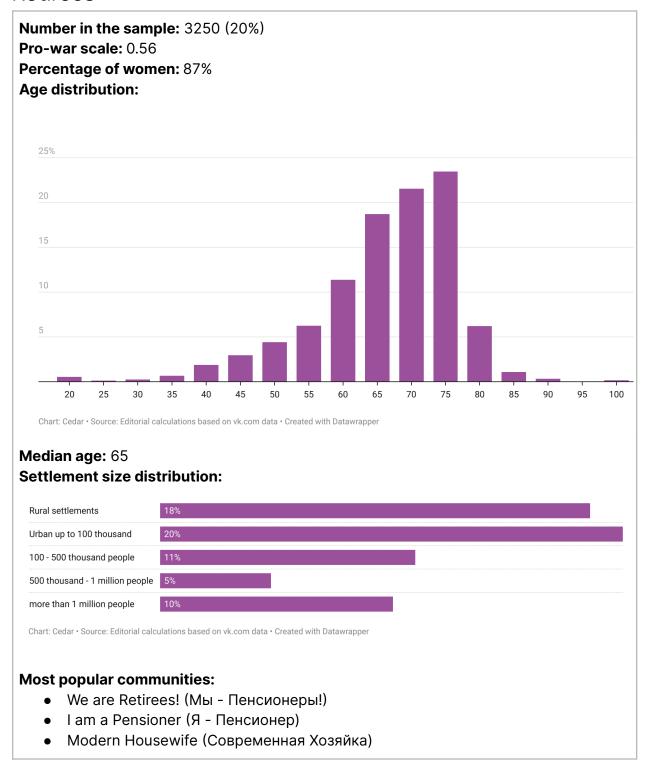


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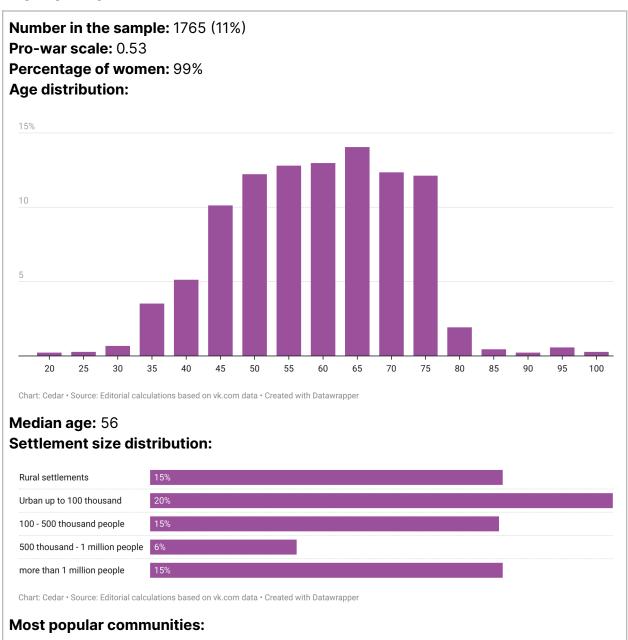
## Older Women

## Retirees



- Retirement Club (Клуб Пенсионеров)
- Pensioner (Пенсионер)
- I am an Architect Myself (Я же сама архитектор)
- Dacha Issue (Дачный вопрос)
- My Dacha (Моя дача)
- My Cozy and Beloved Dacha (Моя уютная и любимая дача)
- Dacha Owner (Дачница)

## Women 40+

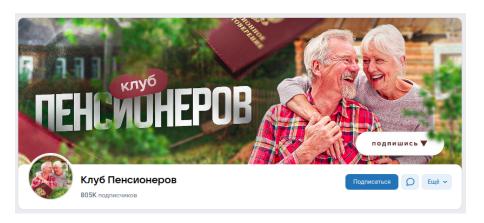


- My Dacha (Моя дача)
- I Am an Architect Myself (Я же сама архитектор)
- Jack-of-All-Trades (На все руки)
- My Beloved Dacha (Моя любимая дача)
- We might be embarrassing, but at least it's fun! (С нами стыдно, зато весело!)
- Dacha Owner (Дачница)
- Do-it-yourself ideas (Идеи своими руками)
- Useful Tips (Полезные советы)
- My Apartment (Моя квартира)
- DIY Innovations (Своими руками. Новинки)

## Cluster Descriptions and Non-Political Content

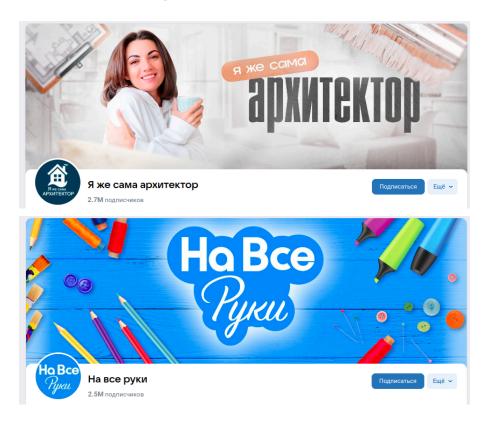
The category "older women" includes two clusters: "retirees" (average age - 65 years, 87% of the category are women) and "women 40+" (56 years, 99% women). The media consumption patterns in these clusters are very similar, with the main differences being age-related. Most users from both clusters live in small towns and villages, and the level of the pro-war stance is also nearly identical, and moderately involved (0.53-0.56). Presumably, the majority of users are fairly apolitical.

In terms of media consumption, "retirees" differ from "women 40+" in having a greater number of communities with "retiree" ("pensioner") in their names.



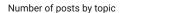


The majority of communities that "women 40+" are subscribed to focus on interior design and household management.



Despite the noted differences in subscriptions, the non-political content in the favourite communities of "retirees" and "women 40+" largely overlaps in themes.

# Non-political topics in VK communities for the "retirees" cluster



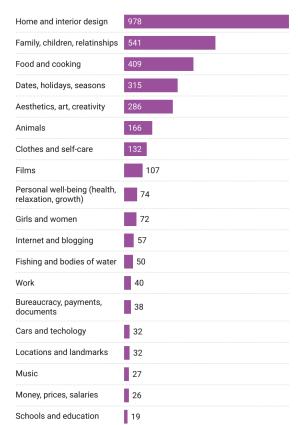


Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

# Non-political topics in VK communities for the "women 40+" cluster

Number of posts by topic

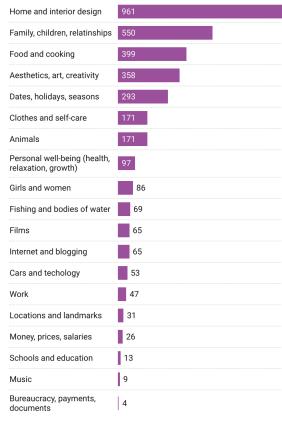


Chart: Cedar  $\star$  Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data  $\star$  Created with Datawrapper

Most of the posts in both clusters revolve around categories such as "home and interior design", "family, children, relationships", and "food and cooking." Upon qualitative analysis, it's noticeable that in the "home and interior design" category, posts from "retirees" more often focus on topics like dachas and gardening, while those from "women 40+" tend to emphasise interior design.

In the "family, children, relationships" category, posts commonly feature religious themes (such as <u>images</u> of Matrona of Moscow), cooking <u>videos</u>, and <u>descriptions</u> of celebrity life.

The "food and cooking" category predominantly contains culinary recipes. Following this, there's "aesthetics, art, creativity" where adorable <u>animal</u> photos, <u>videos</u> with balloons, and other simple content that evokes positive emotions can be found. The "dates, holidays, seasons" category mainly includes card template posts (there are several VK <u>communities</u> apparently serving as sources for these).



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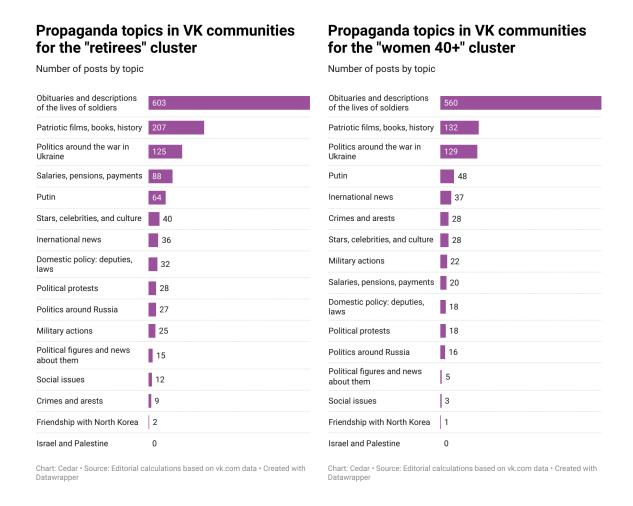
## Political Content and Propaganda Strategies

The majority of tailored propaganda themes for "retirees" and "women 40+" overlap significantly. Among the top most popular communities within these audiences is only one channel with an evident political and news-oriented focus — the news aggregator "PostNews" (2.7 million subscribers, with an average post garnering about 100,000 views). For "retirees," this community ranks 12th in popularity, while for "women 40+," it ranks 24th. According to the publication's website, "PostNews" initially emerged as a community on VK and later evolved into a full-fledged media outlet aimed at delivering news in the most accessible and concise manner possible.

The community primarily focuses on non-problematic news content that evokes positive emotions ("A kitten <u>climbed</u> on the Turkish mayor during a meeting with voters"). Political content is also <u>present</u> in it, and in a fairly substantial volume, clearly favouring the Russian authorities ("Russia <u>surprised</u> the International Monetary Fund with economic growth rates"). However, there aren't many news items about the war in Ukraine on this community. The authors prefer to concentrate on a "positive" agenda.

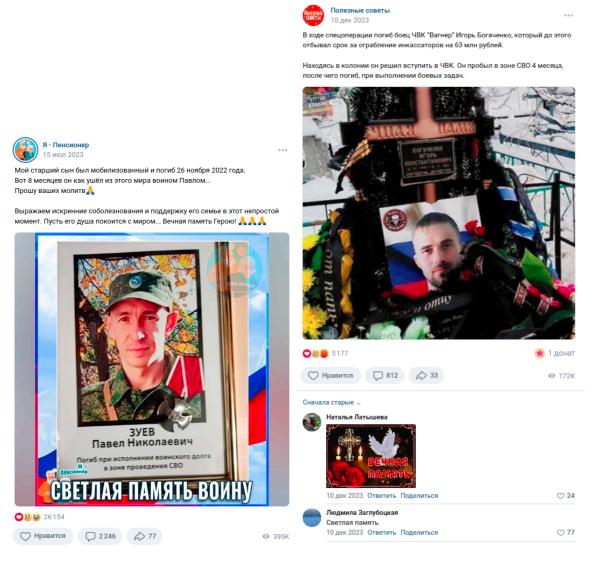
A broader range of political topics and emotions is detected in non-political communities subscribed to by "pensioners": "I'm a pensioner" (1 million subscribers, 300,000 views per post), "We are Retirees!" (1.2 million subscribers, 176,000 views, exclusive to pensioners),

"Useful Tips" (2 million subscribers, 154,000 views), and "Retirement Club" (806,000 subscribers, 100,000 views, exclusive to pensioners). In all these communities, the share of political content was significant: in the last four, it ranged from 1% to 10% of all content, while in the "I'm a pensioner" community, more than a third (36%) of posts were identified by our algorithm as political. Despite certain differences in the selection of communities between "retirees" and "women 40+," the political content in them is nearly identical.



Topic modelling of posts from communities aimed at this audience using Bertopic reveals that the majority of content consists of posts about deceased Russian military personnel. An analysis of characteristic frequency words for the "older women" clusters confirms this: the most common words include "deceased," "son," "memory," "hero," "warrior," and "eternal."

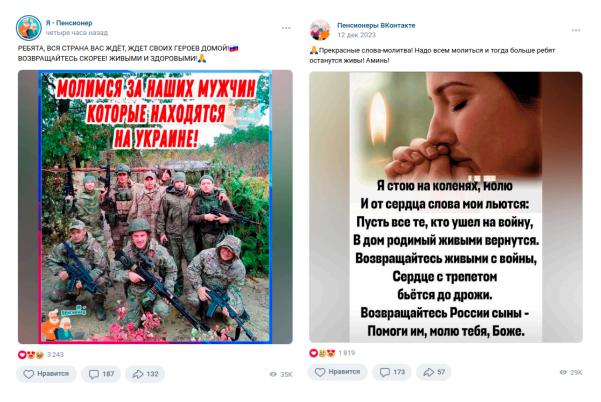
A qualitative analysis of communities for "older women" confirms that the vast majority of posts are dedicated to deceased Russian servicemen. Typically, these posts are designed in the style of WhatsApp cards and are sometimes accompanied by patriotic poems.



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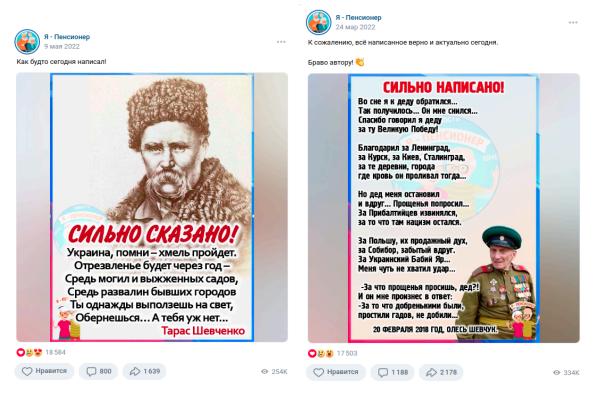
Communities aimed at "older women" not only publish obituaries but also content focused on supporting "ordinary" soldiers in combat zones. Often presented in a religious stylistic manner, such as prayers.



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In communities for "women 40+", there are many references to the cultural content of a military-patriotic nature — movies, books, and poetry.



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Further down in frequency, there is a political agenda surrounding the war in Ukraine, although this content is significantly less popular among "older women" compared to other audiences. Despite a friendly and non-confrontational tone, the narratives in the posts can be quite radical. For example, asserting that Ukrainians do not deserve to have their own state and that Ukraine should disappear.



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All other categories of propaganda content are significantly less popular among "older women". While other clusters often feature news about statements by celebrities regarding Russia, here "patriotic" quotes from stars are often devoid of current context.

Messages about the progress of military operations and news from the front are completely absent in the content consumed by "older women" (except for obituaries). Narratives about confrontation with the West, typical in other clusters of propaganda, are also infrequent. The role of the West as an enemy of Russia is implied by default, without requiring additional explanations. According to the key narrative, Russian men die in the war against an external enemy, and state structures defend the interests of the country, which has both enemies and friends.

Posts aimed at "older women" stand out not only in content and presentation but also in the lexicon: they often contain religious terms ("kingdom of heaven"), and benevolent exclamations ("the people support!", "Well done!").

#### Share of political posts with the word "well done" ("молодец") by cluster



Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

Propaganda content is popular among "older women": political posts even receive more likes per view than non-political posts in these communities. The ratio of likes to views in propaganda posts is approximately twice as high as in posts on other topics.

## Propaganda Content: "Retirees"

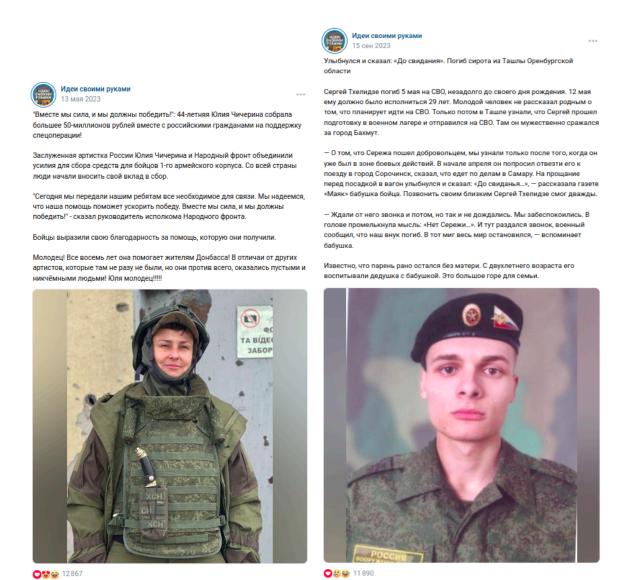
Propaganda content for this audience closely aligns with the audience of "women 40+", so it is analysed below for both audiences simultaneously.

One topic that appears uniquely in "pensioners" content is state benefits and pensions. There is little direct propaganda in such posts; often they even contain critical assessments of the level of state support. However, posts praising the initiatives of the State Duma are <u>also present</u>.

## Propaganda Content: "Women 40+"

The political content in the "women 40+" communities is very similar to the content observed in "retirees" communities (analysed above); here we note only the characteristic differences.

The majority of subscriptions in this audience are to communities about home, country house, interior design, and handicrafts. Typically, these communities do not feature political content, but there are exceptions. For example, in the community "Do-it-yourself ideas" (1.5 million subscribers, 375k views per post), there are occasional posts related to war, similar to the propaganda content for "retirees" described above (1.3% of the content in the community).



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○ Нравится 🔘 385 🖒 130

https://vk.com/wall-186234031\_1443663

◯ Нравится 🔲 957 🖒 44

Women in this category also follow the entertainment community "Larisu Ivanovnu Khachu!" (3 million subscribers, 420k views per post). The stylistic approach of propaganda content in this community differs slightly. Typically, these posts are slightly longer and describe events that are not directly related to the military actions in Ukraine—such as crime reports or glossy news. However, the overall narrative remains consistent: supporting "friends," condemning "enemies," and providing a clear assessment of current events.

@ 357K

@ 379K



Поплавская не поверила, что Филипп поехал на Донбасс по зову души.

Она уверена, что певец "устроил показуху", чтобы отмыться после скандальной вечеринки.

"Сколько энергии и сил приложено, чтобы обелить, отмыть Киркорова. Целую поездку со съемкой организовали, срочно подыскали больницу. Согнали раненых бойцов...

Все, чтобы замылить историю с голой вечеринкой и втюхать народу, что Киркоров этого народа «достоин».

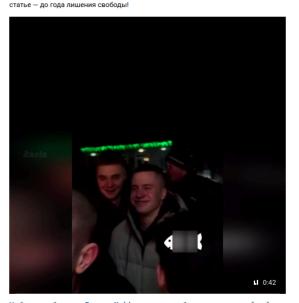
«Достойный артист» от страха забыл слова своей песни и затравленно думалкак бы скорее вернуться в Москву. ДВА ГОДА ему было ПЛЕВАТЬ.

Потому что задница все это время была в тепле. Но только когда прижало, он рванул туда...

И кто нам объяснит - за одну эту поездку ему теперь обязаны дать эфиры, концерты и индульгенцию во всём? Почему-то никто из известных мне артистов не рассчитывал ни на какие блага, помогая бойцам и ездя на фронт! У них только одна цель и задача - поддержать наших ребят.

Никто из них не думает о себе.

Поэтому поездка Киркорова - это ложь, очковтирательство!"



В Брянске в новогоднюю ночь пьяная девушка сожгла свой российский паспорт в

местная блогерша по имени Евгения. Юная особа ведет разгульный образ жизни

В итоге завели уголовное дело за надругательство над гербом РФ. Наказание по

Все это происходило под ликование толпы зумеров. Хулиганкой оказалась

На брянскую блогершу Евгению Хоффман, которая публично сожгла российский nacnopт,! 449.776 просмотров



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Поплавская не поверила, что Филипп поехал на Донбасс по зову души.

○ ¥ 1 296

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## Older Men

Ларису Ивановну Хачу!

и часто постит провокационные ролики.

3 янв в 16:20

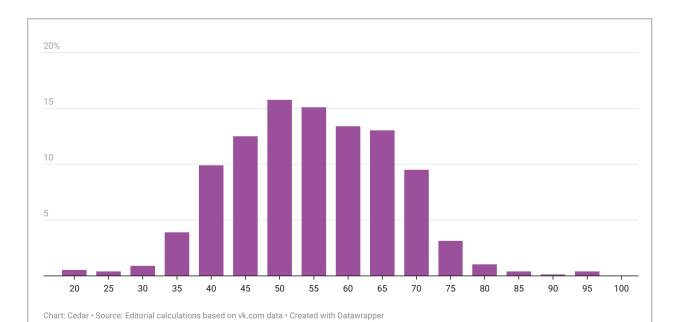
поддержку Украины

Number in the sample: 770 (4.8%)

Pro-war scale: 0.58

Percentage of women: 1%

Age distribution:



## Median age: 51

#### **Settlement size distribution:**



Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

#### Most popular communities:

- Golden Hands | Construction and Repair (Золотые руки | Строительство и ремонт)
- Smart Builder (Умный Строитель)
- Understand and Forgive (Понять и простить)
- Auto Gid (Авто Gid)
- Naked Gun (Голый Пистолет)
- Dangerous Earth (Опасная Земля)
- Kaiff Video (Kaiff Video)
- Auto Diary (Авто Дневник)
- There's nothing to do in the village, we sit on a spree (Делать нечего в селе, мы сидим навеселе)
- Records (Рекорды)

#### Non-Political Content: "Older Men"

"Older men" (median age - 51 years) are most often subscribed to communities about construction, cars, as well as communities with short, often humorous videos ("Understand and Forgive", "Naked Gun", "There's nothing to do in the village, we sit on a spree"). Humorous content is mostly in video format rather than images.

Among topics, "family, children, relationships" leads: for example, a <u>video</u> of a dancing boy captioned "Little man, how much happiness parents feel when they see his joy" or a <u>video</u> of a father caring for a child captioned "This is happiness multiplied by two immediately, a father meets his little ones, what joy it is." Stylistically, such posts resemble content for "older women."

#### Non-political topics in VK communities for the "older men" cluster



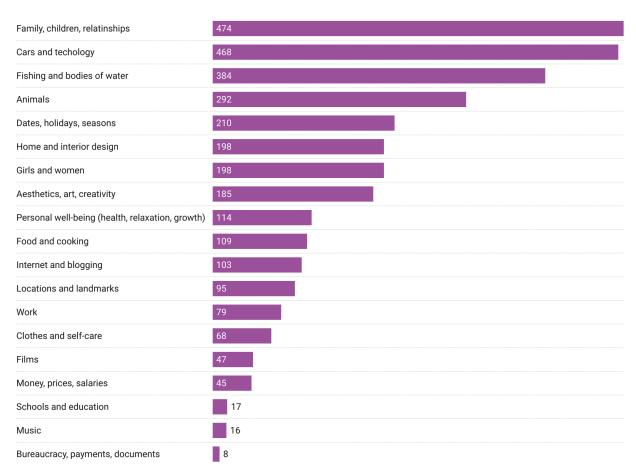


Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

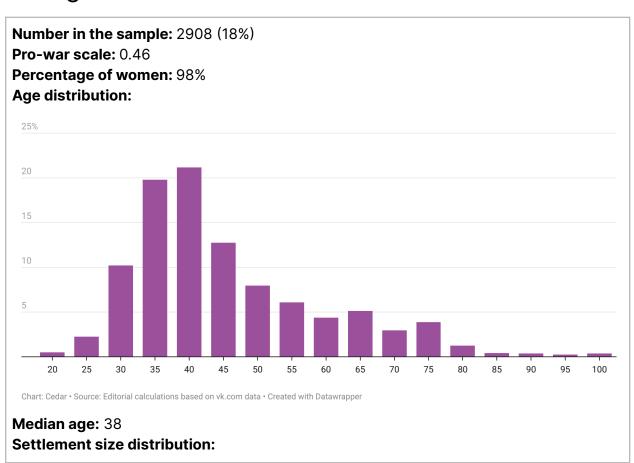
In second place in terms of popularity is the category "cars and technology," where posts typically include <u>news</u> or <u>videos</u>. Third in popularity is fishing.

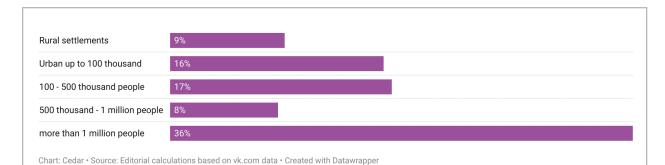
Additionally, <u>posts</u> about animals are popular among this audience (often just cute videos, common across other user clusters), as well as posts about women (often <u>sexist</u>), home and interior design. Among posts in the category "aesthetics, art, creativity," there are many meditative videos depicting repair processes.

## Propaganda Content: "Older Men"

"Older men" is a relatively pro-war category (0.58), but there aren't many political posts in the communities for them. The most politicised turns out to be the community "Larisu Ivanovnu Khachu!" (3 million subscribers, 420k views per post), described in the "women 40+" category: it includes posts about events (criminal chronicles, biographical stories about celebrities) and short videos. These posts usually include a clear assessment of current events — support for "friends" and condemnation of "enemies" of Russia.

## Young Women





#### Most popular communities:

- Interior Design Ideas (Идеи дизайна интерьера)
- Cook Good Best Recipes (Cook Good лучшие рецепты)
- New Music Releases | New Music 2023 (Новинки Музыки | Новая Музыка 2023)
- Heels | Women's Magazine (Шпильки | Женский Журнал)
- School of Repair (Школа ремонта)
- Culinary Masterpieces | Delicious Recipes (Шедевры кулинарии | Вкусные рецепты)
- Psychology of Relationships (Психология отношений)
- Simply Delicious (Просто Вкусно)
- Interior and Decor (Интерьер и декор)
- Literature | Great Poets (Литература | Великие поэты)

## Non-Political Content: "Young Women"

The median age of this audience is 38 years old, and they reside in various sizes of cities. "Young women" are most often subscribed to communities about household management, psychology, literature, <u>facts</u> about famous personalities, <u>jokes</u>, and vivid <u>quotes</u>.

The most popular category of content by a significant margin is "food and cooking", followed by "home and interior design" (which includes <u>DIY</u>) and "family, children, relationships" (featuring <u>kind posts</u> about children and parents, similar to those popular among older men and women). Rounding out the list is the category "aesthetics, art, and creativity."

## Non-political topics in VK communities for the "young women" cluster

Number of posts by topic

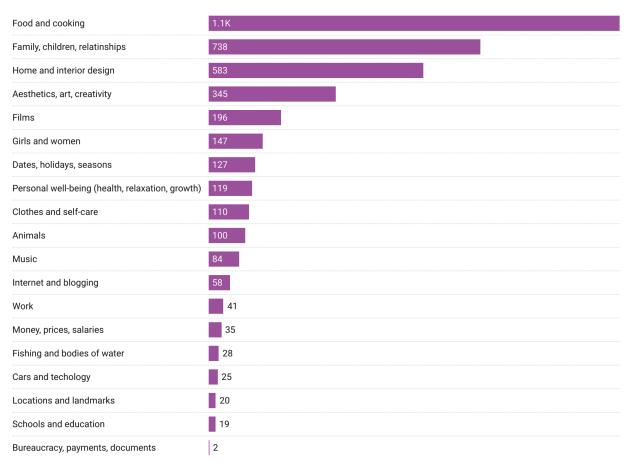


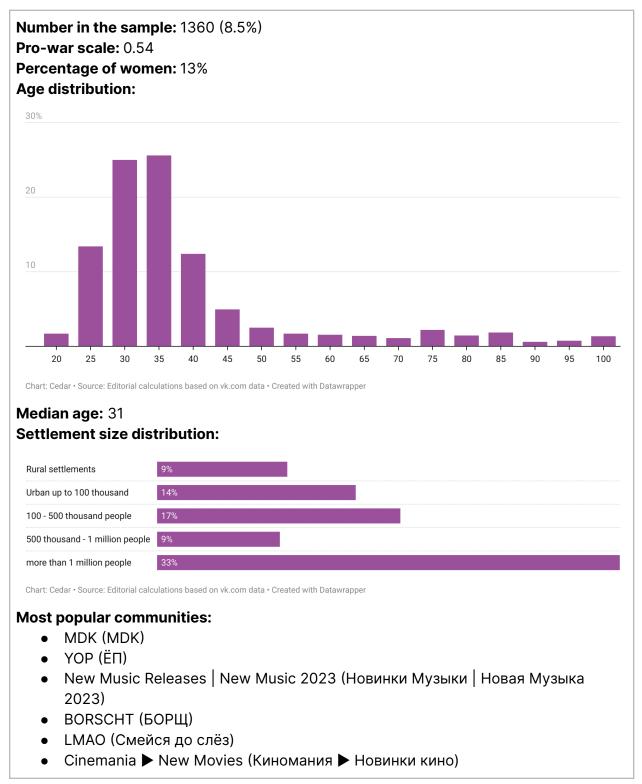
Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

## Propaganda Content: "Young Women"

This category is characterised by a relatively low pro-war score (0.46). "Young women" often read the same non-political communities as opposition-minded users. The amount of propagandist content in communities for young women is negligibly small. Compared to other user categories (each of which includes communities with propaganda), the complete absence of such content is anomalous. It can be assumed that members of this cluster actively unsubscribe from communities if they notice propagandist posts in them.

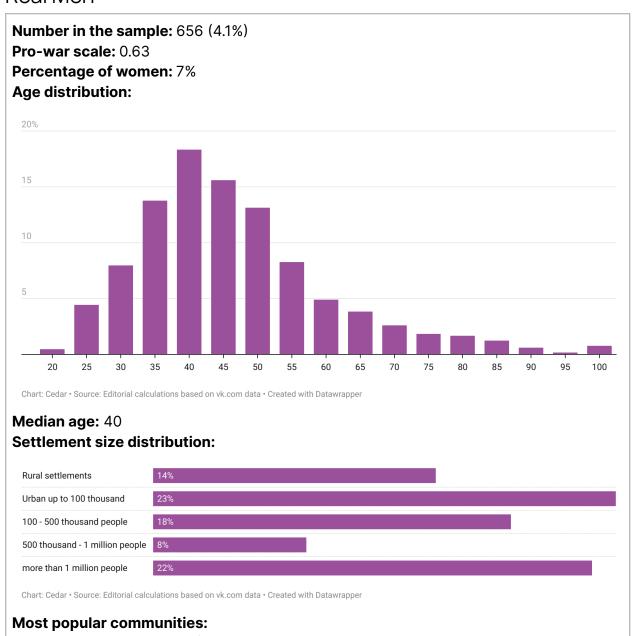
# Young Men

## Lads



- Cinemania Best Films (Киномания Лучшие фильмы)
- The Academy of Decent Guys (Академия Порядочных Парней)
- Vine Video (Vine Video)
- Leonardo DaVinchik (Леонардо Дайвинчик)

## Real Men



- History of Mankind (История Человечества)
- Angry Chaplin (Злой Чаплин)
- MOTOR | Automobiles and Road Accidents (MOTOR | Автомобили и ДТП)

- Are They Dumb? (Они тупые?)
- I am a Driver (ЯЖЕВОДИТЕЛЬ)
- I ♥ Cinema (Я ♥ КИНО)
- Golden Hands | Construction and Repair (Золотые руки | Строительство и ремонт)
- Jokes | Smeyaka (ПРИКОЛЫ | Смеяка)
- HD Movies Films Online 2023 (HD Кино Фильмы онлайн 2023)
- Village of Fools (Деревня дураков)

## Cluster Descriptions and Non-Political Content

The category of young men includes two clusters we've named "lads" and "real men." These clusters are similar in demographic parameters (median ages of 31 and 40 years respectively) and media consumption topics, but the style of posts they read differs noticeably. The only similarity worth noting is that the most popular content theme in both cases is movies (reviews, announcements, video links).

# Non-political topics in VK communities for the "lads" cluster

#### Number of posts by topic

Home and interior design

Fishing and bodies of water

Clothes and self-care

Schools and education

Bureaucracy, payments,

Work

documents

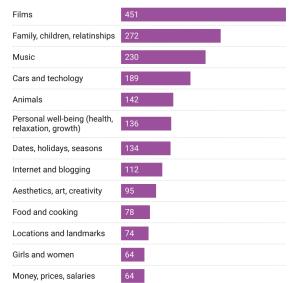


Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with

31

29

18

# Non-political topics in VK communities for the "real men" cluster

Number of posts by topic

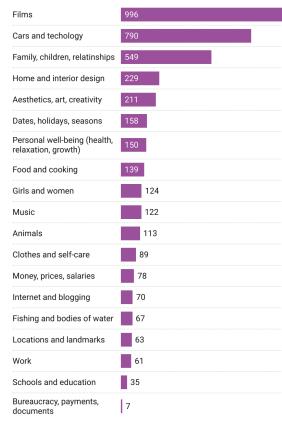
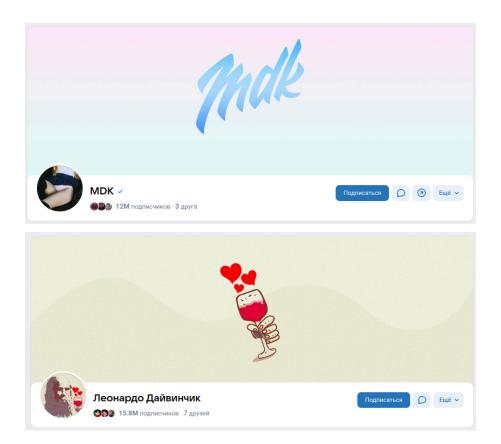


Chart: Cedar  ${}^{\star}$  Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data  ${}^{\star}$  Created with Datawrapper

## Non-Political Content: "Lads"

"Lads" are young men (median age 31 years) predominantly from large cities. They are not highly politicised, although their score on the pro-war scale is above 0.5. They are mainly subscribed to communities with memes like "MDK", "The Academy of Decent Guys", "Leonardo DaVinchik", and "BORSCH". They are also interested in movies and music. Several of the most popular communities among them focus solely on cinema (Cinemania, Cinepleasure).



Second in popularity is the content category "family, children, relationships" among "lads." In this category, they predominantly engage with memes about <u>relationships</u> with women, <u>childhood</u>, and growing up.

The next popular theme is "music." Typically, these are posts about music artists (often rappers) and actors, new track releases, and so on. Communities for "lads" tend to cover celebrity life details more actively than communities for "real men."

Another popular theme is "cars and technology." Additionally, communities for "lads" publish content about animals (<u>videos</u> with kittens), which is less popular among "real men." Rounding out the list of popular themes is "personal well-being" (memes about <u>sleep</u>, <u>age</u>, <u>tiredness</u> from work).

## Non-Political Content: "Real Men"

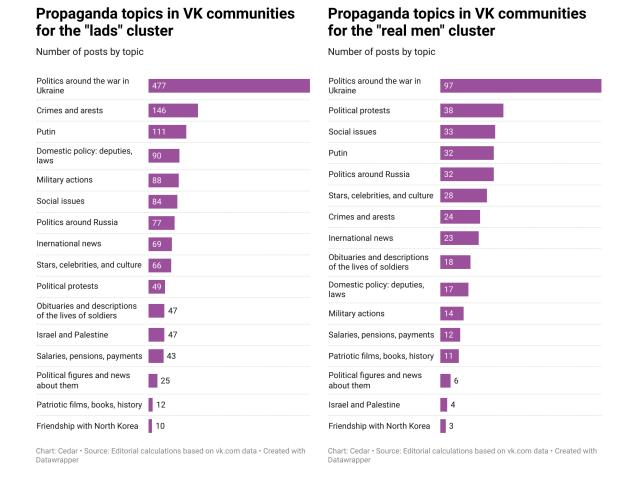
The median age of "real men" is 40 years old. Among the subscriptions in this category, the most popular communities focus on cars, history, and weapons. For example, "Weapons of Humanity" publishes photographs of combat actions from 20th-century military conflicts, predominantly from World War II. These posts do not typically reference current events, even when dedicated to the heroic role of the USSR in World War II.

Similarly, the community "Armory", which features photos and descriptions of various types of weapons, also refrains from addressing the current war in Ukraine. However, the model categorises such posts as political, so they were not considered in the topic modelling of non-political content. Therefore, formally on the diagram of non-political themes, "movies" emerged as the most popular category.

The third most popular theme is "family, children, relationships." While "lads" in this category dominate with ironic memes about adulthood and relationships, "real men" share more life <u>stories</u> — detailed accounts of non-standard life situations spanning several paragraphs. Memes are also present, but with a nostalgic rather than ironic tone — often about <u>childhood</u> without smartphones. Memes about <u>marriage</u> are also common. The self-irony typical of "lads" is absent in communities for "real men"; instead, there are jokes about <u>women</u> and <u>sex</u>.

## Political Content and Propaganda Strategies

There are many differences between the propaganda content aimed at "lads" and "real men," but there are also commonalities. Let's start with the latter.



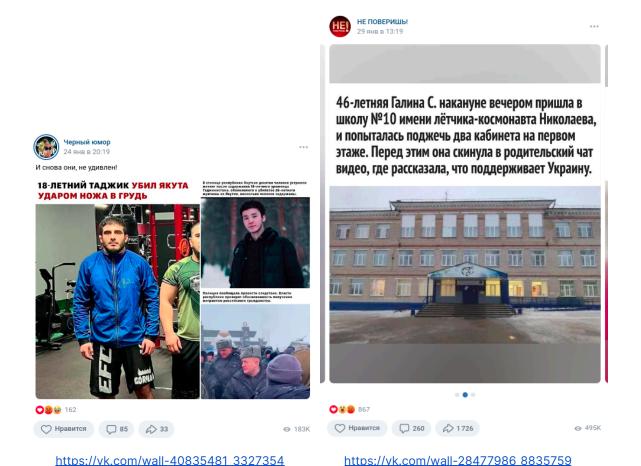
More often than not, communities aimed at both categories of young men post about the political aspects of the war in Ukraine. These posts frequently include words like "declare," "president," and "Zelensky." The mention of the latter occurs significantly more frequently than that of Putin. This differs, for example, from teenage communities where Zelensky is rarely mentioned.



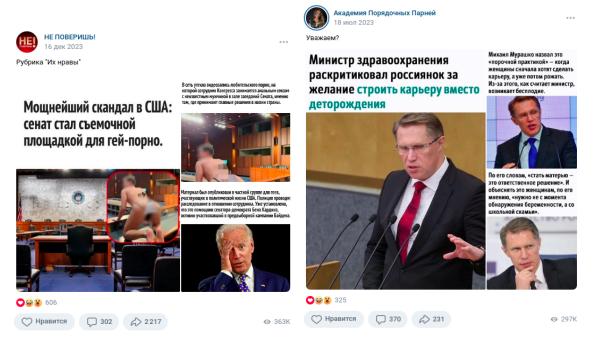
https://vk.com/wall-30179569\_7419824

https://vk.com/wall-45441631\_6596697

Another popular theme is crime news, often with anti-migrant rhetoric. Such news is prevalent in communities aimed at both subcategories, but "lads" have a higher proportion of this content compared to "real men."



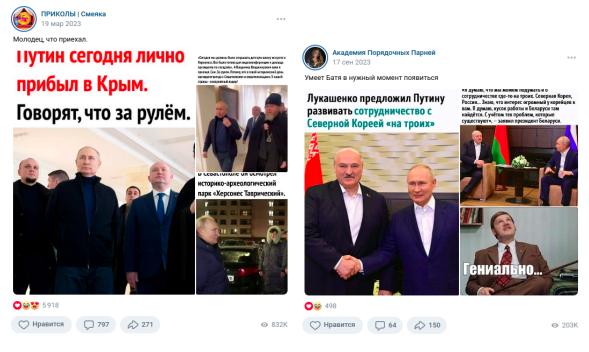
There are often misogynistic and homophobic posts as well. In our classification, these fall under the category of "social issues."



https://vk.com/wall-28477986\_8630485

https://vk.com/wall-45595714\_11323722

Regularly featured in communities for both categories are news about Vladimir Putin in the context of domestic and international politics.



https://vk.com/wall-45441631\_6311483

https://vk.com/wall-45595714\_11386603

If judged by the content created for them, "young men" are more politically engaged than users from other clusters and are willing to read more detailed news articles consisting of several paragraphs.

Posts for this category typically consist of several images with 1-2 sentences (using neutral language akin to news media) accompanying each. Therefore, political posts for these users are often more informative than those for teenagers or older women.

Political posts do not enjoy particular popularity among "lads" or "real men." The former like them 30% less than non-political posts, while the latter like them 20% less.

Propagandist content for "lads" focuses on domestic politics, whereas "real men" are more often presented with news about international relations and political leaders. More details on these differences are provided below.

## Propaganda Content: "Lads"

At the top of subscriptions for "lads," there are no overtly political communities. Instead, they predominantly follow communities focused on humour and interesting facts. These include "The Academy of Decent Guys" (5.3 million subscribers, 300k views/post), "Killer Humor" (5.4 million subscribers, 210k views/post), and "You Won't Believe It!" (5.8 million subscribers, 330k views/post). The first of these includes 22% propaganda content, while the other two contain 17% and 11%, respectively. In other communities that this audience follows, there is also some propagandist content but in significantly smaller volumes.

In contrast to "real men," "lads" actively receive news about Russian politics — for example, scandals involving State Duma deputies or alternative presidential candidates. In terms of the quantity of such news, this category leads among all clusters, as if propagandists are confident in the interest of "lads" in (albeit simulated) political competition.



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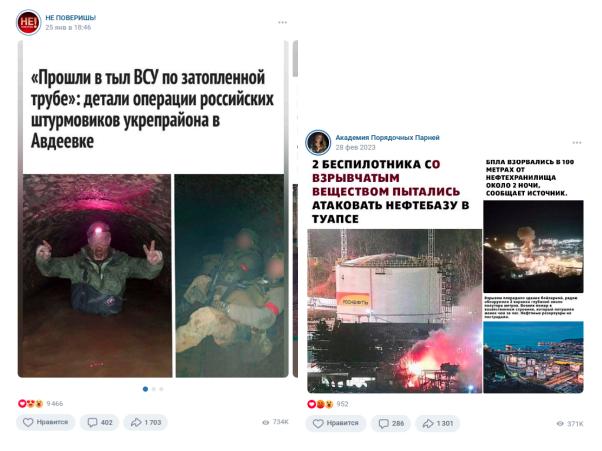
Interestingly, this category also includes critical posts about Russian military propaganda. However, this criticism never touches upon the Ministry of Defense, the government, or the president, and generally does not involve actual military actions.



https://vk.com/wall-45595714\_11447531

https://vk.com/wall-28477986\_8232856

At the top of the most propagandistic content for "lads," there is also news directly related to military actions — these are less frequent in other categories.



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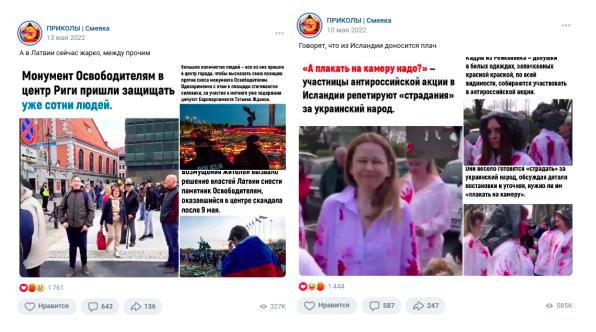
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The theme of confrontation with the West is <u>also</u> present in "lads" communities but in limited quantities and often combined with more popular topics. Considering the criticism of excessive militarization in propaganda posts, one might even speculate that the propagators view this audience as relatively opposed to the current regime.

## Propaganda Content: "Real Men"

Although "real men" do not follow purely political communities, their subscriptions are heavily saturated with propaganda content. The most politicised are "Jokes | Smeyaka" (13.5 million subscribers, 420k views/post) and "Are They Dumb?" (3.1 million subscribers) — the share of propaganda posts in their overall content was 11% and 4% respectively.

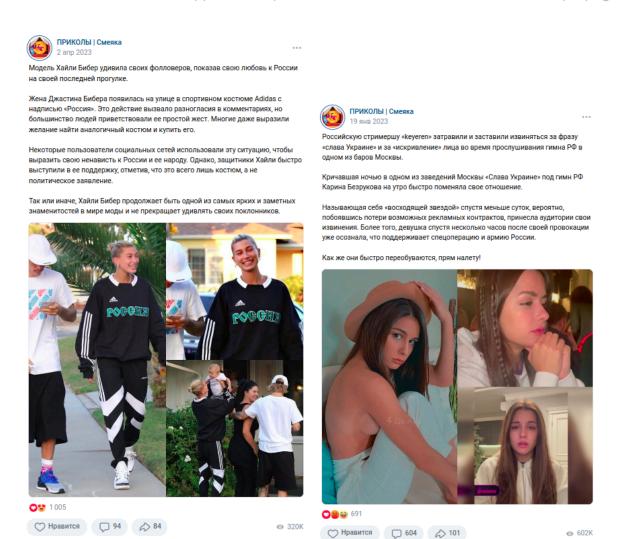
In addition to the political agenda surrounding the war in Ukraine, communities for "real men" often focus on protest actions or political scandals worldwide. This topic typically emphasises Russia's superiority over "unfriendly" countries torn by internal conflicts.



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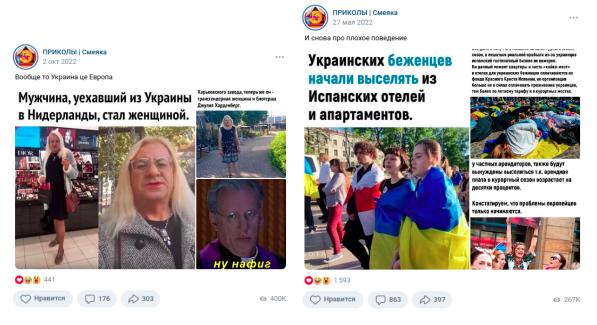
Posts about support or condemnation of Russia often focus on celebrity cases. Such publications often contain 3-4 paragraphs of text, which is significantly higher than the average volume for propaganda content across all clusters.



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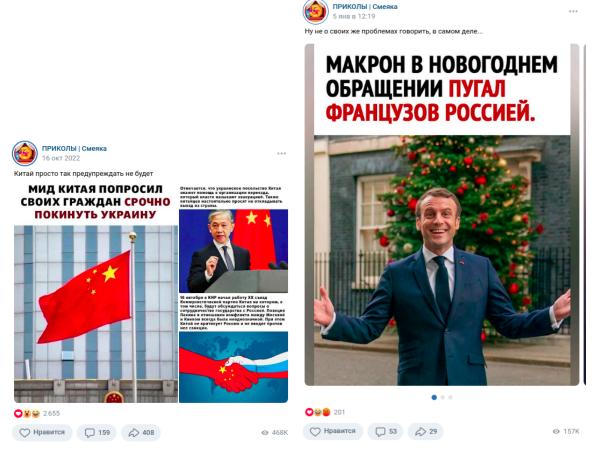
Propaganda for "real men" not only resorts to typical xenophobia, as with "lads," but also focuses on the issues of Ukrainian refugees in Europe.



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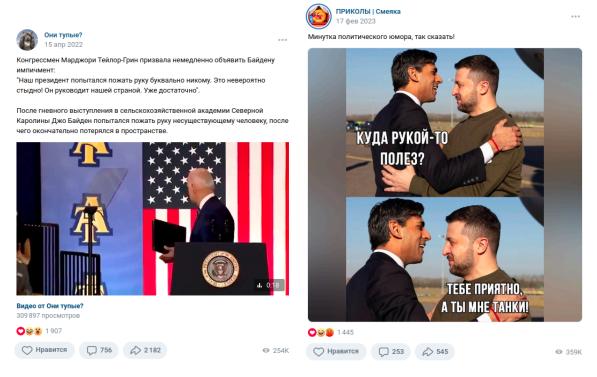
Actively presented is the narrative of confrontation with the West and, conversely, good relations with China.



https://vk.com/wall-45441631 6088417

https://vk.com/wall-45441631 6644921

Popular are also posts on the international agenda that do not directly involve Russia. Typically, these include criticism of political figures from "unfriendly countries," often presented in the form of irony about their professional abilities or homophobic innuendos.



https://vk.com/wall-147710263 6031618

https://vk.com/wall-45441631 6271453

The audience of "real men" appears to be the most focused on international politics. The language in their posts is often more informal, conversational, and evaluative. It's also worth noting the high score on the pro-war scale in this audience (0.63).

# **Residents of Large Cities**

### **Urban Youth**

Number in the sample: 436 (2.7%)

Pro-war scale: 0.31

Percentage of women: 59%

Age distribution:

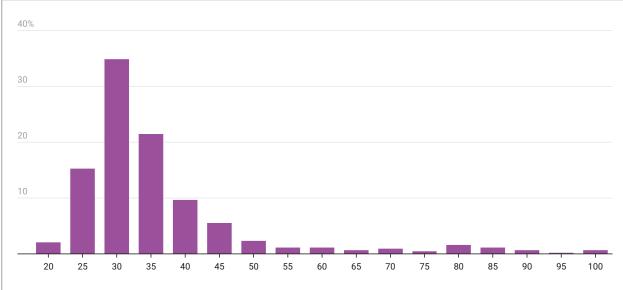


Chart: Cedar  ${}^{\bullet}$  Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data  ${}^{\bullet}$  Created with Datawrapper

### Median age: 29

#### **Settlement size distribution:**

Rural settlements	4%
Urban up to 100 thousand	9%
100 - 500 thousand people	13%
500 thousand - 1 million people	7%
more than 1 million people	50%

Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

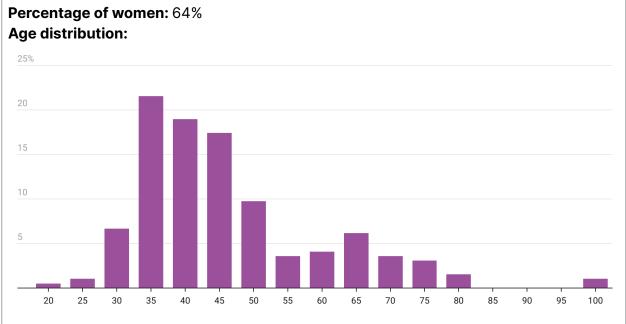
#### Most popular communities:

- Lepra (Лепра)
- Pikabu (Пикабу)
- Lentach (Лентач)
- Leprosarium (Лепрозорий)
- Humor Schrodinger (Юмор Шрёдингера)
- Science (Science Наука)
- Leonardo DaVinchik (Леонардо Дайвинчик)
- Zen (Дзен)
- MHC (MXK)
- How I Met Tetanus (Как я встретил столбняк)

# **Business People**

Number in the sample: 195 (1.2%)

Pro-war scale: 0.28



 $\textbf{Chart: Cedar \bullet Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com\ data \bullet Created\ with\ Datawrapper}$ 

### Median age: 40

#### **Settlement size distribution:**

Rural settlements	7%
Urban up to 100 thousand	12%
100 - 500 thousand people	11%
500 thousand - 1 million people	7%
more than 1 million people	53%

Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

### Most popular communities:

- Business Info (Бизнес Инфо)
- Science (Science Наука)
- Traveller Travel and Tourism (Traveler Путешествия и туризм)
- Smart Money | Business Magazine (Smart Money | Бизнес журнал)
- Interior Design Ideas (Идеи дизайна интерьера)
- Interesting Facts (Интересные факты)
- Business Creative | Success in Life (Бизнес креатив | С успехом по жизни)
- Useful Education | Intellectarium (Полезное образование | Интеллектуариум)
- Philosophy | Psychology | Self-development (Философия | Психология | Саморазвитие)
- BRAIN (BRAIN)

## Cluster Descriptions and Non-Political Content

The "residents of large cities" category includes two clusters of users: "urban youth" and "business people." Demographically, as indicated by their names, almost all of them live in large cities. "Business people" (Median age - 40 years) are slightly older than "urban youth" (Median age - 29 years). Both clusters demonstrate a relatively low level of support for the war (0.31 and 0.28 respectively). Unlike most clusters, content consumption among "residents of large cities" varies less depending on gender. In both clusters, women predominate, but by a slight margin: in the "urban youth" cluster, 59% are women, while in the "business people" cluster, it's 64%.

# Non-political topics in VK communities for the "urban youth" cluster

Number of posts by topic

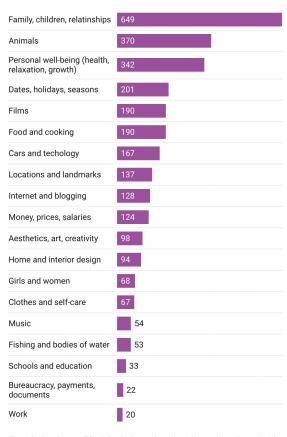


Chart: Cedar  $\bullet$  Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data  $\bullet$  Created with Datawrapper

# Non-political topics in VK communities for the "business people" cluster

Number of posts by topic

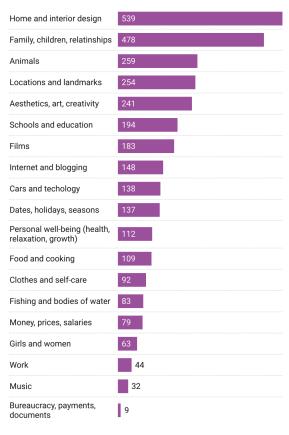
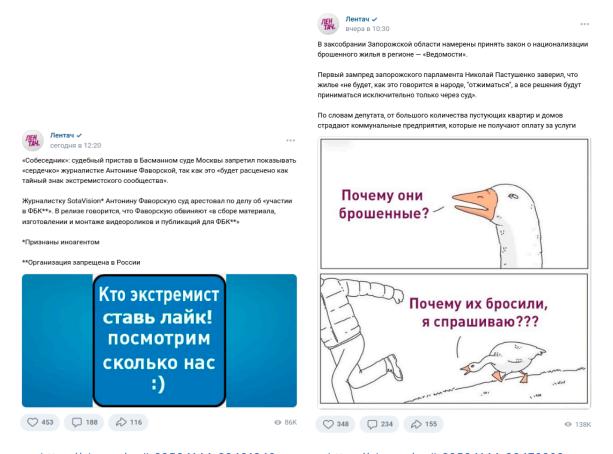


Chart: Cedar  $\cdot$  Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data  $\cdot$  Created with Datawrapper

### Non-Political Content: "Urban Youth"

An important feature of this cluster is that among its audience's top three communities is "Lentach" (2.5 million subscribers) — a news community that regularly covers political events. As an exception, we categorised it under "non-political content." Founded by former employees of the news outlet Lenta.ru, "Lentach" specialises in presenting news in an entertaining format, often accompanied by memes. The language used in "Lentach" posts is typically careful, but their oppositional perspective is easily discernible, usually emphasised through memes.



https://vk.com/wall-29534144\_23481842

https://vk.com/wall-29534144\_23476228

Among the non-political topics in communities for "urban youth," the most popular category is "family, children, relationships," which mainly includes real-life <u>stories</u> (for example, the community "Overheard").

The second most popular theme is "animals," featuring <u>memes</u> or <u>stories</u> about them. In the category of "personal well-being", the content mostly consists of jokes about <u>age</u> and psychological <u>state</u>. Similarly, the theme of "food and cooking" focuses more on memes rather than recipes.

In terms of the prevalence and style of memes, urban youth resembles the "lads" cluster (which also includes many middle-aged city dwellers).

### Non-Political Content: "Business People"

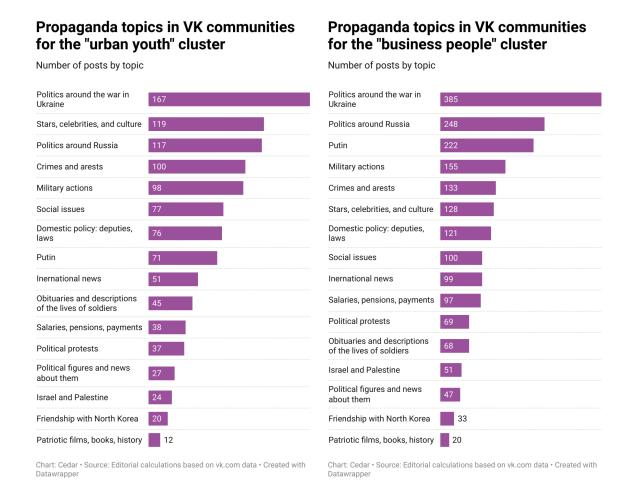
Among the communities for this audience, many communities have names like "Business Info" and "Business Creative". They rarely publish standard economic and business news; instead, their content mainly consists of interesting facts and stories focused on the corporate environment. The same applies to pages with names involving "technology" or "science."

Despite the absence of obvious opposition pages within this cluster, its level of pro-war sentiment is very low (0.28). Unlike the "urban youth," whose favourite content mainly revolves around personal life observations, "business people" consume facts and narratives about the external world. Even in the category of "family, children, relationships," there's a prevalence of <u>facts</u> about celebrities and amazing <u>stories</u> from families around the world. In the "animals" category, you'll also find more interesting facts and stories rather than just adorable photos; for instance, stories about a deaf <u>donkey</u> from Turkey or a <u>parrot</u> that learned to communicate with a cat.

In the popular thematic category of "aesthetics, art, creativity" for this cluster, posts include <u>photos</u> from remote corners of the planet and Al-generated <u>images</u>.

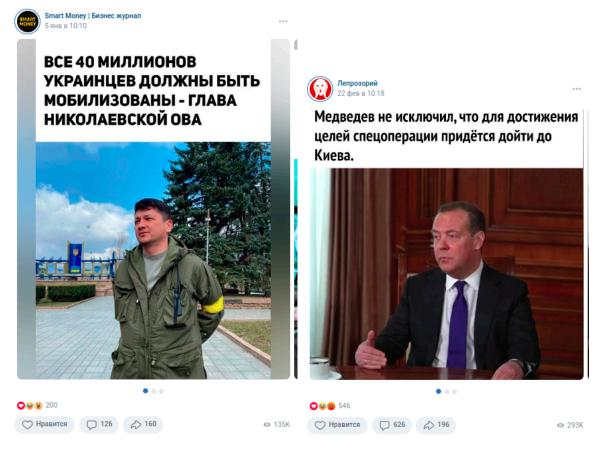
This audience values practical advice. The most popular category for such posts is "home and interior design." This type of content is also popular among clusters of "older women", which makes sense since there are also quite a few women over 40 among "business people."

# Political Content and Propaganda Strategies



Propaganda content for "urban youth" and "business people" covers approximately the same topics and is formulated in a similar stylistic manner.

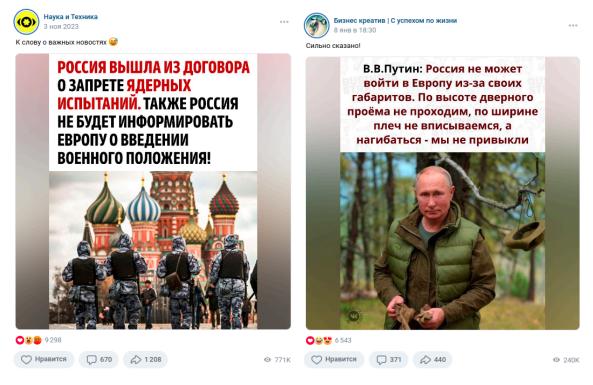
Posts related to the political agenda surrounding the war in Ukraine for these audiences are generally similar to nearly the same content in other clusters.



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https://vk.com/wall-65960786\_9535566

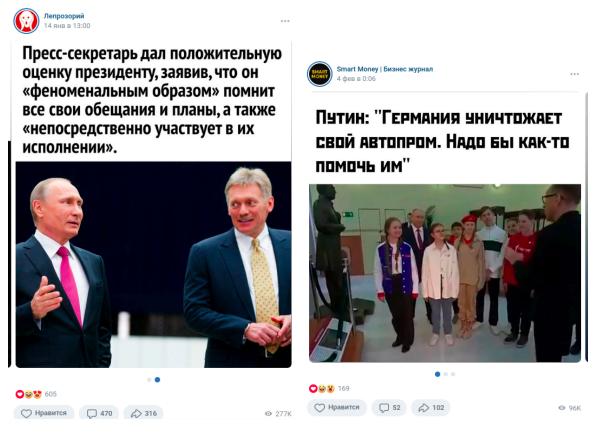
In comparison to the content in the "young men" cluster, the style of anti-Western rhetoric in propaganda for "residents of large cities" is more subdued. It lacks specific accusations against foreign politicians and the West in general, sensationalistic quotes taken out of context, and so on.



https://vk.com/wall-103027469\_851607

https://vk.com/wall-30559917\_1175197

Like other users, "residents of large cities" regularly receive news updates about Vladimir Putin and his quotes. The stylistic approach of such posts is not unique to this audience either.

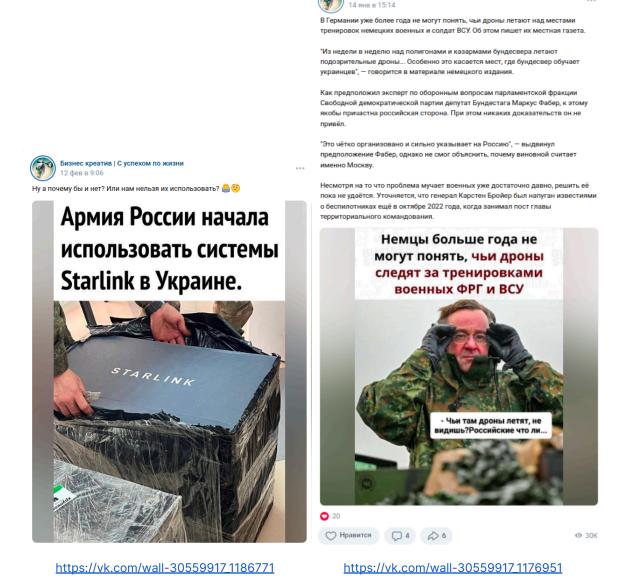


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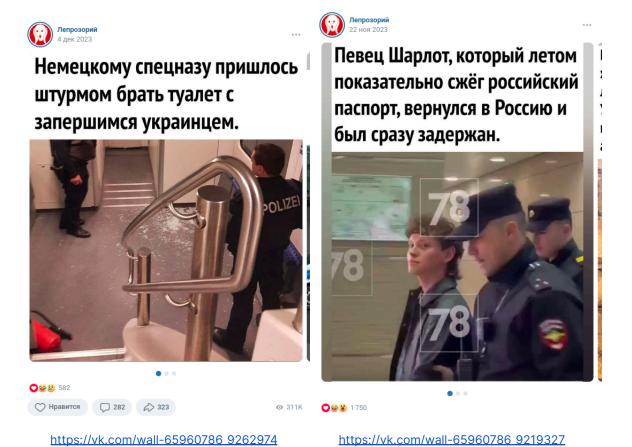
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In communities aimed at the "residents of large cities", there are no direct news updates about military actions in Ukraine. However, posts about military technologies are present, aligning with the general focus of this audience on technology-related topics.

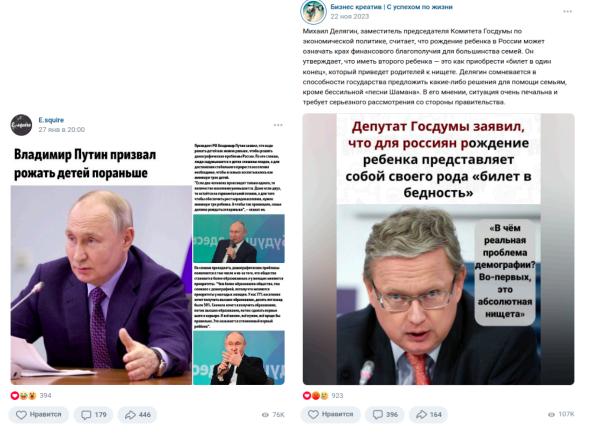
Бизнес креатив | С успехом по жизни



Propaganda posts regarding criminal cases for this audience less frequently promote an anti-immigrant agenda (which is characteristic for the audience of "young men"). However, there is quite a bit of content related to scandalous incidents involving Ukrainian refugees in the European Union.



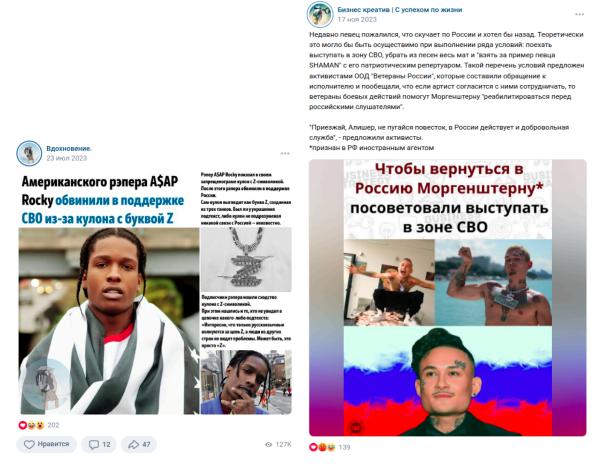
Posts on social issues are worded without sharp expressions, and sexist and homophobic narratives are infrequent. There is considerable attention given to the topic of increasing birth rates — a topic that is nearly absent in other clusters.



https://vk.com/wall-24098496\_1495506

https://vk.com/wall-30559917\_1158723

Content about celebrities mainly focuses on cases supporting Russia and is presented in a dry, news-style format without moral judgments.



https://vk.com/wall-25421850\_1770283

https://vk.com/wall-30559917\_1156802

Content aimed at "residents of large cities" tends to adopt a neutral and even globalised perspective on the world, which is expected. The formatting, style, and length of posts in this cluster are similar to those parameters found in content aimed at "lads". However, there's a discrepancy: posts with propaganda content receive 30-35% fewer likes compared to non-political posts in the same communities.

### Propaganda Content: "Urban Youth"

Propaganda content aimed at this audience mirrors that of the "business people" cluster, as analysed earlier. It's notable that the "urban youth" cluster more frequently broadcasts news about celebrities (most of which are sourced from the E.squire community). Typically, these posts are neutrally formulated, but the narratives themselves are replicated from similar posts targeting other clusters within the propaganda content grid.



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# Teenagers and Young Adults

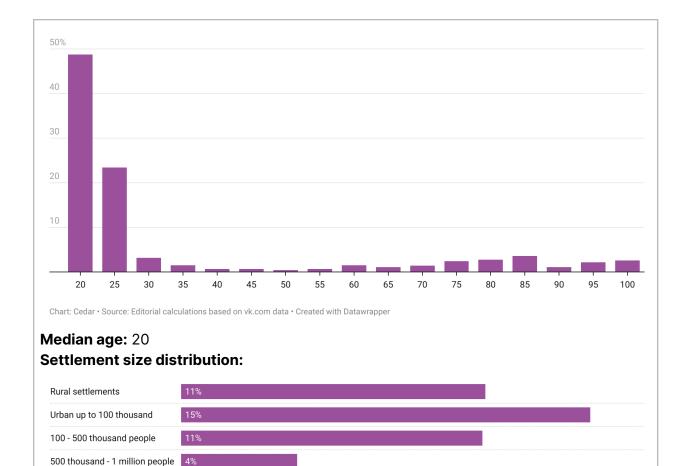
# Teenagers

**Number in the sample: 1843 (11.5%)** 

Pro-war scale: 0.49

Percentage of women: 31%

Age distribution:



 $\textbf{Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper to the control of the contro$ 

### Most popular communities:

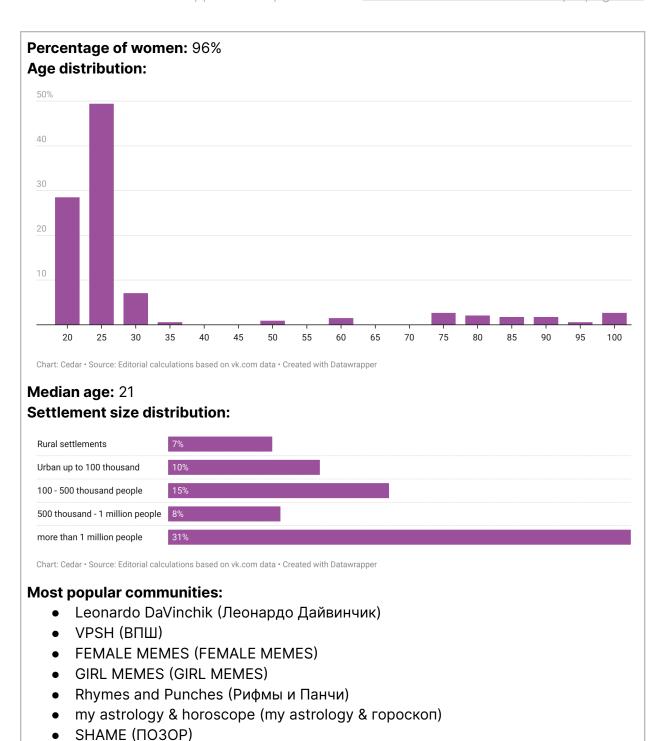
more than 1 million people

- Leonardo DaVinchik (Леонардо Дайвинчик)
- Oatmeal, sir! (Овсянка, сэр!)
- VKontakte (ВКонтакте)
- kyr sosichka (кыр сосичка)
- achyo) (ачё))
- SHVT (ШВТ)
- Rhymes and Punches (Рифмы и Панчи)
- MORGENSHTERN (MORGENSHTERN)
- VK Music (VK Музыка)
- Bot Maxim (Бот Максим)

# Young Girls

Number in the sample: 341 (2.1%)

Pro-war scale: 0.46



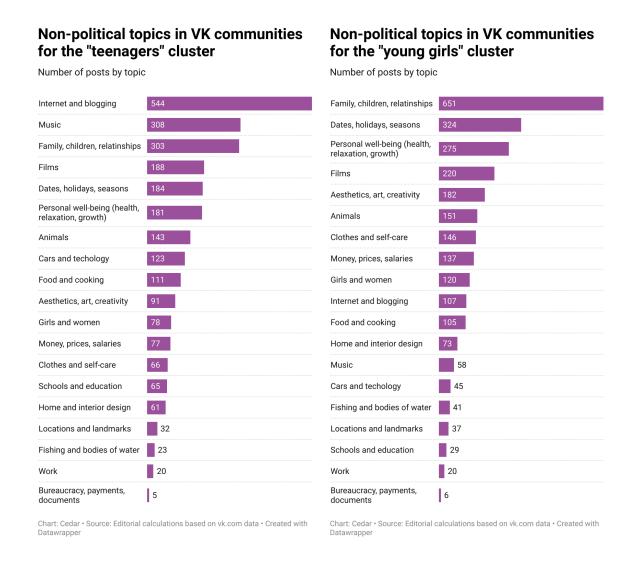
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Oatmeal, sir! (Овсянка, сэр!)

MANICURE (MANICURE)

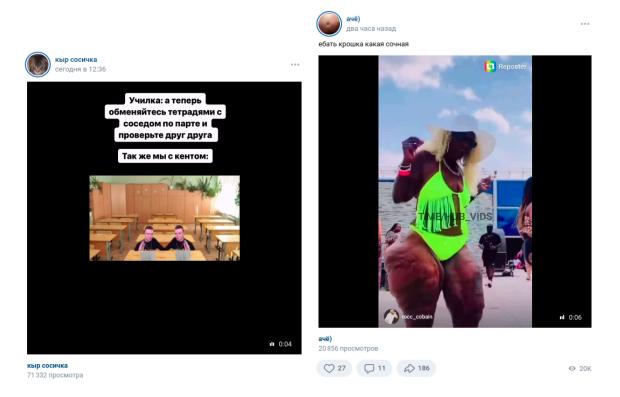
## Cluster Descriptions and Non-Political Content

We included two clusters in this category, consisting largely of users under 20 years old. Firstly, there is the cluster we named "teenagers", predominantly consisting of boys. The other cluster is "young girls", which is almost entirely (96%) composed of girls. While for the cluster of "teenagers", the size of the city is not a major factor, the cluster of "young girls" mostly includes girls from large cities.



# Non-Political Content: "Teenagers"

Among the popular communities in this cluster are many meme pages (ironic ones about school, sexist ones about women) and short video content, as well as communities dedicated to music and video games.



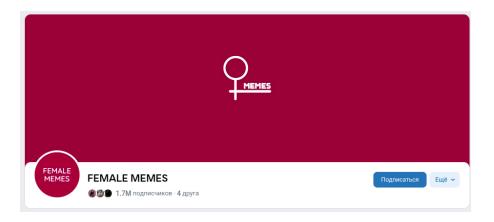
The most popular category among teenage boys is "Internet and blogging". Among the most popular communities is an <u>official</u> VK community that accounts for the majority of posts in this category.

This category features premieres of tracks by popular <u>artists</u> among teenagers and news about their personal lives. For example, there was news about the rapper Morgenshtern being recognized as a foreign agent. Since teenagers don't rank very high on the pro-war scale (0.46), such status likely doesn't affect their level of sympathy towards the rapper.

In the next categories by popularity ("family, children, relationships," "personal well-being"), you can mostly find memes (about <u>parents</u>, <u>relationships</u>, and <u>cats</u>) and real-life stories (for example, about <u>bullying</u> in school).

# Non-Political Content: "Young Girls"

A significant portion of the communities in this cluster emphasize their gender aspect. However, meme communities typical for this audience, which do not position themselves as "feminine," are often subscribed to by teenage boys as well.



Besides meme communities, there are also communities focused on nail art, astrology, and "deep thoughts" within this cluster. The most popular category among young girls is "family, children, relationships." In addition to memes and jokes typical of other clusters with a young audience, this group consumes a lot of dramatic and moralistic quotes, such as "we often lose loved ones because of our own stupidity, and we put an end to things without fully understanding everything." Content in the "personal well-being" category is also presented mainly in the form of memes and quotes.

The "dates, holidays, seasons" category includes not only widely spread holiday greetings found in other clusters but also a lot of <u>content</u> related to astrology. In the "movies" category, instead of reviews and posters like in other user clusters, there are <u>facts</u> about celebrities or their <u>quotes</u>.

## Political Content and Propaganda Strategies

Political content for "teenagers and young adults" and the composition of propaganda communities they read are very similar, and we will discuss them in one chapter.

# Propaganda topics in VK communities for the "teenagers and young adults" cluster

Number of posts by topic

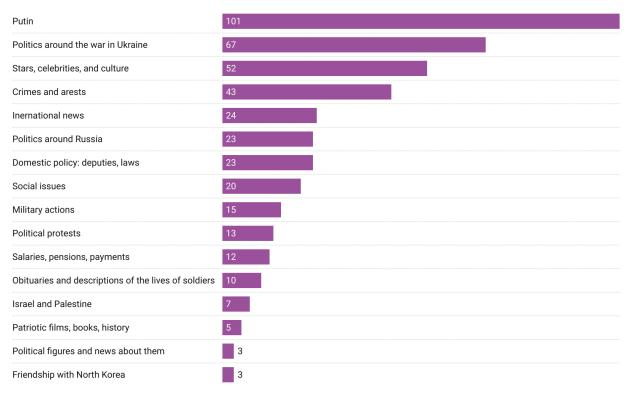
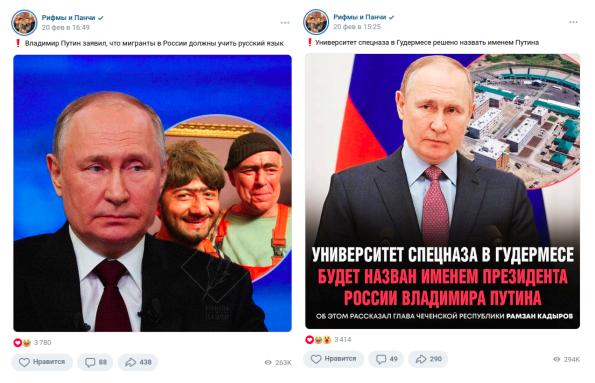


Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

In these clusters, like in most other cases there are no explicitly political communities at the top.

Propaganda content is primarily present in communities with memes and funny videos. For example, "Rhymes and Punches" (5.3 million subscribers, approximately 330k views per post), "SHAME" (3 million subscribers, approximately 285k views per post), "Oatmeal, sir!" (5.5 million subscribers, approximately 165k views per post), "ABNORMAL" (4.6 million subscribers, approximately 160k views per post). In "Rhymes and Punches", at least 6% of the content is propagandist, while in the other three, it ranges from 2-3%. In the community "VPSH" (2.3 million subscribers), which is read by "young girls", approximately 2% of the content constitutes propaganda.

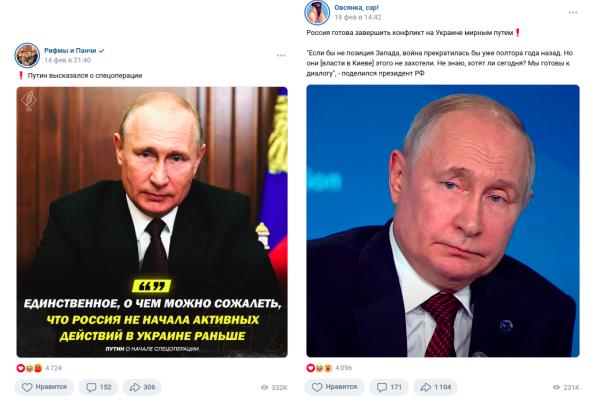
The most frequent words in propagandist posts of this cluster are "Putin," "army," "declare," "respond." Political content for "teenagers" mainly consists of short posts with news about Putin and his statements (24% of all political posts), aimed at emphasising the masculine image of the Russian president.



https://vk.com/wall-28905875 33334191

https://vk.com/wall-28905875 33333862

Many posts feature quotes from Putin and discuss general topics, which are characteristic not only of this audience (for example, about the war in Ukraine).



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https://vk.com/wall-66678575\_83594531

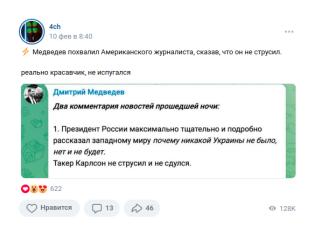
Another common type of content is the use of political quotes from celebrities, including Western ones (for example, Tucker Carlson and Elon Musk), on topics related to the war in Ukraine and Russia's confrontation with the West. Often, these quotes are taken out of context and presented as statements supporting Russia.



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https://vk.com/wall-28905875\_33323633

Let's highlight an example of a post featuring a quote from Dmitry Medvedev, noting that Tucker Carlson (who interviewed Putin in February 2024) "did not wimp out and did not back down," and therefore he is "really cool." Such colloquial moral judgments are often used in propaganda content aimed at teenagers.



https://vk.com/wall-45745333 47060817

Regularly broadcast are statements from celebrities openly supporting Russia in the context of military confrontation with Ukraine — most often these are Russian athletes,

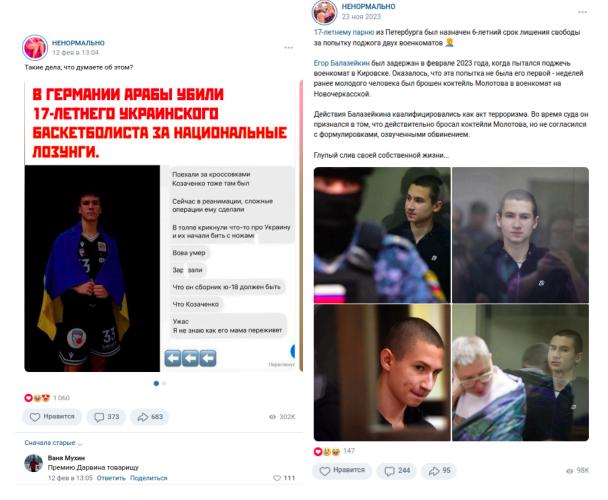
actors, and musicians. The emphasis on celebrities in the content for this cluster is significantly stronger than for other audiences.



https://vk.com/wall-141959356\_6904846

https://vk.com/wall-133180305\_28128949

Another popular theme is true crime. Such news abounds with xenophobic (especially anti-Ukrainian) rhetoric and typically emotionally pushes the reader towards choosing the "right" side of the conflict being described.



https://vk.com/wall-141959356 6904452

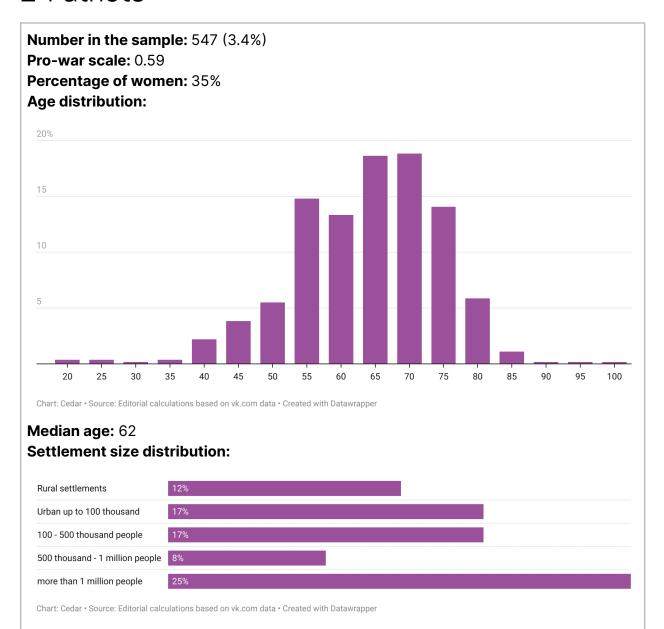
https://vk.com/wall-141959356 6827575

The visual style of propaganda posts aimed at "teenagers and young adults" (multiple images, larger font size) stands out significantly compared to other clusters — similar to the deep level of stylistic adaptation seen in "older women". The language used in these posts is not very emotional and mimics short (and context-free) news messages.

For teenage propaganda content, there's a tendency not to emphasise Russia's confrontation with the West but rather to show that many well-known and authoritative figures abroad support Russia.

In terms of average likes, political posts for teenagers enjoy approximately the same popularity as posts on other topics, suggesting that such propaganda is relatively effective.

# **Z-Patriots**



#### Most popular communities:

- Adequate Patriot (Адекватный Патриот)
- Tsargrad TV (Телеканал Царьград)
- Yakov Kedmi (Яков Кедми)
- Nikita Mikhalkov (Никита Михалков)
- SVO Briefings | Army | Russia (Сводки СВО | Армия | Россия)
- Sergey Mikheev (Сергей Михеев)
- Yuri Podolyaka & Mikhail Onufrienko (Подоляка Юрий & Онуфриенко Михаил)
- Nikita Mikhalkov (Никита Михалков)

- RT News in Russian (Новости RT на русском)
- Keosayan Daily (Кеосаян daily)

### Non-Political Content: "7-Patriots"

The audience of "z-patriots" consists mainly of men (65%) with a median age of 62 years. Almost all of their communities promote stereotypical Russian propaganda, but even they include some non-political content. For example, you can find news about <u>animals</u> there. In other categories classified as non-political, there are predominantly <u>propaganda</u> posts that our language models could not accurately classify due to a lack of context.

### Non-political topics in VK communities for the "z-patriots" cluster



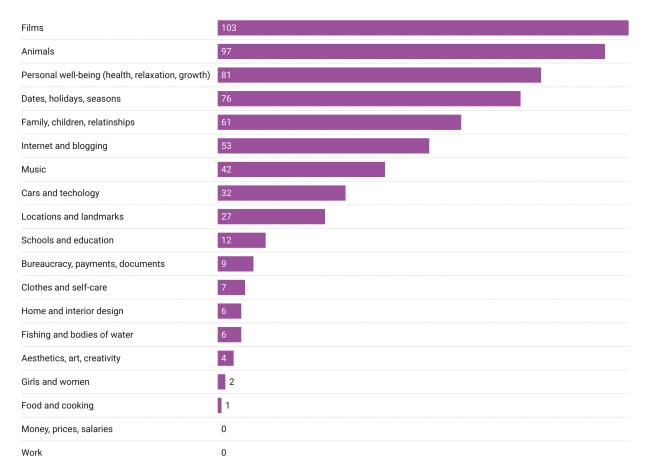
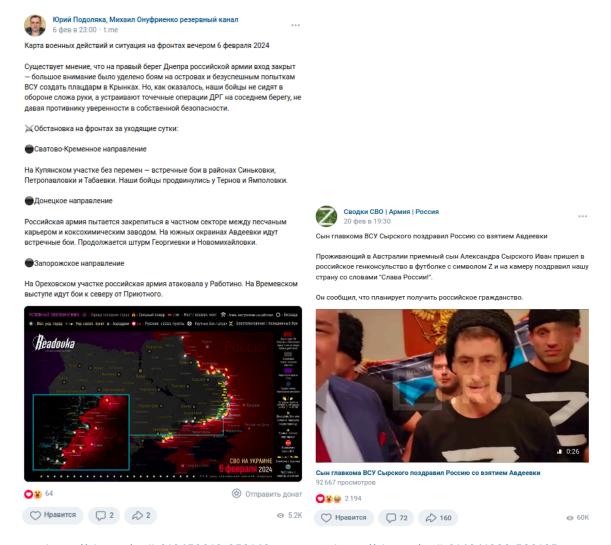


Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

## Propaganda Content: "Z-Patriots"

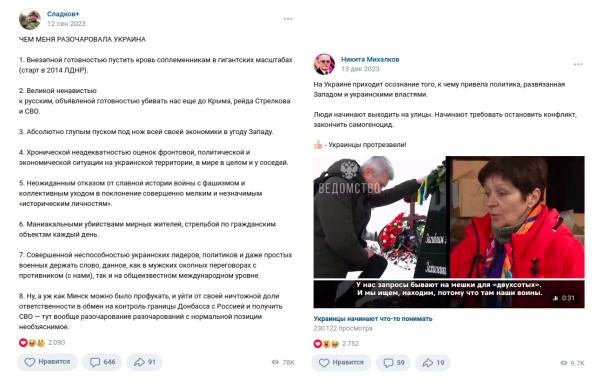
The most common keywords for this cluster are "VSU", "opponent", "Ukraine", "direction", "Avdiivka". A significant part of the content consists of frontline summaries, discussions about the war in Ukraine, and military stories. The frontline situation is described in quite detailed terms, unlike other clusters.



https://vk.com/wall-212459013\_858142

https://vk.com/wall-214241020 532165

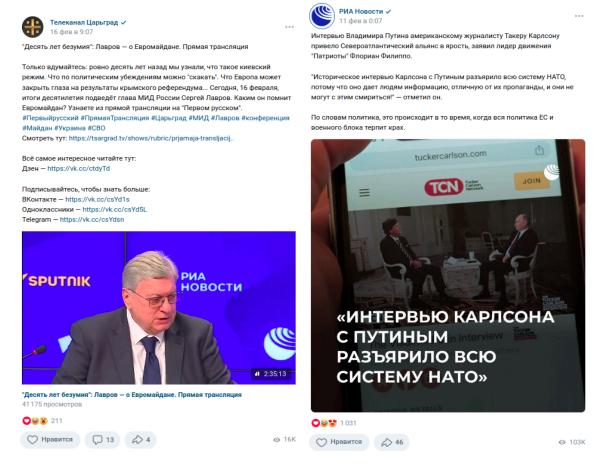
Often, posts in this cluster are not purely news-related but rather ideological, containing emotional statements and a clear attempt to convey a certain stance.



https://vk.com/wall-112759286 265321

https://vk.com/wall-213872508 195252

A significant portion of the content is relayed from state and pro-state media.



https://vk.com/wall-75679763\_6637733

https://vk.com/wall-15755094\_44815001

"Z-patriots" are the most war-oriented cluster. Unlike other clusters of users, text on images is rarely found here.

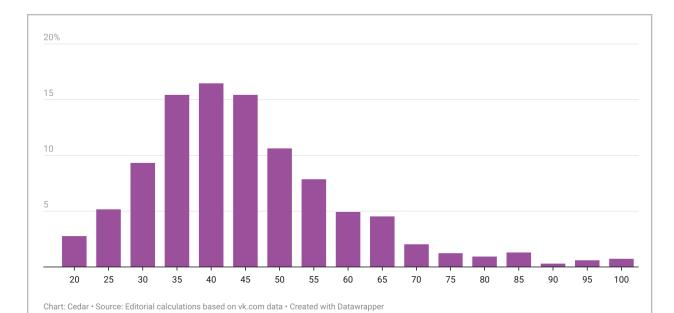
# Movie Buffs

Number in the sample: 1635 (10%)

Pro-war scale: 0.51

Percentage of women: 26%

Age distribution:



#### Median age: 40

### **Settlement size distribution:**

Rural settlements	14%
Urban up to 100 thousand	20%
100 - 500 thousand people	16%
500 thousand - 1 million people	7%
more than 1 million people	22%

Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

### Most popular communities:

- Movie Bliss Best Movies (КиноКайф Лучшие фильмы)
- I Love Cinema (Я ♥ КИНО)
- Cinephilia ➤ Movie News (Киномания ➤ Новинки кино)
- New Music Releases | New Music 2023 (Новинки Музыки | Новая Музыка 2023)
- HD Movies Films Online 2023 (HD Кино Фильмы онлайн 2023)
- NETFLIX VK | New Movies 2023 (NETFLIX VK | Новинки кино 2023)
- Cinephilia Best Movies (Киномания Лучшие фильмы)
- Golden Hands | Construction and Repair (Золотые руки | Строительство и ремонт)
- EMPIRE CINEMA | SPIDER-MAN | NEW RELEASES 2023 (ИМПЕРИЯ КИНО | ЧЕЛОВЕК-ПАУК | НОВИНКИ 2023)
- New Movies (Новинки кино)

### Non-Political Content: "Movie Buffs"

### Non-political topics in VK communities for the "movie buffs" cluster

Number of posts by topic

Films	3.6K
Cars and techology	171
Family, children, relatinships	119
Music	114
Dates, holidays, seasons	67
Clothes and self-care	62
Home and interior design	61
Aesthetics, art, creativity	60
Girls and women	38
Work	34
Personal well-being (health, relaxation, growth)	34
Internet and blogging	31
Locations and landmarks	28
Animals	26
Money, prices, salaries	19
Food and cooking	11
Schools and education	8
Fishing and bodies of water	6
Bureaucracy, payments, documents	6

Chart: Cedar • Source: Editorial calculations based on vk.com data • Created with Datawrapper

Almost all communities in this cluster are dedicated to movies and music. It's difficult to distinguish propaganda content in them due to the large number of descriptions of films about political and/or military events. Considering that this cluster of users reflects more of a media consumption pattern rather than a clear social group, analysing propaganda content for it doesn't make much sense.