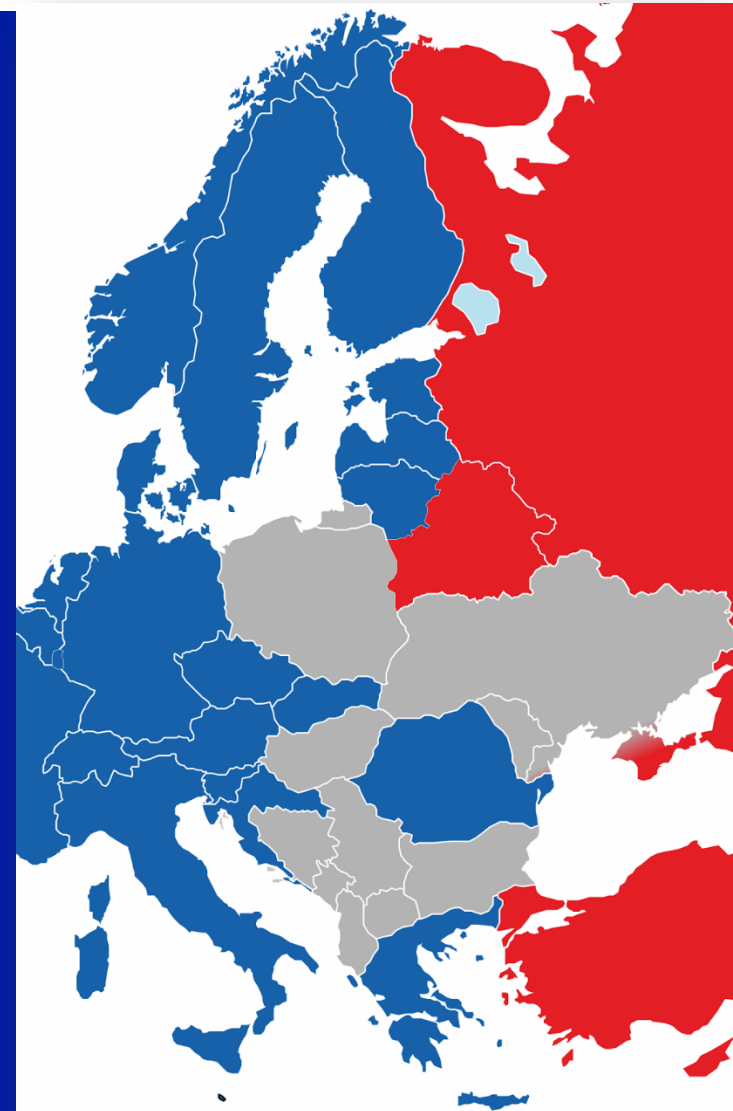


# Anti-Western propaganda in Romania

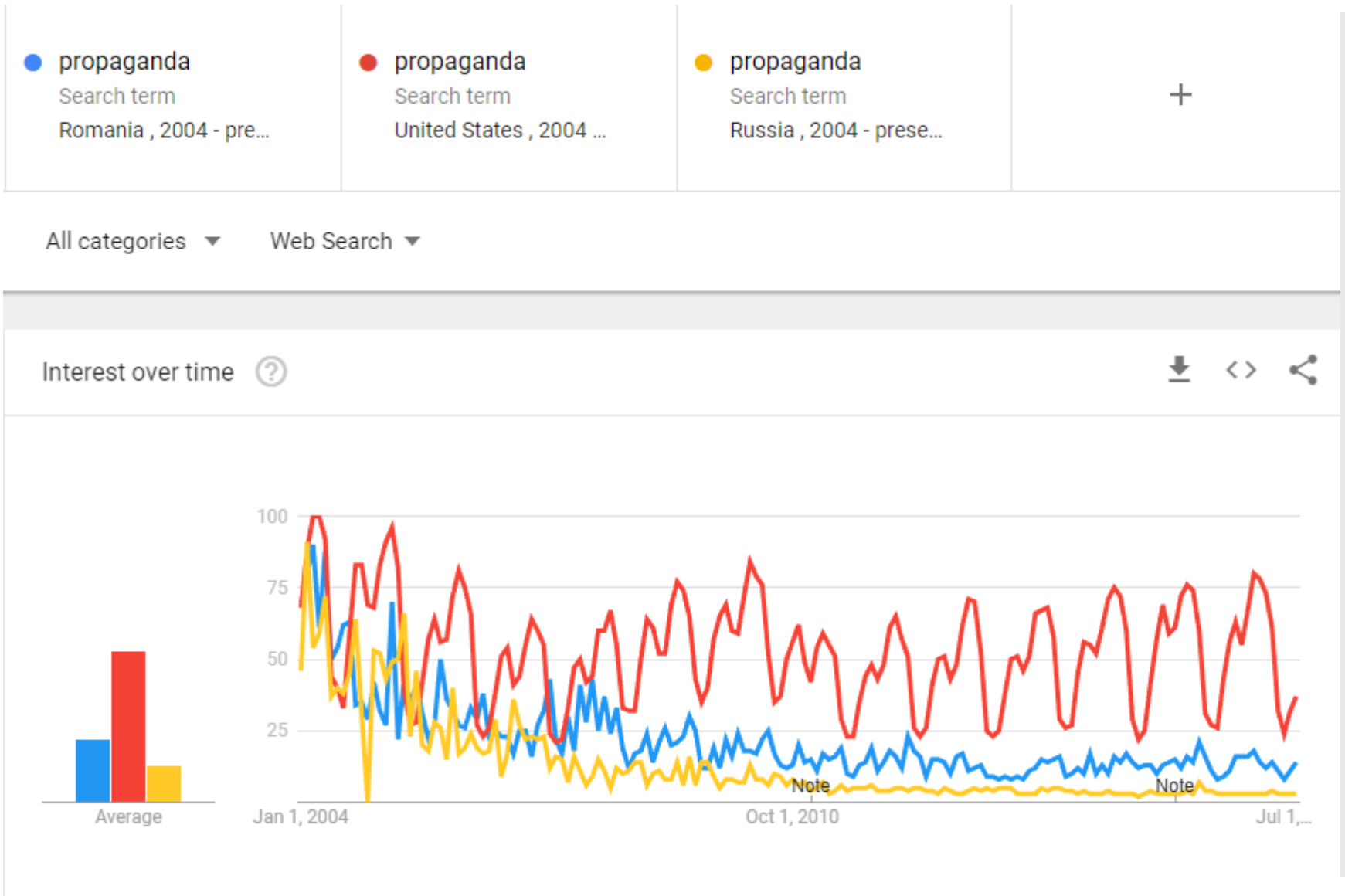
Security issues in online media, 2017



**CPD**

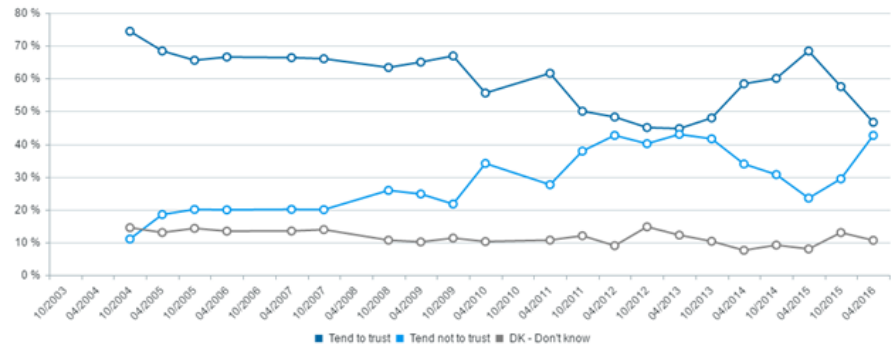
SNSPA  
Center for Civic Participation  
and Democracy

# Searching “propaganda”...

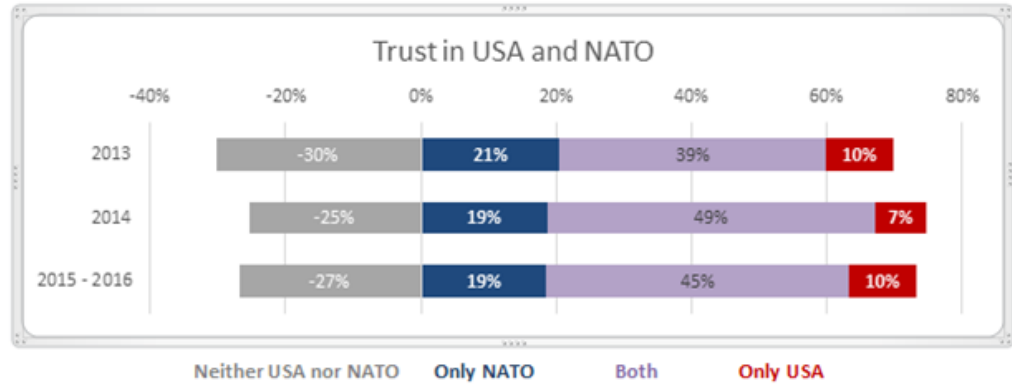


Why should they be interested?

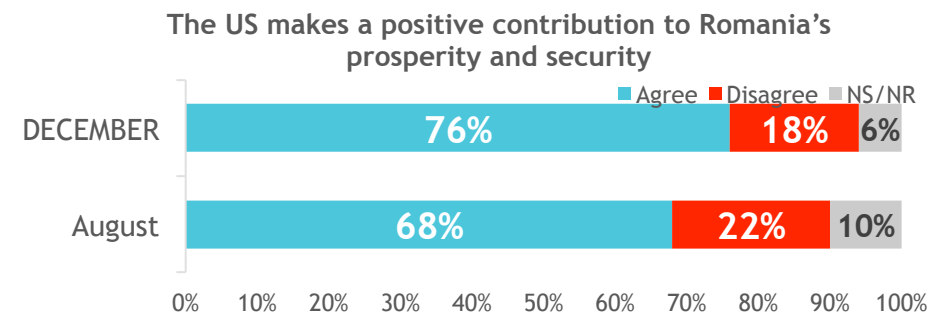
I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it?  
 The European Union  
 Romania (from 10/2003 to 05/2016)



Survey data Eurostat – 2003-2016



Survey data SNSPA – 2013-2016



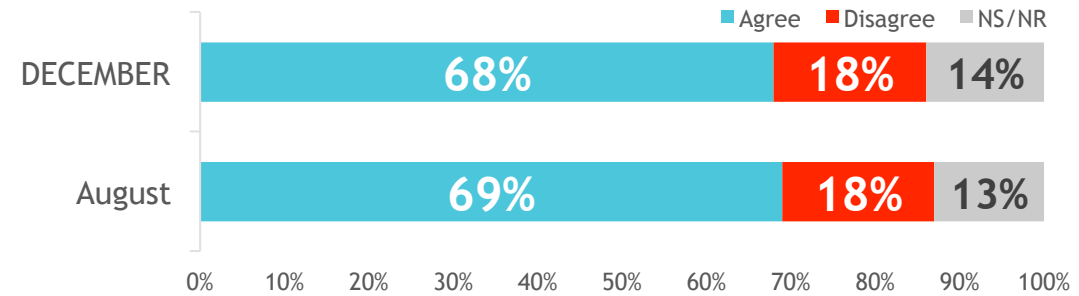
Survey data SNSPA – 2016, August and December



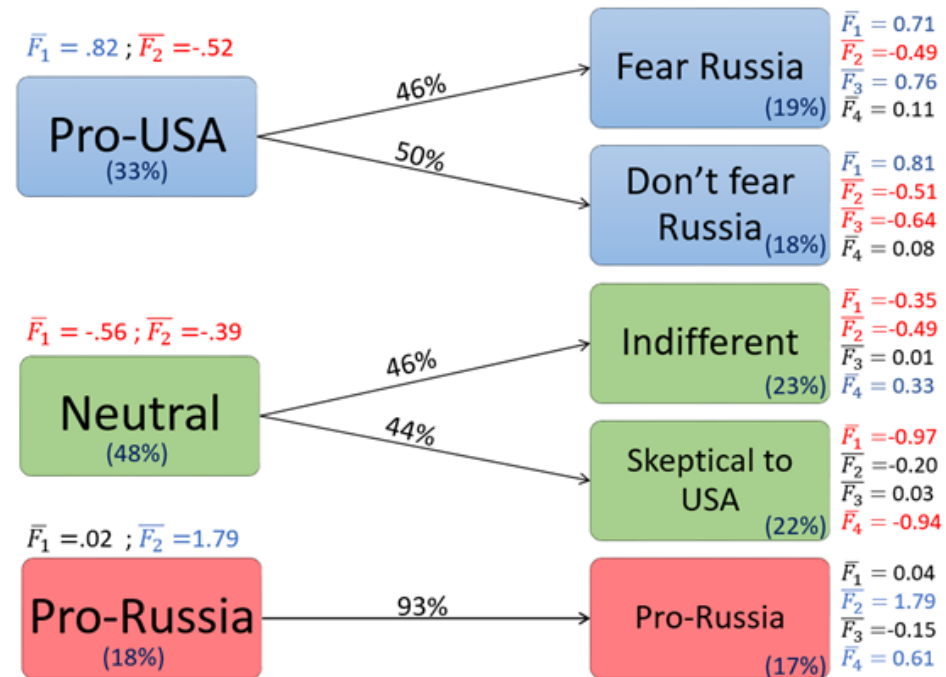
Survey data Eurostat – 2017

Also, Romania is one of the most anti-Russia states in the region.

### NATO is stronger than Russia



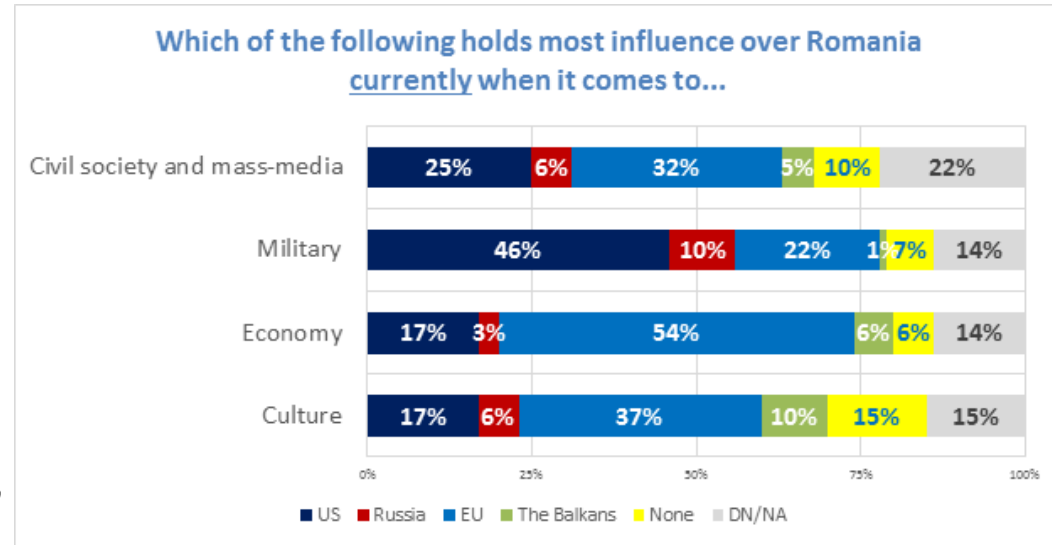
Survey data – 2016, August and December



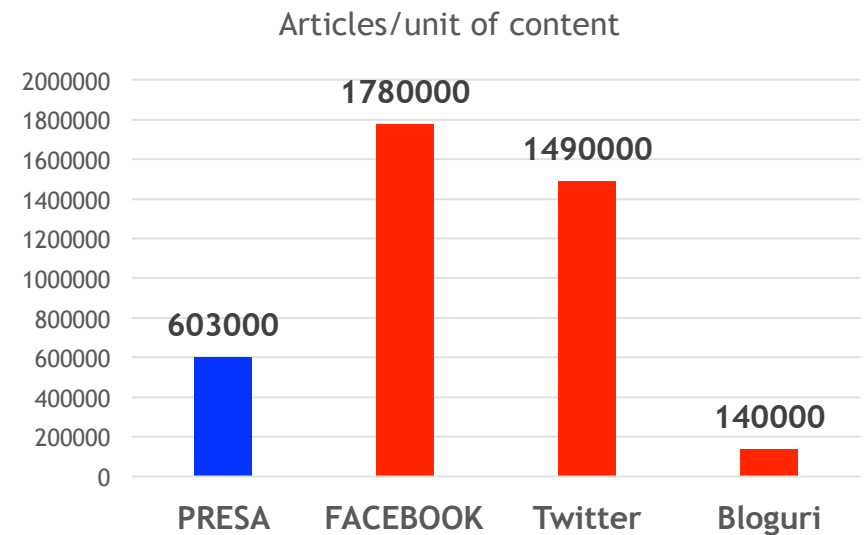
Survey analysis. Outputs for two cluster analyses. Size of clusters, average of factor scores for each cluster and relationship between the two sets of clusters.

# 4 new elements to consider!

- 1. **New generations** - more interested in Russia than interested in the US (more on the next page)
- 2. **The West is no longer just one voice** - there are several, with different influence on Romanians: the US and the EU are different (see on top right)
- 3. **New media** - social networks + new content generators = less impact of classic media on the new generation (see on right - below)
- 4. **Less positive messages** about the West and about the US in Romania in the last years...



Survey data – 2016



Online data – 2017

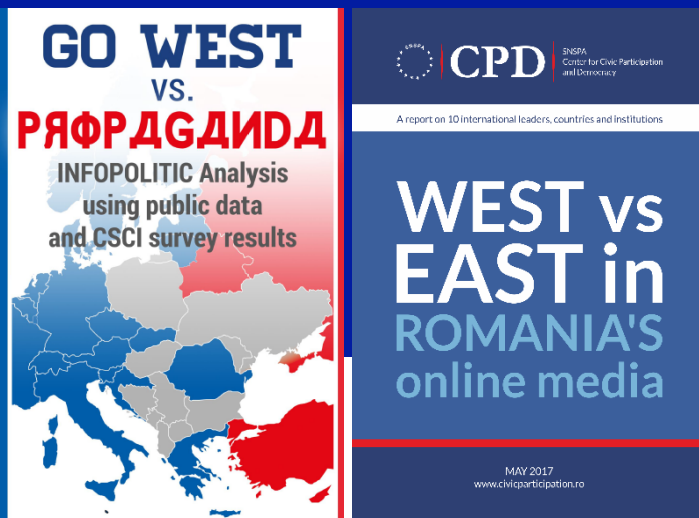
# The new generations are the most vulnerable to anti-Western propaganda

- FROM POLLS
- Pro-Russians (18%) are younger and use Facebook more often, are more predisposed to civic participation (more trust in people and NGOs, more volunteers and potential volunteers), consider they can influence political decisions more often; also more men.

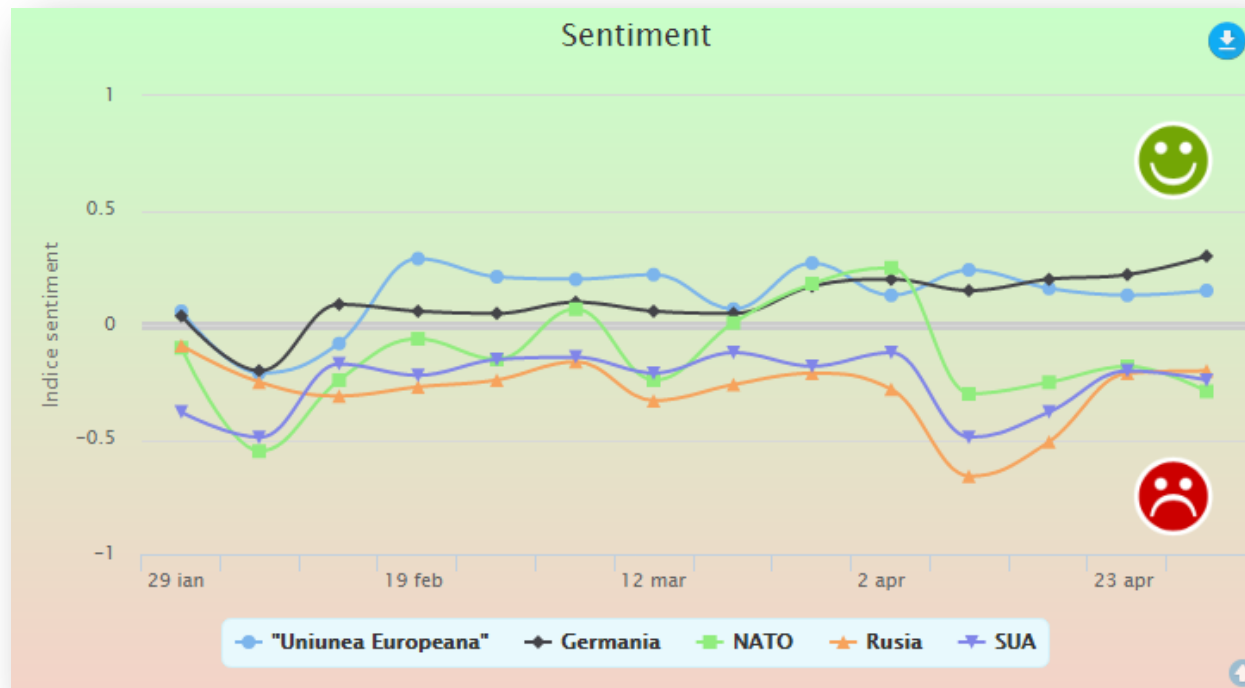
- FROM MEDIA ANALYSIS
- For every old author writing about Russia on FB, there are almost 4 young authors interested in Russia in Romanian online media; this is double compared to the US!



Media analysis data – profile of people from social media that are promoting content with the word “Russia”, last year  
<http://civicparticipation.ro/blog/study-west-vs-east-in-romania-online-media-may-2017/>



# The attitudes toward the West are not only positive! Differences between the US and the EU



Media analysis data – sentiment analysis on the context of mentions regarding 5 important names. See the similar path for the US and Russia. Also, see the better context for Germany and the EU

- EUROSTAT INFO 2016. Romanians are, along with the Polish, the only Europeans considering that the influence of the US is smaller than that of the EU.
- Moreover, most Europeans feel that the US influence will decrease, as compared to the influence of the European Union. At the same time, many Europeans believe that the influence of the EU will increase significantly in connection with Russia's influence.





## The national security & the military. 2017 - a year with an increase in narratives about the Army in Romania

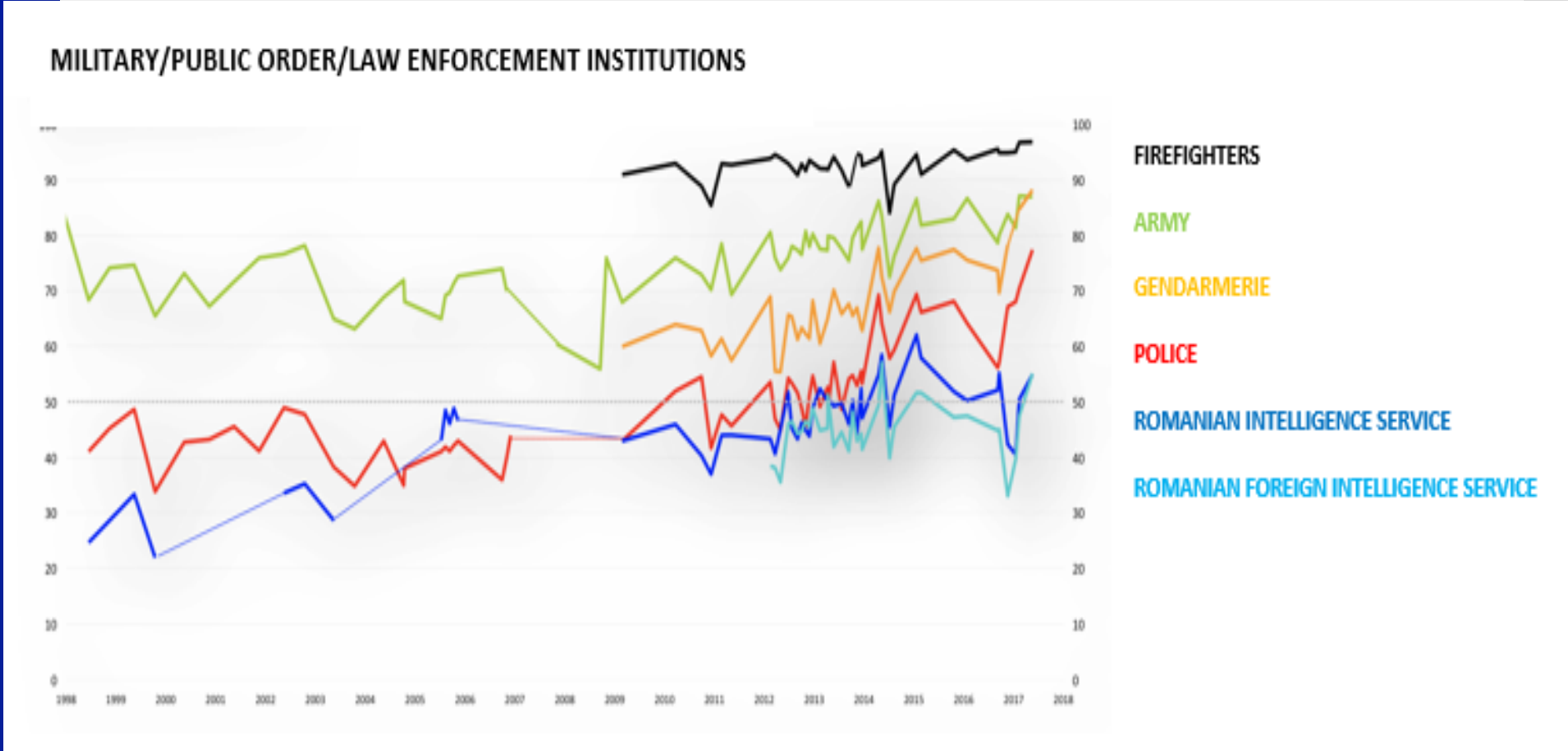
- **JANUARY 31, 2017** - The national defense budget is approved by CSAT (2% of GDP, for the first time).
- **March 18, 2017** - After German Chancellor Angela Merkel's visit to Washington, the US president Donald Trump states that "Germany owes vast sums of money to NATO & the United States must be paid more for the powerful, and very expensive, defense it provides to Germany."
- **April 20, 2017** - The Defense Ministry (MAPN) sends a request to the government of the United States of America expressing willingness to buy Patriot missiles.
- **May 25, 2017** - The first NATO Summit with the participation of the new US President, Donald Trump, takes place in Brussels.
- **May 26 - June 16, 2017** - Noble Jump 2017 NATO military exercise takes place in Romania, in a relatively discrete manner without too much public promotion.
- **June 4-9, 2017** Romania's President Klaus Iohannis is in Washington, for the first meeting of an Eastern European head of state with the new US president.
- **June 29, 2017** - In the Arges County a grave road accident takes place involving a military truck, an event which resulted in the death of three Romanian members of the armed forces.
- **July 6, 2017** - The Summit of the Three Seas Initiative takes place in Warsaw, where Romania is represented by the President, and the US leader Donald Trump asks Russia "to cease its destabilizing activities in Ukraine and elsewhere".
- **July 11-22, 2017** - Romania is one of the countries which host Saber Guardian 2017 NATO military exercise.
- **July 11, 2017** The US State Department approves a possible sale of Patriot missile defense systems to Romania - generating an ample discussion regarding the opportunity of this expenditure in Romania.



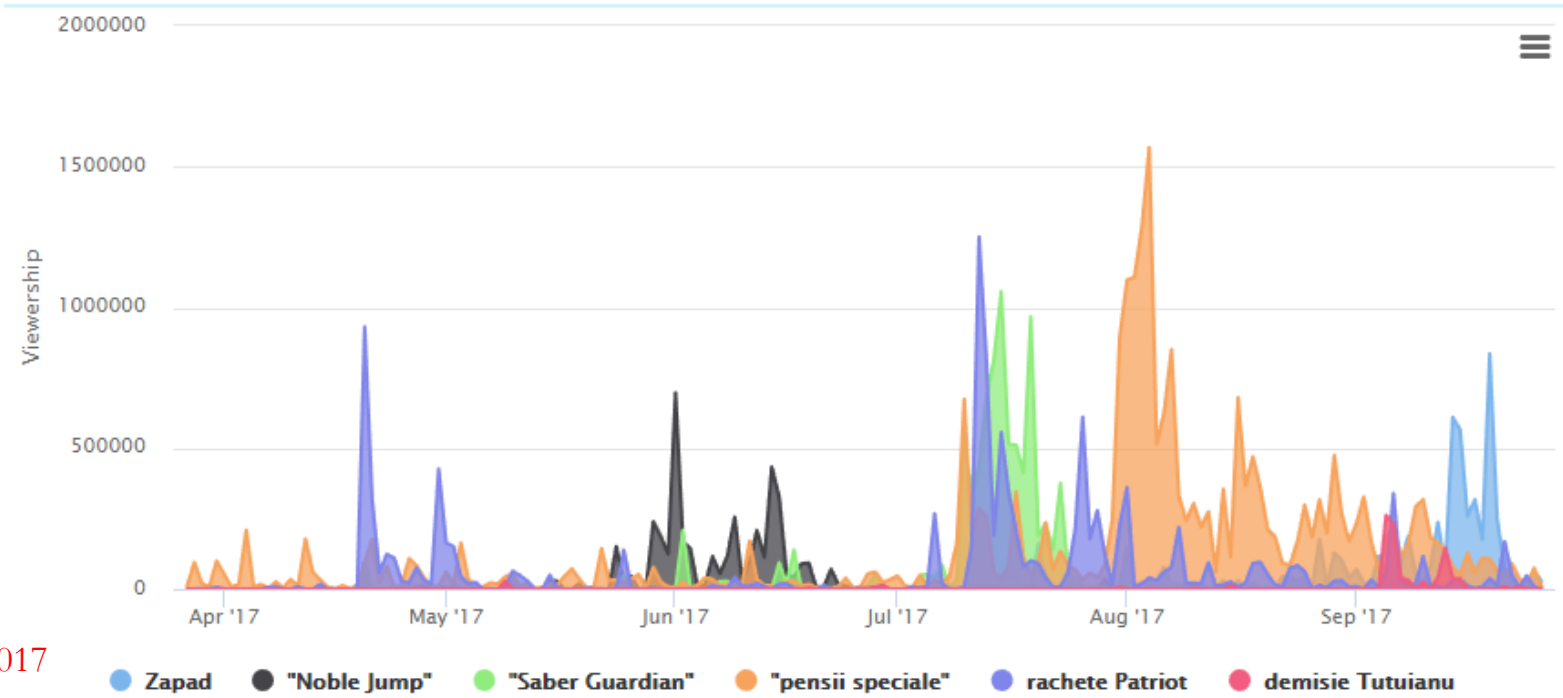
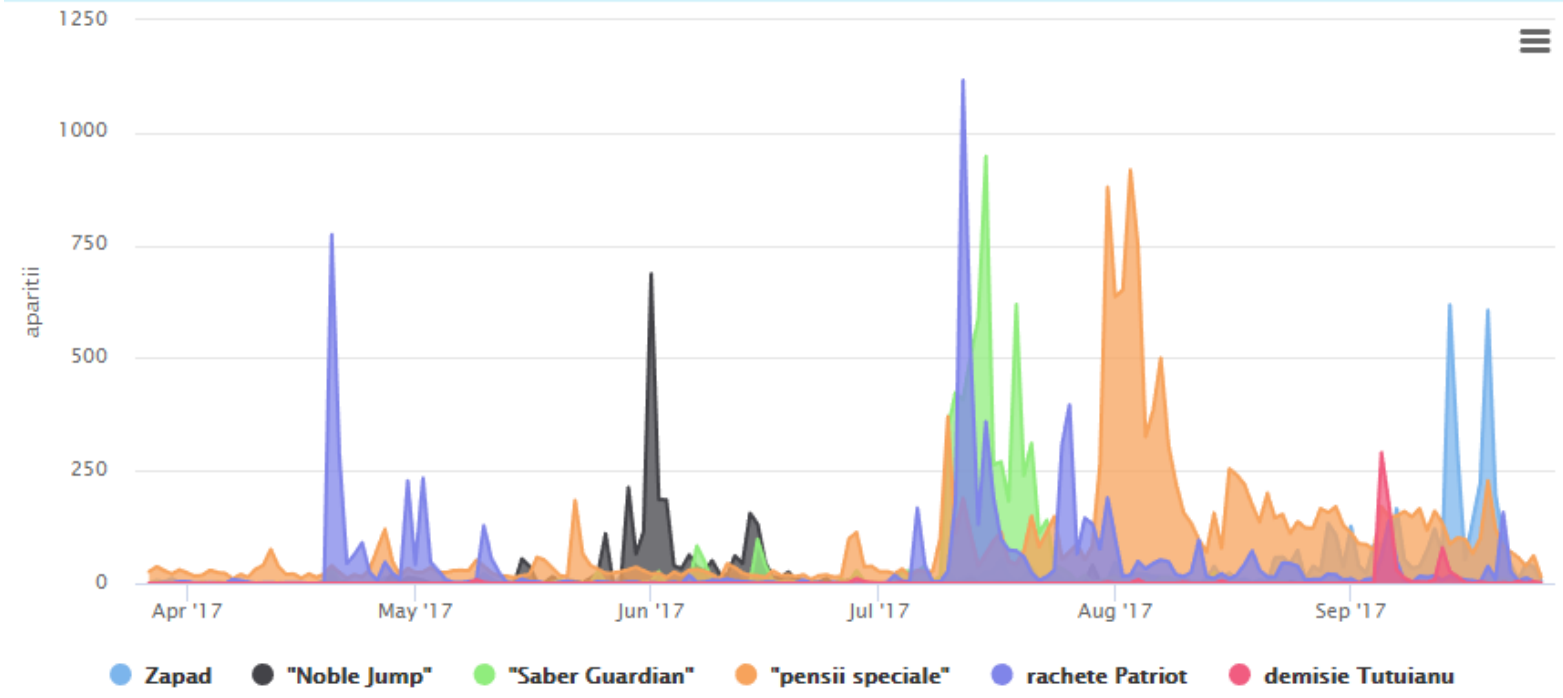
- **July 28, 2017** - Romania refuses to allow entry in its airspace to a plane transporting Russian Deputy Prime Minister Dmitri Rogozin, generating his aggressive reaction containing threats of direct responses.
- **End of July/ beginning of August** - The government announces changes regarding special pensions, which impact the Army, and the public debate around the issue includes examples of high pensions, discussed in a critical manner. The image of the Army is affected.
- **August, 2017** - the resignation of the Ministry of Defence, after a political debate in Romania.
- **September, 2017** - ZAPAD, the Russian military exercise, begins



**Trust in the  
 Military - has  
 been  
 constantly  
 high after  
 1990.  
 What about  
 the future?**

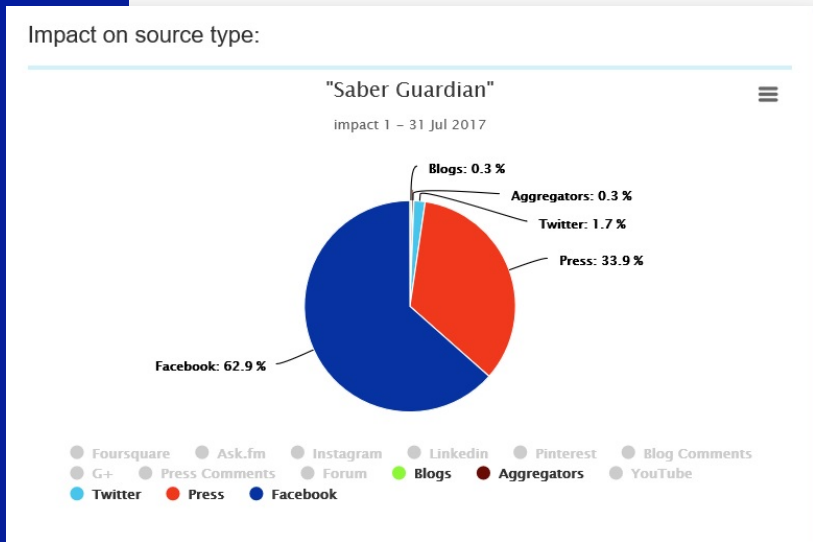


# Topics regarding the Military, NATO and the US in Romania, during the last months

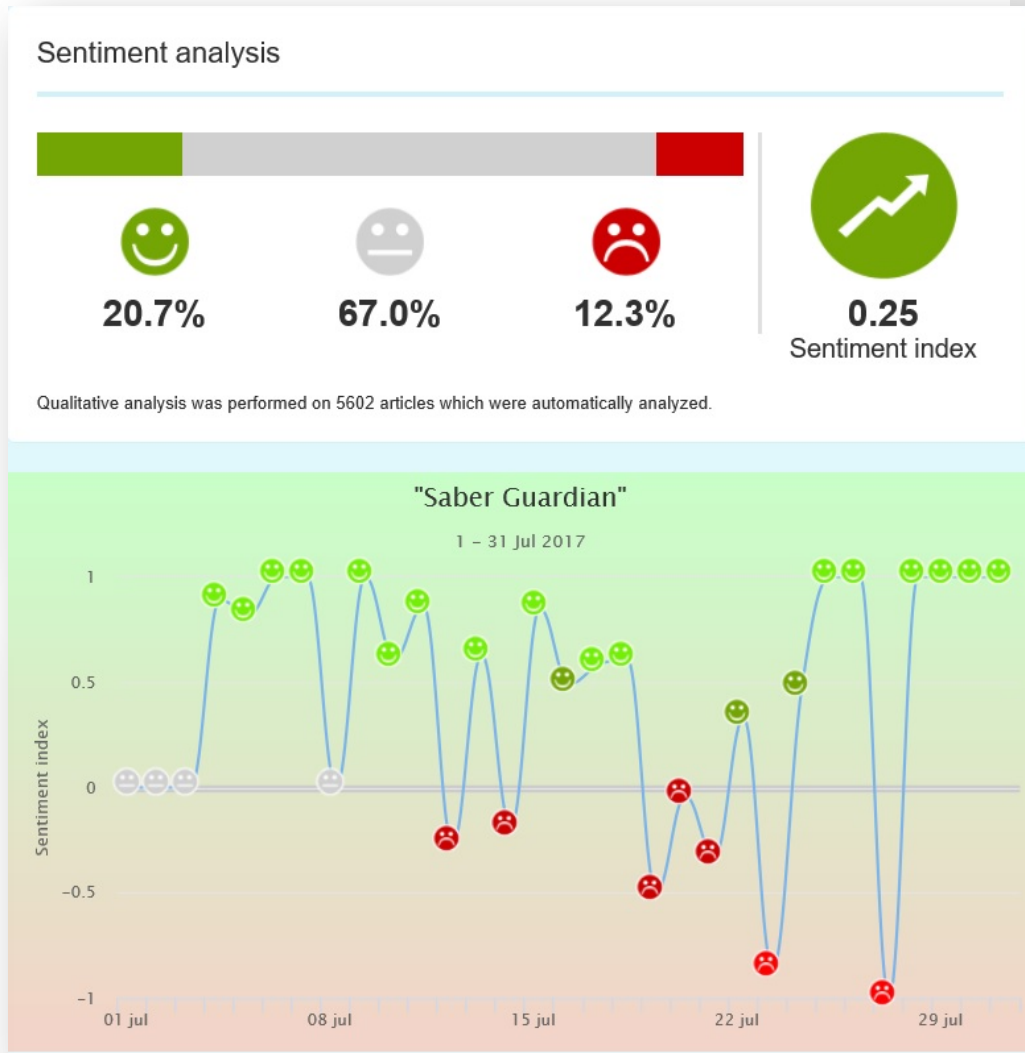


- The positive effect of Saber Guardian. But, still, a limited impact...

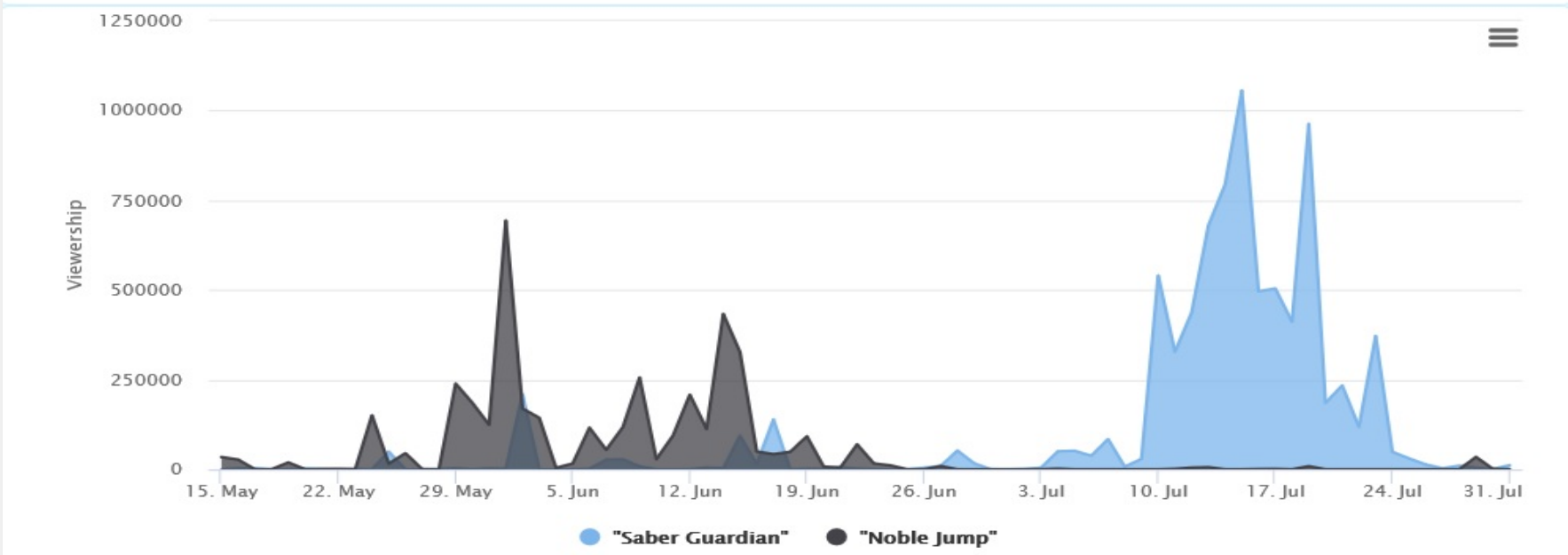
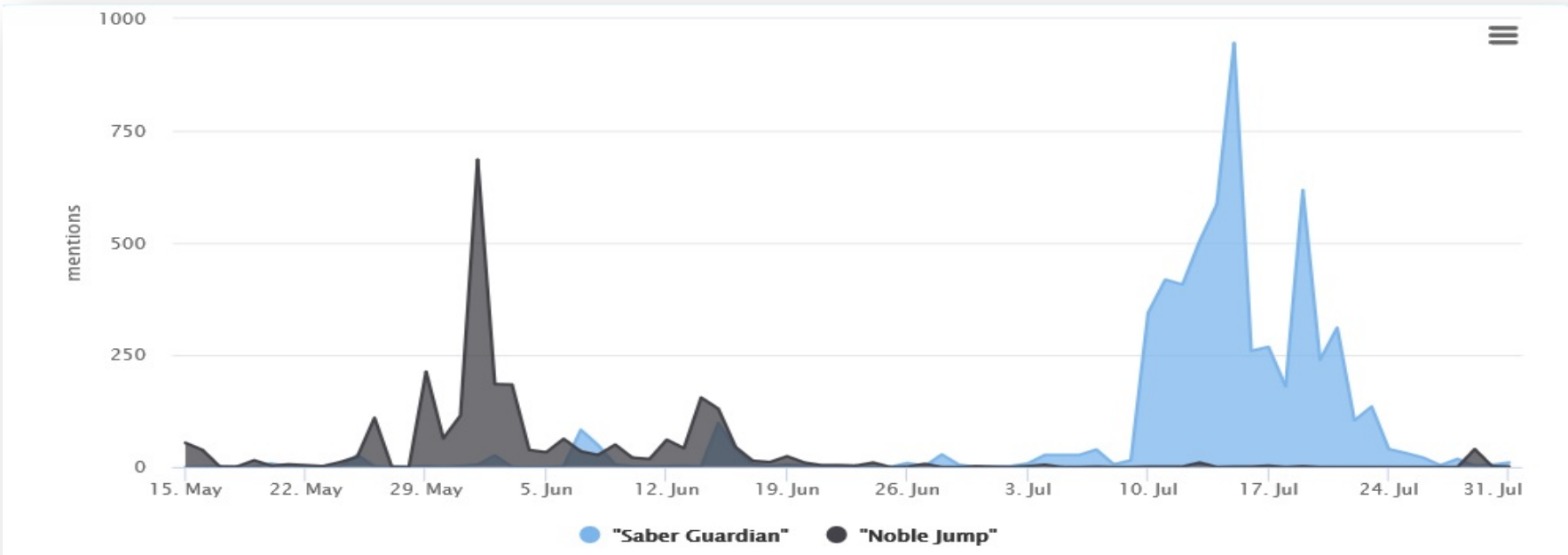
# Saber Guardian

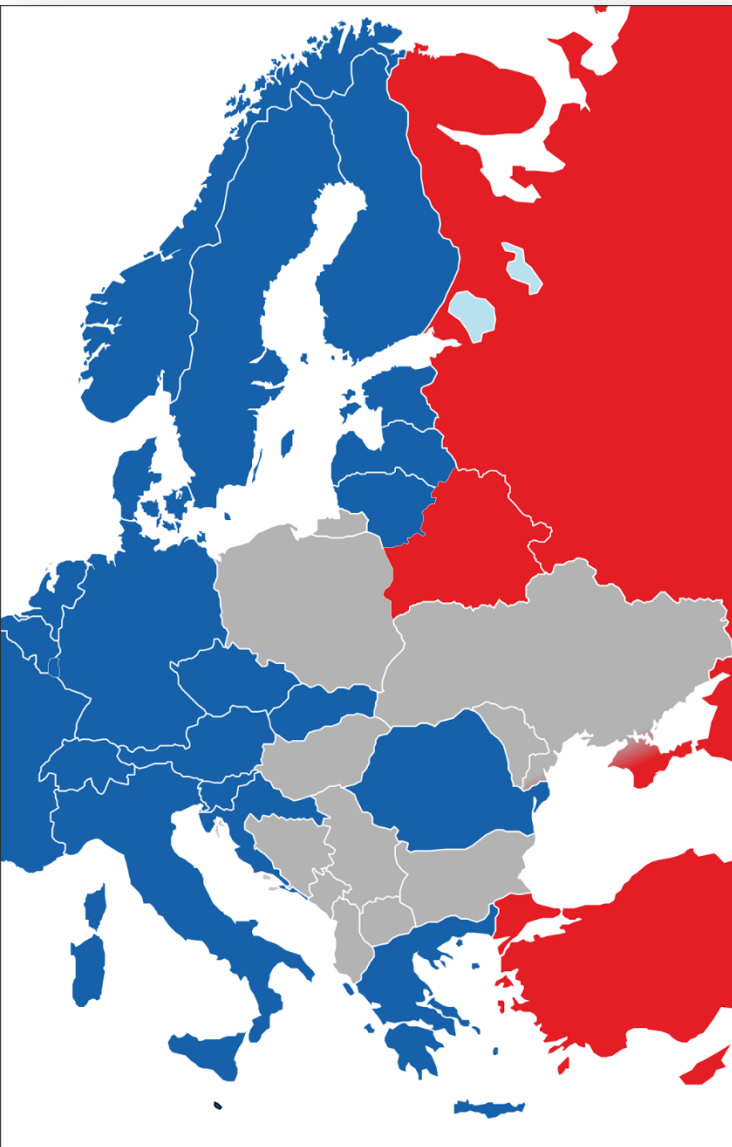


Online media analysis data



# Noble Jump vs Saber Guardian





## Negative narratives in the Baltics and Romania. Saber Guardian case

- Preferred themes used in the Baltics:
  1. The Baltic states are paranoid and / or Russophobic
  2. NATO is unwelcome / NATO troops are occupants
  3. NATO cannot protect the Baltic States
  4. NATO's actions are provocative / aggressive
  5. Russia is not a threat
  6. NATO supports Nazism
  7. NATO is obsolete
  8. NATO supports terrorism.
- Only a few can gain acceptance in Romania:
  1. **The fact that the official policy is “Russophobic” and that the current actions are provoking Russia**
  2. **“Russia is not a threat” or “NATO cannot protect Romania”.**
  3. **There are certain references to the fact that NATO troops would be occupation troops - thus the implicit suggestion is they are not welcomed by the population.**

# What can we learn? 5 objectives

1. DEEPENING AND WIDENING RESEARCH ON THE ISSUE.
2. ACKNOWLEDGING THE “PROPAGANDA” THREAT.
3. EDUCATING THE YOUTH ABOUT THE VIRTUES OF THE WESTERN MODEL.
4. INCREASING CIVIC PARTICIPATION.
5. INCREASING POSITIVE PROMOTION of COMMON EVENTS - like the impact of the Romanian Military (and all other institutions) in NATO, for example.



## What is CPD@SNSPA?



- One of our projects - evaluating the Russian/anti-Western Propaganda in Romania and in Eastern Europe.
- For this, we are working on:
  - (1) defining the media analysis tool that can assess the average impact of controversial issues, in terms of citizen exposure to the information;
  - (2) implementation of an “Early warning” mechanism in terms of emergence of topics in the media, which can subsequently be the subject of negative campaigns and can become the source of manipulation - thus impairing civic participation;
  - (3) measuring and defining the Routes of exposure of important issues in the public space (identifying patterns in the promotion of certain subjects - their visibility at the level of less important sources and the subsequent takeover of the main media agenda).



# Thank you!

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More about our work on  
[civicparticipation.ro](http://civicparticipation.ro) | [snspa.ro](http://snspa.ro)