



Anti-Western rhetoric on Facebook

From November 29, 2024, to November 29, 2025

Main Findings

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Anti-Western Narratives on Facebook in Georgia from November 29, 2024, to November 29, 2025

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this research was to identify the main anti-Western narratives spread on the social network Facebook between November 29, 2024, and November 29, 2025, to describe their thematic and strategic changes, and to reveal the actors who created and disseminated these narratives. The research was conducted with the support of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), within the framework of the “Countering Anti-Democratic Propaganda Through Engagement” project, and is based on an in-depth analysis of 4,017 posts published across 16 public pages and groups. The monitoring included content targeted at Georgian-speaking, Azerbaijani-speaking, and Armenian-speaking audiences living in Georgia.

The monitoring results showed that anti-Western narratives are spread systematically and purposefully in Georgia and are closely tied to domestic politics. The one-year period was characterized by a wave of pro-European protests, repressive legislative changes, a boycott of the Parliament and municipal elections by opposition parties, and disputed

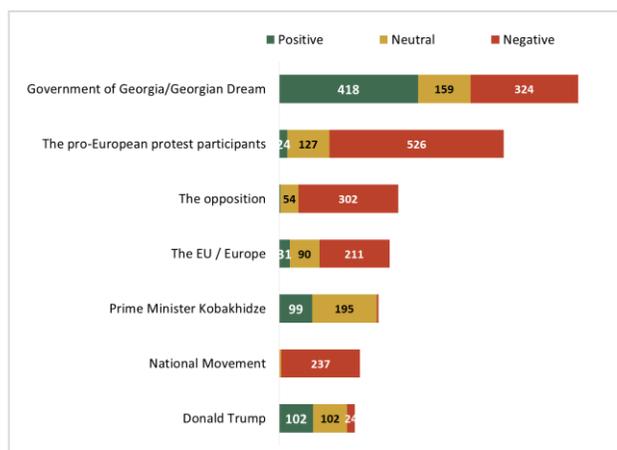
elections, which were reflected by discourse on Facebook. Anti-Western messages reacted to ongoing events and served to legitimize the government and discredit opposition and pro-European actors. The Georgian Dream government was systematically presented as the only defender of national sovereignty and stability, while the West was portrayed as an unreliable partner with double standards or even one interfering in the country's domestic politics.

The strategy of anti-Western narratives were directly informed by domestic political events.. In the initial stage of the protests, the criminalization of the rallies and presenting them as "directed by foreign powers" dominated. Later, the focus shifted to discrediting political opposition and the discourse surrounding the temporary investigative commission of the Parliament of Georgia, led by MP Thea Tsulukiani, while during the pre-election period, the emphasis was on legitimizing the elections and highlighting the government's achievements. Throughout the year, the most stable and prominent narrative was the delegitimization of the opposition and protest participants.

The most frequently mentioned actor in the posts was the ruling party "Georgian Dream" and its leaders, including Bidzina Ivanishvili and Irakli Kobakhidze, who were mostly presented in a positive context. The opposition and pro-European protest participants were regularly

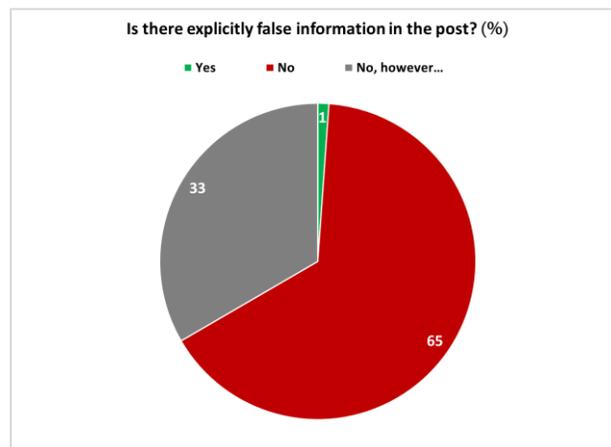
the objects of criticism. Georgian President Salome Zourabichvili was frequently a target of insults, while Western institutions – the European Union, the European Parliament, and other organizations – were presented as sources of blackmail, pressure, and destabilization. Simultaneously, in certain contexts, Donald Trump was presented positively as a critic of the liberal West (Chart 1).

Chart 1: Main actors mentioned in posts from November 29, 2024, to November 29, 2025, full data (Number of posts)



A diverse spectrum of actors participated in the dissemination of anti-Western content: pro-government media, pages and groups supporting the government, political satire platforms, page and group "admins," politicians, and individual personal profiles. In the Georgian-speaking segment, the intense use of visual manipulations was observed.

Chart 2: Is there explicitly false information in the post? (%)



Anti-Western messages were rarely based on entirely false information (only in about 1% of cases) (Chart 2). However, a significant portion of the posts used half-truths, altered or completely omitted the context, generalized isolated events, provided subjective interpretations, attached editorialized captions, used satire, and manipulated audio and video. According to the overall data, 65% of the posts included a photo, and 32% included a video. Two percent of the photos and 17% of the videos were manipulative in nature, including those generated by artificial intelligence (to see demonstrations of photo and video manipulation, refer to the post photos).



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Noticeable differences were revealed among posts targeting different language groups. In the Georgian-speaking space, anti-Western rhetoric was the most editorialized, mocking, and discrediting, especially toward political opposition and protest participants. In the Azerbaijani-speaking segment, the content was mainly informational and spread in the form of official statements; openly anti-Western narratives were relatively rare, which was partly

due to the nature of the sample. In the Armenian-speaking segment, also stemming from the sample, pro-government and pro-Russian narratives were sharply outlined, where the West was often presented as a source of destabilization, while Russia was presented as an important partner for security and stability.

Overall, the spread of anti-Western narratives on Facebook during the period from November 29, 2024, to November 29, 2025, reflects a consistent and structured messaging strategy. Its effectiveness relies less on blatant disinformation and more on editorial, visual, and contextual manipulation, audience segmentation, and active interpretation of ongoing political processes. As a result, anti-Western discourse functions as an instrument of political influence that strengthens the government's legitimacy, diminishes opposition forces, and facilitates the deepening of societal polarization.