





Corruption and Anticorruption

Narratives in Bulgarian Media 2021-2022





Media Environment in Bulgaria



01	Media Environment in Bulgaria	
02	Methodology	
03	Influence Networks	
04	Corruption Narratives	
05	Anti-Corruption Narratives	
06	Example 1 – Corruption Story	
07	Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story	
08	Findings & Conclusions	
09	Recommendations	
10	Q&A	







Media Environment in Bulgaria

Media Ownership & Indirect Influence

- Non-transparent ownership, often intertwined with political and business entities. 500+ media outlets without public information about ownership
 or editorial staff (mostly anonymous "Mushroom Websites", part of Influence Networks).
- Media ownership by political parties (Ataka, BSP)
- Regulators

Media Business Model

- Only 12% of news consumers in Bulgaria payed for online news in 2021 (down by 3 p.p. compared to 2020);
- Substantial dependence on revenue from public sector entities (through EU funding and contracts for various "PR services", not only with central
 and local government administrations, but also with non-transparent public sector entities);
- Most of the Ad revenue is captured by the national TV channels;
- "Fight for clicks" leading to <u>low journalism standards and media ethics</u>

Judicial harassment, political pressure, and intimidation

- Reporters without Borders (RSF) describes media freedom in Bulgaria as "fragile and unstable" and "the few independent voices in Bulgaria work under constant pressure";
- Investigative journalists and media independent outlets are regularly victims of abusive proceedings like SLAPPs (Strategic lawsuit against public participation);
- Death threats against investigative journalists and physical violence against journalists [2021, RSF]





Methodology



- o1 Media Environment in Bulgaria
- o2 Methodology
- **o3** Influence Networks
- O4 Corruption Narratives
- Anti-Corruption Narratives
- o6 Example 1 Corruption Story
- o7 Example 2 Anti-Corruption Story
- o8 Findings & Conclusions
- og Recommendations
- **10** Q&A





文 Methodology (1/2)

Media Analysis Report Coverage

- The analysis cover the period between January 1st 2021 and December 31st 2022
- 3,289 x Online Websites
 - Online Media Outlets, Blogs, Portals and Websites of Traditional & Broadcast Media Outlets (in Bulgarian language)
 - Online Media Aggregators
 - "Mushroom Websites" (forming Influence Networks)
- 1,014 x Facebook Pages (in Bulgarian language)

Keywords Research & Taxonomy Building

- Sensika's Analytical Team conducted deep research and developed custom taxonomies for each narrative to avoid false positive matches
- The taxonomies for each narrative and all analyses are performed in Sensika Media Monitoring & Analysis platform
- Corruption and anticorruption stories were indicated in the report through deep dive research in the Bulgarian media content
- Each story was assessed in terms of the ratio of mentions of keywords directly related to corruption/anticorruption and such associated with corruption/anticorruption practices





效 Methodology (2 / 2)

Source Type Classification

	Ownership & Contacts			S	Advertisement Policies			Editorial Policies					
Source Type	Known Ownership	Known Editorial Team	Contact Details	Internet Domain Ownership	Serving Online Ads	Serving Harmulf Ads ¹	Public Ads Rates	Publishing Unsourced Content	Coordinated	Content	Presenting other media's reporting as own	Automatic Content Republishing	Original Source Attibution
Online Media	Yes	Yes	Yes	Public	Yes	► No	Yes	► No	► No	► No	► Varies	► No	► Yes
Media Aggregator	Varies	N/A	Yes	Public	Yes	► No	Yes	► No	► No	► No	► No	Yes	► Yes
Influence Network	8 No	⊗ No	8 No	8 No	Yes	Yes	8 No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	► No

¹⁾ Serving potentially harmful Ads, such as for alternative medical procedures and medicines, Ponzi schemes, unlicensed gambling, etc.

²⁾ Publishing the same content within 2-5 minutes through multiple (10-100) different web domains or sub-domains, posing as separate media outlets.





Influence Networks (Mushroom Websites)



- Media Environment in Bulgaria Methodology 02 **Influence Networks** 03 **Corruption Narratives Anti-Corruption Narratives** Example 1 – Corruption Story Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story Findings & Conclusions 80 Recommendations
 - **10** Q&A





Mushroom Websites 101

Viral Spread

It's all over the "news" and social media, coming from all kinds of sources, as well as from "trusted friends", without paid boosting and advertisement.

Organic Amplification

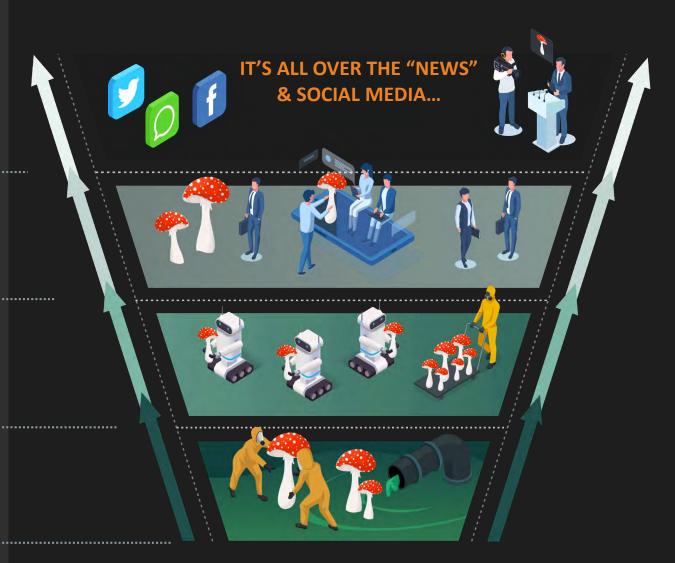
Unsuspecting social media users spread disinformation, propaganda and fake news by sharing posts on their personal newsfeeds, often without reading beyond the headlines.

Targeted Distribution for Artificial Amplification

Troll and bot factories (cheap manual labor + automated bots) spam-share and engage with thousands of groups, pages and forums, tricking the social media Recommendation Engines that the content is viral, and it's worth suggesting it to users.

Seeding / Implantation

Initial Seeding in Tier 3 "Mushroom Websites" with high degree of automation. The same piece of content is published in a coordinated manner on tens or hundreds of centrally controlled websites.







Mushroom Websites (part of Influence Networks)

WORLDTODAY











NOVINI2216









































Corruption Narratives



Media Environment in Bulgaria Methodology 02 Influence Networks 03 **Corruption Narratives** 04 **Anti-Corruption Narratives** Example 1 – Corruption Story Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story Findings & Conclusions 80 Recommendations Q&A 10







Top Stories Related to Corruption (1-5 of 10)





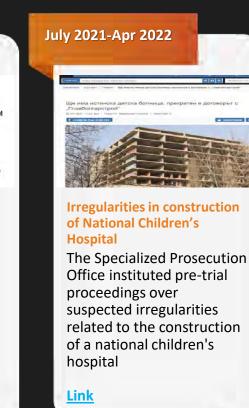
OLAF investigation into public procurement of police cars

OLAF closed investigations into fraud and misappropriation of EU funds for the purchase allterrain vehicles for the police by the Bulgarian Ministry of Interior.

Link









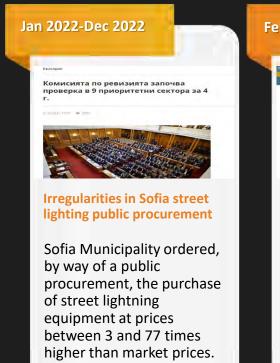


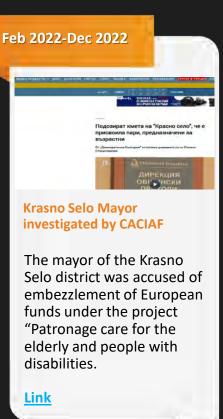


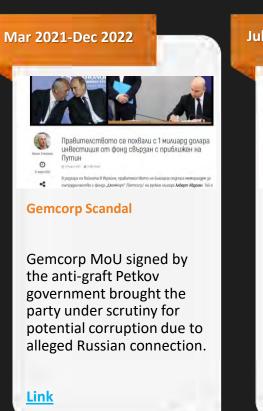


Link

Top Stories Related to Corruption (6-10 of 10)











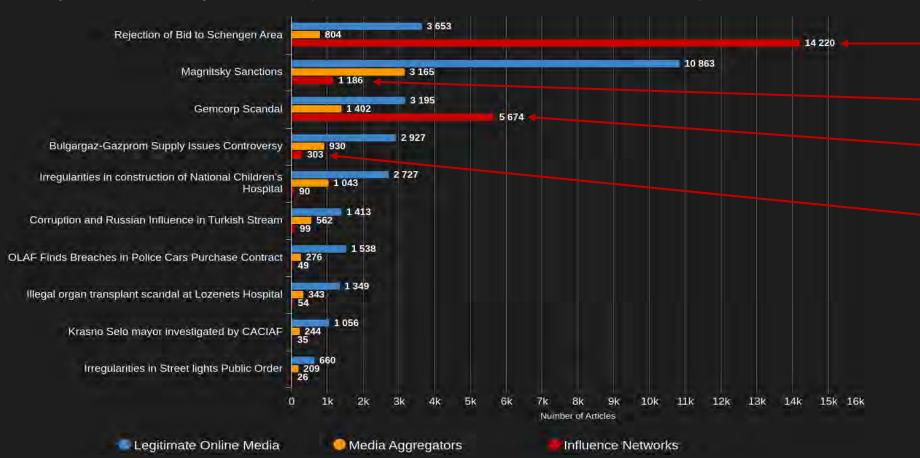






Corruption Narratives – Total Volume by Story

Corruption & Anti-Corruption Stories (volume breakdown Influence Networks vs. Media)



Aggressive Anti-EU Rhetoric & Disinformation (most "Mushroom Websites" activated after Aug 2022)

Downplaying the significance of the sanctions & instigating doubt due to "lack of hard evidence"

"Active Measures" campaign to discredit Kiril Petkov's government by accusing it of double-standards & dealing with entities related to Putin

Manipulating public opinion that Gazprom suspended gas supply, because Bulgaria violated its contract with Gazprom, not the other way around.





Anti-Corruption Narratives

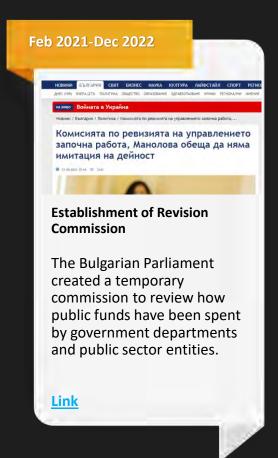


- Media Environment in Bulgaria Methodology 02 Influence Networks 03 **Corruption Narratives Anti-Corruption Narratives** 05 Example 1 – Corruption Story Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story Findings & Conclusions 80 Recommendations
 - **10** Q&A











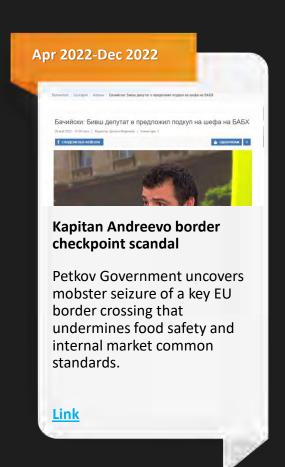














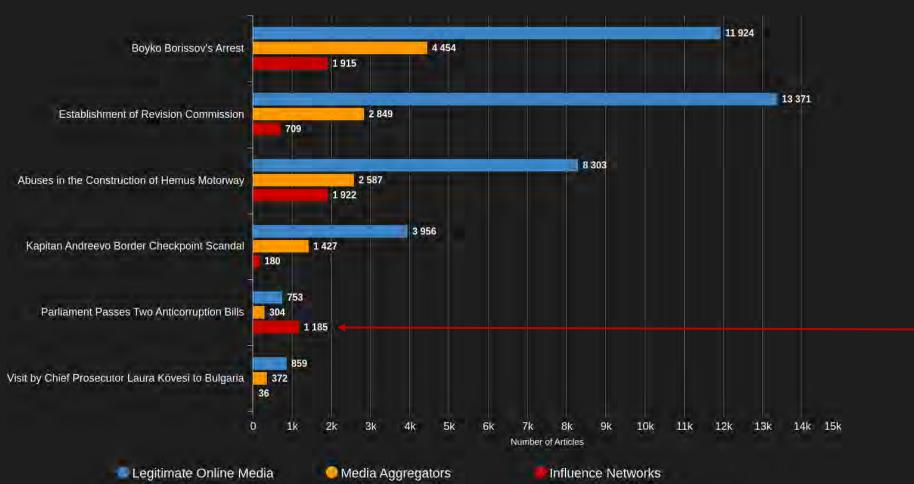






Corruption Narratives – Total Volume by Story

Corruption & Anti-Corruption Stories (volume breakdown Influence Networks vs. Media)



Aggressive personal smear campaign against the Minister of Justice Krum Zarkov, aiming to undermine his credibility, and to question his moral and ethical standards





Example 1 Corruption Story



01	Media Environment in Bulgaria
02	Methodology
03	Influence Networks
04	Corruption Narratives
05	Anti-Corruption Narratives
06	Example 1 – Corruption Story
o6 07	Example 1 – Corruption Story Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story
07	Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story

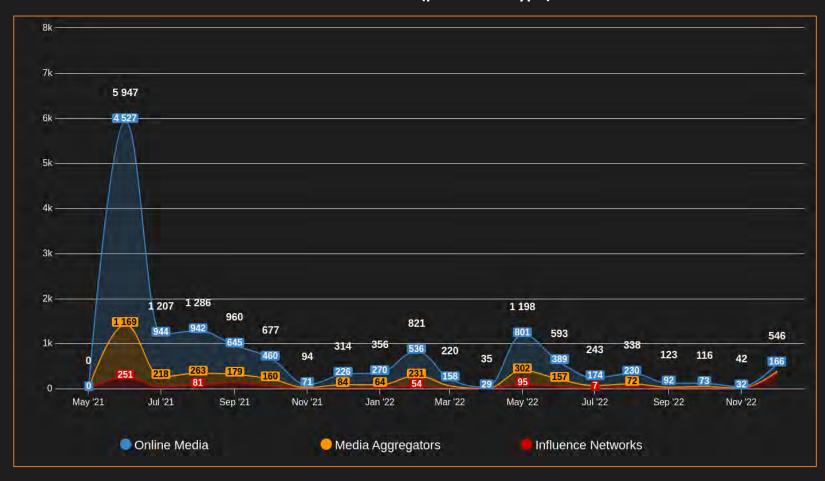






Example 1: Corruption Story – Magnitsky Sanctions

Volume over Time (per source type)



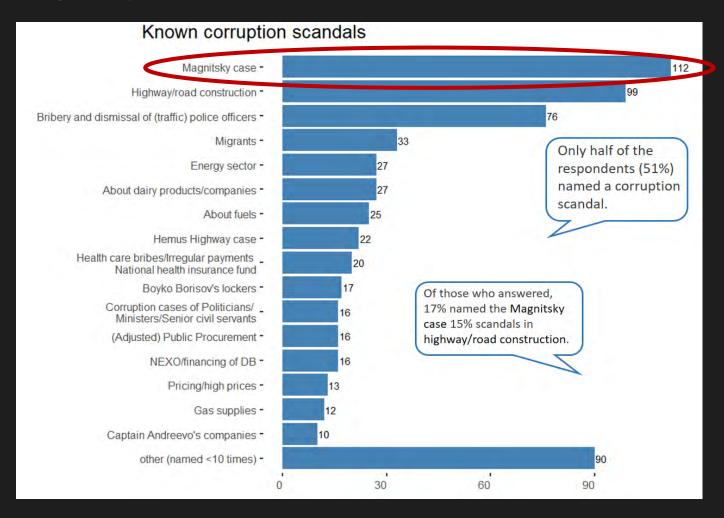
- The Magnitsky Sanctions story received substantial media coverage, both initially, and overtime with periodic follow-ups in the media.
- The Influence Networks were active mostly during the initial news coverage, mainly trying to seed doubt about the implications and the justification of the sanctions.
- In this particular case the public discourse, both in the media and on Social Media, was focused on the particular persons that were sanctioned, as well as on their political connections.







Magnitsky Sanctions – Influence Networks Reactions



- In early 2023, more than one year after the latest update of Magnitsky Sanctions List, in the Social Survey conducted by Basel Institute, 17% of respondents who provided answers were aware of this corruption scandal.
- Media's proactive approach with follow-up stories, the fact that there were particular political persons sanctioned for corruption, the inactivity of the Influence Networks and the lack of "white noise" usually coming from them, all contributed to attracting the public interest and rising the awareness about this corruption scandal.





Example 2 Anti-Corruption Story



01	Media Environment in Bulgaria
02	Methodology
03	Influence Networks
04	Corruption Narratives
05	Anti-Corruption Narratives
06	Example 1 – Corruption Story
07	Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story
08	Findings & Conclusions
09	Recommendations
10	Q&A

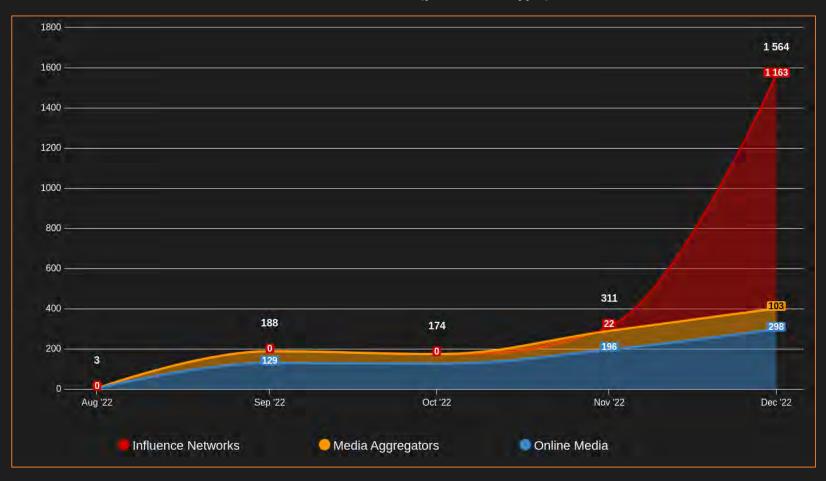






Example 2: Anti-Corruption Story - Parliament Passes Two Anti-Corruption Bills

Volume over Time (per source type)



- Legislative initiative by the Minister of Justice Krum Zarkov, appointed by the caretaker government in August 2022.
- Initially, during Aug-Nov 2022
 period, the Anti-Corruption
 initiative proposed by Mr. Zarkov
 received quite flat media
 coverage, predominantly by
 legitimate online media.
- As soon as the proposed Anti-Corruption Bills were passed by the Parliament, all Influence Networks initiated massive smear campaign targeting Mr. Zarkov personally.

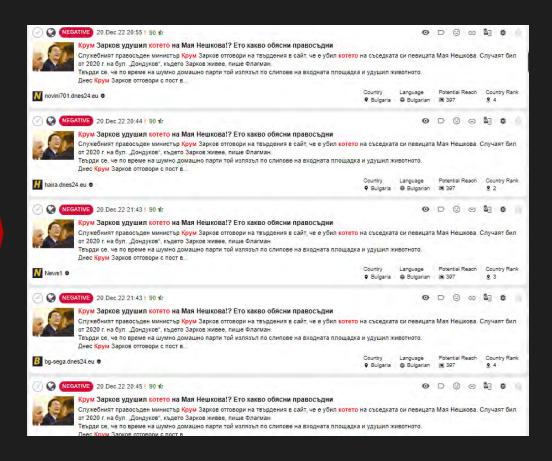






Influence Networks in Action





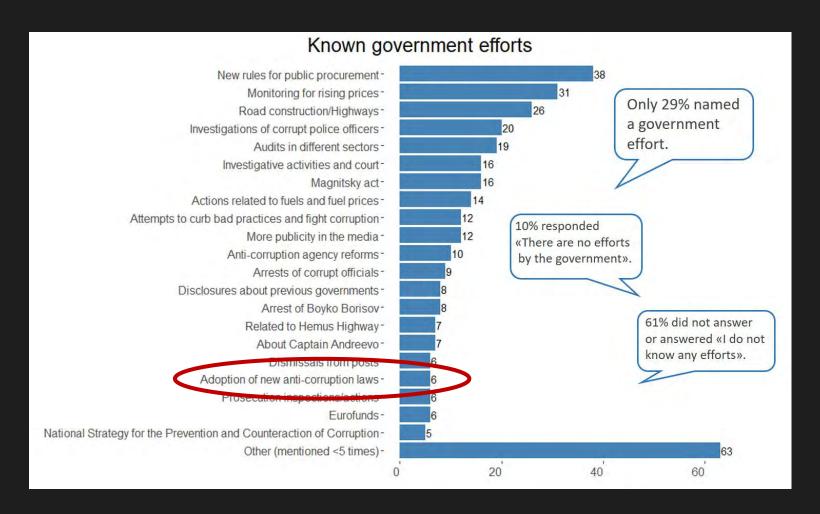
The personal attack and smear campaign against the Minister of Justice Krum Zarkov was initiated by a made-up story about him being a pet abuser (strangling his neighbor's cat when he was young)







The Aftermath: Actual Public Awareness of the Anti-Corruption Efforts



- In early 2023, just a few months after the two Anti-Corruption bills were passed, the respondents in the Social Survey, conducted by Basel Institute, have no recollection of the reforms.
- Only 6 out of 1209 respondents (0.5%) were aware of the new Anti-Corruption legislation.
- 61% of the respondents could not give (or refused to answer) a single example of Anti-Corruption efforts.





Findings & Conclusions



01	Media Environment in Bulgaria
02	Methodology
03	Influence Networks
04	Corruption Narratives
05	Anti-Corruption Narratives
06	Example 1 – Corruption Story
07	Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story
08	Findings & Conclusions
09	Recommendations
10	Q&A







Disparity between the Public Perception & Media Coverage about Corruption Stories

Known Corruption Scandals / Stories	% of Respondents	% of Media Volume	Media Corruption Story	Comment
Magnitsky Sanctions	9.26%	18.30%	Magnitsky Sanctions	
Highway/Road Construction	10.01%	12.55%	Hemus Construction	
Hemus	10.01%	12.55%	Herrius Coristi action	
Bribery and Dissmisal of Police Officers	6.29%	0.26%	Investigation / Dismissal of Police Officers (4 stories total)	Not in Top 10 Media Stories
Migrants	2.73%	0.38%	Border Police Corruption / Migrant Smuggling	Not in Top 10 Media Stories
Energy Sector	2.23%	2.03%	Corruption & Russian Influence in Turkish Stream	
Dairy Products/Companies	2.23%	1.02%	Fake Cheese / 60%+ Water in White Cheese	No Mentions of Corruption
Fuels	2.07%	0.86%	CPC Investigation of LukOil / Parliamentary Commission Inquiry about LukOil	Not in Top 10 Media Stories
Health Care	1.65%	1.71%	Illegal Organ Transplants Scandal at Lozenetz Hospital	
Boyko Borissov Drawers	1.41%	16.58%	Establishment of Revision Comission (findings)	
Politicians/Ministers/Senior Civil Servants	1.32%	1.31%	Krasno Selo mayor investigated by CACIAF	
			OLAF Finds Breaches in Police Cars Purchase Contract	
Public Procurement	1.32%	6.82%	Irregularities in construction of National Children's Hospital	
			Irregularities in Sofia Street Lights Tender	
NEXO/DB Financing	1.32%	0.45%	NEXO/DB Financing	Not in Top 10 Media Stories
Pricing/High Prices	1.08%	0.30%	Consumer Pirce Speculations / Cartels (w/o Fuels)	Not in Top 10 Media Stories
Cas Supplies	0.99%	1.4.1.40/	Gemcorp	
Gas Supplies	0.99%	14.14%	Bulgargas-Gazprom	
Captain Andreevo Companies	0.83%	5.45%	Captain Andreevo Companies	
Other	7.44%	18.30%	Rejection of Bid to Schengen Area	

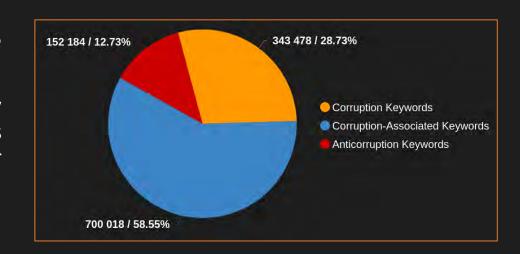


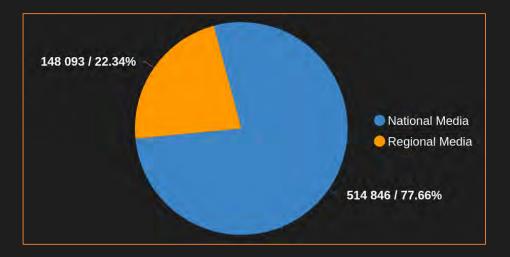




Findings & Conclusions (1 / 2)

- Media and journalists tend to avoid strong wording, and rarely use the word "corruption" when referring to corrupt practices or cases.
- In general, Anti-Corruption stories gain relatively lower interest by the media, especially when the narrative is about complex matters involving policy initiatives or legislative changes, and not particular actions with immediate results.





- Scandals and corruption stories are covered mostly by national media.
- Cases of municipal and local corruption are often neglected by regional / local media.







Findings & Conclusions (2 / 2)

- There is a notable disparity between public perception and awareness of corruption-related stories, and the actual media coverage and attention given to particular stories.
- The general public is more aware of scandals and news stories concerning particular perpetrators of corruption (e.g. the <u>Magnitsky</u> sanctions).
- Stories that were "easy to assimilate", and "easy to relate to", are preferred by both the media and the general public.
- In general, Anti-Corruption stories gain relatively lower interest by the media, especially when the narrative is about complex matters involving policy initiatives or legislative changes, and not particular actions with immediate results.

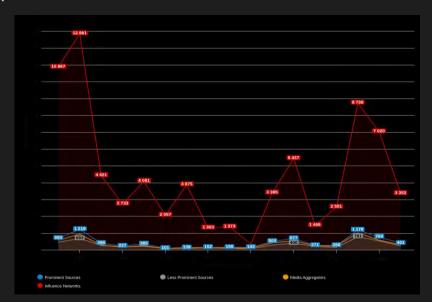


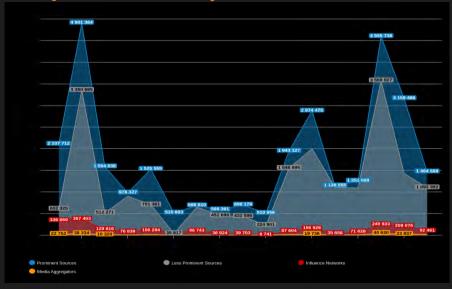




Prosecutor General's Assassination Attempt and the Proposal for Early Dismissal

- Beginning May 1st Geshev's assassination attempt
- On May 1st through May 2nd more than 20 000 mushroom websites republished news about the assassination attempt of the Bulgarian prosecutor Ivan Geshev
- Several Mushroom websites peaks:
 - May 1-2 Assassination attempt
 - May 12th Pro-Geshev and pro-GERB publications
 - May 15th May 16th Demand of Geshev's dismissal + pro GERB publications





- On May 7th, there was a surge of interest in Krum Zarkov, particularly among mushroom websites. These websites chose to highlight a specific part of the news—the phone call with Geshev—while overlooking the broader coverage provided by larger publications.
- Among the top sources in the Online media are media outlets such as Epicenter, Blitz, Lupa, Petel (sensationalist reporting style)





Recommendations



01	Media Environment in Bulgaria
02	Methodology
03	Influence Networks
04	Corruption Narratives
05	Anti-Corruption Narratives
06	Example 1 – Corruption Story
07	Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story
08	Findings & Conclusions
09	Recommendations
10	Q&A







Recommendations







Media Ownership Transparency







Media Funding Transparency







Smart Support for Civil Society







Fact Checking 2.0







Modern & Proactive Communications





Questions & Answers



01	Media Environment in Bulgaria
02	Methodology
03	Influence Networks
04	Corruption Narratives
05	Anti-Corruption Narratives
о6	Example 1 – Corruption Story
07	Example 2 – Anti-Corruption Story
08	Findings & Conclusions
09	Recommendations
10	Q&A





Appendix 1: Glossary & Definitions









Technical Glossary

Term	Definition
Aggregators	News aggregators republish automatically web content from variety of media sources, such as online news sites, blogs, and podcasts in one location, for easy viewing.
Boolean Operator	Boolean Operators are simple words (AND, OR, NOT, or AND NOT) used as conjunctions to combine or exclude keywords in a search, leading to more focused and productive results. Corpuses of keywords linked to each other with different combinations of those operators lead to complex query syntax and a high level of precision.
Dimension	A component of the system that contains all inherent attributes of a regular query. The dimension can be attached to an existing feed or widgets in the platform.
Domestic Rank	Calculated monthly, using purchased statistical data for the source audience and page views for the month, utilizing percentile rank calculation formula across sources in a given country part of the Sensika catalog.
Global Rank	Calculated monthly, using purchased statistical data for the source audience and page views for the month, utilizing percentile rank calculation formula across all sources globally.
Influence Networks	Websites that share similar design and structure and publish news in a seemingly coordinated manner.
Less Prominent Sources	Less and/or the least essential sources on the domestic or global level (Domestic Rank 4-10 or Global Rank 4-10) with unclear or hidden ownership and lack of transparent editorial policy.
National Media Sources	Websites without an explicit focus on regional news stories and/or issues.







Technical Glossary

Term	Definition
Potential Reach	Estimation of the potential reach of a piece of content, based on the total number of views generated by the source and divided by the number of content items published by the source for the last 30 days.
Prominent Sources	The most influential sources on the domestic or global level (Domestic Rank 1-3 or Global Rank 1-3).
Query	A "query" refers to the action of retrieving data from the database. The Boolean query is a type of search that makes possible the combination of keywords or phrases with operators such as AND, AND NOT, and OR.
Regional Media Sources	Regional-based media outlets focused on local/regional news stories and/or issues, among others national or global news.
Sensika Operators	Custom operators (content_language, source_country, etc.) designed to filter result sets based on the metadata collected for each media item.
Sensika Tiering	Hierarchical classification of the sources from the most influential to the less influential, accordingly Tier 1 (Domestic rank and global rank 1 to 3), Tier 2 (Domestic rank and global rank 4 to 6), and Tier 3 (Domestic rank and global rank 7 to 10).
Story	Stories are contained within the general narrative of a Topic. They appear, develop, and "die out" over a limited time period (e.g. days, weeks). A story could reappear in the future, usually triggered by a sudden development.
Topic	Broad or general theme or topic of interest pre-defined by the customer. Topics remain permanent for a long period of time. (e.g. Corruption; Anticorruption).







Political Parties Mentioned in the Report

Party	General Information
Bulgarian Rise (BV)	A national conservative political party, established in 2022 by Stefan Yanev, former caretaker Prime Minister and Defense Minister.
Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP)	A center-left, social democratic political party, formally founded in 1990, and a direct descendant of the Bulgarian Communist Party. It is a member of the Socialist International, the Party of European Socialists, and the Progressive Alliance. Its current chairperson is Korneliya Ninova.
Democratic Bulgaria (DB)	An electoral alliance formed in 2018 by three political parties: Yes, Bulgaria!, Democrats for a Strong Bulgaria, and The Greens. It's often associated with Yes, Bulgaria! leader Hristo Ivanov.
GERB	A conservative, populist political party with a center-right orientation. It was the ruling party of the country between 2009 and 2021. It is strongly associated with its chairman, former Prime Minister Boyko Borissov.
Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS)	A centrist political party established in 1990 and known to represent the interests of the country's Muslim minority communities. Its MP Delyan Peevski was placed under US sanctions through the Magnitsky Act mechanism in May 2021.
Revival	An ultranationalist political party, founded in 2014. Its chairman is Kostadin Kostadinov. The party employs strong anti-EU, anti-American, and pro-Russian rhetoric.
Spasi Sofia	Spasi Sofia is a Bulgarian non-governmental watchdog organization which monitors the work of the Sofia Municipality administration. In January 2023, the organization registered as a party and Spasi Sofia founder Boris Bonev was elected as Chairman.
Stand Up.BG! We are coming! (IBG-NI)	A Bulgarian non-governmental organization and political party founded by Maya Manolova in 2019. Later on, the entity was joined by the so-called "Poisonous Trio" (lawyer Nikolay Hadzhigenov, sculptor Velislav Minekov, and PR expert Arman Babikyan).
There is Such a People (ITN)	A populist political party established in 2020 by Bulgarian singer, TV host, and politician Slavi Trifonov.
We Continue the Change (PP)	A centrist, anticorruption political party and an electoral alliance led by Kiril Petkov and Asen Vassilev. The party was founded ahead of the November 2021 Bulgarian National Assembly elections.





Appendix 2: Extended Slides









Disparity between the Public Perception & Media Coverage about Corruption Stories

- There is a notable disparity between public perception and awareness of corruption-related stories, and the actual media coverage and attention given to particular stories.
- The findings of the Social Survey indicate that respondents did not draw a connection between Bulgaria's failed bid to join the Schengen Zone and the evaluations provided by several EU member states regarding the precarious state of the Rule of Law and the pervasive corruption within high-levels of power, including the judiciary system. Despite the extensive media coverage of Bulgaria's failed bid to join the Schengen Zone, which generated nearly 19,000 publications in less than two weeks, none of the respondents in the survey recognized the story as being related to corruption.
- Several of the top 10 corruption-related stories mentioned by respondents in the social survey received minimal coverage in online news outlets, constituting less than 1% of the media volume dedicated to corruption scandals. These stories include instances like "Bribery and Dismissal of Police Officers," "Corruption Involving Migrants," "Corruption in Dairy Products/Companies," "Corruption in Fuel Prices," and others.
- According to the social survey results, it appears that the general public is more concerned about corruption that affects food and
 commodity prices, as well as the quality and safety of food, compared to political or judicial corruption. The general public do not
 fully recognize the connection between corrupt judiciary and politicians, and how this can lead to poor governance and unfair
 market practices, ultimately resulting in economic and safety problems for society.







Appendix Slides: Recommendations (1/2)

- Media Ownership Transparency
 - Legislative initiative @ EU level with careful consideration of the balance between transparency and freedom of speech
 - GDPR revisions or negotiations with ICANN / domain registrars since the introduction of GDPR in 2017 web domain registration is anonymous by default
- Media Funding Transparency
 - Strict and consistent application of the existing Tax code and legislation, as well as Consumer Protection regulations, as many anonymous media outlets rely on revenue from Ad networks by serving specific Ads that violate certain regulations;
 - Public register of all public sector entities (there are 14 000+ public sector entities as of Apr 2022, according to custom
 dataset compiled by NSI). Media contracts with public sector entities (e.g. companies controlled by municipalities or other
 government entities) shall be public;
- Smart Support for Civil Society
 - Literacy Journalists / Media / Citizens
 - Easy to Use & Sustainable Tools for Journalists & Media to check trustworthiness of sources, and detect manipulated pictures & videos
 - Collaboration & Networking between Government, NGO and Tech







Appendix Slides: Recommendations (2/2)

- Specific Measures to amplify the impact of Fact Checking organizations
 - Public Media Outlet Registry with attributed debunked stories (either initially published or republished by the outlet)
 - Twitter Community Notes like crowdsourcing of context and debunking of disinformation and propaganda stories
 - Fact Check Federation & AI Assisted Multilingual Support
- Proactive Informational Campaigns
 - Accessible language and concise messaging the typical institutional long-text forms and "dry language" shall be avoided;
 - Accessible formats short posts and video on mobile platforms are the predominant forms of media consumption;
 - Collaboration with citizen-journalists and social media influencers without compromising their creative freedom