

# Anti-Western rhetoric on Facebook

Summer and Fall of 2025

Main Findings

## MAIN FINDINGS

### Anti-Western Rhetoric on Facebook

from June 1 to November 28, 2025

2025

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# Anti-Western rhetoric on Facebook in the summer and fall of 2025

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The objective of the report is to identify anti-Western narratives and actors mentioned within them spread on Facebook during the summer and fall of 2025, to analyze their dynamics, and to reveal the individuals, groups, or organizations participating in the creation and dissemination of the aforementioned messages. The study also examines how the messages differ across Georgian-, Azerbaijani-, and Armenian-speaking audiences. The research further studies the techniques of information manipulation in Facebook posts.

This is the second report regarding the observation of selected pages and groups on Facebook, covering the period from June 1 to November 29, 2025. Monitoring was conducted on 16 public Facebook pages and groups designated for Georgian-speaking, Armenian-speaking, and Azerbaijani-speaking audiences. In total, 1,756 posts were analyzed in depth.

The monitoring results indicate that in the summer and fall of 2025, the selected Facebook pages and groups disseminated both anti-Western and pro-government discourse, which was strictly tailored to internal political processes and local government elections. In

the summer, content seeking to discredit political opposition dominated. Political opposition and pro-European protests were presented as divided, ridiculous, ineffective, and left without public support. Simultaneously, messages were circulated stating that the Georgian Dream party is the only guarantor of the country's stability and peace, while its victory in the local government elections was an inevitability.

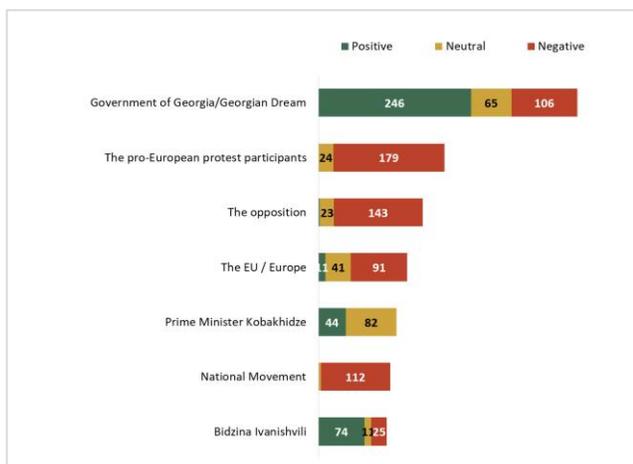
During the pre-election period in the fall, the focus shifted to strengthening the government's legitimacy, highlighting socio-economic achievements, and their prioritization of neutrality and peace. Following the events of October 4, when a mass protest rally was held in parallel with the elections and a number of participants attempted to occupy the Presidential Palace, the narratives of criminalizing the protest and the interference of "external forces" were reintroduced. Internal dissatisfaction was frequently portrayed as a Western-inspired attempt to destabilize the country.

In the segments of ethnic minorities, discourse took shape in a different form. **In the Azerbaijani-speaking space, a more neutral, informative style dominated**, perhaps stemming from the nature of the sample (two informational pages were selected). However, during crisis periods, discrediting of protests and criticism of the European Union were present as well. **In the Armenian-speaking segment, attempts to**

reinforce the legitimacy of the government and anti-Western, and partially pro-Russian narratives were clearly outlined. Within this content, the West was presented as a source of unreasonable demands and destabilization, while Russia was presented as a constructive and peace-oriented actor.

The analysis of the actors mentioned in the posts demonstrated a clear narrative hierarchy. Most frequently and predominantly in a positive context, the Georgian government / Georgian Dream, as well as Bidzina Ivanishvili, were presented (Chart 1). Conversely, the opposition, pro-European protest participants, and the West were frequently covered negatively – as incompetent, divided, violent, and actors supported by "external forces."

Chart 1: Actors presented in posts by tone of their presentation, period from June 1 to November 29, 2025 (Number of posts, full data)



Informational media outlets, pro-government and conservative Facebook pages and groups, their administrators, as well as anonymous individuals participated in the dissemination of

such narratives. Overall, the narrative dissemination network was multi-layered, structured, and segmented, which allowed it to convey its worldview to different audiences through distinct messaging.

During the monitoring period, blatantly false information was not detected in the majority of the posts; however, a significant portion contained manipulative, out-of-context, or subjectively shared content. In the Georgian-speaking segment, instances of information manipulation were particularly evident, including photo and video manipulation (more than a fifth of the posts accompanied by a video contained visual manipulation), whereas in the Azerbaijani-speaking space, a more neutral informational format dominated. In the Armenian-speaking segment, pro-Russian interpretations were added to the anti-Western messages (Samples of photo/video manipulations are provided as screenshots of the posts).





Overall, the research results indicate that the anti-Western and pro-government narratives spread on Facebook in the summer and fall of 2025 were closely linked to the electoral process and served to strengthen the government's legitimacy, delegitimize the opposition, and deepen mistrust toward the West.