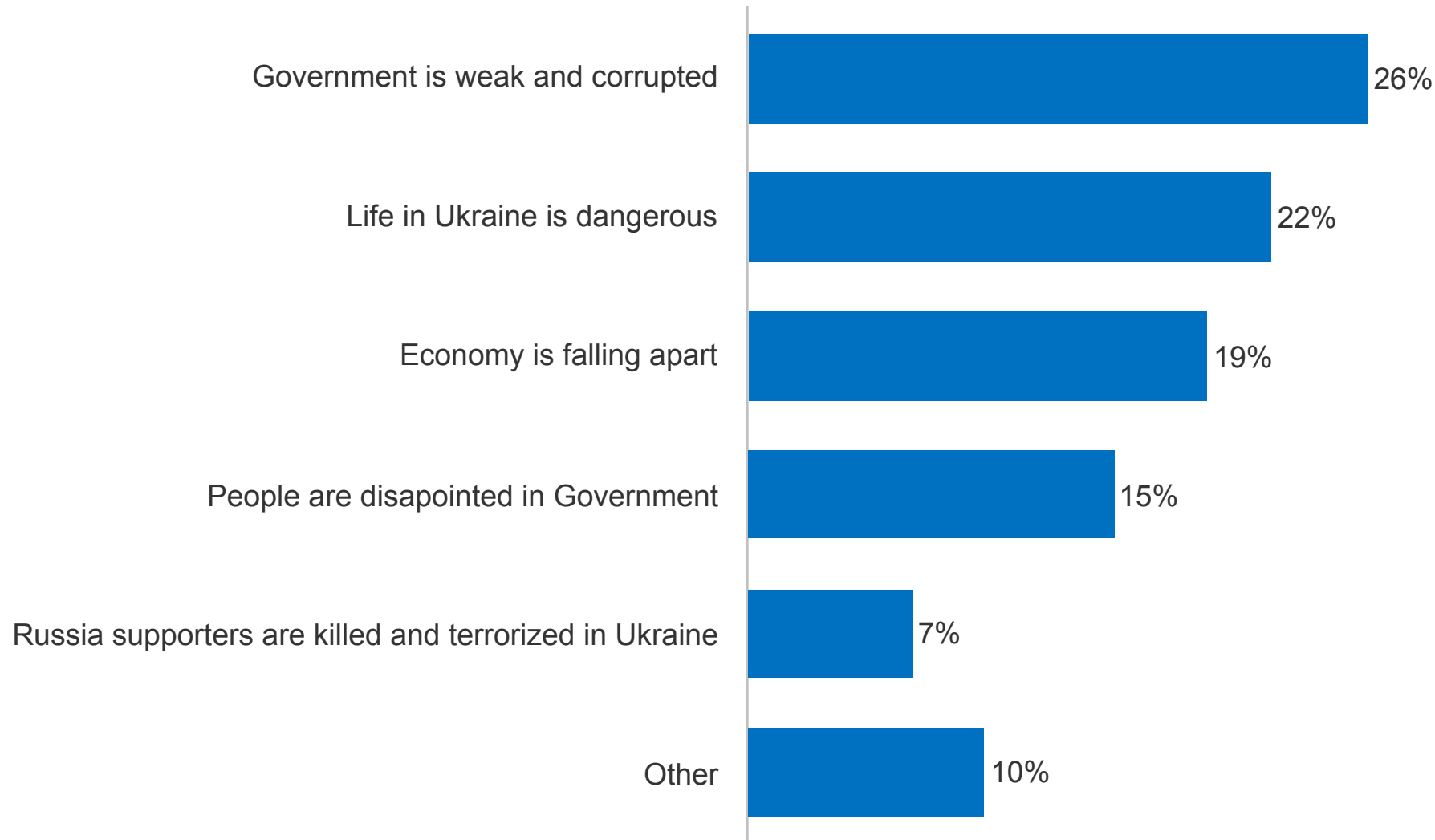
Russia 1 - 17 December, 2017

"Situation on this part of the front-line worsened sharply after Ukrainian army broke Minsk agreement and entered villages Gladosovo and Travnevoye. Now Ukrainian positions are in village' gardens. Snipers work right of the roofs of private houses hiding behind civil citizens backs"



Alezandr Rogatkin

Narrative №2: Ukraine is a failed state



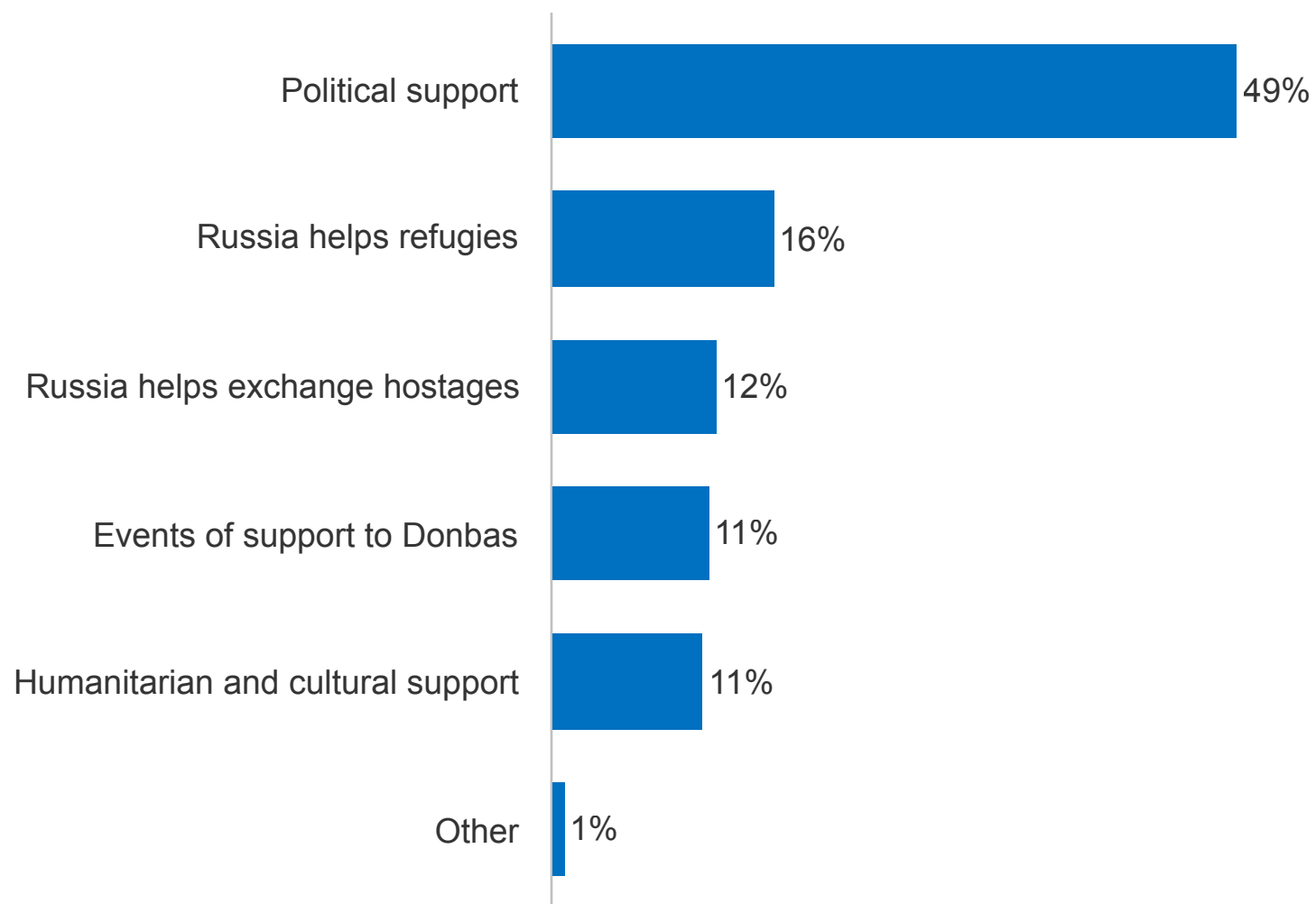
Delegitimizing
Government of
Ukraine - second
institutional
source of fight
against Russia

“Ukraine is a failed state” in quotation

1 Channel - 13 February, 2017

“Ukraine today is one step from crisis in energy shortages. Government prepares to start big energy cuts. Electricity coal gets short. Supply from Donbass are blocked by nationalists. They can freeze the whole country that way, however police and security service are helpless”

Narrative №3: Russia helps Donbas

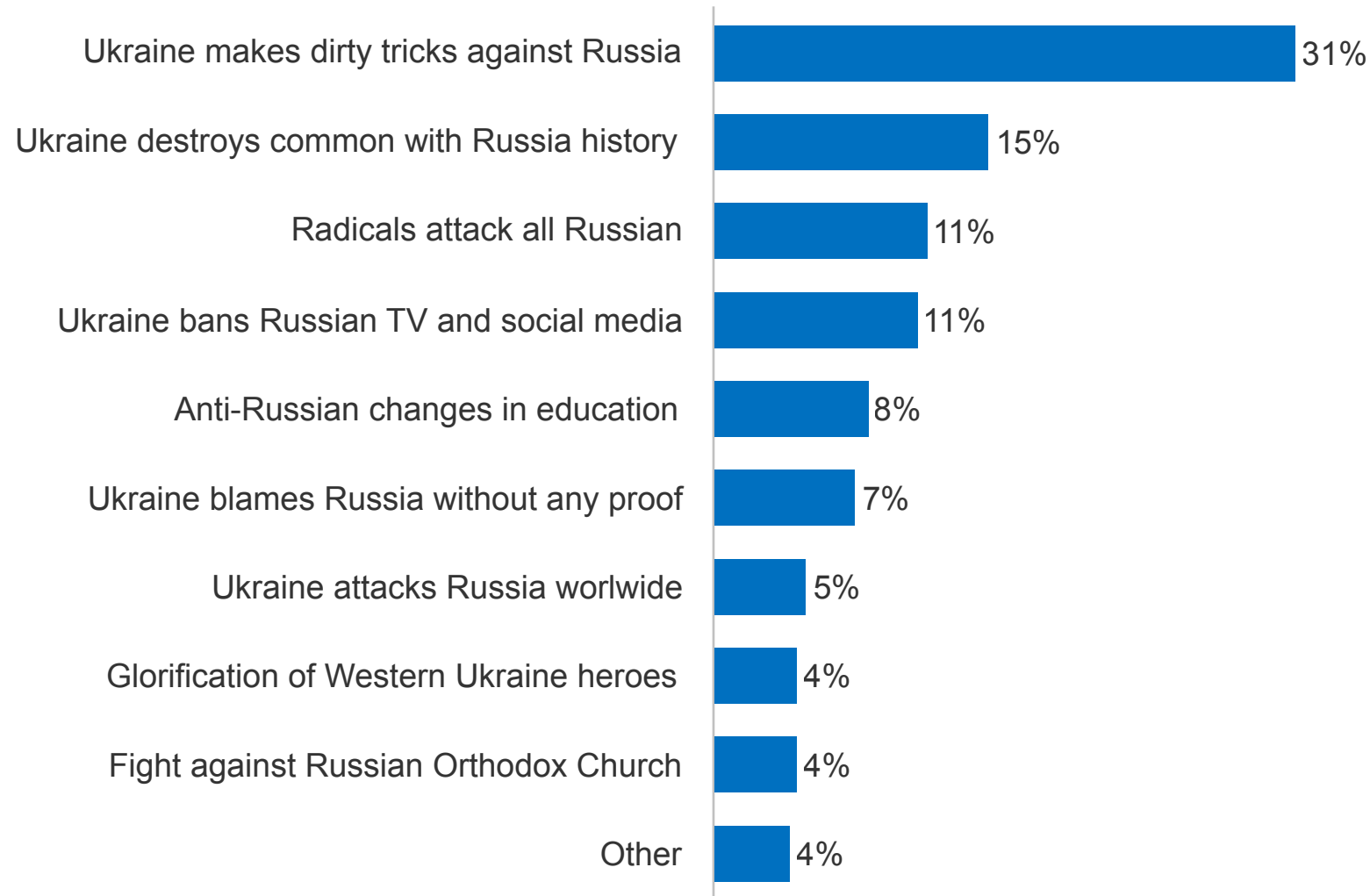


“Russia helps Donbas” in quotation

Russia 1 - 25 July, 2015

“Heavily ill children from Donetsk and Luhansk regions were brought to Moscow by Ministry for Emergency situation. Many children need operations so right from the airport on ambulances they were brought to Moscow hospitals. For children this was the last saving hope flight. Local hospitals can't help anymore since good doctors are not there anymore”

Narrative №4: Russophobia



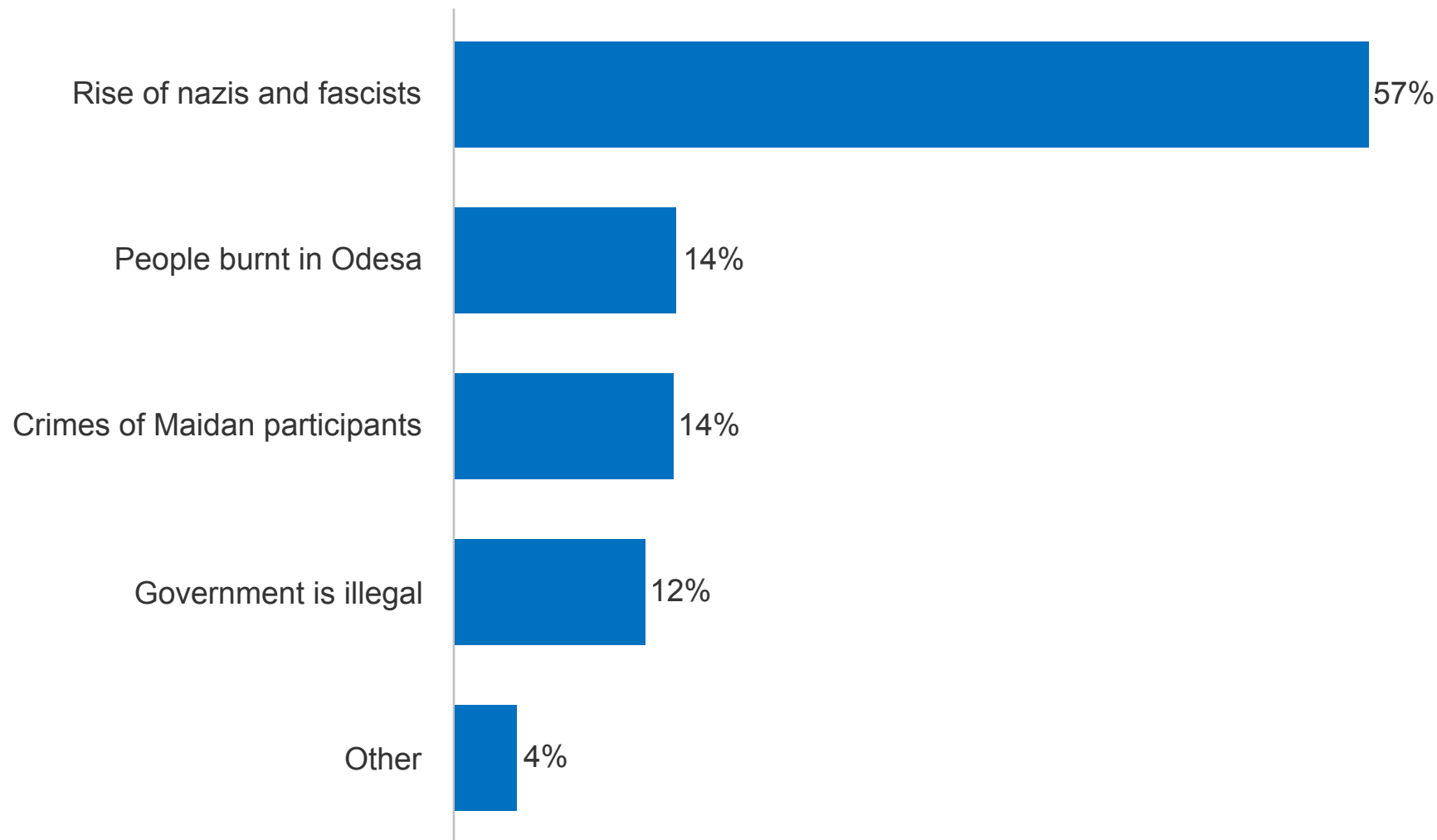
“Anti-Russian position” of Ukrainians is the reason to justify aggressive behavior of Russian Federation, not otherwise – Russian aggression as a reason of their negative perception. Hence, Russian have so called right for righteous anger against betraying Russophobic Ukrainians

“Russophobia” in quotation

1 Channel - 17 May, 2017

”Ukraine simultaneously with freedom of speech according to experts has decided to deny their own history. We mean forbidding the Ribbon of Saint George, the symbol of victory over fascism [...] They applauded law more that they applauded May 9. Symbol of victory - Ribbon of Saint George – now is officially anti-Ukrainian and forbidden as a sign of Russian aggression. [...] Not tears of a child, nor mother’s rears who got threats for her Ribbon of Saint George, not even complaints of veterans nothing stopped in many cities to get dozens of people to jail on May 9 for having Ribbon of Saint George”

Narrative №5: Fascists and radicals destroy Ukraine



In this narrative we see how saint obligation is cultivated to come and stop ruining Ukraine by fascists and radicals

In every country there are Government institutions that work to deliver internal security issues. Here we see how Russia if trying to again undermine legitimacy of Ukrainian Government institutions

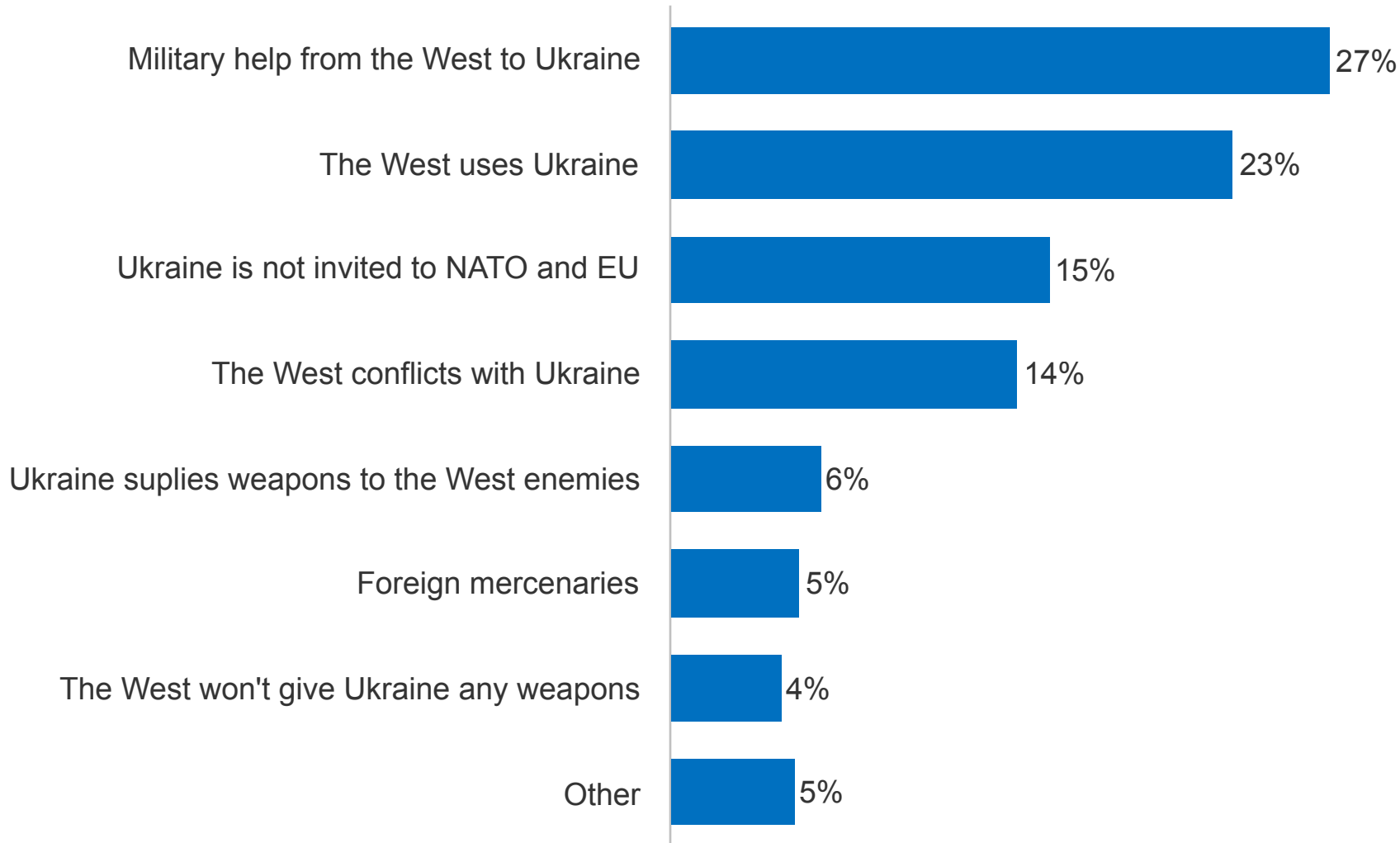
"Fascists and radicals destroy Ukraine" in quotation

Russia 1 - 25 March 2017

"We have very interesting anti-Soviet and Russo-phobic theme. Soviet Union made it through the war with fascists, Soviet Union made it through all blockade and American atomic blackmail when anti-Soviet and Russo-phobia and nationalism joined forces and tore apart soul and barriers and destroyed many factories. Very good illustration to what happened back then is the current situation with Ukraine, that falls apart under Ukrainian nationalists, CIA, Nazis and bandits"



Narrative №6: Ukraine is marionette of the West



Ukraine's successes in European and Euro-Atlantic vector are explained to Russian population as a model master-servant.

Russians are trying to undermine positive achievements of Ukraine and present Westernization of Ukraine as lack of independence that is targeting Russia

“Ukraine is marionette of the West” in quotation

Russia 1 - 12 October, 2015

“The West won’t recognize Crimea joining Russia simply because Washington is behind state coupe in Ukraine. They knew who participated in street fightings in Kyiv because they trained these people on the NATO secret bases in Poland”



William Engdahl

Conclusions

- Around 1/3 of information on Russian TV is dedicated to Ukraine
- It is a very disciplined and focused communication
- Main attention are Ukrainian Government institutions. Delegitimizing Ukrainian Armed Forces and Government in eyes of Russian citizens
- Communication is emotionally targeted at humiliation and laughter over Ukrainians



ДМИТРО КИСЕЛЬОВ

Conclusions (2)

- “In Ukraine there’s a totalitarian radical minority in power that brings chaos and humiliates Russian-speaking population”
- In Russian TV reports there’s often a hidden call to bring Ukraine back to some order
- Demonstration to Russian population that road to the West chosen by Ukrainians is not successful



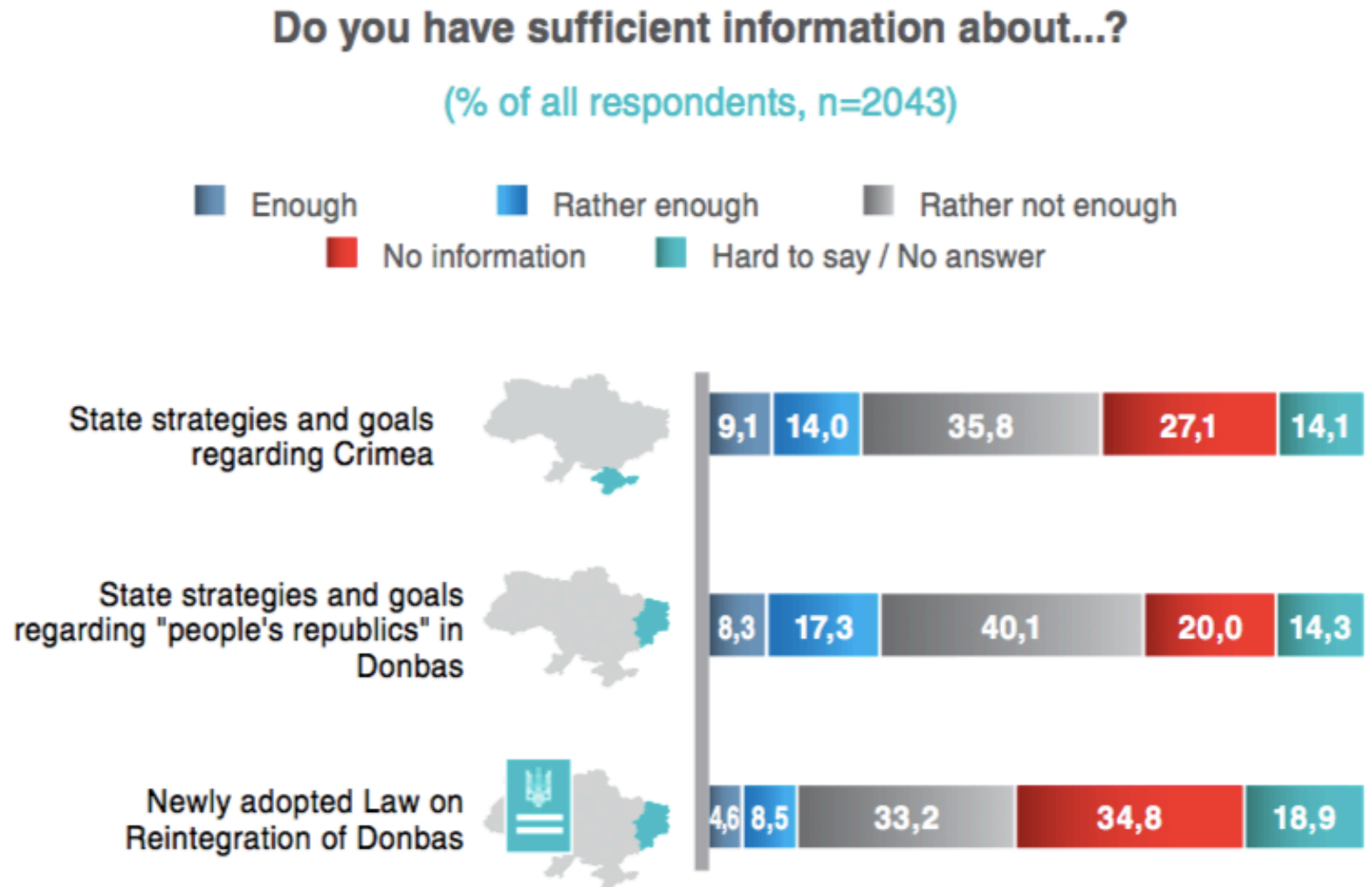
Artem Sheinin

Conclusions (3)

- International events in the Russian news programs have an abnormally large share. Events in Ukraine Europe, and the U.S. 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 the 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

Threats – lack of information

**More than 60%
of Ukrainians
lack
information
about goals of
the
Government**



Threats (2)

44%	Ban of Russian TV is a mistake
46%	Ban of Russian social media is a mistake
53%	Ban of certain Russian singers and movies is a mistake

Only 52% agree that the war was started by Russia and Russia-backed separatists. There's a big difference in how people respond in the West and in the East of the country

Recommendations

- Formulate / update the definition of disinformation (propaganda) and hostile language as part of the hybrid war of Russia against Ukraine. Make it adequate to the challenge of the ever more creative Kremlin's efforts
- Change / adapt national legislation according to these definitions



Recommendations (2)

- Russian state-owned media and their representatives can't be characterized as media. They should be defined as propaganda instruments aimed at incitement to hatred against other nations and countries. These instruments are part of aggressive hybrid war that justify and create motivation for illegal and unlawful policy of Russian Government
- Russian state-owned media should not enjoy same rights as other free media. These limitations should exist until Russian demonstrates aggressive behavior towards Ukraine (including information war), and by the time Russia occupies part of the East and South of Ukraine

Recommendations (3)

- Initiators and active participants of the coordinated information war against Ukraine should be systematically identified and be part of special sanctions list
- Ukraine can and should:
 1. Freeze their financial and other assets in Ukraine
 2. Legally persecute them in court system for incitement to hatred
 3. Legally persecute these individuals abroad using set of international legal instruments
 4. This should be executed by specially created departments in existing key law enforcement Government agencies of Ukraine

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Thank you for Listening!



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