

CRRC-Georgia

# ANTI-WESTERN RHETORIC ON FACEBOOK

September, 2025

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This report was prepared within the project "Countering Anti-Democratic Propaganda Through Engagement," implemented by CRRC-Georgia with the support of the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida). The information presented there is based on the results of CRRC-Georgia's research and may not reflect the position of the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida).

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report is part of the project “Countering Anti-Democratic Propaganda Through Engagement”, funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). CRRC-Georgia conducted monitoring of selected Facebook pages and groups. The monitoring period for this report covers 29 November 2024 to 31 May 2025; however, monitoring will continue until November 2025. A total of 2,261 posts were analyzed in depth from 16 selected pages and groups. The selected Facebook pages and groups target both the general Georgian-speaking audience and Armenian- and Azerbaijani-speaking segments.

The aim of the monitoring is to identify the main anti-Western narratives and the individuals, groups, organizations, or countries referenced within them; to determine the authors and disseminators of anti-Western messages; and to examine the techniques of information manipulation.

### Key findings:

- Anti-Western messages are disseminated systematically and are linked to current events as well as domestic and external political processes. This is particularly evident in relation to events involving the main actors of anti-Western content or to state decisions that may require creating certain predispositions within the audience or securing and maintaining support.
- At the beginning of the monitoring period, the primary topic was pro-European protest rallies (November-December 2024). In January, anti-Western messages shifted toward a more global context, while in spring, the focus moved to domestic politics and the discrediting of the political opposition.
- The most frequent narratives relate to the discrediting of pro-European protests and the opposition, portraying them as criminals, “foreign agents”, or sources of destabilization; simultaneously framing the Georgian Dream party led government as the defender of national sovereignty. Anti-Western messages also question the legitimacy of the West and emphasize the necessity of cooperation with Russia and Eastern partners.
- Key figures in anti-Western content include leaders of Georgian Dream, participants in the protest movement, the opposition, former president Salome Zourabichvili, the European

Union, and the United States (including U.S. President Donald Trump). In Armenian- and Azerbaijani-language segments, Russia, Ukraine, and regional relations are also mentioned more frequently.

- The main authors and disseminators of anti-Western content are pro-government media, Georgian Dream affiliated pages and groups, political satire pages, conservative platforms, journalists, activists, and coordinated individual profiles.
- Overtly false information is rare in the analyzed posts; however, common practices include offering half-truths, ignoring context, generalizing from isolated cases, applying subjective interpretation, attaching labels to create emotional predisposition, satire, and audio-visual manipulation.
- In Azerbaijani-language posts, anti-Western messages are less visible and are mostly appear as official statements – not only from the Georgian Dream government but also from the President of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani-language posts particularly emphasize the importance of Georgia-Azerbaijan relations.
- Posts targeting the Armenian-speaking audience contain strong pro-government from pages such as “Parvana TV” as well as Russia-promoted narratives on “Javakh Diaspora in Russia” portraying the West as a source of destabilization and Russia as a defender of sovereignty.

The monitoring results show that the dissemination of anti-Western narratives on Facebook in Georgia is deliberate and aligned with the political agenda of the Georgian Dream government, including the discrediting of activists, protestors, and opposition figures.

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## INTRODUCTION

Within the project “Countering Anti-Democratic Propaganda Through Engagement”, funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), CRRC-Georgia conducts monitoring of the social network Facebook. The aims of the monitoring are to:

- Identify the main anti-Western narratives disseminated on Facebook;
- Observe which individuals are mentioned most frequently within these narratives;
- Determine who disseminates these narratives; and
- Examine the techniques of information manipulation used in posts containing anti-Western narratives.

The monitoring covers 16 Facebook pages and groups, some of which focus on the Adjara region as well as the country’s Armenian- and Azerbaijani-speaking populations.<sup>1</sup>

The monitoring period begins on 29 November 2024, the day after a statement by Georgia’s Prime Minister which a large portion of the public perceived as a suspension of the country’s European integration process and was followed by a wave of mass protests. The monitoring is planned to examine anti-Western narratives on Facebook over a one-year period, until 29 November 2025.

This report covers the period from 29 November 2024 to the end of May 2025 and is based on 2,261 posts analyzed in depth. Data from this period are compiled on the website [dash.crrc.ge](https://dash.crrc.ge), where it is possible to analyze information on the dynamics of anti-Western posts, key narratives, topics, and actors.

## CONTEXT

Following Georgia’s 2024 parliamentary election, which was met with [distrust](#) by observer organizations, opposition parties, and civil society, the country’s Prime Minister [announced](#) on 28 November that Georgia would no longer place negotiations on EU membership on the parliamentary agenda until 2028. This statement immediately triggered public protests, and from that evening onward a prolonged pro-Western protest began, which has continued uninterrupted

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<sup>1</sup> The list of the pages/groups is provided in the annex, as part of the description of methodology.

for ten months. In the first weeks of the protests, authorities [used force](#) to disperse the demonstrations, and law enforcement physically assaulted hundreds of protesters. Several incidents of violence against journalists were also recorded.

The parliament, consisting solely of Georgian Dream party members due to an opposition boycott and lacking universal recognition from the international community, passed a series of [laws](#) increasing fines for obstructing streets, masking one's face, and using fireworks. This led to intensive fines and arrests of protest participants, some of which were conducted under criminal rather than administrative procedures. Dozens of protesters remain detained, some receiving sentences of up to five or two years of imprisonment. Only two participants were [released](#) due to insufficient evidence, and one was [acquitted](#). One of the most widely publicized cases involved the detention of [Mzia Amaghlobeli](#), founder and manager of the media outlets Batumelebi and Netgazeti, which occurred in early January 2025. She was initially detained under administrative procedures and subsequently under criminal charges, facing a sentence of four to seven years for allegedly striking a police officer. On 6 August 2025, the charges against Mzia Amaghlobeli were changed, and she was [sentenced](#) to two years of imprisonment.

In parallel, in February 2025, the Parliament established a temporary investigative commission led by Thea Tsulukiani, aimed at examining the actions of the government and political officeholders from 2003–2012. Subsequently, the commission extended its mandate to cover the post-2012 period as well. One of the commission's main topics was the August 2008 war. Commission sessions were broadcast live and received intensive coverage from pro-government media. Opposition party leaders were summoned to the commission, most of whom boycotted it; due to their non-appearance, [many](#) (seven political leaders) were [arrested](#) and sentenced to seven to eight months of imprisonment. The commission published its findings on [August 4<sup>th</sup>](#), which were reviewed in [Parliament](#) in early September.

At the same time, [repressive legislation](#) was introduced to restrict the activities of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and independent media. The “Foreign Agents Registration Act” addresses independent media and organizations receiving grants from foreign entities prohibiting donors from providing grants without registration. The Anti-Corruption Bureau first sent letters to seven NGOs demanding an audit of internal data and communications and then required them to register in the foreign [agents](#)' registry. At the end of August, these organizations had their accounts [seized](#), and investigations were opened against them under charges of sabotage. As part of the investigation, the heads of these NGOs were interviewed in court.

NGOs operating in Georgia have, for years, monitored and reported on anti-Western propaganda in Georgian media and social media spaces, particularly during election periods, as well as propaganda directed [against pro-Western protests](#). From June 2022 to June 2023, CRRC-Georgia investigated anti-Western rhetoric on Facebook, which preceded and followed the initial “Law on Transparency of Foreign Influence”. In this context of rapidly changing circumstances, it is important to monitor the main anti-Western narratives circulating on Facebook and observe how current events and government actions are interpreted, as well as what opinions are being shaped within a public, [nearly half](#) of whom follow the news via social media.

The structure of the report is as follows: it presents the main monitoring results, focusing on primary narratives, actors most frequently mentioned in posts, main disseminators of anti-Western rhetoric, and techniques used by the selected pages and groups to disseminate information. Each chapter separately highlights results for the Armenian- and Azerbaijani-speaking segments. A detailed overview of the research methodology is provided in the annex.

This report covers the period from late November 2024 to the end of May 2025. However, a separate section is dedicated to the period from late November 2024 to the end of January 2025, encompassing the most active period of the pro-European protests, including their attempted dispersal and mass arrests which occurred in December.

## **MAIN NARRATIVES**

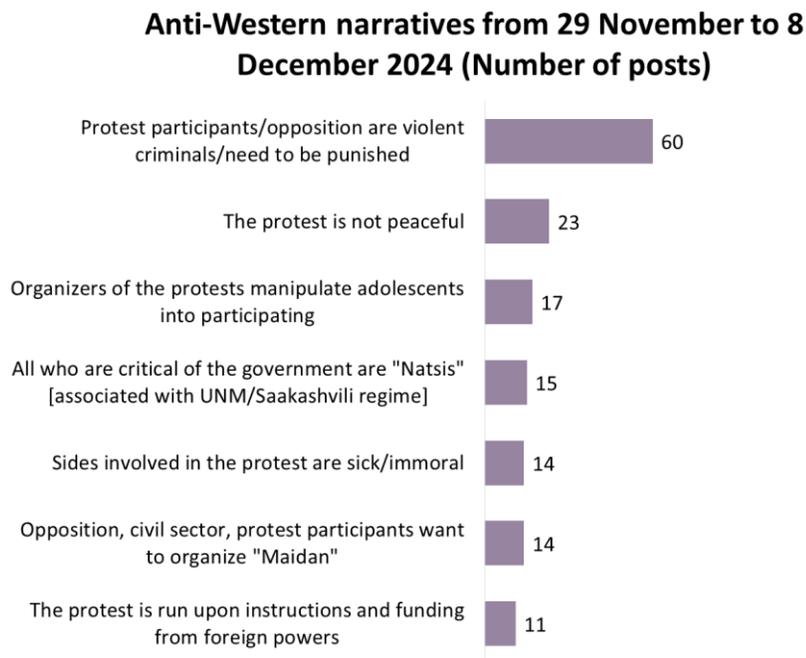
This chapter examines the dynamics of relevant posts, their thematic focus, and the main narratives conveyed in posts during the period from 29 November 2024 to 31 May 2025. Considering the events that occurred during this time, posts were analyzed in shorter periods: the beginning and most active phase of mass protests (29 November 2024 to the end of January 2025), the shift in rhetoric following Trump’s inauguration and the beginning of legislative repression (February 2025), and the work of the temporary parliamentary commission led by Thea Tsulukiani and arrests associated with her commission (spring 2025). Separate sections present the monitoring results for Facebook pages and groups targeting the country’s Azerbaijani- and Armenian-speaking populations.

## Period from 29 November 2024 to 31 January 2025

Examining relevant posts on the selected Facebook pages and groups from late November 2024 to the end of May 2025, the highest number of posts was recorded on 29 November, the day the mass protests began. A large volume of posts was also observed in the first week of December, the peak phase of the protests, when demonstrators gathered on Rustaveli Avenue were dispersed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs using water cannons and tear gas. In the Georgian-speaking segment during this period, the main thematic focus of relevant posts was the pro-European protest.

Between 29 November 2024 and 8 December 2024, the main anti-Western narratives in posts were largely devoted to discrediting the protests (see Chart 1). These narratives seek to convince the reader that protest participants are violent, the protests are not peaceful, children are being manipulated as participants, protestors' intent to organize a "Maidan-style revolution and that the protests are managed by foreign forces.

Chart 1: Anti-Western narratives from 29 November to 8 December 2024



In parallel, visual material circulated aiming to characterize the protests as violent featuring: Molotov cocktails, fireworks used as weapons, and aggression toward police. The goal of such posts is to undermine the democratic character of the protests and present them as illegitimate and threatening to national security.

At the end of November, the narrative structure remained somewhat inconsistent. There were fewer direct references to Western interference, and discrediting was primarily directed at protest participants and organizers. December became a turning point not only for the intensification of protests but also for the strengthening of anti-Western and narratives focused on disparagement. The dominant message became that the political opposition is behind the protests and they are backed by Western actors. Accordingly, the protests are no longer merely an expression of an internal political crisis but are framed as a geopolitical project directed by the West.

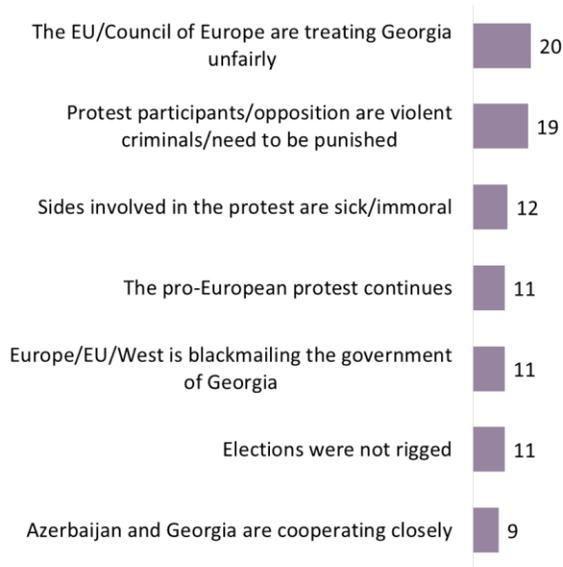
Particular attention was given to the utilization of religious narratives. An incident on December 9<sup>th</sup>, [9 December](#) incident (burning of the coffin) and a confrontation with priest Shalva Kekelia on December 13<sup>th</sup> were portrayed as symbols of disrespect toward the Georgian Orthodox Church. Protest participants were depicted as enemies of the church and faith and presented as attacking traditional values.

In the following month, the volume of anti-Western posts was particularly high and, linked to the following events: U.S. President Donald Trump's inauguration on 20 January, and the EU's suspension of visa-free travel for Georgian diplomatic passport holders on 27 January.

In terms of themes, during the last two weeks of January, the subject matter of anti-Western posts remained largely unchanged; however, alongside pro-European protests, Georgia's domestic politics, political parties, and the discrediting of Western actors, the US's new presidential administration was added. During this period, previous dominant narratives aimed at discrediting pro-Western protests were supplemented with criticism of the West for allegedly unjust treatment and "blackmail" of the Georgian government (see Chart 2).

Chart 2: Anti-Western narratives from 15 to 31 January 2025

**Anti-Western narratives from 15 to 31 January 2025  
(Number of posts)**



January is characterized by the integration of anti-Western messages into a global discourse. Trump's inauguration is interpreted in Georgia as evidence of a crisis in the Western liberal system. His critical statements regarding Ukraine, Zelensky, NATO, and USAID are presented on local propaganda channels as evidence of Western illegitimacy and as a tool to justify the government's actions.

The campaign against USAID is significant, constructing a narrative that the NGO sector represents a lever of Western influence, and that foreign funding is behind political chaos and attempts at regime change in Georgia. This also serves to legitimize the "Transparency of Foreign Influence Law," presented to the public as a mechanism of protecting Georgia's sovereignty.

At the same time, the tone toward the protests changes. Whereas earlier direct aggression dominated ("violent," "terrorists"), now ridicule and trivialization prevail - protest participants are described as "sick," "ridiculous," and targets of homophobic slurs. This stigmatization serves to morally and socially delegitimize the protests.

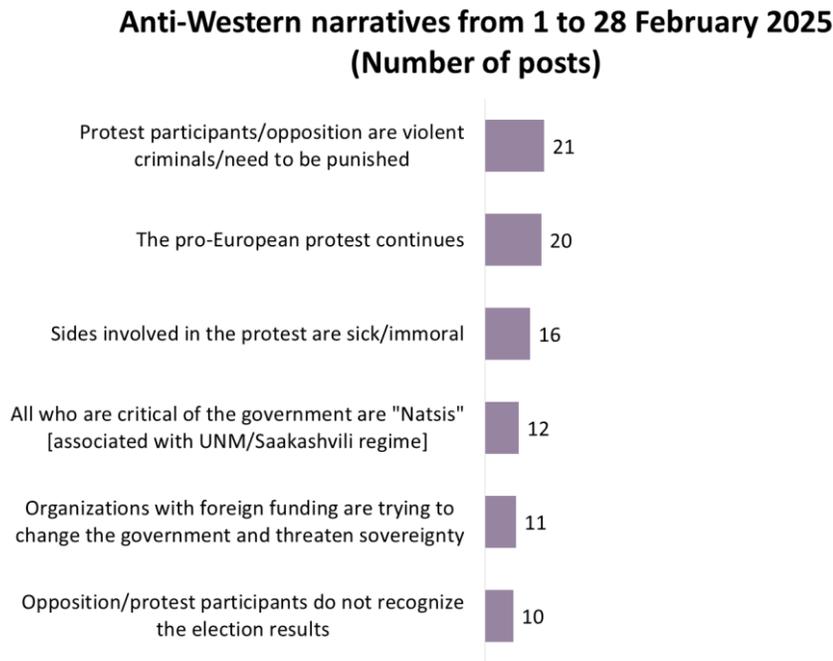
Overall, three main lines dominate in January: 1. Creating the illusion of global support through U.S. President Trump; 2. Demonization of NGOs and the political opposition by portraying them as traitors; 3. Shifting economic relations eastward, aimed at legitimizing the reduction of Western economic ties.

## Period of February 2025

Examining the dynamics of post dissemination, following November and the first week of December, a sharp increase in post volume was recorded on several days in February. Several events may be linked to this rise in anti-Western posts:

- A mass protest at “Tbilisi Mall” on February 2nd, after which accelerated [legislative changes](#) were adopted making obstructing the road in front of Tbilisi Mall punishable under criminal law;
- An announcement on February 3rd and accelerated adoption on [February 7th](#) of repressive legislative changes restricting the freedoms of assembly and expression. These changes significantly increased fines for administrative offenses and extended prison terms, and also increased the severity of offenses - such as public calls for violence, resisting police, threats, and the use of force - from administrative to [criminal liability](#);
- Irakli [Kobakhidze’s](#) accusation of the US Embassy, USAID, and NED of coordinated actions against the Georgian state;
- The [return of Salome Zourabichvili](#) from the Munich Security Conference, during which eggs were thrown at her at the airport; on the same day, eggs were also thrown at opposition politician [Giorgi Gakharia](#) and a member of his party;
- The publication by human rights defenders of a [report](#) demanding fair trial rights for protest participants who had been detained.

Chart 3: Anti-Western narratives from 1 to 28 February 2025



In February, themes from the previous period continued to circulate. Pro-Western protests remained a major focus. Domestic politics and political parties were also prominent topics, alongside the discrediting of Salome Zourabichvili, portraying her as an enemy of the country and a conduit for foreign interests, as well as the disparagement of Western actors, presenting them as opposing the country's sovereignty.

### **Period from 1 March to 31 May 2025**

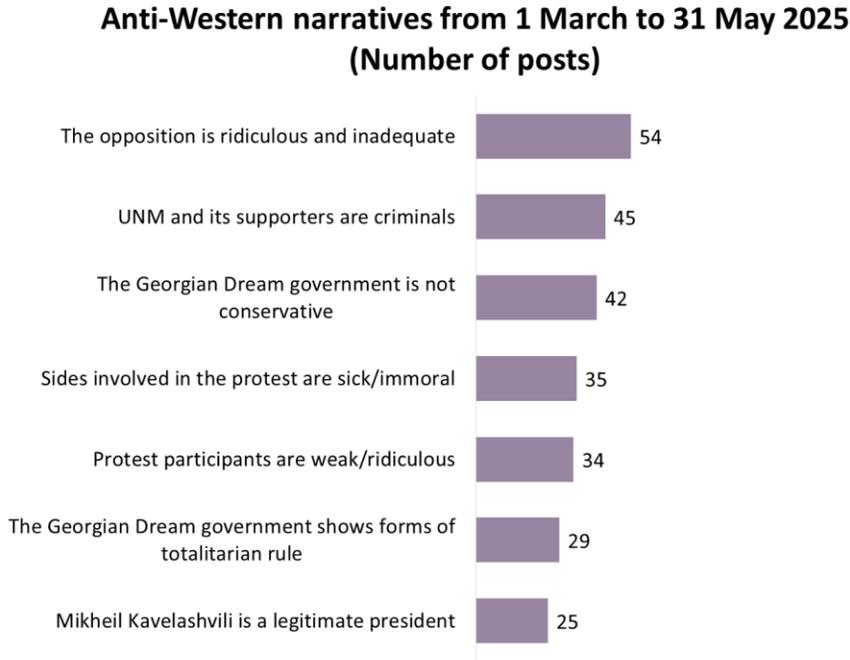
During the spring months, a sharp increase in post volume was recorded on March 31st, likely linked to legislative changes adopted on April 1st: restrictive media laws and the Foreign Agents Registration Act. In April, [amendments](#) to the grants law also prohibited receiving foreign grants without government approval. A significant topic during the spring months was the activity of the temporary parliamentary investigative commission led by Thea Tsulukiani, which was mostly broadcast live on television. The commission's purpose was to investigate alleged crimes of the United National Movement government which governed from 2003 to 2012.

In terms of themes, the topic of Georgia's domestic politics and political parties became most prominent for the first time, with protest issues moving to second place. The discrediting of

Western actors remained somewhat less prominent, and some attention was also given to the topic of the war in Ukraine.

This trend is reflected in the main narratives. During the spring months, top narratives focused on disparaging and criminalizing the opposition (see Chart 4).

Chart 4: Anti-Western narratives from 1 March to 31 May 2025



With a reduction in protester numbers during the spring months, attention to protests and their participants declined. However, anti-protest and anti-opposition narratives continued, aimed at fully delegitimizing groups critical of the government. Protesters and opposition members were portrayed not as legitimate political opponents but as morally and psychologically degraded (“sick,” “immoral”), with criminal pasts (“Natsi,” “law-breaker”), and intellectually inferior (“ridiculous,” “weak”).

The temporary parliamentary commission led by Thea Tsulukiani placed responsibility for the start of the August 2008 war on former President Mikheil Saakashvili and the United National Movement. These narratives drew on generals’ records and emotional accounts from displaced persons. Members of the United National Movement and opposition representatives were portrayed as criminals. In April, attention focused on former Prime Minister and opposition figure Giorgi Gakharia, who attended the commission, as well as politicians who did not attend but were

later summoned by the Prosecutor's Office, and detained by the end of May. These summonses were considered justified.

Additionally, a radical-conservative narrative circulated, indicating the existence of a third, radical flank that opposes both the "liberal" West and the opposition, as well as the "hypocritical" government. Its aim is to present itself as the only "true" national and conservative force. It criticizes "Georgian Dream" for "insufficient nationalism" (e.g., referring to the [April 9](#) creators as "foreign forces" rather than directly as Russia) and exposes liberal policies (e.g., permitting LGBT marches). This seeks to attract part of the conservative electorate and equate the United National Movement and the Georgian Dream.

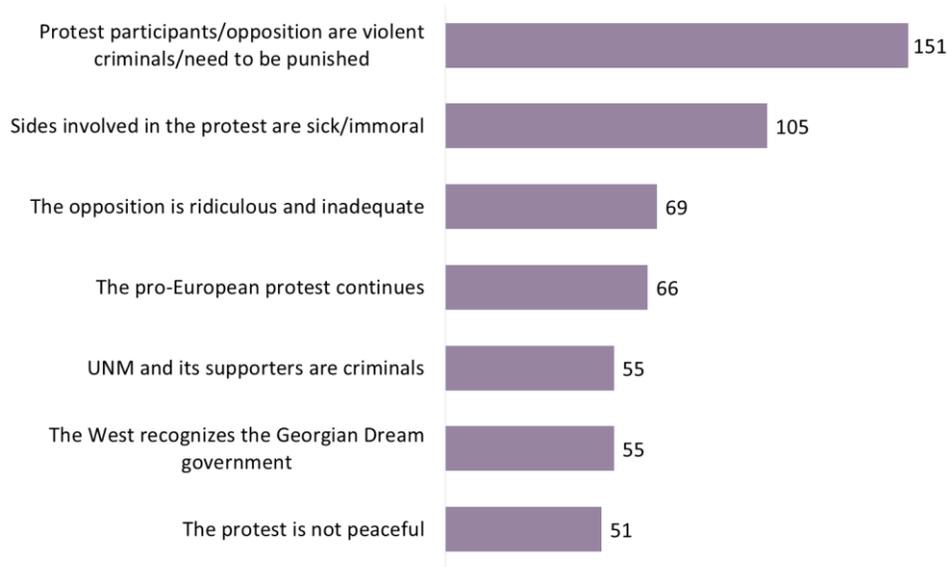
It is noteworthy that at the beginning of spring, issues such as the war in Ukraine, international partner support, and recognition of the government were less prominent. The main focus was on domestic political confrontations. Narratives also circulated portraying the West as preaching one thing (democracy) and practicing another (e.g., Trump's alleged ambitions for "permanent presidency," European economic cooperation with Chinese).

Attitudes toward President Trump's government became ambivalent. Whereas previously his election had been met with high expectations, cautious skepticism now emerged. For example, Prime Minister Irakli Kobakhidze's publicized open letter to Trump both expressed respect for his fight against the "deep state" and frustration at being ignored by his administration, while also advancing narratives about the "real" intent of American funding and its role in destabilizing the country.

Overall, the top seven anti-Western narratives for the entire period are presented in Chart 5.

Chart 5: Anti-Western narratives from 29 November 2025 to 31 May 2025

### Anti-Western narratives from 29 November 2024 to 31 May 2025 (Number of posts)



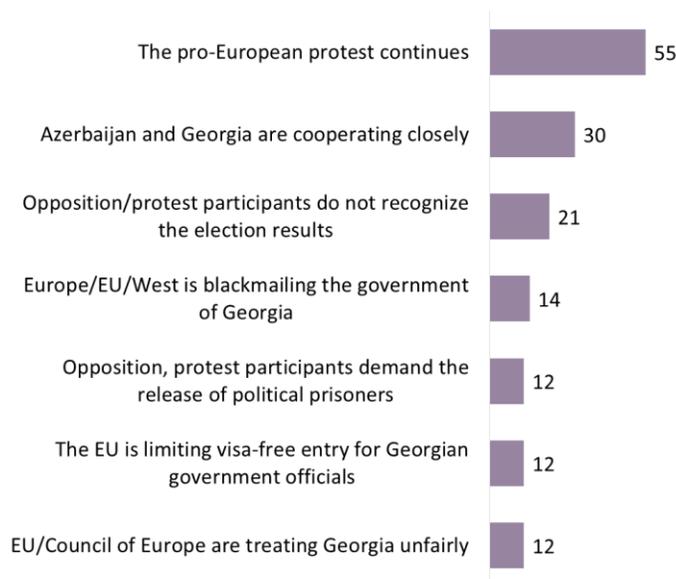
## MAIN NARRATIVES FOR THE AZERBAIJANI-SPEAKING AUDIENCE

In studying anti-Western narratives on Facebook, a separate focus was placed on Georgia's Azerbaijani-speaking population. However, a notable observation emerged during the selection of relevant pages and groups: no public Azerbaijani-language Facebook group or page was found that openly featured posts with anti-Western content. Accordingly, one page and one group were selected based on their popularity among the Azerbaijani-speaking population. Both are news-oriented, and therefore the content, narratives, and style of both textual and visual material in this segment differed significantly, being less manipulative.

Regarding post frequency, the dynamics on the Azerbaijani-language page and group differed, with higher volumes observed at the end of January and the beginning of February, as well as in the second half of spring. Topics generally followed the overall trend, with pro-European protests and domestic politics and political parties dominating from late November 2024 to the end of May 2025. However, certain topics were more emphasized in Azerbaijani-language posts, including Georgia-Azerbaijan relations, Georgia's relations with Western institutions and organizations, sanctions against the Georgian government, and elections.

Chart 6: Anti-Western narratives from 29 November 2024 to 31 May 2025 – Azerbaijani-speaking segment

**Azerbaijani-speaking segment: Anti-Western narratives  
from 29 November 2024 to 31 May 2025 (Number of posts)**



Analysis of the political and social narratives circulated on the selected Azerbaijani-language page and group indicates a relatively balanced informational environment, where anti-Western and pro-Western messages coexist. Nonetheless, a discernible anti-Western undertone is evident, primarily expressed through statements by the Georgian government as well as by Azerbaijan’s leader, President Ilham Aliyev. For example, one post quotes Aliyev stating that Emmanuel Macron is behind current events and instability in Georgia, reinforcing anti-Western sentiment.

The selected news page and group frequently disseminate critical assessments of the European Union regarding the Georgian government, highlighting democratic backsliding and EU resolutions. At the same time, pro-European protests are periodically covered, and information is shared regarding the EU’s advantages and public support for it.

Simultaneously, significant attention is given to coverage of the government’s positions, which frame it as a defender of sovereignty and national interests in contrast to Western criticism. Messages often suggest that the West seeks to “Ukrainize” Georgia, while the opposition is portrayed as responsible for violence and national division. Within this context, the government cultivates an anti-Western sentiment and seeks to discredit its opponents. Periodically, statements by President Salome Zourabichvili are disseminated, presenting her as opposing the government’s

narrative and defending a pro-European course. Her position is presented in the media as a distinct perspective within the government.

The media also actively cover Trump's statements, reflecting an effort to engage the Azerbaijani-speaking audience in global political discourse and to present critical aspects of Western policy in a broad context. In a positive tone, bilateral relations between Georgia and Azerbaijan – particularly in economic and energy sectors – are highlighted, alongside pro-government messages that reinforce the importance of ties with Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijani-language media outlets operating in Georgia (Aktual.ge and 24news.ge) provide a more balanced informational environment. They cover both Western and pro-European protest positions as well as government statements and perspectives. Particular attention is given to cooperation with Azerbaijan and Turkey, as relations with these countries are considered to be especially important to the Azerbaijani-speaking population.

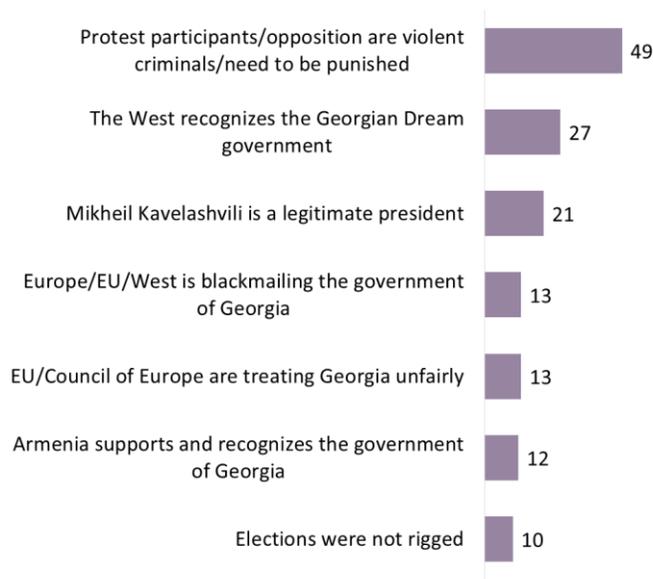
### **Main narratives for the Armenian-speaking audience**

Regarding the Armenian-speaking segment of Georgia's population, two pages were monitored: Parvana TV and Javakh Diaspora in Russia. Parvana TV is a television channel funded by the Ninotsminda municipality that actively disseminates the ruling party's propaganda messages. Javakh Diaspora in Russia has long promoted Russian propaganda and openly circulates anti-Western content. Although their style and tone differ in part, both sources actively discredit the pro-Western opposition and portray the role of the West in a negative light, creating a cohesive anti-Western information environment for the local Armenian speaking audience.

From November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2024 to May 31<sup>st</sup>, 2025, the thematic focus of posts for the Armenian-speaking audience differed somewhat from that of the Georgian and Azerbaijani-speaking audiences. In addition to pro-European protests and domestic politics and political party topics, there was significant attention to the Russia-Ukraine war, the discrediting of Western actors, the Western partners of the Georgian Dream government, the new US presidential administration, and Georgia-Russia relations. This is reflected in the main narratives (see Chart 7). Following narratives aimed at discrediting protest participants, frequent narratives emphasized the legitimacy of Georgian Dream and criticized the West for unfair treatment and "blackmail". Armenian-language posts also highlighted Armenia's recognition of and support for the Georgian government.

Chart 7: Anti-Western narratives from 29 November 2024 to 31 May 2025

**Armenian-speaking segment: Anti-Western narratives from 29 November 2024 to 31 May 2025 (Number of posts)**



From late November 2024 to the end of January 2025, narratives focused particularly on discrediting protests and marginalizing the opposition, negatively portraying the West and the U.S., attempting to legitimize the Georgian government, and supporting pro-Russian and anti-Western alternatives.

Both sources consistently portray ongoing protest movements as violent, illegitimate, and aligned with foreign interests. Demonstrations are described as attempts at destabilization directed by the West. Protest leaders, especially President Salome Zourabichvili, are depicted as “foreign agents” aiming to involve the country in war or implement a “Maidan”-style revolution.

A strongly negative tone toward the West, particularly the U.S., is evident. Materials from both Parvana TV and the Javakh Diaspora emphasize that the West does not wish for Georgia’s development but seeks its destabilization and involvement in war with Russia. U.S. domestic political developments, particularly Trump’s support, are used to justify the ruling party’s positions – portraying the West as applying double standards and only supporting democracy when it serves its interests.

Both sources systematically reinforce the ruling party’s legitimacy. Its successful international contacts are highlighted to emphasize that the country’s sovereignty is protected and Western

pressure is unjust. Simultaneously, the ruling party is depicted as patriotic and as a guarantor of stability, successfully countering external hostile actors.

Javakh Diaspora in Russia explicitly promotes pro-Russian narratives: cooperation with Russia – including economic, cultural, and infrastructural – is presented as a more natural and advantageous choice for Georgia than integration with the West. The West, by contrast, is portrayed as a source of chaos, war, and disorder.

From February to May 2025, narratives continued to emphasize government legitimacy and stability, portraying the country as crisis-free and calm. Particular attention was given to deepening economic and diplomatic relations with the East – China, Central Asia, and Saudi Arabia. According to the government’s messaging, new laws controlling foreign influence and regulating the NGO sector are necessary for national security. Positive narratives were also circulated regarding President Mikheil Kavelashvili, presented as a bearer of national identity and faith, who is allegedly recognized internationally.

As in other sources, spring 2025 continued to feature narratives discrediting the opposition. The opposition, particularly the United National Movement and Salome Zourabichvili, is depicted as agents supported and directed by Western “external forces,” aiming to destabilize the country and overthrow the government. Zourabichvili is frequently portrayed as a “traitor,” making attacks against her appear normalized. Protest coverage emphasizes that it is a Western-funded project serving “anti-national” and “destructive” goals.

Anti-Western narratives continue to dominate. The West is presented as a hostile actor unfairly treating Georgia and using financial levers to influence domestic political processes. U.S. “deep state” actions and specific congressional initiatives (e.g., the [MEGOBARI Act](#)) are depicted as hostile steps threatening Georgia’s freedom and independence. The European Union is portrayed as a provocateur attempting to alter Georgia’s policies and suppress its pro-Russian course.

Another narrative concerns propaganda addressing the war in Ukraine. The war is explained to be a result of external forces and NATO expansion, which allegedly forced Russia to act in order to protect its national security. According to this narrative, the U.S. stopped supporting Ukraine, while Ukraine itself does not want to end the war, escalating the conflict. Donald Trump is presented as a pro-Russian figure capable of ending the war and improving relations with Russia. Russia, in turn, is depicted as willing to pursue peace and negotiations, while Ukraine refuses to acknowledge this.

Georgia-Russia relations are portrayed positively. Georgian-Russian relations are described as historically friendly and economically beneficial, with further deepening seen as necessary. The restoration of diplomatic relations is presented as mutually beneficial, while issues regarding Abkhazia and South Ossetia should not become barriers to normalization. At the same time, the government states that diplomatic relations will only be restored on the condition of territorial integrity, whereas Russia seeks recognition of the regions’.

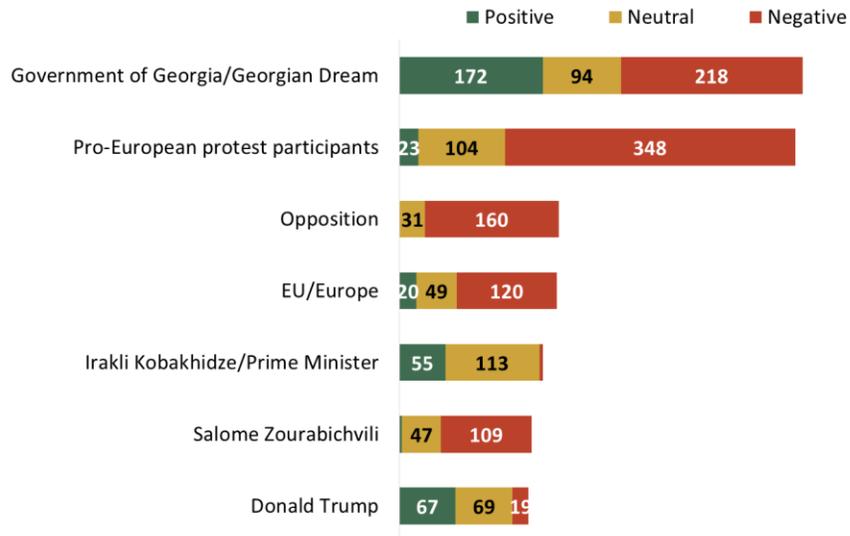
## **KEY ACTORS**

Alongside the analysis of post frequency, topics, and narratives, it is important to examine which actors are most frequently mentioned in anti-Western posts and how they are portrayed – positively, neutrally, or negatively. This section focuses on the main actors, with separate subsections analyzing Facebook pages and groups targeting Azerbaijani- and Armenian-speaking audiences.

Across the full dataset and entire period, two actors appear most frequently: the Georgian government/ Georgian Dream and pro-European protest participants. In the case of the government/Georgian Dream, there is some negative portrayal, mostly arising from relatively neutral news-oriented pages reporting on pro-European protests or Western criticism of the government, but the share of positive portrayals is higher compared to other actors. Pro-European protest participants are very rarely portrayed positively and are mostly framed negatively (see Chart 8).

Chart 8: Actors mentioned in posts by tone of portrayal

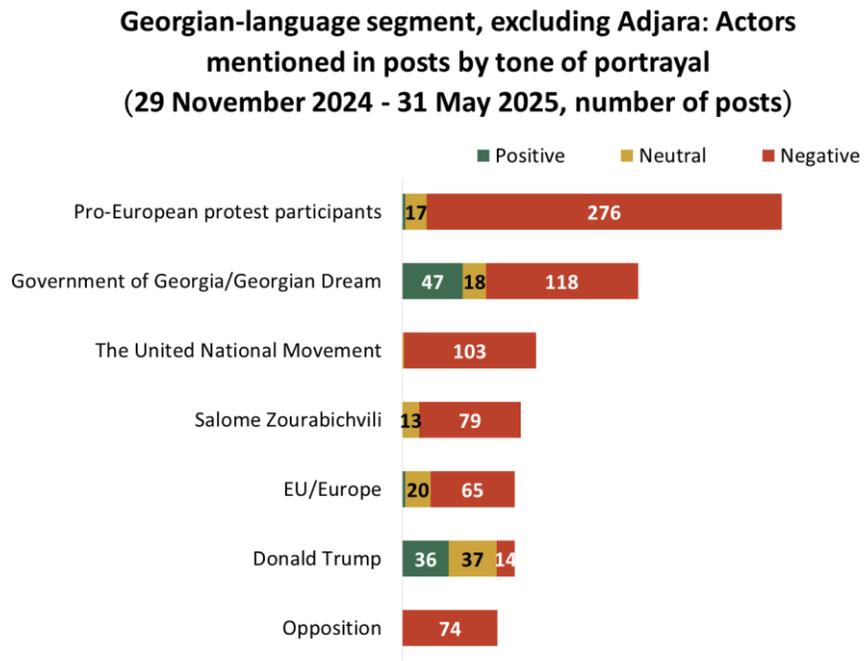
**Actors mentioned in posts by tone of portrayal  
(29 November 2024 - 31 May 2025, number of posts)**



Other top actors include the opposition, the European Union and Europe, Prime Minister Irakli Kobakhidze, Salome Zourabichvili, and Donald Trump. Negative portrayals dominate for the opposition, EU/Europe, and Zourabichvili, while Kobakhidze is almost exclusively depicted neutrally or positively.

Interestingly, when considering only the Georgian-language segment and excluding pages and groups from Adjara - which, like the Azerbaijani-language page, are more neutral and concise news sources - the ranking of frequently mentioned actors changes. Pro-European protest participants become the most mentioned actor, with the vast majority of coverage negative. The same pattern holds for other actors: the United National Movement, Zourabichvili, the EU and Europe, and the opposition. Only the Georgian government and Georgian Dream, and Donald Trump receive some positive coverage (see Chart 9). This demonstrates that these pages and groups aim to critique and negatively portray pro-Western protests, the opposition, and the West itself.

Chart 9: Actors mentioned in posts by tone of portrayal – Georgian-language segment only (excluding Adjara)



On anti-Western pages, government representatives are portrayed as strong figures delivering a “just response” to provocateurs, aiming to maintain national stability and protect the country from foreign influence. They are framed as symbols of national authority and strong resistance to the protests.

Pro-European protest participants are a primary target in anti-Western narratives. They are frequently labeled criminals, aggressors, or mentally ill, with increasing use of aggressive rhetoric – terms such as “abnormal” or “sick.” Visual portrayals highlight non-traditional clothing or gender expression to depict these groups as disruptors of public order or the product of Western “degeneracy.” Specific activists, particularly those who are openly identify as LGBTQ+, or those perceived to be LGBTQ+, are targeted by homophobic rhetoric and presented as the face of the protests.

Posts generally refer to protest participants in collective terms – “Maidan supporters,” “revolutionaries,” “aggressors” – which helps undermine the legitimacy of protests and assign an undemocratic label. Focusing on the collective rather than individuals intensify dehumanization, portraying participants as a crowd driven by violent and destructive motives – “immoral mob” or “homelandless.” One post claimed that participants “burn and destroy their own city,” directly appealing to narratives of chaos and aggression.

Attention is given to youth, described as being manipulated by anti-state forces, particularly the opposition, as “brainwashed masses.” Criticism also targets minors’ involvement in protests.

Opposition parties, NGOs, and critical media are often grouped under one label, e.g., “Natsies,” “Natsmedia,” “NatsNGOs,” and portrayed as Western agents spreading pro-Western ideology and threatening Georgia’s stability. These groups are framed as endangering sovereignty and serving foreign interests. The opposition is frequently generalized, reinforcing the strategy of portraying the entire opposition negatively. Specific individuals may be highlighted when criticism is intensified-e.g., opposition figure Elene Khoshtaria in relation to alleged ties with Russia – demonstrating attempts at personalizing critique within a broadly negative context.

From February onward, following the start of the Tsulukiani parliamentary commission and increased focus on discrediting political parties, references to the United National Movement (UNM) became more frequent. The UNM and former President Mikheil Saakashvili are depicted as enemies and national traitors, blamed for initiating the 2008 war, committing torture, and engaging in criminal activity. They are framed as “evil forces” from the past, leading to current destabilization. Discrediting draws on both historical and current allegations of treason and treasonous activity.

Former president Salome Zourabichvili appears negatively in anti-Western narratives. Her pro-Western statements are framed as Western-instructed interference. Her activism during protests is portrayed as harmful and threatening to government stability. She is presented as insignificant, with attempts to delegitimize her platform.

Zourabichvili is also frequently the target of personal attacks, criticized both for supporting protests and attending Trump’s inauguration. Posts describe her as a “seeker of external support,” “mentally submissive,” “revolutionary leader,” or even a “traitor.” This narrative constructs her image as a West-dependent, unprincipled, and shameful leader, often using deliberate irony – nicknames like “Madam Presidan” or “Salome Guevara” – to undermine her legitimacy.

Donald Trump, especially in the early months of monitoring, was often portrayed positively in anti-Western media. He is framed as the main opponent of Western liberalism and the “defeater of the deep state.” His decisions are described as heralding a global turning point, presenting him as a leader of the counter-value camp, associated with conservatism, national identity, and traditional values.

Some U.S. administration decisions, e.g., halting USAID operations, are portrayed as the start of Western transformation, viewed positively by pro-government sources. Elon Musk is depicted as a bold, new leader provoking anti-liberal discourse.

U.S. conservative forces (e.g., Trump supporters) appear as representatives of a “correct” voice in the West. Their mention aims to present Georgian anti-Western positions as a part of Western political ideology, creating the impression of support for Georgian government approaches within the West itself.

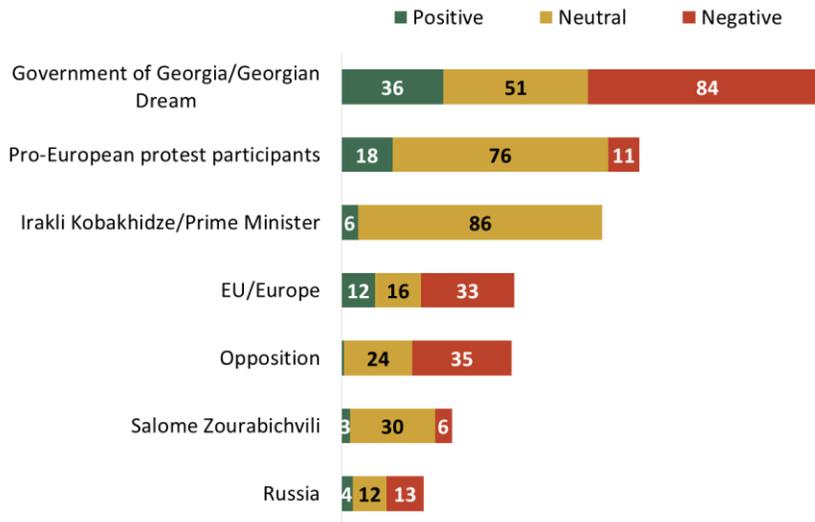
References to the European Union are more specific, frequently linked to punitive politics, with a negative tone – emphasizing EU interference in Georgia’s internal affairs. The EU is no longer an abstract “West” but a concrete actor allegedly deliberately trying to punish Georgia. For example, one post claims, “The negotiations didn’t even exist, and what didn’t exist couldn’t be stopped,” portraying the EU as an unfriendly and artificially critical actor.

### **Actors featured in Azerbaijani-language posts**

The list of actors appearing in Azerbaijani-language posts is similar; however, unlike in the Georgian-language posts, Russia also appears among the top seven actors. In terms of the tone of coverage, there is a relatively higher share of a neutral tone in references to both government representatives and opposition groups, protest participants, and the European Union (see Chart 10). This may once again be explained by the fact that the Azerbaijani-language page and group under observation are news-oriented platforms and are relatively more balanced than other anti-Western pages and groups.

Chart 10: Actors mentioned in posts by tone of portrayal – Azerbaijani-language segment

**Azerbaijani-language segment: Actors mentioned in posts  
by tone of portrayal  
(29 November 2024 - 31 May 2025, number of posts)**



The Government of Georgia, Irakli Kobakhidze, and President of the Parliament Shalva Papuashvili – who appear more frequently in Azerbaijani-language posts – are presented as the incumbent ruling force, which criticizes the European Union and the opposition.

Participants in the pro-European protests and civil activists from Kvemo Kartli are portrayed as citizens who support the European Union and protest the government’s decisions. Most of their coverage is in a neutral tone.

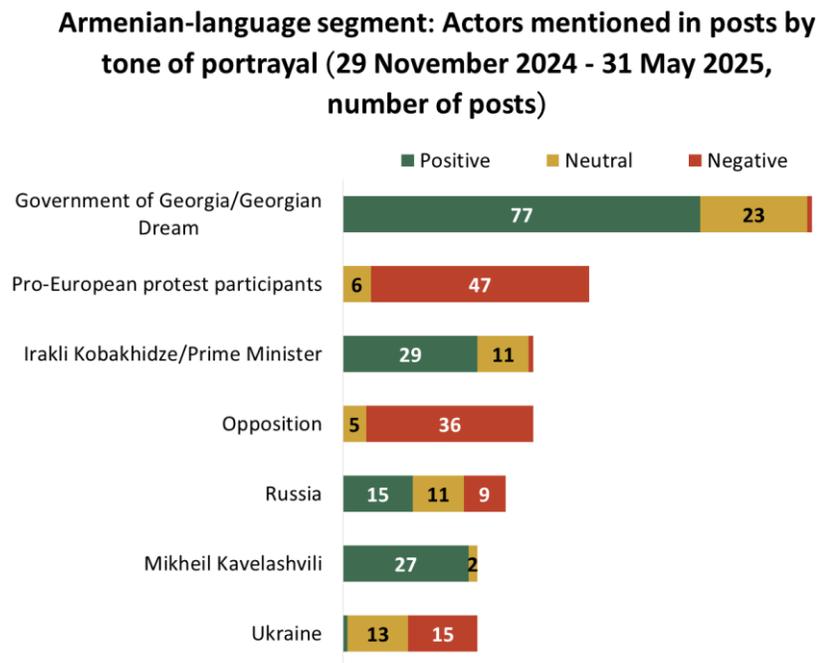
The European Union and its institutions, on the one hand, are portrayed as actors that support Georgia’s European integration and criticize the government’s actions. At the same time, in anti-Western narratives, they are often depicted as wishing to interfere in the country’s internal affairs.

The Azerbaijani-language posts also mention the President of Azerbaijan, Ilham Aliyev, who supports the Government of Georgia, disseminates anti-Western narratives, and is portrayed as an actor seeking to strengthen regional relations.

## Actors featured in Armenian-language posts

The list of actors most frequently mentioned in Armenian-language posts largely aligns with those in Georgian- and Azerbaijani-language posts. Unlike the Georgian-language posts, however, Armenian-language content also frequently mentions Russia and Ukraine. Similar to Georgian-language anti-Western posts, the following trend is evident: the Georgian government and Georgian Dream and its figures – such as Irakli Kobakhidze and Mikheil Kavelashvili – are often mentioned positively, with almost no negative tone. In contrast, pro-European protest participants and the opposition are predominantly portrayed negatively (see Chart 11). Russia enjoys a relatively high degree of positive portrayal, whereas Ukraine is mentioned mostly neutrally or negatively.

Chart 11: Actors featured in posts by tone of portrayal – Armenian-language segment



In Armenian-language posts, pro-European protest participants are the central target group. Various strategies are used to discredit them: they are depicted as violent, law-breaking groups acting under Western influence. The narrative seeks to darken the perception of protests, drawing parallels with “Maidan” events, instilling fear, and delegitimizing pro-European demands.

The West is portrayed as a foreign, hostile force attempting to intervene in Georgia’s internal affairs. The goal is to demonize Western actors, with conspiratorial insinuations regarding their political institutions, foundations, and politicians – portraying them as orchestrating destabilization

scenarios. Specific messages target the EU and the U.S., attributing criminal intent, including supporting a coup or attempting to manipulate Georgia to oppose Russia.

According to Farvana TV, the government is positioned as a protector of Georgia's stability and peace. Against the backdrop of negative portrayals of protests, the narrative aims to convince the audience that the current government defends the country from potential threats originating from the West. It emphasizes that the government fights not only internal enemies (opposition, activists) but also harmful external forces.

Opposition parties, particularly Salome Zourabichvili, are targets of discrediting. The opposition is portrayed as a Western-influenced agent seeking a coup, while Zourabichvili is personally attacked, especially in content on "Javakh Diaspora in Russia", where she is implicated in conspiracies on with the U.S.

In the messages of "Javakh Diaspora in Russia", Russia is portrayed positively as a historical friend and stable neighbor, with negotiations and deeper bilateral relations presented as more beneficial for Georgia. This narrative not only encourages distancing from the West but also aims to strengthen loyalty toward Russia.

## **MAIN DISTRIBUTORS (POST AUTHORS AND SHARERS)**

This section reviews the categories, identities, and characteristics of authors and sharers of anti-Western posts. Separate subsections address the Armenian- and Azerbaijani-language pages and groups.

As for the authors and disseminators of the posts, they include the pages and groups selected for monitoring, which frequently act as primary distributors of information, either directly or through their administrators. However, they often use material from various media outlets. To ensure diversity in the selection, some pages and groups were openly pro-government platforms, some were covert supporters, some represented mainstream or non-mainstream media outlets, and others promoted conservative rhetoric. Therefore, the categories listed below were predetermined at the selection stage.

The main disseminators of anti-Western and pro-government content include both media outlets and private individuals, as well as organized Facebook pages that are directly or indirectly connected to the Georgian Dream party. Their goal is to manufacture a dominant information

environment, disseminate interpretations favorable to the government, marginalize opponents, and maintain or expand their supporter base.

The main categories of pages and groups are:

- **Pro-government media outlets** - for example, PosTV Analytics has an explicitly propagandistic character. It is one of the key producers of anti-Western content and is distinguished by aggressive, satirical, and sarcastic attacks against the opposition, critical media, and activists. Its posts are often manipulative. Its strategy is to discredit opponents by portraying them as inadequate or ridiculous figures. In addition, there are news agencies that disseminate pro-government, anti-opposition, and anti-Western information (e.g., Imedi, Marshalpress, Info 9).
- **Newspaper Adjara** - in print media, Newspaper Adjara occupies a position analogous to that of the Public Broadcaster on television. It does not explicitly use propagandistic language; however, it often avoids critical topics or “balances” materials in such a way that politically important questions remain obscured. It also frequently disseminates government messages in the form of interviews, without any analysis or context.
- **Pages and groups affiliated with the ruling party** - For example, “Anti-Maidan” publicly states that it represents a civic movement supporting Georgian Dream. Similar pages disseminate pro-government narratives intentionally and seek to politically polarize society.
- **Anti-Western and propaganda pages** - Politicians from 1 Lari and Corridor of Shame - despite having different tones, these pages collectively disseminate pro-government and anti-Western messages. Gogaggg employs a more cautious strategy: it often uses a neutral tone, but the subtext clearly reflects support for the government. Pages oriented toward discrediting include “Political Comedy” by mocking the opposition, and “Archive” highlighting negative aspects of the United National Movement’s period in power.
- **Administrators of anti-Western pages** - Davit Tordia (admin of “Leader 41”), Leila Tsindadze-Melikidze and Lasha Jugheli (admins of “Bidzina Ivanishvili” and “Future Generations #official”) not only manage anti-Western pages but also actively create and disseminate content themselves. For example, in Bidzina Ivanishvili and Future Generations #official, the active admin, Leila Tsindadze-Melikidze, is an explicit conveyor of pro-government and anti-Western narratives. Her positioning is based on the message that the government is the choice of the people, whereas the protest is an anti-Georgian and anti-state action.
- **Radical-conservative and Alt-Info-aligned pages** - “Patriotic Page” disseminates both pro-government and ultra-conservative, anti-Western messages. “Holy Fathers and Their Sayings!” - despite its religious framing, functions as the political platform of the leader of the ultraconservative party Georgian Idea, Gega Giorgi Khvedelidze. It disseminates radical, xenophobic, homophobic, and anti-liberal content that criticizes both the opposition and the government for “insufficient nationalism.” Georgian Idea-an ultraconservative political force

that also criticizes the government-disseminates its messages through Khvedelidze himself, who frequently shares the party's posts in the Holy Fathers group.

- **Journalists and activists** - Journalists Gela Zedeliashvili and Liza Gegechkori regularly disseminate pro-government, anti-opposition, and anti-Western messages. Identified activists such as Zura Osephashvili, Dito Bidzinashvili, Katie Toloraya, and Giorgi Miruashvili create and disseminate pro-government and anti-opposition messages.
- **Politicians** - Irakli Kobakhidze, Mikheil Kavelashvili, and Dimitri Samkharadze - their posts are actively shared on anti-Western pages.
- **Personal profiles and unidentified authors** - posts are often authored by real individuals with legitimate Facebook profiles; however, in many cases they do not publicly disclose their workplace or occupation. The volume, pace, and content of their posting raise reasonable suspicion that they are engaged in coordinated information campaigns (e.g., Beka Chkhaidze). Suspicious or troll-like profiles - Elena-Lena Tepnadze, Darejan Mepharishvili, and Tite Natutari - exhibit signs of coordinated troll activity and primarily disseminate pro-government and anti-opposition messages.

### **Main disseminators in Azerbaijani-language posts**

In the case of Azerbaijani-language posts, the selected information page and group, as well as Azerbaijani-language media outlets (Aktual.ge, 24news.ge), represent the primary disseminators. They mainly spread information about political processes underway in Georgia: protest rallies, statements by the government and opposition, and internal political dynamics. They also cover Western positions toward Georgia; the positions of the Georgian government; relations with Azerbaijan; and global politics. These media outlets serve as the main sources of information for Azerbaijani-speaking populations who face a Georgian-language barrier and rely on these sources to learn about Georgia's domestic and foreign policy. Their aim is to provide information to the Azerbaijani-speaking audience.

### **Main disseminators in Armenian-language posts**

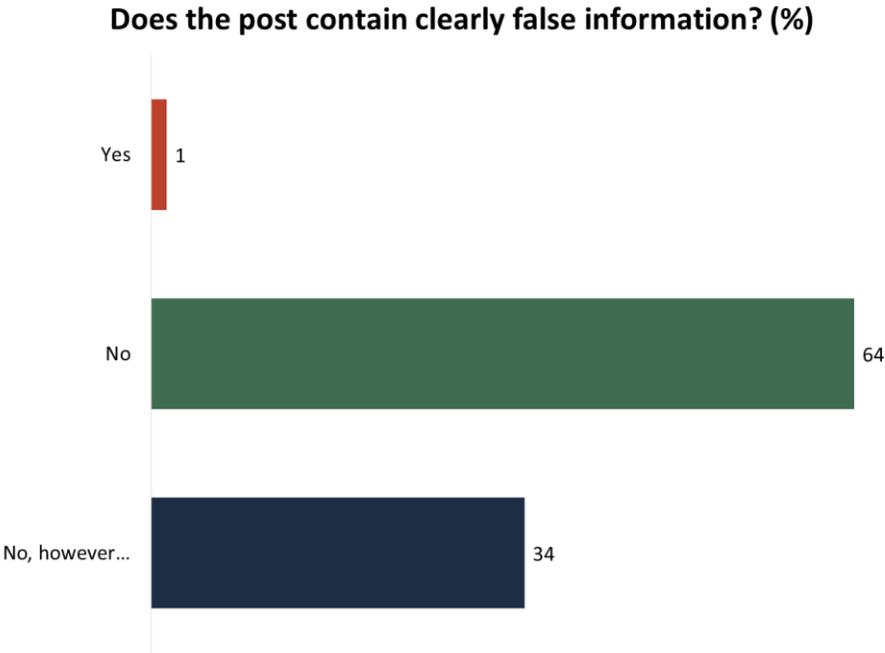
Two pages were selected for the analysis of Armenian-language posts: "Parvana TV" and "Javakh Diaspora in Russia." "Parvana TV" publishes posts on the Facebook page created under the name of its informational program "Reflection", which has 13,000 followers. Most posts have one or two shares, with a few receiving more depending on the topic's importance. The Facebook page of the NGO "Javakh Diaspora in Russia" has 1.7 thousand followers. The majority of posts have no reactions and about ten shares, often by the organization's leader, Aghasi Arabyan, who shares them across various Facebook groups.

## NATURE OF ANTI-WESTERN RHETORIC

This section discusses the methods and techniques of information delivery that sometimes present information inaccurately or incompletely, with specific emotional framing, or create a preconditioned attitude even before the information is delivered. The observed manipulation techniques and their scale generally apply to all monitored Facebook pages and groups; therefore, the analysis of Azerbaijani- and Armenian-language posts is not separated into sub-chapters.

During the analysis, attention was paid to whether posts contained false information. To assess this, monitors examined the content conveyed in the posts, the indicated sources (if any), and checked the accuracy of information using public sources. However, they did not conduct fact-checking investigations of the kind performed by professional fact-checkers. In the majority (64%) of posts analyzed across all pages and groups, no false information was found. Only 1% of posts contained information that was factually incorrect (see Chart 12). Many such posts already had a Facebook warning label indicating that the information presented was unreliable. However, there were cases without such labeling – for example, a post claiming that “Macron had taken too much cocaine and his wife slapped him to [sober him up](#),” which relied on already debunked disinformation about alleged cocaine use (the “Macron handkerchief” narrative). Another example was a claim that the United States had [evacuated](#) Salome Zourabichvili from Georgia.

Chart 12: Does the post contain clearly false information?



However, in about one-third of posts, monitors had difficulty assessing whether the information was clearly false. Often the information was not entirely false but included elements of truth or fully factual content that had been framed or interpreted differently. The primary techniques used in posts are as follows:

- **Half-truths and decontextualized information**, such as a post about an [anti-Sanduh](#) protest in Moldova showing a real video but lacking context regarding the scale of the protest or who was demanding the president's resignation. The information is presented as the general sentiment of the Moldovan population.
- **Manipulation through context**, when real footage or information is presented with altered context – for example, showing only one side of a clash (depicting violence by protesters while ignoring police actions).
- **Generalization**, when the actions of one individual are extended to an entire group—for example, showing a single protester's misconduct to imply that all protesters are criminals.
- **Presenting one person's opinion as a factual argument**, such as a post using a [quote](#) from a PACE member claiming that “pressure was exerted on the Georgian government to engage in confrontation with Russia.” The post provides only the quote and the person's photo, without any supporting information, using “a European” voice to reinforce the Georgian Dream narrative, though it is merely an individual's unsubstantiated opinion.
- **Subjective interpretation presented as fact, with no evidence or sourcing** – for example, a post about Salome Zourabichvili's meeting with media representatives claiming that “Salome continues pretending to be president and continues pursuing the [harmful](#) policies she carried out while in office.” This is the author's subjective interpretation without any evidence in the post or the linked material.
- **Labeling**, attaching derogatory or emotionally charged labels to individuals or groups, shaping attitudes before the content is consumed. Protest participants are frequently labeled “godless,” “UNM members,” “immoral,” or “perpetrators of planned violence,” contributing to their demonization and public acceptance of punitive actions against them.
- **Satire and mockery**, such as meme-style visuals (e.g., skeleton images, Simpson-style videos) used to discredit protests or specific leaders. Satire often masks insulting or degrading messages – for example, portraying Elene Khoshtaria with a Russian song

overlay, wearing black sunglasses and holding a slogan; or mocking civil marches by claiming that a “march of the lazy” cannot take place because participants were “too lazy to show up.”

- **Various forms of audiovisual manipulation**, such as adding music that radically changes the tone of a real video – for - example, [footage](#) of Trump and Zelensky, or a video implying that the [U.S. ambassador](#) to Georgia was intoxicated. In some cases, [fully fabricated](#) videos are used.

Both false and manipulative posts are most common in Georgian-language groups and pages- appearing in over 40% of all Georgian-language posts analyzed. In Armenian-language content, such posts are least common, not exceeding 12%. In Azerbaijani-language posts, no clearly false information was found, though some posts lacked sufficient information to evaluate accuracy. This partly stems from the nature of the selected Azerbaijani-language accounts, which are informational media outlets. Georgian- and Armenian-language pages were selected partly because they disseminate anti-Western content.

In Georgian-language pages and groups, information is mostly conveyed through short texts or clips, which supports broad dissemination and the effectiveness of narratives. Posts typically follow two formats:

**Written posts** – often short, built around quotes or points presented as arguments, usually lacking visual elements. These rely on structuring the text to provoke emotional impact (insults, passive aggression, satire).

**Real footage and photos** – videos or images sourced from protests or media, depicting real events but often decontextualized or paired with biased descriptions that offer ready-made interpretations. Videos are often only a few seconds to two or three minutes long with short captions, making them quick to view and widely shareable.

Azerbaijani-language posts maintain an informational style because the selected page and group function as media outlets. They often publish statements by Western leaders, the EU, the U.S., the Azerbaijani president, and Georgian officials without commentary. As for posts categorized as incomplete but not false – these often lack sourced evidence, include conspiratorial narratives about the “deep state,” and aim to cultivate distrust toward the West and reinforce the idea that only the Georgian Dream government protects Georgia’s sovereignty.

On the Armenian-language page of “Parvana TV,” posts mainly consist of text-short and long quotations – almost all concerning statements by government officials. Short video materials in Armenian, such as officials’ visits and meetings, are also posted and accompanied by text. Some posts are in Russian and some in Armenian. Such formats make the content easy for the audience to absorb, facilitating the spread of propagandistic messages. Manipulation techniques include one-sided framing and lack of context.

On the “Javakh Diaspora in Russia” page, most posts include text and photos. The posts are primarily in Russian, occasionally in Armenian or Georgian. The page shares materials from various Russian media outlets concerning events in Georgia, the Caucasus, and relations between the West and Russia. The page also actively uses openly anti-Western posts by government representatives-screenshots, for example, of Shalva Papuashvili’s posts about European politicians, foundations, and others.

Some posts lack evidence entirely. Using this technique, the page attempts to spread various narratives, comment manipulatively on events in Georgia, and mislead audiences through decontextualized quotes or attention to selective aspects of events. The page also uses Russian propaganda to cultivate skepticism toward Europe – for example, claiming that Europe does not need Georgia as a partner but only as a vassal, without providing any basis for such claims.

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## CONCLUSION

Observation of Facebook pages and groups spreading anti-Western content from November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2024, to May 31<sup>st</sup>, 2025, shows that anti-Western propaganda in Georgia operates in a targeted and deliberate manner. The dynamics of posts are closely linked to political processes and current events – particularly those involving key actors of anti-Western content, such as pro-European protesters, the opposition and its representatives, and Salome Zourabichvili – as well as state decisions that may require shaping public opinion or securing support (for example, legislative changes restricting freedom of expression or foreign funding, or arrests of protest participants and opposition figures).

Throughout the monitoring period, the thematic focus of posts shifted according to domestic and international events. While late November and December were dominated by coverage of pro-European protests, in January anti-Western content increasingly framed events in a global context,

referencing the U.S., the Trump administration, the global “war party,” and “deep state.” By spring, the focus shifted to domestic politics and the discrediting of the opposition.

Over the entire monitoring period, the main anti-Western narratives centered on protesters and the opposition, portraying them as violent, criminal, immoral, or mentally unstable. Another key narrative emphasized that the Georgian Dream government is recognized by the West and that the issue of non-recognition by external actors is not on the agenda.

Accordingly, the most frequent subjects of anti-Western posts were the Georgian Dream government and pro-European protesters. The government is depicted as strong and protective of national interests, while protesters are framed as criminals, a destructive crowd, or agents of foreign influence. Frequent targets of discrediting also include the opposition, the European Union, and Salome Zourabichvili. Attitudes toward U.S. President Trump varied over time – initially positive before his inauguration, later presenting him as a symbol of an alternative to Western liberalism.

Authors and disseminators of anti-Western posts are mostly pro-government media outlets, including POSTV Analitika, Imedi, Marshal Press, and Info 9; Facebook pages and groups associated with Georgian Dream; explicitly anti-Western and propaganda pages such as “Politicians for 1 Lari,” “Shame Corridor,” “Political Comedy,” and “Archive,” often including their admins, who themselves post anti-Western content; conservative platforms like “Georgian Idea” and “Holy Fathers and Their Sayings”; journalists and activists; politicians; and individuals with personal profiles who coordinate dissemination of pro-government messages.

Regarding the nature and dissemination techniques of anti-Western propaganda, posts mainly take two formats: short texts or quotes, and brief videos. Overtly false information is rare, but frequent techniques include incomplete information, omission of context, emotional framing, and predisposing audiences toward certain interpretations. Quantitative monitoring showed that the majority of analyzed posts (64%) did not contain overtly false information. Posts with obvious falsehoods are very rare (1%) and almost always include a note that third-party verification has found the content false. About one-third of posts, however, include partially manipulative information, employing techniques such as:

- **Half-truths and decontextualized information** – selective presentation of facts that misleads audiences;
- **Context manipulation** – presenting events unilaterally;
- **Generalization** – spreading one individual’s actions across a group;
- **Subjective interpretation and assertion** – presenting a single opinion as a fact;
- **Labeling** – creating emotional frames;
- **Satire and exaggeration** – visual and textual discrediting;
- **Audio-visual manipulation** – altering perception through music, text, or video edits.

For **Azerbaijani-language content**, no explicitly anti-Western platforms exist. Monitoring focused on relatively popular media, which present information in a neutral tone without commentary or analysis. These posts cover both pro- and anti-Western messages, often reflecting statements from Georgian Dream representatives or Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev. Topics follow general trends, such as pro-European protests, domestic politics, and political parties, with additional focus on Georgia-Azerbaijan relations, Western sanctions against the Georgian government, and elections.

Actors mentioned largely reflect the same trends, though Russia is mentioned more often. The tone is more balanced than in Georgian-language posts: Georgian Dream figures (Irakli Kobakhidze, Shalva Papuashvili) are depicted as governing forces criticizing the opposition and the EU; pro-European activists from Kvemo Kartli are presented neutrally; President Aliyev appears positively as a supporter of Georgia’s government and regional stability.

Authors and disseminators are mostly the same media outlets monitored, presenting statements or quotes without commentary. Posts that are incomplete or somewhat manipulative often involve unverified information or conspiratorial narratives about the “deep state,” aiming to foster distrust toward the West and reinforce the idea that Georgia’s sovereignty is defended solely by the Georgian Dream government.

For **Armenian-language content**, selected pages included the media outlet “Farvana TV” (Anarekli page) and “Javakh Diaspora in Russia.” “Farvana TV” spreads messages aligned with the ruling party, while “Javakh Diaspora in Russia” promotes Russian propaganda. Western actors are depicted as sources of destabilization attempting to pull Georgia in conflict, while protest leaders are framed as foreign agents.

At the same time, the ruling party and government are presented as guarantors of stability, defenders of sovereignty, and actors with successful international contacts. Positive attention is given to cooperation with Russia, strengthened ties with the East, and figures like Mikheil Kavelashvili and Donald Trump, who are framed as opposing Western double standards.

The war in Ukraine is portrayed as a consequence of NATO expansion, with Russia depicted as inclined toward peace, while the West is framed as seeking to undermine Georgia's sovereignty and influence domestic affairs, and diplomatic normalization with Russia is shown positively. Overall, these sources highlight the strength of the government and the injustice of Western pressure. At the same time, they weaken the opposition and portray it as obedient to "foreign powers".

Thus, similar to the Azerbaijani-language segment, Armenian-language pages mention the same actors most frequently as in the Georgian-language segment, but with more frequent references to Russia and Ukraine. "Javakh Diaspora in Russia" particularly focuses on discrediting Salome Zourabichvili while portraying Russia positively as Georgia's historical friend and desired partner.

Authors and disseminators are the pages themselves or their admins. Techniques focus on unilateral presentation of events and limited context, with little outright false information. On "Farvana TV," posts are mainly short texts, quotes, and video materials aimed at reinforcing government positions and strengthening anti-Western narratives.

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## ANNEX 1: METHODOLOGY

Within the project “Countering Anti-Democratic Propaganda Through Engagement”, funded by the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), we selected a one-year period starting November 28, 2024, to study anti-Western narratives on Facebook. This date follows the Prime Minister’s announcement on the suspension of Georgia’s Euro-integration and the onset of mass pro-European protests.

To study anti-Western narratives, we selected 16 public pages and groups characterized by anti-Western and anti-Eurointegration rhetoric and significant popularity (high number of followers/members). Of these 16 pages/groups, 12 are Georgian-language, including two focused specifically on the Adjara region. Additionally, we monitored two Armenian- and two Azerbaijani-language pages/groups aimed primarily at ethnic minorities residing in Georgia.

The selection of these pages and groups was based on reports by organizations studying anti-Western propaganda and disinformation in Georgia, as well as CRRC-Georgia’s social media research [report](#). We shared our preliminary list with organizations currently engaged in identifying disinformation and studying anti-Western propaganda, and incorporated their recommendations. The selected pages and groups include those openly or indirectly supporting Georgian Dream, mainstream and non-mainstream media outlets, local news pages, and an ultra-right platform. Notably, in the Azerbaijani-language segment, the selected pages were not explicitly anti-Western due to the lack of such content. The same applies to the page selected from the Adjara region, which primarily represents local media outlets.

Post selection within these pages/groups followed multiple approaches. For Georgian-language pages and groups, posts were mostly chosen using a simple random sampling method. Additionally, for each page and group, the 10 most popular posts were included.

During the monitoring period, the list of 16 selected pages and groups was revised once: two pages were replaced by similar ones because one was blocked by Meta and the other ceased active posting on Facebook.

Below is the list of pages/groups monitored:

#	Language	Group / page	Name of the group / page	Number of followers
1	Georgian	Page	ლიდერი 41	42,000
2	Georgian	Page	ანტი-მაიდან <sup>2</sup>	6,600
	Georgian	Page	არ აგარეინებთ	20,000
3	Georgian	Group	<u>ბიძინა ივანიშვილი და მომავალი თაობა#official</u>	20,100
4	Georgian	Page	სირცხვილის კორიდორი <sup>3</sup>	56,000
	Georgian	Page	შიგ ევროპაში	7,500
5	Georgian	Page	Gogaggg	602,000
6	Georgian	Page	პოლიტიკოსები 1 ლარიდან	26,000
7	Georgian	Group	წმინდა მამები და მათი გამონათქვამები	36,000
8	Georgian	Page	პატრიოტული გვერდი	46,000
9	Georgian	Page	POSTV - ანალიტიკა	274,000
10	Georgian	Page	News.mcvane.ge	152,000
11	Armenian	Page	ფარვანა ტვ „ანარეკლი“	12,000
12	Armenian / Russian	Page	Джавахкская диаспора России	1,700
13	Adjara	Group	ბიძინა ივანიშვილის მხარდამჭერი ჯგუფი აჭარაში	2,000
16	Adjara	Page	გაბეთი აჭარა	5,800
14	Azerbaijani	Group	<u>24News.ge</u>	16,800
15	Azerbaijani	Page	Aktual.ge	34,000

<sup>2</sup> From February 22 2025 the page “ანტი-მაიდანი” was replaced by page “არ აგარეინებთ”, as it was blocked by Meta.

<sup>3</sup> From February 22 2025 the page “სირცხვილის კორიდორი” was replaced by the page “შიგ ევროპაში”, as it stopped social media activities.

Following initial filtering, some posts were selected for in-depth analysis. A post was considered relevant for the study if it:

- Expressed or related to anti-Western discourse in any form – damaging, questioning, negatively portraying, or criticizing Georgia’s Euro-integration, attacking pro-European actors/politicians, or supporting anti-Euro integration actors/politicians;
- Addressed Europe, the U.S., the West, or their representatives;
- Expressed pro-Russian discourse in any form;
- Related to pro-Western or anti-Russian protests.

From November 29<sup>th</sup>, 2024 to May 31<sup>st</sup>, 2025, a total of 2,261 posts were analyzed in depth.

### **Limitations**

This study does not claim to examine the content of every anti-Western Facebook group and page. However, it presents an overall picture. Facebook posts are dynamic, meaning that post content may be edited by the author or blocked and limited by Meta, and thus may no longer be available after a given period.